

St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Architecture, Decoration and Politics
in the Reigns of Henry III and the three Edwards (1227-1363)

Volume I of III

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Abstract:

This thesis focuses on the architecture and decoration of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (1227-1363) and the relationships between art and politics which were expressed throughout its long construction. First recorded in 1206, extensively remodelled 1227-53 and entirely rebuilt 1292-1363, Westminster's former principal palace chapel is considered one of the most influential buildings of its age and was positioned at the centre of royal power and devotional activity in Plantagenet England. Patronised by four sequential English kings – Henry III (1207-72) and the three Edwards (1272-1307, 1307-27 and 1327-77 respectively) – this building was highly responsive to the changing political circumstances of its time. However, the chapel's complete destruction by fire in 1834 after three centuries of continuous use and modification has left many questions regarding its appearance, design sequence and construction history unanswered. Consequently, this thesis has two aims. Firstly, it proposes a new reconstruction of St Stephen's supported by a systematic reassessment of its building sequence. This is facilitated by interrogation of antiquarian visual and textual sources and the chapel's extant building accounts from the medieval Chancery and Exchequer now held in the National Archives. This has resulted in an attached set of reconstruction drawings, the first of their kind attempted since 1844, and extensive supporting appendices of tabulated accounts. Secondly, it uses this information to analyse the impact of political actions and situations on design and construction at St Stephen's, introducing a new model of architectural causality within royal patronage. This is articulated through four key themes woven throughout a chapter-by-chapter architectural chronology: patronal agency, royal identity and iconography, international interactions and economics. By considering the contextual circumstances of the building's creation, these themes are used to present a systematic re-evaluation of royal architectural causality in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century England.

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Portfolio:

Family Tree

Lower Chapel Plan

Lower Chapel Vault Plan

Upper Chapel Plan

Longitudinal Section

Transverse Section

Timeline:

Key:

St Stephen's Chapel

England

France

Scotland

Western Empire

Eastern Empire

- 1207 The future Henry III is born at Winchester.
- 1212 Friedrich II, King of Sicily, is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1214 William I of Scotland dies. Alexander II is crowned King of Scots.
- 1216 Henry of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, dies.
The future Louis VIII of France invades England, claiming the throne.
King John of England dies. Henry III is crowned King of England at Winchester.
- 1217 Louis VIII surrenders his claim to the throne of England.
- 1220 Henry III is re-crowned King of England at Westminster.
Friedrich II is crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
- 1223 Philip II dies. Louis VIII is crowned King of France.
- 1226 Louis VIII dies. Louis IX is crowned King of France.
- 1228 Baldwin II is crowned Emperor.
- 1227 *Henry III's works begin at Old St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.*
- 1236 Henry III marries Eleanor of Provence at Canterbury.
- 1237 Conrad IV is elected King of the Romans.
- 1239 *The construction of the Sainte-Chapelle begins.*
- 1239 The future Edward I is born at Westminster.
- 1246 *The construction of the Sainte-Chapelle ends.*
- 1249 Alexander II dies. Alexander III is crowned King of Scots.
- 1250 Friedrich II dies.
- 1254 Conrad IV dies.
- 1253 *Henry III's final works at Old St Stephen's are conducted.*
- 1254 The future Edward I marries Eleanor of Castile at Burgos.
- 1257 Richard of Cornwall is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1261 Baldwin II is deposed. Michael VIII Palaiologos is crowned Emperor.
- 1270 Louis IX dies
- 1271 Philip III is crowned King of France.
- 1272 Andronikos II is crowned junior Emperor.
Henry III dies.
- 1273 Rudolf I is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1274 Edward I is crowned King of England at Westminster.
- 1276 Edward I declares war on Wales.
- 1277 Michael VIII dies.
- 1284 The future Edward II is born at Caernarfon.
- 1285 Philip III dies.
- 1286 Philip IV is crowned King of France.
- 1291 Rudolf I dies.
- 1292 *Edward I's works begin at New St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.*
John Balliol is crowned King of Scots.
Adolf of Nassau is crowned King of the Romans.
John Balliol abdicates.
- 1297 *Edward I's works at New St Stephen's end.*
- 1298 Adolf of Nassau dies. Albrecht I is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1299 Edward I marries Margaret of France at Canterbury.
- 1306 Robert the Bruce is crowned King of Scots.

- 1307 Edward I dies.
- 1308 Edward II is crowned King of England at Westminster and marries Isabella of France.
Albrecht I dies.
- 1309 Heinrich VII is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1312 Heinrich VII is crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
The future Edward III is born at Windsor.
- 1313 Heinrich VII dies.
- 1314 Ludwig IV is crowned King of the Romans.
Philip IV dies.
- 1315 Louis X is crowned King of France.
- 1316 Louis X dies.
King John I of France (aged 5 days, uncrowned) dies.
- 1317 Philip V is crowned King of France.
- 1322 Philip V dies.
Charles IV is crowned King of France.
- 1323 *Edward II's works at St Stephen's begin.***
- 1326 *Edward II's works at St Stephen's end.***
- 1326 Roger Mortimer and Isabella invade England.
Edward II is captured.
Edward II abdicates.
- 1327 Edward III is crowned King of England at Westminster.
Edward II is murdered.
- 1328 Andronikos II is forced to abdicate. Andronikos III is crowned Emperor.
Ludwig IV is crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
Edward III marries Philippa of Hainault.
Charles IV dies. Philip VI is crowned King of France.
- 1329 Robert the Bruce dies.
- 1330 Edward the Black Prince is born at Woodstock.
Edward III assumes his majority in a coup.
- 1331 David II is crowned King of Scots.
Edward III's works at St Stephen's begin.
- 1340 Edward III assumes the title King of France at Ghent.
- 1341 Andronikos III dies. John V is crowned Emperor.
- 1346 Charles IV is crowned King of the Romans.
- 1347 Ludwig IV dies.
- 1350 Philip VI dies. John II is crowned King of France.
- 1355 Charles IV is crowned Holy Roman Emperor.
- 1363 *Edward III's works at St Stephen's end.***
- 1364 John II dies.
Charles V is crowned King of France.
- 1371 David II dies.
Robert II crowned King of Scots.
- 1377 Edward III dies.

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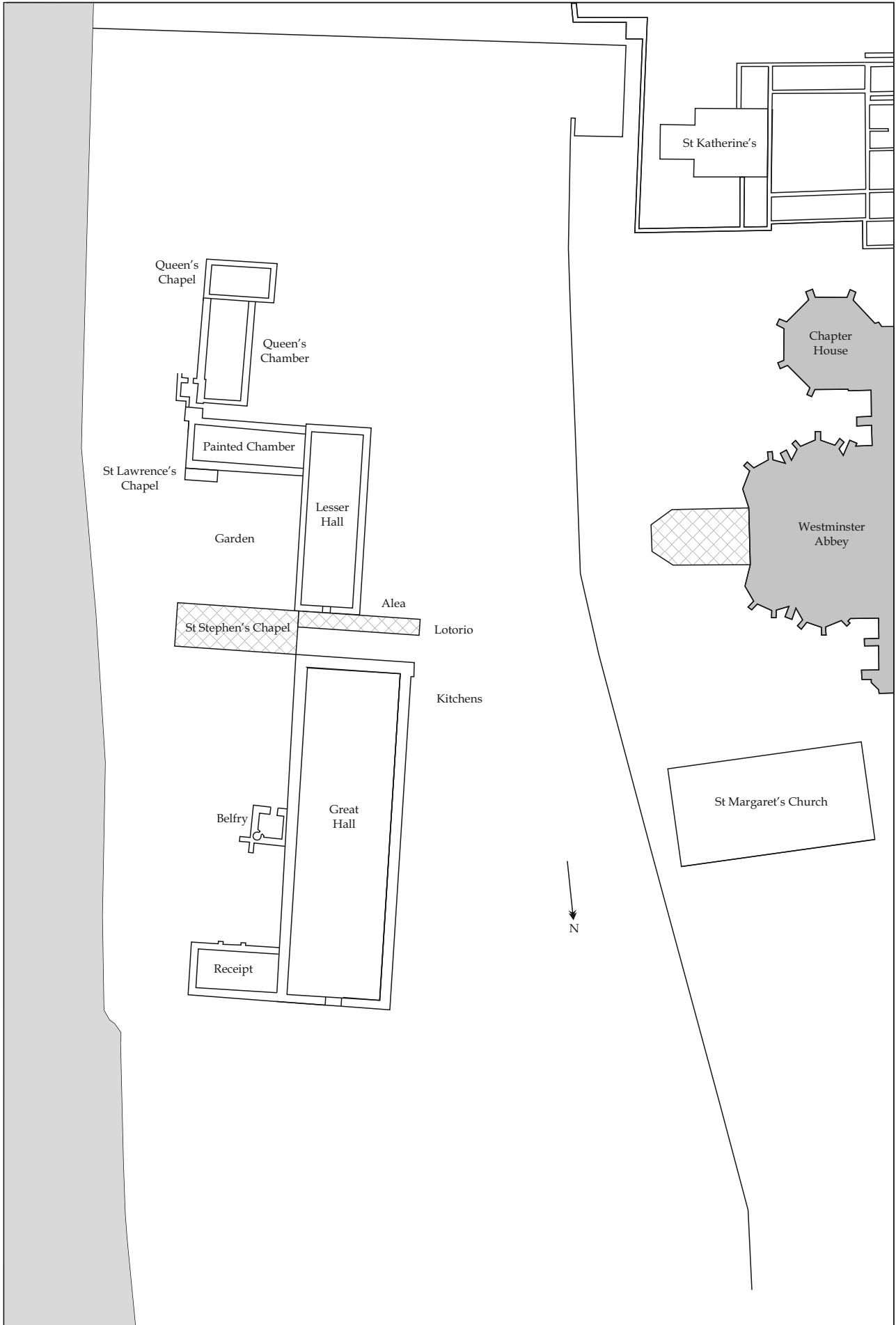
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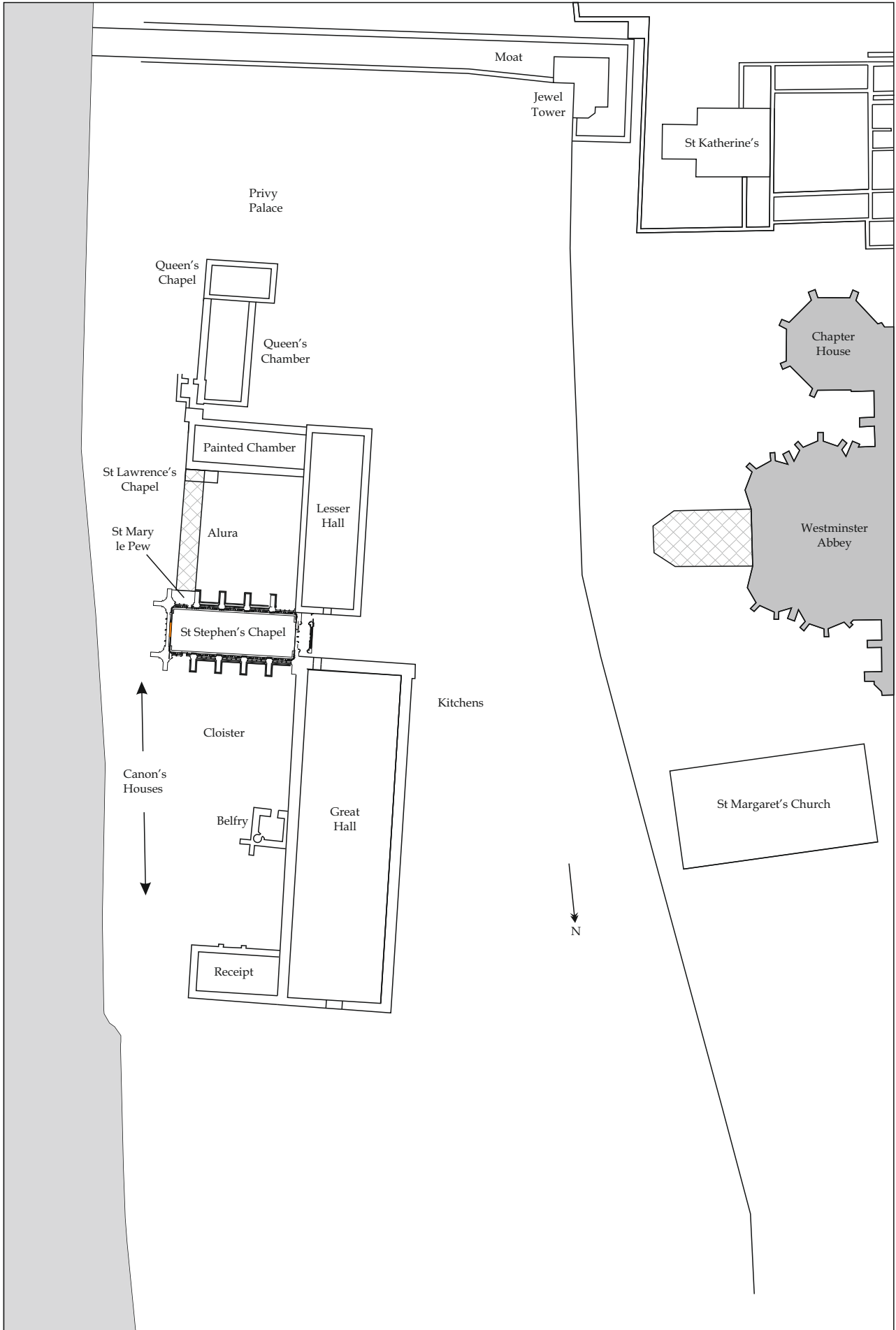
Author's Declaration:

This thesis is entirely my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration with the sole exception of the building accounts for the 1292-1363 iteration of St Stephen's Chapel transcribed by Maureen Jaciekowski. These texts have been made available to me by the Leverhulme Trust-funded project entitled "The Building Accounts for St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster, 1292-1366" based at the University of York. The aim of this project is the publication of a complete edition of the chapel's surviving financial accounts edited by my supervisor, Tim Ayers. The Latin and French sources which Jaciekowski has transcribed are listed in full at the start of Appendix III, and are quoted and referenced throughout the thesis. With the exception of this provision of source materials, my research remains entirely independent of this project. Where the transcriptions provided have been ambiguous or disputed in rendering individual words, I have checked them against the original documents, largely contained within the National Archives in London, and re-transcribed them if necessary. In addition, I have not used the Leverhulme Trust project's translations of these texts for my doctoral thesis, instead producing my own translations independently. All interpretations of these accounts within the thesis remain my own.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.



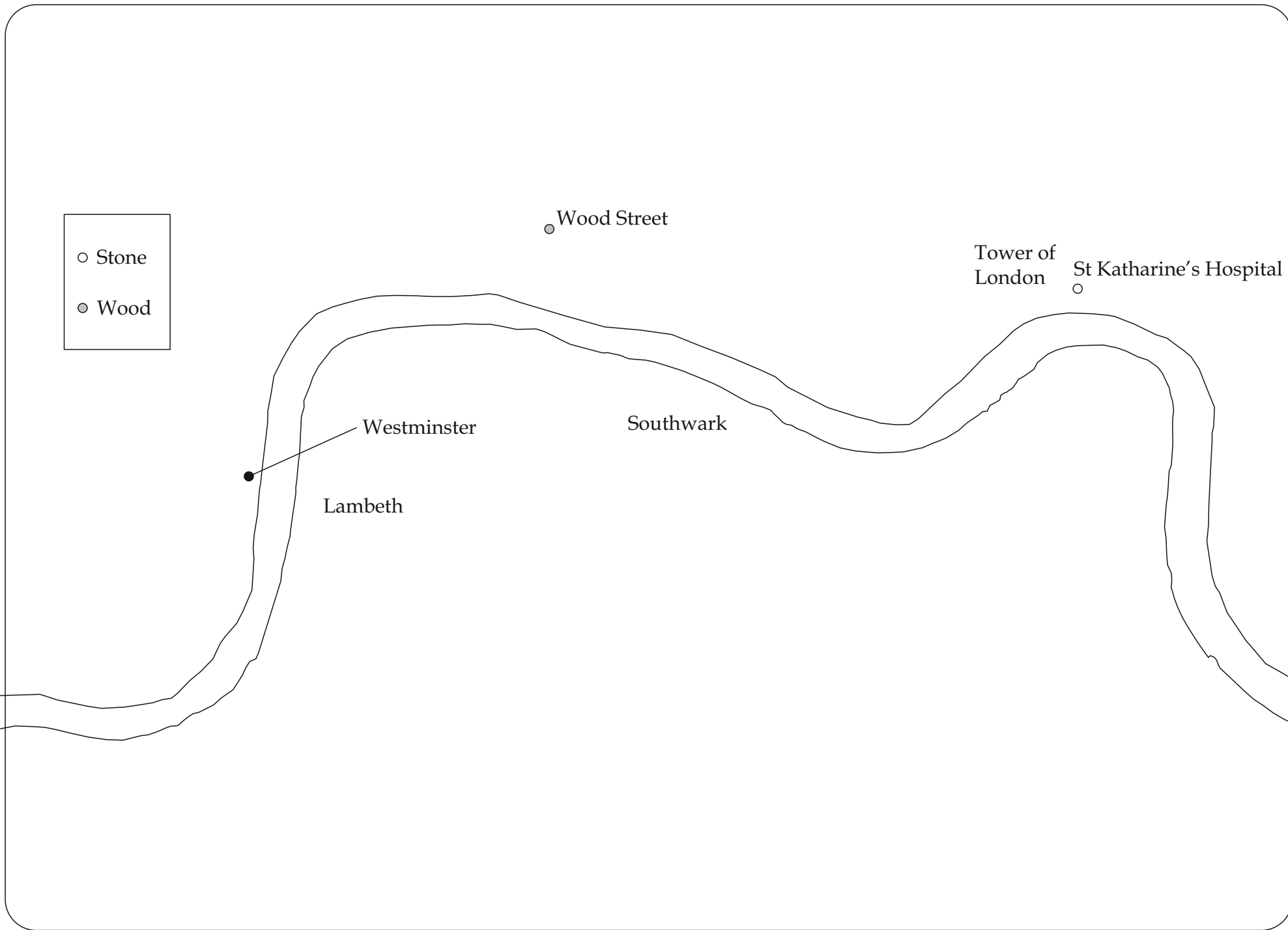
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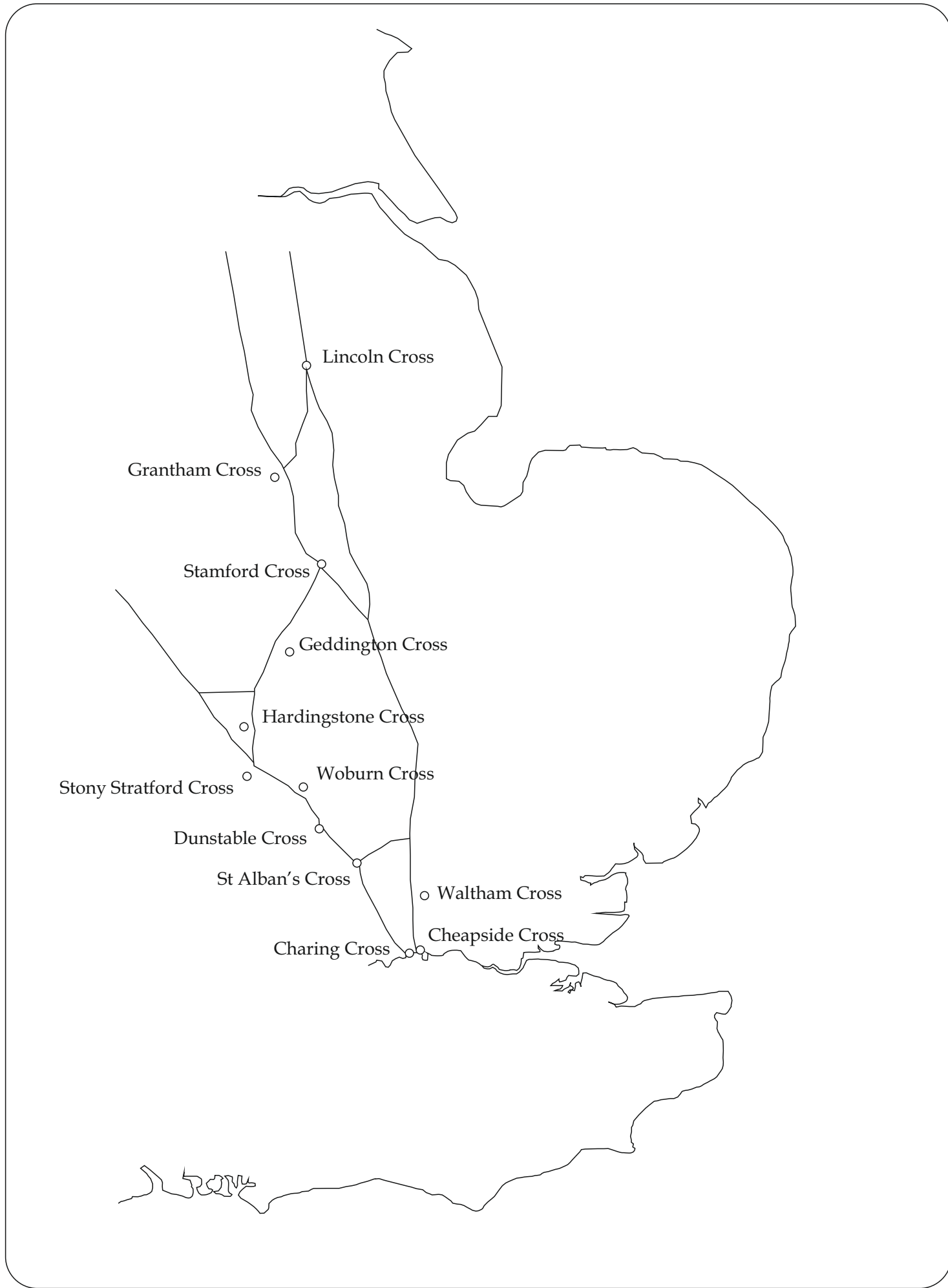
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Introduction

Argument

Architecture is not created in isolation. With few named architects and even fewer discernible careers, the architecture of thirteenth to fourteenth-century Europe was long the subject of a scholarly discipline which emphasised formal narratives of its development over and above the human circumstances of its creation.¹ Conceptualised as a sequence of distinctive stylistic groups taxonomised by subdivisions of appearance, chronology, nationality and region, for the majority of nineteenth-century scholars the story of Gothic architecture comprised a gradual evolution of motifs driven by internal motive forces.² By formulating Gothic's development as processes for resolving discrete formal, structural and spatial problems, scholars considered architecture's visual appearance to be the product of an autonomous, self-contained discourse of stylistic interaction. With architectural causality thus limited, human agency was reduced to an ancillary role in the Gothic narrative, at best tangentially relevant to the sweeping arcs of artistic development which dominated architectural histories of the period.

However, from the early twentieth century onwards the field has seen a gradual shift towards new approaches which grounded architecture increasingly within the contemporary circumstances, interests and experiences of the individuals who conceived, constructed and perceived Gothic architectural form. One such approach was biographical, with authors such as W. R. Lethaby, John Harvey and Christopher Wilson striving to recover the lost lives of medieval 'architects' through documentary studies and associating formal change with the idiosyncratic 'hands' of singular dominant artistic personalities.³ Another was the development of an 'iconography of architecture' which prioritised medieval buildings' power to convey semiotic content through its materiality, appearance and emulation of other significant structures, opening up the analysis of authorial intention.⁴ This has been extended

¹ For a concise summary of its historiographical development see Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, rev. Paul Crossley (New Haven and London, 2000), 9-31.

² Alexandrina Buchanan, *Robert Willis (1800-1875) and the Foundation of Architectural History* (Woodbridge, 2013), 71-114.

³ W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* (London, 1906); John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: A biographical dictionary down to 1550* (London, 1954); Christopher Wilson, "The Origins of the Perpendicular Style and its Development to circa 1360," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1980).

⁴ See below, 21.

through socio-economic approaches. As in many other areas of art history, a renewed interest in patronal agency has resulted in a pluralisation of authorship for Gothic architecture, the independence of designers proposed by formalist models being tempered by the social, political and devotional demands of patrons. Similar investigations have been conducted regarding the social and intellectual positioning of the master mason as a professional class.⁵ Furthermore, buildings have been increasingly located within their surrounding mercantile and spiritual economies, including investigations of labour conditions being conducted by Douglas Knoop and Gwilym Jones and the social strife generated by imposed financial pressures of construction by Stephen Murray.⁶ Most recently, attention has shifted towards aesthetics, with Mary Carruthers and Paul Binski exploring the affective capacity of architecture through a study of rhetorical description.⁷ The result is a plethora of different Gothics, each proposing a distinctive model of architectural causality which carries its own tensions and ideological implications.

Yet despite this general trend towards ‘peopling’ architecture with a cast of designers, patrons and viewers, certain isolationisms persist within these diverse approaches. Autonomous, architect-centred treatments of style remain prominent within the discipline, the sovereignty ascribed to a master mason’s design distancing architectural practice from the wider range of influential factors which might impact on building. Iconographic approaches are similarly problematic in their emphasis on patronal agency, rarely attempting to examine the processes by which patronal demands were integrated within their artistic articulation by designers and craftsmen. Socio-economic analyses of Gothic tend to isolate form from the underlying processes of its formation, either through extreme individuation (narrow confinement to a singular monument as in Murray’s approach to Amiens and Beauvais cathedrals (1220-60s; 1225-1340s)) or generalisation of principles. The latter criticism can equally be directed towards aesthetic approaches, which similarly emphasise concepts rather

⁵ John Harvey, “The Education of the Mediaeval Architect,” *JRIBA* 52 (1945), 230-34; Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Latrobe, 1951); Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (London, 1972); Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (London, 1990), 140-44; Paul Binski, “‘Working by words alone’: The architect, scholasticism and rhetoric” in *Rhetoric Beyond Words*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge, 2010), 14-51.

⁶ Douglas Knoop and Gwilym Jones, “The Impressment of Masons in the Middle Ages,” *Economic History Review* 1 (1937), 57-67; Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason* (Manchester, 1933); Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame Cathedral of Amiens: the Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge, 1996); Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton, 1989).

⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2013); Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (New Haven and London, 2014). See also Mary Carruthers (ed.), *Rhetoric Beyond Words: delight and persuasion in the arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010).

than the objects which reputedly embody them. Furthermore, such a disintegration of methodologies has resulted in the development of multiple, independent causalities of art, often operating at crossed purposes. Thus despite the overall tendency towards fragmentation within the discipline, divisive intellectual distancing forms a common *leitmotif* for these diverse approaches.

Nowhere is this more marked than for royal architectural patronage, especially that of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century England. Defined here as the visual arts financed and produced by order of the king, these works stand at the centre of virtually all attempts to formulate new approaches to architecture within the period. The vital formative role ascribed to them within the stylistic narratives of Gothic development is partially responsible for this emphasis, yet equally the peculiar circumstances of royal works encouraged these humanising frames of analysis. With copious royal financial accounts surviving in the National Archives, London and elsewhere, English royal patronage is perhaps the best-documented group of architectural projects in medieval Gothic, facilitating elaborate study of the personnel involved and their networks of interaction. Furthermore, the prominence of kings provides a far greater variety of historical sources for interpreting patronal intentions than for non-royal buildings, leading to an intensified focus on patronal agency and its position within shifting public and personal interests. In consequence royal architecture has been frequently modelled as intensely politicised, with stylistic change and iconographic content being placed within the immediate context of the administrative structures, decisions and personal inclinations of the king and his ‘court’.⁸ Yet despite this shared emphasis, whether modelled as the active extension of a political agenda through form, meaning, passive suffusion of contemporary influences or an aesthetic of decorum, scholars addressing the impetuses behind royal architecture rarely address the problem in more than a general sense. ‘Politics’ itself, in particular medieval attitudes towards it, are rarely explicitly defined,⁹ and studies of royal buildings are reticent to engage with the economic, administrative and patronal systems of interaction between king, administrators, designers and craftsmen. Furthermore, by abstracting these ‘political’ factors art historians impose an implicit separation which divides politics of art from the other factors which influence its formal appearance. In the process, iconography, style and aesthetics are rendered separate

⁸ See below, 22-27.

⁹ See below, 13-18.

fields which seldom overlap, obstructing any attempts at integration within a unified model of architectural causality.

Consequently, this thesis begins from a standpoint of methodological scepticism, specifically directed towards the study of interactions between art and politics in the architectural works of the later Plantagenet monarchs. What it proposes is a rejection of the prevailing tendencies towards isolation in analysing the factors which generate architectural form. Instead it proposes a model of royal building as the product of simultaneous, integrated and overlapping causes within which particular strands can be analysed without the implicit or explicit exclusion of others. By rendering politics the focal point, it aims to explore not only the breadth and variety of political influences expressed in architecture, but also their position within a far wider framework of architectural causality. Architecture is the trace of a series of mediated human interactions, and it is through analysing the intersections of architectural causes that a more integrated modelling of a building's formation can be achieved.

St Stephen's Chapel provides an ideal starting point for this approach (see Appendix I/RD.1-5). Situated within the Palace of Westminster (Map 1), from the reign of Henry III (1207-72) onwards St Stephen's served as England's principal palace chapel. The building's origins remain a mystery. The earliest surviving reference to the chapel by name appears in a Pipe Rolls entry of 1206, recording vestments distributed to both St Stephen's and its counterpart dedicated to St John the Evangelist, the other major chapel at the Palace.¹⁰ Colvin identified a charter signed in the "king's chapel at Westminster" in 1184 as a possible earlier reference, but its ambiguous wording could equally apply to St John's Chapel which appeared first in a Pipe Roll dating 1186-87.¹¹ It is thus more likely that the 1184 charter, due to the lack of differentiation by dedication invariably present thereafter, refers to a time when there was only a single chapel, St John's being the most probable candidate due to its earlier and unusually singular mention. Consequently, the chapel's fabric is assumed, along with its foundation, to have been a product of the twelfth century with an extremely tentative date range of 1184-1206,¹² though any conclusions regarding its design can only be speculative. The rationale behind its dedication is equally unknown. St Stephen the

¹⁰ D. M. Stenton (ed.), *The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society: Volume 20: The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Eighth Year of the Reign of King John Michaelmas 1206 (Pipe Roll 52)* (London, 1942), 48.

¹¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 494; *Pipe Roll 33 Henry II*, 397.

¹² Colvin, *HKW*, I, 492-94.

Protomartyr was a deacon saint recorded in Acts of the Apostles who disputed accusations of blasphemy by the Jews so successfully that they were forced to call false witnesses on whose testimony he was stoned to death, a tale which is not readily associable with monarchy.¹³ In the *Golden Legend*, however, a popular collection of hagiographies compiled c. 1260 by Jacobus of Voragine, Stephen's name is dissected and analysed for symbolic content, *Stephanus* in Latin being identified as a derivative of the Greek word for crown, *Στεφάνος*.¹⁴ This connection was further reinforced within a palatine chapel context at the Great Palace in Constantinople, wherein the right arm of St Stephen was enshrined within a chapel dedicated to the saint by Pulcheria Augusta in 421.¹⁵ This imperial precedent is not the only potential source from which a Plantagenet king could have derived this dedication – William the Conqueror (1066-87) founded the Abbey of Saint-Étienne at Caen in 1064 and a second palace chapel dedicated to St Stephen was present at Guildford during Henry III's reign.¹⁶ Without firm dates for the chapel's construction, however, it is difficult to ascribe causes to the choice of St Stephen as a patron saint and thus the issue remains unresolved.

However, from 1227-53 the structure was extensively renovated and decorated by Henry III and from 1292-1348 was completely replaced by a new chapel built under three separate kings: Edward I (1272-1307), Edward II (1307-27) and Edward III (1327-77). The second St Stephen's was a large two-storey chapel with five bays and a rectangular ground plan, the Lower Chapel vaulted in stone and the Upper Chapel roofed and vaulted in wood mounted on a clerestory (Plates 1-5, Appendix I/RD.1-5). The Upper Chapel was divided internally into horizontal layers by two crenelated cornices: one placed between the main storey of windows

¹³ Acts 6:1-8:4.

¹⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W. G. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), I, 45.

¹⁵ Philip Sherrard, *Constantinople: Iconography of a Sacred City* (London, 1965), 57-60, 72. The church was one of the most ceremonially significant within the palace, acting as a place for marriages and minor coronations as well as storing the *labarum* (the cross carried by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in which a True Cross fragment was embedded) and other coronation regalia. See Holger A. Klein, "Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople," *BYZAS* 5 (2006), 79-80, 85, 93; Ioli Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire, (Washington D.C., 1997), 57-59; Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), 84-92.

¹⁶ See Appendix II; Georges Bouet, *Analyse Architecturale de L'Abbaye de Saint-Étienne de Caen* (Caen, 1868); Matthias Noell, *Der Chor von Saint-Étienne in Caen: Gotische Architektur in der Normandie unter Plantagenêt und die Bedeutung des Thomas-Becket-kultes* (Worms, 2000). William I's father visited Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem in 1035, so it is not impossible that he could have known about the significance of the saint within Byzantium. As king of England he often used the Greek title of 'basileus', indicating an interest in the trappings of eastern imperium. Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden, 1996), 138-40.

and the clerestory, the other surmounting a continuous blind arcade of projecting ogee arches which surrounded the whole interior at head height and overhung two levels of Purbeck marble seating (Plates 2-3, Appendix I/RD.4). The main window mullions and central hollowed octagonal shafts of the piers pierced the cornices, providing vertical continuity between these layers (Appendix I/RD.4-5). The Upper Chapel was originally divided further by a set of wooden choir stalls with a pulpitum probably located between the east piers of the second bay from the west end, whereas the Lower Chapel chancel consisted the two easternmost bays divided from the remainder by a wall screen and steps.¹⁷ The primary point of entrance was at the west end, fronted by an elaborately designed vestibule (of which only the upper storey is recorded), and the east end was flanked by two additional subsidiary spaces, neither of which survives in the visual record (Appendix I/RD.1-3). Brightly painted, extensively glazed and filled with sculptures and finely carved furnishings, the new St Stephen's presented an opulent display of overwhelming colour and ornament (Plates 6-9). The building has long been considered one of the most influential, seminal designs in the history of medieval English architecture, and has frequently been identified as the ultimate source for many of the motifs and design principles of both the English Decorated and Perpendicular Styles (c. 1250-1350 and c. 1330-1485 respectively).¹⁸ The Lower Chapel has traditionally been ascribed particular significance for its pioneering use of the ogee arch in window tracery and the deployment of small decorative lierne ribs on the vault surface.¹⁹ Similarly, the chapel has been identified as the source for new design principles fundamental to the later development of English Gothic, namely the use of continuous mullions stretching from the Upper to Lower Chapel windows (not including the clerestory) on the exterior which unified the structure visually, the division of surfaces of ornament into cell-like panels and the use of multiple styles at different levels of the structure.²⁰ The stylistic differentiation between Upper and Lower Chapel is a particular feature of the design, generating a hierarchy of form whereby the quantity of ornamentation increased and its mode changed as the viewer moved between storeys.

¹⁷ See below, 135, 171-74.

¹⁸ John Maurice Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel and its place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England* (Cambridge, 1955); John Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style* (London, 1978), 44-55, 77-79; Christopher Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed: The Choir of St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol and the Renewal of European Architecture around 1300" in *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: An Enigma Explored*, ed. Jon Cannon and Beth Williamson (Woodbridge, 2011), 69-147.

¹⁹ See below, 86-87, 131-32, 168-169.

²⁰ Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 69-147.

Throughout this thesis, these two iterations will be differentiated as ‘Old’ and ‘New’ St Stephen’s respectively. This diverse patronage provides a range of options for assessing the authorial role of kings within the patronal and administrative edifice which surrounded them. Coinciding chronologically with Westminster’s emergence as the foremost ceremonial, devotional, administrative and governmental centre of the realm,²¹ these works were positioned at the heart of Plantagenet power and consequently provide an ideal nexus for identifying and evaluating political impetuses. Their copious extant financial accounts serve to augment such reassessment further by enabling in-depth interrogation of both the building process and its position within the developing financial systems of royal government. The chapel, thus, provides a rich, flexible, chronologically diverse and well-documented body of evidence for a systematic re-evaluation of the causality of royal architecture in Plantagenet England.

This aspect of St Stephen’s has attracted little attention from existing scholarship. Throughout the twentieth century, the primary focus of scholars has been the chapel’s contribution to the wider development of English Decorated and Perpendicular architecture, with the overwhelming majority of studies of the building’s chronology and form being subordinated to that purpose. This research direction was instigated as early as 1906 with W. R. Lethaby’s *Westminster Abbey and the King’s Craftsmen*, which considered the chapel “to have approximated very closely to the Perpendicular manner”.²² His proposed chronology differed little from his antiquarian predecessor Frederick Mackenzie, and it was not until the 1940s that a significant revision took place.²³ In 1946 John Harvey’s article “St Stephen’s Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style” readdressed the problem, dividing the building’s stylistic influence into distinct Decorated and Perpendicular phases under separate master masons.²⁴ John Hastings, by contrast, proposed a similar yet more detailed chronology in his 1955 book *St Stephen’s Chapel and its Place in the Development of the Perpendicular Style in England* and identified its style as a form of proto-Perpendicular, conclusions which Harvey repeatedly opposed in print.²⁵ A more documentary approach was

²¹ Christopher Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413* (New Haven and London, 1986), 23; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), 3-7; Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540* (Oxford, 1989), 9-35.

²² Lethaby, *King’s Craftsmen*, 220-21.

²³ See below, 79-80. For a condensed summary of the proposed building chronologies see Table 3.1.

²⁴ Harvey, “St Stephen’s,” 192-99.

²⁵ Hastings, *St Stephen’s*; John Harvey, “The Origin of the Perpendicular Style” in *Studies in Building History*, ed. E. M. Jope (London, 1961), 134-65; Harvey, *Perpendicular Style*, 44-45.

provided by Howard Colvin as part of the first volume of his *History of the King's Works* published in 1963, which reassessed both approaches in light of extensive study of the building's financial accounts.²⁶ However, the problem of the Perpendicular was returned to again by Christopher Wilson in his widely referenced doctoral thesis of 1980.²⁷ Proposing a more integrated design in multiple stylistic modes with a heavy emphasis on the first master mason Michael of Canterbury as its designer, Wilson explored the chapel as a focal point for the training and practice of the leading masons in English Gothic design between 1290 and 1348 (a position which he has since further elaborated in an article of 2011).²⁸ Consequently, the building's chronology has repeatedly been reassessed in relation to a wider narrative framework by successive scholars, with the emphasis lying more heavily on what St Stephen's reveals about contemporary architecture as a whole than the building itself.

St Stephen's therefore presents a number of specific problems for researchers. For a building ascribed such pivotal significance within the chronology of English architecture, it is surprising that so many gaps in knowledge persist regarding its construction. Its historiography's overwhelming focus on the origin question for Perpendicular architecture has detracted considerable attention from other problems regarding its building history, appearance, decoration and iconography. The chapel's first iteration remains virtually unstudied by architectural historians, attracting interest only as a tangential element in the prehistory of its successor.²⁹ The complete destruction of New St Stephen's by fire in 1834 (owing to the inattentive consignment of the Exchequer's stockpile of tally sticks to the furnaces beneath the House of Lords)³⁰ has left many pressing questions regarding its original appearance unanswered, with historians relying entirely on antiquarian prints and drawings. Additionally, the chapel's prolonged and disrupted building history, stretched across the reigns of four kings and the incumbency of four master masons (Michael of Canterbury (c. 1292-1320), Thomas of Canterbury (c. 1321-35), William Ramsey (c. 1337-48) and John Box (c. 1350-54)), leaves many uncertainties regarding its construction sequence.³¹ Examining these problems is a necessary prerequisite to placing the building within its political context, a process which presents many opportunities for reframing received opinions regarding the chapel's execution.

²⁶ Howard Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London, 1963-82), I, 510-27.

²⁷ Wilson, "Origins."

²⁸ Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 69-147.

²⁹ See below, 30-31.

³⁰ Caroline Shenton, *The Day Parliament Burned Down* (Oxford, 2012), 230-33.

³¹ Harvey, *Architects*, 40, 52-54, 215-18; Colvin, *HKW*, I, 510-27; Wilson, "Origins," 27-258.

Evidence, Aims and Structure

The first problem is one of reconstruction. Any attempt at recovering the chapel's appearance has to contend with both the building's absence and the mediating influence of centuries of change. With no visual records available, the scale, ground plan and even precise location of Henry III's iteration remain virtually irrecoverable. The building's complete replacement from 1292 onwards left nothing of the former structure, and neither antiquarian investigations nor modern archaeology have brought new evidence to light. Despite general assumptions that it was sited contingently with the second iteration, there are no indications of any spatial relationship between the two structures and the extensive foundations dug under Edward I suggest a significant change in scale.³² Furthermore, it is quite possible that the earlier St Stephen's was a single-storey chapel, an uncommon yet not unprecedented variant within palatine design.³³ Though its successor benefits from more extensive visual and textual records, its architectural afterlife presents more complex problems for interpretation. Already severely disrupted by Richard II's architectural interventions (1390s) and modifications to its internal spaces towards its repurposing as the House of Commons (1547-58), the building was again altered in 1679, then completely restructured with a classicised interior in 1692-93 by Christopher Wren in response to concerns regarding its structural stability (Plates 10-11).³⁴ The chapel continued to serve Parliament right up to 1834, necessitating further works to accommodate the new members for Scotland after the 1707 Act of Union and Ireland following the 1800 Act of Union, whereupon the exterior was re-Gothicised by the architect James Wyatt in a style consonant with the nearby Great Hall (Plates 12-14).³⁵ Finally, the post-fire remains were largely torn down and entirely replaced by a new iteration of the Lower Chapel designed by Charles and Edmund Barry based on its medieval predecessor (c. 1850-70; Plate 15).³⁶

However, the same alterations ironically provided the inspiration and stimulus for sustained antiquarian interest in the building, resulting in St Stephen's being perhaps the best recorded

³² For the chapel's location, see Colvin, *HKW*, I, 493. For the chapel foundations see below, 74.

³³ W. R. Lethaby, "The Palace of Westminster in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906), 142. English examples include St George's, Windsor (constructed under Henry III as St Edward's chapel). See Appendix II.

³⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, V, 400-04.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 404; Anthony Dale, *James Wyatt* (Oxford, 1956), 120-21.

³⁶ Dale, *Wyatt*, 120-21; Alexandra Wedgwood, "The New Palace of Westminster" in *The Houses of Parliament: History Art Architecture*, ed. Christine Riding and Jacqueline Riding (London, 2000), 133-34.

lost structure of the fourteenth century. Threatened with imminent destruction from 1788-90 onwards, many antiquarians were understandably concerned that the much dreaded “improvement” of so prominent an edifice would set a dangerous precedent for future disruptive interventions into surviving medieval fabrics.³⁷ Consequently, St Stephen’s became a rallying cry for antiquarian writers and was increasingly embroiled in contemporary petty politics and controversies surrounding architectural restoration, resulting in a number of publications dedicated to recording, restoring and defending the chapel. The Society of Antiquaries commissioned its draughtsman John Carter in 1790 to produce a set of sketches and finished drawings of the chapel (Plates 16-17).³⁸ The latter were engraved and published as *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster* in 1795 with a foreword by John Topham, the first archaeological treatise of its kind dedicated to a medieval building.³⁹ Wyatt’s 1800-01 restorations, however, revealed many new aspects of the chapel including architectural details and painted decoration, catalysing an intense resurgence of interest in the building. This resulted in two illustrated publications: John Thomas Smith and John Sidney Hawkins’s *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807) and Richard Smirke’s *Additional Plates* (published 1805-11), the latter commissioned to supplement the Society’s existing publication.⁴⁰ This pattern was repeated after the 1834 fire, the scale of destruction and changing attitudes towards medieval architecture leading to an explosion in the production of drawings, prints and other records of the building. The most notable were published in Edward Brayley and John Britton’s *History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (1836) and Frederick Mackenzie’s government-sponsored *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen at Westminster* (1844), which purported to restore its original appearance.⁴¹ Together, these records provide extensive visual and textual insights into the chapel’s former appearance, including measurements, observations, colour annotations and other precise details which allow a surprising degree of precision for any prospective reconstruction attempt.

³⁷ Marion E. Roberts, “John Carter at St Stephen’s Chapel: A Romantic turns Archaeologist” in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. William Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), 209-11; *Commons Journals* 43 (1788), 531; 44, 1789, 548; *Gentleman’s Magazine* 58 (1799), 549-59; *Gentleman’s Magazine* 60 (1790), 175-76.

³⁸ BL MS Add. 29930, fols 99r-132v; BL MS Add. 29943, fols 67r-71v; SA Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 1-15.

³⁹ The Society soon extended this principle through its ‘Cathedral Series’ publications.

⁴⁰ For Smirke’s original drawings see SA Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/1-28. See Appendix I/DRA 119-49.

⁴¹ For a full list of drawings of the chapel, see Appendix I.

Yet this is not the only surviving body of evidence. From Topham onwards scholars have been increasingly interested in the chapel's extensive surviving financial accounts, now largely contained within the National Archives. For New St Stephen's these consist of a range of Exchequer documents recording expenditure in varying levels of detail extending from 1292 to 1363, including the chapel's dedicated Particulars of Account (E 101), Pipe Rolls (E 372), Issue Rolls (E 403) and Jornalia Rolls (E 405/1). Though partially published in translation by Topham, Hawkins, Brayley and Britton and Louis F. Salzman, the Latin accounts are as-yet unpublished in totality and provide a unique resource revealing payments, purchases of building materials, craftsmen and details about the progress and nature of construction (see Appendix III).⁴² Henry III's works, however, are recorded by extensive yet less detailed Chancery records in the Close, Liberate and Patent Rolls (C 54, C 62 and C 66 respectively). These preserve payments and orders for furnishings, structural alterations, materials and the iconography of images painted across the interior during his reign. Not only do these provide vital evidence for filling in the numerous gaps left by the available visual evidence, but also the core resource for analysing the building's design sequence. Scholars including John Harvey, Maurice Hastings, Howard Colvin and Christopher Wilson have relied on these documents for their own reconstructions of the building, the evaluation of which provides a point of departure for my own work.⁴³

This thesis has two aims. The first is to provide a new reconstruction of the chapel's two iterations, utilising extant visual records, financial accounts and other evidence to generate a set of measured drawings restoring as far as possible its state in 1348 (the first of their kind attempted since Frederick Mackenzie's 1844 publication). These form their own dedicated appendix accompanied by explanatory material. This is supported by a systematic re-evaluation of the chapel's building and design sequence. Secondly, it will use this model in conjunction with the contextual circumstances of the chapel's creation to unpick the relationships between art and politics inherent within its construction process.

⁴² John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster* (London, 1795-1811), 3-4; John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (London, 1807), 74-81; Edward Westlake Brayley and John Britton, *History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster* (London, 1836), 88-89, 120-25, 147-86; Louis F. Salzman, "The glazing of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1351-2," *JBSMGP* 15 (1926-27), 14-16.

⁴³ John Harvey, "St Stephen's Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style," *Burlington Magazine* 88 (1946), 195-96; Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 28-111; Colvin, *HKW*, I, 510-27; Wilson, "Origins," 36-111.

The structure of this thesis was suggested by the material itself. Dividing neatly into four reigns with distinctive campaigns separated by major hiatuses (1227-53, 1292-97, 1320-26 and 1331-63), the chapel lends itself to chronological treatment, an approach which carries additional advantages for the project in hand. Proceeding from monarch to monarch, the first four chapters will evaluate each king's patronage individually, every chapter assessing the extent of the chapel's design and execution and situating its form, progress, functionality and iconography within its specific contemporary circumstances during the reign. Woven throughout will be a series of thematic strands intended to draw out particular aspects of the intersection of art and politics within this time period, exposing the patterns, structures, divisions and interconnections occurring across the full spectrum of Plantagenet royal patronage. The final chapter will draw these strands together, treating the issues which this thesis addresses more holistically in order to explore its wider implications for modelling a causality of royal architecture.

Defining an Approach

In formulating this analytical framework's thematic strands, the crucial problem is one of definition. Having criticised tendencies towards generalisation in prior scholarship, this section will use precise definition of terms as a platform for clarifying this thesis' methodological position. In light of the above discussion (and this thesis' subsequent contents), the critical terms to be addressed are art, politics, architecture, decoration, iconography, style, courts and causality.

Art and Politics

“Observation tells us that every state [πόλις] is an association [κοινωνία], and that every association [κοινωνία] is formed with a view to some good purpose. ... Clearly then, as all [associations] aim at some good, that [association] which is most sovereign among them all and embraces all others will aim highest, i.e. at the most sovereign of all goods. This is that which we call the state [πόλις], the association which is political [ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτική].” Aristotle, *Politics*, I.i 1252a1-6 (fourth century BC)⁴⁴

“*Quoniam omnem civitatem videmus communitatem quondam existentem et omnem communitatem boni alicuius gratia institutam ... manifestum quod omnes quidem bonum aliquod coniecturant, maxime autem principalissimi omnium maxime principalis et omnes alias circumplectes, haec autem est quae vocatur civitas et communicatio politica.*” William of Moerbeke, Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (1260-65)⁴⁵

Despite the word's antique origins, politics (πολιτικά, *politica*) presents a peculiar problem of definition to any historian as it not only retains the amorphous quality of any subject of philosophical study, but also carries diverse chronologically and contextually contingent meanings. Presently defined variously as the theory or 'science' of government and administration, the activities pertaining to both, the governmental sphere of public life or the associated ideas and beliefs of individuals and organisations,⁴⁶ the concept is particularly

⁴⁴ Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. T. A. Sinclair and Trevor J. Saunders (London, 1992), 54. Parentheses and Greek added by author.

⁴⁵ William of Moerbeke, *Aristotelis Politicorum Libri Octo*, ed. Franz Susemihl (Leipzig, 1872), 1. For the dating see Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450* (London, 1996), 125-26.

⁴⁶ “politics, n.,” *OED*, Oxford University Press, March 2015, accessed April 3, 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/237575>.

susceptible to retrospective application, a process which often reveals considerable disparities between medieval and modern thought. Conventionally approached by historians in its adjectival form – as political life, events, institutions, issues or ideas/thought – politics itself is usually defined only by inference, often generating circularities of argument regarding its constitution during the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ Bearing the potential risk of anachronism in mind, this thesis reflects a reticence to define a concept so fundamental to its argument in terms which were unfamiliar to medieval thought, and thus it is to older discourses that it turns.

During the thirteenth century, the core text for medieval political thought was Aristotle's *Politics*. First translated into Latin partially c. 1260, then in full c. 1265 by William of Moerbeke, the text's rapid assimilation in academic circles and later dissemination through the 'mirrors of princes' genre re-established *politica*'s obscured classical meaning as a category of knowledge, explicitly associating it with the discourse from which its modern usage ultimately descends.⁴⁸ The treatise's opening statement, quoted above, provides a fundamental definition of politics' adjectival form, as descriptor for an association (*κοινωνία*, *communitas*, community) called the city-state (*πόλις*, rendered *civitas* in the Augustinian sense in Latin) serving the highest of good purposes: communal human happiness. Man is defined as a political animal (*πολιτικόν ζῷον*; *animal civile* in Moerbeke), intrinsically engaged in politics by natural law (I.ii, 1253a1-3).⁴⁹ Relationships of rulers and ruled, even ruling itself (whether just or unjust) are considered intrinsic components of the natural order, extending from gender relations to royal governance (I.ii-vii 1252a24-1255b40).⁵⁰ The text continues to expand on politics as a philosophical study through which good governance is defined, considering governmental structures, offices, officers, administration, social structures, dispensing of honours, economic wellbeing, legal systems, education and warfare. From the outset its association with attaining human happiness through communally-oriented virtuous activity renders politics an intrinsically moral discourse: the extension of Aristotle's system of ethics into the organisation of people.⁵¹ For Aristotle, however, virtues were not

⁴⁷ William Mark Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1350-1450* (New York, 1995), esp. 1-7; Canning, *Political Thought*, x-xiii, 82-184; J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 339-48.

⁴⁸ Canning, *Political Thought*, 125-34.

⁴⁹ *APE*, 59; *APL*, 8; Canning, *Political Thought*, 127.

⁵⁰ *APE*, 55-61.

⁵¹ Marco Toste, "Virtue and the City: The Virtues of the Ruler and the Citizen in the Medieval Reception of Aristotle's *Politics*" in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages: 1200-1500*, ed. István P. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout, 2007), 75-76. For Aristotle's ethical system see Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. David Ross and rev. Lesley Brown (Oxford, 2009).

intrinsic properties of individuals, but habits which must be acquired through action.⁵² Politics, like ethics, is thus not just the subject of an academic study, but an intrinsically active and practical process in which humans engage with their every decision.

Had this thesis begun with the 1290s, it would perhaps be sufficient to leave the definition of politics in Aristotelian terms. Yet by including Henry III's works (all of which predate 1260) it seems somewhat anachronistic to employ the term in its Aristotelian sense at this time. However, Aristotle's notions of political virtue had older analogues within medieval thought. The philosopher's distinction between tyranny and kingship defined through virtuous or iniquitous action was no revelation to thirteenth-century thinkers, reflecting traditions inherited from both antiquity and biblical exegesis of 'good' and 'bad' kingship.⁵³ Within this discourse, the term 'political' was frequently and explicitly employed from the twelfth century onwards in reflection of one formative text: Macrobius's fifth-century *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*.⁵⁴ Splitting the exercise of virtue into four divisions, *politicae, purgatoriae, purgati animi* and *exemplares*, Macrobius provided a longstanding definition of 'political virtues' ("*virtutes politicae*") in terms of operative, communally-oriented aspects of the four cardinal virtues: fortitude, temperance, justice and prudence.⁵⁵ By the thirteenth century, thus, an academic definition of political virtue had solidified from which politics could be inferred as a category of actions aimed at the virtuous organisation of people through government.

Placing ethical judgments to one side, this implies that a more universal definition of politics can be sought in a ruler's actions. In the case of monarchically-governed communities like England such a position is eminently defensible. Contemporary commentators may have debated heavily the degree to which a king was subject to the law or required the consent of his people to be considered virtuous, but they were generally in agreement that a king's capacity to take decisive action on behalf of the community he ruled was limited only by physical possibility, whatever the moral implications of those actions.⁵⁶

⁵² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II.i; *NEE*, xiii-xiv, 23-24.

⁵³ Paul Binski, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster, the Fall of Tyrants and the English Literary Model of Governance," *JWCI* 74 (2011), 134-39.

⁵⁴ István P. Bejczy, "The Concept of Political Virtue in the Thirteenth Century" in *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages: 1200-1500*, ed. Bejczy and Cary J. Nederman (Turnhout, 2007), 9-32.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁶ Burns, *Political Thought*, 367-476; Canning, *Political Thought*, 110; Albert Rigaudière, "The Theory and Practice of Government in Western Europe in the Fourteenth Century" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume 6: c. 1300-c. 1415* (Cambridge, 2000), 17-41.

As head of the realm (often literally in contemporary rhetoric) the king carried ultimate responsibility for exercising his will, whether directly or through delegation. Political thinkers thus defined a good king by his public virtues, including justice, martial prowess and capacity to defend the realm, whilst simultaneously cautioning careful selection and restraint in empowering delegated officials.⁵⁷ Consequently, all royal commands within the thirteenth-fourteenth-century English monarchy can be considered inherently political by contemporary definitions. This gives us the following working definition for politics within a medieval monarchy: the expression of a king's intentions by the issuing and actuation of royal commands, either by himself or a duly delegated authority.

This definition is not without problems. One might object that in the case of thirteenth- to fourteenth-century England, the increasing role of Parliament further complicated the problem of royal agency by injecting an additional voice into political decisions, for example.⁵⁸ However, it also possesses numerous advantages. Firstly, even if its association with the word 'politics' is ultimately judged to be arbitrary, the phenomenon it describes is readily demonstrable and any term might readily be substituted without affecting the underlying argument. Secondly, even in cases where multiple voices impacted on royal agency, its incorporation of all the elements of royal government and administration (delegated or otherwise) allows for treatment of the king as a conglomerate entity. This incorporates those in advisory capacities directly into the influential factors which generated political actions. Thirdly, it remains compatible not only with Aristotelian models of monarchical governance, but also captures many of the modern senses of 'politics' from the petty office politics of the personal interactions between administrators to internationally influential controversies surrounding warfare. Fourthly, it allows for a more expansive range of analysis through considering second-order effects of political activities, such as the economic results of declarations of war. Finally, it allows the immediate placement of art within a political context as any act of artistic patronage is intrinsically the mediated actuation of royal decisions.

Yet despite this, the position of art within English medieval politics remains a problematic one. 'Political' discourses surrounding kingship of the period cover many forms of patronage (religious and social) and often contain extensive treatments of education and the role of the

⁵⁷ Rigaudière, "Theory and Practice," 30-34.

⁵⁸ Ormrod, *Political Life*, 6-7, 19-33.

arts in an Aristotelian vein, but the visual arts themselves are seldom touched upon.⁵⁹ Aristotle himself, though using artistic metaphors as analogies frequently, referred only briefly to a necessity of policing the arts to ensure imagery conducive to public virtue, an aspect which was not taken up by his medieval followers.⁶⁰ This, however, is belied by the art itself. As extensive research has shown, art played an active and engaged role in the formulation and presentation of royal identity, responding capably to royal acts of self-definition which expressed relationships between king and community. Its absence from political discourse, thus, is an apparent contradiction between the theory and practice of kingship.

A partial resolution might be found in Walter of Milemete's *De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum*, an educational treatise on kingship of c. 1325-27 probably completed for presentation to a young Edward III.⁶¹ Structured in a relatively conventional manner, the work includes a single reference to visual arts. Following an Aristotelian line of argument, Milemete considered a king's sensory improvement through the exercise of specific 'comforts' ("*solacia*") to be "the direct and generative cause of intellectual penetration", allowing the king to "better discern and dispose all the business pertinent to his majesty".⁶² Alongside the more conventionally referenced sensual pastimes of listening to music and reading, however, was a curious addition: perceiving "objects proportionate to sight" ("*obiecta visui proporcionata*").⁶³ Though the term 'proportionate' might imply a geometrical explanation, its immediate context amidst other sensations (and its subsequent restatement: "every sensible and proportionate object works to the improvement of [the king's] senses") indicates an Aristotelian meaning of 'appropriateness'.⁶⁴ Immediately followed by a disclaimer which disassociates the king from all non-virtuous implications of the above activities, the visual arts act aesthetically as enablers for the king's virtuous political actions.⁶⁵ Thus for one academic text intended for a future English king of the

⁵⁹ Binski, though challenging this assumption for France, explicitly affirms its absence in English sources as a point of comparison. Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 4-6.

⁶⁰ Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII.iii; *APE* 455.

⁶¹ See below, 109-10, 196.

⁶² CCCO MS 92, fol. 43. For English translation see Cary J. Nederman (ed.), *Political thought in early fourteenth century England: treatises by Walter of Milemete, William of Pagula and William of Ockham* (Tempe, 2002), 46-47.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁶⁴ Nederman, *Political thought*, 46-47. For Aristotelian usage of 'proportionate' in relation to the permissible acquisition of property see Aristotle, *Politics*, VII.i 1323a38-b21, *APE* 392. For his associated concept of "proportional equality" see Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, V.ii-iv 1130b-1132b; *NEE*, 84-88.

⁶⁵ Nederman, *Political thought*, 47.

period at least, the visually apprehensible was implicated in the moral constitution of monarchy. Given the positioning of both the treatise's author and artistic patronage within royal administration, it is not inconceivable that this statement of art's capacity to impact political virtue represents an outlying indicator of its political utility. With every royal command assuming political significance, the place of art was firmly within the realm of political practice.

Architecture, Decoration and Iconography

“On beauty. ... beauty is anything added to buildings for the sake of ornament and embellishment, such as ceiling panels set off in gold and wall panels of rich marbles and colourful paintings.”

“*DE VENUSTATE. ... Venustas est quidquid illud ornamenti et decoris causa aedificiis additur, ut tectorum auro distincta laquearia et pretiosi marmoris crustae et colorum picturae.*” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*. XIX.xi.1 (Seventh-century)⁶⁶

As discussed above, the historiography of twelfth- to fourteenth-century European architecture retains an intense methodological divide. Broadly drawn between architectural historians, who emphasise stylistic narratives and the singular agency of named architects with idiosyncratic design methods, and art historians whose iconographic approaches to architecture tend to emphasise patronal agency and external viewers, the fundamental divide is the definition of architecture itself. For historians of style, emphasis tends to fall on masonry and draughtsmanship, architectural form being limited to the stone or wooden components formed according to a master craftsman's preconceived designs.⁶⁷ By contrast, the alternative approach's prioritisation of aesthetic and semiotic values has embraced a greater diversity of elements (including painting (narrative and decorative), stained glass, re-used architectural fragments, paving and furnishing) as active formative components of architectural discourse, rather than treating them as an isolated veneer.⁶⁸ Any approach to

⁶⁶ Translation partially derived from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge, 2006), 379, modified by author. See also Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 181.

⁶⁷ E.g. Jean Bony, *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350* (Oxford, 1979); Wilson, *Gothic Cathedral*.

⁶⁸ Nicola Coldstream, *The English Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London, 1994), Binski, *Westminster Abbey*; Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (New Haven and London, 2005).

architectural history, therefore, needs to define the extent to which the diverse arts which it contained were amalgamated, particularly in a structure with such a rich variety of forms as St Stephen's.

One of the most frequently cited texts for analysing medieval thoughts about architecture is Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, a seventh-century encyclopaedic dictionary which continued to have wide currency as late as the fifteenth century.⁶⁹ Its significance stems from its attempt to define not just the "crafts of building" ("*De fabricis parietum*", literally "On the crafts of walls"), but also the 'master builder' or *architectus* and his role in the construction process (XIX.viii.1).⁷⁰ Isidore provided a threefold division of these 'crafts' (XIX.ix): laying out dimensions on the ground (*dipositio*), construction (*constructio*) and beautification (*venustas*).⁷¹ A surface reading of Isidore, therefore, would seem to confirm the mason's craft as a category separated from the other elements of a building: *dipositio*, the master mason's craft, (a rhetorical term for ordered arrangement) was followed by construction in wood and stone proceeding from foundations to walls and columns (XIX.ix-x).⁷² By contrast the following section "*De venustate*" (XIX.xi) is generally translated somewhat loosely as "Decoration" in light of its contents which share qualities of embellishment (*decor*), ornament (*ornamentum*) and, implicitly, veneer.⁷³ *Venustas*' surface quality was borne out in the subsequent crafts falling under its purview – ceiling panelling, marble cladding, mosaics, plaster moldings and paintings (figural or otherwise). However, this distinction between surface veneer and underlying masonry/woodwork does not exclude the former group of crafts from the art of building. 'Crafts' is a telling plural within the section's initial heading, and Isidore leaves it unambiguous that a structure's additional beautification is to be considered an integral part of raising its walls.

Whilst Isidore's summation was written approximately six hundred years before Henry III's works at St Stephen's began, its conclusions seem remarkably in keeping with contemporary formal practice. Binski has emphasised the persistence of an aesthetic of variety in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century England, the combination and cross-pollination of diverse

⁶⁹ *IEE*, 4-7, 17-26.

⁷⁰ *IEE*, 377.

⁷¹ *IEE*, 377.

⁷² *IEE*, 377-78.

⁷³ *IEE*, 378, 379; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 28, 181.

media being one of the driving principles behind artistic generation in all arts of the period.⁷⁴ Opposing, in effect, the separation of a structure's veneer from its consideration as a work of architecture, scholars such as Joan Evans, Nicola Coldstream and Binski have veered towards treating architecture as a multi-media phenomenon within which master masons collaborated with a variety of patrons, administrators and other master craftsmen.⁷⁵ Indeed, the St Stephen's accounts reveal several elements familiar to Isidore's architecture in its final form: painting, plaster prints and Purbeck marble detailing to name a few.⁷⁶ Yet for St Stephen's specifically one additional problem of interpretation remains: with a disrupted building history, the last 'decorative' stage being displaced from the first campaign by approximately fifty years, three kings and three master masons, can the structure's non-masonry and non-carpentry interventions be treated as part of a unified whole?

Any such separation is predicated on the assumption that the true nature of architecture lies in the ideal model of a master mason's design, conceived as *gesamtkunstwerk* in advance of the interventions of later craftsmen as an autonomous entity. Such an attitude, however, is apparently contradicted by the prevalence of the variety-aesthetic in architectural production. A system which valued the pleasurable variegation of affective architecture invited a perspective whereby new work neither detracted from nor interfered aesthetically with the old, even in one continuous project. Medieval architecture reflected an augmentative mindset within which the notion of contradiction or contradistinction in elements added to previous artistic forms was largely anachronistic. Within this frame of reference a work of architecture was a cumulative and iterative process of continuous formal integration, each new intervention adding seamlessly to a structure's integrity. Original designs do not appear to have carried the same sovereign authority that later architects seem to have attracted, with patrons and master craftsmen alike being far more willing to modify them mid-construction in response to a diverse variety of causes.⁷⁷ As a result, this thesis will adopt a broad definition of 'architecture', including painting, glazing, sculpture, paving and all the myriad crafts which contributed to the building's constantly developing appearance. Its title's inclusion of 'architecture and decoration' is thus somewhat tautological, but serves to direct the reader towards the breadth of elements which it incorporates.

⁷⁴ Paul Binski, "The Cosmati at Westminster and the English Court Style," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 6-34; Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 23-27; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 22-30.

⁷⁵ Joan Evans, *English Art 1307-1461* (Oxford 1949); Coldstream, *English Decorated*; Binski, "Cosmati," 6-34; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*.

⁷⁶ See below, 174-84.

⁷⁷ See below, 128-29.

A corollary of this approach is considerable breadth in the treatment of iconography, a field which forms a major part of this thesis' attempts to integrate art and politics. Canonically defined by Erwin Panofsky in his 1939 book *Studies in Iconology* as the process of identifying subject matter and symbolic content in the figural or imitative arts, iconography was not immediately applicable to architectonic form.⁷⁸ The methodology's initial intrusion into medieval architecture was provided by Richard Krautheimer in an article of 1942, which set the tone for future work. Krautheimer proposed a new model for medieval copying which relied on broad consonances with celebrated archetypes rather than specific stylistic transfers, expressed through repetition of measurements, broad tendencies of ground plan and enumeration of columns.⁷⁹ In architectonic terms, the 'iconography of architecture' has largely remained within this framework,⁸⁰ the only major addition to Krautheimer's toolset being material iconography. In a broader sense, however, wall painting, glazing and decorative schemes, narrative or otherwise, have been increasingly integrated into their architectonic context, treated through consonances of patrons and design elements as integral parts of building.⁸¹ Just as this thesis does not distinguish between masonry and other architectural elements, so too it does not differentiate actively between these diverse approaches to iconographic interpretation. Iconography is treated as a mode of thinking, the semiotic encoding of the arts, rather than a series of discrete subdisciplines representing distinct processes, admitting the potential for the integration of artistic aims across multiple media.

⁷⁸ Erwin Panofsky, "Introductory" in *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Study of the Renaissance* (New York, 1939), 3-17.

⁷⁹ Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture," *JWCI* 5 (1942), 1-33.

⁸⁰ Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: the Limits of Iconography," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988), 116-21.

⁸¹ Emily Guerry, "The Wall Paintings of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013).

Courts, “Court styles” and Court Culture

“‘In time I am and about time I speak,’ said Augustine, and added: ‘I do not know what time may be.’ I likewise am able with wonder to say that in the court I am, and about the court I speak, and I do not know, God knows, what the court may be. Yet I know that the court is not time; indeed it is temporary, mutable and diverse, locational and erratic, never remaining in the same state.”

“‘*In tempore sum et de tempore loquor,*’ ait Augustinus, et adiecit: ‘*nescio quid sit tempus*’. *Ego simili possum admiratione dicere quod in curia sum, et de curia loquor, et nescio, Deus scit, quid sit curia. Scio tamen quod curia non est tempus; temporalis quidem est, mutabilis et uaria, localis et erratica, nunquam in eodem statu permanens.*” Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialum* (1181-93)⁸²

Though written during the twelfth century, Walter Map’s description remains a *leitmotif* of scholarly formulations of the royal ‘court’. Explicitly playing on the Augustinian conception of history as a paradox of discussible yet undefinable terms, Map’s ardent criticism of Henry II’s court (1133-89) labelled it a hell ruled by inconstancy and self-begetting vices, a place of punishment where the only consolation is that unlike its diabolical analogue death provides an escape (I.i-x, V.vii).⁸³ This bleak standpoint considered a king’s court to be a diverse entity of conflicting personnel surrounding the king built on motion: a ‘temporary’ (“*temporalis*”, chronologically contingent, temporal) existence produced by continuous reshaping of its malleable (“*mutabilis*”) constitution. ‘Locational’ in its proximity to the king, yet ‘erratic’ in its non-absolute spatial association with a peripatetic monarch, the only constant in ‘court’ was inconstancy.

Following the Mappian paradigm, the court has attracted a similarly mutable diversity of interpretations from historians. Though modern historians too encounter difficulties in stating what the ‘court’ is, Map’s circumlocutions illustrate a core consensus that the ‘court’ was defined by proximity to the king, specifically acceptance into his itinerant entourage.⁸⁴ Consequently, such a structure is resistant to analysis as a coherent institution, a problem

⁸² Translation by author. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialum: Courtier’s Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), xxiv-xxxii, 2-3.

⁸³ *NCF*, 498-513.

⁸⁴ Ormrod, *Political Life*, 19-23.

further exacerbated by the burgeoning development of centralised administration in England and France over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This period saw dramatic changes in the organisation, administration and execution of royal affairs, the emergence of stable governmental sites in Westminster and Paris generating a trend towards royal institutions being placed in permanent locations.⁸⁵ ‘Court’, thus, cannot be grounded in the Courts of the Exchequer and Chancery (formally alienated from ‘court’ in 1292), the extended royal affinity or even the king’s household (which nominally travelled alongside him) without severe and temporally-specific qualifications.⁸⁶ Instead it can be defined only in terms of proximity to the ruler, a meaning preserved in its institutional definition wherein all law courts technically acted as the king’s proxy.⁸⁷ ‘Court’, thus, was intrinsically associated with only the most immediate influences over political decisions.

It is consequently unsurprising that, over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the ‘court’ became a major focal point for explicating stylistic change and artistic values in Gothic architecture. This trend’s first iteration was style-oriented, a rhetoric of ‘courtly’ architecture tied to particular formal tendencies which could be separated as an autonomous and inherently politicised ‘Court style’. Robert Branner’s 1965 book *Saint Louis and the Court Style* provided the most canonical statement of this term. Identifying a shift in “tone” centred on royal works in 1230s-40s Paris (specifically the Sainte-Chapelle, the influential chapel of the *Palais de la Cité* executed 1239-46) reflecting pre-existing trends within French Rayonnant architecture, Branner proposed the development of a “royal architectural policy” associable with the court of Louis IX (1226-70), generating a newfound “elegance” and “sophistication” in the treatment of established forms.⁸⁸ Marking the emergence of French architecture as an international leader, the style’s pan-European spread was intimately associated with the French court’s prestige and Paris’s emergence as the intellectual, cultural and administrative capital of France. Rapidly adopted by his contemporaries,⁸⁹ for decades this ‘Court style’ provided the canonical interpretation of Gothic architectural development.

⁸⁵ Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 15-21.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸⁷ Alan Harding, *The Law Courts of Medieval England* (London, 1973), esp. 32-40.

⁸⁸ Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965).

⁸⁹ Bony, *English Decorated*.

Branner's 'Court style' was not new, however. Rather it provided a terminological focus for pre-existing trends associating 'intellectual'/'cultural' changes with the prestige of the French monarchy and its soon-to-be-canonised king, Louis IX.⁹⁰ Even its nomenclature was borrowed, unusually from scholarship of English Gothic. Originally employed by Hastings in his eponymous 1949 article, the 'Court style of London' was conceived in similar terms as the prototypical form of the Perpendicular style, an English variant of French-sired Rayonnant which gradually became widespread owing to the prestige of the 'king's works' and their supposed dominance over masons' training.⁹¹ From the outset St Stephen's was considered the pivotal element in the style's generation, the centrepiece for royal workshop organisation which established the framework of artistic change for centuries. Branner's work approached the problem from the opposite side, but the similarities are telling – for both 'styles' the palace chapel, situated in a newly centralised capital, articulated the taste of the entire 'court', facilitated stylistic hegemony and proposed an iconography of architectural form linked to royal prestige.

Over the 1980s-90s this model was systematically deconstructed, again through the medium of English architecture. In 1983 Colvin challenged its formulation on two grounds – firstly the demonstrable absence of the 'king's works' as an institutional entity of permanently employed expertise before 1378 and secondly the lack of evidence for direct centralised control of architectural taste in the period.⁹² In addition Binski, in a provocatively titled article of 1990, utilised Henry III's Roman-sourced Cosmati work at Westminster Abbey (1268-72) to propose an eclecticism of 'court' taste which has displaced Brannerian models of 'court' art, emphasising aesthetic values of pleasurable variety (*varietas*) rather than the prescribed stylistic idiosyncrasies of an ideologically directed artistic policy, a position he developed further in *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets* in 1995.⁹³ Yet despite this modification, the 'court' remains the fundamental armature for interpreting artistic development throughout the period. This was heavily influenced by parallel developments in

⁹⁰ Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation 987-1328*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (London, 1960), 216-23; Henri Focillon, *The Art of the West*, trans. Donald King, 2 vols (New York, 1969).

⁹¹ John Maurice Hastings, "The Court Style," *Architectural Review* 105 (1949), 3-9. Branner only acknowledged his debt to Hastings explicitly on the final page of his book (Branner, *Saint Louis*, 137 n. 61).

⁹² Howard Colvin, "Was there a 'Court Style' in Medieval English Architecture?" in *Essays in English Architectural History*, ed. Colvin (New Haven and London, 1999), 13-21, originally published as "The 'court style' in medieval English architecture: a review" in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. V. J. Scattergood and F. W. Sherborne (London, 1983), 129-39.

⁹³ Binski, "Cosmati," 6-34; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 8-9, 33-51, 104-07.

history and literature, in particular a series of responses to Norbert Elias's 1965 *Die Höfische Gesellschaft*, facilitated in part by its translation into English as "the Court Society" in 1983.⁹⁴ Largely drawing on the Carolingian era, these studies attempted to readdress Elias's notion of the "civilising" influence of 'courtliness' (formalised 'courtly' patterns of behaviour) by examining its historical development in greater detail.⁹⁵ Drawing heavily on the emergence of the Courtly Romance literary genre, 'courtliness' was proposed as an academically-derived set of behavioural modifiers instigated by court-based clergy, exercising an educational role which produced a unified phenomenon of arts, actions and aspirations branded 'court culture'.

Defined with all the vagueness and eclecticism of the Mappian 'court', 'court culture' was rapidly adopted as a preferable alternative nomenclature for modelling artistic innovation in royal circles. Urbane, eclectic, cosmopolitan and international, 'court culture' could be formulated as a *lingua franca* (French emphasis intentional) of cultural trends within a pan-European context, fully integrating taste in art, music, literature and behaviour into a set of shared values distributed evenly across the upper echelons of a Europe-wide social hierarchy.⁹⁶ More recently, this edifice has been expanded further by Binski through a rhetorically-oriented consideration of aesthetics. By tying the impact of royal works to the social advancement of an educated metropolitan elite (capable of comprehending, formulating and applying such rhetorical-aesthetic notions to architectural demands) into senior ecclesiastical positions, Binski has advanced a model of 'courtliness' in architectural style paralleling these literary models.⁹⁷ Associating style with rhetorical eloquence (*elocutio*),⁹⁸ a concept with analogues in the desired behavioural outcomes of courtly literature, 'courtly' art conflates the literary and artistic branches of 'court culture' into a unified aesthetic phenomenon, embedded within explicitly political strategies.

⁹⁴ Norbert Elias, *Höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums* (Neuwied, 1969); Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1983).

⁹⁵ Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1986); Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, 2000); Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: civilizing trends and the formation of courtly ideals, 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985); David Burnley, *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England* (London and New York, 1998).

⁹⁶ V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001).

⁹⁷ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 95-100, 132-34.

⁹⁸ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 205-09.

This thesis' original title was modified through the replacement of 'courts' with 'reigns', a substitution which represents a deliberate shift in methodological stance. A core principle is that 'court', 'court culture' and associated concepts of 'courtliness' provide inadequate terminological and conceptual generalisations of royal architectural causality in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century England. Firstly, the sublimation of all branches of governance into a single entity implied by the formulation of courts as cultural phenomena does not reflect the reality of the financial and administrative systems which surrounded the actualisation of architectural projects in royal service. Rather than affiliation with an ephemeral and undefinable itinerant 'court', it is more meaningful to characterise architectural production through a series of specific courts (Exchequer, Chancery etc.) and other institutions responsible for executing the royal will. Despite increasing trends towards centralisation in this period (at least in the sense of localisation), such a process by definition involved deliberate disassociation of the actualisation of royal decisions from the 'court' itself, whilst this retained its Mappian inconstancy and itinerancy. Secondly, the conception of architecture as an integral part of a pan-European 'court culture' implies a cohesion which was absent in practice. Shared cultural elements might be demonstrable in literary tropes and conceptions of 'courtliness' and 'courtesy' as codes of behaviour, but these were never associated with the visual arts by medieval texts. The artistic eclecticism of royal circles, 'court' or otherwise, is indicative not of an internationally-distributed culture of internationalism, but instead the capacity of kings to facilitate the overlap, contrast and interaction of multiple separate cultures, a phenomenon not exclusive to royal circles. Finally, though shared rhetorically-expressed aesthetic values are perhaps more applicable within a pan-European context, it remains to be demonstrated how these were uniquely 'courtly' phenomena. Despite attempts to formulate eloquence and sophistication as explicitly 'courtly' artistic values in response to the tropes of 'courtly' literature, there is no surviving textual evidence for the application of these categories to works of architecture in a medieval source, its ultimate origin being modernist characterisations of form imposed on Gothic architecture by Branner and his contemporaries.⁹⁹ Any attempts to equate architectural form with 'courtliness' serve as an extended analogy which can be criticised on similar grounds to Binski's recent deconstruction of "medieval modernism".¹⁰⁰ Consequently, as no concrete connections between art produced in royal circles and the

⁹⁹ Branner described his 'Court style' as "sophisticated", "in vogue", "measured elegance" and "stateliness": Branner, *Saint Louis*, 1, 12.

¹⁰⁰ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 43-47, 66-68.

conceptualisation of ‘court’ or ‘courtliness’ can be demonstrated within Medieval England, neither will be employed as paradigms for understanding the causality of royal architecture in this thesis. Instead royal patronage will be treated as an extension of not an itinerant and ephemeral ‘court’, but the concrete institutions with clearly demarcated authority (double meaning intentional) which facilitated the king’s works at St Stephen’s.

Causes, Effects and Themes

“Arts [τέχναι] are also called ‘beginnings,’ [ἀρχαί] especially the architectonic arts [ἀρχιτεκτονικαί]. ... ‘Cause’ [αἴτια] means: in one sense, that as the result of whose presence something come into being e.g. the bronze of a statue and the silver of a bowl, and the classes [γενή] which contain these; in another sense, the form [εἶδος] or pattern [παράδειγμα]; that is, the essential formula [λόγος] and the classes [γενή] which contain it ... The source of the first beginning of change or rest; e.g. the agent who deliberates [βουλευσας αἴτιος], and the father is of the child, and in general that which produces is the cause of that which is produced, and that which changes of that which is changed. The same as “end” [τέλος]; i.e. the final cause; e.g. as the ‘end’ of walking is health.” Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, V.I-II (fourth century BC)¹⁰¹

Throughout the above discussion a consistent theme has been the rejection of self-limiting conceptions of artistic formation and development in favour of a broader treatment of architectural causality. Such a position, however, necessitates addressing the nature and scope of causation, and its relation to the thesis’ broader commitments to unravelling connections between art and politics. A starting point (ἀρχαί, ‘beginning’) is provided by Aristotle, whose treatment of causation has already been integrated into scholarly discourse regarding thirteenth-century architecture.¹⁰² Reappearing from the twelfth century onwards and rapidly developing into a staple of university curricula (despite prohibitions against its educational use during the 1210s), Aristotle’s *Physics* and *Metaphysics* reintroduced causality into western Europe’s intellectual toolbox as a quadripartite system of material, formal, efficient and final causes.¹⁰³ All things (πράγματα, *res*), whether product of arts (τέχναι, *ars*,

¹⁰¹ Translation largely derived from Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, trans. Hugh Tredennick (Cambridge Mass., 1961), 208-11, modified by author.

¹⁰² Binski, “words alone,” 14-51; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 57-63.

¹⁰³ In Latin causes (‘*causae*’) ‘*per modum materiae*’, ‘*formalis*’, ‘*movens vel efficiens*’ and ‘*finis*’. Aristotle was never so concise in his definitions, and their modern formulation derives primarily from William de Moerbeke’s translations and Thomas Aquinas’ commentary on *Metaphysics* (c. 1268-72). Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, trans. John P. Rowan, 2 vols (Chicago, 1961), I, 299-308.

skilled human activity) or nature (*φύσις, natura*), existed due to the “beginnings” (*ἀρχαί*) provided by the matter from which they were made, formal archetypes according to which they were produced, purpose or end for which they were actuated and ultimate moving or efficient cause which changed their state into the final object. It is interesting to note that these categories continue to characterise the delineation of scholarship into the multiple sub-disciplines outlined above – the study of materiality in technical, archaeological approaches to buildings (material causes), stylistic narratives of type and archetype with their establishment of paradigms (formal causes), patrons and architects (efficient causes) and functionality or purpose (final causes).

Such a prescriptive classificatory model for causality, however, perpetuates these divisive trends. Rather than following an Aristotelian set of discrete, formulaic causes, this thesis proposes a more integrated causality of architecture. By treating every instant of artistic creation (from a single stone to the design of an entire building) as cumulative elements responsive to spatially, temporally and contextually contingent circumstances, it extends the potential remit of architectural causality *ad infinitum*. Conception, design, production and even accident can thus be treated as coherent and accumulative elements in the actuation of buildings, hypothetically allowing for a closer integration of methodological approaches than is possible under more divisive causal models. The scope of such a system, however, renders it practically impossible to model in totality, and as such any attempt to study architectural causality must be limited through a form of localisation. In this thesis’ case, this process is limited to those causes affecting English royal patronage during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, further qualified to focus on the effects of political actions as defined above.

It is from this localisation and its relationship with the above discussions of politics, architecture, iconography and royal governmental structures that four themes woven throughout this thesis’ chronological structure emerge. Firstly, the chapel’s creation within the context of the conglomerate implementation of royal commands leads to questions of patronal agency. By focusing on evidence of royal intervention and the organisational structures surrounding St Stephen’s construction, this thesis will analyse relations between the king’s patronal will and its actuation in architectural form. A corollary of this is the second theme – the building’s involvement within royal identity formation. With the political activity of the English monarchy so tightly focused on the choices of a single individual, albeit at times via delegation, artistic production was itself a process of organising and

articulating royal power through presentation. By analysing its iconographic debts, inventions and their implications, this thesis proposes to locate the building's semiotic content firmly within its political context. Thirdly, as the above discussion of the 'Court style' has revealed, a major focus of the chapel's historiography has been its international associations. By considering discrete evidence of formal or iconographic influences and, more importantly, locating them within the wider international interests of the Plantagenets as they change over time, this thesis will explore the extent, tone and motivating factors behind such interactions. Finally, in conjunction with preceding factors, it will address the chapel's economic context. Focusing on breaks in construction and attempting to locate them within the consequential framework of the royal decisions responsible for financial limitations, this will provide a fiscal causality of architecture tied firmly to political action.

Exploring these four themes, however, will not be a proscriptive process, and over the course of discussion many other thematic elements emerge which will be considered in detail within the concluding chapter. Weaving them throughout the thesis provides a stimulus for the analysis of past historiography within a directed frame of reference which not only conserves the momentum of argument, but also gives a starting point from which a broader assessment of architectural causality can arise. These themes too are *ἀρχαί*, beginnings, and drawing them through the diverse temporal, personal and political contingencies which surrounded St Stephen's serves to expand this research's significance beyond the interpretation of a singular palace chapel.

Chapter 1: Henry III (1227-72)

As has been outlined above, interpreting the St Stephen's of Henry III presents particular problems owing to the nature and survival of the evidence. With no visual record any reconstruction attempt for Henry's works in the chapel remains entirely reliant on the written descriptions of royal instructions for building or orders for payment contained within the Close and Liberate rolls of the Chancery, and thus are limited by the purpose to which these documents were originally put. This is not, however, a problem unique to the chapel, and Henry III presents the dichotomy of being one of the best documented yet least visually attested patrons among the Plantagenets. From 1227-72 the king instigated major works at over sixty-seven royal residences and widely patronised shrines, churches, chapels and monasteries alike.¹⁰⁴ Hundreds of buildings were constructed, renovated or redecorated during his reign, often several times, and an enormous quantity of images was ordered to fill his structures with diverse subject matters encompassing biblical histories, religious icons, devotional roods, classical mythologies and even medieval histories. Yet of these structures only a handful survive, often only accessible through archaeological excavation as one facet of a heavily reworked site. Thus, whilst Henry has developed a reputation among art historians as one of the most prolific patrons in the history of the English monarchy, he remains primarily a patron on paper, modelled through a trail of documents left by the administrative engine of thirteenth-century royal government.

With the exception of major examples from the period for which visual or physical evidence has survived,¹⁰⁵ this has led to a reticence on the part of scholars to engage with Henry's works systematically. Apart from Lethaby and Colvin's cursory treatments of the building within an extended discussion of the Palace of Westminster,¹⁰⁶ the St Stephen's of 1227-53 has never been explicitly analysed, with the only considerations of the evidence appearing in sentence fragments and footnotes in extended discussions of royal patronage. This in part reflects the overwhelming focus of scholarship on the chapel's second iteration, but is equally

¹⁰⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 110-30, II, 554-1017.

¹⁰⁵ Most notably the Painted Chamber (Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London, 1986); Binski, "Tyrants," 121-54), Clarendon Palace (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 910-18), the Tower of London (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 706-29; David Carpenter, "King Henry III and the Tower of London" in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. Carpenter (London, 1996), 199-218), Windsor Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 864-88) and Westminster Abbey (Howard Colvin (ed.), *Building Accounts of King Henry III* (Oxford, 1971), 190-287; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*; Christopher Wilson, "Calling the Tune? The Involvement of King Henry III in the Design of the Abbey Church at Westminster," *JBAA* 161 (2008), 59-93).

¹⁰⁶ Lethaby, "Palace of Westminster," 142; Colvin, *HKW*, I, 503.

in keeping with far broader scholarly tendencies regarding his documented productions. By contrast scholars have placed a remarkably heavy emphasis on Henry III's patronal identity, demonstrating a significant preoccupation with characterising his personality. Bolstered and energised by evocative accounts from chroniclers such as Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* (c. 1250-59), art historians have closely associated judgments of the king's personal taste with the stylistic and iconographic developments in royal patronage during his reign, assessing the king primarily through generalisations drawn from a known canon of exemplary works.

It is from within this framework that the St Stephen's of Henry III must be extracted and re-evaluated. By analysing the king's patronal character in relation to the chapel, this chapter will develop a new framework for the in-depth analysis of its topographical, devotional and iconographic situation. Emphasising initially the structures, patterns and tendencies of Henry III's patronage and later the temporal and ceremonial positioning of St Stephen's within its context at Westminster and beyond, this will enable a directed analysis of the political implications of the chapel's situation in relation to inter- and intra-national conceptions of royal identity.

Henry III as Patron

Henry III's reputation as a great patron was established as early as the eighteenth century. Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762) set the tone for subsequent discussion, citing the many names and deeds of painters extracted from the financial accounts by George Vertue (including works at St Stephen's) and stating uncompromisingly:

“That he was a weak prince in point of government is indisputable. That he was a great encourager of the arts, these records demonstrate. ... It matters not how a prince squanders what he has tyrannically squeezed from the subject. ... Even in these more sensible ages one illustrious defect in a king converts all his other foibles into excellencies. It must have done so much more in a season of such heroic barbarism as that of Henry III and the want of an enterprising spirit in that prince made even his patronage of the arts to be imputed to effeminacy, or be overlooked.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 4th Edn, 2 vols (London, 1786), I, 33-34.

This dichotomy between extensive patronage and political decrepitude was used to characterise Henry well into the twentieth century. In his 1943 article “The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III,” an ambitious attempt to consider the king’s painted patronage holistically, Tancred Borenius’s eloquent descriptions of Henry as “that great champion of Gothic art in England” and “one of the most art-loving monarchs that have ever reigned over England” reinforced the notion of the king as an engaged and vibrant patron, loving certain subject matters and bending his buildings to the whims of his personality.¹⁰⁸ Yet even within such praise Walpole’s dichotomy remained:

“Whatever the characteristics of Henry III – and his faults were many – one would hardly associate the concept of ‘simple life’ with him: nor had the fine arts cause for complaint in consequence.”¹⁰⁹

Colvin was to repeat these sentiments in his *History of the King’s Works* (first volume 1963) by developing further the notion of artistic production as an expression of Henry’s personality (an approach he was not to adopt with other monarchs). Henry was considered the possessor of a “highly-developed aesthetic sense which he was determined to gratify in a truly royal manner”, whose building accounts transmit “a faint suggestion of the pleasurable anticipation with which the royal connoisseur ordered a fine new fireplace or a beautiful new window”.¹¹⁰ Yet simultaneously this patronage was deemed a form of escapism for a man “inadequately equipped for kingship in an age which demanded much of its rulers”, and Colvin contrasted Henry’s reputed political failings with his building successes.¹¹¹

Despite originating in a condemnation of political fecklessness, this emotionally charged formulation of Henry’s artistic patronage as an extension of personal taste rapidly became a *leitmotif* of scholarship, particularly regarding its international scope. Branner reframed him in relation to the international dissemination of his ‘Court Style’ as a consummate “francophile” with Louis IX as “one of his favourite models”.¹¹² The Rayonnant-inspired architecture of Westminster Abbey was considered an extension of Henry’s personal tastes,

¹⁰⁸ Tancred Borenius, “The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III,” *JWCI* 6 (1943), 40-50, esp. 40.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹¹⁰ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 94.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹¹² Branner, *Saint Louis*, 124.

its adoption of Parisian ‘Court style’ elements being considered a tacit, even enthusiastic acceptance of French cultural hegemony.¹¹³ Jean Bony expanded on Henry’s character further in *The English Decorated Style* (1979) by characterising these works as “part of [his] royal effort to bring England up-to-date in artistic matters”, resulting from Henry’s “wide curiosity of taste” which was attracted to both French Rayonnant and “Italian fashions” through the Cosmati-work pavements installed in the Abbey’s east end.¹¹⁴ Equally expressed was the association between artistic production and political competence. In contrast with the logical and rational Rayonnant ‘system’ of Louis IX or the new style forged in Edward I’s reign of “overall reorganization”, “political realism” and “growing power” of the king, to Bony the “difficulties and conflicts” of Henry’s reign produced an architecture with an “unsystematic approach” and “muddled stylistic set-up” which in the case of Westminster Abbey “failed to transmit the image of a coherent new system.”¹¹⁵

A more nuanced approach has been adopted by Binski in his diverse studies of the objects of the king’s patronage, most notably Westminster Abbey and Palace. In *The Painted Chamber* (1986), Binski confirmed Henry’s status as “the greatest royal patron of the arts in thirteenth-century England” and argued for the appearance of specific patterns in his thinking regarding painted programmes based on a love of certain imagery forming “a central repertoire of images ... which remained constant throughout his life.”¹¹⁶ Describing his projects as “both grandiose and intimately domestic”, the emphasis thus revolved around the emotive involvement of the king and his personal desires.¹¹⁷ Explicitly referencing Bony’s formulation of “curiosity of taste”, Binski’s 1990 article on the Cosmati pavement considered the king’s Italianising elements to be an “unparalleled ... deviation of taste” from the Northern Gothic norm, reflecting instead a coincidence of experienced advisors and personal taste which rendered it “less a matter of personal rather than institutional temperament”.¹¹⁸ Personal taste thus merges with an institutional framework of aesthetics, founded in the imperialising aesthetic of complex marble pavements whose exponents were “serving the interests of a royal body”.¹¹⁹ In *Westminster Abbey* (1995), Binski challenged the concept of Henry III’s Francophilia, instead proposing that French influences at the eponymous church

¹¹³ Branner, *Saint Louis*, 123-28.

¹¹⁴ Bony, *English Decorated*, 9.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4, 9-10, 17.

¹¹⁶ Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 33, 44-45.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹⁸ Binski, “Cosmati,” 28-29.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

were part of a broader eclectic strategy of “political appropriateness.”¹²⁰ Thus, despite arguing extensively against the possibility that royal artistic taste can be reconstructed with any degree of accuracy in this period, Binski’s treatment of Henry revolves around constructing his patronal identity as a politically charged set of strategized aesthetics, a form of directed taste responsive to both personal longstanding interests, such as the cult of Edward the Confessor or certain repeated tropes in imagery, and a shared ‘court culture’ of appropriative artistic exchange. More recently, Wilson has reinforced this notion of Henry as a “passionate aesthete and one possessed of the ability to assess critically the products of the early thirteenth-century boom in church building” along with “a clear idea of what he wanted but only an unpredictable supply of money and a very limited supply of patience.”¹²¹

From these approaches a common profile of Henry III emerges: that of an unusually prolific patron whose taste was highly eclectic and productions extremely varied. All scholars emphasise a strong emotional engagement with his works to a greater or lesser degree (often, though not exclusively, associated with questionable political competence). Consequently, their interpretation is linked integrally with the retrospective construction of the king’s personality and the other personnel surrounding him. The impressive scale and variety of Henry’s patronage is readily demonstrable,¹²² although in comparative terms it is more difficult to gauge. Colvin’s comparison of expenditure with previous rulers at least would seem to suggest a significant increase in architectural and artistic expenditure in Henry’s reign, although this may well be due to the nature and accessibility of documentary evidence which survives less extensively from his immediate predecessors.¹²³ Certainly Richard I and John’s long-term financial commitments in Normandy could have rendered extensive domestic patronage more difficult, particularly in an era before the system of loan-financing developed under Edward I, but further research would be necessary to confirm this observation.¹²⁴ Harder to demonstrate are the king’s taste and its engagement with artistic production. Any attempt to reconstruct royal personality through medieval sources is inherently problematic, especially regarding Henry III for whom interpretations rely heavily

¹²⁰ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 33-43.

¹²¹ Wilson, “Calling the Tune,” 59-62.

¹²² An attempt to do so in tabulated form for his works on royal chapels alone forms Appendix II.

¹²³ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 109; Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 33-34.

¹²⁴ For loan financing see below, 89. For finances of Richard I and John see Nick Barratt, “The Revenue of King John,” *The English Historical Review* 111 (1996), 835-55; Barratt, “The English Revenue of Richard I,” *The English Historical Review* 116 (2001), 635-56; Jane Frecknall Hughes and Lynne Oats, “John Lackland: A Fiscal Re-evaluation” in *Studies in the History of Tax Law*, 4 vols, ed. John Tiley (Oxford, 2004), I, 201-226.

on administrative texts which were never conceived for that purpose and are filled with potentially misleading linguistic conventions. Instead, this chapter will adopt an alternative approach to the same material by considering the administrative superstructure surrounding the king and how the positions of personnel within it affected its articulation of royal artistic patronage.

The first observation is that though Henry appears at some points to have taken on a directing role in his patronage, it is rarely a direct one. Several orders for works in the Close and Liberate rolls contain explicit references to prior verbal instructions or personal consultations, implying a degree of direct royal involvement in the decision process. Considering the works on royal residential chapels as a case study is particularly revealing in this regard. At Rochester castle in 1244 a wooden chapel was ordered “according to the king’s verbal injunctions” with two storeys, a pattern repeated for the Queen’s chapel, Clarendon (1247; painted “as arranged”), St Mary’s church, Dover (1247; “as the king has enjoined by word of mouth”), Queen’s chapel, Winchester (1269; “as enjoined by word of mouth”) and elsewhere.¹²⁵ Furthermore, royal orders on occasion specified precise dimensions (St Martin’s, Bristol was to be elongated by 24 feet in 1252 and a wooden chapel of 44x22 feet was to be built at Sauvey castle in 1244) or other details of form, material or iconography, suggesting both exacting demands on the part of the monarch and a knowledge of the dimensional limitations of the site.¹²⁶ However, both of these examples were relatively rare – far more common was the issuing of orders whilst the king was on site (indicating direct consultation with the officers mandated to action) or for the completion of works “against the king’s arrival”.¹²⁷ The latter category indicates the distance between the king as patron and the works at the point of execution, necessitating the ordering of works in advance of the king’s presence. Regardless of the degree of oversight, sheriffs, clerks and keepers were responsible for actuating and interpreting the royal will, and in the overwhelming majority of cases Henry was only ever engaged in royal patronage at arm’s length. The king generally remained an agent of intention and broad decision rather than precise direction, albeit with occasional evidence to the contrary.

¹²⁵ CLR 1240-45, 211; see Appendix II.

¹²⁶ See Appendix II.

¹²⁷ See Appendix II for examples.

Counsel and advice could also work both ways. An important figure in many interpretations of Henry III's patronage is Edward of Westminster, an administrator based at Westminster Palace who has often been associated with artistic responsibilities.¹²⁸ The son of Odo the Goldsmith, who preceded him as keeper of the works at Westminster (including the abbey), from 1240 Edward was a key member of the Exchequer who eventually became its chancellor (1248 until 1259 at least).¹²⁹ Colvin considered him an intimate confidant and artistic adviser to the king, in particular citing a 1245 letter close explicitly accepting Edward's advice that two projected leopards intended to flank the throne at Westminster should be made of bronze rather than marble.¹³⁰ Yet active though he may have been, Edward's purview remained an intensely localised one. Generally his involvement in works was confined to Westminster and the London area after he became chancellor, and thus to an extent Edward was one of a number of local touchstones (alongside a succession of treasurers, other keepers and craftsmen who were equally tasked directly with executing works there) for an unusually intensive locus of artistic activity.¹³¹ Metalwork is the only area in which he appears to have had unusual responsibility (note the 1245 leopards), perhaps largely due to his father from whom he had inherited the position of melter (*furor*) of the Exchequer.¹³² However, he was by no means the only man contributing to the king's near-constant demand for metal objects and elaborate clothing. Thus whilst his contribution to artistic patronage was not minor, it must be placed within a more local framework.

A more universal purview was that adopted by John of Gloucester, a king's mason and master of the works at Westminster Abbey and Alexander, a king's carpenter from 1256, when in the light of the "many harms" sustained by the king's works due to the king's sheriffs' and bailiffs' inadequacies they were appointed to see and direct ("*videant et disponant*") them personally in exercising the king's interests, with extensive provision for travel.¹³³ As Colvin observed, repetitions of orders (even for something as prestigious as St

¹²⁸ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 101-03; Vale, *Princely Court*, 263; Appendix IV/A.2-3.

¹²⁹ Nicholas C. Vincent, "The Origins of the Chancery of the Exchequer," *The English Historical Review* 108 (1993), 106; CCR 1247-51, 58; CCR 1259-61, 13; CLR 1251-60, 513.

¹³⁰ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 101; CCR 1242-47, 293.

¹³¹ See Appendix IV/A.3.

¹³² See Appendix IV/A.2-3.

¹³³ 1256 "*Pro magistris Johanne de Glouc' et Alexandro carpentario.— Quia rex multa dampna sustinuit per hoc quod operationes suas per Angliam fieri fecit per vicecomites et alios ballivos regis, rex providit quod magistri Johannes cementarius regis et Alexander carpentarius regis operationes illas de cetero ad tascham vel alio modo fieri faciant, et eas personaliter videant et disponant prout commodo regis magis viderint expedire. Et pro eo quod ipsi circa hoc propriis sumptibus laborare non possunt, rex vult quod vadia sua dum itinerantes fuerint pro operationibus predictis dupplicentur. Et mandatum est Philippo Lovel' et Eduuardo de*

Stephen's Chapel) were often necessary to ensure obedience and some evidence of inquiries survives,¹³⁴ conveying the breadth of the gap between royal orders and their execution. In the aftermath of the appointment, works were directed to be completed according to the view and counsel of both men and in 1257 the arrangement was made permanent through letters patent confirming them as masters of the works in castles, manors and houses south of Trent, giving them the right to appoint keepers for them.¹³⁵ This significant delegation does not, however, indicate the formation of an institutional 'king's works' at this stage, and instead was a more experimental appointment necessitated by particular circumstances which was not continued after the death of John of Gloucester in 1260.¹³⁶ Instead, "*opus regis*" carried physical rather than institutional connotations. Primarily associated with objects in royal possession, whether something small like an item of jewellery or an entire building, the *opera regis* reflected materiality tied up with ownership.¹³⁷ More permanent artistic positions did exist during Henry's reign, in particular Peter de Hispania whom the king appointed to make his paintings when necessary and paid 6d. a day "as long as he remains in that office in the king's service", but in general despite the repeated use of esteemed craftsmen there is no indication that Henry was forming a close *familia* of 'court' artists who helped shape his style and aesthetics along fashionable lines, as has often been claimed.¹³⁸ The autonomy of artists and local executors of the king's artistic wishes was a product of organisational necessity more than patronal attitudes, and as such the king as patron was a conglomerate entity which combined central direction with an intensely decentralised localisation of artistic activity, relying on considerable initiative on the part of his representatives and craftsmen.

This mode of direction naturally generated a cumulative and largely occasional model of patronage. With a few major exceptions in the case of long-term projects, the overwhelming majority of the king's artistic activity was ordered on an individualistic, non-programmatic basis. Even at the most active sites, decoration, construction and furnishing were specified for particular dates or in response to the changing necessities of diverse family members,

Westmonasterio quod sic fieri et inrotulari faciant. Teste ut supra." (CCR 1256-59, 11). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 106; Appendix IV/A.1.

¹³⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 105-06. For examples at St Stephen's see CCR 1231-34, 9-10 and below, 37 n. 137.

¹³⁵ See Appendix IV/A.1; CPR 1247-58, 538.

¹³⁶ Colvin, "Court Style," 14-15.

¹³⁷ For jewelry, clothing, objects for feasts and gifts to saints shrines created "*ad opus regis*" in the close rolls of Henry III see CCR 1227-31, 174, 323, 497, 569; CCR 1231-34, 172; CCR 1234-37, 72, 214, 217, 396; CCR 1237-42, 37, 161, 257; CCR 1242-47, 42; CCR 1247-51, 20, 54, 89, 132, 150, 157, 202, 384, 387, 389, 427, 443, 445, 498, 502, 518-19; CCR 1251-53, 283; CCR 1254-56, 59.

¹³⁸ CLR 1251-60, 392; Branner, *Saint Louis*, 8-11; Bony, *English Decorated*, 2-5.

ceremonies and royal visitations. In part this is reflected in the format of his financial accounts – whereas in Edward I’s reign building accounts were contained primarily in specific and formalised ‘particulars of account’ for the Exchequer, the records of Henry’s patronage remained largely a ragtag piecemeal threaded between records of apparently spontaneous gifts, grants, ceremonials and the ordering of day-to-day supplies. This observation carries serious implications regarding the cohesion of the king’s patronage and the analysis of long-term patterns within it which have conventionally emphasised repetition. The overall effect is of artistic patronage formed by a series of cumulative interests and decisions rather than the systematic pursuit of an integrated programme.

Henry III, St Stephen’s Chapel and Westminster (1227-72)

As indicated repeatedly above, one of the most heavily emphasised of these spaces, both within Henry’s patronage and its scholarship, was Westminster. Under Henry Westminster emerged as the ceremonial, devotional and administrative centre of Plantagenet governance,¹³⁹ with an unusually high density of patronage in consequence. An Exchequer building had been recorded at Westminster since 1162 at least, but over the course of Henry’s reign the gradual establishment of the Chancery there further cemented the palace’s governmental role.¹⁴⁰ Royal residence became ever more frequent, a tendency which was further amplified by Henry’s extensive patronage of the Abbey, its fabric and the saints enshrined within it. Henry’s strong personal devotion to Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon monarch who had rebuilt Westminster Abbey and was canonised in 1161, was evidenced early in his majority when in 1228 he petitioned Pope Gregory IX to include the saint in the Roman calendar, a process which did not occur until 1236.¹⁴¹ Developing rapidly over the course of his reign with an intensifying series of gifts culminating with a new shrine initiated in 1241, the complete reconstruction of the Abbey’s east end from 1245 and a whole series of chapels dedicated to St Edward founded in his other royal residences, Henry’s devotion to the Confessor resulted in an intensive yet localised royal cult centred on a location of increasing importance to Plantagenet royal identity.¹⁴² Coupled with extensive works at the palace, including the Painted Chamber (c. 1230-72) which explicitly associated

¹³⁹ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, 9-35.

¹⁴⁰ Lethaby, “Palace of Westminster,” 146-47; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 15-16.

¹⁴¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 52.

¹⁴² See Appendix II; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 52-89; David Carpenter, “King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult,” *The English Historical Review* 122 (2007), 865-91.

king and Confessor through an image of the latter's coronation above Henry's bed, Westminster formed a nexus of overlapping iconographic interests. It is within this context that Henry's works at St Stephen's appeared, and thus their development can only be explained in relation to these wider circumstances.

Henry III's works at St Stephen's can be divided, albeit somewhat arbitrarily, into three periods with distinctive tones of architectural intervention. The first (1227-36) was focused on functionality. On his first coronation in 1216, Henry III inherited a series of much-neglected palaces and castles of which Westminster was amongst the most in need of renovation. Neither Richard I nor John appears to have spent much on maintaining the palace and throughout the king's minority extensive repairs were carried out.¹⁴³ Following his attainment of majority in 1227 Henry launched a widespread campaign of restoration and construction throughout his royal residences.¹⁴⁴ The first recorded works at St Stephen's belong to this initial phase, with £20 being freed to Henry of Waltham and Odo the goldsmith on 8th June 1227, less than half a year after he assumed governmental powers.¹⁴⁵ It is unclear what the nature of these works was and it is possible that they were ongoing – on 1st March 1229 Walter the chaplain of St Stephen's and Odo were paid 20 marks for works on “the king's houses at Westminster”, a catch-all term for the whole palace which could include the chapel.¹⁴⁶ However, the reference to a dedicated chaplain indicates that by 1229 St Stephen's was to some extent institutionally operational whatever its state of disrepair. It is clear from later royal orders that by the 1230s it already possessed an altar (before 1231), doorway in the west end and royal seats, though the latter could have been a product of the 1220s.¹⁴⁷ It was not until November 1236, however, that a regular stipend for a new chaplain, Simon de Reinham, was established, indicating some form of reconstitution.¹⁴⁸ This, however, does not indicate that the chapel was inactive before this point – in February 1237 Adam de Shorditch was paid in arrears for 8 *bezants* delivered to Walter, the previous chaplain, for executing “the king's order” within the chapel, in all probability a devotional activity.¹⁴⁹ Thus these works likely did not constitute a dramatic reconstruction of the interior, and instead fitted into

¹⁴³ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 494.

¹⁴⁴ See above, 30.

¹⁴⁵ CLR 1226-40, 38; C 62/5, m. 6.

¹⁴⁶ CLR 1226-40, 120; C 62/8, m. 9.

¹⁴⁷ See below, 40.

¹⁴⁸ CLR 1226-40, 241, toponym from CLR 1240-45, 147.

¹⁴⁹ ‘*Bezants*’ or gold coins (often Byzantine) explicitly were often sought after and used for some form of offering under Henry III. See below, 60.

the broader context of renovations continuing throughout Henry's reign, preparing the structure for active engagement within the palace complex alongside the other chapels operating there.¹⁵⁰

On 4th December 1231 four painted panels were ordered; two for St Stephen's and two for the nearby chapel of John the Evangelist. In both cases one panel depicting the institution's patron saint was to be placed above the altar accompanied by candles and a second (its subject unknown) before it, likely a frontal.¹⁵¹ The order, however, was repeated in April 1233, inferring that it was not carried out until this stage.¹⁵² The apparent necessity of replacing this important component of the chapel is testament to its dilapidation, further evidenced by its repaneling in wood in February 1234.¹⁵³ In 1236 the border surrounding the king's and queen's seats ("*a tergo*"; "from the outer surface") was to be painted green on the inside and outside, and a crucifix flanked by the Virgin and John the Evangelist was to be placed close to the queen's seat.¹⁵⁴ This was probably not a screen-mounted rood like the many others Henry commissioned,¹⁵⁵ as it is expressly described in terms of its counterpart, the "opposing king's crucifix which has been depicted next to the king's seat". The presence of two such crucifixes in an identical (though indeterminate) positional relationship with the royal seats indicates these objects were involved in the king and queen's private devotions,

¹⁵⁰ St John's Chapel had a stipended chaplain from February 1233 at least (in July 1230 its chaplain was directed to celebrate mass for Reymond de Burgh's soul, indicating liturgical activity by a permanent chaplain). CCR 1227-31, 366, 417; CLR 1226-40, 202.

¹⁵¹ "*Mandatum est venerabili patri W. Karleolensi episcopo, thesaurario domini regis, quod capellas domini regis, scilicet Sancti Stephani et Sancti Johannis Westmonasterii, celare faciat ultra altaria, et quatuor tabulas fieri, videlicet, duas ponendas ante eadem altaria et duas strictiores ponendas super eadem altaria, in quibus tabulis depingi faciat quod melius et competencius viderit depingendum; dum tamen in tabulis strictioribus depingantur imagines Sanctorum Stephani et Johannis, videlicet una imago in una et alia imago in alia, ita quod pro posse suo ea parata inveniat rex in adventu suo Lond'.*" (CCR 1231-34, 9-10; C 54/43, m. 18). The order was duplicated close by in the roll, perhaps indicating some form of administrative error which could explain its subsequent delay.

¹⁵² CCR 1231-34, 207; C 54/44, m. 11.

¹⁵³ 1234 11th February "*De capella Westmonasterii lambruscanda.—Mandatum est Roberto Passelewe quod bordum faciat emi ad id quod superest in capella Sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium lambruscandum, et illud faciat lambruscari, ita quod in adventu regis usque Lond' lambruscata sit. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium, xj. die Februarii.*" (CCR 1231-34, 378; C 54/45, m. 29).

¹⁵⁴ 1236 7th February "*Rex. De operationibus apud Westmonasterium. — Mandatum est H. de Patheshull', thesaurario domini regis, quod borduram a tergo sedis regis in capella Sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium et borduram a tergo sedis regine ex alia parte ejusdem capelle internis et externis depingi faciat de viridi colore; juxta sedem ipsius regine depingi faciat quondam crucem cum Maria et Johanne ex opposito crucis regis que juxta sedem regis depicta est.*" (CCR 1234-37, 239; C 54/47, m. 18). Green was used for painting walls at least fourteen times during Henry's reign, twice in chapels (CCR 1234-37, 239; CLR 1251-60, 21), eight times in chambers (CLR 1226-40, 219; CCR 1234-37, 484; CLR 1245-51, 63 (twice); CLR 1245-51, 362; CLR 1251-60, 3; CLR 1251-60, 21; CLR 1260-67, 76), twice in halls (CLR 1226-40, 305; CLR 1251-60, 289) and twice in other structures (CLR 1240-45, 205-06; CLR 1251-60, 95), often accompanied by gold work and additional imagery.

¹⁵⁵ See Appendix II.

and consequently they were likely painted in front of the seats or on the flanking walls to remain visible during services. In addition, a great bell was forged and placed in the chapel belfry during 1235.¹⁵⁶ The works during this period largely consisted of singular additions to the chapel, the only exception being the 1236 group, and appear to have the building's functionality as a palace chapel alone in mind.

However, the works ordered in 1238 and 1240 represent a change in this pattern. Whilst remaining occasional and cumulative in character, this second period of alterations lasting until 1244 proceeded in a series of focused bursts of activity. These additions to the building were still largely focused on refitting the chapel, but equally represented an escalation of material value amounting to aggrandisement. In 1238 a marble step (probably Purbeck marble, an oolitic limestone from the Dorset coast) was added beneath the altar, providing an expensive version of an architectural element which was an increasingly important location for contemporary liturgical activity.¹⁵⁷ 1239 saw a new "good and great" ("*bonum et magnum*") doorway made in the "head" ("*caput*") of the chapel, probably the east end.¹⁵⁸ This secondary entrance, later associated with the garden to the south of St Stephen's,¹⁵⁹ would provide a grand new entrance for the king and queen from the courtyard facing the Painted Chamber. A second microcampaign was instigated towards the end of 1239, when the king likely ordered the marble altar he paid for the following January, and continued into 1240 with the purchase of two pairs of "basins of lymoges" and a marble font.¹⁶⁰ This new emphasis on marble, frequently used by Henry for decorating his palatial buildings,¹⁶¹ carried significant iconographic baggage. Coupled with the rich enamelling and metalwork of the Limoges basins,¹⁶² the use of such costly materials was a mark of unusual distinction for St Stephen's. Of all the royal chapels renovated, established and reconstructed during Henry's

¹⁵⁶ CLR 1267-72, 249; E 403/1203, m. 1.

¹⁵⁷ 1238 10th February "*De quibus[dam] operibus faciendis apud Westmonasterium – Mandatum est H. de Path', thesaurario, quod de marmore, quem [sic] habet penes se et qui [sic] debuit retineri ad opus Thome de Muleton', fieri faciat decentes gradus ante altare in capella Sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium et de residuo ejusdem marmoris fieri faciat gradus ante altare in capella regine apud Westmonasterium ex quo perfecta fuerit; et si marmor ille [sic] non sufficiat ad utrumque opus tunc de tegula picta gradus illos fieri faciat*" (CCR 1237-42, 26; C 54/49, m. 19).

¹⁵⁸ 1239 29th October "*De pluribus faciendis apud Westmonasterium – Mandatum est Hugoni de Pateshull' quod in capite capelle nostre Sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium fieri faciat unum nostrum bonum et magnum hostium*" (CCR 1237-42, 149; C 54/50, m. 21).

¹⁵⁹ See below, 45.

¹⁶⁰ CLR 1226-40, 442, 478; C 62/14, m. 9, 21.

¹⁶¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 124.

¹⁶² For Limoges enamel see Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800-1200*, 2nd Edn (New Haven and London, 1994), 243-44 and B. D. Boehm, "Opus Lemovicense: *The Taste for and Diffusion of Limousin Enamel*" in *Enamels of Limoges: 1100-1350*, ed. J. P. O'Neill (New York, 1995), 40-47.

reign, only the Queen's Chapel, Westminster (which likewise received marble stairs in 1238 and a marble altar and font in 1240), St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London (also 1240) and King's Chapel, Winchester (1246) shared the use of marble for their internal furnishings, and none to the extent of St Stephen's.¹⁶³

This difference may reflect the changing institutional situation of the king's chapels at Westminster. Whilst nothing can be gleaned regarding their composition before Henry's reign, comparative study in relation to other similar chapels under the king's auspices is revealing. In addition to the itinerant chapel royal ("*capella regis*" or "*capella portatilis*"), all chapels within royal residences (palaces, manors and castles) under Henry retained a single permanent chaplain for each separate chapel with the occasional exception of royal oratories or chapels adjoining the king's or queen's chamber.¹⁶⁴ As demonstrated above, at the start of Henry's reign St Stephen's and St John's Chapels followed this model closely, and stipendiary payments to Simon, his counterpart William de Odmeresham and a clerk at St John's Chapel were repeated in November 1236, April and November 1237, January and May 1238 and April 1239.¹⁶⁵ By October, however, an additional three stipendiary chaplains were being 'newly' ("*de novo*") employed in the king's "three chapels at Westminster" (undistinguished), and these were rapidly integrated with the regular payments to Simon and William (June 1240 and April 1241) before being formally divided by institution into St John's with two chaplains (William and Richard de Redenover) and St Stephen's with three (Simon, Henry of Canterbury and John of Northampton) in October 1241.¹⁶⁶ Such an expansion of complement was a unique privilege unprecedented in scale, with St Stephen's becoming the largest palace chaplaincy in England.

Considered in this context, the works of 1238-40 might be conceived as part of a project to aggrandise the chapel in line with a planned increase in complement. Yet more generally, this development was in line with Westminster's emergence as the foremost location of English royal government. The chapel's ceremonial use as a place for conducting monetary

¹⁶³ Marble columns were also employed for the chapel cloisters at Guildford and Windsor. See Appendix II.

¹⁶⁴ Under Henry III each chaplain drew 50s. income twice yearly for performing divine service and often maintaining candles within their chapel. For the *Capella Regis* see Ian Bent, "The English Chapel Royal before 1300", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 90 (1963-64), 77-95; William H. Gratten Flood, "The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal," *Music and Letters* 5 (1924), 85-90.

¹⁶⁵ CLR 1226-40, 241, 242, 263, 296, 307, 329-30, 377.

¹⁶⁶ CLR 1226-40, 471; CLR 1240-45, 25, 44, 81; CCR 1237-42, 293. Names derived from 4th October 1242 entry (CLR 1240-45, 147).

transactions demonstrates this connection directly, serving as the site for formal payment “into the king’s hand” in January 1241, perhaps due to its proximity to the royal halls, chamber and Exchequer, and according to Matthew Paris in 1241 the mayor of London was required to make an oath that he would no longer collect a certain tax in response to accusations of abuse of his authority.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, the works at St Stephen’s in this period confirm its position as one of a number of royal devotional spaces taking shape within Westminster during this period. In 1220 the foundation stone of the Abbey’s new Lady Chapel was laid with construction continuing under royal funding into the early 1240s, St Katherine’s chapel in the abbey hospital was the subject of commemorative gifts to fund masses for souls, in the Painted Chamber the small chapel behind the king’s bed was being paved and painted with a story of Joseph in 1238 and the queen’s chapel (presumably the third of the Westminster chapels with appointed chaplains from 1240-41) was being fitted with marble fixtures in parallel with St Stephen’s, matching it stair for stair and font for font.¹⁶⁸ In conjunction with the significant interests in palatial restructuring and the cult of Edward the Confessor outlined above, a lot of energy was already being directed towards Westminster during the 1230s and early 1240s of which St Stephen’s was a significant part, its material magnificence conveying its newfound importance as the principal chapel of the realm.

A more utilitarian aspect was expressed in 1244 with the construction of an “*alea*” (“passageway”) between the enigmatic “*rotundum lotorium*” (“round washing-house”) and an unspecified doorway into St Stephen’s.¹⁶⁹ That the order (issued November) was to be carried out without any delay “as he [Edward, son of Odo] will want to avoid the rage and indignation of the king” indicates either the importance attached to the task or, more likely, that again a preceding instruction was not acted upon. The reference is of particular importance in establishing both the chapel’s location and its interrelationship with the surrounding buildings at Westminster. In December the “great porch” (“*magnus porticus*”) which the king had ordered made between the *lotorium* before the king’s kitchens and the

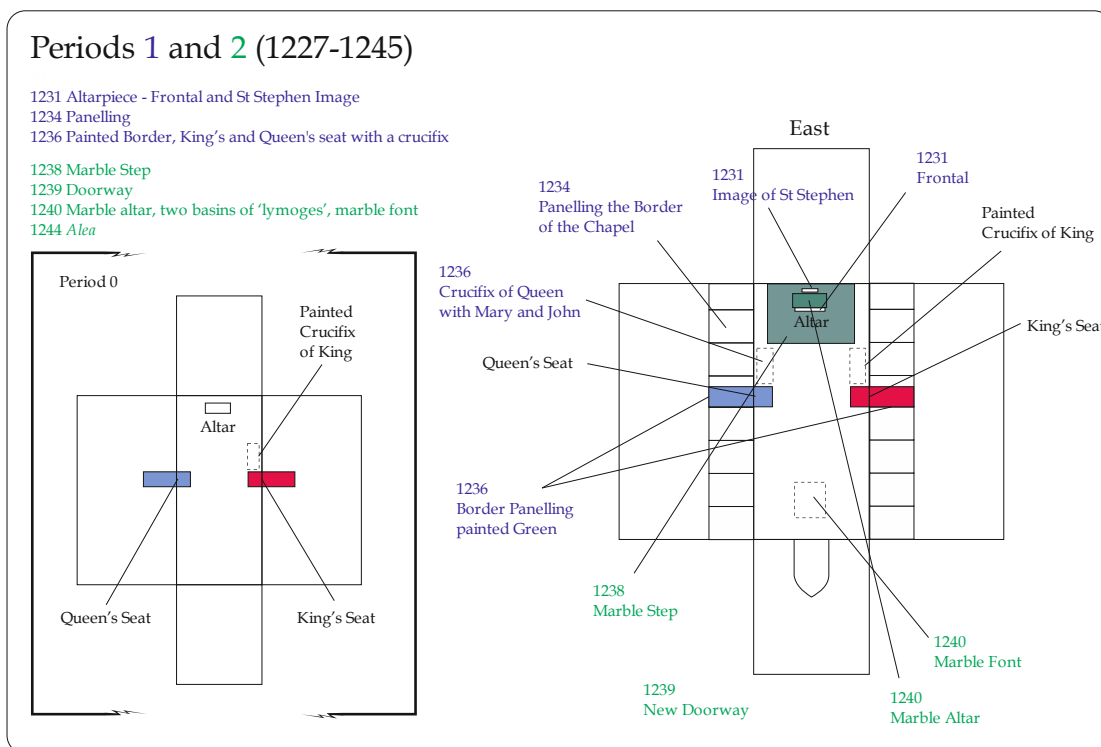
¹⁶⁷ CLR 1240-45, 25; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* in *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols, (London, 1872-83), IV, 94-95.

¹⁶⁸ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 10-13. Henry III was paying for the Lady Chapel’s glazing and an altar above its vaults in January 1244, indicating near completion (CLR 1240-45, 212). For St Katherine’s chapel, see CCR 1242-47, 297; CLR 1240-45, 306. For the queen’s chapel see Appendix II.

¹⁶⁹ 1244 29th November “*De quadam alea facienda. – Mandatum est Edwardo filio Odonis quod sicut iram et indignationem regis vitare voluerit, sine omni dilatione fieri faciat quondam aleam que se extendat a rotundo lotorio in curia regis Westm’ usque ad hostium per quod itur versus capellam Beati Stephani ibidem, ita quod alea illa prompta sit ante Natalem.*” (CCR 1242-47, 272; C 54/58, m. 18).

entrance to the Lesser Hall at Westminster was ordered covered (probably the same structure), indicating it was nearing completion.¹⁷⁰ Given the positioning of the palace's water supply and the known entrance to the Lesser Hall at the centre of the north wall,¹⁷¹ it is thus likely that the *lotorium* was to the west of the Lesser Hall and by extension the chapel occupied its 1292-1363 location, the *alea* forming a three-way covered intersection between Hall, chapel and washhouse (see Map 1).

Figure 1.1 – St Stephen's Chapel 1227-45 Summary



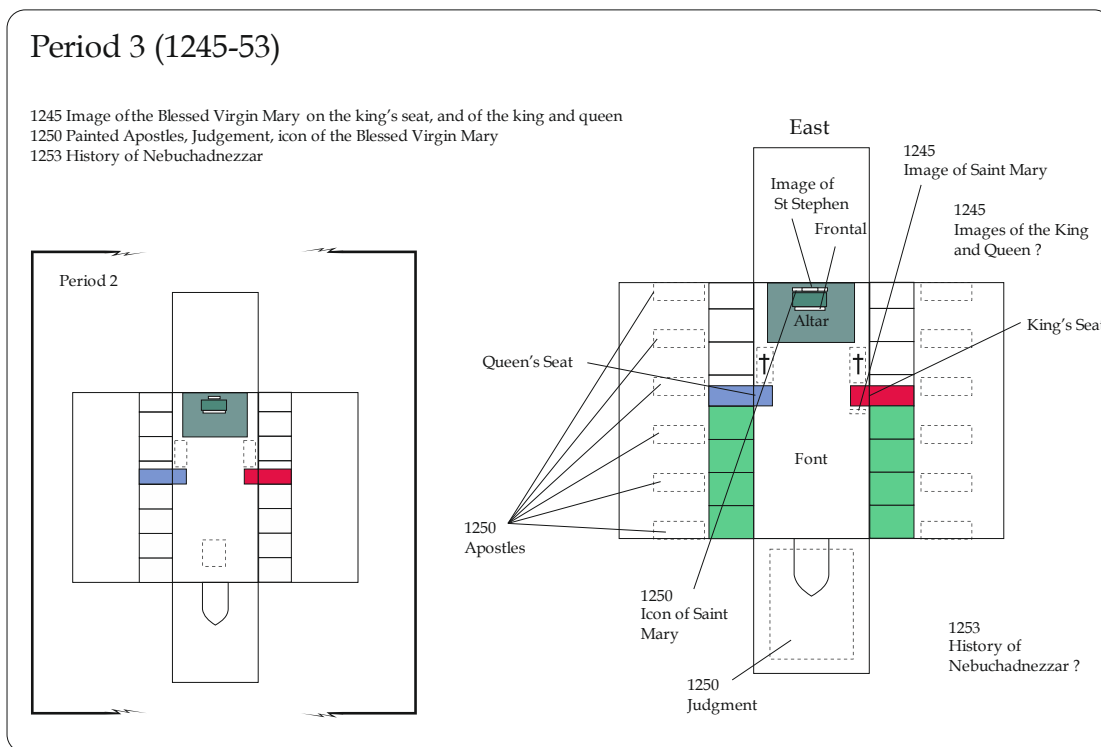
From 1245-53, however, there was no further emphasis on restoring or enhancing liturgical utility. No furnishings were produced during this period and works consisted entirely of painted images, the subject matter of which suggested iconographic concerns beyond the basic functionality of a palace chapel. In 1245 the two entrances to the chapel were carefully

¹⁷⁰ 1244 3rd December “*Mandatum est constabulario turris London’ quod liberari faciat Edwardo filio Odonis de plumbo quantum necesse fuerit ad quondam magnum porticum quam rex fieri precepit inter lotorium et hostium quo intratur ad aulam minorem Westmonasterii cooperiendam. [...] Mandatum est eidem Edwardo quod porticum illam que tanto palacio conveniat fieri facit inter lotorium ante coquinas regis et hostium per quod intratur in aulam minorem; ita quod rex in ea descendere possit de palefrido suo ad honestam frontem et sub ea iri possit inter predictum hostium et lotorium predictum, et etiam a coquina regis et camera militum, et eam plumbo predicto cooperiri faciat, et provideat quod tantos ad hoc habeat carpentarios et operarios quod ante adventum regis perfici possit ex toto ad noticiam regis, alioquin adventum regis illuc non expectet.*” (CCR 1242-47, 273; C 54/58, m. 18).

¹⁷¹ John Crook and Roland B. Harris, “Reconstructing the Lesser Hall: An Interim Report from the Medieval Palace of Westminster Research Project,” *Parliamentary History* 21 (2002), 28, 53.

coordinated with new images: on entering from the hall the viewer was to be directly confronted with an image of the Virgin on the back of the king’s chair, and the “other side of the chancel” against the king’s entrance ordered in 1239 (the “*hostium gardini*”) was to be decorated with images of a king and queen.¹⁷² These were joined by an icon (“*iconia*”) of the blessed Virgin Mary in four *tabulae* (presumably, though not necessarily, to join the 1231 St Stephen altarpiece), paintings of Apostles ‘encircling’ (“*in circitu*”) the chapel and a ‘Judgment’ (“*judicium*”) at the west end in 1250.¹⁷³ Finally, in 1253, works in the chapel were apparently completed with the creation of a “story of king Nebuchadnezzar”, though its location remains uncertain.¹⁷⁴

Figure 1.2 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1245-53 Summary



¹⁷² 1245 7th February “*De picture facienda.– Mandatum est Edwardo filio Odonis quod, in exteriori parte sedis regis in capella Sancti Stephani Westm’, sicut intratur in capella descendendo de aula, bene depingi faciat pulcram et decentem imaginem Sancte Marie, et ex alia parte cancelli versus hostium gardini, imagines regis et regine, ita quod parate sint et bene depicte in proximo adventu regis ibidem.*” (CCR 1242-47, 287; C 54/58, m. 15).

¹⁷³ 1250 13th August “*De picture facienda in capella Sancti Stephani. – Mandatum est Edwardo de Westmonasterio quod in capella Beati Stephani depingi faciat imagines apostolorum in circuitu ejusdem capelle, et judicium in occidentali parte ejusdem, et iconiam Beate Marie Virginis in quadam tabula similiter pingi faciat, ita quod hec parata sint in adventu regis.*” (CCR 1247-51, 311; C 54/63, m. 7).

¹⁷⁴ 1253 20th August “*Per eandem litteram mandatum est eidem Philippo quod capellam regis Sancti Stephani de Westmonasterio depingi faciat de melioribus coloribus quos invenire poterit, ita quod ibi depingatur historia regis Nabugodonosor distincte et aperte. Pro rege. De eodem.—Eodem modo mandatum est Ricardo comiti Cornubie excepto quod non faciat depingi capellam predictam.*” (CCR 1253-54, 165; C 54/66, m. 20).

After this point no further evidence of major works is forthcoming, the only exception being an order for general repairs at Westminster including the chapel in preparation for the king's arrival in January 1255.¹⁷⁵ Together these works reflect strongly the wider patronal tendencies of Henry III discussed above. Perhaps most striking is their occasional and non-systematic nature. In stark contrast to the chapel's second iteration, there is no cohesive campaign of focused structural work or decoration, instead the model being one of lone additions or the occasional short burst of closely associated activity. The result is not a coordinated series of alterations following a long-term plan, but rather a cumulative (indeed, accumulative) sequence of separate decisions whereby each new addition was incorporated into a pre-existing framework.

Subsequent changes to the chapel were purely institutional. The 3:2 chaplain ratio of St Stephen's to St John's established in October 1241 was repeated in the rolls for April/October 1242 and April/December 1243.¹⁷⁶ After this point, the Close and Liberate rolls contain no further references until November 1247, when four chaplains are paid a 50s. yearly stipend in addition to the "seven chaplains who have been accustomed to work there".¹⁷⁷ Such a complement was enormous, unprecedented in England (the only comparison point being the Sainte-Chapelle in France)¹⁷⁸ and apparently unsustainable. When references resume in November 1251 six chaplains are mentioned (paid 24s. each, almost half a yearly stipend), increased to seven in November 1252.¹⁷⁹ Six named chaplains were given a robe as livery for ministering in the king's chapels at Westminster in June 1257, a donation which was remade in September 1259.¹⁸⁰ Up to this point, the chaplains were still identified as sharing a broad responsibility for the palace chapels – the last reference to chaplains of St John's and St Stephen's together was in October 1252, after which point they were persistently the chaplains of the king's chapels at Westminster. In March and June 1272, however, robes were ordered to be given to six chaplains explicitly identified as "*capellani regis in capella Sancti Stephani de Westmonasterio*", many of whom were present in an earlier unspecified

¹⁷⁵ CCR 1254-56, 157; C 54/69, m. 20d.

¹⁷⁶ CLR 1240-45, 121; CLR 1240-45, 147; CLR 1240-45, 177; CPR 1232-47, 409.

¹⁷⁷ "*Liberate de thesaurario nostro singulis annis unicuique quatuor capellanorum quos assignandum ad ministrandum in capellis regis apud Westm' praeter septem capellanos qui in eisdem capelle ministrari consuerunt.*" CLR 1245-51, 152; C 62/24, m.15.

¹⁷⁸ Meredith Cohen, *The Sainte-Chapelle and the Construction of Sacral Monarchy* (Cambridge, 2015), 212-19.

¹⁷⁹ CLR 1251-60, 6; CLR 1251-60, 75.

¹⁸⁰ CCR 1254-56, 320; CCR 1256-59, 177, 434.

robe giving of 1269.¹⁸¹ After some experimentation and a final stabilisation into six stipendiary chaplains, it seems that at some point between 1259 and 1272 the diverse chaplaincies of Westminster palace were consolidated into a single body based at St Stephen's. Though a similar increase in complement occurred at Windsor Castle from November 1248 with seven chaplains ministering at the king's chapel there, its scale rapidly deteriorated from 1254 onwards (see Tables 1.1-1.2), leaving St Stephen's by far the largest such palatine institution in England.

Table 1.1 – Chaplains at Windsor Castle 1227-72

		Chaplains recorded in payments				Source	Page
		King's Chapel	Tower Chapel	Queen's Chapel	King's New Chapel		
1240	Dec	1				CLR 1240-45	12
1241	Apr	1				CLR 1240-45	47
~							
1244	Sep		1			CLR 1240-45	265
1245	Jan	1				CLR 1240-45	311
	Dec		1			CLR 1245-51	13
1246	Mar			1		CLR 1245-51	33
~							
1248	Oct	3				CLR 1245-51	204
	Nov				4	CLR 1245-51	208
~							
1250	Sep	3				CLR 1245-51	303
	Dec	6				CLR 1245-51	323
1251	Apr	7				CLR 1245-51	347
1252	Apr	6				CLR 1251-60	43
	May	7				CLR 1251-60	130
	Nov	8				CLR 1251-60	85
~							
1254	Jan	6				CLR 1251-60	156
	May	5				CLR 1251-60	168
1255	Jan	5				CLR 1251-60	194
	Oct	5				CLR 1251-60	243
	Dec	5				CLR 1251-60	258
1256	Nov	5				CLR 1251-60	338
1257	Jan	5				CLR 1251-60	354
	Jun	5				CLR 1251-60	383
	Oct	5				CLR 1251-60	396
	Nov	5				CLR 1251-60	409
~							
1259	Feb	3				CLR 1251-60	450
	Aug	3				CLR 1251-60	473
1260	Jan	3				CLR 1251-60	494
	May	4				CLR 1251-60	505
	Aug	4				CLR 1251-60	524

¹⁸¹ 1272 6th June “*Mandatum est Ricardo de Ewell' et Willelmo de Arundel, emptoribus garderobe regis, quod faciant habere sex capellanis regis divina celebrantibus in capella regis Sancti Stephani de Westmonasterio sex robas, videlicet unicuique ipsorum unam robam, hac vice de dono regis. Teste rege apud Westmonasterium vj. die Junii.*” (CCR 1268-72, 483; C 54/89, m. 7). See also CCR 1268-72, 83, 469.

Table 1.2 Chaplains at Westminster Palace 1227-72*

		Chaplains recorded in rolls		
		St Stephen's	St John's	Three chapels
1229	Mar	1		
~				
1236	Nov	1	1	
1237	Apr	1	1	
	Nov	1	1	
1238	Jan	1	1	
	May	1	1	
1239	Apr	1	1	
	Oct			3
1240	Jun	1	1	3
1241	Apr	1	1	3
	Oct	3	2	
1242	Apr	3	2	
	Oct	3	2	
1243	Apr	3	2	
	Dec	3	2	
~				
1247	Nov	11		
~				
1251	Nov	6		
1252	Nov	7		
~				
1272	Mar	6		
	Jun	6		

*For references, see above, 36, 39, 43-44.

What kind of institution, then, did Henry III create at St Stephen's? At the end of his reign it had become a space uniquely privileged institutionally, materially and artistically, emphasised above all other palatine foundations. Whilst there were several other chapels which could match the painted works therein, few could approach its opulence and scale.¹⁸² Within Westminster, however, it performed part of a broader pattern of coordinated devotional activity. On 11th December 1239 a mandate was issued for making 300 candles to be placed in the Abbey on St Edward's feast-day (5th January) and 100 candles each for St Stephen's and St John's chapels on their respective saints' feast days (26th and 27th December).¹⁸³ Unlike the associated chaplaincy, devotions like this never achieved a regular pattern despite being a frequent occurrence. In January 1240 along with the marble altar a retrospective payment was made for 800 candles, 100 to each of St John's and St Stephen's on their saints' days and 300 on both St Edward's and Christmas days shared between the chapels, and the following November four 100lb. candles were ordered to burn continually

¹⁸² See Appendix II.

¹⁸³ CCR 1237-42, 162.

around the shrine of Saint Edward on the king's entry to London for assuring the health of the king, queen and their children and 150 candles at the chapel on St Stephen's day.¹⁸⁴ In August 1246 a 100lb. candle was burned in the chapel in honour of St Stephen on an occasion linked specifically with the feeding of paupers in the Lesser Hall (a regular occurrence during the reign), and on 20th December 1247 this association was repeated when a 1000lb. candle was ordered for the abbey and 100lb. of candles each for the chapels of St Stephen's and St John's, and every day from Christmas up to the feast of the Circumcision inclusive paupers were fed in the Great Hall.¹⁸⁵ This was further supported by the 1244 *alea* which connected chapel, Lesser Hall, washhouse and the kitchen beyond it by a covered walkway, indicating increased functional integration for this purpose. Though records disappear after this point, this material indicates that St Stephen's formed part of an engine of devotional activity developing in Westminster over the 1230s-40s increasingly associated with broader schemes of royal charity. The king was seldom present for these activities, usually spending Christmas at Winchester, though from 1238 he was virtually always at Westminster for the feast of St Edward (5th January).¹⁸⁶ Therefore their development even in his absence indicates a refocusing of attention on Westminster itself as a stable point of Plantagenet devotion. In this it was concurrent with the king's works at Westminster Abbey (1245 onwards), the Painted Chamber (c. 1230-63) and the palace more generally which constituted an elaborate iconographic reformulation of the monarchy through coordinated piety, largesse, imagery and artistic grandeur.

St Stephen's and Palace Chapels

Though they have been explored in relation to specific structures or associated groups of buildings, medieval palace chapels as a group have rarely been analysed by architectural historians. Approached primarily from the perspective of establishing discrete archetypes for individual buildings, the field has developed into a canon of seminal designs to which all other examples are compared for their similarities and deviations. Emphasising buildings with significance derived from the individual prestige of the patron responsible such as Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen (796-805), the Virgin of the Pharos in the Great Palace of Constantinople (first described in 864 after redecoration) and the Sainte-Chapelle of

¹⁸⁴ CCR 1237-42, 374-75.

¹⁸⁵ CCR 1247-51, 18-19.

¹⁸⁶ Carpenter, "Cult," 868.

Saint Louis in Paris (1239-46), such arguments are at once internationalist and inherently political, proposing a pan-medieval pattern of associative iconography within palace chapels as one of the basic units of kingship's artistic articulation. For St Stephen's as elsewhere, the expression of the king's identity has thus been viewed primarily in terms of Krautheimerian typological association, whereby type was understandable only in relation to specific archetypes. St Stephen's under Henry III, however, provides a means of testing this approach and its exploration presents an alternative framework for understanding such international processes of interaction.

St Stephen's and the Sainte-Chapelle

For examples dating from the 1240s onwards, the study of medieval palace chapels has been dominated by the Sainte-Chapelle. Constructed 1239-46 under the patronage of Louis IX, the Sainte-Chapelle was a large two-storey replacement for the *Palais de la Cité's* former chapel of St Nicholas, built to house a collection of highly prestigious relics of the Passion (Plates 18-19).¹⁸⁷ Gifted in 1238 and 1241 by the cash-strapped Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II, in gratitude for a large monetary donation, within the chapel the Crown of Thorns, pieces of the True Cross, nails, Holy Lance and other relics were incorporated into an elaborate liturgical, ceremonial and artistic iconography of kingship focused on the person of the later canonised Louis.¹⁸⁸ Though its artistically innovative status has been frequently questioned, the chapel's stylistic influentiality remains a lynchpin of scholars' formulations of court culture during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁸⁹ Richly decorated with an elaborate cycle of paintings (including martyrdoms and crucifixion imagery), sculptures (the twelve Apostles and relief-work angels surrounding the interior) and stained glass (an Old Testament cycle emphasising kings culminating in the story of the Passion relics including the actions of Louis himself), the chapel has provided an aesthetic, stylistic and iconographic centrepiece through which all assessments of sacralising kingship in the period have been judged.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 1-2, 66-67, 125-31, 146-48.

¹⁸⁸ Beat Brenk, "The Sainte-Chapelle as a Capetian Political Program" in *Artistic integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia C. Raguin, Kathryn Brush and Peter Draper (Toronto, 1995), 195-213; Donna Sadler, "The King as Subject" in *European Monarchy: its evolution and practice from Roman antiquity to modern times*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard Jackson and D. J. Sturdy (Stuttgart, 1992), 53-68.

¹⁸⁹ Branner, *Saint Louis*; Guerry, "Wall Paintings"; Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*.

¹⁹⁰ For the paintings see Robert Branner, "The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58 (1968), 5-41; Guerry, "Wall Paintings". For the sculptures see Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1270* (London, 1972), 18, 59, 471-72; Annette

The Sainte-Chapelle's influence provided a core principle of the supposed Francophilia which has featured so heavily in assessments of Henry III. In the wake of Branner, eagerness to ascribe English developments to a form of French hegemony in literature, art, politics and theology led to Henry being conceived as the shadow of his contemporary, Louis IX, an inferior king in awe of his counterpart's possession of the cultural initiative and acting out of a deep and personal love of all things French. Though this position has been challenged effectively by Binski,¹⁹¹ the compelling evidence underlying it lends a powerful inertia to the importance of French archetypes in this period. Unusually, the king's apparently keen interest in the "most noble [read outstanding, distinguished] chapel of the French king" is demonstrated by both visual and textual sources.¹⁹² The new works at Westminster Abbey evidence not only French Rayonnant influence more generally (including a ground plan reminiscent of Reims cathedral coupled with numerous stylistic details from Reims, Amiens, Royaumont and Paris), but also the Sainte-Chapelle specifically, as reflected by the bowed triangular windows of the Abbey's middle storeys (Plates 20-23).¹⁹³ This has long been associated with passages in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, wherein the monk described how in 1254 the king had "thirstily desired" ("*sitienter desideraverat*") to see the chapel "simultaneously with incomparable relics, which are being held within it" and recorded a visit to the Sainte-Chapelle where Henry venerated the relics contained therein, an esteem supported independently by an anonymous French poem entitled *La Paix aux Anglais* (c. 1260) which alleged that Henry wished to carry the chapel home in a cart and gift it to St Edward.¹⁹⁴ The chronicler provides wider evidence of cultural interaction through the

Weber, "Les Grandes et les Petites Statues d'Apôtres de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris: Hypothèses de Datation et d'Interprétation," *Bulletin Monumental* 155 (1997), 81-101. For the glazing programme, see Louis Grodecki, *La Sainte-Chapelle*, 3rd Edn (Paris, 1979); Louis Grodecki, Marcel Aubert, Jean Lafond and Jean Verrier, *Les Vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, CVMA: France I* (Paris, 1959); Alyce A. Jordan, "Narrative Design in the Stained Glass Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris," (Ph.D. thesis, Bryn Mawr College, 1994); Jordan, *Visualising Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout, 2002).

¹⁹¹ See above, 33-34.

¹⁹² See below, n. 194.

¹⁹³ Branner, *Saint Louis*, 123-28; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 33-43.

¹⁹⁴ "*Diebus quoque sub eisdem, quia a multo tempore dominus rex Anglorum videre sitienter desideraverat regnum Francorum et dominum regem sororium suum et dominam reginam Francorum, sororem dominæ reginæ Angliæ, et civitates, ecclesias, et gestus et habitus Francorum, et capellam regis Francorum nobilissimam, quæ est Parisius, simul cum incomparabilibus, quæ in eis habentur reliquiis, cum missis ad regem Francorum nuntiis solempnibus licentiam banignam et securam impetrasset, convocata familia et comitatu nobilissimo, versus Aurelianem lora direxit*" (CML, V, 475-76). "*Et dum in crastino hora prima et tertia pauperes reficerentur, dominus rex Angliæ, rege Francorum ducente, visitavit capellam illam pulcherrimam, quæ in curia est ejusdem domini regis Francorum, et reliquias ibidem existentes orans*

procession of a relic of the Holy Blood across London from St Paul's to Westminster Abbey in 1247, an act deliberately emulative of Louis IX.¹⁹⁵ This association was explicitly made by Paris who stated the event was “following the example of the then living French king, who was showing all honour, at Paris, to the cross of the same” whose *adventus* of the passion relics he had also recorded.¹⁹⁶ For art historians synthesising this evidence, two modes of interaction were thus conflated into a single reading of typological interaction, an associative iconography of kingship rendering Henry reliant on the borrowed robes of his French counterpart in expressing his identity. In this regard Westminster Abbey has been tied yet closer to the Sainte-Chapelle, the building being proposed as a competitive functional equivalent, the English “monumental reliquary” within which the king was to place his own acquisitions derived from the Holy Land including the Holy Blood and a stone bearing the imprint of Christ's foot (1249).¹⁹⁷ Thus Westminster is rendered an inherently Parisian location, its Abbey England's Sainte-Chapelle, its palace a Plantagenet *Palais de la Cité* and the cathedral nearby an English Notre-Dame, comprehensible only through deliberate equation and comparison with continental counterparts.

Where the St Stephen's of Henry III is dealt with iconographically it is invariably subsumed within the same framework of interpretation. Branner associated the painting of Apostles encircling the chapel in 1250 with the sculpted examples surrounding the Sainte-Chapelle,¹⁹⁸ but a broader case can be made for its influence. The Judgment Henry had painted at the west end might be considered to reflect the western fenestration of the Sainte-Chapelle, which is generally assumed to have shared the iconography of its fifteenth-century Flamboyant replacement depicting scenes from the Revelation to John (Plate 24).¹⁹⁹ Though Christ in Majesty was depicted in numerous Palace chapels during his reign including Feckenham (1233), Woodstock (1233), Guildford (1235), Northampton (1236), Rochester (repainted; 1239) and Winchester (1236, 1238 and 1256), the early 1250s did signify a change in terminology with the only other reference to a ‘Judgment’ in a chapel appearing at

regalibus oblationibus honoravit.” (CML, V, 479). T. Wright (ed. and trans.), *The Political Songs of England* (Edinburgh, 1884); Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 45-46.

¹⁹⁵ Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), 1-19.

¹⁹⁶ CML, IV, 640-41. For above translations see *Matthew Paris' English History*, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols, (London, 1852-54), II, 240.

¹⁹⁷ Vincent, *Holy Blood*, 1-13; CML, IV, 640-42; V, 81-82.

¹⁹⁸ Branner, *Saint Louis*, 124-25.

¹⁹⁹ CVMA: *France I*, 310-14.

Feckenham in 1251, perhaps indicating a unified catalyst.²⁰⁰ Such associations were perhaps further compounded by the 1253 story of Nebuchadnezzar, an Old Testament king primarily recorded in the Book of Daniel.²⁰¹ It could be argued that this choice reflected the large narrative cycles of Old Testament kings in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle, which themselves included a cycle from the Book of Daniel and formed a historical genealogy of Christ closely tied to Capetian conceptions of royalty.²⁰² A more tenuous link might be drawn with the new “garden” entrance of 1239 which may have reflected palatial disposition in Paris. Recent work by Meredith Cohen has shown that the Sainte-Chapelle, at least in its original design iteration, equally possessed a secondary set of entrances cut into the north side which possibly connected with the royal hall (later the *Grande Salle*) via the *galerie des merciers* which Louis presumably had constructed contemporaneously with the chapel.²⁰³ Certainly from 1250 onwards, four years after the completion of the Sainte-Chapelle, the iconographies employed within St Stephen’s bore, in some respects, at least a superficial resemblance to those in the royal chapel of Paris.

However, the identification of such similarities should not be interpreted as a sign of causality. Indeed, the relative chronologies of both sets of works preclude their close association before the 1250s. The earliest stage at which the Sainte-Chapelle could have been conceived is June 1238, when Louis IX delivered the funds to Emperor Baldwin which ultimately resulted in the Crown of Thorns’ translation, but the building was not initiated until the following year at least or finalised until 1246.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, its internal chronology of design and building is increasingly uncertain, a prospect recently explored by Meredith Cohen.²⁰⁵ By contrast, works at St Stephen’s appear as early as 1227 and, though not continuous, approximately half of these were complete by 1240. Consequently, a large proportion of the works cannot be attributed to the influence of an archetypal French exemplar, an observation further confirmed by the lack of discernible links in the work

²⁰⁰ See Appendix II; CLR 1251-60, 11.

²⁰¹ CCR 1253-54, 165.

²⁰² Jordan, *Visualising Kingship*, 16-21.

²⁰³ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 79-82, 150. The lateral portals are still extant though blocked up, presumably in Viollet-le-Duc’s 1850s restoration campaign. Interestingly, as Cohen discussed in an earlier paper (Meredith Cohen, “The Way to Paradise: Porches, Portals, and Doors of the Sainte-Chapelle” (paper presented at *Les Saintes-Chapelles du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle*, CESR, Tours, June 27, 2013)), the *galerie des merciers* may not have connected to the western porch of the Sainte-Chapelle as has conventionally been assumed, as on all extant plans it appears to lead nowhere. See J. Guerout, “Le Palais de la Cité a Paris des origines à 1417,” *Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France* I (1949), 172-73.

²⁰⁴ Guerry “Wall Paintings,” 89.

²⁰⁵ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 73-74, 79-82.

themselves. Even for works taking place during or after the Sainte-Chapelle's construction, any associations between the two can only have been heavily reliant on intermediaries. Henry III was not to visit the Sainte-Chapelle until 1254, and thus his knowledge of the French king's chapel would have been gained by aural, not ocular means. All associations between them remain tenuous, each comparable detail readily allowing for independent formal explanations.

Secondly, the tone of Henry's French emulation is open to reinterpretation. As has been demonstrated, Henry's characterisation as a slave to the vagaries of court fashion (as set by the French monarchy) is an assumption tied deeply to notions of political inferiority. An alternative framework is one of competition. Patronal relations between the English and French monarchies could certainly be antagonistic, as exemplified by the two royal families' directly competing patronage of the shrine of Edmund of Pontigny, the only new English saint of the period.²⁰⁶ Binski has already presented a more eclectic interpretation of the king's patronage with a competitive edge, suggesting a wider framework of sources extending to Rome which will be discussed in greater depth below.²⁰⁷ This notion of plurality, however, is asserted within the framework of the "appropriateness" of his patronal character, an assessment which begs partial re-evaluation.²⁰⁸ Despite Binski's overt reservations regarding Henry III's "cultural vassalage",²⁰⁹ appropriative models for such cultural exchanges implicitly subordinate a patron's local milieu to the foreign sources employed. Binski's approach is not immune to this, as evidenced by his assertion that Westminster Abbey's imported design elements generated "parity of status" with French archetypes deemed "tempting because of their beauty and prestige".²¹⁰ In addressing the nature of artistic competition, thus, it is necessary to step yet further back from notions of cultural priority and consider anew the range of fields within which royal patronage was comparative. By

²⁰⁶ Though an English saint by birth, Edmund of Abingdon was exiled to France in 1240 and buried at Pontigny. Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* describes how following his canonisation (1246) Henry immediately ordered celebratory masses, but, unlike Louis IX and his mother Blanche of Castile, was unable to attend the translation ceremony in 1247. According to Paris Blanche entreated the saint who "at [her] request didst cross over into France" to bless her and her sons and "establish the kingdom of France in the firmness of peace and triumph", opposing this directly to Richard of Cornwall's counter-claim over Edmund as "our saint by birth, education and promotion". This was paralleled by the contrast between Louis IX's promise to decorate the saint's tomb with lighted tapers and elaborate effigies and Richard's vow to build a quarter of the shrine. After St Edmund's second translation into a feretory (1249), Henry began a regular pattern of gifts to the shrine, culminating in a personal visit in 1254 and an order of 3rd May 1255 to pay for a new feretory. *CML*, IV, 631-32; CCR 1254-56, 77. Above translations from *CME*, II, 233.

²⁰⁷ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 42-43. See below, 58-63.

²⁰⁸ See above, 33-34.

²⁰⁹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 43.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

focusing less on emulative relationships with individual archetypes and more on the aesthetic, functional and iconographic traditions within a building's genre, it is possible to explore more nuanced inflections of international artistic interaction within Henry's patronage.

A case in point is Westminster Abbey. Even if it were to be considered functionally equivalent to the Sainte-Chapelle on the basis of their shared relic collections, in scale it was scarcely comparable. Henry III expended over four times the cost of the Sainte-Chapelle on the Abbey fabric and shrine of St Edward alone (see below, Table 1.3), to say nothing of the vast wealth which he lavished on its interior decorations, hangings, liturgical objects and gifts to the shrine.²¹¹ Whilst, admittedly, this sum was exceeded by that spent acquiring the Passion relics by Saint Louis, these are not equatable forms of patronage: one being construction, the other an act of diplomatic negotiation with the Eastern Empire. Furthermore, placing these two buildings in direct competition is highly misleading. Binski has observed that despite combining the multiple functions of major royal saint's cult, coronation church and, eventually, mausoleum in a single building (elements dispersed across several institutions in France), the Abbey was not the product of competitive centralisation, but of changing circumstances across multiple reigns.²¹² It is thus as an Abbey with its own peculiar circumstances that the building should ultimately be viewed, rather than the emulative equation of function with function. Considered as such, Henry III's building took part in a far broader aesthetic and stylistic tradition of a particular category of great church architecture, redeploing French (represented by the ground plan of Reims and tracery of Amiens), English (the Purbeck marble of Canterbury and Salisbury Cathedrals) and papal (the Cosmati pavement) elements within the genre. Henry's patronage there was thus not so much eclectic as a varied and innovative recombination of internal traditions of building, adapted internationally and aimed at personal devotional purposes. A grand design, suitably mediated through imagery and ceremonial activity including gifts, devotions and, eventually, the king's funeral and his successor's coronation, served primarily to associate indelibly king and Confessor, an Anglocentric typological construction of royal identity which required no recourse to French archetypes.

²¹¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 1.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 7.

Table 1.3 - Comparative Expenditure for Westminster Abbey and the Sainte-Chapelle

	English Pounds (£)			French Livres Tournais (l. T.)	French Livres Parisius (l. P.)
Westminster Abbey	40-50,000	0 s.	0 d.	150-187,500	120-150,000
Sainte-Chapelle	10,666	13 s.	4 d.	40,000	32,000
Crown of Thorns	36,000	0 s.	0 d.	135,000	108,000
Passion Relics	16,000	0 s.	0 d.	60,000	48,000

Palace chapels form a parallel tradition. With extant examples extending back to Charlemagne in the west and still further in Constantinople, the building genre of self-contained churches within royal residences serving the devotional needs of the king, his servants and his retinue had a long history. Originally connoting an itinerant collection of liturgical objects and relics which followed the king (a meaning partially preserved in the *capella regis* in England), the word *capella* (chapel) was rapidly co-opted by the buildings within which these were stored and used, coming to represent fixed institutions served by permanent chaplains.²¹³ Henry himself ordered repairs, additions and new constructions of chapels in at least sixty-one royal residences, many of which were inherited from previous monarchs.²¹⁴ Though palace chapels were a universal phenomenon amongst thirteenth-century Christian rulers, within England itself there was an extensive internal tradition of the genre spanning multiple generations. Consequently, as Cohen recently proposed in the case of the Sainte-Chapelle,²¹⁵ it is perhaps more telling to ground St Stephen's within a broader tradition of palatine chapel construction than a specific exemplar. Emily Guerry has argued that the Sainte-Chapelle's longstanding association with the Chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos in the Great Palace of Constantinople, the ultimate source of the Passion relics it contained, was neither concrete nor artistic.²¹⁶ Reinterpreting the proposed consonances between their two-storey design as a universal commonplace of palace chapel construction and proposing that the two "should not be placed into a direct aesthetic dialogue", Guerry instead suggests that they be treated as "parallel evocations of a universal courtly archetype" with a shared penchant for astonishing decoration.²¹⁷ Similarly, despite the Sainte-Chapelle's supposed predominance within the genre, the building left a minimal impact on St Stephen's. Partly the Sainte-Chapelle's reputation for innovation has been built on the accident of its

²¹³ Bent, "Chapel Royal," 78-82.

²¹⁴ Appendix II.

²¹⁵ Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 113-41.

²¹⁶ Guerry, "Wall Paintings," 21-24.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23-24; Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 115-25.

survival, as we have relatively little idea what the decorative or architectural character of western European palace chapels was before the 1230s and 40s. As such, the iconographic choices conventionally attributed to French influence at St Stephen's might equally respond to longstanding conventions of palatine design.

Though without analogues within Henry III's other palace chapels,²¹⁸ it is possible that the 1250 painted Apostles reflected more established traditions of palace chapel decoration. Apostles were among the saints depicted surrounding the interior of the Virgin of the Pharos in Constantinople (recorded during the mid-ninth-century) and similarly appeared as silver statues in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²¹⁹ Equally, any associations between the contemporary Judgment and attributed Revelation cycle at the Sainte-Chapelle are purely speculative as the Paris chapel's original western glazing scheme remains entirely lost. Even if the Judgment drew direct inspiration from its French counterpart, the iconography was entirely decontextualised, lacking the accompanying programmatic narrative of salvation of which the west window was the culminating point.²²⁰ Furthermore, the combination of Apostles and Judgment suggest an alternative joint derivation, namely that the Apostles present in conventional Judgment iconographies were detached and distributed around the chapel, a unified scheme founded instead in the more widespread rekindling of interest in apocalyptic imagery from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.²²¹ Thus, whilst the Sainte-Chapelle remains a possible catalyst for these elements, this interpretation must be treated with caution. Their deployment indicates limited secondary experience of French exemplars which translated in terms of generalities rather than systematic repetition, and only elements which could be readily absorbed into existing frameworks of palace chapel design as polyvalent components were adopted. Consequently, Henry III's St Stephen's should not be viewed in terms of a straightforward emulative relationship with the Sainte-Chapelle, but rather as a cumulative conglomeration of influences reflecting diverse sources. Once employed, such disparate elements were embedded within the existing iconographic and material fabric of the structure, serving both individually and in retrospective unison to position the chapel within an extended discourse of interacting concepts of palatine chapel design.

²¹⁸ An example was painted in the new cloister at Windsor in 1251. See Appendix II.

²¹⁹ Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Toronto, 1986), 186.

²²⁰ Brenk, "Political Program," 195-209.

²²¹ Nigel Morgan, *The Douce Apocalypse: Picturing the end of the world in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006), 10-19.

St Stephen's, Empire and the Plantagenets

An integral aspect of this architectural discourse of chapels during the Middle Ages was *imperium*. At the start of the thirteenth century, many of the more prestigious and influential examples of the genre were either created under Emperors in the east and west (Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen, the Virgin of the Pharos in Constantinople) or those self-consciously emulating them (Robert II's *Capella Palatina* at Palermo (1132-43)) (Plates 25-27).²²² Western kings were thus inheritors to longstanding Roman traditions of palatial design, elements which were as much an aesthetic quality as one of structural disposition. At Aachen, Constantinople and Palermo alike, the marble-clad interiors imbued the structure with the kind of architectural polychromy which carried connotations of the expression of imperial power stretching back to antiquity itself. Whether sourced locally or transported over great distances, a trope Binski termed the "Odyssey of Stone" exemplified by Charlemagne's transportation of columns from Rome and Ravenna to his chapel at Aachen,²²³ the aggrandisement of an interior by the addition of decorative marbles automatically generated associations with prior models in Rome, Constantinople, Ravenna, Aachen and beyond. Unlike the Sainte-Chapelle, which de-emphasised the material polychromy of the Roman past in favour of the overwhelming colour provided by painting and glazing (Plate 18), St Stephen's Chapel was deliberately engaging within this tradition through its marble altar, step and font installed 1238-40.²²⁴ Though not the full cladding of its historical counterparts, such details nonetheless gave St Stephen's an aesthetic quality which not only provided a rare mark of distinction for the building, but also brought it in line with an idiosyncrasy of the king's patronage.

Purbeck marble shafts and other elements were already a strong tradition within England, particularly within Benedictine institutions such as Westminster Abbey and Canterbury

²²² For imperialising iconographies at Palermo, see William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina at Palermo* (Princeton, 1997).

²²³ Paul Binski, "The Cosmati and *Romanitas* in England: An Overview" in *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements*, ed. Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot, 2002), 122; Dale Kinney, "Roman Architectural Spolia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145 (2001), 147-49. The origins of Charlemagne's spolia are described in Einhard's contemporary *Vita Karoli*. See Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 3:26 in *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne: The Latin Text*, ed. H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat (Oxford, 1915), 28.

²²⁴ See above, 41-42.

Cathedral, the latter also incorporating an elaborate *opus sectile* shrine pavement.²²⁵ However, Henry III apparently made a self-conscious effort to incorporate it within royal spaces, redeploying it in cloisters, chambers, chapels and churches. That this was an aesthetic rather than material choice is indicated by the painted imitation marble employed in the halls at Ludgershall in 1246 and Guildford in 1256,²²⁶ and its iconographic dimension is further confirmed by the Cosmati pavement built at Westminster Abbey (1268; Plate 28). Constructed in emulation of the Porphyry *omphalion* pavements of Old St Peter's and the Great Church of Agia Sophia in Constantinople on which Charlemagne and eastern Emperors were crowned respectively, the world-encompassing symbolism of its patterned surface and accompanying inscription identified royal power explicitly with the imperialising sovereignty of world rulership through an aesthetic medium derived from Rome itself.²²⁷ Consisting of an imperial form created with imported variegated stone deployed on a surface executed by Roman craftsmen, the pavement was the culmination of a longstanding strategy of imperialising association equally expressed at St Stephen's.

Henry III's political interests in Empire were as early and sustained as his artistic ones. With the marriage of his sister, Isabella, to Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II in 1235, Henry gained as a brother-in-law one of the most self-consciously Romanising Emperors of his age who challenged even the Papacy's authority and fought for control over Italy itself.²²⁸ This new relationship was expressed artistically in heraldic form both within the set of stone shields executed in the blind arcading of the north and south aisles of Westminster Abbey nave (1253-72) and the smaller emblems in the borders flanking the virtues defeating vices depicted within the Painted Chamber (1263-72), one of the most important spaces of royal identity formation of the period (Plates 29-30).²²⁹ Contemporaneously, a rekindled interest in

²²⁵ Christopher Norton, "The Luxury Pavement in England before Westminster" in *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements*, ed. Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot, 2002), 7-16; Binski, "Cosmati," 7; Binski, *Becket's Crown*, 23-27.

²²⁶ CLR 1245-51, 32; CLR 1251-60, 289.

²²⁷ Peter Schreiner, "Omphalion und Rota Porphyretica. Zum Kaiserzeremoniell in Konstantinopel und Rom" in *Byzance et les Slaves: Etudes de Civilisation Melanges Ivan Dujcev* (Paris, 1979), 401-10; Silvia Pedone, "The Marble Omphalos of Saint Sophia in Constantinople: An Analysis of an *Opus Sectile* Pavement of the Middle Byzantine Age" in *Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*, ed. M. Şahin (Istanbul, 2011), 749-68; Binski, "Cosmati," 6-13, 28-33.

²²⁸ Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second 1194-1250* (London, 1931), 167-221, 406-08, 416-683; David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1988), 238-40, 290-320, 340-407.

²²⁹ For the genealogical context of the arms of Westminster Abbey see Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 77-78. At the Painted Chamber the arms appeared interspersed with the arms of England to the left of the image of *Largesce*, paired with that of *Debonereté* bordered by the arms of England, Edmund the Martyr and Edward the Confessor (Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 115).

the Eastern Empire (under Latin rule since the Sack of Constantinople in 1204) spread across the west at this time following Emperor Baldwin II's deposition and consequent European tour to raise financial support, arriving in England and meeting Henry in 1238.²³⁰ One need only glance through Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* to see how closely the changing political fortunes of the eastern and western Emperors were followed by contemporary histories and the king, the monk taking a keen interest in the struggles of Friedrich II against the Papacy, the near-constant upheavals in the Eastern Empire and his king's responses to both.²³¹ Furthermore, from 1254 onwards the king was engaging directly within imperial politics by intervening in Sicily and supporting his brother's election to King of the Romans, though this was ultimately fruitless.²³² Such connections might easily have instigated conceptual and artistic exchanges along similar lines to those proposed above in relation to France, observations which might carry further implications for what the King was attempting to achieve at St Stephen's.

Elsewhere the king actively employed explicitly imperial iconographic tropes in his artistic productions and decisions. The stories of Alexander painted at Clarendon (1237) and Nottingham Castle (1252), combined with the 1253 story of Nebuchadnezzar at St Stephen's, presented two of the rulers identified by Saint Jerome with the four Empires preceding the eternal imperium of Christ.²³³ More explicitly, Henry briefly instituted a gold penny (1257-1258) conceptually similar to the Florin (launched 1252-53), but ultimately emulating the Byzantine *nomisma* or *bezant*, the currency which had firmly associated gold coinage with imperial rule for centuries (Plates 31-33).²³⁴ Furthermore, his Second Great Seal of 1259 replaced the open bench of its predecessors with the backed and enclosed throne in the manner of continental seals ultimately derived from the high-backed thrones of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, just as his brother had as King of the Romans in 1257 (Plates 34-

²³⁰ *CML*, III, 480-81.

²³¹ Paris's summaries of events in the two empires are regular, surprisingly accurate and significantly more frequent than those regarding the king of France or even the papacy, including letters from Friedrich II to Henry III. The chronicler was sufficiently close to royal circles to be summoned directly by the king on occasion. See *CML*, IV, 644-45.

²³² Björn K. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216-1272* (Woodbridge, 2006), 147-97.

²³³ Borenius, "Cycle," 48; see below, 69-70.

²³⁴ Laurie A. Lawrence, "The Long-Cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I," *British Numismatic Journal* 9 (1912), 172-75; Johnathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), 114. This was well in advance the attempts by other European monarchs to introduce a gold currency, in particular Louis IX's *Ecu d'or* which was first issued in 1266. *Bezants* formed regular components of gifts to Westminster Abbey, e.g. CLR 1251-60, 428.

36).²³⁵ The high-backed chair format appears first with Emperor Friedrich I Hohenstaufen (1152-90) and was repeated by Heinrich VI (1169-97) (not Otto IV (1198-1215)) and Friedrich II, but the closest parallel to Richard and Henry's designs was that of William II, Count of Holland and King of the Romans immediately preceding Richard of Cornwall (1247-56) (Plates 37-41).²³⁶ At St Stephen's, a similarly direct connection with imperial imagery can be posited for the king and queen placed either side of the 1239 'garden' entrance in 1245. Unparalleled elsewhere in Henry's palace chapels (see Appendix II), the representation of monarchs on the walls of churches visible at the point of entry was an arrangement paralleled in many Byzantine churches with imperial patrons such as St Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople, the burial church of Romanos III (1028-34) which still maintained these images as late as the early fifteenth century.²³⁷

Such associations, however, carried with them an apparent contradiction. Henry was a king, not an emperor, and exhibited no attempts to attain imperial dignity for himself. The historian Michael Clanchy has argued, albeit somewhat problematically, that the king actively developed a theory of "royal absolutism" during the 1240s-50s, threatening the liberties and rights of the magnates of the realm in favour of an unquestioning and extra-legal royal authority.²³⁸ Yet even were this correct it should not be equated lightly with *imperium*. Despite the Cosmati pavement's inscribed claim that "this spherical globe shows the archetypal macrocosm" ("*SPERICVS : ARCHETYPUM : GLOBVS : HIC : MONSTRAT : MACROCOSMVM*") which placed the world beneath the monarch's feet,²³⁹ Henry never attempted to assert the universal governance which was the prerogative of imperial sovereignty during the Middle Ages. Yet, as Robert Folz identified, in addition to the universal 'Roman Empire' imagined and theorised in Constantinople and Germany there was a secondary 'non-roman' ethnocentric conception of Empire appearing in Spain and England

²³⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 84-86; Alexander and Binski, *Age*, 316-17; Benedict Jacob Römer-Büchner, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser, Könige und Gegenkönige* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1851), 37.

²³⁶ Reiner Hausherr (ed.), *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur: Katalog der Ausstellung*, 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1977), III, 22-23, 27-28, 34, 41.

²³⁷ A similar function was arguably performed by the bed in the Painted Chamber with its image of the Coronation of St Edward. Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 35-38. For St Mary Peribleptos see Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán* in Mango, *Byzantine Empire*, 217. The church was restored by Nikephoros III Boteniates (1078-81) and included an image of an Emperor and Empress on the left and right sides of the entrance respectively.

²³⁸ Michael T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066-1307*, 3rd Edn (Oxford, 2006). This viewpoint has been persuasively challenged in David Carpenter, "King, Magnates and Society: The Personal Rule of King Henry III, 1234-1258" in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. Carpenter (London, 1996), 75-106.

²³⁹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 97.

during the tenth century.²⁴⁰ This parallel tradition enabled monarchs to be quasi-imperial in their dignity, status and power, articulated primarily through their capacity to govern their own and other peoples and to assert authority over other monarchs.

Henry III certainly acted with this in mind, resisting the French king's claim to superiority through liege homage, claiming his ancestral lands in Normandy in 1224, fighting to retain control over his lands in Poitou (1224-30 and 1242-43), conducting a dynastic campaign of affiliation through the marriage of his sister and daughter to Alexander II (1221) and III (1251) of Scotland respectively (taking a deliberately paternal attitude towards the latter and extracting homage for his lands in England at the wedding as his father had in 1217) and attempting to obtain the throne of Sicily for his second son Edmund (1254-63) (see Family Tree).²⁴¹ However, in so doing he was playing into an inherited tradition of quasi-imperial sovereignty which I term 'peculiar English imperialism'. Perhaps owing to extensive trading links with the Mediterranean, this phenomenon had an unusually strong eastern element. Since the time of Alfred the Great at least, Anglo-Saxon kings had employed the Greek title of 'basileus' (βασιλειος) as an analogue of the Old English 'bretwalda' indicating a claim to universal sovereignty over the peoples of Britain, a title which Henry would have been familiar with through its use on the seal of Edward the Confessor ("basileus anglorum") which was utilised in part for his 1259 seal (Plate 42).²⁴² This ethnocentric and territorially-specific notion of *imperium* continued to develop following the Norman conquest (after which the title *basileus* remained in usage for several generations),²⁴³ providing a matrix for

²⁴⁰ Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1969), 40-44.

²⁴¹ Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, 2nd Edn (Oxford 1962), 87-96, 100-04, 585-96; D. E. R. Watt, "The Minority of Alexander III of Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971), 1-23; Kay Staniland, "The Nuptials of Alexander III of Scotland and Margaret Plantagenet," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 30 (1986), 21-45; Weiler, *Staufen Empire*, 147-71.

²⁴² Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, 135-37, 141; Lynn Jones, "From *Anglorum Basileus* to Norman Saint: The Transformation of Edward the Confessor," *The Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002), 99-120. The seal is now known in its entirety only from a twelfth-century forgery, but this corresponds to extant partial examples. See Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "The King enthroned, a new theme in Anglo-Saxon royal iconography: the seal of Edward the Confessor and its political implications," in *Form and Order in Medieval France: Studies in Social and Quantitative Sigillography*, ed. Bedos-Rezak (Aldershot, 2003), 53-88. For Byzantine attitudes to foreign uses of *basileus* see Liudprand of Cremona, *Embassy in The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, ed. and trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington D.C., 2007), 239-40; Evangelos K. Chrysos, "The Title Βασιλευς in Early Byzantine International Relations," *DOP* 32 (1978), 29-75.

²⁴³ Some historians have constructed these territorial entities as the 'Norman' and 'Plantagenet' or 'Angevin' Empires respectively (John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976); Patourel, *Feudal Empires, Norman and Plantagenet* (London 1984); John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1984); Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224* (Harlow, 2007)).

imperial associations to be mapped onto localised concerns through the redeployment of externally-derived iconography.

As inheritor of these traditions, Henry's imperial artistic connections at St Stephen's and elsewhere embedded them simultaneously within a continental and localised context, positioning them within Plantagenet and eastern and western imperial modes of articulating power. Henry III's continuing struggles over continental possessions, and his own experiences of a contested succession (1217), uneasy minority (1217-27), the imposition of the Provisions of Oxford in 1258 and with them a council of fifteen governing England in his name up to 1261 and, finally, outright rebellion by his Magnates (1263-65), would render a reference point which combined internal royal patronal traditions with an appeal to ethnocentric *imperium* a compelling lure throughout his reign.²⁴⁴ Worshipping in a space containing enamel basins from Limoges, a city which passed from Plantagenet to French control under Philip Augustus (1180-1223) and remained a contested region up to the 1259 Treaty of Paris,²⁴⁵ Henry would have had every reason to assert continuity with his predecessors. However, singular prototypes do not provide cohesive explanations for Henry's choices at St Stephen's. Each element, whether drawing on English, French or eastern and western imperial tropes of palace chapel design and iconography or localised traditions of response to those elements, was polyvalent and operated cumulatively. In this manner, every palace chapel can be viewed not as a summation of archetypes, but as a participating element in a palatine chapel discourse with antique roots and a continuing tendency towards adaptation and innovation within the guise of tradition. By drawing on *romanitas* aesthetics and specific connections with the patronage of Emperors and other monarchs, Henry III operated within this discourse to create a new addition to the genre, establishing his position as a prestigious royal patron within a space which actively shaped his royal image in relation to his peers and predecessors.

²⁴⁴ R. F. Treharne, *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform: Thirteenth-Century Essays* (London, 1986); David Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990); Carpenter, "What Happened in 1258?" in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. Carpenter (London, 1996), 181-97; Carpenter, "Simon de Montfort: The First Leader of a Political Movement in English History" in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. Carpenter (London, 1996), 219-39.

²⁴⁵ B. Barrière, "The Limousin and Limoges in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" in *Enamels of Limoges: 1100-1350*, ed. J. P. O'Neill (New York, 1995), 26-28.

The Nebuchadnezzar Cycle: kingship, imperium and Christian virtue

A case in point which exemplified this polyvalence was the c. 1253 story of Nebuchadnezzar.²⁴⁶ Though on the surface paralleled by the stories of Old Testament Kings in the Sainte-Chapelle windows, narrative cycles including elements from the Nebuchadnezzar story conventionally focus on the biblical book's protagonist, Daniel. Only a handful of near-contemporary monumental images focused on Nebuchadnezzar survive, and then invariably as isolated scenes within a non-narrative group of moralising images. His dream sequences (Daniel 2:31-35, 4:7-14) appeared in the dado arcade of the west front at Amiens, and his depiction as an idolater (Daniel 3 :1-7) survives in the early thirteenth-century glass images of good and bad kings in the north transept of Chartres Cathedral (Plates 43-44).²⁴⁷ Yet the rarity of these examples coupled with the Westminster cycle's unusual focus indicates the originality of Henry's choice.

The possibilities such a narrative presented resonated with many strands of Henry's patronage. Whilst contemporary images of individual scenes do exist, the lack of any direct parallel for a narrative focused on Nebuchadnezzar necessitates a more speculative approach. Though there can be no certainty in identifying the cycle's iconography, by investigating the story presented in the Book of Daniel in relation to extant artistic exemplars a range of possibilities can be suggested. If one shifts the biblical book's protagonist to Nebuchadnezzar, the story begins with the ruler's conquest of Jerusalem (Daniel 1:1-2) and seizing of the lord's vessels to adorn his pagan temple (Daniel 1:2). Later, Daniel is presented to Nebuchadnezzar along with his brothers (Daniel 1:18-19). Then Nebuchadnezzar has the first of his dreams, but is unable to recall it (Daniel 2:1, 2:3). Conventionally in illustrations of this scene, the king dreaming is accompanied by his dream as later described by Daniel (Daniel 2:31-35). As shown in an illuminated frontispiece in the twelfth-century Lambeth Palace Bible and an elaborate initial of the c. 1220 Lothian Bible (Plates 45-46),²⁴⁸ Nebuchadnezzar is confronted by a great composite statue with a finest gold ("*aurum optimum*") head, silver arms, bronze belly and thighs, iron legs and feet of iron and clay intermixed. The king gazes on this vision until a stone cut miraculously from a mountain falls upon the feet and shatters them, bringing the entire statue crashing down

²⁴⁶ See above, 45.

²⁴⁷ Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, 464; Louis Grodecki, ed., *Les vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire, CVMA France: II* (Paris, 1981), 39-40.

²⁴⁸ D. M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible* (Turnhout, 2007), 163, 172-74.

whilst the stone becomes a mountain filling the whole earth. The latter part of the scene appears on the west portal of Amiens Cathedral (c. 1220-35; Plate 43), where the statue's absence places the emphasis on the cleft stone's prefiguration of Christ's Virgin birth.²⁴⁹ In the aftermath the king calls his councillors and demands they interpret the dream on pain of death, something they are unable to accomplish (Daniel 2:2-11) – a scene depicted in the Sainte-Chapelle glass (Plate 47). Following their execution (Daniel 2:12-13), Daniel is brought before Nebuchadnezzar after declaring his ability to interpret the dream (Daniel 2:25-45). Upon hearing Daniel's interpretation, the overjoyed king falls on his face and worships him (Daniel 2:46-47), making him governor over all the provinces of Babylon (Daniel 2:48). The former scene occurs in the Lambeth bible frontispiece, the latter in the Sainte-Chapelle glass (Plate 48).

Nebuchadnezzar's conversion, however, is short-lived and followed by the creation of a large gold idol (Daniel 3:1), the king ordering that any man who did not worship it would be burned alive (Daniel 3:2-6). This scene departs from Daniel's story and consequently rarely appears in sequences which follow him as protagonist, but is present in the Lambeth Bible frontispiece. Three Jews, refusing to do so, are condemned to the flames (Daniel 3:12-19), but do not burn (Daniel 3:20-24) and are saved by an angel arriving to extinguish them (Daniel 3:49). The Lambeth Bible conflates these scenes into a single panel, compressing the narrative into a unified image. Nebuchadnezzar, on arriving, is amazed and promotes the three, forbidding blasphemy of their God (Daniel 3:93-97). Next, in the form of a letter, Nebuchadnezzar describes a second dream as shown in two panels of the Sainte-Chapelle window (Plates 49-50). The king beholds a great tree, beautiful and rich in fruit and wildlife (Daniel 4:7-9), whereupon a "watcher" descends from heaven, cries aloud and orders the tree be cut down and the beasts and birds driven away, leaving only the stump in the earth and binding it with iron and brass (Daniel 4:10-14). This is interpreted by Daniel to predict subsequent events (Daniel 4:16-27), wherein a voice from heaven declares Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom to be passing from him and drives him from among men, the king becoming beastlike and eating grass like an ox (Daniel 4:28-30). Finally, the king lifts his eyes to heaven and his sense is restored to him along with his kingdom in even greater majesty (Daniel 4:33).

²⁴⁹ Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, 464.

The complexity of the narrative makes it difficult to ascertain the cycle's probable contents, and within it there is considerable scope for expansion and contraction. Scenes could be conflated, as in the combined idol and furnace scene in the Lambeth Palace Bible frontispiece, or split apart as for the king's second dream in the Sainte-Chapelle glazing (Plates 45, 49-50). However, from existing visual examples the presence of certain scenes is likely. First and foremost are the dream scenes, which had a well-established visual tradition. The surviving manuscript illuminations treating this subject all begin with the first dream of Nebuchadnezzar,²⁵⁰ and the second was prominently displayed in the Sainte-Chapelle glass. The first is often accompanied by the king seeking counsel from first his own wise men and then Daniel, something paralleled in several thirteenth-century glazing narratives with sequences of advisors coming before a reigning monarch.²⁵¹ Another likely contender, appearing in manuscripts, is Nebuchadnezzar's idol, the three Jews' refusal to worship it and their subsequent burning.

In general, however, the narrative incorporates several discernible themes which allow us to subject it to a degree of iconographic interpretation: the threat of divine judgment against earthly vanity, prophecy, admonitions against idolatry, interpreting dreams as a means of divine guidance and the morality-play of good and bad kingship. At its heart, the narrative revolves around the constant rebalancing of vice and virtue by which, through divine intervention and gradual reform of character, the king's eventual redemption and salvation is achieved. Nebuchadnezzar's vices are both expressed and engaged with sequentially: his injustice in killing those unable to interpret his dream is highlighted by Daniel asking why such a sentence was issued (Daniel 2:15); his idolatry is opposed and partially corrected through the three Jews' miraculous example; his lack of charity is reprimanded by Daniel in interpreting his second dream (Daniel 4:24), and his pride in declaring "Is not this the great Babylon, which I have built, to be the house of the kingdom, by the strength of my power, and in the glory of my excellence?" ("*nonne haec est Babylon magna quam ego aedificavi in domum regni in robore fortitudinis meae et in gloria decoris mei*") results in misfortune and madness (Daniel 4:27). Thus Nebuchadnezzar's vices were excised iteratively, and it is only when he raises his eyes to heaven and converts that they are finally banished. Before this

²⁵⁰ Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, 170, 172.

²⁵¹ The Sainte-Chapelle's Daniel window provides a proceeding example for this along with its other windows (Jordan, *Visualising Kingship*, 23). See also the c. 1290 St Catherine Window, York Minster Chapter House (Sarah Brown, "*Our Magnificent Fabrick*": *York Minster: an Architectural History, c 1220-1500* (Swindon, 2003), 52-53, 292; Chloe Morgan, "A Life of St Catherine of Alexandria," *JBAA* 162 (2009), 146-78).

stage the king's conversion is partial and unresolved, requiring direct divine intervention and a dramatic reversal of fortune to set him on the path to virtue.

Such a mode of self-exhortation through the depiction of typological exemplars and counter-exemplars in royal spaces was a major element of Henry III's patronage. The fatalistic conception of the battle between vice and virtue which, for a king, was equated with fortune mediated by divine favour was a common didactic theme in the decoration of his residences. In 1236 a Wheel of Fortune was painted immediately above the dais (and, consequently, throne) in the king's hall at Winchester, directly associating the symbolic image of a monarch's fall from divine favour with the reigning king, an iconography repeated at Clarendon in 1247.²⁵² Such fatalism would have reflected Henry III's personal experiences, as he would have been aware of the numerous crises, civil wars and near-collapse of his father's late reign (1213-16) and the tribulations of his grandfather, Henry II, whose own sons frequently rebelled against him.²⁵³ It was in this context that the Nebuchadnezzar cycle was mentioned by Michael Camille, who considered it "an allegory of the precariousness of earthly rule".²⁵⁴ Thrones could be shaken by divine will, and Nebuchadnezzar provided a particularly strong Old Testament example, coupled with a call to virtue and a promise of eventual salvation through reform of the self guided by divine influence.

An important aspect of this is the inability of Nebuchadnezzar to understand the messages which God has provided without adequate counsel. The selection of good councillors was not only a more general attribute of virtuous kingship, but also a longstanding iconographic theme within Plantagenet hagiography, engaging with similar issues to those raised by St Thomas Becket and, more recently, the canonised archbishop of Canterbury Edmund of Pontigny who was exiled within Henry's own reign.²⁵⁵ The relationship between dreams carrying divine messages and good counsel appears to have been a significant theme in Henry III's Old Testament imagery in palace chapels, as reflected by the stories of Joseph at Westminster and Winchester.²⁵⁶ The story's close parallel with the Book of Daniel implies a

²⁵² Borenius, "Cycle," 49; Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 44; CLR 1245-51, 157.

²⁵³ Ralph V. Turner, *King John: England's Evil King?* (Stroud, 2005), 173-195; Carpenter, *Minority*, 5-49.

²⁵⁴ Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol* (Cambridge, 1989), 286-87.

²⁵⁵ See above, 54.

²⁵⁶ See above, 43. For Joseph's contemporary popularity see Nigel Morgan, "Old Testament Illustration in Thirteenth-Century England" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (New York, 1992), 169-74; Marie-Dominique Gauthier-Walter, *L'Histoire de Joseph* (Bern, 2003), 139-401.

certain commonality of conception. Like Daniel Joseph was appointed a governor of the realm and advisor to the king, raised above those who failed to interpret his dreams.²⁵⁷ The interest in dreams both for their prophetic content and as a guide to virtuous behaviour is also a theme of the life of Edward the Confessor, the king's peculiar patron. In the *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei* compiled by Matthew Paris (and dedicated to Henry's wife) at least five dream sequences occur, three being prophetic and three relating to acts of charity, exhorting the virtues of the saintly king.²⁵⁸ Yet Edward the Confessor, unlike Nebuchadnezzar, had no need for intermediaries and was quite capable of interpreting the dreams himself – those without vice had no need for advice. For the more fallible majority of kings, however, tailored exhortations to the practical demonstration of virtue were required and Nebuchadnezzar's story incorporated numerous practical counter-examples of royal conduct including poor counsel, uncharitability and rampant idolatry.

The painting's operative principles, thus, were twofold: firstly a process of self-exhortation through continuous visual reminders of a significant narrative, and secondly its relationship with the space more generally. Though we cannot be certain of the painting's location within St Stephen's, its position within the king's personal chapel in a space often associated with major acts of charity and a palace which was increasingly the *locus* of royal governance engendered immediate, localised importance. This was in line with the king's wider deployment of moralising imagery, in particular relating to royal charity. Dives and Lazarus, a New Testament parable in which a rich man who refused aid to a beggar was drawn to hell upon death whilst the beggar went to the heavenly bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:19-31), was depicted in the king's halls at Ludgershall (1246), Northampton (1253) and Guildford (1255), spaces in which Henry like Dives feasted and charity was exercised in feeding and clothing the poor.²⁵⁹ In the nearby Painted Chamber the king's bed was immediately faced by two windows flanked by depictions of Edward and the Ring and Largesse defeating Covetousness (1263-72) (Plates 30, 51), an arrangement which firmly associated a royal display of largesse with imagery in the tradition of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, a fifth-century text describing a pitched battle between virtues and vices.²⁶⁰ As Binski has shown, under Edward I these murals were directly engaged within an expanding programme of Old Testament narratives

²⁵⁷ Genesis, 41:25-36, 41-43.

²⁵⁸ Matthew Paris, *Estoire de seint Aedward le rei* in *The History of Saint Edward the King* by Matthew Paris, trans. T. S. Fenster and J. Wogan-Browne (Tempe, 2008), 1-3, 61-62, 75-76, 88, 90, 102-03.

²⁵⁹ CLR 1245-51, 32; CLR 1251-60, 21, 97, 263; Sally Dixon-Smith, "The Image and Reality of Alms-Giving in the Great Halls of Henry III," *JBAA* 152 (1999), 79-96.

²⁶⁰ Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 33-45; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 80-81.

featuring the rise and downfall of virtuous and tyrannical kings, an observation which equally applied under Henry III.²⁶¹ Jean de Joinville in his *Life of Saint Louis* (1309) records that Louis IX used to tell his children stories of good and bad kings every evening to emulate and avoid,²⁶² and the painted story of Nebuchadnezzar fulfilled a comparable function.

Yet there was one further aspect in which the narrative reflected Henry's wider patronage: its relationship with *imperium*. Saint Jerome's influential *Commentary on Daniel* built substantially on Daniel's prophetic interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream, identifying the gold head, silver arms, bronze thighs and iron legs of the visionary idol with the four sequential empires of Nebuchadnezzar (Babylon), Persia, Alexander and the Romans (still extant in the form of the Western and Eastern Empires).²⁶³ Nebuchadnezzar's empire, thus, was doomed to pre-determined ruin, a trait shared by all save the final empire of Christ, a rock shattering all before it. Coupled with the prominent Judgment at the chapel's west end and encircling Apostles, the cycle thus could have been viewed within an apocalyptic framework explicitly linked to the dangers inherent within pretensions to universal sovereignty, and thus royal governance more generally. In overstepping the boundaries of moral behaviour by pridefully usurping God's throne, Nebuchadnezzar was stripped of his realm and very sanity, a fate only reversed when he acknowledged that "all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing before [God]: for he does according to his will, as well with the powers of heaven, as among the inhabitants of earth" ("*omnes habitatores terrae apud eum in nihilum reputati sunt iuxta voluntatem enim suam facit tam in virtutibus caeli quam in habitatoribus terrae*").²⁶⁴ Contemporary apocalyptic interests and their association with imperial politics would have added a further dimension to such warnings. The recurrent legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its contingent apocryphal figure the Antichrist as leading agents of the apocalypse gained a new impetus in the thirteenth century. Emperor Friedrich II, engaged in a power struggle with papal authority and adopting the title of King of Jerusalem, was a strong contender for both Antichrist and Last Roman Emperor, an observation which gave the story surprising currency during the period.²⁶⁵ Nebuchadnezzar,

²⁶¹ Binski, "Tyrants," 121-54.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 146; Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis in Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth, 1963), 336.

²⁶³ Saint Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielelem in CCSL LXXVA S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera Pars I, 5, Commentariorum in Danielelem Libri III (IV)* (Turnhout, 1964), 793-95.

²⁶⁴ Daniel, 4:32.

²⁶⁵ Frank Shaw, "Friedrich II as the 'Last Emperor'," *German History* 19 (2001), 321-39.

whose prophetic dreams formed an integral part of this legend, thus emerges as a highly appropriate figure at a time when the world was widely predicted to end in 1260.²⁶⁶

Such timely warnings of the consequences of tyranny carried universal implications for royal rulers. Though Henry never attempted to enforce an absolutist conception of kingship (a monarch above the law as in the widely discussed Justinianic law code's formulation of an Emperor) on his subjects, contemporary fears regarding his infringement of legal rights were extant, albeit not amongst the great magnates.²⁶⁷ In 1255 Matthew Paris recorded a general fear amongst his subjects that a papal legate would reinforce the "royal will, which had been tyrannical" ("*voluntas regia, quae tirannica fuerat*"), taking the form of a deprivation of the rights of the community of the realm ("*universitas regni*") by the king and his counsellors.²⁶⁸ Henry III's awareness of such burgeoning unrest was indicated by an image of the rescue of the King of the Garamantes by his dogs from plotting subjects which he had painted in Westminster's wardrobe in 1256,²⁶⁹ and it is reasonable to assume he was aware of the rhetoric being marshalled against him throughout the 1250s. For a king so heavily invested in quasi-imperial trappings of monarchy, thus, a cycle of imagery warning of the catastrophic dangers of tyrannical pretensions to Empire in a space responding to Romanising aesthetics and iconographic traditions could indicate a potent self-awareness, allowing the king to distance himself consciously from his prideful predecessor whilst simultaneously refocusing his attention on the exercise of virtuous humility for the salvation of his soul.

This use of imagery to provide a more personalised visual contemplative tool reflecting international political interests is further reinforced by the narrative's possible engagement with the threat of idolatry. This longstanding element of Christian discourse developed strong interest in the thirteenth century, coupled with an increased focus on both codifying penance following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the threat of supposed idolaters in

²⁶⁶ Drawing on the 'Visions of Daniel', their integration was elaborated through the interpretation of his first and second dreams. P. J. Alexander, "The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its Messianic Origin," *JWCI* 41 (1978), 2; P. C. Mayo, "The Crusaders under the Palm: Allegorical Plants and Cosmic Kingship in the 'Liber Floridus'," *DOP* 27 (1973), 29-67 esp. 55-64. The 1260 prediction was based on that originally forwarded by the monk Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202), but gained a remarkable following despite its 1215 condemnation by the Fourth Lateran Council (Shaw, "Friedrich II," 324-25; Morton W. Bloomfield and Marjorie E. Reeves, "The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 772-93). Matthew Paris records this prediction, demonstrating that these continental apocalyptic concepts were current in England (*CML*, VI, 9).

²⁶⁷ Carpenter, "Personal Rule," 75-106, esp. 76-79.

²⁶⁸ *CML*, V, 514-15. Translation by author.

²⁶⁹ D. J. Ross, "A Lost Painting in Henry III's Palace at Westminster," *JWCI* 16 (1953), 160.

the east.²⁷⁰ The thirteenth century was an era of renewed impetus for crusading in Europe, an impulse closely associated with the iconography of idolatry. In the west Islam was defined largely in terms of the destruction of Christian imagery and its replacement by idol worship, a process which inverted Islamic condemnation of the use of images into the active worship of false idols.²⁷¹ This crusading era rhetoric has often been applied to thirteenth-century artworks containing references to idolatry, most notably within the Sainte-Chapelle glazing programme which has been considered part of a political strategy closely tied to the crusading activities of Louis IX.²⁷² Yet whilst Nebuchadnezzar provides a prime example of an eastern idolater, it is difficult to see the cycle in this light. Henry III was certainly engaged with the crusading discourse of his contemporaries, taking the cross on three separate occasions and sending his sons Edward and Edmund in his place in 1268.²⁷³ In addition, he is known to have associated his own crusading intentions with visual evocations of past English exploits, ordering the painting of a story of the Siege of Antioch (1097-98) at Westminster following his second crusading oath of 1250 and again at the Tower of London, Winchester and Clarendon in 1251, the latter accompanied by the duel of Richard I and Saladin.²⁷⁴ Yet the Nebuchadnezzar narrative contains no military combat against idolatry like that depicted in these images. Furthermore, by August 1253 the king's dedication to the crusading enterprise was already starting to wane – the substantial gold reserve he had built up to finance the crusade after 1250 had been diverted towards his impending campaign in Gascony in 1253, and in 1254 he commuted his crusading vow in favour of the attempt to secure the throne of Sicily for Edmund.²⁷⁵ Thus the Nebuchadnezzar cycle indicated not the alignment of a chapel space to the crusader cause, but instead the selection of an appropriate narrative that resonated with an aversion to idolatry which, by virtue of a renewed crusading drive, was brought into contemporary focus. The impetus of Nebuchadnezzar's narrative therefore lay far more on personal reform, as propagated by the Fourth Lateran Council, of a vice which had gained a new emphasis in the thirteenth-century west, not a call to arms in the liberation of the Holy Land from an eastern vice. For a king so extensively committed to campaigns of

²⁷⁰ Camille, *Gothic Idol*, 10, 129-64.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 137-40.

²⁷² Daniel Weiss, "Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Sainte Chapelle," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995), 308-20; Jordan, *Visualising Kingship*, 24-26.

²⁷³ Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), 111. Henry took the oath immediately after his coronation in 1216, and again in 1250 and 1271.

²⁷⁴ Borenus, "Cycle," 48-49; CLR 1245-51, 358, 362, 454.

²⁷⁵ David Carpenter, "The Gold Treasure of King Henry III" in *The Reign of Henry III*, ed. Carpenter (London, 1996), 116-21; Weiler, *Staufen Empire*, 149.

image production throughout his life, a warning of the dangers of idolatry may have had particular significance.

Conclusions

Whilst the contents of the Nebuchadnezzar cycle can never be known, the speculative exploration of its potential iconography suggests a personalised programme of imagery playing on contemporary and longstanding issues surrounding the depiction of kingship in England. At St Stephen's more generally as elsewhere in his patronage, Henry was engaged in a process of representing monarchy to himself. The palatine chapel discourse provided one matrix through which this could be articulated, defining the king's most privileged space of private devotion in relation to broader local, continental and imperial traditions of demonstrating power in material form. Demonstrating deliberate and active polyvalence rather than the eclectic reference of discrete archetypes, Henry's cumulative interventions in St Stephen's developed into an innovative, individualised contribution to a building genre. These traditions of patronage, along with the drive to innovate within them, were continually re-evaluated well into the fourteenth century. Even as Henry's St Stephen's was being demolished, the tradition of building with which it engaged was revitalised through the new designs on a far greater scale.

Chapter 2: Edward I (1292-97)

At the close of the week starting Monday 28th April 1292, in honour of god, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Stephen the first roll of expenses for the reconstruction of St Stephen's Chapel was recorded.²⁷⁶ Though the reasons Edward I decided to embark on this ambitious new project remain unclear, what resulted between April 1292 and July 1297 was over 272 weeks of construction on an unprecedented scale for an English royal chapel.²⁷⁷ Inheriting an extensive and richly decorated palace on his accession in 1272, it was over twenty years before Edward engaged in extensive new works at Westminster.²⁷⁸ Initiated simultaneously with a wider programme of renovations to the palace buildings, including an elaborate new decorative scheme for the Painted Chamber nearby (all recorded within the same particulars of account) and timed alongside extensive works at the Abbey, New St Stephen's represented a systematic attempt to reinvigorate Westminster during the early 1290s. Whereas his father had apparently worked within the chapel's existing twelfth-century fabric,²⁷⁹ Edward aimed at its complete replacement from the ground upwards and employed a new master mason, Michael of Canterbury, to create a bold and innovative new design. Unparalleled amongst English royal residences of the period,²⁸⁰ the chapel represented a new departure in patronage matched only by comparably large and richly embellished structures on the continent. Buildings such as the Palatine Chapel at Aachen and the Sainte-Chapelle set a standard for monumental scale which New St Stephen's was intended to equal. Thus, the new iteration of St Stephen's represented a significant shift in tone for English palace chapel building, one with far-reaching consequences for the use of architecture in articulating a royal image. Through examining evidence from the accounts and material fabric to assess the chapel's building sequence and Edward I's achievements, this chapter will position this tonal shift within the economic and personal circumstances which generated it, revealing the political underpinnings of the new works.

²⁷⁶ *"In honore dei beate Marie virginis et beati Stephani incipit rotulus de misis et expensis factis circa fundamentum capelle Regis in suo palacio apud Westm' per manus Magistri Michaelis de Cantuar' cementarij viz. a die lune proximo post festum sancti Marce Ewangeliste xxvij die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Henrici xx"* (E 101/468/6, rot. 2).

²⁷⁷ See Appendix III/A.

²⁷⁸ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 504-05. Some repairs to the queen's chambers were conducted, new kitchens were built 1283-84, a great gate was erected 1287-88 and in 1289 a new 'Green chamber' was built overlooking the king's garden.

²⁷⁹ See above, 38-49.

²⁸⁰ The only building of comparable scale within a royal residential complex was St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London, but unlike St Stephen's this doubled as a parish church. Colvin, *HKW*, II, 714-15.

Rebuilding St Stephen's

Unsurprisingly, the first task for the new building project was laying the foundations. Workers were employed digging out the trenches for bedding the structure from 28th April to 30th June at least (see Appendix III/A.T.3), though the gaps in the accounts render it difficult to be precise. The foundations they built were apparently conventional, consisting of trenches filled partially with soft, compressible stone and wooden piles inserted into deep holes to stabilise the marshy ground. Much like Winchester Castle in 1258, chalk was bought for this purpose in the week of 28th April 1292 and its usage may have continued afterwards, although a gap in the accounts between 12th May and 16th June renders this uncertain, and gravel was purchased for the foundations during the week of 23rd June.²⁸¹ The displaced earth was removed periodically by carts and the piles were purchased on 5th May and felled at King's Langley.²⁸² The holes into which these were put were found in an archaeological investigation conducted in 1992-94 beneath the nineteenth-century iteration of St Mary Undercroft, and the voids left by the decayed wood were subsequently filled with concrete.²⁸³ From 5th-12th May accounts tally wood, iron and rope intended "towards the engine thenceforth made for the piles about to be placed in the foundation of the chapel" for which carpenters were employed, probably a pile-driver featuring a dropped wooden weight raised by pulleys.²⁸⁴ It is likely that these foundations were largely complete by the end of June 1292. Workers are accounted for in the ditch ("*in fossato*") on 16th June, but the same individuals are not abstracted from the main body on 23rd June (though they remain a relatively cohesive body within the list of names) and in the following week a different group including only five of the previous are recorded as "workers on the ditch about to be tidied next to the garden", presumably the garden to the south of St Stephen's under Henry III.²⁸⁵ Assuming these ditches are related to the St Stephen's foundation work, their tidying would represent the final stage of its creation.

²⁸¹ E 101/468/6, rot. 2, 8b. For chalk foundations at Winchester see Louis F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540: a Documentary History* (Oxford, 1952), 83; Colvin, *Building Accounts*, 160-61.

²⁸² E 101/468/6, rot. 4d m. 1d, 80, 81d.

²⁸³ Chris Thomas, "St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster SW1: City of Westminster: An Archaeological Watching Brief," *Museum of London Archaeology Service* (1994).

²⁸⁴ "*In meremio {empto per Magistrum Thomam ad ingenium inde factum ad ponendos palos in fundamento capelle cum cavillis ferri ad idem et pro factura eiusdem: Summa xxij s. x d.}*" (E 101/468/6, rot. 80). *Ibid.*, rot. 4 m. 1-2; Salzman, *Building*, 86.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, rot. 9a. See above, 45.

Simultaneously, preparations began for masonry construction. Boulogne Stone and Kentish Ragstone (both limestones) were ordered from the first week onwards (see Appendix III/A.T.1), the walls' facing stone and rubble filling respectively (Map 3).²⁸⁶ Masons were employed from 5th May onwards working on this material, and at the same time materials began to be brought in for assembling a mason's lodge ("*loggia*"), workshop ("*hastilarium*") and house for the master mason.²⁸⁷ As these were put in place, the numbers of masons on site per week increased continuously, averaging 31 in June-July 1292, 48 in October-December 1292 and January 1293, 101 in July-September 1293 and March-April 1294 and peaking at 154 between July and August 1294 (see Appendix III/A.T.3). From the fourth week of June 1292 these were joined by *cubatores* or stone-layers, indicating that construction proceeded from an early stage (see Appendix III/A.T.3). Dedicated stone-layers continued to be employed in incrementally smaller numbers up to the start of October 1294 at least, disappearing at some point in the October 1294-April 1295 records gap. The initial priority, thus, was the chapel walls. These were not made of Boulogne and Rag exclusively, but also included limestone from Caen and Herquelinne near Boulogne (Map 3) indicating a desire for rapid assembly utilising all available sources of stone (see Appendix III/A.T.1).²⁸⁸ This practice is opposed to conventional assumptions about royal building, which have emphasised the importance of Caen, Rag and Reigate stones.²⁸⁹ The use of such a wide variety of stone types indicates that the selection was not made purely on traditional grounds, but reflected a broader range of pragmatic demands based on suitability, feasibility, convenience and economy of supplies.

From October 1292 at the latest, this included Reigate stone. From the outset this was purchased in two types: 'stones', ambiguous in identification, and "*perpani*" ("*parpoynz*" in Middle English) which arrived already cut on two parallel sides (see Appendix III/A.T.1).²⁹⁰ This may well indicate a shift in construction, as Reigate is a softer stone conventionally associated with tracery and other sculpted or moulded components. The end of October also saw a new trend in ordering Boulogne and Herquellines stone in feet (see Appendix III

²⁸⁶ Salzman, *Building*, 88-89.

²⁸⁷ E 101/468/6, rot. 2, 4 m. 1-2, 5d, 7, 80.

²⁸⁸ Colvin identified this stone with the quarries at Isques 7 km south-east of Boulogne (Colvin, *HKW*, I, 511 n. 6), then named Herquellines.

²⁸⁹ Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Quarrying and Distribution of Reigate stone in the Middle Ages," *Medieval Archaeology* 45 (2001), 189-201; Bernard C. Worssam and Tim Tatton-Brown, "Kentish Rag and other Kent Building Stones," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 112 (1993), 93-125.

²⁹⁰ For *parpoyntz* see Salzman, *Building*, 104.

A.T.1), a change which might indicate the purchase of identically shaped pre-cut pieces from the quarry. It is probable that this indicates the instigation of some of the more intricate components of the Lower Chapel. Further evidence is provided by the use of Purbeck marble. Purbeck started to be ordered on site at the end of December 1292, and thereafter was ordered periodically in the form of completed columns and feet of stone up to August 1293. Polishers were employed explicitly in April 1295 and July-September 1296 and may well have been throughout the process and, in the week following the initial order of Purbeck, three Caen stone capitals were purchased, indicating preparation for installation.²⁹¹ Furthermore, a large quantity of Spanish iron was purchased which has long been presumed was intended for window bars (see Appendix III A.T.1).²⁹² Though there is no direct evidence for its use in the accounts, Spanish iron was utilised for window bars and *ferramenta* under Edwards II and III which could indicate a similar purpose for this imported material. In 1309 three plumbers were employed for covering the chapel's window jambs, indicating works were advanced in this area during the 1290s.²⁹³ However, it is interesting to note that none of the 1290s accounts include pre-cut 'form pieces', a staple of the later works referring to window tracery.²⁹⁴ Though this might readily be explained by gaps in the accounts, it is equally likely that these complex shapes were not being ordered from the quarry but cut on site, perhaps accounting for the necessity of purchasing Reigate stones in addition to pre-cut *perpani*.

Work continued in a similar pattern of escalation up to October 1294. However, at some point in the gap between the first week of October and April 1295 activity took a nose dive, the last two rolls of E 101/468/6 employing 23 and 21 masons and 13 and 12 workers respectively. This radical reduction by 85.1% and 72.3% respectively for these sections of the workforce from August to April (see Appendix III/A.T.3) and the complete loss of all other craftsmen indicates a significant shift in building intensity borne out by subsequent

²⁹¹ Though the accounts only explicitly identify a polisher in April 1295 and July-September 1296, only in the latter is he identified by name: Henry de Cruce. However, a Miles le Polisher and Nicholas le Polisher were employed repeatedly throughout the campaign, the first recorded 27th October 1292-2nd September 1296, the second 23rd March 1293-25th April 1295. The latter was identified as a *cubator* in all appearances save his first before April 1295, however, and it thus should be noted that craft surnames in this period did not necessarily correlate with activity on site. Indeed, only a single polisher is recorded in July-September 1296 despite Miles le Polisher being employed on site, indicating that he was not necessarily employed as polisher in earlier periods (see Appendix IV/B.1-3). This observation notwithstanding, on 3rd and 24th November 1292 grease was purchased for polishing marble (E 101/468/6, rot. 18, 22), indicating that this occurred from an early date.

²⁹² Colvin, *HKW*, I, 512; Wilson, "Origins," 39.

²⁹³ E 101/468/21, fol. 109v.

²⁹⁴ See below, 118, 121, 157-58.

accounts. The January-August 1296 accounts in E 101/547/18 contain no new orders of stone, merely wood, and record between 30 and 11 masons weekly (see Appendix III A.T.1-3). In January 1296 Edward I issued a *memorandum* to the Exchequer stopping all building works save those within Wales (presumably the castles then under construction) and the Painted Chamber at Westminster.²⁹⁵ That this does not seem to have affected the chapel immediately is an anomaly, and it was not until a second *memorandum* was issued on 4th July 1297 that construction apparently ceased, the final payment for this phase being made the following 9th July.²⁹⁶ The reasons behind this were largely economic and will be discussed in greater detail below.²⁹⁷ In any case, the final task of the first campaign of the new St Stephen's consisting of storing materials, with 24s. being paid to Master Michael and Master Carpenter Robert de Colebrooke for making houses to cover the stone over winter.²⁹⁸

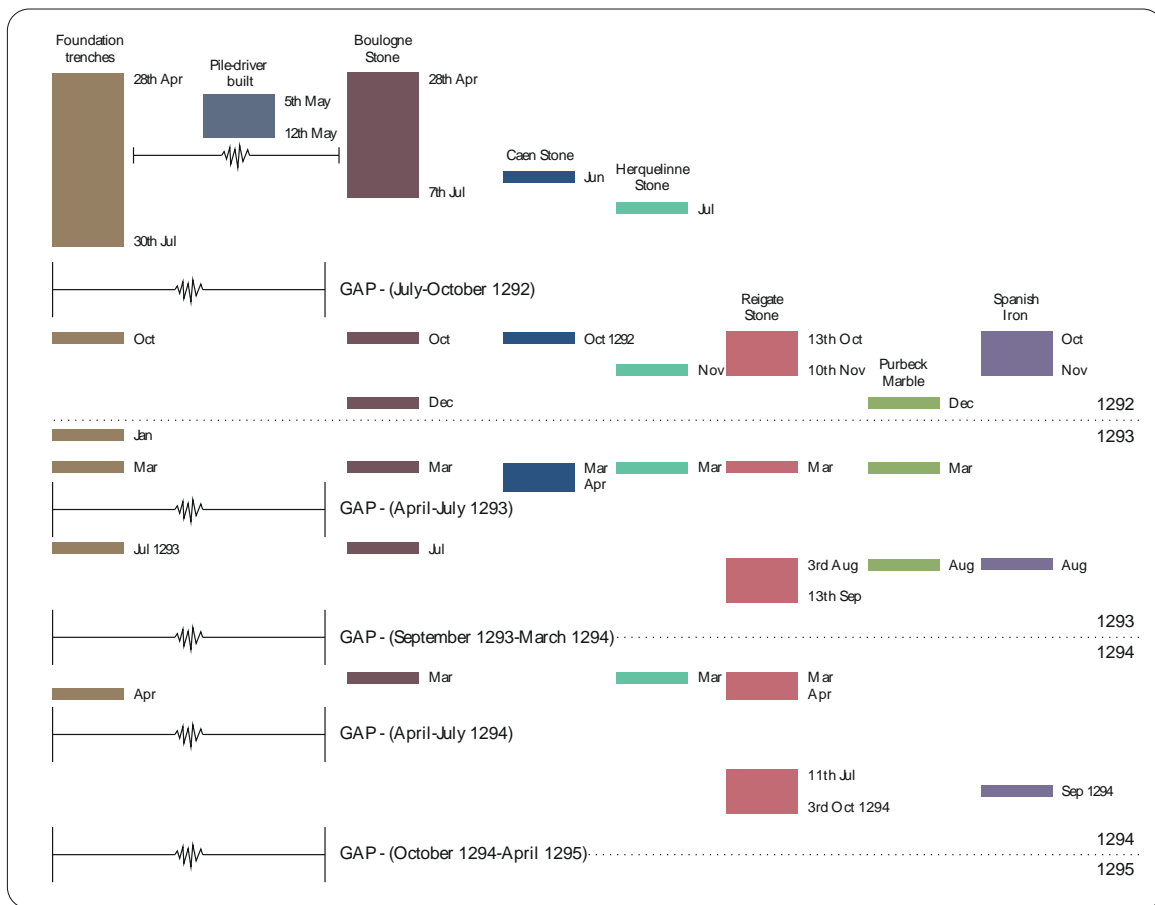
²⁹⁵ The *memorandum* was issued to the treasurer, barons and chamberlains of the Exchequer "*derechef decesser de totes maneres de oueraignes suue le oueraigne de Gales e les peintures des chaumbres de Wesminster deusees*" (E 159/6, rot. 11d). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 380 (n. 1), 512.

²⁹⁶ "*Memorandum quod iij die Julii [1297] dominus Rex mandavid per Johannem de Drokenesford custodem Garderobe sue quod operationes Westm' cessarent decetero quousque aliud duxit ordinandum.*" (E 405/1/11, m. 5). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 512.

²⁹⁷ See below, 88-93.

²⁹⁸ "*Stephano de Knolle custodi operacionum Westm' xxiiij s. liberati Magistro Michaeli cementario Regis et Magistro Roberto de Colebrok carpentario Regis ad petram talliatam in salvo ponendam pro tempore hyemali et pro domibus ad dictam petram et domum in carpentaria cooperiendis unde dictus Magister Michael habebit xiiij s. et dictus Magister Robertus x s. unde respondent*" (E 405/1/11, m.11). The specification of a seasonal context indicates that this was originally intended as a temporary measure. These were placed along the Great Hall's east wall where they appear to have remained until the house's replacement early in Edward II's reign (E 101/468/21, fol. 109; E 101/469/1, m. 1-1d).

Figure 2.1 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1292-95 Summary



Consequently, the most pressing question regarding Edward I’s building campaigns is how far the chapel’s construction progressed. New St Stephen’s had been attributed firmly to Edward III since the seventeenth century at least, John Stow in his 1603 printed *Survey of London* having stated “this Chappell was againe since, of a farre more curious workemanship, new builded by king Edward the third, in the yeare 1347 for thirtie eight persons in that Church to serue God.”²⁹⁹ These assumptions regarding the chapel’s provenance remained until 1795, when Topham published the E 101/468/6 rolls of accounts and deduced from their opening salutation that they referred to Edward I’s reign.³⁰⁰ However, his involvement was consistently separated from that of later monarchs by antiquarians and the stylistic dating of the upper body of the chapel was widely identified with Edward III’s reign. Great emphasis was placed on a fire which broke out in Westminster in March 1298 recorded by Stow, which was considered to have all but obliterated Edward I’s building campaign.³⁰¹ Thus the chapel was deemed manifestly the

²⁹⁹ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. William J. Thoms (London, 1842), 175.

³⁰⁰ Topham, *Account*, 3.

³⁰¹ Stow, *Survey*, 173; Topham, *Account*, 3-4, 11-12.

product of two separate designs executed 1292-98 and 1329-64. This position was gradually revised during the first decades of the nineteenth century, as new sources of documentary and material evidence about St Stephen's came to light. For Sir H.C. Englefield, whose commentator for the Society of Antiquaries *Additional Plates* was published in 1811, this distinction in workmanship was inherently visible in the fabric wherein "the whole of the undercroft, the outlines of the upper windows, the tracery in their spandrels ... the ornament which runs along the step or seat ... the graceful sweep of the arches of the window themselves, together with the very singular form of the arch of the great Eastern window ... all these, appear to me to bear evident marks of that purity and simplicity of style which characterises the buildings of the age of Edward the First" whereas the chapel's more intricate decorative details were ascribed to the "more elaborate but less chaste style" of Edward III.³⁰² His contemporary Hawkins's accompanying text for Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807), by contrast, claimed that Edward merely repaired the chapel with no major structural changes taking place until his grandson who "determined to pull it down, and erect one far more sumptuous on the spot."³⁰³ These two positions were synthesised within Britton and Brayley's 1836 *History of the Ancient Palace*, which specified that Edward I had built a complete two-storey chapel which the 1298 fire destroyed, necessitating the complete rebuilding of its upper storey.³⁰⁴ The same pattern was followed by Frederick Mackenzie who proposed that a substantial proportion of the chapel was completed, but the fire necessitated repairs under subsequent monarchs.³⁰⁵

It was not until the mid-twentieth century that the importance of the fire was substantially challenged in print. Lethaby followed Mackenzie's broad chronology closely in *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* (1906), but suggested the Lower Chapel's completion (falsely attributed to Walter of Canterbury) was delayed into the 1320s.³⁰⁶ Considering the existence of a pre-1319 Upper Chapel a "fallacy", John Harvey picked up on this in his 1946 article "St Stephen's Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style", downplaying the role of the fire and suggesting instead a slower pace of work in which the Lower Chapel was not complete until the 1320s.³⁰⁷ Despite their differences of opinion regarding the chapel and its

³⁰² Topham, *Account*, 12.

³⁰³ Smith, *Antiquities*, 81.

³⁰⁴ Britton and Brayley, *History*, 88-91, 423-26.

³⁰⁵ Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen's, Westminster* (London, 1844), i, iii.

³⁰⁶ Lethaby, *King's Craftsmen*, 180-82, 188-96.

³⁰⁷ Harvey, "St Stephen's," 195.

wider historical significance, Maurice Hastings adopted a similar scheme regarding Edward I's works in *St Stephen's and the Perpendicular Style* (1955) albeit with the Lower Chapel being entirely completed under him, one equally followed by Colvin in his *History of the King's Works* (1963-86).³⁰⁸ By the 1960s, thus, assessments of Edward's works had coalesced into a coherent interpretation of the 1290s campaigns emphasising the Lower Chapel as a distinct structural (and, interestingly, stylistic) unit. It was not until 1980 that a new paradigm was proposed for the chapel's chronology. Rejecting overtly the notion of stylistic incoherence between the Upper and Lower Chapels, Wilson's doctoral thesis proposed that the chapel was designed as a unified whole substantively completed within a single dedicated campaign.³⁰⁹ Based on assumptions regarding the capacity of lost medieval drawings to articulate complete designs accurately in advance and a close study of the extant financial accounts, Wilson proposed that the 1290s works advanced considerably further into the Upper Chapel than had previously been appreciated, and that the remainder had already been fixed in the form of a large number of pre-cut stones placed in storage on the 1297 closure of the works.³¹⁰ Contrasting sharply with earlier approaches, this placed the agency for its design and construction firmly with its first master mason, Michael of Canterbury.

Wilson's arguments have come to form the received chronology of the chapel, but despite their compelling lucidity they should not be accepted without due consideration. Firstly, in their original context they form part of a concerted strategy to recover the careers and reputations of medieval 'architects', constructing elaborate frameworks of attribution and stylistic identity. Such an effort was founded in part in the biographical works of Harvey, who, like Carter and Lethaby before him, tied the recovery of lost artistic genius to establishing the prestige and narrative structure of a national architecture.³¹¹ In this Harvey explicitly emulated Giorgio Vasari's influential *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1550/1568), wherein "the keynote of the book is human interest, the personality of each artist being set before us with vividness and fidelity".³¹² With no similar compendia of stories, biographical details and attributions for English Gothic architecture, Harvey's book aimed to trace careers through documentary sources, emphasising the coherence of

³⁰⁸ Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 43-45, 66; Colvin, *HKW*, I, 510-13.

³⁰⁹ Wilson, "Origins," 38, 55.

³¹⁰ Wilson states that these stones "must have been brought out and set in place on the building" on the chapel's resumption in 1320. Wilson, "Origins," 40.

³¹¹ Harvey, *Architects*; Lethaby, *King's Craftsmen*.

³¹² Harvey, *Architects*, 1.

individuals, schools and family ties.³¹³ Wilson’s works extended this project via stylistic analysis, constructing artistic identities through a combination of documentary and material evidence in order to propose three paradigmatic ‘masters’ (all working at St Stephen’s) as the epoch-shifting catalysts of architectural change in fourteenth-century England: Michael of Canterbury, Thomas of Canterbury and William Ramsey. As such, his assessment of Edward I’s iteration of the chapel proceeded primarily from a polemical standpoint and therefore invites systematic reappraisal.

On the surface, a more actuarial analysis of the St Stephen’s accounts would appear to support Wilson’s model. Wilson relied heavily on Colvin’s figures for the chapel’s construction costs, derived from the *Jornalia Rolls* of the Exchequer, in support of his argument which recorded a significantly higher expenditure under Edward I than subsequent monarchs (see Table 2.1).³¹⁴ Though a summation of the extant financial accounts reveals a consistently lower value than those admitted by Colvin (see Table 2.2), their relative values were of a similar magnitude and thus the basic thrust of the argument can be maintained. A comparison of the rates of stone usage and number of masons employed is similarly revealing, with the quantity of stones significantly exceeding later periods (see Table 2.3; Appendix III/A.T.1-3, 7-12, B.T.1-2, C.T.1-3).

Table 2.1 – Total Chapel Expenditure according to Colvin (*HKW*, I, p. 522)

Dates	Expenditure
1292-97	3941 li., rounded to 4000 li.
1320-26	1412 li. for chapel, palace and tower 1320-22; 1218 li. for chapel 1323-26, approximated to 2000 li.
1331-34	700 li.
1334-48	Approximated 2000-3000 li.
TOTAL	9000 li.

Table 2.2 – Comparison of Colvin’s figures against surviving accounts

Dates	Total (Colvin)	Total Recorded	Percentage of total	Weeks recorded/ Weeks total	Percentage of total
1292-97	4000 li.	1316 li. 6 s. 10 d.	32.9%	68/272	25.0%
1320-22	-	-	-	-	-
1323-26	1218 li.	971 li. 15 s. 1 d.	79.8%	117/117	100.0%
1331-34	700 li.	556 li. 10 s. 4 d.	79.5%	189/191	99.0%
1334-48	2000-3000 li.*	-	-	-	-

* Figures are impossible to evaluate as Colvin does not detail their derivation.

³¹³ Harvey, *Architects*, 1-13.

³¹⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 522; Wilson, “Origins,” 36-37.

Table 2.3 – Masons per week at St Stephen’s

Dates	No. of masons per week range (Discounting 0)	Average no. of masons per week
1292-95	6-154	64*
1323-26	17-62	37
1331-35	2-25	13
1337	5	5
1342-43	3-16	10
1344	4-7	6
1347-48	18-59	37
1351-52	1-13	6**
1353-54	35***	-
1355-56	9-23	16

*55 out of 157 weeks recorded.

**Employed for 23 out of 67 weeks.

***Accounts record 35 employed for 196 weeks.

Whilst such an observation does render it likely that the overwhelming majority of work was completed under Edward I, there are several caveats which must be addressed. Firstly, compared to later accounts Edward I’s particulars contain relatively little evidence about the types of work being undertaken. The lack of more specific stone pieces in the accounts implies a greater degree of on-site cutting for shaped pieces (with the probable exception of stone purchased in feet and Reigate ‘*perpani*’), although the gaps in the accounts might equally account for this. Consequently, though the higher quantities of stone naturally indicate greater masonry production, the larger number of masons (particularly in the later stages) could equally indicate a higher intensity of labour on the stones purchased. That stated, without more specific accounts it is impossible to determine the degree of decorative detail achieved at different levels of the chapel, and it is therefore conceivable that priority was placed on structural rather than decorative elements in this period (albeit not exclusively). Elements such as the marble columns and later mentioned pinnacles are indicative of a certain level of finish, but without firm evidence of their installation no meaningful conclusions can be drawn about their deployment on site. Finally, the records for stone storage in 1297 are extremely cursory and contain no evidence of the quantities involved.³¹⁵

Textual evidence having been judged inconclusive, it is necessary to turn to material evidence to assess what was plausibly completed under Edward I. One potential indicator is

³¹⁵ See above, 77.

the carved and painted stone heraldry of the chapel's upper cornice. Though their precise location cannot be identified, the tinctures of nine shields were recorded by Carter (Plates 52-55). Two (both highly unusual) remain unidentified.³¹⁶ The remainder consist of the arms of France, Castile-León, Edward the Confessor, Edmund the Martyr, Geneville (the English branch of the Joinville of France), Strathbogie and the retrospectively attributed arms of Anjou from before its loss to France in 1204.³¹⁷ As this cornice was certainly in place by the end of Edward II's reign, these arms could be identified with two different rosters of individuals:

Table 2.4 - Upper Cornice Arms Attributions

Arms	Attributions	Edward I (1292-97)	Edward II (1320-26)
<i>Quarterly gules, a castle or, and argent, a lion rampant purple</i>	Castile-León	Eleanor of Castile (1 st wife)	Eleanor of Castile (mother)
<i>Azure, semy of fleurs-de-lis or</i>	France	-	Isabella of France (wife)
<i>Azure, three horse-brays or, on a chief ermine a demi-lion rampant gules</i>	Joinville, differenced for Geoffrey Geneville	Geoffrey de Geneville	Joan de Geneville (<i>de jure</i>), wife of Roger Mortimer
<i>Or, three pales sable</i>	Strathbogie	John de Strathbogie, Earl of Athol (d. 1306)	David II Strathbogie (d. 1402)
<i>Azure, a cross patonce between five martlets or</i>	Edward the Confessor	Edward the Confessor	Edward the Confessor
<i>Azure, three crowns or</i>	Edmund the Martyr	Edmund the Martyr	Edmund the Martyr
<i>Per chief argent and gules, over all a carbuncle or</i>	Anjou Ancient	House of Plantagenet	House of Plantagenet
<i>Argent, three heads proper</i>	-	-	-
<i>Gules, a bend wavy double cotised and voided or and a bird proper</i>	-	-	-

Whilst both are hypothetically possible, particularly when one considers that stones held in storage from Edward I's reign could have preserved an earlier programme, the arms depicted complicate matters further. A member of the Scottish peerage, John de Strathbogie's presence in the chapel is extremely unlikely during the 1290s. Though initially on the

³¹⁶ These blazons do not appear in any known ordinaries or armorials.

³¹⁷ John W. Papworth, *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms* (London, 1874), 684; G. J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms; Edward I (1272-1307)*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997), II, 148, 239-40, 404-05.

English side during the Scottish campaigns, John fought against England at the Battle of Dunbar and between 27th April 1296 and 31st July 1297 he was imprisoned in the Tower whereafter he was briefly reconciled with the king before joining Robert the Bruce and being executed in 1306.³¹⁸ It is thus improbable that he would have been sufficiently within the king's favour to warrant privileged commemoration in the royal chapel.³¹⁹ His son David II (Earl of Atholl 1307-26), a loyal supporter of the English cause who held land in England after his Scottish possessions were stripped by Robert the Bruce in 1314,³²⁰ is a far more likely candidate. This would appear to suggest date ranges of either November 1292-April 1296 or 1320-26 for the shield programme. Geoffrey de Geneville's death without male heirs in 1314, however, apparently contradicts the latter. His *de jure* successor, Joan, was the wife of Roger Mortimer, an initially trusted figure (appointed Lord Lieutenant in Ireland in 1316) who rebelled against the king in May 1321 and was imprisoned from 22nd January 1322 until his escape to France in August 1323.³²¹ Her concomitant house arrest (1322), the seizure of her possessions and her imprisonment from April 1324 until Edward II's deposition (1327) indicates the low esteem in which she was held,³²² and thus her arms were unlikely to be installed at this time. In addition, from November 1320 to May 1321 only £200 was assigned to works at Westminster and the Tower in total, rendering extensive works improbable at this stage.³²³ Yet this does not mean these shields represented a complete pre-1296 carved programme, as the presence of the French arms is unlikely during the 1290s. From 1294-99 England was at war with France, and an attribution to the king's second wife, Margaret of France, is impossible at this stage, for Edward was not to marry her until 1299 (see Family Tree). A similar argument holds true for Edward II's wife, Isabella. Her marriage was negotiated contemporaneously with Margaret's, but was not to occur until 25th January 1308.³²⁴ In the face of such division, it is thus likely that the shield programme's development was split between both time frames, an interpretation which will be investigated in greater detail below.³²⁵

³¹⁸ Sir James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1904), 1, 425-27.

³¹⁹ For these shields' iconographic implications see 149, 221.

³²⁰ Paul, *Scots Peerage*, 428-30; Fiona Watson, "Strathbogie, David, styled tenth earl of Atholl (*d.* 1326)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 30 August 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54330>.

³²¹ Ian Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: the Life of Sir Roger Mortimer* (London:, 2004), 99-149.

³²² *Ibid.*, 120-21, 126, 135-36.

³²³ See below, 116-17.

³²⁴ Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven and London, 2011), 132-34.

³²⁵ See below, 119.

This carries important consequences for interpreting the extent of Edward I's work. From the exterior wall surface, it is likely that elements were complete to the main window sills of the Upper Chapel at least. The continuous freestanding mouldings running down over the Lower Chapel windows testified by Carter and Mackenzie not only indicate continuity of design, but also the later intervention of a doorway into the east end cutting through the moulding confirms that these were in place by the 1320s at least (Plate 56).³²⁶ This would give an overall height of completion somewhere between the upper and lower cornice (Plate 57) up to the chapel's east end. Yet the shields suggest the intriguing possibility that some elements of the chapel's upper storeys were underway at this early stage. In 1309, two years after the accession of Edward II, plumbers employed on the window jambs were also ordered to cover the pinnacles and buttresses ("*boteracia*") of the chapel.³²⁷ Presumably referring to the original buttress terminations (much like the tower pinnacles finished under Edward III), this reference indicates some portion of upper cornice stonework could have been already installed at this point. Were they originally carved and stored during the 1290s, the Geneville arms were unlikely to be after May 1321 owing to their politicised content, and thus date to either the 1290s or the initial phase of the 1320s works. Combined with later evidence for a divide between works on the south (1320-23) and north (1324) walls and Upper Chapel windows of St Stephen's,³²⁸ this implies that works had been initiated for the south side, but were interrupted by the sudden cessation of 1297.

Similar evidence survives for the completion of a lower vestibule or porch, unfortunately entirely lost by the time antiquarians began recording the chapel. The 1309 and 1311-15 accounts record the building of earth walls beneath (presumably before) the chapel porch and a leaded roof to protect the chapel's stones and marble, suggesting its material composition.³²⁹ However, from 5th August to 2nd September 1296 wood was purchased and carpenters employed for the vestibule explicitly, purchases which imply wooden structural

³²⁶ See below, 124, 131.

³²⁷ See above, 76 n. 293.

³²⁸ See below, 119.

³²⁹ 1309 "*Pro muratori ad Tascam. Waltero Marchaunt muratori pro una particata unius muri terrei facienda subtus porcheam eiusdem capelle pro salvacione petre et marmoris de eadem capella' ad tascam: xij d.*" (E 101/468/21, fol. 109v); 1311-15 "*Hugoni de Shrovesbury muratori operanti per iij dies circa quemdam murum terreum relevandum sub porchiam capelle sancti Stephani quia murus fuit prostratus contra festum quod Rex tenuit in die omnium sanctorum pro dressorio ad mensa Regis ibidem habendo recipienti denarios per suas manus proprias: xij d.*" (BL Add. MS 17361, fol. 9v). For the lower vestibule see Wilson, "Origins," 228.

components.³³⁰ This was likely a roof or temporary structure to cover the completed works. Together with the above evidence, this indicates that by 1297 Edward had achieved a structure with its walls complete to above the level of the Lower Chapel, including windows (unglazed), lower porch and the beginnings of detailed decorative stonework (pinnacles and the extensive use of Purbeck marble on the interior), with higher works beginning on the south side, resulting in some stones made or perhaps even installed for the upper cornice.

Another element of the chapel's interior which necessitates individual evaluation is the Lower Chapel vault (Plate 144). For a long time its surface pattern, employing smaller decorative 'liernes', was considered indicative of a later date of completion. Wilson, however, has argued that the vault was constructed in the 1290s as the first of its kind, exerting an immediate and lasting impact on architectural design.³³¹ One aspect, however, contradicts this: the stylistic dating of the figural bosses which formed the vault's structurally vital keystones. Heavily restored and replaced 1858-63, their original appearance is recorded in a 1790 engraving by antiquarian John Carter (Plates 58-63). From east to west the bosses depicted the martyrdoms of Saints Stephen, John the Evangelist, Catherine, Margaret and Lawrence interspersed by musician angels, foliage and other forms, and can be dated stylistically to c. 1340. As the work of Stella Mary Newton has shown, clothing fashions for men changed extremely fast in the fourteenth century, a trend equally prevalent in the visual arts allowing male figures to be dated securely from their clothing to within a decade.³³² By the 1340s, the principal changes were already being subjected to monastic criticism - in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* of 1344-50 the author blamed the apparent sins of the youth of France for their defeat at Crécy in 1346 and launched a tirade against their choice of clothing, condemning the tightness of the costume, minstrel-like liripipes which dangled wastefully from the hood and the use of many opulent cloths in a single garment.³³³ To this observed tightening of clothes can be added the shortening of tunics and lowering of belt-lines which eventually culminated in a distinctive s-curve shape appearing in depictions after 1350.³³⁴ Within this stylistic narrative, the figures of the torturers on the Stephen and John bosses can be positioned relatively early. The closest comparisons can be found in the figures of the Luttrell Psalter of c. 1330-45, in particular through their shared motif of short

³³⁰ E 101/547/18, rot. 4, 5.

³³¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 513; Wilson, "Origin," 39, 57-58.

³³² Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge, 1980).

³³³ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

tunics terminating above the knee and split in the centre (Plates 64-65). These continental styles were first introduced into England by Philippa of Hainault and the courtiers accompanying her from the Low Countries upon her marriage to Edward III in 1330, and consequently the bosses likely date to c. 1340.³³⁵ Such a chronological disparity, coupled with the bosses' vital structural function, implies that the vault was not set in place during the 1290s, thus facilitating easier access to the building for construction and scaffolding. Similar practices of delaying installation of vaulting until relatively late in the building process were common for medieval multi-storey buildings, exemplified by the Ethelbert Gate in Norwich (c. 1320) and the Old Town Bridge Tower in Prague (c. 1357) (Plates 66-67), and its application in this instance is further supported by material evidence of the Lower Chapel's divergent east end, discussed in greater detail below.³³⁶

By the end of 1297, thus, a large proportion of the chapel's wall structure was apparently finished. With the exception of the vault, the Lower Chapel was therefore largely in place and above that level the walls had been continued to a considerable height. After the final cessation of works and the extensive palace fire of 1298, no further works were conducted until 1320. Its premature termination, however, raises questions as to what Edward I's intentions were for completing the building. Aesthetic aspects will be considered further below, but it is certain there was some overall plan in mind. Wilson in particular has argued that the plan was largely set by the masonry and design work carried out in this period, with lost drawings carrying those designs forward across the twenty-three year gap before works were resumed.³³⁷ Yet even within the 1290s there is evidence of plans changing. The unusually deep buttresses (Plates 1-2, 5) have long been considered evidence that the Upper Chapel was originally intended to be vaulted in stone, a solution which would not have been possible with the pre-clerestory upper cornice termination as it could not have supported springers.³³⁸ The shrinkage of the buttresses in their upper parts might thus indicate an early shift to a wooden roof and vault mounted on the cornice, following a barrel vault

³³⁵ This research is further discussed in my forthcoming publication: James Hillson, "Edward III and the Art of Authority: Military Triumph and the Decoration of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster 1330-64" in *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and Northern Europe*, edited by Kate Buchanan, Lucy Dean and M. Penmann (Aldershot, forthcoming 2015).

³³⁶ Eric Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993), 180-81; Veronika Sekules, "The Gothic Sculpture" in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996*, ed. Ian Atherton (London, 1996), 198-202; Jana Gajdošová, "The Charles Bridge: Ceremony and Propaganda in Medieval Prague," (Ph.D. thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2014). For further details on the Lower Chapel east end see below, 130-32, 164-65.

³³⁷ See above, 79-80.

³³⁸ Wilson, "Origins," 69-70.

construction. This solution would be consonant with another design attributed to Master Michael, Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House (Plate 68). Though the original roof was replaced c. 1397-1411 after a fire in 1385, this is assumed to have reflected an earlier design.³³⁹ The building's extant structure could not have sustained a springer-based vault from its cornice alone, and as such likely adopted a barrel-vaulted solution. Another precedent is provided by St Etheldreda's, Holborn, the Bishop of Ely's chapel in London (1284-86), the wall articulation of which shows no evidence of springers or their prerequisite bases (Plates 69-70). Though its original roofing arrangement thus does not survive, given the chapel's wider stylistic associations with St Stephen's it is quite possible that a similar design was incorporated there. A shift from stone to wood would thus necessitate significant structural changes to the planned chapel, indicating that design decisions were open to fluid alteration. Though there were presumably plans of varying degrees of precision for the majority of the chapel, these were not fixed and may only have been drafted as a number of possibilities open to later modification. Edward died in 1307, his chapel left as an unfinished building site in the middle of a burnt-out and increasingly decaying palace with no immediate prospect of completion. However, this did not leave behind a set programme of work to be finished, but an open set of design problems which invited creative resolution.

Banking, Building and Belligerence: the Economics of Construction under Edward I

The timing and extent of these works, in particular their instigation and eventual cessation were necessarily framed by economic circumstances. At the start of construction in 1292, Edward I was in a far stronger financial position than he had enjoyed for many years. 1290 had seen the gathering of an unusually successful tax of a fifteenth (granted 18th July), and a further clerical tenth from both Canterbury and York without the conventional pressures of a national emergency proved a substantial stabilising windfall with a lasting effect throughout the early 1290s.³⁴⁰ Matters in Wales had been temporarily resolved following the suppression of the 1287 rising and issues regarding the succession in Scotland were at this stage pursued through negotiated settlement rather than armed conflict.³⁴¹ Furthermore, with the king's severance of all financial support for the extensive works at Vale Royal Abbey in 1290 (a Cistercian community he had founded in 1270 in fulfilment of a vow made for

³³⁹ Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1981), 142-45, 167

³⁴⁰ Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 343-44.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 218-19, 359-74.

salvation from a sea storm), over £1000 a year from the Exchequer was freed up for other purposes.³⁴² Consequently, it is perhaps unsurprising that the early 1290s saw the inception of extensive architectural patronage at Westminster, including tombs and other commemorative projects at the Abbey, the refurbishment and decoration of the diverse chambers and other living quarters of the Palace and the new chapel.³⁴³

However, as has already been stressed, it is important not to associate economic stability with causation in architectural patronage without severe qualification. Both before and after this period an extensive campaign of castle construction was continually pursued in Wales even in the most stringent of fiscal circumstances.³⁴⁴ It is therefore worth noting that the king was capable of financing building significantly beyond the limitations of his budget. The key to this aspect of royal economics under Edward I was the new balance which he established between the Exchequer and Italian banking firms, primarily (indeed, almost exclusively) the Riccardi of Lucca with whom he developed a system of continuous rolling loans balanced by future repayment from customs and other revenues.³⁴⁵ The resulting system was extremely flexible and allowed for a more rapid deployment of cash than revenues could allow, facilitating near-immediate monetary reactions to royal decisions. Consequently, whilst the stronger economic circumstances of the early 1290s would naturally enable a freer marshalling of resources which might encourage royal artistic production, they were not a necessary prerequisite for elaborate patronage on a lavish scale. Perhaps more influential would have been the concomitant lack of pressing military or other monetarily draining concerns, which would make long-term commitments to investment in large-scale, new palatial buildings a less daunting prospect. Indeed, without such stability it is unlikely that St Stephen's could have proceeded so rapidly on such a grand scale.

The same caution regarding economic effects, however, should not be exercised when considering the cessation of works. As Colvin argued, the end of Edward's building campaign in 1297 can be closely associated with financial difficulties generated by diverting funds to warfare. In his summation, the January *memorandum* resulted in dramatically

³⁴² Colvin, *HKW*, I, 248-53; R. McNeil and R. C. Turner, "An Architectural and topographical survey of Vale Royal Abbey," *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 70 (1988), 51-79; Jeffrey Denton, "From the foundation of Vale Royal abbey to the Statute of Carlisle" in *Thirteenth Century England IV: proceedings of the Newcastle Upon Tyne conference 1991*, ed. Peter Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1992), 123-37.

³⁴³ See below, 103-05.

³⁴⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 293-408.

³⁴⁵ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown: The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I* (Princeton, 1973), 79-83.

reduced activity until the following summer when marginally greater funds became available (only a single payment of £1 being made in the intervening time).³⁴⁶ Work was extended in this fashion until summer 1297 when “Edward decided to stop work ... and to concentrate all his resources on the prosecution of the war in Scotland and France,” issuing his order to end works at Westminster three days before the date of assembly for his army to invade Flanders.³⁴⁷ The association of this cessation with exigencies of wartime finance is of critical importance, but such an interpretation can be taken further. By looking at the dates of changes in rates of construction, financial circumstances, political pressures and royal funding systems comparatively, it is possible to make more fundamental observations regarding the effects of political decisions on royal building economies.

A starting point for this approach is through considering the economic impact of warfare on the king’s expenditure more generally. With sufficient forward planning, warfare much like building was thoroughly affordable. Loans, taxation and other extraordinary measures were capable of providing significant income beyond the king’s immediate means, generating the reservoirs of cash required for sustained conflict. Thus it is to unforeseen pressures on royal expenditure and the system supporting it that we should turn in accounting for the St Stephen’s cessation. The first great financial surprise of the reign came not in 1296, but in 1294. With the unexpected breaking out of war with France after March 1294, a large reserve of cash was built up to finance a planned invasion, the defence of Gascony and vast negotiated payments to continental allies, many of which were due for Christmas that year.³⁴⁸ However, with the outbreak of the Welsh rebellion at the end of September 1294 this wealth was rapidly depleted and, even with over £54,000 being sent to Wales by October and the French invasion postponed, an acute lack of funds was a major problem throughout the campaign.³⁴⁹ As Prestwich has suggested, the Wardrobe accounts which handled the majority of Edward’s wartime finances (forwarded, largely, from the Exchequer) provided a strong indicator of the king’s fiscal situation at this time, showing an increasing deficit between November 1293 and November 1295 (see Table 2.5).³⁵⁰ This situation was exacerbated further by the arrest of the king’s bankers, the Riccardi, from 28th October 1294

³⁴⁶ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 512.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (London, 1972), 157; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 386-91.

³⁴⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 225; Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 165-66.

³⁵⁰ Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 220-21.

which drastically limited his financial flexibility.³⁵¹ It is thus unsurprising that, at some point (rendered unknown by a gap in the accounts) between the first week of October 1294 and third week of April 1295, there was a slump of 85.1% in the number of masons at work on site.³⁵² These reduced circumstances continued throughout the remainder of Edward I's works with numbers fluctuating from 11 to 30 masons from April 1295-July 1297 (see Appendix III/A.T.5-6). The problem, however, was not one of royal buying power *per se*, but of cash supply. With royal income existing primarily *in potentia*, the loss of his bankers rendered it difficult to tap these revenue sources for the coinage necessary for the immediate demands of building projects, particularly when it was largely being diverted to military pursuits. At St Stephen's in particular the Riccardi had been instrumental in providing cash supplies, with records showing the provision of £400 in July 1292, £680 in August, £275 6s. 8d. for February and March 1295, and presumably many others which do not survive.³⁵³ With the loss of such a major crutch of the king's building projects at a time of economic pressure, a massive slump in labour at the chapel is thus unsurprising.

Table 2.5 – Wardrobe Receipts and Expenses under Edward I (Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 220)

Regnal Year (Nov-Nov)	Receipt	Expense	Total
1293-94	+ 65,801 li. 4 s. 1½ d.	- 67,827 li. 2 s. 11 d.	- 2,026 li. 1 s. 9½ d.
1294-95	+ 124,792 li. 9 s. 5½ d.	- 138,255 li. 12 s. 10 d.	- 13,464 li. 16 s. 4½ d.
1295-96	+ 105,324 li. 4 s. 1 d.	- 83,648 li. 0 s. ½ d.	+ 21,708 li. 4 s. ½ d.
1296-97	+ 106,356 li. 12 s. 6½ d.	- 119,519 li. 9 s. 4½ d.	- 13,163 li. 3 s. 2 d.
1297-98	+ 39,826 li. 15 s. ½ d.	- 78,549 li. 4 s. 6 d.	- 38,723 li. 10 s. 5½ d.
1298-99	-	-	-
1299-1300	+ 58,155 li. 16 s. 2 d.	- 64,105 li. 0 s. 5 d.	- 5,950 li. 15 s. 9 d.
1300-01	+ 47,550 li. 12 s. 11 d.	- 77,291 li. 7 s. 7½ d.	- 29,741 li. 5 s. 3½ d.
1301-02	+ 72,969 li. 6 s. ¼ d.	- 61,949 li. 6 s. 5¼ d.	+ 11,019 li. 19 s. 8 d.
1302-03	+ 52,195 li. 14 s. ¾ d.	- 64,036 li. 11 s. 1 d.	- 11,841 li. 2 s. 11¼ d.
1303-04	-	- 68,958 li. 5 s. 3 d.	-
1304-05	-	-	-
1305-06	+ 64,128 li. 3 s. 1½ d.	- 77,318 li. 15 s. 10¼ d.	- 13,191 li. 8 s. 3¼ d.

A modicum of stability was regained in 1296 when the king was able to raise taxes once more, but the short-term effects of this were limited. Taxes took a long time to gather, and with each new assessment from 1294-98 the outstanding payments owed from preceding

³⁵¹ Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 151.

³⁵² See above, 76-77.

³⁵³ Kaeuper, *Bankers*, 102; E 372/143, m. 35d.

taxes were largely forgotten.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, additional pressures were brought to bear by the outbreak of warfare in Scotland for which on 16th December 1295 a muster order was issued for the following 1st March.³⁵⁵ Set against the backdrop of newly opened war on three fronts, Edward I's January cessation orders and subsequent lull in payments therefore had an immediate political context. By mid-1297, this intensification of financial pressures had forced the king to extraordinary lengths in raising revenues, pressurising the clergy and his earls to the point of open rebellion and seizing wool supplies again in mid-April.³⁵⁶ Without readily available cash loans, the king had reached the limits of his administration and was required to cut corners even further. Under these circumstances, continuing St Stephen's became impossible and the 1297 muster coincided with a decisive break in the works. However, it is important to note the remarkable priority which was placed on the chapel's completion even in times of financial stress. Whatever the exigencies of royal politics, the first *memorandum* indicates that completing St Stephen's apparently ranked with the Painted Chamber and Welsh Castles in importance, and it is thus not unreasonable to assume that its continuation and completion carried a similar political weight. Iconographically, the building's construction would have acted as a show of confidence mixed with an act of piety, exercising the king's capacity for grand patronage even whilst trimming the sails elsewhere. As Edward III later demonstrated with the lavish tournaments conducted 1338-39 despite his abysmal bank balance,³⁵⁷ a king could not readily afford to be seen in financial straits. Edward I was already encountering difficulties obtaining loans, going so far as to force eleven Italian firms to lend him money between 1294 and 1298,³⁵⁸ and continued artistic expenditure within the central palace of the realm was a compelling show of strength. Furthermore, its continuation is a powerful indicator that the king's interests were not solely absorbed by conflict in this period – even in times of war there was room for the more conventional pursuits of monarchy and an outlook towards the future expressed in architectonic form.

This extensive effort to prolong the works against fiscal pragmatism raises the question of why the chapel was not resumed during Edward's reign. The war with France ended in truce

³⁵⁴ By 1300, taxes were outstanding from 1294 and 1295 tenth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth. No subsequent tax was so lucrative under Edward I. Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 181-82.

³⁵⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 469.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 412-24.

³⁵⁷ Richard Barber, "The Early Years of Edward III" in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. Julian Munby, Richard Barber and Richard Brown (Woodbridge, 2007), 35.

³⁵⁸ Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 208.

on 9th October 1298 and the following peace agreement in June 1299 resulted in the marriage of Edward I and Margaret of France the following September.³⁵⁹ Yet this change did not invite a re-initiation of works at St Stephen's. One traditional assumption is that the fire of 1298 damaged the palace so heavily that the king lost interest in Westminster due to the heightened expense of reconstruction and the continuing demands of war in Scotland.³⁶⁰ Whilst the chapel was apparently spared the inferno, accounts for repairs undertaken in 1307-11 record that the Lesser Hall, Queen's Hall and many components of the Privy Palace were still damaged at this time, implying little to no repairs were conducted under Edward I.³⁶¹ Though this interpretation appears substantially correct, the extraordinary priority given to St Stephen's during the war with France requires the investigation of these circumstances in slightly greater detail. Successive campaigns in Scotland conducted 1301-02, 1303-05 and 1306-07 provided continual drains on Edward's resources,³⁶² and it was only in the first of these years that the wardrobe avoided over-expenditure (see Table 2.5). As such, the cumulative debts of the earlier 1290s went unpaid and the result was a continually increasing deficit which proved all but impossible to avoid. By the end of his reign, Edward's debts have been totalled as high as £200,000, an enormous sum which continued to be an unshakeable burden throughout the majority of his son's reign.³⁶³ The king, too, was aging and though this could have acted as a spur to pious patronage this was not expressed at St Stephen's. Though Edward I could face with equanimity the prospect of financing continued warfare in Scotland, it may have been difficult to muster the enthusiasm necessary to extend this fundraising further by embarking on large-scale and long-term repairs, let alone new construction, at Westminster.

Why St Stephen's? Art, Emulation and Commemoration in 1290s England

However, the instigation of such an extensive building project begs another pressing question: why did Edward I feel it necessary to reconstruct the principal palace chapel of England? In purely functional terms, there was little cause for the chapel's replacement. As established above, Henry III's chapel was already an opulent, extensive and functioning space. Furthermore, unlike its principal thirteenth-century point of comparison, the Sainte-

³⁵⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 393-98.

³⁶⁰ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 505.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II, 1041-44; E 101/468/15.

³⁶² Prestwich, *Edward I*, 492-516.

³⁶³ Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 221.

Chapelle's replacement of St Nicholas's chapel due to the pressing necessity for rehousing the Passion relics in suitably opulent surroundings,³⁶⁴ there was no concomitant catalyst for architectural change. Binski has demonstrated that Westminster Abbey remained the principal (though not only) relic depository for the Plantagenet monarchy throughout the thirteenth century. Where Edward I came into possession of new and prestigious relics, namely the Crown of Arthur (1285), Neith Cross (1285), Black Rood of Scotland (1297) and Stone of Scone (1297), they were translated to the shrine of Edward the Confessor on a permanent basis.³⁶⁵ Similarly, whilst Edward III was later to refound St Stephen's as a collegiate institution within the palace, there is no indication such a scheme was planned at this early stage, though precedents did exist at Aachen (reputedly founded under Charlemagne himself) and the Sainte-Chapelle (established in the 1270s).³⁶⁶ Equally unsatisfactory are pragmatic explanations hinging on the chapel's state of repair. Whilst the 1290s St Stephen's work was paired with a more general rejuvenation scheme at the palace and the chapel itself had seen no major work since the 1250s (despite continuous usage and the potential, however unlikely, for damage by fire in 1263), such demands could equally be met by an extensive campaign of restoration rather than the complete reconstruction which resulted. This thesis, thus, will attempt an alternative approach by analysing the problem iconographically, focusing primarily on the political and personal circumstances which surrounded the chapel's creation to explore the building's causes, form and function.

Conventional responses to the iconographic causality of Edward's chapel have revolved around a notion of conscious aesthetic and structural parity with the other major palatine chapel construction of thirteenth-century northwestern Europe: the Sainte-Chapelle. As a comparably large chapel with a similar level of opulence and shared palatial context, the Sainte-Chapelle has been repeatedly presented as the model or archetype to which St Stephen's responded.³⁶⁷ For Anne Lombard-Jourdan, their interaction was characterized as "rational imitation, conscious rivalry [and] politics of prestige" ("*imitation raisonnée, rivalité*

³⁶⁴ See above, 50.

³⁶⁵ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 138-39.

³⁶⁶ C. Billot, "La Fondation de Saint Louis: le collège des chanoines de la Sainte-Chapelle (1248-1555)" in *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, ed. J. Durand and M.-P. Laffitte (Paris, 2001), 100; Eric Rice, *Music and Ritual at Charlemagne's Marienkirchen in Aachen* (Berlin, 2009), 5-7; Ludwig Falkenstein, *Karl der Große und die Entstehung des Aachener Münsterstiftes* (Paderborn, 1981).

³⁶⁷ "The original scheme unquestionably derived from the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris" (Harvey, "St Stephen's," 195); "special influences from the Sainte Chapelle itself seem to appear in St Stephen's" (Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 65); "*La St Stephen's Chapel [...] était une imitation avouée de la Sainte-Chapelle*" (Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "'Montjoies' et 'Montjoie' dans la plaine Saint-Denis," *Paris et Ile-de-France* 25 (1974), 141).

consciente, politique de prestige”),³⁶⁸ a simultaneous clash of artistic and political wills which generated a conscious and considered copying of Louis IX’s prestigious chapel. Yet despite this recurring association, scholars invariably encounter extreme difficulties in articulating the precise formal relationship between the two structures. Beyond those similarities which can be detected in the building’s later decoration there are few architectural elements which connect the two structures and any specific stylistic parallels which past scholars have attempted to demonstrate appear forced and contrived.³⁶⁹ Wilson has provided the most cogent statement of this paradox: “St Stephen’s was conceived as a challenge to the Ste-Chapelle ... but there is surprisingly little in its appearance which has to be attributed to the direct influence of the building which was the obvious model for an ambitious palace chapel.”³⁷⁰

This absence of direct formal influence places their interaction outside the conventional boundaries of stylistic analysis, positioning it instead within the Krautheimerian paradigm of a typologically-oriented ‘iconography of architecture’.³⁷¹ Scholars drawing links between New St Stephen’s and the Sainte-Chapelle have focused on similarities of measurement, ground-plan and general structure, treating the latter as the former’s archetypical progenitor. Both are two-storey chapels of similar internal divisions and scales (Plates 71-72), and (as Wilson identified) the proportions and measurements of their respective ground plans are extremely close.³⁷² A more detailed analysis shows that both utilised a 3:1 length:breadth ratio (90x30 French Royal feet for the Sainte-Chapelle, 90x30 English feet for St Stephen’s) for the Upper Chapel interior ground plan and 2:1 buttress-to-buttress ratio for the exterior (100x50 French royal feet in Paris, 100x50 English feet at Westminster if one includes the porch), and the height of the Lower Chapel of both was virtually identical (Plates 73-74). Such consonances do constitute focused engagement with the Sainte-Chapelle, but the nuances of that exchange indicate a more subtle reading of the mode of response involved. The notion of ‘challenge’ or ‘rivalry’ emphasised by Wilson and others is an active, combative frame of reference for the association of archetype and respondent, but it is not the only plausible characterisation of their interaction. Inherent within such rhetoric is a tacit admission of the cultural superiority of French architectural exemplars which subordinates St

³⁶⁸ Lombard-Jourdan, “Montjoies,” 167-68.

³⁶⁹ Harvey, “St Stephen’s,” 195; Hastings, *St Stephen’s*, 64-66. For Edward III’s decoration see below, 184-91.

³⁷⁰ Wilson, “Origins,” 43.

³⁷¹ See above, 21.

³⁷² Wilson, “Origins,” 43.

Stephen's to the aesthetic hegemony of its continental counterpart. Such retrospectively-applied hierarchies of form have been effectively challenged by Binski in relation to Henry III's works at Westminster Abbey,³⁷³ and a similarly problematic relationship with French artistic primacy applies to New St Stephen's. Indeed, for the same artistic interchange one could equally propose an emulative mode (not a supplicant one, but one lacking the aggressive inflection of brash confrontation) of formal exchange, a self-conscious engagement with a Parisian archetype without the notion of provocative opposition that 'challenge' implies.

Though the turbulent history of the English and French kings, particularly with regard to the much-contested issues of feudal allegiance and territorial inheritance, readily lends itself to the rhetoric of competitive tension between the two monarchies in other fields, the equation of artistic interaction with political conflict can only be sustained through rigorous grounding in contemporary historical circumstances. Despite the return of such issues in Edward's reign culminating in the outbreak of war with France in 1294, the retrospective application of such tensions is not sufficient grounds to propose causes for building. Whilst one could associate the chapel's creation with a wider tonal response to escalating tensions between the two countries, from the monarch's perspective at least no such tensions were apparent on the chapel's inception. At the start of his reign Edward showed every sign of contentment with his arrangement with France, paying homage to Philip III in 1273, and despite his unwillingness to provide the king feudal service for war with Aragon during the early 1280s (instead choosing to act as arbitrator between the two, a position Malcolm Vale has associated with growing discontent towards England among some circles of the French nobility), he duly paid homage to the new king Philip IV in 1286 without sign of rancour.³⁷⁴ In 1292 conflict broke out between the merchant fleets of Normandy and England which by 1293 had escalated into informal naval battles, but this appears to have been a localised rather than national dispute which Edward was anxious to resolve peaceably.³⁷⁵ Though Philip IV appears to have used the opportunity to demonstrate the potency of his overlordship of the English lands in Gascony, Edward's immediate response was not active conflict but negotiated settlement, a strategy which was to all appearances successful after his agreement

³⁷³ See above, 33-34.

³⁷⁴ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 85, 321-24; Malcolm Vale, "Edward I and the French: Rivalry and Chivalry" in *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference 1987*, ed. Peter Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), 167-68.

³⁷⁵ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 377-78.

to surrender Gascony temporarily in early 1294.³⁷⁶ Indeed, according to Vale, the proposed treaty would have resulted in the mutually beneficial solution of a quasi-independent Aquitaine and a permanent end to all ties of homage between the two monarchs, and its failure can be attributed more to the political machinations of figures in French royal circles than a longstanding grievance.³⁷⁷ The suddenness of Philip's seizure of these lands in lieu of summons before the French *parlement* in March 1294 apparently took Edward by surprise, as up to this point there were no signs that war was inevitable.³⁷⁸ With compromise and negotiated settlement so heavily weighted in the king's diplomatic efforts, the notion of 'challenge' being expressed through artistic patronage in the 1290s seems anachronistic.

By contrast the emulative mode proposed above allows for a synthetic process of accumulating artistic influences for royal projects which sidesteps reliance on an as-yet unrealised political conflict. This interpretation is reinforced by other examples throughout Edward's reign of assimilation of diverse material and formal sources into an associative architectural expression of royal identity. The most paradigmatic instance of this tendency can be seen in the 'colonial' castles and towns built in the wake of his 1277 and 1282-83 Welsh campaigns, in particular Caernarfon Castle begun in June 1283 and continued up to the 1340s.³⁷⁹ Positioned close to the Roman fort of Segontium and responding to the material remnants of Roman military engineering in its polygonal towers and striated walls, the castle deliberately aped imperial decorative and structural forms, a point further stressed by the sculpted eagles which adorned its western tower and the triumphal 'King's Gate' which faced the city with a central image of the monarch (Plates 75-77).³⁸⁰ Additionally, the structure's symbolic force was further extended by drawing on its locally recognised status as the burial place of Magnus Maximus, then believed to be father of the first Christian Emperor Constantine, whose body was found during the castle's construction and reinterred in a nearby church in 1283.³⁸¹ This act, together with the castle's visual impact, reinforced Caernarfon's association as a *locus imperii*, now captured and appropriated by its English overlord. This simultaneous deployment of the material language and physical remains (in

³⁷⁶ Prestwich, *Edward I*, 378-79.

³⁷⁷ Vale, "Rivalry and Chivalry," 165-76.

³⁷⁸ This is testified in part by the great difficulty his bankers encountered in providing funds. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 378-81; Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 186; Kaeuper, *Bankers*, 218-19.

³⁷⁹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 293-408.

³⁸⁰ The striated walls were likely not, as has previously been argued, based on the walls of Constantinople. See Colvin, *HKW*, I, 369-71; Abigail Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2004), 112-26.

³⁸¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 370.

this case corporeal) of antiquity to impart new inflections on longstanding local traditions by enlisting them within the king's wider political ambitions did not constitute a challenge to Roman *imperium*, but instead the emulative co-option of its power to inflect, nuance and thus reinforce expressions of royal authority. Such a strategy was not limited to architecture alone – the April 1277 uncovering and re-internment of the bodies of Arthur and Guinevere at Glastonbury in the wake of the first Welsh campaign carried similar implications to Maximus's reburial, and the translation of the Crown of Arthur and Neith Cross to Westminster in 1285 was an act comparable to the trophy-taking of imperial triumph.³⁸² It is thus unsurprising that Edward repeated the same pattern in 1297 with the capture of the Stone of Scone (offering it to St Edward's shrine) and further intensified it through the unprecedented marshalling of historical precedents in justifying the 1296-1307 Scottish Wars, as expressed in his 1301 appeal to the Pope which utilised Arthurian claims to sovereignty.³⁸³ Whether exploiting local and historical interest in Arthur and the imagined past of an island unified under English rule or playing on the language of Empire in support of his territorial claims, Edward was consistent in reinforcing the legitimacy of his actions by the emulative assimilation of longstanding iconographic traditions through imposing symbolic gestures which generated a potent image of monarchy.

Whilst it seems potentially profitable to interpret the 1290s works at St Stephen's within a comparable framework, so doing reopens the central question of why French influences were adopted by this structure at this time, and what if any contextual circumstances could explain their visual manifestation. An emulative relationship with French archetypes was not unique to St Stephen's, and it is through analysing this wider range of architectural interactions that a more cogent interpretation of the chapel can be proposed. The first of these continental contact points was apparently Vale Royal Abbey (1270s-1370s), though its association remains historically problematic. Its multi-chapel apsidal ground plan, reminiscent of the king's uncle Richard of Cornwall's Cistercian foundation at Hailes (founded 1246), has been closely associated with their ultimate progenitor, Royaumont (founded 1228) (Plates 78-79),

³⁸² Phillip Lindley, "Material Evidence: St Joseph of Arimathea, King Arthur's Tomb at Glastonbury and Tudor Antiquaries" in *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, ed. Lindley (Donington, 2007), 145-46. See above, 94.

³⁸³ Warwick Rodwell (ed.), *The Coronation Chair and the Stone of Scone: History, Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford, 2013), 21-24, 31-32; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 491-92. This pattern was repeated again under Edward III after the Battle of Neville's Cross with the Black Rood (1346). G. Watson, "The Black Rood of Scotland," *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 2 (1909), 27-46; L. Rollason, "Spoils of war? Durham cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland," in *The Battle of Neville's Cross*, ed. David Rollason and Michael Prestwich (Stamford, 1998), 57-65.

but the mere presence of potential Cistercian intermediaries within England (not to mention the prestigious Benedictine example provided by Westminster Abbey) and the uncertainties surrounding its date of design due to the disruption of the works and later completion by Edward the Black Prince cast doubt on its self-conscious French provenance.³⁸⁴ A stronger case for association has been advanced by its relation to the strong privileging of the Cistercians exhibited by the French kings throughout the thirteenth century, but, even if such trends were the ultimate cause of a comparable patronal interest, by the 1290s this had long been assimilated into the devotional activity of the English kings.³⁸⁵ Furthermore, Vale Royal was founded in response to a vow made during a dangerous sea crossing which had already become an established trope of English royal patronage.³⁸⁶

A far closer paradigm is provided by the chapel's exact contemporaries – the Eleanor Crosses. Constructed 1291-94 in commemoration of Queen Eleanor of Castile who died at Harby near Lincoln on 28th November 1290, these comprised twelve monumental crucifixes raised on elaborate bases displaying images of the deceased which were placed on every site her body stopped overnight on its return journey to London (Map 7).³⁸⁷ Of the originals only three (Hardingstone, Waltham and Geddington) survive, albeit heavily restored, many having been destroyed during the civil war, but several others are recorded in drawings and prints and fragments of Stamford (discovered 1745), Lincoln (unknown) and Cheapside (discovered 1838) crosses are extant (Plates 80-87). Whilst their stylistic sources are highly mixed, all follow a broad type – a three-tiered polygonal structure the central storey consisting of open tabernacles housing statues; the upper a more foliate zone – which has long been associated

³⁸⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 248-53; McNeil and Turner, "Vale Royal," 51-79; Denton "Foundation," 123-37. For a wider study of apsidal churches and Cistercian royal foundations see Nicola Coldstream, "Cistercian Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution" in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge, 1986), 140-47, 153, 157-58.

³⁸⁵ For Cistercian associations see Denton, "Foundation," 125-28. For Edward's vow see Michael Prestwich, "The Piety of Edward I" in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Conference, 1984*, ed. William Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1985), 120.

³⁸⁶ Empress Matilda vowed to build an abbey in the face of a tempest whilst attempting to escape King Stephen (at Chantereyne in Brittany) and in 1116 Richard I vowed to St Benedict to found two churches to the Blessed Virgin Mary, one on his landing spot, and one in England during a sea storm (one which was subsequently modified under papal dispensation to the building of a cathedral church at nearby Dubrovnik and a Benedictine Abbey on the island of Lokrum). Bury Palliser, *Brittany & its Byways: some account of its inhabitants and its antiquities* (London, 1869), 2-3; Josip Lučić, "On the earliest contacts between Dubrovnik and England," *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992), 373-89. Edward II was to do the same with the Dominican Priory at King's Langley (1308-74) and Edward III likewise for the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary Graces (c.1350). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 257-63; William Mark Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 858 n. 49.

³⁸⁷ David Parsons (ed.), *Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990: Essays to Commemorate the 700th Anniversary of her Death: 28 November 1290* (Stamford, 1991); Carsten Dilba, *Memoria Reginae: Das Memorialprogramm für Eleonore von Kastilien* (Hildesheim, 2009).

with a French predecessor, the Montjoies of Saint Louis erected along his funeral procession between Notre-Dame, Paris and Saint-Denis 1271-85.³⁸⁸ Though the precise nature of their association with French sources has been frequently questioned (alongside the exclusivity of the Montjoies as models for monumental crosses),³⁸⁹ their firm typological association with Louis IX's posthumous memorials has been persistently maintained. However, like St Stephen's this formal equation was not matched by stylistic interdependence and thus it is not unreasonable to consider crosses and chapel to be joint emanations of a cohesive phenomenon. Though the continuity of craftsmen between the two projects (in particular Michael of Canterbury who was responsible for Cheapside Cross) might go some way towards explaining this similarity, the uniform reliance on French types and not stylistic details across different master masons in the crosses and chapel indicate a considered patronal impetus which requires explanation.

The Eleanor Crosses' firm association with the death of Eleanor lends their French emulation a heightened personal dimension which disassociates it further from notions of political competitiveness. By all accounts from contemporary chronicles and modern historians alike Edward I was greatly affected by his queen's death, the magnitude of the king's grief being testified by the extent of the memorial programme of architectural patronage which he elaborated throughout the 1290s (paid for chiefly by her executors). Tombs with elaborate gilt-bronze effigies were produced for her entrails at Lincoln Cathedral and her body at Westminster (1291-92), and a separate chapel was renovated and a gilded urn made for her heart at Blackfriars, London (1291-92).³⁹⁰ The unprecedentedly wide-ranging and public aspect of these commemorations was echoed by the nature and reception of the crosses themselves, placed as they were at major intersections between roads along the way from Lincoln to London.³⁹¹ In an age when contemporary architecture rarely merited more than a passing comment in histories and other texts, the crosses apparently effected a lingering fascination over their viewers. The *Chronica* attributed to William Rishanger, a monk of St Albans, (1259-1307) recorded:

³⁸⁸ Robert Branner, "The Montjoies of Saint Louis" in *Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine (London, 1967), 13-16; Lombard-Jourdan, "Montjoies," 1678; John Zukowsky, "Montjoies and Eleanor Crosses Reconsidered," *Gesta* 13 (1974), 39-44; Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*, 7-8, 41-42, 215-22.

³⁸⁹ Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*, 213-34.

³⁹⁰ Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*. The accounts for these works, paid for largely by the Executors of Eleanor of Castile, found in E 101/353/1 are published in Thomas Hudson Turner, *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries illustrated by Original Records* (London, 1841), 95-139.

³⁹¹ Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*, 219-21, 234.

“In every place and village [through] which the body had passed, the king ordered a cross to be erected by wonderful design, towards the Queen’s memory, in order that she may be prayed for by travellers for her soul; in which cross he caused an image of the Queen to be depicted.”³⁹²

Presumably describing the now-lost monument next to St Alban’s Abbey, Rishanger’s words reflected both direct visual experience of the monument and local memory. Similarly, a cross after the Eleanor type was used as an allegorical visual interpretation of Psalm 88 lines 7-9 in the Luttrell Psalter of c.1330-45, indicating their potential for continued thought-provoking impact on viewers.³⁹³ Yet despite illustrating the lasting potency of royal commemorative schemes, neither example acknowledges any foundation for the crosses in French prototypes, an interesting development considering that a generation earlier Matthew Paris, the St Albans chronicler to which Rishanger was a direct successor, was quick to point out the iconographic debts of Henry III to Louis IX where applicable.³⁹⁴ Instead, the chronicle focuses exclusively on its functionality and intended audience, and the psalter its capacity to represent the raising of earthly figures into the company of the saints (heaven) after death.³⁹⁵ Consequently, it is reasonable to suggest that the crosses’ connection to the Montjoies did not leave a lasting impact on their public reception, and it was more for the effects which their typological predecessors generated than for the prestige, implications and impact of the redeployment of French archetypes *qua* French that the king engaged in conscious emulation.

Considering their shared chronological proximity, craftsmen and mode of adapting continental influences into new contexts, it is thus plausible that St Stephen’s was conceived as part of this wider commemorative project at Westminster. Edward I is likely to have seen both Sainte-Chapelle and Montjoies alike on the two occasions when he paid homage to the

³⁹² Translated by author. “*Omni loco et villa, quibus corpus pausaverat jussit Rex crucem miro tabulatu erigi, ad Reginae memoriam, ut a transuentibus pro ejus anima deprecetur; in qua cruce fecit imaginem Reginae depingi.*” William Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales Regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1863), 121.

³⁹³ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago, 1998), 163-68; Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996), 96.

³⁹⁴ See above, 51-52.

³⁹⁵ See Sandler, “Margin,” 96. The passage illustrated in question is “*Deus qui glorificatur in consilio sanctorum: magnus et terribilis super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt. Domine deus virtutum quis similis tibi: potens es domine et veritas tua in circuitu tuo.*” (BL MS Add. 42130, fol. 159v).

French kings in Paris – the first in 1273 to Philip III on his way back from Crusade and the second during 1286 to the newly crowned Philip IV.³⁹⁶ From 1246 the Sainte-Chapelle was given the explicit purpose of commemorating Louis IX (alongside his mother and father),³⁹⁷ and though neither visit coincided with his anniversary (25th August) it is not impossible that Edward I would have known this and consequently desired a more fitting chapel for the celebration of masses for his deceased family. The celebration of the anniversary of Eleanor’s death was certainly a major yearly expense for her executors, and a similar retrospective familial aspect would later be expressed in the upper cornice heraldry.³⁹⁸ Both were also paralleled by the Palatine Chapel at Aachen, which was intended as a martyrrium for Charlemagne and became the centre of an abortive cult of the briefly canonised king in the 1160s-70s.³⁹⁹ Yet equally personal factors may have coloured Edward I’s experience of these continental buildings. Eleanor accompanied Edward on both of his Parisian sojourns, and though it is inherently dangerous to project speculative psychological interpretations onto the past, the possibility of some sort of consequential sentimental attachment is not inconceivable. Both king and queen may have been impressed by these French architectural programmes, and the potential value of that shared experience should not be discounted, especially when the king was searching for an artistic language of appropriate scale, grandeur and widespread public effect to express his grief. The chapel, though small, which was renovated at Blackfriars proves Edward’s willingness to engage in new architectural patronage to create sites for memorial liturgical activity and St Stephen’s may well have been conceived in part with this in mind.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ On the former occasion the Montjoies were under construction, but might therefore have been at the forefront of architectural attention in the capital.

³⁹⁷ Its foundation document stipulated that it was “for the salvation of our [Louis IX’s] soul, and for the remedy of the souls of King Louis of illustrious memory, our father, and of the most brilliant Lady, Queen Blanche, our mother, and all our ancestors” (“*pro salute animae nostrae, et pro remedio animarum inclytæ recordationis regis Ludovici, genitoris nostril, clarissimæ Dominae et genitricis nostræ Blanchæ reginae, et omnium antecessorum nostrorum*” (Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 212, 216)).

³⁹⁸ See above, 100 and below, 149. For the accounts of Eleanor’s executors and here anniversaries see Turner, *Manners*, 95-139; Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*, 367-72. In addition, at Westminster Abbey Edward I donated lands worth £200 a year to support regular services. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 107; Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), 393.

³⁹⁹ Anne Austin Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority 800-1229* (Ithaca, 2013), 183-89, 211-12.

⁴⁰⁰ Chapel at Blackfriars was painted by Walter the Painter throughout 1291 (Turner, *Manners*, 98, 100, 102, 108, 109, 111, 113; E 101/353/1, rot. 1, m. 1-4). Accounts record payments for a vault, pavement and lime (presumably for mortar), implying some kind of structural work (E 101/353/1, rot. 1 m. 2; Turner, *Manners*, 103).

‘In part’ is an important qualification. Despite the potential importance of this commemorative dimension to the chapel’s design, a more imminent and generalising context is provided by Westminster itself. As discussed above, Henry III’s Abbey church with its strong stylistic debts to the Sainte-Chapelle, Reims and other major architectural works of northern France had already established a localised tradition of adopting and redeploying French design elements.⁴⁰¹ Though their interaction exhibited a markedly different character to St Stephen’s in using specific stylistic motifs, nascent within was the same mode of typological comparison which drew on the ground plan of its fellow coronation church at Reims and the French royal family’s burial church at Royaumont.⁴⁰² Whilst the equation of ground plans was not a perfect match, Binski characterising its imitation as “spirited and critical”,⁴⁰³ the inspirational interrelationship of two structures based on shared functionality was a mode identical to that later employed by Edward I at St Stephen’s and the Eleanor Crosses. Thus by Edward I’s reign the ‘eclecticism’ of Henry III’s patronage at Westminster had already acted as a diffusing agent which normalised engagement with France as a continuous rolling discourse in royal circles. This freer and decontextualizing attitude to form translated itself readily to translocations of ‘type’ and generated a localised comfortability with integrating French typological exemplars into English stylistic vernaculars, a tendency which St Stephen’s exhibited boldly.

The pre-eminence of a local context for the chapel’s form and function is further reinforced by the enormous quantity of energy and resources which were being directed towards Westminster during the 1290s. Eleanor’s tomb in the Abbey was not the only memorial project there during Edward I’s reign, her unexpected death having come seven months after the late-night translation of Henry III’s body to his newly completed tomb (executed 1275-90) by the shrine of Edward the Confessor.⁴⁰⁴ The elaborate Cosmati work of these two objects not only continued the precedent established by the sanctuary pavement under Henry III, but also firmly integrated them aesthetically in a union of tomb, shrine and the funereal/coronation space of the pavement.⁴⁰⁵ The incorporation of her tomb into this pre-existing commemorative scheme was signposted aesthetically through the production of paired gilded bronze effigies for both Henry III and Eleanor’s tombs at Lincoln and

⁴⁰¹ See above, 51.

⁴⁰² Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 34-40.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁰⁴ Binski, “Cosmati,” 22.

⁴⁰⁵ For the pavement see above, 33, 55.

Westminster, completed 1291-92 by the same craftsman, William Torel.⁴⁰⁶ Whether St Stephen's is to be associated directly with the commemoration of Eleanor or not, both it and the crosses were thus linked by form, function or topographical positioning to Westminster as a *locus regia*, a site for the ritual, practical and iconographic formulation of royal government. The increasing centralisation of royal governance and proliferation of ritual and ceremonial functions at Westminster under Henry III continued unabated.⁴⁰⁷ Under Edward I the Abbey developed into a royal memorial site, extended family mausoleum, coronation church and triumphal location for the display of spoils obtained in warfare with a cult of canonised kingship and an immediate palatial context quite unlike any continental examples, which normally diffused such functions across multiple disparate sites.⁴⁰⁸ Establishing continuity was a major focus of these works, whether through the new Cosmati-work linking the tomb of Henry III and shrine of the Confessor (1279-90) to the 1268 sanctuary pavement (Plates 88-89), the sequence of stylistically and typologically associated family tombs around the Abbey's east end or the new programme of Old Testament narratives in the Painted Chamber which so complimented the vices and virtues placed there under Edward's father.⁴⁰⁹ The new St Stephen's can thus be seen as part of a broader process of royal identity formation invested in Westminster explicitly, a proposition reinforced by the chronologically contingent works in the Painted Chamber which stood in parallel to the chapel on the Thames bank. The site of the king's *lit de justice* decorated with an elaborate painted iconography of monarchy completed by Edward's father, the Painted Chamber had been comparatively neglected throughout his earlier reign, but from 1292-97 a new campaign of narrative imagery sporting Old Testament monarchs derived from 1-2 Maccabees, Judges and 2 Kings was instigated (Plate 90).⁴¹⁰ Enrolled within the same accounts as St Stephen's, the two programmes were closely tied through royal finances as well as topographical proximity and a shared functional association with the king's household, suggesting a unified interest in enhancing Westminster Palace.

⁴⁰⁶ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 107-08. For accounts referring to the Torel effigies see CCR 1288-96, 171; Turner, *Manners*, 95, 99, 102, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 120, 123, 124, 125; E 101/353/1, rot. 1 m. 1-4, rot. 2 m. 1-3.

⁴⁰⁷ See above, 38-39.

⁴⁰⁸ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, esp. 3-7, 43-44, 93-94, 138-39, 142.

⁴⁰⁹ Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 71-103; Binski, "Cosmati," 13-33; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 90-120; Binski, "Tyrants," 121-54.

⁴¹⁰ Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 19-21, 71-103, 115-23; Matthew M. Reeve, "The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I and the Crusade," *Viator* 7 (2006), 189-221; Binski, "Tyrants," 121-54.

Furthermore, this association between St Stephen's and Westminster as a developing site of royal commemoration and ceremony may originally have been intended to be articulated aesthetically. After all, despite extensive evidence for its appearance on completion in the reign of Edward III, we have no idea of Edward I's full intentions for the chapel's design. Though their end in 1297 prevents the king's projected plans from ever being known, it is conceivable that the same kind of iconographic pluralism exhibited elsewhere in Edward I's reign – in particular Westminster Abbey with its combination of French and *romanitas* elements and the intersection of Savoyard, English and Roman castle design at Caernarfon – might have been expressed at St Stephen's. Purbeck marble was certainly employed on the interior, perpetuating much like the Abbey the imperialising aesthetic of decorative stone endemic to English architecture. Likewise, the concomitant potential for employing Cosmatesque work within the chapel would have been entirely in keeping with the king's wider patronage, and Edward's personal experience in Sicily as a guest of Charles of Anjou in 1271 could have provided him with influential models of the creative redeployment of Opus Sectile work such as the Capella Palatina in Palermo (Plate 91).⁴¹¹

This speculation serves as an important reminder that the Sainte-Chapelle was not the only palace chapel model available to Edward and his master masons. Located a mere one-to-two miles away and long associated with St Stephen's stylistically for its simple rectangular plan, polygonal turrets and the springing of its Upper Chapel arches from the level of the window heads (Plates 92-93, 70), St Etheldreda's, Holborn (1284-86) provided an alternative prestigious source for a two-storey chapel with octagonal turrets.⁴¹² Furthermore, when considering the prolific output of chapel construction, decoration and renovation under Henry III and the prevalence of Bishops' palaces in London (including the Archbishop of Canterbury's extant (if restored) Purbeck-clad twelfth-century chapel at Lambeth, directly across the river from Westminster) and England more generally,⁴¹³ it would be reasonable to assume that St Stephen's participated in a far wider sample of a largely lost class of building. In this, again, it was similar to the Eleanor Crosses which, as Carsten Dilba has shown, were

⁴¹¹ Edward departed Palermo to sail for Acre in April 1271. Binski, "Cosmati," 22; F. M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), II, 599.

⁴¹² Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 151-52; Wilson, "Origins," 43-46; Coldstream, *English Decorated*, 37-38.

⁴¹³ For Lambeth Palace Chapel, see Tim Tatton-Brown, *Lambeth Palace: A History of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Their Houses* (London, 2000), 24-32; Virginia Jansen, "Lambeth Palace Chapel, the Temple Choir and Southern English Gothic Architecture of c. 1215-40" in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. William Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1985), 95-99.

part of a far wider tradition of monumental commemorative crosses in England, France and the Holy Land.⁴¹⁴

This notion of expanded sources for the chapel's form can be extended further through analysis of its ground plan. Without the addition of the clerestory planned and installed during the 1330s the chapel was significantly lower in height than its French counterpart, further suggesting that direct equation of the two was not one of the king's aims.⁴¹⁵ However, if one assumes an intended termination at upper cornice level the resulting proportions are iconographically suggestive. Taken together the length:width:height ratio of the chapel interior emerges as 3:1:1.5, the same as that described in the 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles descriptions of Solomon's Temple (60x20x30 cubits), and the length:breadth of the exterior ground plan as 2:1, the same as were deployed in Solomon's House (100:50 cubits) (Plates 74, 94).⁴¹⁶ As Krautheimer and Binski have established, the association of structures through dimensional and proportional congruities played a major role in medieval architectural design.⁴¹⁷ For St Stephen's this was in part based in the prior example of the Sainte-Chapelle – Stephen Murray has argued that the buttress-to-buttress measurements of 100x50 French royal feet reference Solomon's House directly,⁴¹⁸ and the Upper Chapel interior floor plan employed the same 3:1 ratio as St Stephen's – but modifying its height to a more symbolically charged value represented an explicit rejection of the Parisian chapel's proportions in favour of a more emphatic evocation of biblical source material. Much like the Painted Chamber's new decorative programme, this represented a vigorous reengagement with Old Testament models of kingship which reached beyond that of its supposed architectural prototype.

In such an environment, the 1290s redevelopment of St Stephen's can be defined not solely by its relationship with French counterparts, but on its own merits as an autonomous project responding to a variety of influential factors. It is this liberation from the hierarchical modelling of architectural archetypes which is a core principle of the palatine chapel discourse proposed above, a discourse which continued to be applicable under Edward I. Far from its explanation in simple terms of rivalry with the French court, Edward I's St Stephen's

⁴¹⁴ Dilba, *Memoria Reginae*, 213-15, 225-27.

⁴¹⁵ For the clerestory see below, 135-36.

⁴¹⁶ 1 Kings 6:2, 7:2; 2 Chronicles 3:3.

⁴¹⁷ Krautheimer, "Introduction," 1-33; Paul Binski, "The Heroic Age of Gothic and the Metaphors of Modernism," *Gesta* 52 (2013), 4-11; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 130-36.

⁴¹⁸ Stephen Murray, "The Architectural Envelope of the Sainte-Chapelle," *Avista Forum* 10 (1997), 21-25.

was the product of a careful focusing of diverse patronal interests, including a renewed focus on Westminster, the associated elaboration of a memorial programme and the aesthetically and symbolically diverse formulation of royal identity. Though the chapel cannot be squarely attributed to a specific cause, it was bedded firmly within broader discourses of royal authority, governance and palatial design.

Conclusions:

What emerges from Edward I's reign is an incomplete picture of a building still in the process of formation. Left unfinished due to the economic circumstances surrounding the breaking down of the king's system of loan finance, it is difficult to produce definitive statements of Edward I's intentions for the building or the degree to which they were accomplished. Its problematic formal relationship with the Sainte-Chapelle, comprising broad consonances of measurement, plan and internal spatial divisions, coupled with evidence for wider sources in England and beyond presents a cumulative palimpsest of formative influences which defy the conventional interrelation of types and antitypes. The importance of French archetypes during the 1290s has been repeatedly over-emphasised and misrepresented in tone, often at the expense of other influences in the process of expressing royal identity architecturally. Commemorative schema, localised artistic traditions, a locational conception of royal governance and more general patronal trends within Edward's reign were equally influential on the chapel's scale, form and emulative mode. By opposing notions of artistic challenge as a form of political point-scoring, this chapter has suggested an alternative model for the chapel's formation within an international political context.

Chapter 3: Edward II (1320-27)

Edward II and Art History

Edward II (1307-1327) represents a peculiar problem for art historians. The victim of a turbulent reign which featured famine, financial ruin, civil war, drawn-out conflict in Scotland, continuing disputes in France, a desperately uneven balance of power and the monarch's eventual deposition, Edward's character has long been the subject of systematic defamation. Denounced as a tyrant and condemned for his reliance on unpopular favourites at the expense of political expedience, the king has gained a reputation as a paragon of weak kingship, incompetent royal governance and ill-considered political thinking, a man concerned more with pursuing eccentric pastimes than effective rule.⁴¹⁹ More recently, however, historians have increasingly attempted to redress this comprehensively negative assessment, instead representing the king as a more nuanced character with his own merits despite the eventual failure of his government.⁴²⁰ However, the longstanding perception of his failure and inadequacy continues to influence scholarship.

Consequently, it is perhaps unsurprising that Edward II's patronage has attracted comparatively little interest within art history. Indeed, his agency has been persistently de-emphasised by scholars. In the section devoted to Edward II in the 1987 *Age of Chivalry* Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, not a single artefact was connected with him directly save his tomb in Gloucester Cathedral (itself constructed posthumously). Even within the catalogue essay dedicated to his reign Edward's patronal activities were subordinated to those of his father and son: 1300-1350 may have represented "the most brilliantly inventive period in the history of English medieval architecture", but as far as the exhibition was concerned Edward II had no perceptible part in it.⁴²¹ Whereas his grandfather, father, son and heir, grandson (Edward the Black Prince) and even his wife, Isabella of

⁴¹⁹ William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1875), 309-15; Thomas Frederick Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914), 9-12; Hilda Johnstone, "The Eccentricities of Edward II," *The English Historical Review* 48 (1933), 264-67; Johnstone, *Edward of Caernarvon, 1284-1307* (Manchester, 1946), 1-2, 128-31; James Conway Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II: its character and policy: a study in administrative history* (London, 1967), 56-57, 76-80; Natalie Fryde, *The Tyranny of Edward II, 1321-26* (Cambridge, 1979), esp. 87-88. For a concise historiographical summary of this assessment, see Phillips, *Edward II*, 5-32.

⁴²⁰ Roy Martin Haines, *King Edward II: Edward of Caernarfon: His Life, His Reign, and Its Aftermath, 1284-1330* (London and Ithaca, 2003), x, 35-41, 1332-38; Phillips, *Edward II*, 1-4, 53-76, 607-13.

⁴²¹ Alexander and Binski, *Age*, 410-11.

France, have all received considerable attention from art historians, barely a word has been expended on the second Edward.⁴²² This absence of art-historical interest is matched by a lack of emphasis on artistic patronage in biographical accounts of the monarch. Many historians have incorporated artistic production into their studies of the life, piety and political interests of other late Plantagenet rulers, but for comparable literature regarding Edward II such avenues of investigation remain relatively unexplored.⁴²³ Roy Haines's 2003 biography contains not a single reference to art or architecture during the reign, not even in its explicit assessment of royal character, and whilst Seymour Phillips's more recent study goes some way towards rectifying this, art objects are only mentioned occasionally as supporting evidence with no attempt to deal with his patronage as a coherent whole.⁴²⁴ Indeed, Phillips stated directly that "there is no court as a centre of culture: despite [Edward II's] interest in architecture there are no great building projects to match the castles of his father's reign".⁴²⁵ Artistically speaking, Edward II remains critically understudied in comparison to his successor and predecessors.

Such a dearth is partially justified by a comparative lacuna of evidence for artistic production under Edward. Manuscripts from his reign are rarely associated with royalty and relatively few new architectural projects were initiated at this time. Yet even where art objects have been linked to royal patronage explicitly, there remains a systematic trend to strip the king of artistic agency wherever possible. Four manuscripts which have been ascribed to Edward II, the Isabella Psalter (Munich Staatsbibliothek Codex Gall. 16, c. 1303-08), Queen Mary Psalter (BL MS Royal 2 B.VII, c. 1310-20) and Walter of Milemete's *De nobilitatis, sapientis et prudentiis regum* (CCCO MS 92, c. 1325-27) and its companion *Secreta Secretorum* (BL MS Add. 47680), have in recent years been reattributed to the foreign agency of the French monarchy or their presumed recipient Queen Isabella,

⁴²² Edward III and Isabella have attracted particular attention during Edward II's reign, often at the king's expense. E.g. Michael Michael, "A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III", *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985), 582-99; Michael, "The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise", *JWCI* 57 (1994), 35-47; Libby Karlinger Escobedo, "'To the Illustrious Lord Edward': A Re-evaluation of Audience and Patronage in the Milemete Treatise and the Companion Secretum Secretorum", *Manuscripta* 50 (2006), 1-19; Escobedo, *The Milemete Treatise and companion Secretum secretorum: iconography, audience, and patronage in fourteenth-century England* (Lewiston, 2011). For objects connected with the Black Prince see Alexander and Binski, *Age*, 476-81.

⁴²³ E.g. Mark Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven and London, 2011); Ian Mortimer, *The Perfect King: the Life of Edward III Father of the English Nation* (London, 2008).

⁴²⁴ Haines, *Edward II*, esp. 25-48. Phillips, *Edward II*, esp. 57-59.

⁴²⁵ Phillips, *Edward II*, 607.

drastically reducing the king's role in their production.⁴²⁶ For the Milemete Treatise, Libby Escobedo has recast the manuscript as a work originally intended for Edward II (though later modified for presentation to his son following the king's deposition), but in the process entirely divorced it from royal agency and insisted it was the unsolicited work of a clerk of the Exchequer with no input from the king himself.⁴²⁷

Even where Edward's patronage can expressly be identified, his agency is almost invariably considered secondary and derivative. In architectural terms his patronage was not negligible – Colvin has recorded a large number of works on castles, a series of repairs at Westminster from 1307-11 and, naturally, the continuation of works at St Stephen's Chapel from 1320-26.⁴²⁸ Yet even so Colvin placed the king firmly in the shadow of his father, as “after the energetic rule of the first Edward, the reign of his ineffective son comes as something of an anti-climax”.⁴²⁹ With all the above examples largely initiated or heavily reworked in Edward I's reign, primacy of agency was invariably given to Edward II's esteemed father. This tendency is particularly explicit in the section contributed by Arnold J. Taylor on Caernarfon Castle, where a complex iconographic examination of the local and imperial connotations of the building refers to Edward I alone and omits his son from the discussion entirely despite his large contribution to the works.⁴³⁰ Likewise, the one painting from his reign with a recorded iconography, an image of Edward I's life painted 1324 in the Lesser Hall, Westminster, is directly ascribed to the influence of an earlier example patronised by the Bishop of Lichfield and not independent action on the king's part.⁴³¹ Even at St Stephen's the role assigned to Edward II is largely the derivative completion of works initiated under his father. In terms of innovation at least, Edward II's reign is perceived as an artistic vacuum punctuated only by repairs, completions and re-iterations of past works.

⁴²⁶ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, 2 vols (London, 1986), 33-34, 65-66; Suzanne Lewis, “The Apocalypse of Isabella of France: BNF MS Fr. 13096,” *The Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), 234, n.66; Anne Rudolf Stanton, “The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 91 (2001), 191-244; Stanton, “Isabelle of France and her Manuscripts, 1308-58” in *Capetian Women*, ed. Kathleen Nolan (New York, 2003), 225-52.

⁴²⁷ Escobedo, “Illustrious,” 10-19.

⁴²⁸ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 161-247, II, 1041-44.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 161.

⁴³⁰ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 369-95.

⁴³¹ Matthew M. Reeve, “The Former Painted Cycle of the Life of Edward I at the Bishop's Palace, Lichfield,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 46 (2002), 76-77. One other iconographically identifiable painting, a martyrdom of St Thomas Becket, has been identified with the young Edward in financial accounts painted at Chester Castle in April 1301 whilst he was still Prince of Wales (Phillips, *Edward II*, 70; National Library of Wales, MS Wynnstay 86).

Abstracted in this way, the character presented by scholars echoes the most critical of contemporary medieval commentaries – a king heavily swayed by external influence and surrounded by ill-chosen yet beguiling favourites.⁴³² This model of inadequate, easily-led kingship readily transposes into unimaginative and dependent artistic production. Yet just as the political agency of Edward II has recently been ascribed greater independence in thought and action, so too can his patronage be reassessed along similar lines. Indeed, on closer examination the king's few artistic projects show considerable evidence for original artistic intervention. At Knaresborough Castle, a severely understudied structure close to York (Plates 95-97), Edward's patronage showed both a willingness to institute original architectural schemes and a capacity to embrace innovation through a new and unusual departure from the characteristics of castle design established by his father. As Colvin and Philip Dixon have shown, the decision to tear down the old tower and replace it with a grandiose, self-contained fortified donjon (constructed between September 1307 and March 1312) not only represented an exceptional design "most uncommon in the early fourteenth century" (Colvin), but also provided the setting for a new and elaborate approach to the spatial manipulation of power through the arrangement of passageways, articulation of chambers and control of lighting effects.⁴³³ Such originality and creative flair, embracing the theatrical potential of architectural design for strong iconographic statements and powerful psychological effects on the audience, demonstrates that a tendency towards completion of a prior king's works does not automatically imply subordination to a more dominant earlier persona, nor does it imply the lack of a capacity for creative interventions within existing plans.

Admittedly, innovation of this kind cannot be attributed securely to a single man. All architecture is by its very nature a conglomerate work, and it is quite conceivable that the free agency accorded to a project's designer and the degree of control exercised by royal favourites in their capacity as advisers might easily outstrip that of the king. However, there are several indications during the reign of Edward's personal involvement and his direct consultation in artistic matters. The writ of 14th September 1307 ordering Knaresborough Castle's construction stated that it was to be built "as we have more fully indicated to them" ("*si come nous lour avoms plus pleinement devisez*"), implying close royal consultation

⁴³² Fryde, *Tyranny*, 13-15 17-20, 106-18; Haines, *Edward II*, 35-37, 47; Wendy R. Childs, *Vita Edwardi Secundi: the life of Edward the second* (Oxford, 2005), 4-7, 16-17.

⁴³³ Colvin, *HKW*, II, 689-90; Philip Dixon, "The Donjon of Knaresborough: the castle as theatre," *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellologie médiévale* 14 (1990), 122-27.

regarding the design.⁴³⁴ This interpretation of active, personal involvement is reinforced by the order's close ties to contemporary political events, namely the elevation of the castle's eventual owner and royal favourite Piers Gaveston to earl of Cornwall a mere month before construction began.⁴³⁵ Though such an association could be construed as evidence for the king's subordination to the will of his favourite, in reality no such firm causal relationship can be inferred directly. Equally, such a project acts as an indicator of the esteem in which Gaveston was held personally by the monarch, an attempt to support royal decisions through the architectural reinforcement of a recent appointment and thus a direct, cogent and considered response to contemporary circumstances. Consequently, not only can the choice to innovate or, rather, delegate innovative demands to the designer be attributed to the king at Knaresborough, but also the king emerges as a personal intervening agent within the design process consciously shaping architectural demands in response to political concerns.

This concatenation of relative agency, the interplay of innovation with inherited tradition and responsiveness to political circumstance is crucial in unravelling the development of works at St Stephen's under Edward II. The confluence of growing international tensions, an undulating financial situation haunted by the legacy of his father's debts and political upheaval culminating in the king's deposition and murder all had an impact on the building's progression, relationships which will be demonstrated below. Simultaneously, the inheritance of an incomplete building after twenty-three years of inactivity raises significant questions regarding the chapel's design chronology. By re-examining evidence from the building accounts and antiquarian visual records in relation to the wider circumstances of the reign, this chapter will explore this understudied patron's contributions to the structure's iterative design process.

Edward II and St Stephen's

When Edward ascended the English throne in 1307, he was left with a partially constructed royal chapel which had been lying undisturbed for almost a decade. With stones still in storage and its original master mason still alive, having apparently moved on to other projects in the intervening years,⁴³⁶ a renewed construction of the building was certainly possible.

⁴³⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, II, 689.

⁴³⁵ Phillips, *Edward II*, 126-28.

⁴³⁶ Wilson, "Origins," 84-88.

However, the king was immediately presented with far more pressing concerns including crippling debts, a burnt-out, dilapidated palace at Westminster and a large yet still incomplete series of fortifications in the historically rebellious areas of Wales and Scotland.⁴³⁷ Initially, thus, Edward's involvement in the chapel was geared towards stabilising the fabric – covering stonework, replacing the storage sheds for the pre-cut stones and refurbishing the temporary Chapel of St-Stephen's-by-the-Receipt (1308-09).⁴³⁸ These interventions indicate that a prolonged hiatus was anticipated, and it was not until 1320 that the king re-engaged with the chapel on a grand scale.

For a long time, Edward's involvement in the chapel was entirely ignored. However, as more and more of the chapel's building accounts were uncovered through the investigations of Topham, Hawkins and others, Edward was increasingly incorporated into its construction history. The two-iteration model suggested by Topham and Hawkins (divided between Edwards I and III) entirely omitted Edward II's part in the building project, the first antiquarian publication to acknowledge his role being Brayley and Britton's *History of the Ancient Palace* (1836). Though the division between an initial design and the Upper Chapel's reconstruction was maintained on stylistic grounds, accounts previously identified by Hawkins as Edward III's were reinterpreted in the light of a newly discovered roll of 1319 which "tends to shew that the restoration ... was actually *commenced* by Edward the Second", shifting the chapel's chronology accordingly to incorporate a 1319-27 campaign of reconstruction completed under Edward III (1330-64).⁴³⁹ This new interpretation was equally expressed in Frederick Mackenzie's *Architectural Antiquities* (1844), which presented the evidence in tabulated form and picked out particular details from the accounts.⁴⁴⁰ Edward II's perceived contributions to the building, identified from the published accounts, thus consisted of the Upper Chapel (minus the clerestory) and the gallery or *alura* leading from the Painted Chamber to the king's chapel.⁴⁴¹

Whilst the chronological division between construction campaigns which was established has remained virtually unchanged since this time, assessments of the contents and nature of Edward II's contribution have been continuously revised. Harvey was the first scholar to

⁴³⁷ See below, 139-41.

⁴³⁸ E 101/468/21, fol. 106-109v.

⁴³⁹ Brayley and Britton, *History*, 112-13, 120-27, 150-201, 425-26

⁴⁴⁰ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, i-iv.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, i-iii.

propose a significant reinterpretation of this construction sequence, inferring from his supposition of a prolonged Lower Chapel construction that Edward II's involvement merely consisted of "the building of the *alura* and the preparation of materials for the Upper Chapel."⁴⁴² In this latter category he included the timbers for the roof and vaulting, pieces of stone and marble worked for columns.⁴⁴³ By contrast, Hastings proposed a revised chronology which prioritised many elements de-emphasised by Harvey.⁴⁴⁴ Many past errors were attributed to the influence of Lethaby's interpretations of the palace, which included St Stephen's.⁴⁴⁵ Harvey's paradigm was thus rejected, with Edward II deemed responsible for a two-storey Upper Chapel based on Mackenzie's interpretation, the lower storey up to the great cornice being attributed to the king and the clerestory, east and west gables and roof to his son.⁴⁴⁶ Furthermore, on stylistic grounds the chapel's vestibule was redated to 1320-27 (Mackenzie had placed it in the 1330s).⁴⁴⁷ Thus Edward II was not just engaged in preparation for the Upper Chapel's construction, but in its implementation.

Colvin was to follow similar lines of interpretation with a new precision derived from an intimate study of original sources. Returning to the Latin accounts, Colvin confirmed the majority of Hastings's assumptions, the only exception being the vestibule. The Lower Chapel, with the exception of the vault, was considered completed under Edward I, with the Upper Chapel, gallery, clerestory, roof and vault all following in the already-described sequence.⁴⁴⁸ Wilson's 1980 doctoral thesis picked up from Colvin's reading, but his emphasis on St Stephen's as an integrated 1290s design subordinated Edward II's works to assumed pre-established plans drawn up under Edward I. Within the former's reign work was split into two sub-campaigns: the first referring purely to the upper parts of the chapel and including the installation of pre-cut stones and the making of window arches, image niches between them, the wooden vault and the roof conducted under masters Michael (c. 1320-22) and Thomas of Canterbury (1323-26); the second the insertion of the *alura* (1326).⁴⁴⁹ Edward II and his second master mason were thus once more reduced to passive

⁴⁴² Harvey, "St Stephen's," 195 n. 17.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴⁴⁴ Hastings, *St Stephen's*, esp. 28-111.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 41-43; Lethaby, *King's Craftsmen*, 180-82.

⁴⁴⁶ Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 47-56.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 59-62.

⁴⁴⁸ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 522.

⁴⁴⁹ Wilson, "Origins," 37, 40-41.

rather than active agency in the chapel design, the only minor change being the addition of a clerestory awkwardly inserted into the design albeit not completed until Edward III.⁴⁵⁰

Table 3.1 – Building Chronologies

Author (date)	Edward I	Edward II	Edward III
John Topham (1795/1807)	1292-98 Lower Chapel	-	1330-63 Upper Chapel
John Thomas Smith (1807)	1292-98 Lower and Upper Chapel (1) repaired	-	1329-64 Upper Chapel (2)
Edward Brayley and John Britton (1836)	1292-98 Lower and Upper Chapel (1)	1319-1326 Upper Chapel (2) commenced	1330-64 Upper Chapel (2) finished
Frederick Mackenzie (1844)	1292-98 Lower and Upper Chapel (1)	1320-26 Upper Chapel repaired, gallery	1330-64 Upper stories, vestibules, cloister, decoration and furnishing
John Harvey (1946)	1292-97 Lower Chapel begun	1319-26 Lower Chapel completed, gallery, upper chapel materials	1330-64 Upper Chapel
Maurice Hastings (1955)	1292-97 Lower Chapel begun	1320-27 Upper Chapel up to great cornice, gallery, vestibule, roof and vault components	1330-64 Clerestory, east and west gables and windows, roof and vault, decoration and furnishing
Howard Colvin (1963)	1292-97 Lower and Upper Chapel	1320-25 Upper Chapel north and south walls, roof and vault components, gallery	1331-64 Upper Chapel east end, west end, vault and roof installed, decoration and furnishing
Christopher Wilson (1979)	1292-97 Lower and Upper Chapel	1320-26 Window arches, roof and vault components, gallery	1331-64 Clerestory, east gable, battlements, vault and roof installed, decoration and furnishing

These latter observations represent the current state of research, one which draws many of its assumptions from interpretations, past or present, of the building's extant financial accounts. Though some sporadic repairs to the existent structure and its temporary covering are recorded throughout the 1310s,⁴⁵¹ those documents traditionally associated with the king's major construction campaign consist of E 101/469/3 (indeterminate works and

⁴⁵⁰ Wilson, "Origins," 122.

⁴⁵¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 513; see above, 112-13.

payments for stones 1319-22), E 101/469/8 (November 1323-Michaelmas 1325) and E 101/469/10 (Michaelmas 1325-March 1326).

Whilst these contain many clues as to the general shape of the works during this period, their start date is more difficult to determine. The E 101/469/3 accounts are extremely sparse and usually ambiguous in their wording, comprising a list of ‘*liberaciones*’ made to John de Ditton, the clerk of the King’s works at the Palace of Westminster and Tower of London, between Michaelmas 1319 and December 1322 when accounts were curtailed abruptly. Containing entries for works in the palace and the tower more generally, these are not exclusively payments for St Stephen’s and the funds paid appear to be relatively interpermeable between palace, chapel and tower. The first reference to St Stephen’s, appearing 7th November 1320, indicates £200 were to be released for works at Westminster, the Tower and the Chapel, payments which were fully completed on 25th May 1321.⁴⁵² This ambiguity was further reinforced by an order issued the immediately preceding 18th May for £1000 towards “the aforesaid works” (a term used continuously throughout), the subsequent payments for which include one of 1st July 1321 for stones intended for works in the palace and the chapel.⁴⁵³ That these works included extensive masonry is further implied by a second, albeit less clearly identified, account of 9th October 1321 which transferred a comparatively large sum to the same man, Richard de Bray, whose identification as a merchant of Caen (“*mercator de Cadamo*”) suggests the stones’ place of origin.⁴⁵⁴ These were, presumably, joined by the cut stones remaining from Edward I’s reign, which could now be repaired or finished where necessary and used. A final reference to St Stephen’s refers explicitly to the promised £1000, suggesting that £131 5 s. 2 d. still remained to be paid out from the Exchequer. However, this retrospective reference must be treated with caution as the above text indicates a less clear-cut demarcation of financial resources.⁴⁵⁵ Whilst it is

⁴⁵² “*Eidem Johanni [de Ditton] c s. liberati eidem vij die Novembris [1320] per manus proprias viz. tam super operacionibus palacij Westm’ et Turris London’ quam capelle sancti Stephani infra palacium predictum super breve de liberate continens cc li. sibi liberandas super operacionibus predictis cuius data est apud Westm’ v die Novembris anno xiiij*” (E 101/469/3, m. 1).

⁴⁵³ “*Eidem Johanni super aliud breve de liberate continens m^l li. sibi liberandas super operacionibus predictis cuius brevis data est apud Westm’ xvij die Maij anno xiiij [1321] L marce liberate eidem xxv die Maij per manus proprias in parte solucione brevis predicti*” (Ibid., m. 1); “*Eidem primo die Julij xj [1321] li. vj d. per manus Ricardi de Bray recipienti denarios pro lapidibus emptis de eodem pro operacionibus palacij et capelle predictae*” (Ibid.).

⁴⁵⁴ “*Eidem Johanni xij li. xix s. vij d. liberati eidem ix die Octobris per manus Ricardi de Bray mercatoris de Cadamo super operacionibus predictis*” (Ibid.).

⁴⁵⁵ “*Eidem super breve suum de liberate continens m^l li. sibi liberandas super operacionibus nove capelle sancti Stephani infra palacium Westm’ cuius brevis data est apud Westm’ xvij die Maij anno xiiij xxxiiij li. vj s. viij d. liberati eidem Johanni apud Lond’ xxij die Decembris per manus proprias super operacionibus predictis viz.*

unsurprising that these references have led to speculation regarding lost building accounts, particularly considering the scale of works that £1200 would imply (significantly exceeding the 1323-26 works amounting to £1082 17s. 6d.), there is no means of uncovering the relative distribution of these resources at a time when repairs to the wider palace and the Tower were also underway. Though Michael of Canterbury received a robe in March 1321 (often erroneously dated 1320), his identification as “*Magister Michael de Cantuario*” might indicate a broader responsibility for works at the Palace and Tower rather than a specific focus on the St Stephen’s fabric.⁴⁵⁶ Thus the 1320-22 accounts apparently represent a limited re-engagement with the chapel within the context of wider restorations at Westminster, an escalation of the earlier minor works of 1311-19.

Whatever the case, the gap between E 101/469/3 and E 101/469/8 represents a complete break in the extant records. Their resumption in 1323 saw a change not just in the surviving documentation, which now comprised precise, meticulous particulars revealing many significant details about the construction process, but also in the project’s master mason. This may well indicate that this gap was genuine and reflected the unknown circumstances of Michael’s replacement rather than the absence of lost accounts. From 21st November 1323 masons were employed for two seasons of activity: the first tailing off September-Christmas 1324, the second extending January 1325 to 26th November that year (See Appendix III/B.T.2). Though initially relatively small, the workforce of masons grew steadily in number, peaking at 62 in May 1324 and remaining largely at a similar size before falling from October to Christmas (Appendix III/B.T.2). The second campaign remained at this lower level (increasing incrementally) until June 1325 when it rose rapidly before tailing off slowly from July onwards. This period also shows two distinct changes in personnel. Firstly, between June and November 1325 polishers and Purbeck marble masons were gradually separated out from the main body of masons (Appendix III/B.T.2, B.G.5). Whereas previously these had been interchangeable with regular masons (most notably Walter Peny who was introduced as “*cementarius et marmorarius*” in January 1324),⁴⁵⁷ now they were a permanently employed group of specialists with (judging by his higher pay) a definite senior, William de Shorham, who had been on the chapel’s payroll as mason since 16th January 1324 (Appendix IV/B.1-2). Secondly, carpenters and sawyers began to be employed *en*

in parte solucione cxxxj li. v s. ij d. qui ei nunc restabant solvendi in summa in brevi contenta” (E 101/469/3, m. 1d).

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., m. 1.

⁴⁵⁷ E 101/469/8, m. 1.

masse under Master William Hurley in March 1325 (Appendix III/B.G.6), working alongside the masons right up to 26th November largely on the chapel roof.

This pattern of work was echoed or, rather, pre-empted by the chapel's material consumption (Appendix III/B.G.1-4). Unsurprisingly, materials were often stockpiled in advance of works, with supplies periodically topped up as construction continued. A large proportion of the stones used at this stage were cut and worked off-site at the quarry. Throughout the initial period extending from November 1323, the chapel proper was constructed largely using imported Caen stone of two primary classes, the larger *gobets* and smaller *coyns* or corner stones, with the walls filled by boatloads of Kentish Rag from the Aylesford quarries near Maidstone.⁴⁵⁸ From March 1324 Purbeck marble was purchased by the foot explicitly for columns, although their exact location is unclear.⁴⁵⁹ However, from March 1325 the pattern of material consumption changed. The addition of a new structural element, the *alura* or passageway constructed between the chapel and the Painted Chamber, relied almost exclusively on Reigate *perpani*.⁴⁶⁰ Simultaneously, materials ordered for the chapel proper switched primarily to pre-cut Reigate 'form pieces' (a term often associated with tracery).⁴⁶¹ Here the use of prefabricated stones is increasingly pronounced, as demonstrated by the pre-cut *parpoyntz*, form pieces and, later, corbels and crests. Ragstone continued to be used for filling walls, albeit occasionally replaced with chalk.⁴⁶² For woodwork the situation is further complicated by the divide from March 1325 between scaffolding and the structural work for which materials had long been stockpiled. Scaffolding was primarily built from alder or ash timbers and oak laths, sourced either from wholesalers on Wood Street in London or, in one instance, from the forests of the Bishop of Exeter.⁴⁶³ For structural woodwork periodic shiploads of wood (presumably oak) from the royal forest at Tonbridge were employed, along with other wood types and boards for more specific tasks such as centring, doors and molds.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁸ See Salzman, *Building*, 105.

⁴⁵⁹ This problem is addressed below, 119-21.

⁴⁶⁰ Payments for Caen stone were made on 25th June, 29th July and 5th August (E 101/469/8, m. 14, 16).

⁴⁶¹ For form pieces see Salzman, *Building*, 93, 111-12.

⁴⁶² Chalk was supplied "*pro nova alura*" (E 101/469/8, m. 14) from June to August 1325, but was only explicitly associated with wall filling in the final payment of 12th August: "*Johanni atte Okholt pro j batellata creti pro muris implendis iij s.*" (Ibid., m. 17).

⁴⁶³ See below, 119 n. 466.

⁴⁶⁴ Wood supplies from Tonbridge were not paid for as they were already royal property, so cannot be enumerated.

Interpreting the building sequence is complicated by the situation at the end of Edward I's reign. The evidence for works already initiated or in storage for the upper cornice of the south wall during the 1290s, combined with the purchase of stones during the 1320-22 campaigns, suggests this was the probable starting point for further construction.⁴⁶⁵ Wood was purchased for scaffolding on the north side (“*ex parte boreali*”) explicitly on 23rd April 1324 from the Bishop of Exeter, though scaffolders were operating and bringing in materials from the preceding March which could equally be associated with the northern part.⁴⁶⁶ Whatever the case, the contextual circumstances of the upper cornice heraldry indicates a divided process of production with two date ranges: 1292-96 and 1320-26. This combined evidence suggests the initial phase under Edward II comprised a sequential treatment of the walls focused on completing the windows and the cornice above it, initiating on the south wall (approximately 1320-23) before moving on to the north (largely 1324). From 2nd April to 12th November 1324 iron was periodically brought in for window bars, almost certainly the structural through-bars which were commonly employed in medieval fenestration, and from 9th April to 19th May pre-cut ‘mold pieces’ (*moldae peciae*) of Caen stone were purchased (Appendix III/B.T.1), a term usually associated with the mouldings of window frames.⁴⁶⁷ That these windows did not yet incorporate tracery is indicated by the later adoption of Reigate ‘form pieces’ (*formae peciae*) from April 1325,⁴⁶⁸ but it is reasonable to assume that by Christmas 1324 the majority of the upper window frames were in place. By March following, scaffolding was explicitly being set up for the east gable, suggesting that for the 1325 campaign major structural works had moved on from the side walls.⁴⁶⁹

This was not the only aspect of the chapel under construction before 1325, however. On 2nd May 1324 a lock with two latches (*clikettae*) was purchased “*ad hostium superiori vestiarij*”, followed a month later by hinges (*vertivellae*), nails (*clavi*) and a lock (*serrura*) bought “for a

⁴⁶⁵ See above, 77.

⁴⁶⁶ “*Die lune xxij die Aprilis [1324] domino Waltero Exoniensis Episcopo pro lxj peciis fraccini longitudinis xlij pedum et pro cccc peciis alni longitudinis xxxvij pedum pro scaffoto capelle ex parte boreali faciendo in boscis manerij sui de Henle iuxta Gyldeford emptis vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 3). Ibid., m. 2.

⁴⁶⁷ See 2nd and 23rd April, 14th May, 20th August and 12th November (Ibid., m. 2, 3, 6, 9). For comparable examples of accounts recording ironwork for use as through-bars at Merton College, Oxford in the 1290s see Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Merton College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2013), 5. See also Salzman, *Building*, 110, 291-92.

⁴⁶⁸ “*Die lune xxix die Aprilis Hugoni de Domulton’ pro xxij formis peciis petre de Reygate precium pecie xx d.: xxxvj s. viij d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 12).

⁴⁶⁹ “*Die lune iij die Marcij Johanni le Dissher pro c tignis de alneto pro scaffota ad gabulam orientalem inde facienda xvj s. viij d.*” (Ibid., m. 11).

certain large doorway in the Upper Chapel”.⁴⁷⁰ These two doorways, probably intended to secure the site, are difficult to locate precisely. The implication of an adjoining vestry is of particular importance, as its two-storey structure (indicated by the description of a *superior* storey) indicates pairing with the two levels of the chapel itself. This likely marked the completion of a ‘*superior*’ storey in line with the Upper Chapel, although its windows may have remained incomplete as late as 1333 when new hooks for hinges were installed.⁴⁷¹ Of the three entrances to the Upper Chapel recorded by antiquarians (Plates 98-100) the west eventually led towards the vestibule, leaving only two doorways in the chapel’s easternmost bay. As the south side can be associated with the *alura*, it is likely that the two-storey vestry adjoined the north-east bay of the Upper Chapel and its upper storey at least was contemporaneous with the walls, an interpretation supported by the initiation of scaffolding on that side the preceding month. The *magnum hostium* of May that year was thus in all probability the western entrance to the Upper Chapel space, built in advance of the succeeding feast of Pentecost (12th June) which the King celebrated at Westminster that year.⁴⁷² Further fixtures were added following 11th September 1324 with the purchase of *talestones* (*pierre de taille* in French or dressed stones) to be used expressly “for the chapel steps”.⁴⁷³ Whilst this feature’s location is unclear, a likely contender was those leading to the raised Lower Chapel chancel, a possibility which will be reconsidered below.⁴⁷⁴ Finally, on 4th December 1324 two pairs of hinges, nails and beech boards were purchased “for a certain double doorway towards the entrance of the chapel”.⁴⁷⁵ This latter door is not placed at a specific level of the chapel, but instead “at the chapel’s entrance”, potentially indicating a position in the lower, as opposed to *superior*, chapel. This likely connected to the lower porch completed during the 1290s and, judging from its later eighteenth-century replacement, this doorway was probably a double-arched design comparable to its round-arched successor (Plate 101).

⁴⁷⁰ “*Die mercurij* [2nd May] [...] *Roberto le Lokier pro j serrura cum ij clikettis ad hostium superioris vestiarij vj d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 3). “*Die jovis* [31st May] *Johanni de Thorney pro j paria vertivellorum <cum clavis> pro quodam magno hostio in superiore capella pendendo contra festum Regis tentum ad Pentecostum xij d.* *Die veneris* [1st June] *Roberto le Lokier pro j serrura ad dictum hostium cum clavi et clavis xvj d.* *Eidem pro emendacione unius serrure ad superius hostium del viz cum clavi et clavis ad eandem iij d.*” (Ibid., m. 4).

⁴⁷¹ E 101/469/17, m. 1-2.

⁴⁷² Elizabeth M. Hallam, *The Itinerary of Edward II and his Household, 1307-1328* (London, 1984), 257.

⁴⁷³ “*Die martis* [11th September] *Hugonis de Domulton’ pro ccc de taleston’ petre de Reigate pro gradubus capelle precium c vj s.: xvij s.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 7). For ‘talestone’ definition see T. H. Turner, *Some account of domestic architecture in England from the conquest to the end of the thirteenth century* (Oxford, 1877), 72.

⁴⁷⁴ See below, 134-35.

⁴⁷⁵ “*Die martis* [4th December] [...] *Eidem [Johanni de Thorney] pro ij parisi vertivellorum pro quodam hostio duplicato ad introitum capelle pendendo xvij d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 9).

The resumption of work following Christmas 1324 incorporated a considerable re-jigging of the project's organisation and the introduction of several new construction tasks. The extent of this change is indicated first and foremost by the building of a new *trassura* or tracing-house between the weeks starting 7th January and 3rd February.⁴⁷⁶ The *trassura*'s presence implies that significant design work was underway, a proposition reinforced by the renewed emphasis on molds and tracings during this period for which boards were purchased from 15th April onwards for the master of the carpenters and from 18th June for the masons.⁴⁷⁷ As mentioned above, from 29th April through to 18th November Reigate form pieces were paid for at periodic, often weekly, intervals (Appendix III/B.T.1). With at least 150 pieces being ordered in total, these are almost invariably designated "for the upper storey of the chapel".⁴⁷⁸ These could conceivably be associated with the clerestory, conventionally dated to the 1330s, but such a differentiation between storeys would be equally necessary given the absence of the Lower Chapel vault.⁴⁷⁹ Though the problem will be readdressed below, it is likely that these represented the Upper Chapel at main window tracery.⁴⁸⁰ Despite the presence of scaffolding for the east gable from March 1325, the later extensive purchasing of form pieces for the east window under Edward III indicates that these only applied to the north and south sides.⁴⁸¹ Unfortunately, the form of this tracery can never be known - following the renovations of Wren all vestiges of it beyond the principal mullions was lost permanently and no prior drawings contain any evidence of these windows' design. By 26th November it can be assumed that the windows' masonry was largely completed and installed and the chapel walls were thus substantially complete up to upper cornice level on the north and south sides, with works significantly advanced at the east and west.

The design of the chapel tabernacles ("*tabernaculi*"), a word normally associated with the elaborate architectonic canopies above image niches, provides a more specific problem. 18th June 1324 saw the purchase of six large Reigate stones for these features.⁴⁸² Within the context of completing the Upper Chapel walls, these can be associated with the large image

⁴⁷⁶ E 101/469/8, m. 10.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., m. 12, 14.

⁴⁷⁸ E.g. "*Die jovis* [19th June] [...] *Eidem* [*Hugoni de Domulton*'] *pro viij formis peciis petre de Reygate pro superiori historia capelle precium pecie xx d.: xij s. iiij d.*" (Ibid., m. 14).

⁴⁷⁹ See above, 86-87; below, 133-35, 167-68.

⁴⁸⁰ See below, 135-37.

⁴⁸¹ See above, 118; below, 157-58.

⁴⁸² E 101/469/8, m. 4; Salzman, *Building*, 109.

tabernacles that once adorned the Upper Chapel piers. Their canopies were evidenced only by conspicuous holes in the masonry depicted by antiquarians, but the associated bases were still extant up to the 1834 fire (Plates 102-03). Their design process was apparently drawn out, evidenced by the extended time gaps between its November 1323 and February 1324 conversions into molds (both in the form of wooden boards), and the later purchase of plaster in January 1325 for the *trassura* (probably for a tracing floor) explicitly “towards the molds to be formed for tabernacles” indicates continuing work.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, despite the 1324 stone purchase there is no indication of whether the tabernacles were begun at this stage or the stones were bought speculatively and stored for later use. This latter possibility is reinforced by a much later entry for the purchase of a further large Reigate stone for tabernacles in June 1325.⁴⁸⁴ Whatever the case, their completion and installation was certainly delayed. An inventory conducted at the end of September 1332 includes ten fully worked and seven unworked stones for tabernacles still in storage when Edward III re-initiated construction.⁴⁸⁵ These stones were only recorded as expended in a second inventory of 1346, which recorded their use for setting “diverse images” (“*diversae ymagines*) in place and closely associated them with Purbeck marble columns (Appendix III/B.T.1, B.G.4).⁴⁸⁶ Such an extended process would be unsurprising as tabernacles appear to have been the subject of intense architectural interest for masons from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries,⁴⁸⁷ and the design might well have required modification in response to later developments regarding the chapel roof.

Their association with Purbeck marble was doubtless significant. 404½ feet of marble was purchased for columns March-July 1324, but was not picked up again until 1st April 1325, starting a trend of regular orders throughout 1325 totalling 529 feet which ended on 17th July (Appendix III/B.T.1, B.G.4). The clear chronological division of this from the former period of Purbeck purchasing, coupled with the change in the organisation of marble masons described above, raises the obvious question of what specific ‘columns’ were referenced in these accounts and whether the two periods represent different architectural features. In addition, for the 1325 consignments an entirely new element was added – twenty pieces of

⁴⁸³ E 101/469/8, m. 1, 2, 10.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, m. 13.

⁴⁸⁵ E 101/469/11, m. 1d. See Appendix V/A.

⁴⁸⁶ “*Idem computat expendisse in diversis tabernaculis in prefata capella ad imponendas diversas ymagines xvij pecias petrarum de Reygate*” (E 101/470/16, m. 1).

⁴⁸⁷ Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham, 2011), 357-58.

marble intended “for sources” (“*pro sourcis*”), a term conventionally associated with corbels, often though not exclusively those beneath image niches.⁴⁸⁸ In the 1332 inventory twenty-four ‘sources’ were recorded in total, eight worked and sixteen unworked, indicating that the accounts themselves are not absolute guides for the quantity of work produced.⁴⁸⁹ The 1346 inventory further elaborated on their usage, confirming their expenditure “towards the images beneath the tabernacles” and thus implying a supportive role, perhaps the foliate corbel underpinning the main consoles recorded by Smith and Mackenzie.⁴⁹⁰ Equally, within the same document they were closely associated with a set of Purbeck columns, some placed beneath the sources and others associated with the tabernacles above.⁴⁹¹ It is thus clear that some proportion of the 933½ feet of Purbeck purchased was intended for the hollow-moulded octagonal columns which underpinned the tabernacle bases (Plate 104), though these were not to be installed until far later.

This was not, however, sufficient to account for all the Purbeck used during this period. Throughout the chapel’s construction history, only three other areas of Purbeck columns (as opposed to floor panels or seating) can presently be identified - the Lower Chapel piers, the Upper Chapel arcading and the clerestory (albeit the latter was not constructed until Edward III’s reign). It seems likely that the 1325 campaign can be associated primarily with the arcading. For the 1st April 1325 purchase it was stipulated that the new columns would be positioned “*circa capellam*” (“around the chapel”),⁴⁹² a phrase not only implying a significant departure through its uniqueness, but also matching the visual effect of the encircling shafts of the Upper Chapel arcading. The earlier period, by contrast, is thus likely associated primarily with the tabernacle supports. However, 213 feet of Purbeck worked for columns (indubitably remaining from Edward II’s reign as no new Purbeck was ordered until the following November) were still uninstalled in late September 1332 and four pieces (possibly

⁴⁸⁸ According to Salzman, the word can be used in the context of the corbels or brackets on which images stand (Salzman, *Building*, 109) and, indeed, it was used for these at St Stephen’s in 1347.

⁴⁸⁹ See Appendix V/A.

⁴⁹⁰ “*Idem computat in operibus eiusdem capelle pro sources ad ymagines subtus tabernaculos xxiiij pecias*” (E 101/470/16, m. 1).

⁴⁹¹ “*Et in columpnis positis tam subtus predictis [sic] sources et ex utraque parte tabernaculorum quam in operibus portici ad occidentalem finem eiusdem capelle cc pecias petrarum marmorearum*” (Ibid., m. 1). For tabernacles, see below, 125-26, 129-30, 165, 170, 176.

⁴⁹² “*Die lune primo die Aprilis Magistro Ade marmorario pro c et x pedibus petre marmoree pro columpnis circa capellam faciendis precij pedis vj d.: lv s.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 12).

containing as much as 100 feet) were unworked, indicating that whatever projects were underway were substantially incomplete at the cessation of works in 1326.⁴⁹³

At the same time a new intervention in the structure – the “*nova alura inter novam capellam et camera depictam*” (“new passageway between the new chapel and Painted Chamber”) – was being planned and executed.⁴⁹⁴ Relatively little can be gleaned regarding its appearance beyond its presumed extension from the former St Lawrence’s Chapel adjoining the Painted Chamber to the easternmost bay on the south side of St Stephen’s (Map 2). Recorded by Stow as having partially burnt down in 1452 and perhaps subsequently restored, there is no visual record of the original building or, indeed, its successor.⁴⁹⁵ However, in 1805 the structure’s foundations at its southern end were discovered, their extent being recorded on a plan by Smith, and the architect Sir Robert Smirke uncovered evidence of its intersection with the Painted Chamber.⁴⁹⁶ From the accounts it can be surmised that the *alura* was a twenty-four windowed, wooden-roofed structure.⁴⁹⁷ Its two-storey design can be inferred not only from the second-storey location of the Painted Chamber, but also the accompanying doorway on the Upper Chapel south side recorded by Carter, Smith and Mackenzie (Plates 105-106, 99-100). Though the exact nature of the *alura*’s internal disposition cannot be known as there are no extant visual records, the large quantities of chalk, commonly used for the webbing of vaults, might indicate the use of stone vaulting between the two stories (Appendix III/B.T.1).⁴⁹⁸

Materials began to arrive for the *alura* on 27th March, and works continued right up until the week starting 26th November 1325. With pre-cut Reigate stone forming the bulk of its structure construction was extremely rapid. On 18th June wood was bought for the purpose of making centring for windows (“*pro cyntres ad fenest*”) followed closely by iron (presumably

⁴⁹³ See Appendix V/A. Length derived from an entry of 17th July 1325: “*Die mercurij Ade marmorario pro ij peciis petre marmoree continentibus xlix pedes et dj. pro columpnis inde faciendis precium pedis vj d.: xxiiij s. ix d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 15).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, m. 13.

⁴⁹⁵ Stow, *Survey*, 175; Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, ii-iii.

⁴⁹⁶ Smith, *Antiquities*, plate opposite 125. Sir Robert Smirke was the younger brother of Richard Smirke, the draftsman engaged by the Society of Antiquaries to draw the paintings of St Stephen’s Chapel (Richard Riddell, “Smirke, Sir Robert (1780–1867),” *ODNB*, online edition, 2010, accessed 13 April 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25763>).

⁴⁹⁷ See below, 125 n. 500.

⁴⁹⁸ Chalk was equally used in foundations and wall-filling. See above, 74, 118.

for window through-bars) from 24th July, indicating the quick progress made.⁴⁹⁹ The windows' stone structure was presumably complete by the 9th September when pre-cut Reigate crests and corbels were purchased by the foot (an order which continued fairly regularly until the cessation of works on 26th November 1325), alongside casements for twenty-four windows in the *alura* and further ironwork for a *novum oratorium* associated with it.⁵⁰⁰ The presence of this oratory within the *alura* has long been associated with the later attested chapel of St Mary le Pew, a distinct entity from St Stephen's for which documentation appears from 1394 onwards.⁵⁰¹ A vaulted space was recorded in this location between the buttresses at Lower Chapel level by Mackenzie,⁵⁰² and is depicted in antiquarian drawings after the 1834 fire (Plates 107-108). Though this structure's original purpose remains unknown, it is likely that from the beginning it was intended to act as a functional replacement for St Lawrence's, now by the incidence of the *alura* reduced from a small private chapel to a kind of royal thoroughfare. Finally, on 4th November boards from the Baltic (*estrich* or 'eastern' boards, probably oak) were bought for covering the *alura*, followed by lead on the 12th and lead nails on the 18th.⁵⁰³ The latter date was also the occasion for the purchase of nails, boards and hinges for two doorways into the *alura*.⁵⁰⁴ Though the *alura*'s absolute completion might be inferred from the installation of doors, the 1332 inventory indicates that some Caen stone elements, notably the *scutables* and *sucrestes* (elements of Upper Chapel crediting presumably associable with the 'crests and corbels' of earlier accounts), were yet to be completed and installed.⁵⁰⁵ The overall picture, however, is one of near completion with only a few minor details of its upper reaches unfinished.

Concurrently, carpenters were engaged to construct the chapel roof. As the wood itself (supplied from the royal forest at Tonbridge as outlined above) was not recorded in detail in the financial accounts, the primary source for understanding this structure is the 1332

⁴⁹⁹ “*Die martis Hugoni le Hatter pro dj. c de bechbordis pro cyntres ad fenestr' et moldis ad cementarios faciendis iij s. iij d. In portagio et batellagio eorumdem de London' usque Westm' ij d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 14). *Ibid.*, m. 16. That this latter ironwork refers to through-bars is indicated by a later entry of 26th August 1325: “*Johanni de Thorney pro cc ferri pro quibusdam ferramentis viz. barris {ad ponendum} ad muros faciendis et instrumentis cementariorum emendandis precium c iij s.: viij s.*” (*Ibid.*, m. 17).

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, m. 18-19; E 101/469/10, m. 1-3.

⁵⁰¹ Smith, *Antiquities*, 101, 123-24, 222; Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, “Our Lady of the Pew. The King's Oratory or Closet in the Palace of Westminster,” *Archaeologia* 68 (1917), 1-20; Colvin, *HKW*, 517.

⁵⁰² Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 23.

⁵⁰³ E 101/469/10, m. 2-3. For *estrich* boards see Salzman, *Building*, 245-47.

⁵⁰⁴ E 101/469/10, m. 3.

⁵⁰⁵ See Appendix V/A. Salzman, *Building*, 107.

inventory which lists the wooden components by name.⁵⁰⁶ Work proceeded between 11th March and 26th November (when it was curtailed abruptly along with the masonry) and was largely conducted under William Hurley who had previously been employed carving molds for the tabernacles in November 1323 and February 1324 (though he was periodically absent from the construction site).⁵⁰⁷ What appears to have been planned was a relatively conventional roof structure, built around central king posts and tie beams. By the time the timbers were tallied in their store in 1332, the inventory included eleven 37x4 feet beams (presumably for the central ridge), ten “*polrenes*” or subsidiary beams, eleven tie beams (“*entreteyes*”) extending perpendicularly between the two sides of “*polrenes*”, six “*moutaynes*” or upright connecting shafts between the tie-beams and ridge, two ‘*quarters*’ (normally referring to features mediating between ridge and rib), one “*plate*” (probably one of the large wall-plates which bookended a roof at its base), 146 18x3 feet timbers (perhaps intended for the rafters) and wooden pieces for corbels, eleven completed and forty-one still to be worked (see Appendix V/A).⁵⁰⁸ Though wooden corbels in this context are most frequently associated with supporting mechanisms for wooden floors,⁵⁰⁹ it seems likely that these were intended to act as a supporting structure for the roof at the intersection with the masonry. At the same time, work apparently began on a wooden vault, though this was not apparently completed until 1347-48.⁵¹⁰ The pieces worked on during the 1320s are recorded (though unfortunately untallied) in the 1332 inventory.⁵¹¹

The week of 26th November saw a near-instantaneous cessation of the works. Unlike the previous two Christmas breaks which wound down gradually, the lacuna of the last week of December 1325 took the form of an early, abrupt and yet well-planned closure of the works including storage of unused materials. This interpretation is further reinforced by the 1332 inventory which contained many unfinished, partially finished or uninstalled components in stone or wood, including several that suggest many features such as the upper windows, roof

⁵⁰⁶ For Tonbridge wood see above, 118. As no wood was purchased and no carpenters were employed in large sustained numbers between the 1331 resumption of works and September 1332 these timbers can only be those worked during the 1320s. See Appendix III/B.T.3.

⁵⁰⁷ For tabernacle molds see E 101/469/8, m. 1, 2. For absences of William Hurley see Appendix III/B.T.3. William de Underdoun is identified as holding the position of Hurley on 3rd June 1325: “*Willelmo de Underdoun carpentario et <apparillatorio> tenenti locum Magistri Willelmi de Hurley capienti per diem vj d.: ij s. vj d.*” (E 101/469/8, m. 13).

⁵⁰⁸ Salzman, *Building*, 198, 212-13; E 101/469/11, m. 1d.

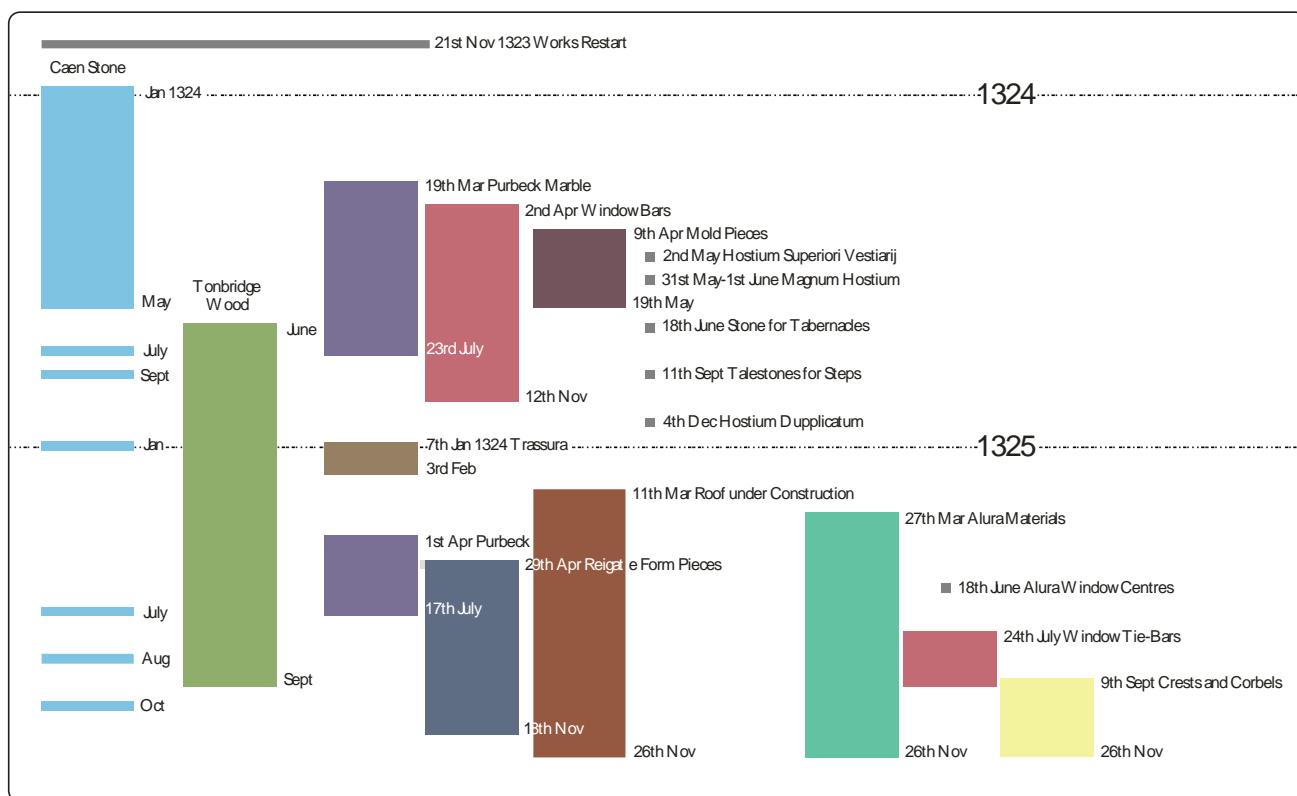
⁵⁰⁹ Salzman, *Building*, 211.

⁵¹⁰ See below, 165; E 101/470/18.

⁵¹¹ E 101/469/11, m. 1d.

and uppermost parts of the *alura* were cut off mid-construction.⁵¹² From 2nd December reeds were purchased and labourers (“*operarii*”) employed for covering the chapel walls and carrying wood and stone for storage.⁵¹³ Between 9th and 16th December a pentice was built beneath the Great Hall for storing stones and wood, and from 12th January workers began to take down the scaffold, a process lasting until the week of 3rd February.⁵¹⁴ Simultaneously, the roof and vault were carefully disassembled and placed in a ‘long stable’ built specifically for that purpose.⁵¹⁵ The carrying and storage of materials was to continue at an ever slower pace until 24th March, when it finally stopped.⁵¹⁶ It was not to resume under Edward II.

Figure 3.1 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1323-25 Summary



⁵¹² See Appendix V/A.

⁵¹³ E 101/469/10, m. 3-5.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., m. 3-5.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., m. 4-5.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., m. 5.

Redesigning St Stephen's

The progress and development of works during the 1320s raises the important question of whether they represented the unmodified intentions of the 1290s. As discussed above, the current state of research emphasises the unity of the chapel's conception despite its disparate building campaigns, assuming relatively few subsequent design interventions and certainly no major changes to its underlying structure or stylistic idiom.⁵¹⁷ Wilson has argued that this period was characterised by following pre-set design drawings, considering the master mason, Thomas of Canterbury, to have been merely a continuator of his predecessor's work with comparatively few design responsibilities (as represented by his relatively low pay of 3s. per week as opposed to the 6s. he earned upon the re-initiation of construction in 1331).⁵¹⁸ Yet there is little to corroborate this interpretation. Firstly, such instances are comparatively rare in similar cases of inherited architecture wherein major stylistic changes often took place following the changeover of generations. In the case of Amiens Cathedral in Northern France, Stephen Murray's work has revealed a strong stylistic shift between the relatively conservative second master mason, Thomas de Cormont, and his son Renaud.⁵¹⁹ The initial tracery of the upper sections of the transept and choir represented sharp departures from those of earlier parts of the building (Plates 109-10), leading Murray to characterise Renaud as a "revolutionary master ... chafing at his father's conservative regard for the plans of Master Robert", the building's original designer.⁵²⁰ This significant change was further compounded by the 1258 fire which necessitated further changing the buttresses and tracery in reaction to structural failure, restoring a "more cautious approach".⁵²¹ Thus, Murray identified a cross-generational tension between continuity and innovation within dynastic architectural projects:

"the driving force behind [*sic*] the unity and change that characterises Gothic may well be understood partly in terms of the desire of the apprentice-son both to be like his father-master and to outdo him".⁵²²

Regardless of the accuracy of his psychohistoric interpretations, Murray's work has at least demonstrated that modifications to a father's design were not only possible or even perhaps

⁵¹⁷ See above, 79-81.

⁵¹⁸ Wilson, "Origins," 122.

⁵¹⁹ Murray, *Amiens*, 84-86.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵²² *Ibid.*

desirable, but often necessary in view of the changing circumstances of construction. That comparable later design revisions were common in prolonged construction projects is further indicated by the west front of Strasbourg cathedral (c. 1277-1439), where successive master masons increasingly diverged from the preserved drawn plans, including an extensive series of deviations following the appointment of Johann von Steinbach who had just succeeded his father.⁵²³ Later modification of initial designs was an accepted, perhaps even expected, part of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century construction process, one which inherently incorporated continuous revision in relation to new circumstances and experiences, the changeover of master masons in particular.

Continuing a father's legacy therefore did not preclude innovation and may even have demanded it on occasion. Consequently, there is no inherent reason why Thomas of Canterbury should not have instigated design changes. Indeed, there is ample evidence, both in the visual record and written accounts, for substantial new interventions in the design at this time. Evidence of molds made and tracing houses constructed, incongruous structural elements and logical deductions all suggest a wide range of identifiable modifications and additions to a pre-existing plan. Furthermore, the difference in remuneration identified by Wilson is inconclusive when it comes to ascertaining authorial activity: the main difference between the 1320s campaign and its previous and subsequent counterparts was not in the presence or absence of design responsibilities, but the process of preparing the masonry itself. Whereas in 1324-26 the majority of stones were cut at the quarry, during the 1290s the master mason had a considerably expanded responsibility for overseeing the direct carving of complex stone pieces, with the overwhelming majority of stones being purchased for later carving on site.⁵²⁴ The existence of the *trassura* and the repeated purchase of boards for new molds indicate significant design work was still in progress, and consequently the disparity in wages could be linked to differing responsibilities for manufacture rather than design. Through analysing the visual and documentary evidence of its re-conception in relation to specific architectural features, Edward II and his second master mason's active agency in redesigning the building can be demonstrated.

The first and foremost of these features were the tabernacles adorning the Upper Chapel piers. Though left unfinished until Edward III's reign, these were repeatedly associated with

⁵²³ Bork, *Geometry*, 89-93.

⁵²⁴ See above, 82.

molds and even a new plaster floor in the building accounts.⁵²⁵ That this represented a later intervention in line with the completion of the upper cornice is further indicated by what little evidence survives regarding their form. Mackenzie suggested that their shape was defined by brick-filled gaps then extant in the upper parts of the piers, proposing a reconstruction accordingly (Plate 102).⁵²⁶ However, his model was unable to explain another particular feature of the stonework at this level – a descending fillet moulding which bisected the arched rectangular panel on which the tabernacle was mounted (Plates 111-114). This odd feature can be explained through reference to a c. 1834 drawing by George Belton Moore depicting the cornice's northeast corner (Plate 115). Showing a shaft descending from the upper cornice and appearing to pass through it to a capital above, this can doubtless be associated with the embedded Purbeck marble octagonal shaft and capital recorded in this location by Mackenzie (Plates 116-17).⁵²⁷ Mackenzie recorded identical mouldings on the piers and mid-points of the window arches down the length of the chapel (Plate 118), considering them to have originally incorporated capitals removed along with the roof and the clerestory by Wren (probably correctly).⁵²⁸ It is thus probable that a similar descending octagonal shaft, incident with the tabernacle and following the fillet moulding which could serve as an anchoring point, was present in the building. The 1346 inventory referred explicitly to Purbeck columns “out from each side of the tabernacles”, implying a continuing shaft extending from its top and base (see Appendix I/RD.4).

A comparable wall feature appeared in the contemporary Lady Chapel at Ely (1321-49), which featured continuous shafts bisecting the piers and intersecting with the vault (Plates 119-21).⁵²⁹ As at Ely, these were apparently articulated differently for the tabernacles flanking the east end, which at St Stephen's were backed by thinner panelling with different blind tracery at its head (Plates 122-123, 102). Such a feature, though in line with more recent aesthetic developments, represented a significant shift in articulation for the chapel interior. Canted in relation to the octagonal shafts beneath the Purbeck sources and perhaps reflecting the continuous mullions which had dissected both upper and lower windows on the chapel exterior (Plates 1, 104), these features were conspicuously different even while they referenced existing features within the building.

⁵²⁵ See above, 121-22.

⁵²⁶ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 23-24.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁵²⁸ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, vii.

⁵²⁹ Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 188-217.

Similar issues are presented by the new *alura*, which presents equally clear evidence of being a later insertion into the fabric. Carter's exterior drawing of the south side shows the *alura*'s point of incidence with the Upper Chapel, revealing the indifferent cutting of a doorway right through the pre-existing mullions of the easternmost bay (Plate 56).⁵³⁰ As the mullions were completed under Edward I, it is evident that this insertion represented a deviation from an original, realised design. This disruptive element continued on the interior through its intersection with the Upper Chapel arcading. Not only was this entrance not carefully matched with the axis of the vestry doorway on the north side, but it also cut unevenly right through an internal mullion and across two canopies of the arcading (Plate 100). With a new architectural feature connecting with the chapel's east side, it is quite possible other aspects of the building were reconsidered.

This naturally raises the question of whether the incidence of the *alura* implies the partial redesign of the chapel's arcading. As the vast majority of antiquarian images represent rationalised speculative reconstructions of the arcading, its physical appearance presents a complex problem. In the form generally posited the arcading was integrated with the wall in a manner not dissimilar to sedilia, overhanging the inner of two seating levels and thus partially enclosing any prospective sitter beneath a decorous canopy with an externally projecting three-sided ogee arch (Plates 124-25). This latter element was not readily visible in Carter's time, leading to its total omission from his Society of Antiquaries sketches and drawings (Plates 102-04). However, according to an engraving by Smith at least two archways were still extant from which the original appearance could be extrapolated (Plate 100) – a conventional ogee and the entrance way in the southeast bay. On close examination of its elevation the latter arches appear incongruous interventions into the design. Their differing height, expanded foliate detailing, added cusping, asymmetrical positioning and awkward bridging of two arcading units strongly imply a later insertion into an earlier schema.

Yet this may not have been the only feature of the blind arcade subject to modification. Though ogee arches did appear in the context of royal works in the 1290s (most notably at the Eleanor Crosses and St Stephen's itself in the Lower Chapel), their development into

⁵³⁰ See above, 124.

projecting forms was significantly delayed. The English earliest examples outside St Stephen's can be found on the corners of the c. 1300 Shrine of St Eadburga (formerly at Bicester Priory) and the Tomb of Thomas II Berkeley at St Augustine's, Bristol, traditionally dated to 1307-09 or even as late as the 1320s (Plates 126-27).⁵³¹ Nodding ogees appear at the Berkeley Chapel's entrance at Bristol (1300s-20s) and Exeter Cathedral's Bishop's throne (1313),⁵³² resulting in a number of experiments into the 1320s including the prolific ogival arcading at Ely Lady Chapel (Plates 128-30). Throughout the other works attributed to Michael of Canterbury ogee shapes were confined primarily to window tracery and were never used in the context of arcading (as exemplified by Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House (Plate 131)). Even where a comparable three-sided projecting form was employed at St Augustine's Gate, Canterbury (1300-08) a regular trefoil was employed (Plate 132). Furthermore, the regular trefoils underlying the arcading ogees recorded by Smith and Carter (still incongruously visible through the outer arches in Mackenzie's engraving) provide a potential indicator of an earlier form (Plates 100, 133-34). The outer ogees and their accompanying Purbeck columns and pinnacles were not load-bearing structural components, instead forming a relatively interchangeable decorative veneer. For this reason the Purbeck columns, presumably those erected "*circa capellam*" throughout the 1320s, should also be re-evaluated. Though superficially similar to those employed in the arcading at the east end of Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House (Plate 131), which likewise pinioned a continuous pinnacle between two shafts, the stark contrast between the canted pinnacles of the St Stephen's arcades and their regular counterparts at Canterbury is striking. Though canting of this kind was not an entirely new departure in arcading - a contemporary example being Wells Cathedral Chapter House (1286-1306) - it was certainly an uncommon feature and such a design continuing through into an underlying shaft was unparalleled within Michael of Canterbury's wider attributed *oeuvre* (a list including the Peckham Tomb, Canterbury (1292-93), the Aveline de Forz (1292-93) and Crouchback Tombs (1297), Westminster, the Louth Tomb, Ely (1298), Westminster Abbey Cloister (c.1298), the Eastry Screen (1304-05) and Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral (1300-05) and St Augustine's Gatehouse, Canterbury (1300-08) (Plates 135-43, 68)).⁵³³ Consequently, it seems likely that in its outermost

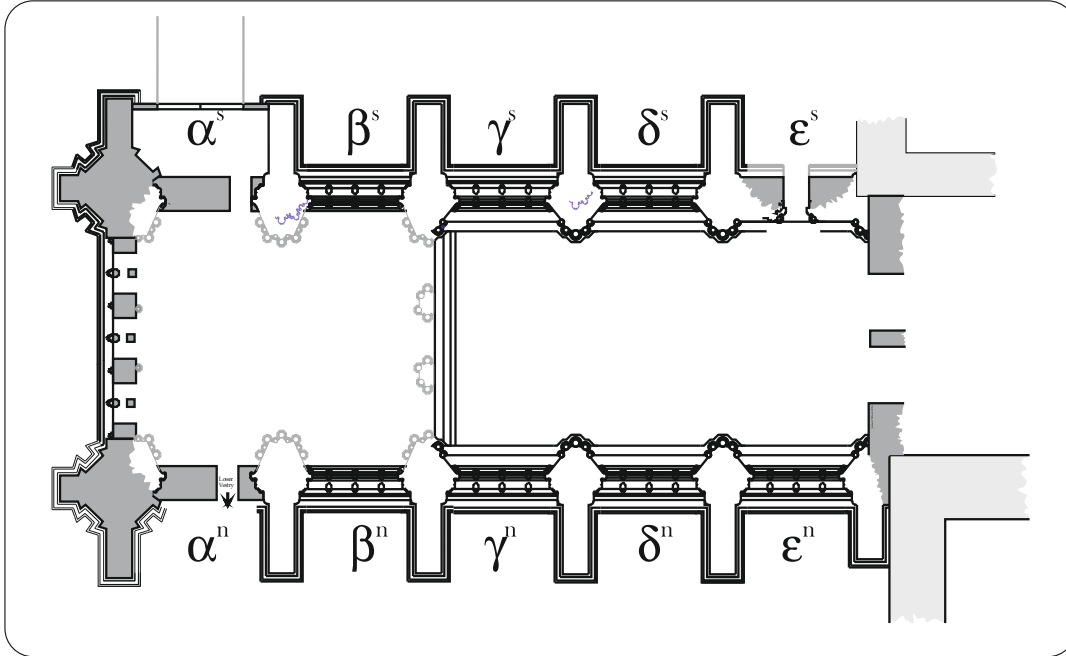
⁵³¹ Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 73-75, 99-101; Richard K. Morris, "European Prodigy or Regional Eccentric? The Rebuilding of St Augustine's Abbey Church, Bristol" in *'Almost the Richest City': Bristol in the Middle Ages* (London, 1997), 45-46.

⁵³² Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 99-101.

⁵³³ Wilson, "Origins," 27-111.

decorative surface at least the blind arcading was considerably redesigned in response to new royal demands.

Figure 3.2 – Lower Chapel bay notation.



The presence of the intersecting *alura* carries equally strong implications for the Lower Chapel's east end. The partial or total destruction and replacement of the majority of the Lower Chapel's windows by the 1780s, and the later disruption of its cellular structure and floor levels under Wyatt (Plates 12), renders reconstructing this area difficult. Whereas Mackenzie's engravings depicted the Lower Chapel as a regimented sequence of identical bays (Plate 72), Carter's earlier drawings reveal this to be an idealised fantasy. Carter's visual evidence (Plate 144) included a vault of irregular design, separated into two principal units by an intercepting triple-arched screen, which divided two major floor levels (communicating via steps) and echoed the tripartite arrangement of the eastern windows. Furthermore, by 1795 none of the lateral windows of the easternmost two bays were in their original state, instead being filled by later walls. Indeed, Carter identified the only sections with extant windows as γ^s , γ^n , δ^s , δ^n and ϵ^n (see above, Figure 3.2), and only the first remained undamaged (Plate 145).⁵³⁴ Antiquarian draughtsmen extrapolated the original appearance of all bays from this window, but in reality such an assumption was unwarranted. For wall α^s the presence of a window in the final design iteration was precluded by the one

⁵³⁴ Topham, *Account*, 7. The latter had already been converted into an additional doorway under Richard II.

documentarily confirmed addition of the 1320s – the *alura* - and the two-storey vestry believed to have stood on the other side. With entrances cut into the Upper Chapel arcading, both features would have interrupted any prior iteration of the Lower Chapel wall space. That this intruded into an existing window is confirmed by Mackenzie, who recorded that traces of the blocked up α^s window were still visible from exterior under the “small vault of later date, built between the buttresses”, presumably the lower storey of the St Mary le Pew oratory.⁵³⁵ Whether there was a doorway at this level or not, the upper gallery between chapel and Painted Chamber could not stand unsupported, and thus must have been a two-storey structure which joined the chapel’s walls at this point. This was perhaps similar in format to the cloister walks later created under William Ramsey at Old St Paul’s, or the sixteenth-century cloister still extant on the opposite side of St Stephen’s (Plates 146-47). This treatment closely reflects that of the doorway pierced into the west end (ϵ^n) under Richard II, which cut through elements of the pre-existing window’s tracery (Plates 148-49). Consequently, the original disposition of the north and south walls must have been modified in response to the newly encroaching *alura*.⁵³⁶ This would be in keeping with the Upper Chapel interior and exterior – the contrast between the careful alignment of the interior arcading with the *alura* doorway and the latter’s indifferent slicing through the outer surface, a disruption clearly visible on Carter’s exterior longitudinal elevation (Plate 56), indicates a later re-conception of the exterior integrated with the interior wall surface.⁵³⁷

This change could have a number of further implications for the Lower Chapel design. The chancel’s raised floor level would have resulted in an extremely visually awkward arrangement for bay β , with the window dominating virtually the entire wall space (Plate 150). The only similar English examples, the spaces above the apsidal chapels of Westminster Abbey (Plate 23), are a false comparison as this idiosyncratic feature was within an entirely different structural and functional context. Assuming these windows were unmodified during the 1320s (as indicated by the continuous mullions running over the windows’ exterior (Plate 151)), it is therefore possible that the east end’s floor level was modified at this time. The accounts record material for steps being purchased from September 1324, and these could have been associated with the Lower Chapel chancel.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ See above, 125; Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 23.

⁵³⁶ In this alternative arrangement of the interior, it is possible that these disrupted bays incorporated a piscina, the absence of which would have limited its functionality as a chancel.

⁵³⁷ Wilson, “Origins,” 48-50.

⁵³⁸ See above, 120.

Extant drawings reveal that the eastern two bays were at least two feet higher than the main body, bringing it to the same height as the Lesser Hall floor. This matter might be considered coincidental were it not that the latter structure's internal levels were continuous with the Painted Chamber.⁵³⁹ This would facilitate uninterrupted communication between the Lower Chapel and the Painted Chamber's lower storey, a careful matching suggesting deliberate intent. Such a modification might equally have impacted on the supports of the later vault. Viewed in elevation, the three western bays utilised a unique cusped wall rib independent from the underlying tracery and a five-column pier with intercurrent continuous mouldings providing the springing points for additional ribs (Plate 2). By contrast the eastern bays employed one central seven-columned pier supporting all the ribs, leaving the wall ribs as simple, unbroken curves. Such a distinction in design for the eastern bay supports, necessitated by the raised floor level which pushed the future vault's springing points higher and interrupted the cusped wall ribs, could potentially indicate their chronological separation from the western bays, a possibility further reinforced by significant differences in the design of their capitals and bases (Plate 150).

If this were correct, the screen could also have been part of this modified conception for the Lower Chapel. Though this can be associated with earlier Kentish wall screens, an architectural feature consisting of a wall pierced by arches enclosing a chancel's west end first appearing during the thirteenth century at St Mary's, Westwell, such screens continued to be built with increasing complexity throughout the fourteenth century (including those at St Mary's, Capel-le-Ferne (Canterbury), Great Bardwell (Suffolk) and Stebbing (Essex) (Plates 152-54) and thus it cannot be ascribed to one historical period.⁵⁴⁰ Whilst such speculation remains inconclusive, its implications for the disposition of the lower vault will be discussed in greater detail below.⁵⁴¹

Equally, it must not be assumed that all future modifications to the chapel's design can be traced back to this period. The only feature scholars have consistently attributed to a 1320s design is the clerestory, but this is far from certain. With its construction and installation placed squarely in the early 1330s by modern scholars (associated with the form pieces for the 'upper windows' ordered between April 1332 and late May 1333), it is equally plausible

⁵³⁹ The medieval levels were clearly established by extant pavements at the time of Carter. See Crook and Harris, "Reconstructing," 41-44.

⁵⁴⁰ Aymer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), 38.

⁵⁴¹ See below, 168.

that this change was instigated by Edward III.⁵⁴² This is further problematized by the wooden roof and vault of 1325-26. As discussed above, it has long been assumed that the 1290s chapel design was intended to be finished with a roof and barrel vault mounted at upper cornice level.⁵⁴³ Wilson argued that the clerestory was an attempt to convert the Upper Chapel for a wooden vault resting on springers, a development which would necessitate its planning in the 1320s.⁵⁴⁴ Yet the construction of a roof and vault so long before the walls on which it was intended to stand is highly improbable, as such a structure was so reliant on the existing fabric for its design and installation. If the vault were based on springers then the likelihood of the clerestory being started in the 1320s is significantly higher, a possibility admitted by the building accounts.

An alternative and more likely proposition is that the initial barrel-vaulted concept was never abandoned. The 1332 and 1346 inventories leave few clues regarding the vault's form, considering the parts too numerous to be listed, though they measured approximately 200 feet in total.⁵⁴⁵ Entirely lacking springers, a barrel vault could easily have been raised at a later stage when the clerestory was designed and installed. A barrel design would also explain one unusual feature of the clerestory's articulation: the Purbeck capitals. Regardless of its form, these were presumably intended to mount the vault firmly on the upper cornice, but their doubled positioning at the head of the window arches would present a major problem. In a vault springing from the cornice, the middle capitals would have no conceivable function. Mackenzie's solution was to propose two windows per bay at clerestory level (Plate 155), but this directly contradicts surviving visual evidence which indicates each bay was a single, unified window.⁵⁴⁶ A pre- and post-clerestory barrel vault, however, could use both capitals as mounting points, rendering the capitals the left-over by-product of the 1320s iteration. This design chronology would explain the considerable delay in continuing work on the roof (and, still later, vault) after the resumption of building in 1331, as it was not reinitiated until after the clerestory was completed (before 1346).⁵⁴⁷ Such an extensive redesign was certainly possible. Thomas of Canterbury had plenty of time following Edward III's demands to implement such a significant design change. From the first week of the building's resumption in 1331, Thomas was explicitly employed "starting on the new chapel of Saint

⁵⁴² See below, 153-55, 157-59.

⁵⁴³ See above, 87-88.

⁵⁴⁴ Wilson, "Origins," 42.

⁵⁴⁵ E 101/469/11, m. 1d; E 101/470/16, m. 1.

⁵⁴⁶ See below, 158-59.

⁵⁴⁷ See below, 165.

Stephen and working on molds in the tracing house”.⁵⁴⁸ More concrete evidence appeared on 30th September 1331 with the purchase of wooden boards to make molds for the masonry, followed with the purchase of alder timbers for centring on 4th May 1332, presumably associated with bridging the clerestory’s window arches.⁵⁴⁹ The vault may have been designed in Edward II’s reign, but its final installation was a product of the 1330s.

Even without the clerestory, Edward II’s reign included ample evidence of extensive design revisions at St Stephen’s. Including the tabernacles, *alura* and arcading and, possibly, elements of the Lower Chapel, modifications to the chapel’s design were numerous, with potent aesthetic and structural consequences. Therefore, it should not be assumed that the above observations comprise a comprehensive list of the interventions during this period. As Thomas and Renaud de Cormont showed at Amiens, modification of tracery and other decorative detailing was a comparatively simple task during the construction process, though without further visual evidence it cannot be proven for St Stephen’s. Equally, the addition of the ogee arches to the arcading raises questions regarding several of the other ogival forms within the Upper Chapel space, in particular the two levels of similar, smaller decorative ogee arches surrounding the base of the piers (Plate 104). Playing with established forms in the tabernacles and arcading whilst introducing new and innovative designs, Edward II’s chapel was repositioned in dialogue with its preceding iteration. The result was a rigorous re-engagement with Edward I’s works, drawing on existing ideas even whilst it was updating it with more recent ideas.

The pattern of the 1320s redesign, however, is clear. Edward II was not intervening piecemeal within an existing building as his grandfather had at St Stephen’s. Instead, this represented a concerted effort to finish the building within his lifetime according to a substantially reworked scheme. This aim is further indicated by the 1325-26 cessation of works. The termination of construction before many elements were completed and the ordered storage of components suggests not just the implied continuation of work, were it not for intervening circumstances, but also the intention to resume building to the same plan once those circumstances passed. Between them, Edward II and his master masons created a

⁵⁴⁸ “*Die lune xxvij die Maij Magistro Thome de Cantuaria magistro cementariorum venienti primo apud Westm’ et ibidem super novam capellam sancti Stephani incipienti et in trasura super moldas operanti per dictum diem lune martis mercurij jovis veneris et sabbati per vj dies capienti in septimana pro vadiis suis per ordinationem domini thesaurij et consilij vj s.*” (E 101/469/11, m. 1). This role was reiterated the following 10th June.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, m. 3.

refreshed, coherent and achievable design for a complete building, a project stopped short only by the political circumstances of the king's late reign.

Edward II and the Politics of Architecture: Innovation, Continuity and Economics at St Stephen's Chapel

With its creative and innovative interventions into an older structure, the St Stephen's of the 1320s cannot be placed within the established model of Edward II's patronage. The redesign discussed above contrasts starkly with the tacit assumption that the king was capable of only secondary, subordinate agency. That such changes were not confined to mere formal detailing, but amounted to significant structural alterations, indicates that these were probably not the responsibility of the master mason alone and instead the result of direct and purposeful engagement by Edward II. The financial accounts contain several instances from which the king's active agency in the project can be inferred. The 31st May-1st June 1324 purchase of components for the *magnum hostium* was conducted "against the feast of the king to be held at Pentecost" (12th June that year), a unique command implying the external imposition of a chronologically-contingent mandate much like those issued by Henry III two generations earlier.⁵⁵⁰ Perhaps more emphatic was the employment from 13th May 1325 of the king's household carpenters ("*carpentarii de famil' Regis*") as a cohesive group working under William Hurley on the chapel roof and other tasks.⁵⁵¹ Such additional injections of royal agency can be further fleshed out through analysis of the king's itinerary. Payment for the *magnum hostium* was instigated during a long period of residence at Westminster which included Pentecost (3rd May to 13th June 1324 at least), further reinforcing its association with direct royal orders.⁵⁵² Similarly, the king's conspicuous presence in Tonbridge (the source of its constructional timber) on the days immediately preceding the first load of wood being transported to Westminster (remaining there 23rd-27th June 1324) implied personal involvement on-site in ordering materials for the roof's construction.⁵⁵³ More generally, the king continued to stay at Westminster regularly during 1320-21 and 1323-25, leaving ample opportunities for regular consultation regarding the pace and nature of works.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ See above, 35.

⁵⁵¹ E 101/469/8, m. 13-17; E 101/469/10, m. 1-2.

⁵⁵² Hallam, *Itinerary*, 256-57.

⁵⁵³ Wood was unloaded at Westminster 25th-26th June. Hallam, *Itinerary*, 257-58.

⁵⁵⁴ Hallam, *Itinerary*, 193-219, 237-79.

This evidence indicates a closer personal association between Edward II and the building campaign than has hitherto been emphasised. This more active role in the chapel's construction warrants closer inspection. It is a central contention of this thesis that creative interventions in architecture conducted under direct royal influence were limited, inspired and driven by a range of political factors which surrounded the monarch in question, some forced by circumstance and others more personal in their derivation. By considering the impact of two identifiable factors, namely the economics of building and Edward's relationship with his father, it is possible to elaborate further the causal underpinnings of building at St Stephen's under Edward II.

Economics of Building

The foremost question presented is why the re-initiation of works at St Stephen's was left so late in Edward's reign. It seems clear that the necessity for maintaining a permanent royal chapel beyond the king and queen's private oratories at Westminster was recognised by Edward II at an extremely early stage. Contrasting sharply with his father's increasing neglect of the Palace following the death of Eleanor of Castile (1291) and the 1298 fire, from the first year of his reign Edward instigated a comprehensive programme of restoration and repair at Westminster which included arrangements for a temporary royal chapel.⁵⁵⁵ Located by the Receipt of the Exchequer at the northeast corner of the Great Hall, the "*capella sancti Stephani iuxta receptam*" was intended to act (and, presumably, was already acting) in place of St Stephen's until its completion, an interpretation confirmed by the presence of sculptures of its titular saint and the Virgin made, installed and gilded in October 1308.⁵⁵⁶

With Westminster now firm in its status as the principal centre of royal governance, the rhetorical impact of a half-completed royal chapel at the epicentre of the king's power should not be underestimated. Edward II was well aware of the prestige value of an opulent palace chapel. On his visit to France between 23rd May and 16th July 1313 to attend the knighting of the three sons of Philip IV, the king spent considerable time in Paris being exposed to the grandeur of French royal ceremony and is known to have given an offering of 20s. at the shrine of the crown of thorns in the Sainte-Chapelle.⁵⁵⁷ Similarly, towards the end of his visit

⁵⁵⁵ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 505-07, 513.

⁵⁵⁶ E 101/468/21, fol. 106r.

⁵⁵⁷ Phillips, *Edward II*, 209-13.

in July Edward II stayed with the Count of Artois whose palace chapels, remodelled July to November 1299 with new paintings, columns and stained glass, were cleaned and renovated in honour of the occasion.⁵⁵⁸ Not only would this have impressed Edward with the potential impact of opulent palace chapels on visitors, but he would undoubtedly have been struck by his inability to reciprocate on a similarly grand scale in his principal palace, particularly in comparison with a mere count. Equally, contemporary internal pressure was provided by Thomas of Lancaster, an agent of civil unrest and challenge to unmediated royal authority whose own artistic patronage engaged deliberately with the discourse of princely patrons. Though never completed, the earl's chapel at Kenilworth Castle (begun 1314-22 and dedicated to the Virgin like many royal chapels) had been established as a college in close emulation of the Sainte-Chapelle and may well have been intended to resemble it architecturally, perhaps reflecting his own relationship to the Capetian royal family.⁵⁵⁹ Yet despite these compelling reasons, no coherent campaign to complete St Stephen's was attempted for at least another eleven years. Though it can readily be demonstrated that the principal reasons for the 1297 cessation were fiscal,⁵⁶⁰ a similar line of enquiry has yet to be explored for their resumption in the 1320s. When considered in detail, it becomes apparent that both this and the 1326 cessation were the result of particular political circumstances carrying important consequences for royal finances.

Edward II had inherited a £200,000 debt at the start of his reign.⁵⁶¹ This overwhelming figure goes a long way towards explaining the relative lacuna of artistic patronage during this period, as the king was given few opportunities to close the gap. The first fifteen years of Edward's reign were plagued by constant expensive drains on his fiscal resources, the vagaries of domestic unrest and international power struggles leading to a succession of wars (civil and foreign) managed on a shoestring budget supplemented by extensive loans.⁵⁶² Between the near-continuous strain of Scottish raids, the disastrous campaigns in Scotland of 1310-11, 1314 and 1319, the continuing conflict with internal challenges to the king's authority (the Ordainers, Marcher lords and Thomas of Lancaster) which repeatedly

⁵⁵⁸ Vale, *Princely Court*, 228-29.

⁵⁵⁹ Maximilian Wemhöner, "Princely building and patronage in fourteenth-century England and Germany" . (paper presented at *Decorated: English Architectural Style 1250-1350: University of Cambridge Medieval Art Seminar Series*, University of Cambridge, November 5, 2013). Lichfield Cathedral's Lady Chapel is widely considered to have been based on the design of this earlier chapel.

⁵⁶⁰ See above, 89-93.

⁵⁶¹ Phillips, *Edward II*, 421.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 217-19, 251-52, 342-44, 419-22.

threatened civil war, and even a renewed threat of Welsh rebellion (1316),⁵⁶³ only two points of relative financial stability can be identified in the entire period. The first (1313-14) was largely squandered by the battle of Bannockburn (1314) and the second (1318-19) similarly ended ignominiously in the aftermath of the failed Siege of Berwick (1319).⁵⁶⁴ Even as late as the 1320s approximately £60,000 of Edward I's debt was still outstanding.⁵⁶⁵ Faced by such an oppressive financial situation, prioritisation became key within the king's architectural patronage, the bulk of his resources falling squarely upon the repair, maintenance and completion of castles including Caernarfon, Beaumaris, Conway and Knaresborough.⁵⁶⁶ It is thus unsurprising that a nonessential project such as St Stephen's was delayed until its completion was more financially viable, an interpretation supported by the renovation of the Receipt Chapel. This implied acceptance that, at least for the time being, St Stephen's was likely to remain unusable. As Natalie Fryde and, more recently, Seymour Phillips have shown, it was not until 1322 in the aftermath of the king's victory at Boroughbridge (19th March) that Edward again possessed sufficient disposable wealth for sustained extraneous architectural activity.⁵⁶⁷ The treasury, which had only £1195 in its possession in early May 1322, had grown to contain £69,000 by 1325, even after an expenditure of £65,000 on the brief War of Saint-Sardos (1324-25).⁵⁶⁸ It was thus no coincidence that the re-initiation of St Stephen's coincided with the ready availability of cash.

Though some form of works was certainly underway at St Stephen's from March 1320 to December 1322, the bulk of funds were not assigned until May 1321 and even then appears to have been divided amongst several projects in progress.⁵⁶⁹ Furthermore, whereas payments remained relatively regular (usually monthly) between May 1321 and April 1322 (albeit apparently not the full promised value), after this point they became extremely sporadic.⁵⁷⁰ Such a state of affairs is unsurprising – as has been outlined above funds had reached a low point in May that year and 24th July-10th September 1322 saw another costly and drastically unsuccessful Scottish campaign, a situation which was not resolved until a thirteen-year truce was finally established in late May 1323 making it difficult to sustain any

⁵⁶³ Phillips, *Edward II*, 167-71, 223-37, 271-73, 342-50

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 419.

⁵⁶⁵ Michael Prestwich, *Plantagenet England, 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005), 175-77.

⁵⁶⁶ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 350-52, 384-91, 404-06, II, 689-90.

⁵⁶⁷ Fryde, *Tyranny*, 87-88, 105.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 419-20.

⁵⁶⁹ See above, 116-17.

⁵⁷⁰ E 101/469/3, m. 1.

programme of works in the intervening time. From this two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, that a gap in records from December 1322-November 1323 likely indicates not just a loss amongst the accounts, but an actual break in works. Secondly, that their resumption was delayed until a combination of increased financial and political stability was attained. Thus not only was the relatively late period of the chapel's resumption (and, indeed, the disrupted sequence of its early works) determined by economic factors, but also by the necessities of political stability which placed increasing financial demands on an already stretched economic situation.

Consequently, it is possible to demonstrate that it was not simply the state of royal finances that was responsible for the project's timing. Within this attempt to model the political aspects of architectural causality, the presence of civil unrest apparently shared as prominent a role as monetary supply, a proposition which can be demonstrated through close examination of the campaign's end between November 1325 and March 1326. At this point, the project's limitations were not monetary – indeed, Edward II's treasury contained tremendous wealth right up to his deposition in 1326.⁵⁷¹ It has generally been assumed, in Hastings' words, that “the stormy events of the opening of Edward III's reign delayed the building”.⁵⁷² Yet the timing of the sudden cessation of works in the week following 26th November 1325 was sufficiently in step with contemporary events that a causal relationship can be posited in some detail.

Queen Isabella had remained in France since March 1325 (having been sent to negotiate a peace treaty over the War of Saint-Sardos), but it was only in late September and early November 1325 that her resolution to remain in France and the potential threat of her association with hostile English émigrés became clear.⁵⁷³ With the young prince Edward in her custody following his performance of homage to King Charles IV and the increasingly aggressive attitude of herself and the French king towards the conduct of the English court, this appears to have been the point at which Edward II realised the real danger of fighting a civil war backed by foreign invaders. The contemporaneous (if anonymous) *Vita Edwardi Secundi* records that in the Parliament opening 18th November, the king delivered a speech warning the assembled baronage that though “on her departure she did not seem to any one to

⁵⁷¹ Phillips, *Edward II*, 421.

⁵⁷² Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 50.

⁵⁷³ Phillips, *Edward II*, 471-72.

be offended ... now someone has changed her mind; someone has filled her with extraordinary stories” whereupon they resolved to send letters to Isabella.⁵⁷⁴ The surviving letters demonstrate the tensions prevalent in England at the time – the king’s letter dated 1st December, recorded in the Close Rolls, stated “It will much displease the king if now, after homage has been done to the king of France, and the king and the king of France are in such a good way of love, she, whom the king sent for peace, should be the reason of any difference between the king and the king of France”, a tacit admission of the threat of renewed warfare.⁵⁷⁵ This was stated more explicitly in the reputed letter of the Bishops recorded in the *Vita* which informed her that “the people living in our land fear that many evils will occur, because you refuse to return. They fear the arrival of foreigners and the plunder of their goods”.⁵⁷⁶ The reality of this fear was further confirmed by a series of jumpy mobilisation orders, the first issued to the king’s Great Yarmouth fleet in November (though it was later rescinded) and a second to his commissioners of array on Christmas Day including instructions for the organisation of beacons and sentinels. It seems likely that the abrupt winding down of St Stephen’s at this time can be attributed to this immediate cause.

Whilst this situation is superficially similar to that of the 1297 cessation under Edward I, in reality the two moments differed dramatically. The immediate monetary demands of escalating warfare responsible for the 1296 and 1297 *memoranda* which curtailed all works indefinitely were not present in 1325.⁵⁷⁷ Interpreting the cessation’s cause is further complicated by comparison with the War of Saint-Sardos fought between August 1324 and May 1325, for which no discernible disruption appears in the St Stephen’s accounts.⁵⁷⁸ Yet whereas this incident was a single campaign fought against a defined enemy on foreign soil, England’s situation in 1325 was more reminiscent of its state prior to the battle of Boroughbridge in 1321: civil unrest was rampant, internal enemies threatened civil war and the king was dealing with simultaneous threats in Scotland and Gascony. It was thus not the king’s monetary supply which caused this hiatus, but the uncertainty of civil conflict (and the contingent unpredictability of its financial demands) which necessitated increased flexibility in funds, provided by ending an unnecessary construction project at an apparently convenient moment.

⁵⁷⁴ Childs, *Vita*, 244-45.

⁵⁷⁵ CCR 1323-27, 580.

⁵⁷⁶ “*Timent enim habitatores terre nostre, eo quod redire negasti, multa mala contingere. Timent alienigenarum adventum et depredacionem bonorum suorum*” (Childs, *Vita*, 244-47).

⁵⁷⁷ See above, 89-93.

⁵⁷⁸ Phillips *Edward II*, 461-68.

The Two Edwards: Continuity and Change at St Stephen's

These economic factors were not the only aspect of the building's immediate political context which potentially influenced its construction. When considering the inheritance of the incomplete St Stephen's and its subsequent modification, it is necessary to address the impact of the king's relationship with his father. The patronal continuity between father and son necessitates iconographic assessment. Indeed, Edward II's repeated and consistent completion of his father's construction projects could be construed as an associative display of reverence. Such a model is certainly conducive to the evidence available, as it is clear that a certain cult of personality had started to develop around Edward I following his demise. Two inventories of the royal treasury from 1334 and 1340 include one of the knives used by an assassin to attack him at Acre in 1272, an object which presumably had remained in royal possession since that date.⁵⁷⁹ This gave the king a quasi-saintly status through the relic-like preservation of the material remnants of significant episodes in his life. Chronicles persistently praised the monarch, and even on his death bed histories and eulogies extolled his reputation as a crusading peacemaker and extraordinary conqueror, the flower of English chivalry comparable only to characters of biblical stories and classical myths.⁵⁸⁰ One such eulogy, the widely copied *Commendatio Lamentabilis* composed around the time of his funeral by John of London, lauded the king's capacity to build exceptional castles and innovative defences, directly associating an aspect of the king's architectural patronage with his commemoration as a monarch of innumerable virtues.⁵⁸¹ In one aspect at least, thus, Edward I's architectural interventions were being subsumed into a growing heroic mythos.

Edward II's responsiveness to this process can be demonstrated through his decoration of the Lesser Hall at Westminster which, as mentioned above, incorporated the life of his father

⁵⁷⁹ BL MS Cotton Augustus II, 108; Ormrod, "Personal Religion," 872.

⁵⁸⁰ Philips, *Edward II*, 5-7; Childs, *Vita*, 4-5.

⁵⁸¹ "*Cujus etiam elemosinas enarrat omnis saltem ecclesia Anglicana; et ad pacem Regina profuit immensitas illa pecuniarum quam recepit, congregaverat aut donarat; in castellis quidem construendis, in turribus infortiandis, in muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum et piscium nullus subtilior, nullus magnificentior reperitur.*" William Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 2 vols (London, 1882-83), II, 12; Bjorn Weiler, "The *Commendatio Lamentabilis* for Edward I and Plantagenet Kingship" in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. Christopher Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle and Len Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), 114-130, esp. 116, 118.

in 1324.⁵⁸² That such a commission was reflective of a wider trend of reverential nostalgia can be inferred from the painting's probable source material at the bishop of Lichfield's palace (1311-12).⁵⁸³ Similar quasi-saintly cults commemorating great yet uncanonised monarchs were not uncommon at this time. A comparable cult of Charlemagne's mortal remains continued in the Western Empire even after his decanonisation in 1165, the emperor's resting place at Aachen remaining a major centre for his commemoration into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁸⁴ An English precedent was provided by the cult of Arthur, whose crown Edward I had captured in the invasion of Wales and interred in Westminster Abbey.⁵⁸⁵ Similarly, Henry III had painted scenes from the life of Richard I (specifically his duel with Saladin) in palace halls throughout the realm.⁵⁸⁶ However, in all of these examples such cultic devotion and their expression in imagery rarely appeared so immediately after the monarch in question's death. Even for the Richard I cycles, Henry III had not been born when the king died and thus was considerably more distanced chronologically and personally than the father-son relationship at work in Edward II's reign. Indeed, the only direct parallel is provided by the near-contemporary cycle of her father ordered painted by Mahaut, countess of Artois in 1320 for her palace near Conflans, based on a model provided by an illuminated roll in her possession.⁵⁸⁷

What all of these works had in common was the commemoration of a distinguished predecessor with a strong crusading past, a cohesive trend with which Edward I's cult was clearly associated.⁵⁸⁸ Yet despite the prophecies of Adam Davy's *Five Dreams of Edward II* (c. 1308) which proclaimed him as future conqueror of Jerusalem,⁵⁸⁹ Edward II appears to have had a more ambivalent attitude towards crusading than his predecessors. In June 1313

⁵⁸² 40s. was paid "a Johan de Saint Auban peintre od qui le Roi ad fait couenant a peindre la petite sale de Westm' de la vie son piere que dieux asoille" (E 101/380/4, fol. 7). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 508; Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 120; Reeve, "Painted Cycle," 76.

⁵⁸³ Reeve, "Painted Cycle," 70-73. A 1590s description records that the image depicted "the coronation, marriage, wars and funeral of Edward I; and some writing which there is also yet remaining, which expresseth the meaning of this history" (Sampson Erdeswick, *A Survey of Staffordshire*, ed. Thomas Hardwood (London, 1844), 281-82).

⁵⁸⁴ For a concise summary see Rice, *Music and Ritual*.

⁵⁸⁵ See above, 375.

⁵⁸⁶ See above, 71.

⁵⁸⁷ Jules-Marie Richard, *Mahaut, comtesse d-Artois et de Bourgogne, 1302-1329* (Paris, 1887), 356; Reeve, "Painted Cycle," 79.

⁵⁸⁸ Richard I crusaded during the early 1190s and Edward I 1270-72. The *Commendatio Lamentabilis* gives particular emphasis to Edward I's crusading credentials, naming him a peacemaker of the entire Christian world (Weiler, *Commendatio*, 115, 120-23). Interestingly, Charlemagne too was attributed a crusading past in Spain.

⁵⁸⁹ Haines, *Edward II*, 29-31.

he took the cross alongside king Philip IV in Paris, but this was primarily a diplomatic move to secure charters of remission for fines and debts imposed on his subjects in Gascony and there are no indications that the king actively prepared to go on crusade.⁵⁹⁰ Architecture, however, provided more compelling iconographic continuity with his predecessor, in particular the fortifications much praised by John of London. At Caernarfon Castle, great emphasis has been placed upon its imperialising aspects under Edward I, but few scholars consider how the same idiom was consciously redeployed by Edward II on the north side.⁵⁹¹ Fronting the city proper, these later walls incorporated a large new gateway (built circa 1319-20) with deliberately triumphal overtones, including a statue of a king generally presumed to be Edward himself (Plate 77).⁵⁹² This was similar to preceding continental examples in its reminiscence of a Roman past, including Emperor Friedrich II's Capuan Gate (c. 1234-40), the sculptures adorning the east side of the *Salle Synodal* in Sens (1235-40) and Pope Boniface VIII's gate sculptures at Florence (c. 1296), Orvieto (after 1297) and Bologna (before 1302) (Plates 156-60).⁵⁹³ Davy's prophecies also proclaimed Edward would be crowned Last Roman Emperor by the Pope, linking him explicitly with the imperialising traditions of the Plantagenet monarchy which his father embodied.⁵⁹⁴ Such connections had recently appeared in French royal patronage - Philip IV's new ceremonial entranceway to the *Palais de la Cité* via the *galerie des merciers*, known as the *Grands Degrez*, took the form of an elaborate marble staircase leading to a church-portal-like gateway surrounded by statues of the king and his chief advisor, Enguerrand de Marigny, much like the sculptures of Friedrich II and Piero della Vigna at Capua and of Louis IX and Archbishop Cornut at Sens.⁵⁹⁵ This creation of a triumphal gateway by Edward could be considered a form of deference to his father's imperialising past, particularly when considered in relation to the closely comparable

⁵⁹⁰ Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), 30-32; Tyerman, *Crusades*, 240-46.

⁵⁹¹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 369-95; Wheatley, *Idea*, 139-41; Wheatley, "Caernarfon Castle and its Mythology" in *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales*, ed. Diane Williams and John Kenyon (Oxford, 2010), 129-39.

⁵⁹² In March 1320 iron cramps were purchased to hold great stones cut towards an image of the king ("*ad ymaginem Regis taliatis*"). Colvin, *HKW*, I, 388.

⁵⁹³ For Continental comparisons see Jill Meredith, "The Arch at Capua: The Strategic Use of Spolia and References to the Antique" in *Intellectual Life at the Court of Friedrich II Hohenstaufen*, ed. W. Tronzo (Washington D.C., 1994), 109, 117-18; Cohen, *Sainte-Chapelle*, 63-64; Nancy Rash, "Boniface VIII and Honorific Portraiture: Observations on the Half-Length Image in the Vatican," *Gesta* 26 (1987), 47-58.

⁵⁹⁴ Haines, *Edward II*, 30-31.

⁵⁹⁵ For the *Grands Degrez* see Mary Whiteley, "Deux Escaliers Royaux du XIVE Siècle: Les "Grand Degres" du Palais de la Cité et la "Grand Viz" du Louvre," *Bulletin Monumentale* 147 (1989), 133-54. For the Capuan Gate statues see Christie K. Fengler and William A. Stephany, "The Capuan Gate and Pier della Vigna," *Dante Studies* 99 (1981), 145-57. For the *Salle Synodal* see Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *L'architecture gothique en France, 1130-1270* (Paris, 1990), 366-70, 541.

gateway at Denbigh Castle (c. 1298) which may well have been its progenitor (Plate 161).⁵⁹⁶ It requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose that at St Stephen's too the intent to complete a father's work might well have reflected an underlying reverence for a much-praised predecessor's architectural and military achievements.

Within this model, however, there are two major contradictory notes. Firstly, Edward's relationship with his father does not represent so straightforward an interpretation as admiration. Historians have often drawn attention to its antagonistic aspects, particularly in relation to the son's perceived failings. From June to October 1305 the young Edward had been banished from the king's presence after a bitter and, apparently, insulting exchange with Walter Langton, the king's treasurer, and was cut off from his sources of income in the royal household and the Exchequer.⁵⁹⁷ Furthermore, his dedication to Piers Gaveston was a source of continual friction between the two Edwards leading to the favourite's exile (not, it seems, for Gaveston's conduct, but for that of the young Edward towards him) in 1307.⁵⁹⁸ According to Walter of Guisborough's chronicle (c. 1300-15), Edward I was both verbally and physically abusive towards his son when the prince requested the county of Ponthieu be given to Gaveston and, though the veracity of such an extreme claim can be questioned, the young Edward suffered demonstrable consequences of the king's disfavour. He was again cut off from his household and Exchequer income, and it was months before the king relaxed his injunctions.⁵⁹⁹

Though these events could be viewed as isolated incidents, their severity and repetition indicate underlying tensions which persisted after Edward I's death. A mere month after his accession the new king ordered that Walter Langton, his father's long-suffering treasurer and close advisor, should be arrested and stripped of his lands and treasure, starting a process of hearing grievances against the former minister which lasted until October 1311 and produced considerable evidence of corruption and abuse of office, censuring his father's choice by

⁵⁹⁶ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 333-34. Denbigh, Caernarfon and possibly Knaresborough shared a gateway with a large posterior polygonal chamber, though the latter does not appear to have included a niched statue (Dixon, "Knaresborough," 128-29).

⁵⁹⁷ Phillips, *Edward II*, 103-07.

⁵⁹⁸ Johnstone, *Edward of Caernarvon*, 122-25; Haines, *Edward II*, 21.

⁵⁹⁹ Haines, *Edward II*, 21-23; Walter of Guisborough, *Guisborough: The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957). The king reputedly referred to the prince as a "base son of a whore" ("*Fili mereticus male generate*") and proceeded to tear out his son's hair.

implication.⁶⁰⁰ This more nuanced range of responses to his father's memory may have been expressed visually in the form of Edward I's tomb at Westminster, a solid block of Purbeck marble conspicuous in its lack of effigy (Plate 162).⁶⁰¹ Placed in immediate proximity to the extensive tomb of Henry III which he had lavishly decorated during the 1280s-90s with intricate Cosmati-work (Plate 88),⁶⁰² Edward's tomb appears incongruously stark. The inadequacy of such a tomb was clearly felt in his grandson's generation, as during Edward III's coronation in 1327 it was felt necessary to place a cloth of gold over the tomb,⁶⁰³ a mark of distinction which would have reduced the aesthetic disparity considerably. Though Edward I may well have intended an austere design,⁶⁰⁴ its probable attribution to Edward II's early reign (like the overwhelming majority of royal tombs) renders it equally plausible that the sparse treatment (particularly the lack of effigy) reflected the strained economic circumstances he inherited. If this alternative hypothesis is to be accepted, why then was decorating Edward's tomb not prioritised once wealth became readily available? Whilst Edward I was described by contemporaries (most notably in the *Commendatio Lamentabilis*) as an austere character much like that attributed to Louis IX (a figure whose later claim to sanctity was closely allied to a Mendicant-like humility of dress and action), this characterisation is not consistent with the opulent lack of restraint displayed in his architectural and artistic patronage and it is thus unlikely that such a tomb would reflect his intentions in their entirety.⁶⁰⁵ Furthermore, even if such an intention were to be ascribed to Edward I, the absence of embellishment by his son remains incongruous when compared to other patrons. The comparably simple stone tomb reputedly ordered by Louis IX was replaced by an elaborate, silver-gilt example with an effigy in the reign of his son Philip III.⁶⁰⁶ The tomb might thus be construed as evidence for a more nuanced attitude on Edward

⁶⁰⁰ Phillips, *Edward II*, 129-30; Alice Beardwood, "The Trial of Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, 1307-12," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54 (1964), 1-45. For its timing in relation to the Bishop's life of Edward I painting see Reeve, "Painted Cycle," 81-83.

⁶⁰¹ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 120.

⁶⁰² Binski, "Cosmati," 19-28.

⁶⁰³ E 101/383/8, fol. 25v; Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 54.

⁶⁰⁴ Binski in particular has argued that the tomb is an eloquent expression of the "sovereign stress on *gravitas* of materials and commemoration". Whilst he is doubtless correct in stating that this "cannot be attributed to Edward II's fecklessness", Binski's stripping of agency from Edward II despite its probable construction date following his father's death is an equally problematic symptom of the wider trends in scholarship discussed above. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 120.

⁶⁰⁵ Weiler, "Commendatio," 115; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley, 1991), 93-96. For Binski, such a paradox between austerity and opulence is particularly marked with regard to Edward I's impact on "ritual representation of death" (Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 120).

⁶⁰⁶ The body was placed in a stone tomb in 1271, but the new metalwork was in place by 1282-83 (Georgia Summers Wright, "The Tomb of St Louis," *JWCI* 34 (1971), 65-82).

II's part towards his father, echoing the underlying tensions and ambiguity of their personal relationship.

This potential ambiguity is of particular importance when we consider the 1320s modifications to the St Stephen's design. Throughout this campaign, the king's architectural interventions displayed innovation and continuity simultaneously, the pre-established building project not precluding new interventions by the architect or patron. Indeed, inherited (even dynastic) building projects could stimulate a variety of responses by kings and master masons alike. Reverence for a predecessor's interventions within the fabric could mingle with a desire for self-assertion, whilst the changed circumstances of a delayed building might necessitate original solutions to problems arising since the initial design. One element reflecting this more nuanced optimisation of established work was the upper cornice heraldry. Stretched between both kings, the work's dynastic content would have been further elaborated by the probable 1320s addition of the arms of France (Isabella), which resonated with the arms of Edward II's mother (Castile), the founder of his dynasty (Geoffrey Plantagenet) and the canonised kings of England's past (Edward the Confessor and Edmund the Martyr).⁶⁰⁷ The involvement of each king within this programme of genealogical association is virtually indistinguishable, demonstrating innovation within the confines of continuity. By contrast, the *alura's* resolution of an issue of royal access combined necessity with aesthetic revision in an innovative change to an established structure.

There may, however, have been a more immediate reason for the king to demonstrate independence from his father's legacy. Throughout contemporary and near-contemporary sources, direct comparison between the two was an established trope of historical writing.⁶⁰⁸ The *Vita* stated in its opening lines that on his accession Edward "did not achieve the ambition that his father set before himself, but directed his mind to other things", and the anonymous *Prophecy of the Six Kings* (probably written around the occasion of his son's birth in 1312) contrasted him starkly with his more successful predecessor.⁶⁰⁹ This tendency towards unfavourable comparison, even amongst writers who can be judged sympathetic to Edward II,⁶¹⁰ would seem to imply a more widespread contemporary phenomenon of which it is difficult to imagine the king would not have been aware. Completing his father's

⁶⁰⁷ See above, 82-84.

⁶⁰⁸ Phillips, *Edward II*, 5-7.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13; Childs, *Vita*, 4-5; Haines, *Edward II*, 26-27.

⁶¹⁰ Phillips, *Edward II*, 14.

unfinished works might have been conceived as a competitive distancing from this contrast at a time when he had attained some modicum of political stability, proclaiming his own attributes in the process.

Though this interpretation might appear somewhat fanciful, there is supporting evidence in the degree to which the king emphasised his active agency in the project. Modifications such as the *alura*, representing structural alterations to the palace for the king's convenience, are one obvious indicator of personal intervention in the design process.⁶¹¹ Equally, evidence from the financial accounts and royal itinerary indicates several instances where royal agency was injected into the construction itself. Reconsidered with regard to the king's relationship with his predecessor, such actions could be conceived as part of a wider intention by Edward to take personal possession of the project, a minor victory in what might be termed a continuing battle for self-definition in the face of his father's legacy. Such a conception was likely not an isolated phenomenon – the king's consistent preference for military over diplomatic interventions in Scotland and, later, France could be interpreted to represent a similar desire to compete with his father on equal terms – but the timing of the chapel's re-initiation was significant. Its position in a period of external and internal stability could be construed as a moment of distinction for the king who, having apparently rid himself of the troublesome proponents of regulated rule under the Ordinances, was finally in a position to make his own uninterrupted mark on posterity. At such an auspicious time, the works at St Stephen's may well have been part of that wider process of self-emancipation from a perceived comparative inadequacy in the minds of his subjects.

Conclusions

Balanced between continuity and change and poised at the centre of a web of political and personal influences and intersecting agencies, the 1320s works at St Stephen's are greatly illuminating regarding Edward II's patronal patterns. Far from the inactive role which he is traditionally ascribed, Edward II emerges not as a weak and derivative patron, subordinated entirely to his father by his perceived political inferiority, but instead as an independent ruler responsible for innovative interventions into a design which necessitated and embraced significant changes by his masons and carpenters. Bookended by fiscal limitations, the 1320s

⁶¹¹ See above, 124-25, 131.

like the 1290s demonstrate the building's responsiveness to royal finances, international tensions and domestic politics, in particular threats of civil conflict and foreign invasion. These displacements of building have allowed the exploration of the role of artistic and personal relationships between the royal patron and his predecessor, revealing an iterative attitude towards design which reflected tensions inherent within familial succession. Inheriting royal architecture was an active process of continuous engagement with designs that were reinvigorated with each fresh attempt at their completion, Edward and his craftsmen producing a St Stephen's which asserted an individual identity within the limitations established by prior works. However, like his father before him Edward II's chapel was not to be realised. With the king's deposition and later death in prison on 21st September 1327, the cessation of 1326 was prolonged into a four-year hiatus, the end of which ushered in the final iteration of St Stephen's.

Chapter 4: Edward III (1331-63)

Edward III at St Stephen's Chapel

In the earliest phases of its systematic recording by Antiquarians, the emphasis in studying St Stephen's Chapel remained squarely on Edward III.⁶¹² Though from the mid-twentieth-century onwards a shift in focus has occurred towards his grandfather's reign, for eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers the building's prestige was closely linked to its association with a national hero. Carter's privately published *Ancient Architecture of England* (1795-1814), a work divided first chronologically and then by mode of execution, placed the chapel within Edward III's highest aesthetic category, giving it pride of place in a mythical apogee of 'the English nation' in which "laws, arms, and arts, shone in all their splendour ... the noble and gorgeous display of architecture, rising around [Edward] in every part of the kingdom".⁶¹³ Such an image was not a new one for Carter – the frontispiece to the first volume of his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture and Ancient Buildings in England* (1786) depicted an idealised royal procession of the king through an imagined cathedral which presented "the Ancient sculpture and painting of this kingdom, in their height of splendour".⁶¹⁴ In an age where England was engaged in near-continuous struggle with France, the new emphasis on an English national artistic tradition pioneered by men such as Horace Walpole, Richard Gough and Carter himself generated a pregnant atmosphere for attributing a monument at the centre of political power to the agency of the celebrated instigator of the Hundred Years' War.

It is thus perhaps unsurprising that such a position was progressively reinforced by the documentary studies which augmented antiquarian publications well into the nineteenth century. As has been discussed previously, Topham considered Edward III solely responsible for the building's completion after its supposed destruction in the 1298 fire.⁶¹⁵ With the discovery of paintings during Wyatt's c. 1800 restorations including prominent images of Edward III and his family, this concept was firmly cemented within antiquarian scholarship, all the more so for the presence of accounts recording the painting work in detail. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807) included a woodcut by Thomas Stothard and John

⁶¹² See above, 113-15 and Table 3.1.

⁶¹³ John Carter, *The Ancient Architecture of England*, 2 vols (London, 1795-1807), II, 5.

⁶¹⁴ John Carter, *Specimens of the ancient sculpture and painting* (London, 1780-94), iii.

⁶¹⁵ Topham, *Account*, 3-6.

Berryman showing Edward III as a great patron sending forth his men to gather craftsmen for the chapel (Plate 163), and Hawkins's accompanying text attributed all accounts subsequent to 1298 firmly to him (dating them 1329-64) along with the goal of "enlarging and rendering [the chapel] more splendid".⁶¹⁶ Englefield's introduction to Smirke's *Additional Plates* (1811) was more circumspect. He reinforced the notion that "Edward the Third restored and beautified the Chapel after the conflagration, which ... destroyed the work scarcely finished by his grand-father", contrasting the "purity and simplicity of style" for Edward I's works in the Lower Chapel and Edward III's "more elaborate but less chaste style" in the Upper's moulded surfaces and tracery.⁶¹⁷

Such a firm identification was not challenged until after the 1834 fire.⁶¹⁸ No longer considered solely responsible for the Upper Chapel's construction, Edward III's architectural agency was progressively de-emphasised. Though the financial accounts rendered his involvement indelibly clear, the king was no longer considered the originator of the building's architectural innovations. A new emphasis on the building's architectonic elements, beginning with Brayley and Britton's *History of the Ancient Palace* (1836) and Mackenzie's *Architectural Antiquities* (1844), diverted attention towards the formal appearance of stonework at the expense of its decorative veneer. Harvey focused solely on the formal development of Gothic in his revised building chronology and Hastings continued along these lines, his significant expansion of Edward I and II's roles leaving Edward III responsible for only the clerestory, east and west windows and gables, installation of the roof and vault.⁶¹⁹ Colvin reinforced this position by extending Edward I's works further into the Upper Chapel, a process continued by Wilson in subordinating the later construction process to Michael of Canterbury's initial design.⁶²⁰ The only exceptions he proposed to Michael's predominance were those new subsidiary structures which were stylistically distinct, including the *alura* (1325-26), clerestory (1331-34) and vestibule (1340-44). Though the latter two were firmly dated to Edward III's reign, only the last was considered an independent contemporary design, the former along with the roof and vault being attributed entirely to Edward II's master carpenter.⁶²¹ Indeed, the only piece Wilson defined as an

⁶¹⁶ Smith, *Antiquities*, 81.

⁶¹⁷ Topham, *Account*, 12.

⁶¹⁸ See above, 113-15.

⁶¹⁹ See above, 113-14.

⁶²⁰ Colvin, *HKW*, II, 515-22.

⁶²¹ Wilson, "Origins," 36-37, 228.

innovative architectural change was the vestibule, firmly attributed to Edward III's second master mason William Ramsey.⁶²²

Table 4.1 – Frederick Mackenzie's Sequential Reconstruction

Periods of Work	Works Completed
1330-32	Alterations to east end carried to upper windows
1330-33, 1341	Alterations to piers of east end and north and south walls internally; cornice repaired and altered
1330-40	West entrance, centre of west wall above entrance altered, vestibules, upper part of west gable, bell turret over west gable
1333-40	East side of Cloisters of Le Pewe on south side with the gallery and oratory between Painted Chamber and St Stephen's chapel and oratory in west gable
1333-45	<i>Upper Storey</i>
1333-51	Towers raised
1333-55	Images generally
1341-42	Vestries
1341-43	West gable still in progress
1344-45	West porch to St Mary in Vaults and Bell Tower
1344-46	Roof
1344-45, 1346-56	Statues
1344-45, 1349-50	Tabernacles under windows
1344-45, 1350	High Altar
1350-51, 1355-56	Timber Stalls
1351	Works above upper story completed, side walls altered internally
1351	Outfitting vestries

⁶²² Wilson, "Origins," 227-28.

Table 4.2 – Howard Colvin’s Sequential Reconstruction

Dates	Works completed
27 th May 1331	Operations begin, molds and templates prepared
April-July 1332	Tracery of upper windows
July 1333	Work in progress on great east window, great gable closed
July 1333-Autumn 1334	Wall, curved parapet and turrets of east end
1337	Small Works
1342-43	West porch built
1345	Upper Walls complete
1345-48	Roof and vault assembled, statues of angels installed, double porch at west end completed, king’s closet roofed
1348	Works completed
July 1349	Glass bought in London
March 1350	Glaziers and painters selected
June 1351-March 1352	Glaziers at work
1351-60	Painters at Work
1351-55	Stalls

Table 4.3 – Howard Colvin’s Sequential Reconstruction, short version (tables taken from original text)

Building Period	Work in Progress
1331-34	East end built
1340-48	West end completed and roof and vault assembled
1348-63	Glazing, painting and furnishing

Table 4.4 – Christopher Wilson’s Sequential Reconstruction (tables taken from original text)

Campaigns	Works completed
1331-34	Clerestory and east gable
1337	Some work, undefined
1340-44	Battlements, west porch, walls ready to take the vault
1346-48	Wooden vault and roof taken out of store and installed

All of these interpretations are predicated by a wide range of underlying assumptions regarding the chapel's design sequence and questions of independent agency and revision. In many respects, Edward III's St Stephen's is the least understood iteration despite its copious documentation. As the most chronologically extensive and materially diverse of the available building accounts, the documents relating to this period present many problems of interpretation based on partial, unavailable or inconsistent evidence. This in part explains the extreme reticence of scholars from the nineteenth century onwards to engage in detailed analysis of these accounts, instead relying on generalisation, tabulation and summation to illustrate their points (Plate 164). Broken up by clear gaps in the records, sometimes even within extant documents, the diverse campaigns of 1331-64 recorded in E 101/469/6, 11-13 and 17, E 101/470/2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16 and 18, E 101/471/5, 6, 9-11 and 15-16, E 101/472/4 and 14 and E 372/197, 202 and 206-210 are difficult to construct into definite sequences of design and production. Terminology is often ambiguous, variable and fragmentary in its usage, changing with every clerk, and the foundations behind the conventions of their translation are rarely disclosed by scholars. The most straightforward means of approaching this material is through its chronological division into three phases of work, broadly corresponding to Thomas of Canterbury's continuing incumbency as master mason (1331-35), William Ramsey's interventions (c. 1337-1348) and finally the painting, glazing, decorating, furnishing and fitting up of the chapel (1348-63).

1331-35

The first phase represented an extensive period of masonry construction, albeit less intense than its immediate predecessor. Though works lasted longer than those of 1323-26 (an additional eighty-five weeks) the number of masons involved was significantly smaller, peaking at twenty-five in October 1332 (almost two and a half times smaller than the sixty-two of May and September 1324) and averaging thirteen per week as opposed to the thirty-nine of 1323-26 (see Appendix III/B.T.2, C.T.3). This evidence for a less intensive campaign is further supported by contemporary stone purchases. Caen and Reigate continued to be ordered, but less frequently and in lower quantities. Only a single boatload of Kentish ragstone was brought in during forty-four months of activity, indicating that rag-filled walls were no longer a major part of ongoing works. Instead, the shift in emphasis towards tracery and other decorative features detectable in the latter part of the 1320s continued under Edward III. Purbeck marble was also worked throughout the campaign, although only a

single purchase was made, implying that these workers were largely focused on preparing and installing marble held in storage from the previous campaign.⁶²³

Works began with masonry and scaffolding. A consignment of Caen stone was paid for on 4th June 1331 followed by masons starting from 27th June onwards (Appendix III/C.T.1-3), their numbers stabilising between 23rd July and 31st October 1331 to an average of between nine and ten masons per week (Appendix III/C.G.4) indicating a relatively low rate of work.⁶²⁴ Scaffolders were employed from 15th July to 30th September 1331 to work on the east end (“*caput*”) of the chapel, but as only a single order of timbers was made in this period (arriving 29th July after work had already begun) it is likely that this involved setting out the scaffolding placed in storage in early 1326 (Appendix III/C.T.2).⁶²⁵ This indicates that the masons were engaged primarily in raising the walls of the east gable in preparation for the next phase of works, an assumption reinforced by the use of the word “*caput*” (‘head’) over *gabula* (‘gable’), the former implying position rather than height or function. It is also likely that much of the work at this time consisted of finishing works abandoned at the end of 1325: despite no orders being placed for Purbeck marble at this time, marble-workers (*marmorarii*) were employed between 1st July and 19th December 1331 (Appendix III/C.T.3) and the east end works reflected those conducted before the cessation.⁶²⁶

From November 1331 the number of masons working on the chapel increased dramatically (Appendix III/C.G.4), requiring a new house to be built for cutting stones.⁶²⁷ Though work on the east end doubtless continued during this time, a new focus is indicated by the purchase of Reigate form pieces from 27th April 1332 for the windows.⁶²⁸ Though this feature’s identity cannot be easily ascertained, a later purchase of form pieces (30th June) was consigned “towards the flank of the chapel”.⁶²⁹ No further indications of location were to

⁶²³ Appendix V/A-B.

⁶²⁴ Average 9.47 masons per week (to three significant figures) over fifteen weeks.

⁶²⁵ “*Die lune xv die Julij [1331] [...] Roberto le Clerik’, Roberto de Corby et Galfrido de Creye iij scaffatoribus facientibus scaffatam ad orientale capud dicte capelle et petras remoyentibus per dictos v dies cuilibet per diem iij d. ob.: iij s. iij d. ob.*” (E 101/469/11, m.1).

⁶²⁶ See above, 119.

⁶²⁷ E 101/469/11, m. 4.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, m. 6.

⁶²⁹ 30th June 1332 “*Item Thome Bernak’ pro x peciis petre de Reygate emptis pro formis peciis ad coster’ capelle faciendis precium pecie ij s.: xx s.*” (*Ibid.*, m. 7).

appear until 26th September with the purchase of form pieces for the east gable tracery.⁶³⁰ It seems likely that this reflects two different features requiring traceried form pieces, with an initial period focused on the sides or flanks of the chapel lasting up to late September and a mixed period including the great east window lasting until late May 1333 at least (Appendix III/C.T.1).⁶³¹ These side windows have been associated with the chapel clerestory, probably correctly. In the week starting 15th June thirty-four mold pieces were purchased towards the upper windows of the chapel.⁶³² Furthermore, a new scaffold was being raised from 4th May 1332, indicating a new higher phase of works.⁶³³

Though almost entirely destroyed by Wren in 1692, some remnants of the clerestory's mouldings can be recovered through the shaft bases which were still embedded in the crenelations of the upper cornice when Mackenzie took his measurements (Plate 165).⁶³⁴ To date the majority of reconstruction attempts rely on a line of speculation derived from Mackenzie's interpretation of Wenceslaus Hollar's *View of Westminster* (c.1647), which displayed a second storey of windows of equal height to the main body flush with the outer wall (Plate 166). Combined with what he assumed to be the moulding of the central mullion of a window on the edge of the exterior cornice, Mackenzie reasoned that the walkable gutter along the topside of the cornice in fact represented a gallery flanked on the inner side by a screen of open tracery work and windows on the outer side (Plate 167).⁶³⁵ Hollar's wider inaccuracies notwithstanding, this arrangement is directly contradicted by earlier and later evidence for the chapel's appearance. From pre-1691 drawings and engravings including the V&A anonymous *View of Westminster* (c. 1600), Antonis van der Wijngearde's panorama of London (c. 1543-44) and the frontispiece to John Nalson's *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State* (published 1682-83), it can be surmised that the clerestory was instead a series of set-back windows supported by flying buttresses extending from the ornate, polygonal cross-section buttress terminations recorded by Mackenzie and others (Plates 168-

⁶³⁰ “*Die sabbati [26th Sept 1332] Thome Bernak’ pro x peciis petre de Reygate emptis pro form’ peciis ad gablam orientalem faciendam precium pecie ij s. x d. cum cariagio et batellagio de Reygate usque pontem Regis palacij Westm’: xxviiij s. iiij d.*” (E 101/469/11, m. 9).

⁶³¹ A second reference to the flanks of the chapel and other unspecified orders of form pieces indicates that work on the flanks continued after work on the east gable began: “*Die lune xxviiij die Septembris [1332] [...] Eidem [Thomas Bernak] pro ij peciis petre de Reygate emptis pro formis peciis ad costeram precium pecie ij s.: iiij s.*” (Ibid., m. 9).

⁶³² Ibid., m. 7.

⁶³³ Scaffolders were employed from 4th May to 26th October 1332 working with alder timbers bought 4th May-3rd August that year. See Appendix III/C.T.2.

⁶³⁴ Colvin, *HKW*, V, 402-404; Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, vii.

⁶³⁵ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, vii-x, 10-15.

70). The latter image also gives some potential clues as to the tracery's form, although the relatively fanciful quality of its draughtsmanship does render it a somewhat questionable source. However, its rendition of a window with two major lights would certainly be consonant with the positioning of the remaining mouldings on the upper cornice which appeared both over the piers and the centre of each main storey archway, though the original would probably have been subdivided further (Plate 117).

Even before September 1332 works on the east gable had proceeded rapidly. By 3rd August 1332 the stonework reached the stage where the bars, pins and other ironworks for the glazing and traceried stonework began to be purchased, a process continuing periodically up to 15th March 1333.⁶³⁶ From 17th August 1332 masons were recorded working on the east gable, specifically the window mullions and ferramenta.⁶³⁷ The mullions (Plates 171-73) were presumably installed around 2nd November when ironworks were ordered for securing them, after which point the main tracery could have been installed.⁶³⁸ Scaffolders were employed permanently from the following 1st February and from 8th March to 26th April 1333 wood was ordered for an unspecified scaffold, possibly indicating a further extension at the east gable (Appendix III/C.T.2). This was perhaps linked to the somewhat enigmatic "*soursa del reredos*" of the east gable, boards for covering which were bought on 15th March 1333.⁶³⁹ The final closure of the gable was not accomplished until 19th July when all the masons were paid a celebratory 6d. according to 'ancient custom' ("*de antiquo consuetudine*").⁶⁴⁰ Additionally, 429 feet of Purbeck was purchased for columns on 2nd November 1332 and marble-workers were recorded 19th October 1332 to 17th May 1333 (Appendix III/C.T.1). Though these may partially have been intended for the east end, their large quantity and the confirmable presence of Purbeck elements in the surviving clerestory shafts indicate that this was a probable second location.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁶ Ironwork was ordered on 3rd, 11th, 17th and 30th August and 2nd November 1332 and 15th March 1333 (E 101/469/12, m. 12-19).

⁶³⁷ "*Die lune xvij die Augusti [1332] [...] Johanni de Sellyngale et Johanni Bekere ij cementariis positoribus operantibus super gablam orientalem et moynels et ferramenta ibidem ponentibus per dictos vj dies utrique per diem v d. ob.: v s. vj d.*" (E 101/469/11, m. 8).

⁶³⁸ E 101/469/12, m. 15.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*, m. 19.

⁶⁴⁰ 19th July 1333 "*Item liberati predictis cementariis pro arcagio eorum die quo magna gabla perclusus [sic] fuit quod habere debent de antiquo consuetudine vj d.*" (*Ibid.*, m. 23). Pins (*gogones*) were again ordered for fixing stones of the gable on the 26th July, indicating that the works were not entirely completed at this date (*Ibid.*, m. 23).

⁶⁴¹ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, vii.

Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the east window's appearance. The earliest and most coherent was Smith's which followed the Nalson engraving's basic format of a trefoil shape with a main motif of five cinquefoils surrounding a central one undercut by six lights, the outer four surmounted by their own arches and bridging cinquefoils (Plate 174). Though the Nalson ogival form is a somewhat fanciful addition, the unique trefoil shape is confirmed by other depictions and appears to have been articulated on the interior by blind tracery in the cusps (Plate 175). The number of underlying lights, however, is affirmed by the continuous yet alternating mullions recorded beneath the window as late as 1834 (Plates 171, 176). This reconstruction was further confirmed by Wilson through comparison with the window of St Anselm's Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral of c. 1336 (Plate 177) which he attributed to the same master mason, Thomas.⁶⁴²

The accounts also indicated that further design work was underway. Between 20th July and 20th August 1332 amendments were conducted in the great tracing house ("*magna trassura*") of the chapel.⁶⁴³ Equally on 17th August a large quantity of boards and laths for molds and false molds (the latter sent to the quarries, probably to guide cutting stone) were purchased, with a carpenter and sawyers working on them for two weeks.⁶⁴⁴ These were probably associated with the east gable form pieces appearing almost exactly a month later, though there are no indications within the accounts themselves. Oak boards were again bought on 8th February 1333 and the following 1st March saw the purchase of timbers and boards for manufacturing several centres, and on 4th May further boards were bought for molds and nails for centres.⁶⁴⁵ Whilst these might be associated with the clerestory, their multiplicity opens the possibility that more than one feature was being planned during this period which required centring.

One possibility for this is the "*inferior gabla*" (inferior gable) under construction between 26th July and 30th September 1333. Alder timbers were ordered for scaffolding between 28th June and 12th July (Appendix III, C.T.2) and on 19th July a new scaffold was begun "towards the gable about to be finished at the front of the new chapel", indicating further planned

⁶⁴² Wilson, "Origins," 73, 126.

⁶⁴³ E 101/469/11, m. 8.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., m. 8. For false molds see Salzman, *Building*, 21-22.

⁶⁴⁵ E 101/469/12, m. 17, 18, 20.

works at the east end.⁶⁴⁶ The following 26th July lime was ordered for this *inferior* gable's mortar, suggesting masonry followed the scaffolding sharply.⁶⁴⁷ As *inferior* is a comparative term indicating a lower position in either a dimensional or hierarchical sense, one might assume this feature was named in deliberate comparison to a projected upper storey within the gable structure. However, it is difficult to square this assumption with the earlier reference to the closure of the east gable and thus further consideration is required. This is further complicated by an entry of 9th August 1333, where eight stones were bought for great forms "towards the work of the 'inferior' gable of the front of the chapel to be finished and closed".⁶⁴⁸ From this it can be inferred that the earlier gable closure in all probability referred to the archway of the great window rather than the spandrels and superstructure immediately above it.

Such an interpretation is supported by one important contemporary feature – a pair of statues depicting the Edward and the Ring narrative.⁶⁴⁹ On 16th August 1333 two large Reigate stones were bought for two images, followed on the 30th by two back-staples and iron hooks for placing them in the front of the chapel.⁶⁵⁰ Their iconographic identity was confirmed in a subsequent payment for an "image of Saint Edward and another image of Saint John in disguise" in front of the chapel gable.⁶⁵¹ All pre-1691 depictions of the chapel (with the exception of Hollar's slightly confused rendition) show two niches within the spandrels of the great east window, the probable original position of these images (Plates 166, 169-71).⁶⁵² Such an identification indicates that this area was the *inferior* gable previously under construction, the section immediately above being an upper section contingent on the new clerestory's height.

⁶⁴⁶ "Die lune xix die Julij [1333] Michaeli Dissher pro L tignis de alneto emptis longitudinis cuiuslibet xvij pedum pro nova scaffota facienda ad gablam frontis nove capelle perficiendam viij s." (E 101/469/12, m. 23).

⁶⁴⁷ "Item die lune xxvj Julij [1333] [...] Item pro dj. c calcis empta de Willelmo de Kent pro mortaro faciundo pro gabla in feriore [sic] fronte predictae capelle ij s. [...] Eidem pro viij gogouns de ferro emptis pro petris magne gable affirmandis capienti pro pecia ob.: iij d." (Ibid., m. 23).

⁶⁴⁸ "Die lune ix die Augusti [1333] [...] Thome Bernak de Regate rokario pro viij petris emptis de magna forma ad opus inferioris gable frontis capelle perficiendum et claudendum precium cuiuslibet iij s.: xxxij s. [...] Eidem [Waltero fabro] pro vj goiouns de ferri factis pro petris pro petris [sic] gable inferiore affirmandis capienti pro ij. j d.: iij d." (Ibid., m. 23-24).

⁶⁴⁹ See above, 68.

⁶⁵⁰ E 101/469/12, m. 24.

⁶⁵¹ "Die lune xiiij die Septembris [1333] [...] Item Magistro Ricardo de Redingg' pro ij ymaginis faciendis ad tascham in grosso faciendam {v marcis} <viz. j imagina de sancto Edwardo et alia imagina de sancte Johanne in similitudine j peregrini facta lxvj s. viij d.> que quedem ymagines poni debent in fronte gable capelle." (Ibid., m. 25).

⁶⁵² This interpretation was proposed in Hastings, *St Stephen's*, 102-03.

Simultaneously, work was proceeding on the two eastern towers. On 9th August 1333 six pieces of stone were purchased for the stairs of the north tower adjoining the ‘front’ (“*frons*”, presumably east) gable.⁶⁵³ Though this work doubtless began at a low level, the chapel towers were progressively heightened with a new scaffold being initiated from 23rd August 1333 when a carpenter was employed for raising the scaffold “of a certain new tower of the front of the chapel”.⁶⁵⁴ Work on the stairs was still ongoing on 20th September 1333 and on the 30th September further Reigate stones were bought for the towers plural, indicating the expansion of works to both.⁶⁵⁵ 11th October and 8th November saw additional Reigate stone being brought in for the stairs and this phase of work was probably complete by 29th November when reeds were bought for covering them.⁶⁵⁶

Further works on the towers initiated on 7th March 1334 with an order for more stones.⁶⁵⁷ This was followed a month later by the raising of a new scaffold around the towers flanking the chapel gable.⁶⁵⁸ Between 11th April and 30th May a large quantity of ironwork ‘tyrants’ were employed, indicating that the carved masonry identified on 30th May as “diverse forms” (“*diversae formae*”) were being attached to the towers’ upper portions.⁶⁵⁹ On 22nd August another consignment of Reigate for the tower stairs was brought in, and on the 12th September pins and crampons were ordered for fixing stones and a pinnacle on the tower’s top.⁶⁶⁰ Shortly thereafter further Reigate stones were purchased, perhaps indicating progress on the companion tower.⁶⁶¹ From September to October lead was being cast, and on 19th December 1334 masons were paid for covering the east gable,⁶⁶² suggesting the work’s imminent completion. Finally, between the weeks beginning 9th and 23rd January 1335

⁶⁵³ “*Die lune ix die Augusti [1333] [...] Eidem pro vj peciis petre de alia forma minoris precij emptis ad scalam anglice grez de Turri que est pars aquilonis dictarum [sic] gable frontis dicte capelle faciendam precium cuiuslibet petre ij s. vj d.: xv s. {vj d.}*” (E 101/469/12, m. 23).

⁶⁵⁴ “*Die lune xxij die Augusti [1333] [...] Johanni de Hungerford carpentario operanti ibidem et facienti meremium grossum pro scaffota levanda de novo certa turrem frontis capelle viz. per v dies operabiles predictos et pro die festo predicto viz. per vj dies capienti per diem v d.: ij s. vj d.*” (Ibid., m. 24).

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., m. 25.

⁶⁵⁶ E 101/469/17, m. 3.

⁶⁵⁷ E 101/470/15, m. 3.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., m. 4.

⁶⁵⁹ “*Die lune xxx die Maij [1334] [...] Eidem [Waltero fabro] pro xij tiraunz grossis de ferri emptis ad petras de diversis formis affirmandas super turrellos magne gabule precium cuiuslibet ij d.: ij s.*” (Ibid., m. 6). Tyrants were ordered 11th and 18th April and 30th May 1334 (Ibid., m. 5-6).

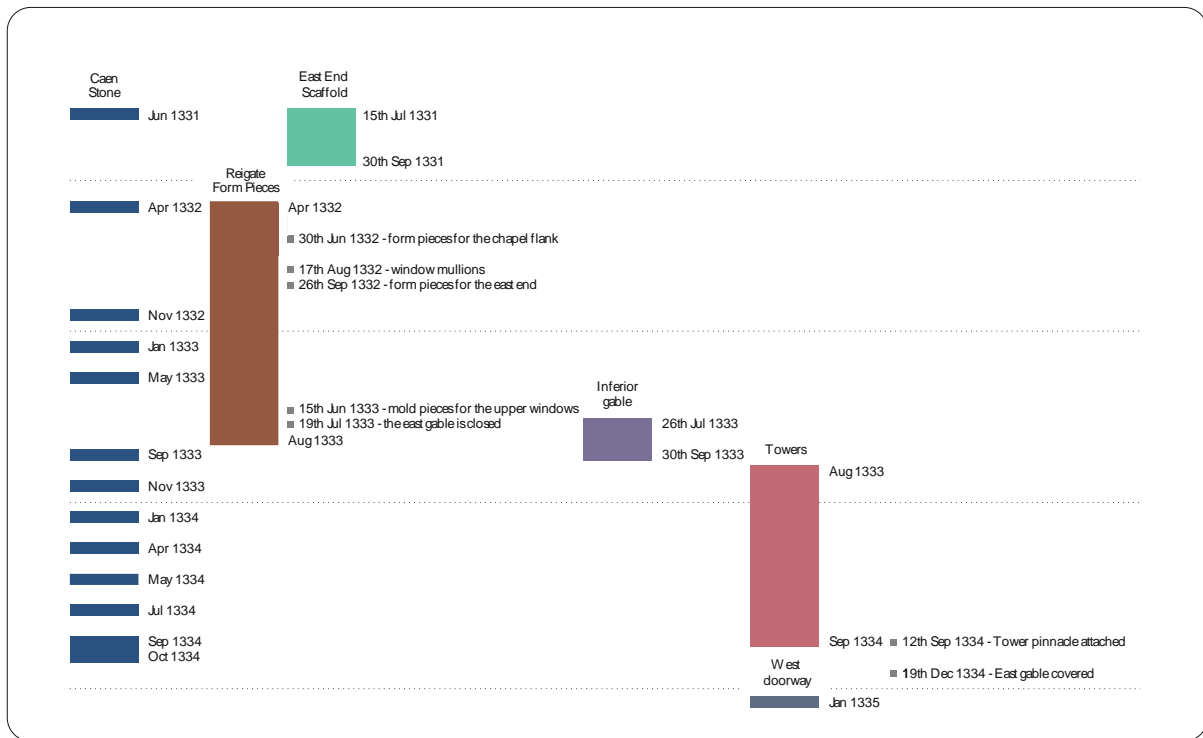
⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., m. 9.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., m. 10.

⁶⁶² Ibid., m. 11.

masons and carpenters were paid for closing a doorway in the west gable, possibly into what was eventually to become the entrance to the vestibule.⁶⁶³

Figure 4.1 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1331-35 Summary



1337-48

The second period of works is harder to define. Completed under a new master mason, William Ramsey, who was in overall charge right up to 1348, this period was apparently focused on the west end and surrounding subsidiary structures. For whatever reason (generally assumed to be his death), Thomas of Canterbury did not re-emerge in the accounts nor did his *apparilator*, Michael of Canterbury (II), take over. William Ramsey was already familiar with the site, having worked there as a mason during the 1320s, and had been master of the south walk of Norwich Cathedral cloister (1326-30) and St Paul’s Cathedral in London, where he was responsible for the new cloister and chapter house (1330s).⁶⁶⁴ Most recently Ramsey had been appointed chief mason in the Tower of London and surveyor of

⁶⁶³ E 101/470/15, m. 6, 12.

⁶⁶⁴ Harvey, *Architects*, 215-18; Wilson, “Origins,” 171-258.

the king's works for castles this side of Trent on 1st June 1336, first operating at St Stephen's in this guise in 1337.⁶⁶⁵

It is interesting therefore to note that relatively little active masonry work is recorded at the start of this new phase. The 1335-40 financial accounts are particularly fragmentary and contain numerous gaps which may or may not represent building hiatuses. Between 5th March and 14th April 1337 five masons were employed cutting stones and placing them in the lodge and pentice under William Ramsey (Appendix III, D.T.1), but the nature of their task is unclear. A further roll for the palace more generally between 15th December 1337 and 17th August 1338 records the purchase of boards and nails for an "*interclusa in capella domini Regis*" (15th December) and fifteen workers operating on numerous tasks including joining stones on 17th August, but it is difficult to define exactly what was undertaken at this point.⁶⁶⁶ Subsequently, the period focused on a series of repairs and refurbishments for the chapel's subsidiary spaces. The first of these was St-Stephen's-by-the-Receipt. On 14th December 1338 tilers were employed on the Receipt Chapel and it is likely that contemporaneous orders of nails and roof nails were intended for the windows and doorway of the same.⁶⁶⁷ More extensive renovations were delayed until mid-1340 – slates for covering the chapel roof were purchased 6th March with tilers working on it throughout the following week, from late November to early October the walls were re-plastered and on 12th November three white glass windows with ironwork were purchased.⁶⁶⁸ 1339-42 also saw the construction of a new house for the king's chaplains and an *interclusa* or covered walkway between the Lesser Hall and the chapel's west entrance, along with extensive repairs to the stone storage areas and the master mason's *magna trasura*.⁶⁶⁹ By mid-1342 thus, the majority of the chapel's working spaces for masons had been thoroughly refurbished and the next phase could begin.

Masons were employed from 30th September, working in a coherent campaign up until the end of September 1343, and the first consignment of Reigate stone was paid for on 14th October 1342. The number of masons employed was similar to the quieter periods of the 1331-35 campaign, specifically late May 1333-early December 1334 when only the east end

⁶⁶⁵ E 101/470/2, m. 1. Ramsey appears in the records from 21st November 1323 to 26th November 1325, the entire length of the campaign (E 101/469/8 m. 1-19; E 101/469/10 m. 1-3). For a summary of the documentary evidence for this phase of his career see Wilson, "Origins," 185-226.

⁶⁶⁶ E 101/470/3, m. 1, 4.

⁶⁶⁷ E 101/470/5, m. 2.

⁶⁶⁸ E 101/470/7, m. 4.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, m. 4; E 101/470/10, m.1, 2; E 101/469/10, m. 2-4.

was under construction (Appendix III/C.G.4, H.G.2). This is perhaps unsurprising as it seems this microcampaign was targeted on the chapel's west end. From 21st October 1342-27th January 1343 a carpenter was engaged building a pentice at the west gable and on 3rd February reeds were purchased for covering it. Further evidence is provided by the purchase of structural ironwork for the west gable on 25th August from which it can be inferred that some kind of window was under construction. The west gable's appearance is particularly difficult to quantify as it suffered badly from later restorations. Mackenzie noted that the western piers corresponded exactly with the east end and that mouldings remained mirroring the east window arch from which could be inferred the presence of a similar window at the west.⁶⁷⁰ Work presumably was continuing at the end of September 1343 when lead, laths and nails were brought in for covering the new pentice and the masons' involvement was apparently starting to wind down (Appendix III/H.G.2).⁶⁷¹ Contemporaneously, further works were conducted on the tabernacles long dormant in storage (7th-20th January 1343), the *interclusa* between the doorway of the Lesser Hall and the west gable (25th February following) and ironworks in the lower vestry (25th August).⁶⁷²

After another gap, records resumed in October 1347. These new works had an entirely different character, with a rapid and intensive campaign of masonry work coupled with a large number of carpenters starting on the Upper Chapel vault. The 1345-46 inventory completed during the interim period indicates the vast majority of the stonework recorded in 1331 had been expended, the only exception being some of the Purbeck marble columns, and even the roof had been taken out of storage and installed (Appendix V/B).⁶⁷³ From 15th October 1347 carpenters proceeded to assemble the vault under William Hurley, purchasing baltic oak boards for the purpose.⁶⁷⁴ Carpenters continued on the vault up until 4th August 1348 at least, with materials being ordered regularly throughout (Appendix III/J.T.1).

Also dating 15th October 1347 was payment for a large consignment of stone from Bere Regis alongside the employment of masons on a scale unmatched since the 1320s (Appendix

⁶⁷⁰ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 19.

⁶⁷¹ E 101/469/6, m. 1.

⁶⁷² E 101/470/13, m. 2-3, 6.

⁶⁷³ E 101/470/16. That some of the Purbeck marble columns were expended towards the west end ("*Et in columpnis positis tam subtus predictis [sic] sources et ex utraque parte tabernaculorum quam in operibus portici ad occidentalem finem eiusdem capelle cc pecias petrarum marmorearum*" (Ibid., m. 1)) could indicate their installation c. 1342-43 with the renewed works on the west end.

⁶⁷⁴ E 101/470/18.

III/J.T.1). This initial focus on Bere stone, primarily used for facing, indicates that in these early stages the shell of a building was going up. The later use of Reigate in large quantities (3rd March-4th August 1348) presumably reflected a switch towards forms requiring more intricate carving. Identifying the object under construction, however, is more difficult – there are no direct indications within the accounts themselves. In general there is a tendency amongst scholars to shy away from the large quantity of stonework in this period, focusing instead on the roofing and vaulting process (see Tables 4.1-4.4). However, if indeed the works of 1342-43 are to be associated with the west gable alone, then there remains one major element of the building structure which has yet to be accounted for – the western porch or vestibule (Plates 178-80). Though it is conventionally dated in accordance with gaps in the existing accounts to the early 1340s, an identification reinforced by its stylistic idiosyncrasies when compared to the rest of the building, in reality there is no documentary evidence to support this (excepting the somewhat weak tacit premise of its apparent proximity to the west gable then under construction).⁶⁷⁵ In scale the 1347-48 works were far more extensive in terms of numbers of masons and resources employed than those of 1342-43 indicating that a more complex building task like the vestibule was underway (Appendix III/I.T.2, J.T.2).

A later date is further supported by another element under construction at this time which has been entirely overlooked by prior scholars – the house called the galilee (“*Galilea*”) under construction between 30th June and 4th August 1348 (Appendix III, J.T.1-2). A ‘galilee’ is a term conventionally associated architecturally with a covered space immediately before the entrance into a cathedral’s nave, invariably at the west end such as the examples at Durham and Ely Cathedrals (Plates 181-82). The positions given for the St Stephen’s galilee within the text, however, are directly contradictory – in the earliest entry of 30th June 1348 it is identified as “house called the Galilee between the Great Hall and Lesser joined to the new chapel”, but a final entry of 4th August names it the “house called the Galilee towards the south side of the chapel”.⁶⁷⁶ These descriptions are impossible to reconcile, as the Great Hall

⁶⁷⁵ Colvin dated the vestibule 1342-43, though he supposed it was in some degree completed during the 1347-48 works, and Wilson placed it within his 1340-44 campaign (Colvin, *HKW*, I, 517 n.7; Wilson, “Origins,” 36-37). The major exception to this was Hastings who dated the vestibule before 1327 on rather tenuous grounds (see above, 114-15, 153-55; Hastings, *St Stephen’s*, 61).

⁶⁷⁶ “*Die lune xxx die Junij* [1348] [...] *Thome Draper pro ij batellatis petrarum de rag’ emptis pro muris eiusdem nove domus vocata Galilea inter magnam aulam et parvam iunct’ nove capelle xxij s. viij d.*” (E 101/470/18, m. 11); 4th August 1348 “*Idem computat expendisse tam super facturam et reparacionem cooperture cuiusdam domus vocate galilea ad australem partem capelle quam diversorum conduitorum in eodem palacio reparandum et emendendum infra tempus predictum xvj carratas plumbi cix lb. soldure*” (Ibid., m. 12d).

was situated on the northwest corner of the chapel and thus there is no means within three-dimensional space for any feature to be placed between it and the chapel whilst still remaining on its south side (see Map 2). Given the conventional positioning of features labelled galilees within churches at the west end, it is therefore plausible that this galilee could be identified with the vestibule extending between the Great and Lesser Halls, as indicated by the 30th June purchase of Kentish ragstone for its construction. Subsequent entries focus on covering the galilee including the purchase of lead (7th July; 4th August), nails (14th July), timber (21st July) and laths (4th August).⁶⁷⁷ It is therefore likely that this represents the last phase of the vestibule's construction.

A further feature which can be dated to the 1340s is the Lower Chapel vault. An inventory of Exchequer records from 1346-47 included a lost contract with Master Philip de Cherde, mason "about the vault of the chapel of St Stephen, Westminster".⁶⁷⁸ On 14th December 1349 £22 were received by Westminster's clerk of the works via Philip de Cherde, indicating his continued employment on site. Though Colvin associated this with the wooden vault (dating the contract to the 1340s),⁶⁷⁹ the employment of a mason could equally indicate the lower vault. There were no indications in the accounts of the vault's presence before this point. Tiles and tile pins were purchased for paving the king's chapel in February 1337, but there is no record of them being installed at this time.⁶⁸⁰ No tiles are recorded in the 1346 inventory, though this would still leave a nine year gap in which they could have been used or redirected to other projects in the palace, several of which required tiles during the early 1340s.⁶⁸¹ Such a delay in tiling the chapel is further indicated by the purchase of paving tiles for the Lower Chapel and its "revestiarius" in 1351-52, and again for the chapel more generally between January 1360 and January 1362.⁶⁸² Furthermore, the Lower Chapel had remained unused throughout the construction process even during long periods of inactivity, a surprising development unless it was an unvaulted and thus unusable space. Given the c.

⁶⁷⁷ E 101/470/18, m. 11-12.

⁶⁷⁸ "Item indentura inter thesaurarium et camerarium de scaccario et magistrum Philippum de Cherde mason de fousura capelle Sancti Stephani Westm' remanent in parva cista duarum cerurarum." (Sir Francis Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer*, 3 vols (London, 1836), I, 164).

⁶⁷⁹ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 517 n. 7

⁶⁸⁰ E 101/469/20, m. 1-2.

⁶⁸¹ E 101/470/16; E 372/189, rot. 49, m. 1, 2; rot. 49d, m. 1d.

⁶⁸² E 101/471/6, m. 15, 22-23; E 372/197, rot. 47, m.2; E 372/206, rot. 46, m. 1-2.

1340 stylistic dating of the vault's bosses proposed above,⁶⁸³ this evidence would suggest a 1340s date for the chapel's vault using an outsourced master mason.

One problem this presents is whether this vault represented the undiluted intentions of the 1290s. Executed over fifty years after its initial design, it is quite possible that changes had occurred in the intervening time. In its final form, both the vaulting of its chancel and main body, though different, incorporated liernes: short, additional ribs (not emerging from the vault springers) forming nonstructural, purely decorative additions to the vault (Plate 144).⁶⁸⁴ Traditionally, the St Stephen's vault has been considered the debut of liernes in English vaulting and one of the most influential and innovative aspects of its original design. Wilson argued that this variety of vault articulation was derived from the peculiar circumstances of the chapel's self-contained east end, specifically the interaction between its tripartite eastern windows and screen (a solution, in his mind, forced by the low ceiling) and the piers.⁶⁸⁵ Consequently, Wilson explained the appearance of liernes as a formal consequence of solving the structural problems of vaulting and fenestrating a low-roofed space; "visual echoes, in plan at least, of the converging single ribs rising between the three windows in the east wall" which created a geometrical incongruity soluble only by the addition of further smaller ribs.⁶⁸⁶ In practice, however, there is no aspect of the Lower Chapel which indicates or necessitates the presence of liernes on the vault surface. Whereas wall ribs and window archways were closely integrated in most contemporaneous combinations between low-vaulted spaces and continuous, broad windows (a close example being Norwich Cathedral Cloister east walk (1297-1308, vaulted 1316-17 (Plate 183)),⁶⁸⁷ at St Stephen's they were treated as entirely separate units disengaged from the archway or wall surface, permitting the insertion of a wide variety of vault shapes. Even continuous rib mouldings which descending between the columns of the main body piers (Plate 184) could easily have supported regular tiercerons as liernes (Plate 185). Furthermore, even within those works attributed directly to the Chapel's designer, Michael of Canterbury, the St Stephen's liernes were conspicuous by their uniqueness. Not one work of Michael's extended *oeuvre* incorporates a single lierne,⁶⁸⁸ either on a macro- or microarchitectural scale. It is therefore probable that this represented a

⁶⁸³ See above, 86-87.

⁶⁸⁴ Bony, *English Decorated*, 46.

⁶⁸⁵ Wilson, "Origins," 57-58; Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 109-10.

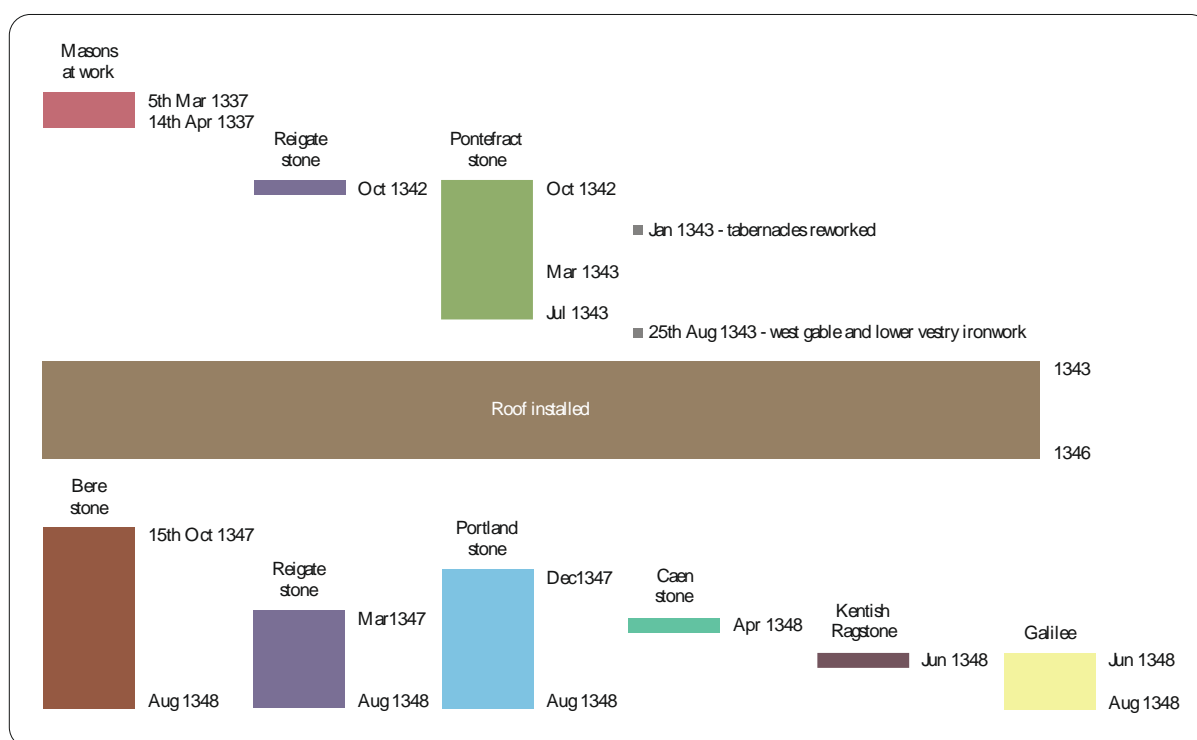
⁶⁸⁶ Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 109.

⁶⁸⁷ Francis Woodman, "The Gothic Campaigns" in *Norwich Cathedral: church, city and diocese, 1096-1996*, ed. Ian Atherton (London, 1996), 166-68.

⁶⁸⁸ See above, 132.

1340s solution to a problem left unresolved from the 1290s, perhaps attributable to Philip de Cherde or the nominal master over Westminster, William Ramsey.

Figure 4.2 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1337-48 Summary



1348-63

In the third and final period, gaps within the financial accounts are more frequent and the surviving records are increasingly fragmentary and partial, many taking the form of enrolled summaries rather than particulars of account. This was also possibly the most complex nexus of craftsmen within the chapel’s history, with shifting master masons and their subordinate *apparillatores* working alongside independent yet interdependent organisations of carpenters, glaziers, painters, sculptors, tilers and leadworkers with their own masters and internal hierarchies. Further complicating matters was the recent reconstitution of the chapel as a college. Established by letters patent on 6th August 1348 with an initial strength of a dean and twelve canons,⁶⁸⁹ the college required a reformatting of the chapel interior in line with this functional change. The period had two foci – firstly, executing an extensive decorative programme incorporating painting, sculpture and stained glass; secondly, preparing the structure for use.

⁶⁸⁹ CPR 1348-50, 147.

After 1348 there is relatively little evidence of heavy masonry work being undertaken on the chapel proper. References to the chapel itself largely consist of repairs to existing stonework, although the accounts can be somewhat ambiguous in this respect. From 1350-53 masonry was largely conducted by task-work rather than coherent campaigns, directed by the new master mason at Westminster and the Tower of London, John Box.⁶⁹⁰ Minor repairs were made to the decorative details of the tabernacles, perhaps those surmounting the Edward and the Ring statues in the east gable.⁶⁹¹ Meanwhile, 24th October 1351 gudgeons were purchased “for the higher stones to be held above the great pinnacle of the chapel” and finials for the same the following January.⁶⁹² Some work on the *alura* from August 1352 onwards is indicated by the purchase of sixteen cartloads of Reigate stone for it, yet no precise details regarding these works survive.⁶⁹³ Finally, Purbeck marble was purchased for paving the Upper Chapel between September 1353 and September 1354.⁶⁹⁴ According to the 1356 inventory these stones were still unused in June that year, but their disappearance from subsequent inventories indicates its probable expenditure before June 1357 (Appendix V/C-D). No evidence of Purbeck flooring was found in the Upper Chapel during the nineteenth century, but Mackenzie did record its use in the Lower Chapel.⁶⁹⁵ There Purbeck provided the base layer, laid diagonally in one foot squares, with three later layers above.⁶⁹⁶

Masons were employed more permanently between 29th September 1353 and 25th August 1354 and 27th July 1355 to 30th May 1356 (Appendix III/L.T.4, M.T.2), though only the latter group certainly worked on St Stephen’s alone. Westminster and the Tower were treated as a cohesive unit for accounting purposes in this period, as exemplified by the 1357 inventory which switches fairly seamlessly between items stored at or expended on the Palace and Tower, many of the latter elements being recorded in an earlier undifferentiated inventory of May-June 1356 (Appendix V/C-D). That said, the E 101/471/15-16 accounts unequivocally record masons working on two projects relating to the chapel in 1355-56 – the first an ‘*introitum*’ (‘entrance’), and the second a ‘*claustrum*’ (‘cloister’). Though masons moved seamlessly from one to the other (the first being worked upon between the weeks beginning

⁶⁹⁰ Harvey, *Architects*, 40. The significance of task-work after the Black Death is being addressed by Richard Braude in his doctoral thesis presently being completed at the University of Cambridge.

⁶⁹¹ E 101/471/6, m. 7, 16.

⁶⁹² “*Die lune xxiiij die Octobris [...] Magistro Andree [...] pro iij goions factis pro superioribus petris supra magna pinacula capelle tenendis ponderantibus xxxiiij lb.: v s. vj d.*” (Ibid., m. 8).

⁶⁹³ Ibid., m. 26.

⁶⁹⁴ E 101/471/11, m. 2, 2d.

⁶⁹⁵ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 5.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid.

27th July and 27th October 1355 and the second picking up the following week and continuing until its apparent cessation the subsequent 30th May)⁶⁹⁷ these were separate projects which can be differentiated materially. Reigate and chalk, the former explicitly associated with the *introitum* on one occasion,⁶⁹⁸ were purchased exclusively up to the end of October 1355 whereupon they were replaced largely by Kentish Rag from Maidstone (rubble and ashlar), Bere stones and Purbeck marble for the stairs (Appendix III/M.T.1). That these new stones were repeatedly associated with the *claustrum* indicates further the material separation of the two. The term *introitum* likely refers to the chapel's western entrance into the new vestibule on the upper or lower level, a supposition reinforced by the purchase of hinges for a chapel doorway on the 30th November 1355.⁶⁹⁹ The *claustrum* was probably built in the same place as the present cloister (and the earlier Richard II iteration) on the chapel's north side. In the 1356 petition for a charter establishing the college's lands this area was explicitly set aside for the cloister, the charter being backdated to 1354 presumably to permit its construction retrospectively.⁷⁰⁰ The cloister was certainly not finished in this microcampaign – the 1356 inventory included a large number of unused ashlar and urnell stones (probably identifiable with the two types of Maidstone ordered for the *claustrum*) and Purbeck marble for the stairs (Appendix V/C).⁷⁰¹ These were used up by the June 1357 inventory's completion, but the Purbeck had yet to be installed (Appendix V/D). Works were even more sporadic after this point, but between 16th November 1361 and 25th September 1362 large quantities of lead for the cloister's roof, white glass for its windows and Flanders tiles for its pavement were purchased, indicating completion.⁷⁰²

The most extensive construction task of the period, however, was in wood. Far from a simple addition of functional furnishings, the chapel stalls formed an elaborate undertaking incorporating dozens of carpenters, sculptors and other craftsmen over twelve years. Alder boards were purchased at some point between September 1350 and September 1351, but work is first recorded through a set of particulars of account for June 1351 to August 1352 listing carpenters' wages paid to William Herland, William Hurley's *apparillator* at Westminster.⁷⁰³ Within this time there are relatively few indications as to the stalls'

⁶⁹⁷ E 101/471/15-16.

⁶⁹⁸ E 101/471/16, m. 1.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid., m. 3.

⁷⁰⁰ SC 8/247/12304.

⁷⁰¹ 'Urnell' is a term for a variant of Ragstone from Maidstone (Salzman, *Building*, 129).

⁷⁰² E 372/207, rot. 40 m. 1.

⁷⁰³ E 372/197, rot. 47 m. 2; E 101/471/6.

structure. Between 9th January and 29th May 1352 Robert Burwell and his two *famuli* were paid for “sculpting the seats of the aforesaid stalls”,⁷⁰⁴ indicating sculpted misericords, and a core element appears to have been the ‘*reredos*’ or backpiece which provided the individual stalls. In the week beginning 27th February 1352 masons were employed for taking down (“*prosternacionem*”) the chapel walls, something which Hastings assumed was a partial demolition of the wall arcading.⁷⁰⁵ Chalk was purchased for repairing the *reredos* on 26th March and 11th June 1352, a purchase which can presumably be associated with an earlier reference of 5th March 1352 to chalk bought for repairing the walls behind the stalls, and on 23rd April 1352 masons were paid for working on the *reredos* “*ex parte boreali capelle*”.⁷⁰⁶ Whereas Hastings identified this feature with a pulpitum (a feature certainly included in the stalls’ final iteration, as Henry VI ordered it to be emulated for the rood loft at Eton College in 1448) this assumption paid no heed to its testified relationship with the chapel’s north wall.⁷⁰⁷ Instead, it is probable that the chalk was used to prepare the arcading space immediately behind the stalls to take their wooden replacements. At least some portion of these was completed by July and August 1352 when six carpenters were paid for moving the stalls (presumably the seating) into the chapel and raising the diverse panels comprising its *reredos* “to convey and demonstrate to the same treasurer and others from the King’s council the mode and form of the aforesaid stalls”.⁷⁰⁸ It seems that this was met with disapproval, however, as the stalls were immediately taken down (by three carpenters employed throughout September) and later sold to the nuns at Barking Abbey near London.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁴ “*Et in vadiis Roberti Burwell carpentarij sculpantis cedia stallorum predictorum per xvij septimanas et iij dies <inter ix diem Januarij et xxix diem Maij proximum sequentem> ipso Roberto capienti per septimanam ij s. vj d.: xlvj s. viij d. Et in vadiis Johannis Haveryng’ et Johannis Ely famuli sui ad idem faciendum ibidem per xij septimanas infra idem tempus capienti per septimanam pro se et famulo suo iij s.: lij s.*” (E 101/471/5, m. 3)

⁷⁰⁵ “*Die lune xxvij die Februarij [1352] [...] Eodem die lune Radulpho Hugyn, Johanni Maydeston’, Johanni Beche, Ricardo de Wicombe cum predictis viij cementariis operantibus ibidem tam super operibus predictis quam super pontello et coupis ac super proster<n>acionem muri in capella superiori ubi stalla stabunt per dies lune martis mercurij jovis veneris et sabbati viz. per vj dies cuilibet eorum per diem v d. ob.: xxxij s.*” (E 101/471/6, m. 15); Hastings, *St Stephen’s*, 103-04.

⁷⁰⁶ “*Die lune v die Marcij [1352] [...] Johanni Brocher pro j navata creti empta pro reparacione muri retro stallos in eadem capella ix s.*” (E 101/471/6 m. 15); 23rd April 1352 “*Et predictis vij cementariis operantibus [...] super le reredos ex parte boreali capelle ac super scapulacionem petrarum pro muris iuxta pontem Regine per dictos v dies operabiles cuilibet eorum per diem v d.: xiiij s. vij d.*” (Ibid., m. 19). Ibid., m. 16, 21.

⁷⁰⁷ Hastings, *St Stephen’s*, 103-06; Robert Willis and John Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1886), I, 354.

⁷⁰⁸ “*Et in vadiis vj carpentariorum removementum dictos stallos cum framat’ in capella predicta ac operancium super levacionem diversorum panellorum pro le reredos dictorum stallorum ad nunciandum et demonstrandum eidem thesaurio et aliis de concilio Regis modum et formam predictorum stallorum viz. per {duas} ij septimanas mensibus Julij et Augusti quilibet ipsorum per septimanam ij s.: xxxvj s.*” (E 101/471/5, m. 3).

⁷⁰⁹ “*Et in vadiis iij carpentariorum deponentium le reredos dictorum stallorum per vj dies mensis Septembris quilibet ipsorum per diem vj d.: ix s*” (Ibid., m. 3). “*Et de xxxij li. x s. viij d. receptis de vendicione de rerdos*

No further works on the stalls were recorded until the latter half of September 1355 (documents somewhat fragmentary). This was followed by additional evidence of works on 27th May 1356 and between 5th June 1357 and 4th June 1358 (Appendix III/M.T.2, N.T.1) with sporadic references thereafter lasting up till 1362. When work resumed on the stalls at the end of September 1355, matters were further complicated by the introduction of a new master carpenter, Edmund of St Andrew, an Augustinian canon. Edmund's work on a 'clausura' at St Stephen's were also noted in a late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century compilation of the *Secretum Philosophorum* wherein he was praised for his works of sculpture and ingenious engines (Plate 186).⁷¹⁰ His replacement of the former master carpenter at St Stephen's might well have indicated a deliberate attempt by the patrons to distance themselves from the previous design. It is difficult, however, to tie this change in master to a change in working practice. It seems likely that some elements such as the seats were continued from the stalls' previous iteration. No further wood for the stalls was purchased during this period, the only indication of the works' progression being a payment for two "flabella" on 11th January 1356.⁷¹¹ However, as the stalls' underlying structure seems to have been largely in place at this point, it is likely that Edmund's arrival coincided with a shift towards more decorative features. The lengths of wood, logs and boards involved in the stalls were probably those recorded in the 1356 inventory (Appendix V/C), further indicating that they were yet to be installed. However, its expenditure by the June 1357 inventory indicates it was probably in place by this date (Appendix V/D). Still less evidence survives for the 1357-58 works, but the craftsmen involved were persistently identified as 'talliatores' rather than carpenters, a word connoting precise cutting to an exact shape or size. It is thus likely that this latter period involved intricate carving and finishing of an established structure.⁷¹² This is further supported by a reference to eleven sculptures being made for the stalls during this time by William de Patrington,⁷¹³ indicating perhaps that the final stages were underway. Edmund was still employed as 'master of the stalls' ("*magister stallorum*")

stallorum predictorum venditis monialibus de Berkyng per preceptum et ordinacionem tunc {sen'} thesaurarii Anglie" (Ibid., m. 1).

⁷¹⁰ Bodleian MS Rawlinson D. 1066, fol. 26v; Colvin, *HKW*, I, 520-21.

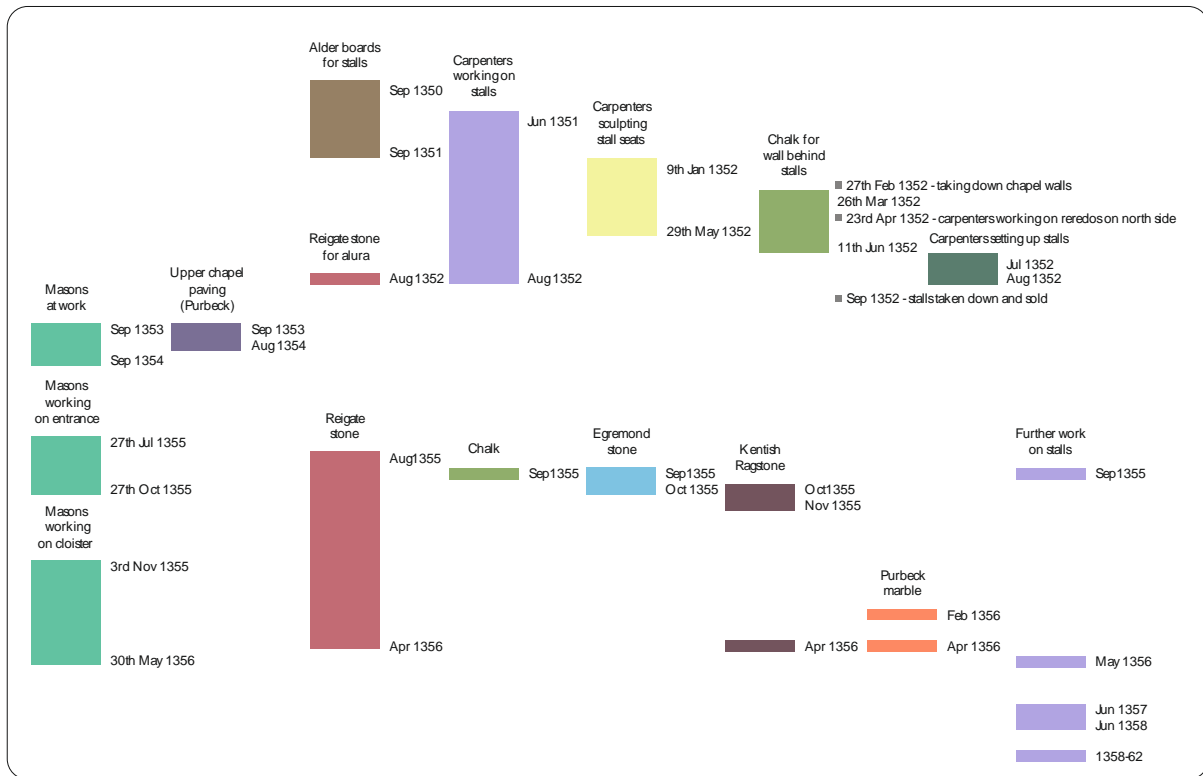
⁷¹¹ "Die lune xj die Januarij [1356] [...] In ij flabellis emptis pro domino Edmundo vij s. x d. ob." (E 101/471/16, m. 4).

⁷¹² 'Tailing' refers to the practice of cutting stones into general shapes.

⁷¹³ E 101/472/4, m. 5. William was also employed as a *talliator* between 5th June and 24th July 1357 (E 101/472/4, m. 1).

between September 1360 and September 1362,⁷¹⁴ but it is not clear what further works were being undertaken.

Figure 4.3 – St Stephen’s Chapel 1348-63 Summary



Painting, Glazing and Sculpture

Simultaneously, the 1350s saw an extensive re-imagining of the chapel’s interior through paint, stained glass, gilding and sculpture in wood and stone, rendering it a bright and iconographically intense scheme of opulent colouring, heraldic displays, narrative cycles and stand-alone images. The first steps were taken before coherent accounts of the decoration begin, with the appointment of John Brampton to buy glass in Shropshire and Staffordshire and impress workmen by letters patent of 30th July 1349.⁷¹⁵ Three similar orders were issued in March 1350, one authorising Hugh of St Albans, the master of the painters within the Palace of Westminster, and his companions John Athelard and Benedict Nigtegale to select workers from fourteen counties and two for John of Lincoln authorising selection of glaziers

⁷¹⁴ E 372/206, rot. 46 m. 1-2; E 372/207, rot. 40 m. 1.

⁷¹⁵ CPR 1348-50, 388.

and buying glass in twenty-six (Maps 5-6).⁷¹⁶ The effect of these letters patent may well have been immediate. Investigation of the Pipe Rolls show that materials were first ordered for both somewhere between January and September 1350, records of purchases and expenditure continuing until 19th June 1351 when more precise records are available.⁷¹⁷

For the painting oil was the binding medium, combined in varying quantities with the pigments white lead, 'taint' (an indeterminate off-white colour), ochre, red lake, 'brun' (presumably an earth brown), red lead, vermilion, 'azure' (a blue, probably lapis lazuli or azurite) and verdigris (Appendix III/L.T.1, M.T.1, N.T.2).⁷¹⁸ The use of linseed oil was identified by conservators at the British Museum in the 1970s, pigment analyses confirming the use of red and white lead, red lakes and lapis lazuli.⁷¹⁹ This was further augmented by red and white varnish, gold and silver foil and tin, largely used for 'pryntes' (Appendix III/L.T.2), a feature Smith and Tristram associated with the repeated raised plaster imprints which were recorded throughout the interior by antiquarians and are still extant on the British Museum fragments.⁷²⁰ Moulds were used to reproduce identical tin shapes which were subsequently shaped to the underlying surface and filled with plaster before installation.⁷²¹ These techniques were applied over a range of different areas and degrees of detail, from the block-painting, gilding and print-encrusting of moldings recorded in detail by Carter to the narrative paintings of the walls and east end to the sculptures, fragments of which were uncovered following the 1834 fire.

Painters were employed at Westminster between 1350 and 1363, with particulars of account confirming periods of work on the chapel lasting 20th June 1351-October 1352, 29th September 1353-25th August 1354, 27th July 1355-30th May 1356 and 5th June 1357-4th June

⁷¹⁶ CPR 1348-50, 481, 484, 525.

⁷¹⁷ E 372/197, rot. 47, m.1-2. It is impossible to ascertain from the nature of the records whether painters and glaziers were in employment at this time. Only one reference of payments to a glazier survives for amending the chapel glass.

⁷¹⁸ For pigments see Helen Howard, *Pigments of English Medieval Wall Painting* (London, 2003), 27-35 (azure), 85-95 (verdigris), 97-111 (vermilion), 111-25 (red lake), 125-40 (red lead), 141 (brun), 176-85 (lead white).

⁷¹⁹ Peter C. van Geersdaele and Lesley J. Goldsworthy, "The Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster," *The Conservator* 2 (1978), 9-12. Conservators tested the Job panels. The paintings were primed using a red lead layer and a second red-white lead mix. Colours were applied with mixed underpaint layers followed by purer colour glaze over the top.

⁷²⁰ E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Paintings of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), 57-58.

⁷²¹ Tristram made a connection between this technique and that described by the Italian Cennino Cennini in his fourteenth-century *Libro dell'Arte* (Cennino Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook: The Italian Il Libro dell'Arte*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson (New York, 1954), 78). However, he also shared antiquarian Richard Smirke's opinion that the moulded backgrounds of paintings were a later medieval renovation (*ibid.*, 50).

1358 (Appendix III/L.T.4, M.T.2, N.T.1). Study of the work rates, however, does not reveal an even spread during this period. With numbers of painters generally rising and peaking twice in the mid to high twenties during 1351-52, the initial campaign bears a stark contrast to subsequent periods which showed a significant and increasing reduction in scale over time coupled with an apparent shift in responsibility away from the master painter. Such a fall in activity might well indicate a change in complexity and impetus of the task in hand. The 1351-52 accounts are filled with references to specific painting tasks, most notably images. Initially, painters appear to have been focused around the east end, following a reference of 20th June 1351 to painters working on priming the ‘*fins orientalis*’ along with a ‘*tabulamenta*’.⁷²² This latter feature is difficult to identify as *tabulamenta* is a polyvalent word which could be associated with string courses, many sorts of masonry coursing, any deployment of flat stone surfaces on a wall or otherwise, coping or even, by virtue of its derivation from *tabula*, an altarpiece, possibly to accompany the new Purbeck marble altar for which stone was purchased on 20th July 1350.⁷²³ It can certainly be differentiated from the *tabulae* then being utilised for drawing designs by the painters and glaziers,⁷²⁴ as evidenced by a subsequent reference of 27th June to gold purchased for painting the *tabula* (presumably, though not definitely, the *tabulamenta*) of the chapel.⁷²⁵

More generally, painters were recorded working on ‘*ymagines*’ (‘images’) on 4th and 11th July 1351, repeatedly between 19th March and 30th April 1352 and finally on the subsequent 23rd July. Master painter Hugh of St Albans and the other senior painters were frequently recorded outlining (Latin ‘*protractantis*’) designs for images between 3rd October 1351 and 17th September 1352.⁷²⁶ This does not mean that architectonic painting was not occurring simultaneously. Some tabernacles were certainly being painted and gilded at this time: gold foil was purchased for tabernacles from 14th November 1351 to 16th July 1352, and from 12th March 1352 painters were explicitly employed working on them.⁷²⁷ It is possible, however, that multiple sets of tabernacles were referenced in these entries. March-May 1352 also

⁷²² “*Die lune xx die Junij [1351] [...] Johanni Elham et Gilberto Pokerig’ ij pictoribus operantibus ibidem tam super tabulament’ quam super primacionem fin[i]s orientalis capelle Regis per idem tempus utroque ipsorum capienti per diem x d. viz. per dictos vj dies x s.*” (E 101/471/6, m. 2).

⁷²³ For masonry associations of *tabulmentum* see Salzman, *Building*, 105-06. For the marble altar see CCR 1349-54, 195.

⁷²⁴ References to *tabulae* being washed with ale are frequent throughout E 101/471/6.

⁷²⁵ “*Die lune xxvij die Junij Johanni Lightgrave pro Dc foliis auri emptis pro pictura tabule dicte capelle precij c^e v s.: xxx s.*” (E 101/471/6, m. 2).

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.*, m. 7-27.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*, m. 16-24.

included frequent references to painters working on the walls of the chapel, implying that such a distinction was necessary (though this could also refer to priming the surface for painting).⁷²⁸ Yet equally the word ‘image’ was apparently used relatively interchangeably between two-dimensional murals and three-dimensional sculptures – some were certainly “images in the walls of the said chapel” (“*ymagines in parietibus dicte capelle*”), references to which occur on 19th March and 12th April 1352,⁷²⁹ but others were undeniably sculptural. Angels were painted between 30th April and 18th June 1352, presumably corresponding to the twenty angel sculptures made by task work “towards standing in the tabernacles” (“*ad standum in tabernaculis*”) between 20th June 1351 and 29th September 1352, and the other sculptures carved during this period were probably likewise painted at this time (see below, Table 4.5).⁷³⁰

Fewer such references appeared in subsequent periods. Though no specific references occurred 1353-54, images continued to be mentioned in the 1355-56 accounts, particularly through materials prepared for their painting and decoration (primarily gold leaf, ‘prints’ and false gems called ‘*doublets*’).⁷³¹ Some of these were tied to specific images, but in the main they were unassociated. After this point, however, references to image work dwindled still further along with the number of craftsmen involved. Some sort of painting must have continued – pigments and other materials for painting the chapel appear in the 29th September 1360-14th November 1362 and 25th September 1362-1st October 1363 enrolling periods and a letter patent of 4th June 1363 ordered William de Walsyngham to impress painters in the City of London for the St Stephen’s works.⁷³² Yet the significant reduction in scale remained. The implication is that the majority of the narratives, images and other intricate painting tasks were completed 1350-52, with subsequent work increasingly shifting emphasis towards finishing off the architectural painting elements. With the design work presumably largely completed direct supervision by a master was a less pressing requirement. Such a response would be consistent with a shift in pigment ordering, as relatively few purchases are recorded and of those extant the vast bulk were red and white lead, the two priming colours identified

⁷²⁸ 19th March to 21st May 1352 (E 101/471/6, m. 16-20).

⁷²⁹ “*Die lune xix die Marcij [1352] [...] Johanni Elham, Gilberto Pokerigh’ et Willelmo de Walsyngham iij pictoribus depictantibus ymagines in parietibus dicte capelle per idem tempus cuilibet eorum per diem x d.: xv s.*” (Ibid., m. 16). Ibid., m. 18.

⁷³⁰ 30th April-18th June (Ibid., m. 19-22).

⁷³¹ E 101/471/11; E 101/471/15-16.

⁷³² E 372/206, rot. 46; E 372/208, rot. 40d; CPR 1361-64, 345.

in the 1970s.⁷³³ A similar observation was made by Tristram who posited that the vast majority of the chapel's painting was finished by the end of the first set of accounts.⁷³⁴ In practice, this likely indicates a relatively early date range for the majority of paintings on the chapel interior.

The known elements of the painted programme were of diverse subject matter, format and position. The easternmost bay is the best understood, being well recorded by antiquarians and for some areas still extant. The east wall incorporated a two-level programme divided by a central reredos (Plates 187-88) comprising as follows: the upper left an adoration of the magi; the lower left a sequence of the king and his sons (Edward, Lionel, John, Edmund and Thomas) led by St George; the upper right a sequence from right to left of the annunciation to the shepherds, adoration of the shepherds and presentation at the temple; and the lower right a series of female figures.⁷³⁵ Emily Howe identified the latter as Queen Philippa, Isabella, Joan, Mary and Margaret, reasoning that these were the only four daughters to survive from infancy.⁷³⁶ However, this identification is highly uncertain. Joan had died tragically in 1348, a year before workmen began to be impressed for the project, and though a posthumous portrait is plausible this would contrast sharply with the absence of the deceased children William (died 1337), Blanche (died 1342) and Thomas of Windsor (died 1348) (see Family Tree). This is further complicated by visual disparities between the five figures. Though all were dressed in identical star-encrusted clothing (Plate 189), the first two women wore large crowns and the next two apparently wore coronets (the latter recorded in outline only). The final figure, separated spatially and angled perpendicular to the others, was bareheaded and diminutive. Howe considered these changes indicative of comparative status, but did not explore how such status was determined.⁷³⁷ Two possible explanations can be advanced. Firstly, it is possible they were differentiated by age, as Mary and Margaret were both minors during the paintings' conception and execution. However, such differentiation was not expressed in the costume of Edward's sons, and would require Joan to be discounted from the sequence, leaving an additional unidentified figure on the outer edge. A stronger alternative is that the foremost figure's larger crown indicated Philippa's status as Queen, leaving one living possibility for the other figure: Edward III's mother, Isabella of France (died 1358). If

⁷³³ Geersdaele and Goldsworthy, "Restoration," 9, 11

⁷³⁴ Tristram, *Wall Paintings*, 53-54.

⁷³⁵ See Family Tree.

⁷³⁶ Emily Howe, "Divine Kingship and Dynastic Display: The Altar Wall Murals of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster," *The Antiquaries Journal* 81 (2001), 270-73.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

correct, this would leave the female figures as Philippa and Isabella of France (order indeterminate), followed by Isabella, Mary and Margaret.

Elements identified with the altar reredos including a pinnacle, sculptural drapery fragment and crowned female head were uncovered after the fire of 1834 and were recorded by the printmaker and watercolourist John Wykeham Archer (Plates 190-91).⁷³⁸ Beneath the arcading of the southeasternmost bay were angels spreading intricately decorated cloths flanked by young tonsured men bearing candles, and the north and south wall lower cornices featured a programme of heraldry upheld by grotesques.⁷³⁹ Immediately above this on the surface between the mullions were narrative sequences, some still extant in the British Museum consisting of the Book of Job on the north and Book of Tobit on the south of the easternmost bay (Plates 192-93).⁷⁴⁰ There was space for sixteen of these images within each window. Further angels adorned the spandrels of the main windows and two images of the warrior saints Eustace and Mercurius were recorded by Smith in one indeterminate location beneath the inset ogees of the chapel piers at arcading level (Plates 194-95).⁷⁴¹ In addition, Smith recorded a painting of the martyrdom of St Eustace originally from the same position as the narratives in the southwestern bay of the chapel (Plate 196).⁷⁴² Another two drawings of martyrdoms (saints James the Less and John the Evangelist), alas no longer extant, were produced by Adam Lee, an employee of Wyatt who displayed them in an exhibition of his *Cosmoramaic Views of the Palace of Westminster* in 1831. The catalogue identified them as “taken from the walls of the chapel” implying some degree of accuracy to an original subject.⁷⁴³ Miniature versions of these formed part of his surviving imaginative

⁷³⁸ This identification was made by Mackenzie who recorded the location in which they were uncovered. Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 21.

⁷³⁹ Mackenzie’s print of the arcading includes an outline sketch of an angel from another section of the chapel (Plate 134), indicating perhaps that this was continuous across the interior where the arcading remained uninterrupted.

⁷⁴⁰ The direct source of these scenes is unknown and they take some liberties with biblical narratives. The birth and sending forth of Job’s sons were condensed into a single panel (Job 1:2, 1:4) and the calling of the daughters to feast with the sons was presented from the daughters’ perspective in a departure from its Vulgate source. The death of Job’s children, originally described by a messenger (Job 1:18-19), was converted into a real-time depiction apparently preceding the two messengers’ arrival before Job (Job 1:14-19). Other scenes include Zophar the Naamanite speaking to Job (Job 11:1-20; 20:1-29; etc.), Eliu (‘*Helii*’) admonishing Job’s false comforters (Job 32:3-22) and, on the opposite side, swallows’ dung falling into Tobias’ eyes (Tobit 2:11), Tobias’ marriage feast (Tobias 11:21), Tobias and Tobit offering alms to a disguised Raphael and the angel revealing himself to them (Tobias 12:1-22).

⁷⁴¹ Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*, 28.

⁷⁴² Smith, *Antiquities*, 154.

⁷⁴³ Adam Lee, *Description of the Cosmoramaic Views, and delineations of the ancient Palace of Westminster, and St. Stephen’s Chapel, exhibiting in the room of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, Pall Mall, East* (London, 1831), iii, 31.

reconstruction drawings of the interior, where despite their outlandish setting the design of these images was eminently plausible and contrasted starkly with its entirely imagined counterparts (Plate 197). That these martyrdoms were placed by Lee in the same bay as the St Eustace might well indicate their original location. A further scene placed in the same section of a different, unspecified bay was identified by Smith as a much mutilated Susanna and the Elders in 1807, but the accuracy of this assertion is questionable.⁷⁴⁴

Textual evidence from this period indicates the production of several three-dimensional images, tabulated below (see Table 4.5). The first of these, St Stephen (1351-52), was probably freestanding as between 5th June 1357 and 4th June 1358 an ironwork stand was made for it. A similar assumption might well be made regarding the image of the Virgin for the Lower Chapel (1355). Patronal images of this type were a common occurrence by the earlier fourteenth century and the two images (mapping neatly onto the probable disposition dual dedication of the space) would likely have been stationed close to their respective altars.⁷⁴⁵ The other sculptures provide greater difficulties of placement. The twenty angels already mentioned (for which ten thuribles were purchased in May 1352) were placed within the tabernacle canopy, though it is difficult to ascertain their precise positional relationship.⁷⁴⁶ Similarly, statues of three kings (1351-52) were made “towards standing in the tabernacles of the chapel”. As none of these can be tied numerically to any known number of tabernacles from the chapel interior, it is therefore likely that we are dealing with several sets of tabernacles at this time, a supposition already posited above. A position beneath the tabernacles atop their consoles is unlikely – the twelve available slots do not tie up numerically with any combination of the twenty angels and three kings and an anonymous drawing of c. 1640 depicting the opening of Parliament records the decapitated remains of their non-angelic former occupants (Plate 198).⁷⁴⁷ Whilst not enough detail remains to identify them iconographically, it is likely from their number that they represented a set of twelve Apostles much like those attached to the Sainte-Chapelle piers and the later choir of Cologne Cathedral (Plates 199-200). Antiquarians often showed the angels attached to the chapel tabernacles as these references indicate, and some variation on this arrangement appears to be the most plausible interpretation. The vast majority of sculptures and their

⁷⁴⁴ Smith, *Antiquities*, 154.

⁷⁴⁵ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Thrupp, 2004), 71-77.

⁷⁴⁶ E 101/471/6, m. 19, 20, 27d.

⁷⁴⁷ These might be associable with the numerically telling 24 great pieces of Egremont stone in chapel found in the 1357 inventory. (E 372/202, rot. 40d m. 1).

iconographies produced in this period remained unrecorded. The stone repeatedly used for the named sculptures in this period were carted from the quarries at Egremond near Dunstable, and there are many references to additional orders of Egremond stone throughout 1355.⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, image-carvers such as the much-used William de Patrington were frequently recorded working on site during this period, even when the specifics of their working task were not identified.⁷⁴⁹

Table 4.5 – Images, 1352-58

Date	Sculpture	Accounts	Reference
1351-52	20 Angels (A)	<i>“Et Willelmo de Padryngton cementario pro factura xx angelorum ad standum in tabernaculis capelle ad tascam capienti pro quali ymagine vj s. viij d.: vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d
1351-52	John le Wayte (B)	<i>“Et <eidem> pro factura cuiusdam ymaginis vocate Johannis le Wayte de petra de sua propria invencione ad tascam xxvj s. viij d.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d
1351-52	3 kings (C)	<i>“Et eidem Willelmo pro factura iij regum ad standum in tabernaculis capelle de petris Regis ad tascam capienti pro quali ymagine liij s. iiij d.: viij li.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d
1351-52	2 Sergeants-at-Arms (D)	<i>“Et eidem Willelmo pro factura ij ymaginum ij servientium ad arma de petris Regis ad tascam viz. pro [quali] ymagine iiij li.: viij li.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d
1351-52	1 great image of Saint Stephen (E)	<i>“Et eidem Willelmo pro j petra empta pro quadam ymagine sancti Stephani x s.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d
1351-52	2 Sergeants-at-Arms (D)	<i>“Et eidem pro ij petris emptis pro ij ymaginibus predictorum ij servientium ad arma xx s.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 27d

⁷⁴⁸ Cartloads of Egremond stone were ordered 30th August, 21st and 28th September and 5th and 12th October 1355. E 101/471/15, m. 2-3; E 101/471/16, m. 1.

⁷⁴⁹ William de Patrington was paid for working on an image on 16th May 1353 (E 101/471/11, m. 1).

19 th March 1352	2 Sergeants-at-Arms (D)	<i>“Eidem pro cariagio eiusdem cum ij aliis petris emptis pro ymaginibus ij servientium ad arma de Dunstaple usque Westm’ x s.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 16
19 th March 1352	1 great image of Saint Stephen (E)	<i>“Willelmo Padryngton’ pro j magna lapide empta apud Dunstaple <pro> quadam ymagine sancti Stephani inde facienda x s.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 16
21 st May 1352	20 Angels (A)	<i>“Magistro Hugoni de Sancto Albano pro x turribilis emptis pro angelis infra tabernaculas x d.”</i>	E 101/471/6 m. 20
10 th August 1355	Mary (F)	<i>“Ricardo Lakenham pro quodam [sic] ymagine sancte Marie empto pro inferiori capella lxxj s. viij d.”</i>	E 101/471/15 m.1
2 nd October 1355	Mary (F)	<i>“Eidem pro xxvij prentis emptis pro ymagine sancte Marie vij d.”</i>	E 101/471/16 m. 1
26 th October 1355	Mary (F)	<i>“Die lune xxvij [sic, recte xxvj] die Octobris Magistro Hugoni pro lx doublettis emptis pro ymagine beate Marie xv s.”</i>	E 101/471/16 m. 2
11 th April 1356	Saint George (G)	<i>“Ricardo Lakenham pro ymagine sancti Georgij empta pro capella lx s.”</i>	E 101/471/16 m. 8
5 th June 1357 to 4 th June 1358	Saint Stephen (E)	<i>“Idem computet soluisse Magistro Andree ... pro j ferramento stanni empto pro ymagine sancti Stephani in grosso xxvj s. vij d.”</i>	E 101/472/4 m. 5

The chapel’s glazing was more chronologically condensed than its painting. Though materials for stained glass were ordered from 1350, glaziers appear regularly in the chapel accounts in two distinct periods: between 20th June 1351 and the first full week of March 1352 and 27th July 1355 to 30th May 1356 (Appendix III/L.T.4, M.T.2). The first was an extensive, organised workshop, governed by up to seven master glaziers engaged principally with design (but occasionally with painting) with between six and thirteen (usually twelve) glass painters, ten to eighteen glass joiners and occasionally additional colour mixers. By

contrast the second featured only a single master supported by two-three other glaziers.⁷⁵⁰ Later glass purchases are equally sporadic, appearing in parallel with painting accounts 1360-1363. This indicates that the glazing was largely completed in its initial campaign. Some details regarding its sequence can be gleaned from references to the surrounding ironwork. ‘*Soudeletts*’, the iron bars for attaching glass into windows, were purchased during the 1350-51 period and from 20th June 1351 to 5th March 1352.⁷⁵¹ Of these the first (20th June) were expressly “for the east window of the chapel”,⁷⁵² indicating an initial eastern focus in keeping with the pattern of the painting. This broader trend is further confirmed by two entries in early July 1351 which record metalwork being purchased for fixing stones in the eastern parts of the chapel.⁷⁵³ A purchase of ninety *soudelettes* on 1st August 1351 “*pro fenestris superioris capelle*” indicates that by this stage work had moved on to other windows.⁷⁵⁴ It is thus likely that the glazing moved from east to west along with the painting, following a shifting scaffold. Little can be stated regarding the glazing’s imagery or appearance – the glass had entirely vanished by the time the chapel was systematically recorded in the decades surrounding 1800, but during the Wyatt restorations some fragments were uncovered embedded in the plaster filling which Smith drew carefully (Plates 201-203).⁷⁵⁵ These fragments help to confirm what little can be gleaned from the materials ordered for the glazing. Large quantities of silver filings (“*lymail argenti*”) for yellow staining were used throughout, along with periodic orders of white, blue and ruby glass and the iron oxide (“*arnement*”) and gum arabic required for black staining (Appendix III/L.T.3, M.T.1).⁷⁵⁶ Smith’s engravings also included purple and green elements, but these could have been purchased either in payments for ‘diverse colours’ of glass or one of the many gaps in the records. Identifiable elements in the fragments include figures, a Christ, scrolls with texts, borders, architectonic elements, a bird, lush foliage and the royal arms, both the lion of England and the newly adopted fleurs-de-lys of France. Richard Marks has suggested

⁷⁵⁰ Salzman and Marks proposed a division of labour between masters who executed cartoons and the glaziers who made it in the first period (Salzman, “Glazing”, 16; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), 44). Nevertheless, though they seem to have functioned primarily as designers, there are frequent occasions on which master glass-painters are paid for working on images in the accounts.

⁷⁵¹ E 372/197, rot. 47 m. 2; E 101/471/6, m. 2-15.

⁷⁵² “*Die lune xx die Junij [1351] Idem computat in lxj soudelettis emptis de Magistro Andree fabro pro fenestra orientali capelle et que expendisse [sic] in eadem ponderantibus lj lb. precij lb. ij d.: viij s. vj d.*” (E 101/471/6, m. 2).

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, m. 2, 3.

⁷⁵⁴ “*Die lune primo die Augusti [1351] [...] Eidem pro iij^{xx} x soudelettis ferri emptis pro fenestris superioris capelle ponderantibus ciiij^{xx} xvij lb. precij <c^e {per v}^{xx} xij lb.> lb. ij d.: {xxv} <xxxij> s.*” (E 101/471/6, m. 4).

⁷⁵⁵ Smith, *Antiquities*, 234.

⁷⁵⁶ For techniques used see Salzman, “Glazing,” 14-16; Marks, *Stained Glass*, 38.

stylistic similarities with the remaining fragments from the Ely Lady Chapel, but as to their overall programme no inferences can be drawn.⁷⁵⁷

On the surface, Edward III's campaigns had three main themes – completion, decoration and reorganisation. By 1348 the building's material fabric was roofed and ready, but it was not in use. Even following the college's 1348 foundation it was necessary to restore St-Stephen's-by-the-Receipt for it to continue in its role as temporary chapel.⁷⁵⁸ It is not known from which date the chapel was first used, but it is safe to say that its transition into a functional royal space was protracted, and the structure cannot be considered a completed royal chapel until the 1360s. In addition, perhaps more than any ruler considered thus far, Edward III's works at St Stephen's were intimately responsive to changes of political circumstances throughout his reign. Described by Mark Ormrod as "one of the most image-conscious kings of the later Middle Ages",⁷⁵⁹ Edward was deeply sensitive to the role of art, architecture and iconography in medieval politics and this combined with the dramatic and rapid shifts in social, economic and international affairs during his reign provide fascinating insights into royal architectural causality.

Beyond France: Edward III, the Sainte-Chapelle and the Palatine Chapel Discourse

At first glance, the relationship between Saint Stephen's Chapel and its continental counterparts appears couched within the conventional framework of foreign influence on royal agency outlined in the above chapters – one facilitated in part by travel and international political interests. Like his father, grandfather and great-grandfather before him, Edward III had been directly exposed to the pageantry of the French court, in his case at a young and impressionable age under difficult circumstances. In September 1325, aged twelve, his father created him Duke of Aquitaine and sent him to join Queen Isabella and pay homage to the French king Charles IV (1322-28), a decision which resulted in a long sojourn in France, including Paris.⁷⁶⁰ This lasted until July the following year when the now openly rebellious queen took her son to Hainault to negotiate a marital alliance for the deposition of her husband.⁷⁶¹ During this time the future king was able to see the Sainte-Chapelle at its

⁷⁵⁷ Marks, *Stained Glass*, 161.

⁷⁵⁸ E 101/470/18, m. 2-5.

⁷⁵⁹ William Mark Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III* (Stroud, 2000), 57.

⁷⁶⁰ Ormrod, *Reign*, 31-34.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 37-39; Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 46-47.

most splendid, as he attended the coronation of Charles's third wife, Jeanne d'Evreux, there on 11th May 1326.⁷⁶² Edward's patronage, thus, would have been informed to a certain degree by personal experience of French artistic parallels and it is thus plausible that some elements of the Sainte-Chapelle were reflected in the completion and decoration of his own royal chapel.

Like his father, Edward III inherited an unfinished building which was manifestly the product of an emulative mode of thinking, one which now reflected multiple planning phases under two monarchs each engaging with French models in an idiosyncratic manner.⁷⁶³ Any new interventions were thus in part already tied into prior iconographic choices which imposed their own formal demands upon subsequent plans. Yet Edward III's French sojourn was not his only potentially formative encounter with continental exemplars. His experiences in Hainault in 1326 and during his 1330s attempts to form alliances to oppose the French monarchy gave him a broad grounding in the architectural, iconographic and ceremonial developments surrounding rulers within the Low Countries and Western Empire. The young king visited Cologne in late August 1338, closely followed by an impressive ceremony at Koblenz the following 5th September where he was crowned Vicar General of the Empire.⁷⁶⁴ Contemporaneously, he entertained and enjoyed the hospitality of the major cities of Hainault, Brabant and Flanders, venerating the major relic cults in local churches, organising tournaments and feasts and engaging in diplomatic negotiations and military planning.⁷⁶⁵ Though the architecture of St Stephen's was largely completed by 1335, works continued long after this point and may well have been directly responsive to these experiences. Indeed, as has previously been established, the diverse range of potential sources for St Stephen's formed not a series of examples from which discrete, self-contained copies could be made, but a continuing process of engagement with a discourse of palatine building which raised the building to the same level as its continental competitors.

That said, engagement with the Sainte-Chapelle in this period was not passive, but active. The reign saw a change of tone in which interactions with its Parisian counterpart became aggressive, brash and provocative. Territorial tensions on the continent and resistance to

⁷⁶² Carla Lord, "Queen Isabella at the Court of France" in *Fourteenth Century England II*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson (Woodbridge, 2002), 47-52.

⁷⁶³ See above, 93-107, 144-50.

⁷⁶⁴ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 201-03.

⁷⁶⁵ Mary Lyon, Bryce Lyon and Henry S. Lucas (eds), *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340* (Brussels, 1983), 206-09.

French royal dominance were constants during Edward's reign. Even before war broke out in 1337 Edward was subjected to repeated humiliations by two French monarchs. In 1327 he was forced by Mortimer's regency to accept a settlement formalising the unavenged land confiscations of the War of Saint-Sardos, and after Charles IV died without issue in 1328 his claim to the French throne was passed over in favour of Philip VI of Valois (1328-50).⁷⁶⁶ Occurring within the first two years of his reign, these events unsurprisingly set the tone for future developments. Under the new king, the issue of liege homage and Edward's disinclination to resubmit to it fully continued to be a source for grievance which gradually intensified. Throughout the 1330s, Philip's continued meddling in English politics within Scotland, repeated demands for full homage and pressure on the remaining English lands in Aquitaine rendered armed conflict almost inevitable by cementing historically prevalent antagonisms.⁷⁶⁷ This resulted in Edward's commitment to war, negotiation of alliances, instigation of armed conflict and, finally, the formal resumption of his claim to the French throne in 1340, a direct challenge to Philip's right to rule backed by military force. Competitiveness with the French monarchy was therefore a powerful *leitmotif* of the early part of the reign, something bluntly expressed in the architecture and decoration of St Stephen's during the 1330s-50s.

The most direct of these was the use of martyrdom imagery. As argued above, the early 1340s saw the creation of a series of martyrdom bosses for the Lower Chapel vault, a choice directly paralleled in the Sainte-Chapelle murals (Plates 58-63, 204). Consisting of the martyrdoms of Saints Stephen, John the Evangelist, Katherine, Margaret and Lawrence, the choice of martyrs reflected the dedications of chapels and churches within Westminster. Saints Stephen and John represented the two principal palace chapels, Lawrence the private oratory adjoining the Painted Chamber, Margaret the nearby parish church and Katherine the hospital chapel on the borders of Westminster Abbey and the Palace gardens. In this they paralleled the Sainte-Chapelle murals whose martyrs were matched carefully to relics in the surrounding area, but differed severely in idiom as they lacked the multi-layered iconographic finesse and intricate planning of their Parisian counterpart.⁷⁶⁸ This theme was sustained in the Upper Chapel as well, wherein martyrdom and its typological forebears formed the focus of the narrative murals on the north and south walls. Imagery of the violent

⁷⁶⁶ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 64-65; Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 67-68.

⁷⁶⁷ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 170-79.

⁷⁶⁸ Branner, "Medallions," 1-42; Guerry, "Wall Paintings," 170-264.

deaths of Eustace, James the Less and John the Evangelist combined with the stories of Job and Tobit (also expressed within the Sainte-Chapelle glass) and the tribulations of Suzanna formed a common theme of retained faith in the face of torment and sacrifice. Even considering our lack of knowledge regarding the decorative programme's full extent, these blunt links give the impression of representing the cliff-notes of the Sainte-Chapelle's design rather than an intimate and concerted effort to reproduce the interlaced subtleties of its iconography, but this is unsurprising. Even in cases of exact functional parity between structures, true copying of the underlying principles of composition for painted decoration is rare in this period, and Edward III's artistic response represented the demands of a non-specialist observer reacting almost a hundred years after the original's probable date of design, filtered through the artistic tendencies of idiosyncratic English painters. This same tonal shift may have been expressed in the probable apostle statues of the pier tabernacles, the systematic covering of the entire interior surface with lavish paintwork in the colours of the royal arms and the proliferation of angels across the interior.

Its architecture was equally direct and combative in tone. Edward III's decision to add a clerestory during the 1330s,⁷⁶⁹ a perplexing intervention accompanied by an artificial reduction of the existing window space for the purpose of incorporating murals, can be explained by the additional height it granted which permitted the Upper Chapel to equal or exceed the Sainte-Chapelle in internal height. In terms of architectural thinking it is analogous to the steel spike placed on top of the Chrysler Building in 1930 to secure the title of world's tallest structure from the rival Bank of Manhattan Building, a mode of competition based on exceeding known measurements which was a widespread means of establishing architectural excellence within medieval architecture.⁷⁷⁰ St Stephen's was now not just proportionally and structurally similar to the Sainte-Chapelle in its ground plan and elevation, but dimensionally equivalent. A similarly blunt challenge occurred in institutional terms. Following his return to England in the aftermath of the Crécy campaign (1346-47), Edward III refounded the chapel as a collegiate institution on 6th August 1348. With the possible exception of St George's Chapel, Windsor (itself a post-Crécy phenomenon), there is no indication of anything like the college in England prior to this date.⁷⁷¹ In continental terms,

⁷⁶⁹ See above, 135-37.

⁷⁷⁰ Joseph J. Korom, *The American Skyscraper 1850-1940: A Celebration of Height* (Boston, 2008), 415-16; Binski, "Heroic Age," 4-11; Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, 13-43.

⁷⁷¹ Clive Burgess, "St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequence" in *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 74-79, 82-96. For the chapel's apparent

however, the establishment of twelve canons as a permanent college based within the principal royal palace deliberately aped the scale of the Sainte-Chapelle's organisation after 1318.⁷⁷² Combined with the enlarged complement based at its sister college in Windsor, the college's foundation provided an effective institutional challenge to the French monarchy's principal chapel.

However, as for Edward's forebears, French connections were not the sole context for the chapel's appearance. Innovation and variety remained important means for establishing architectural excellence, part of which consisted of the synthesis of broader influences within the palatine chapel discourse beyond France. Some elements of the decorative scheme possessed multiple potential sources, indicating that they represented general tropes of chapel design rather than specific quotations from particular exemplars. The Sainte-Chapelle was no longer the only source for apostle statues – similar sculptures would have been visible around the piers of the inner choir of Cologne Cathedral at the king's visit in 1338 and an alternative local source was available in St Etheldreda's, Holborn (1284-86), indicating that by the end of the thirteenth century this had become a staple of great church and ecclesiastical palace chapel design as well.⁷⁷³ Cologne may also have provided an influence on the choir stalls, specifically their relationship with the interior's painted decoration. The Cologne choir stalls equally consisted of wooden seating before an inserted stone backdrop of c. 1332-49, intricately painted with narratives of Christ and the saints and serving as a screen (Plate 205).⁷⁷⁴ Though the St Stephen's paintings were associated with windows, not a main arcade, they displayed an analogous mode of thinking in their positional relationship with and visibility above the stalls themselves and intercurrent insertion into an existing architectural component. A similar arrangement could be found closer to home in the mid-thirteenth-century tapestries depicting the life of Christ and Edward the Confessor which once adorned the choir of Westminster Abbey to which Cologne provided a painted masonry

foundation and composition, see Nigel Saul, "Servants of God and Crown: the Canons of St George's Chapel, 1348-1420" in *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 97-116.

⁷⁷² CPR 1348-50, 147; Sauveur-Jérôme Morand, *Constitutions des Trésorier, Chanoines et Collège de la Sainte-Chapelle Royale du Palais* (Paris, 1779), 31; Burgess, "St George's," 77.

⁷⁷³ The Cologne statues are conventionally dated c. 1290. Paul Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300* (New Haven and London, 1995), 196-97. For St Etheldreda's, see above, 88, 105.

⁷⁷⁴ R. Quednau, "Zum Programm der Chorshrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980), 244-77.

counterpart.⁷⁷⁵ Further variety was introduced by deploying older imperialising aesthetics of architectural display. The significant investment in a marble pavement for the Upper and Lower Chapels recalls Westminster Abbey's late-thirteenth-century Purbeck matrix Cosmati pavements.⁷⁷⁶ Employment of marble was not uniquely imperial – the use of Purbeck marble for stairs in the chapel cloisters was paralleled by the use of black marble for the stairs of the ceremonial '*grands degrez*' entrance built into the cloister-like passageway between the Sainte-Chapelle and Grand Salle in the Palais de la Cité shortly after 1298.⁷⁷⁷ Yet this simply serves to reinforce the notion that the use of decorative marbles and their *romanitas* implications were shared, universal components of the ongoing discourse of palatial design.

Imperial and contemporary royal precedents were not the only contributors to this tradition. Like many before him, Edward III's works at St Stephen's represented a self-conscious response to Old Testament, particularly Solomonic, examples. This was not an entirely new departure. The dimensions laid out by Edward I were based proportionally and absolutely on both the Sainte-Chapelle and, more directly, the ground plan of Solomon's house and temple,⁷⁷⁸ but the addition of the clerestory disrupted the internal 3:1:1.5 length:width:height ratio on which this congruence relied. By contrast, Edward III pursued Solomonic models through interior decoration. Most notable amongst the extant decorative programme is the extraordinary focus on angels. Angelic forms were crammed into every available surface of the interior – filling the blind arcades expansively, packed tightly in the spandrels above, standing in the 'tabernacles' of the Upper Chapel or making music in the Lower Chapel vaults (Plates 206-207). Like the carved, wall-mounted cherubim described on the walls and furnishings in Solomon's temple,⁷⁷⁹ the painted angels stood wing to wing surrounding the central volume, those in the arcades spreading drapes within a flowered, paradisiacal space, and those above elongated and contorted to match the framing elements of the compartmentalised blind tracery and standing on stylised clouds. Associations drawn with the temple through angels peopling architectonic elements were not without precedent. The obvious source for its deployment at St Stephen's would be the Sainte-Chapelle with its crown-bearing and censuring angels adorning the spandrels of the blind arcading (Plate 208), but these elements had already been absorbed into English decorative practice. By the

⁷⁷⁵ Paul Binski, "Abbot Berkyng's Tapestries and Matthew Paris' Life of St Edward the Confessor," *Archaeologia* 109 (1991), 85-100.

⁷⁷⁶ See above, 32-33.

⁷⁷⁷ Whiteley, "Deux Escaliers," 133.

⁷⁷⁸ See above, 95.

⁷⁷⁹ 1 Kings 6:29.

fourteenth century there was already a strong local tradition of sculpted angels adorning the spandrels of English churches including Westminster Abbey (executed before 1253) and the angel choir at Lincoln (1256-80) which included a set of musician angels above the main arcade (Plates 209-10).⁷⁸⁰ Whilst the St Stephen's angels were within the same tradition as these earlier examples there were important differences. These were far more specific in their Solomonic references, with the angels identified visually as cherubim specifically through the peacock feathers of their wings which echoed the many-eyed cherubs of Ezekiel's visions, and the angels surrounding the sanctuary with opulent silken cloths referenced those draped around the Mosaic tabernacle and the temple sanctuary.⁷⁸¹

Other potential Solomonic indicators include the marble floor which was also paralleled in the 2 Chronicles description of the temple and the porch which, whilst structurally aping the spatial organisation of the Sainte-Chapelle counterpart in its vaulting disposition, shared with its biblical progenitor a longitudinal axis perpendicular to the main body permitting entrance from the north and south ends.⁷⁸² A more unusual point of comparison was provided by the 1350s sculptures of Sergeants-at-Arms and a figure called John le Wayte. Sergeants-at-Arms, whose heightened political activity and trusted status as executors of the king's will were idiosyncratic features of Edward's government, acted as the household component of the king's bodyguard and carried the responsibility of sleeping and standing watch outside the king's chamber.⁷⁸³ Similarly, John le Wayte was a *vigilator* or wayte of the king's household, a form of minstrel-cum-watchman appointed to cry out the nightly hours and guard against dangers such as fire and attack, appearing regularly in household accounts between 1342 and 44 and as late as 1357-58.⁷⁸⁴ Thus, both the Sergeants-at-Arms and John le Wayte figure performed the same function as the men who the Song of Songs describes guarding Solomon's chamber with "every man's sword upon his thigh, because of fears in the night", an iconography already associated with Sergeants-at-Arms in the reign of Henry III

⁷⁸⁰ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 39, 68-73; Thomas Heslop, "The Iconography of the Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral" in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context. Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. Paul Crossley and Eric Fernie (London, 1990), 151-58.

⁷⁸¹ Exodus 26:1-13; 2 Chronicles 3:14.

⁷⁸² 2 Chronicles 3:4, 6.

⁷⁸³ Edward II's 1318 household ordinances defined their numbers, equipment and function. Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, 21-22; Richard Partington, "Edward III's Enforcers: The King's Sergeants-at-Arms in the Localities" in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. James S. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), 89-101.

⁷⁸⁴ Richard Rastall, "The Minstrels of the English Royal Households, 25 Edward I – 1 Henry VIII: An Inventory," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 4 (1964), 16, 19; Rastall, "Pipers and waits in the English royal households, c1290-1475: issues of identity and function," conference paper, 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, May 11, 2007, accessed July 13 2014, <http://www.townwaits.org.uk/essays/piperswaitssh.pdf>.

through the imagery surrounding the Painted Chamber's bed.⁷⁸⁵ Whatever their final location, their incorporation into the St Stephen's programme represented a Solomonic association articulated through a named individual within Edward's household and his Sergeants-at-Arms. Even the act of impressing craftsmen from across the kingdom, though doubtless catalysed by the economics of post-Black Death England, may have carried iconographic implications. Solomon too in the completion of his great palace works issued impressment orders and gathered materials, craftsmen and labourers from across his kingdom, compelling the service of thousands in the making of the house and temple.⁷⁸⁶ The king was self-consciously Solomonic in his palatine chapel programme, combining established dimensional modes of expression with a new, increasingly personalised approach to Old Testament material.

Edward's employment of imperial, royal or biblical archetypes (the palatine chapel discourse's canonical elements) for material, dimensional, formal or iconographic purposes at St Stephen's combined considerable continuity with his predecessors' iconographic impetuses with a subtle change in idiom. This tonal shift towards active, aggressive competition with France was matched by a refreshed and creative re-engagement with other diverse sources. Rejecting typological associations of proportion in favour of dimensional one-upmanship, this new balance combined pointed references to archetypes and traditions with carefully cultivated artistic innovation on a grand and lavish scale. However, this process of repositioning the chapel in relation to its French and other predecessors was not the only influence exerted by the developing tensions between England and France. Indeed, through the chapel's painted and sculptural decoration the opening salvos of the Hundred Years' War were to have a lasting impact not just on the chapel itself, but on the royal self-depiction as a whole.

A Post-Crécy Shift: Iconographic Choices at St Stephen's before and after 1346

Considered as a chronological sequence, Edward III's iconographic choices at St Stephen's and beyond reveal a perceptible shift in mode during his reign. At its core were questions not of a royal building's position in relation to foreign and biblical exemplars, but an internal

⁷⁸⁵ "*en lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israhel omnes tenentes gladios et ad bella doctissimi uniuscuiusque ensis super femur suum propter timores nocturnos.*" Song of Songs, 3:7-8. Binski, *Painted Chamber*, 39-40, 42-43.

⁷⁸⁶ 2 Chronicles 2:2, 17-18.

discourse of self-imaging in which the conventional approaches to constructing royal identity established by Plantagenet rulers were gradually overturned. During the 1330s decoration was purely sculptural and consisted of a traditional set of images firmly established within the conventions of Plantagenet iconography. The 1333 Edward and the Ring statues' association with established traditions of imagery has already been discussed, but its implications for wider processes of royal self-imaging warrant closer attention. Its prominence on the chapel's east gable rendered St Stephen's the riverside public face for the entire palace, resulting in a simultaneous interplay of space, place, history and self-identity by which the living monarch was placed into a three-way typological relationship between himself, his canonised forebear and the location with which both were indelibly associated, Westminster. A similar game was at work in the martyrdom bosses of the Lower Chapel vault, which reflected both their local context and longstanding Plantagenet devotions at Westminster. This establishment of typological continuity between past and present devotion within the royal space was nothing new, and would doubtless have been familiar to Henry III. At the point repeated disruptions to building forced a break in the decorative programme in the earlier 1340s, there was no indication of any unconventional developments in the chapel's image production.

When work of this kind resumed in the elaborate painted, sculptural and glazed programmes of the 1350s-60s, however, it is immediately apparent that a dramatic change in emphasis had occurred. Though the martyrdoms and angels displayed some degree of continuity with the earlier work, the new schema incorporated significant departures including Old Testament narratives, a revived emphasis on heraldic display and innovative iconographies. The traditional saints of the 1330s were replaced by an unprecedented emphasis on warrior saints, martial display, Saint George and the Three Magi. Though Edward III himself featured prominently at the head of his family within the programme, the relationships on display between the living king and his surroundings were unprecedented in England. Such an extensive difference is unlikely to have occurred without some kind of underlying change in political circumstances, and by far the most immediate, extensive and iconographically relevant shift in Plantagenet fortunes of the period was the war with France culminating in the Crécy campaign of 1346-47.

The decision to focus on this aspect of contemporary political activity is not arbitrary. Years of near-continuous military activity throughout the 1330s and 40s saw Edward

transformed from an increasingly bankrupt pretender to an active and highly successful contender for the French throne, having resoundingly defeated one of the greatest powers in western Christendom on the battlefield. That St Stephen's was integral to celebrating this victory through patronage and devotional activities can be demonstrated by a patent roll of 1453, which records that the bells for the chapel's projected belltower were cast "after his triumph in the siege of Calais" for celebrating divine service.⁷⁸⁷ Considered in this context the often martial quality of the chapel's decoration throughout the 1350s would have injected a new note of triumphant militarism into the chapel interior consonant with these changed circumstances. Heraldry was the most obvious field for this – the entire interior was painted in the colours of the royal arms with stencilled alternating blazons of the lion and *fleur-de-lis* adorning the broad *voussoirs* of the chapel, proclaiming the joint monarchy in permanent architectural form (Plate 211). Equally complicit in this association with Edward's triumph was the heraldry of the lower crenellated cornice overhanging the blind arcading. Taken together, these shields read like a heraldic roll of arms organised in a hierarchical sequence from the king through his family to all the great lords and nobles of England, an arrangement gifted a heightened military emphasis through the positioning of the arms of Saints George, Edward the Confessor and Edmund the Martyr at their head (Plates 212-13; Table 4.6).⁷⁸⁸ These had served as the battle banners of England since Edward I,⁷⁸⁹ and at Stephen's as on the battlefield they served to unify the community of the realm, binding king, family and nobility together into a cohesive entity.

Table 4.6 - Lower Cornice Heraldry

	King	Royal Family	Earls	Barons
EAST				
NORTH			SOUTH	
<i>Argent, a cross gules</i>	St George	Richard Fitzalan	<i>Quarterly gules a lion rampant or and checky or and azure</i>	
<i>Azure, three crowns or</i>	St Edmund the Martyr	Robert Ufford Earl of Arundel and Surrey	<i>Sable, a cross engrailed or</i>	
<i>Quarterly France and England</i>	Edward III King	Ralph Stafford Earl of Stafford	<i>Or, a chevron gules</i>	

⁷⁸⁷ CPR 1452-61, 113-14.

⁷⁸⁸ For the relationship between similar hierarchical architectural displays and rolls of arms see Michael Michael, "The Privilege of 'Proximity': towards a re-definition of the function of armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 55-74.

⁷⁸⁹ Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), 53, 56-57.

	<i>Azure, a cross patonce between five martlets or</i>	St Edward the Confessor	William de Montagu Earl of Salisbury	<i>Argent, three fusils joined in fess gules</i>
	<i>Quarterly France and England impaling Hainault</i>	Philippa of Hainault Queen	Thomas Holland Earl of Kent	<i>England, over all a bordure argent</i>
	<i>Quarterly France and England, over all a label</i>	Edward the Black Prince Duke of Cornwall and Prince of Wales	Lawrence Hastings Earl of Pembroke	<i>Quarterly or, a maunch gules and barry of argent and azure, an orle of martlets gules</i>
	“	Lionel of Antwerp Earl of Ulster	William Clinton Earl of Huntingdon	<i>Argent, six crosses fitchy sable, on a chief azure three mullets pierced</i>
	“	John of Gaunt	John de Vere Earl of Oxford	<i>Quarterly gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet argent</i>
	“	Edmund of Langley	Edward Despenser Baron Despenser	<i>Quarterly argent and gules fretty or, over all a bend sable</i>
	<i>Quarterly France and England</i>	Thomas of Woodstock	William Latimer Baron Latimer	<i>Gules, a cross patonce or</i>
	<i>Sable, a chevron between three estoiles or impaling [defaced]</i>	Unknown, possibly later	Hugh Courtenay Earl of Devon	<i>Or, three torteaux, over all a label azure</i>
	<i>England, over all a label azure semy of fleurs-de-lis or</i>	Henry of Grosmont Earl of Leceister and Lancaster	Henry Percy Baron Percy	<i>Or, a lion rampant azure</i>
	<i>Azure, on a bend argent, cotised or, between six lions rampant or, three mullets gules,</i>	William de Bohun Earl of Northampton	James Audley Baron Audley	<i>Gules fretty or</i>
	<i>Gules, a fess between six crosslets or</i>	Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick	John Chandos	<i>Or, a pile gules</i>
	<i>Barry or and azure, on a chief or two pallets between two base esquires azure, over all an escutcheon argent</i>	Roger Mortimer Earl of March	John Sutton Baron Dudley	<i>Or, a lion rampant vert</i>
	<i>Gules, a saltire argent</i>	John Neville Baron Neville	Henry Beaumont Baron Beaumont	<i>Azure semy of fleurs-de-lis, a</i>

	[defaced]	Unknown	John de Grey	<i>lion rampant or Barry of argent and azure, a bend gules</i>
	<i>Checky or and azure, a fess gules</i>	Roger Clifford Baron Clifford	Unknown	[defaced]
WEST				

Such a concept is consonant with the kingdom's shift in internal stability before and after the 1346-47 campaign. Whilst those who had aided Edward in the deposition of Mortimer in 1330 were an extremely loyal core of followers, their consequent unusually rapid advancement into the upper echelons of nobility in 1337 generated considerable criticism amongst the established magnates.⁷⁹⁰ These tensions were amplified in 1340-41 during the king's prolonged altercation with his Chancellor John Stratford which created a rift with his ministers and Parliament who protested openly against Edward's actions.⁷⁹¹ Furthermore, the prolonged, expensive and ineffective warfare propagated before the Crécy campaign and pretentious quality of his claim to the French title generated further unease.⁷⁹² Even though Mark Ormrod has argued that Edward was never in any danger from his nobility, this is not to say that this would have been apparent to the king at the time.⁷⁹³ Edward was all too aware of the dangers of royal instability – his father was deposed and killed after an unstable reign dominated by clashes with a recalcitrant baronage and of the ten preceding monarchs since the Norman Conquest, only three had an uncontested succession and of those only Edward I was not challenged by civil war. Yet the 1346-47 campaign's success changed this situation completely. The war involved virtually everyone of note in England from the great magnates down to the lesser nobility and victory not only vindicated the king's strategy and claims, but also created a powerful, enduring bond of unity. At St Stephen's, the heraldry served to convert this new unity into a more permanent form by articulating it visually. This was quite alien to earlier usage of architectonic heraldry within ecclesiastical spaces such as those on display in Westminster Abbey (c. 1253-59) and York Minster (1291-1320), which emphasised patronal contributions, feudal hierarchies and international genealogical

⁷⁹⁰ Caroline Shenton, "Edward III and the Coup of 1330" in *The Age of Edward III*, edited by James S. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), 13-34; Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 137-38.

⁷⁹¹ Ormrod, *Reign*, 24, 26-29; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 229-46.

⁷⁹² William Mark Ormrod, "A Problem of Precedence: Edward III, the Double Monarchy, and the Royal Style" in *The Age of Edward III*, ed. James S. Bothwell (Woodbridge, 2001), 133-53.

⁷⁹³ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 245-46.

connections with other monarchs.⁷⁹⁴ This capacity for understanding military heraldry as a unifying force is further confirmed by the near-contemporary Hugh Hastings brass executed for his tomb in St Mary's Church, Elsing after his death due to sickness contracted during the Siege of Calais in 1347.⁷⁹⁵ A leading knight who had fought in Scotland, Flanders and France including the battles of Sluys, Crécy and Calais, Hastings's choice to be flanked by armigerous figures of the lords under whom he served (including Edward) speaks volumes about heraldry's capacity to express military ties iconographically.

A principal agent of this process was St George, the figure whose burgeoning cult and appearance as a national patron is generally ranked amongst Edward's principal achievements.⁷⁹⁶ Whether in the banners acting as constant companions to the English army or the heraldry and image of the saint leading the king in veneration at St Stephen's, George's presence provided iconographic cement for the bond between king and nobility through shared devotion. However, the process by which George was transformed into a national saint was indicative of more fundamental changes evidenced in the St Stephen's programme, his presence in heraldic and figural form acting as lynchpin for the articulation of monarchy in the east end display. At the start of Edward's reign veneration of George was relatively low-key and confined primarily to English armies. Edward I had shown a continuing personal interest in the saint during peace time with alms given on the saint's day and several oblations made to institutions bearing his dedication, but these were by far eclipsed by his other devotions and often associated with military victories.⁷⁹⁷ This may well have been picked up consciously by Edward III, but from his childhood the king had a different, more intimate relationship with the saint than that expressed by his forebears. The Milemete Treatise included a full-page miniature of George presenting the arms of England to the young king (Plate 214).⁷⁹⁸ Though often interpreted as the first indicator of George's future national status,⁷⁹⁹ during the 1320s such imagery implied a more personal link by emphasising the saint's role as a fellow knight – the arms were Edward's own and did not

⁷⁹⁴ Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, 32-33, 76-80; David Carpenter, "Westminster Abbey and the Cosmati Pavements in Politics, 1258-69" in *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements*, ed. Lindy Grant and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot, 2002), 38-41; Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 88-92, 123-25, 278; Michael, "Proximity," 59-62.

⁷⁹⁵ Paul Binski, "The Coronation of the Virgin on the Hastings Brass at Elsing, Norfolk," *Church Monuments* 1 (1985), 1-9; Lynda Dennison and Nicholas Rogers. "The Elsing Brass and Its East Anglian Connections" in *Fourteenth Century England V*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), 167-93.

⁷⁹⁶ Good, *St George*; Ormrod, "Personal Religion," 859.

⁷⁹⁷ Good, *St George*, 57-58.

⁷⁹⁸ See above, 17-18, 109-10.

⁷⁹⁹ Michael, "Milemete Treatise," 39.

necessarily carry nationalistic connotations in every instance of use. By mid-August 1351, however, the king was able to describe the saint in a letter patent to the dean and chapters of St Stephen's and St George's Chapel, Windsor as "the most invincible athlete of Christ, whose name and protection the English race invoke as that of their peculiar patron, in war especially".⁸⁰⁰ That warfare was integral to this process is demonstrated by the Hugh Hastings brass, where the mounted figure of George acted as intercessor between the knight and the crowned Virgin whilst uniting Hugh with his king and commanders in common veneration of a martial saint (Plate 215). What Edward achieved was the iconographic displacement of military saint into a unifying national icon through personal victories on the battlefield and shared private devotional activities. At St Stephen's, thus, St George's position as leading intercessor generated an unprecedented focus on the king as an individual, providing the binding agent for a superimposition of the king's private and public identities (classically formulated by Ernst Kantorowicz as the king's two bodies) into an indivisible entity.⁸⁰¹

This collapsing of king, nation and personal identity at the east end was not limited to Saint George. The same self-mythologizing of Edward's campaigns was also expressed in his relationship with the Virgin and the Three Magi immediately above, all of whom were equally targets of his particular devotion.⁸⁰² The king had been personally associated with the latter since birth – the anonymous but widely circulated *Prophecy of the Six Kings* provided a symbolically dense characterisation of Edward III as an Arthurian-inspired "boar who will come out of Windsor" and prophesied that he would wear three crowns and be buried at Cologne in the company of the Three Kings.⁸⁰³ It is certain that Edward was aware of this prophecy and that it was sufficiently widespread to warrant being addressed personally, as testified by his 1359 public refutation at Westminster of rumours regarding a Cologne burial.⁸⁰⁴ In fact Edward actively courted it when he visited Cologne and venerated the shrine there in 1338, making gifts to the Cathedral fabric fund and other churches in the

⁸⁰⁰ CPR 1350-54, 127.

⁸⁰¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

⁸⁰² Ormrod, "Personal Religion," 857-58, 860-61.

⁸⁰³ Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 20-21. The prophecy was often incorporated into the *Brut* Chronicle. It follows the conventional typological mode of royal imagery, associating Edward with Arthur (as the 'boar out from Cornwall', born in Windsor), Richard the Lionheart, the western Emperors and the biblical exemplars of kingship, the Magi.

⁸⁰⁴ James Tait, *Chronica Johannis de Reading et anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367* (Manchester, 1914), 132-33.

area at the same time in a grand display of largesse.⁸⁰⁵ The east end of St Stephen's continued this process with Saint George guiding the depicted Edward's devotion with an upwards gesture to the Virgin and an eloquent crick of the neck towards the foremost Magus whose prostrate pose before Mary was emulated by the king below. The Magi's importance was further reinforced by a possible second appearance in sculptural form through the three kings carved for an unknown location in 1351-52.⁸⁰⁶ The Virgin too was considered a powerful intercessor for Edward's martial activities, as indicated by a contemporary piece of polyphonic choral music composed for use in an English royal chapel which explicitly enlisted her aid in the conquest of France.⁸⁰⁷ Combined with the king's regular devotions to the Virgin, the east end display emerges as the self-mythologizing centre of a new iconographic type, a form adapted from more widely prevalent donor imagery in which the king appears guided in the company of his personal saintly supporters.

In so doing, it proclaimed to all viewers an underlying architecture of kingship radically different to that of Edward's predecessors. Prior English monarchs had composed their public image primarily through overt associations between the present ruler and past paragons of sacral, saintly, glorious or heroic kingship articulated through patronage, ceremony, public expression of piety and the visual arts, including Arthur (Edward I), Edward the Confessor (Henry III) or the Roman Empire (Henry III, Edward I and Edward II). Edward III, by contrast, was adopting an entirely new strategy which emphasised his contemporary achievements, catalysed by his apparently miraculous victories in warfare attributed to the intercession of saintly companions in arms. Such iconographic displacement was not limited to St Stephen's alone. A Round Table Order was planned and instigated by Edward III in 1344, even going so far as to construct a round building at Windsor, but the idea collapsed over the Crécy campaign and on the king's return was replaced by the order of the Garter, firmly dedicated to George.⁸⁰⁸ This shift from evocation of Arthurian myth to the

⁸⁰⁵ Lyon, *Wardrobe Book*, 206.

⁸⁰⁶ E 101/471/6, m. 27d.

⁸⁰⁷ "*Cesset guerra / iam Francorum, / quorum terra / fit Anglorum / cum decore lilii / et sit concors / leopard, / per quem honor / sit Edwardo, / regi probo prelii.*" Christopher Page, *The Service of Venus and Mars: Music for the Knights of the Garter*, with Gothic Voices and Andrew Lawrence-King, 1986 by Hyperion. CDH55290, Compact Disc, 7-8; Frank Harrison, "Polyphonic Music for a Chapel of Edward III," *Music & Letters* 59 (1978), 420-28.

⁸⁰⁸ Richard Barber, "The Round Table Feast of 1344" in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. Julian Munby, Richard Barber and Richard Brown (Woodbridge, 2007), 39-43; Julian Munby, "The Round Table Building: the Windsor Building Accounts" in *idem*, 44-52; Richard Barber, "The Order of the Round Table" in *idem*, 137-52; William Mark Ormrod, "For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the

personalised saintly cult of an esteemed leader precisely mirrors the chronology of developments at St Stephen's, indicating a more fundamental shift in royal depiction. After 1346 Arthurian and imperial interests were increasingly set aside in favour of the new iconography of the post-Crécy era, closely tied to the king's person through its association with his military triumphs.

What this change amounted to was a shift in emphasis away from typological associations between the king and past exemplars and towards the personality cult of a living individual as central agent in the visual construction of kingship. The first half of the fourteenth century saw two simultaneous developments in the monumental depiction of English kings – a gradual devolution of subject matter from the saintly and legendary to the worldly and accessible, coupled with a collapse of chronological distance from the monarchs depicted. As has already been demonstrated, from the reign of Henry III onwards the imagery of exemplary kings such as Arthur and Edward the Confessor was increasingly joined by kings closer to the monarch's own time, a process which finally collapsed towards the present in the reign of Edward II through the depiction of the life of his father in 1324 and the appearance of himself on the gatehouse at Caernarfon Castle in 1319-20.⁸⁰⁹ The mode of depiction in these images was still typological – the Edward I cycle was contextualised by a quasi-saintly cult which venerated his remains and Edward II's own appearance in triumphal arch form courted imperial connotations actively.⁸¹⁰ However, these developments were part of a wider contemporary European artistic phenomenon in which personal identity and likeness were increasingly prevalent in imagery. The gradual reappearance of portraiture was part of this process. As Stephen Perkinson has argued, from c. 1300 artists around Europe were creating images which audiences could perceive as a reliable means of reproducing the physical appearance of an absent individual.⁸¹¹ Tomb sculpture had long played with representing personal identity through likeness, but identifiable images of living individuals were a later development as exemplified by Boniface VIII's multiplicitous statues erected across Italy (1297-1303), Philip IV of France's statues of himself and his seneschal at the entrance to the *galerie des merciers* in Paris (after 1298), the portrait of John II of France presently within the Louvre (after 1350) and the diverse images of Emperor Charles IV

Order of the Garter" in *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), 13-34.

⁸⁰⁹ See above, 145-47.

⁸¹⁰ See above, 199.

⁸¹¹ Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval England* (Chicago and London, 2009), 32-34.

throughout Bohemia and the Empire (Plates 158-60, 216-18).⁸¹² An undercurrent was going through royal circles and it is no coincidence that the same time saw an increasing elaboration in heraldry through badges, emblems and systems of cadency, which led to ever more specific methods of visual categorisation of individuals and their interrelationship through armorial devices.⁸¹³ This trend represented a developing tendency to project personality into the visual arts by constructing identities moored in contemporary events through recognisable likenesses. At St Stephen's this chronological aspect was of prime importance – through its heraldry, the firm identification of Edward and his sons through inscriptions and the sculptures of Sergeants-at-Arms and the named 'John le Wayte', the St Stephen's programme was indelibly tied to a particular contemporary moment: the aftermath of the Crécy campaign. Thus locked within the triumphant present at the time of its creation, the king's figure was emancipated from the requirements of fitting into a typological superstructure and emerged as an image of kingship standing on the personal merits of its incumbent monarch.

Yet Edward III did not confine this new iconographic conception to himself. In practice the St Stephen's programme served to co-opt his family into the same matrix in a line of dynastic continuity. Howe has argued that, owing to the prominent presence of images of the king, queen and their sons and daughters, "it is against [the] backdrop of dynastically-oriented worship that the chapel's altar wall murals must be viewed" and asserted that these served as an "expression of Plantagenet dynastic stability", but in so doing made no attempt to relate them to developments in the wider decorative programme and provided little contextual evidence or analysis of the circumstances of the reign.⁸¹⁴ A more detailed attempt to unravel the mechanics behind such an expression reveals a far more extensive scheme for reinforcing dynastic continuity which echoed St Stephen's in its co-opting of future heirs into a pre-established framework. Edward the Black Prince's presence at the forefront of the battle of Crécy allowed him to prove his own merits and establish himself as successor to his father's martial virtues. Furthermore, his creation as Duke of Cornwall (the first time the title was employed in England) in 1337 and investiture as Prince of Wales in 1343 (a title unused since his deposed grandfather was heir to the throne) would have acted in a similar manner to

⁸¹² Ibid., 86, Whiteley, "Deux Escaliers," 133-42.

⁸¹³ Michael, "Proximity," 58; Robert Gayre, *Heraldic Cadency: The Development of Coats of Arms for Kinsmen and Other Purposes* (London, 1961), 23-119; Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic Badges in England and Wales*, 4 vols (Woodbridge, 2009), I, 1-20.

⁸¹⁴ Howe, "Dynastic Display," 259-304.

earlier ceremonies of associative coronation, with the former title's continental origins carrying an added inflection of continuity with Edward III's developing French ambitions.⁸¹⁵ As Prince of Aquitaine from 1362 his already large household grew considerably and there are strong signs that Edward III intended to develop the territory into a self-contained kingdom with its own coinage, courts, treasury and chancellery.⁸¹⁶ These dynastic ambitions were not confined to his eldest son alone. From 1341 onwards Edward III engaged in long-term dynastic strategies involving the majority of his close relatives.⁸¹⁷ His daughter Joan died whilst in transit to be married to Peter of Castile, the son of King Alfonso XI of Castile-León, in 1348, and the king repeatedly demanded that his third son, John, be named successor to the heirless David II, King of Scots.⁸¹⁸ The late 1350s and 60s saw a spate of royal weddings and an attempt to establish his sons as major players within the English aristocracy, and in 1362 Lionel of Antwerp and John of Gaunt were created Dukes themselves.⁸¹⁹

Just as the St Stephen's programme cemented a relationship between king and nobility articulated through saintly intercession, so too were his children co-opted visually into that arrangement. Displayed in a line as crowned knights, Edward's sons formed a visual unit of continuous descent which secured the continuity of this relationship through pictorial association, reflecting later dynastic ambitions for his heirs. This interpretation is further confirmed by the formal appearance of the outermost son, Thomas of Woodstock. Far smaller than its counterparts, placed within a different articulation of perspectival space and positioned atop a unique pair of painted cusped architectonic openings, it is possible that this represented a later addition to the programme. Born 1355, Thomas post-dated considerably the initiation of the east end works and the formal disparity renders it likely that this was painted separately to his brothers and sisters. As his family grew, Edward's updating of the programme indicates both the importance attached to positioning his full progeny within these iconographic arrangements as well as a desire to moor them to contemporary dynastic developments with a view towards posterity. Parallel concerns can be seen in the sculptures adorning the Charles Bridge in Prague (1357-1402), which combined the same elements of ruler (Charles IV), prospective heir (Wenceslaus IV), guiding saint with national overtones

⁸¹⁵ For investitures see Ormrod, *Edward III*, 138, 140-41. Though 1337 predates the resumption of the French title, there is evidence that Edward had considered it since 1336 at least.

⁸¹⁶ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 420; Guilhem Pépin, "Towards a new assessment of the Black Prince's principality of Aquitaine: a study of the last years (1369-1372)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 50 (2006), 59-61.

⁸¹⁷ William Mark Ormrod, "Edward III and his Family," *Journal of British Studies* 26 (1987), 398-422.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 411; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 305.

⁸¹⁹ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 415, 486-87.

(Saint Vitus) and the heraldic summation of the major families of the realm in order to cement the future continuity of a dynasty.⁸²⁰ As a king all too aware of the fragility of royal government, Edward III's St Stephen's programme presented a means of ensuring future stability by co-opting his descendants into his iconographic superstructure of monarchy.

Such developments firmly cemented the king's depiction in a contemporary, historically contingent sphere which looked forward to the future continuation of the Plantagenet line with a view to establishing this new arrangement permanently. It is thus unsurprising that this new conception was not confined to the St Stephen's programme alone. His eventual heir Richard II's Wilton Diptych (c. 1395-99) displayed the king within the company of his personal saints in a repetition of the same mode – the opposing Virgin and angels were converted to part of his personal entourage thorough the repeated application of his White Hart badge, John the Baptist was his birth day saint and even Edward the Confessor, typological saintly predecessor of English kingship, was personalised through his incorporation by impalement into the royal arms (Plates 219-20).⁸²¹ A similar depiction in a now-lost contemporary altarpiece once held within the English College in Rome, described in seventeenth-century accounts as showing the king and his wife flanking a central image of the Virgin to which they symbolically presented the realm of England in globe form whilst being guided by companion saints including John the Baptist and George, reinforces the notion that this new conception of monarchic self-depiction was firmly embedded in the subsequent reign.⁸²² Not only was this relationship innovative, it was also lasting.

Political, Social and Economic Limitations of Building under Edward III

This iconographic shift, however, was not the only result of the king's military endeavours, nor was war the sole set of political limitations which influenced the chapel's construction. Comparison between the building's chronology and its social, economic and political context reveals a lasting impact on the project's timing, the material and organisational factors of its creation and consequently its formal appearance. Edward III's reign was a time of dramatic changes in royal fortunes (military and monetary), governmental institutions and the social

⁸²⁰ Jana Gajdošová, "The Charles Bridge: Ceremony and Propaganda in Medieval Prague," (Ph.D. thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2014).

⁸²¹ Shelagh Mitchell, "Richard II: Kingship and the Cult of Saints" in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monas and Caroline Elam (London, 1997), 117.

⁸²² Dillian Gordon, "The Wilton Diptych. An Introduction" in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monas and Caroline Elam (London, 1997), 24-26.

structure of England as a whole, responsive to the consequences of war, disease and increasing social mobility. Positioned within Westminster itself in close association with the king, his councillors and his administrators (many of whom subsequently became canons of the newly established college), St Stephen's was intricately integrated with the effects of these wider changes and directly responsive to contemporary political events.

In economic terms, royal finances continued to dictate the feasibility and progress of the chapel's construction. It was no coincidence that it was not until after the end of Edward III's minority on 19th October 1330 that the young king reinitiated his father's aborted project.⁸²³ Despite the considerable wealth which it inherited from Edward II, Mortimer's regency had no interest in completing opulent palace chapels and rapidly expended the financial surplus on other matters.⁸²⁴ Though a re-initiation of the chapel's construction was to wait another seven months, such a delay could doubtless be explained by the more pressing adjustments necessary following his achievement of political and financial independence. In this context, the drive to complete St Stephen's on the king's own terms provides a sharp iconographic distinction from Mortimer's regime and further emphasises continuity with his deposed father and venerated grandfather.

Unlike his grandfather, however, it is difficult to tie later developments in the chapel's construction to the king's martial endeavours. Since Edward I, royal funds had become increasingly flexible through the development of a more permanent loan-based financing system. Whereas Edward II's financial policies revolved around stockpiling a large quantity of bullion, Edward III relied on continuous rolling debts to provide cash flow for royal activities, generally supplied via loans secured against future earnings from customs duties and the like.⁸²⁵ With this system in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that the exigencies of wartime finance rarely exerted a direct impact on the financial backing of royal construction. Indeed, the invasion of Scotland in the wake of Edward Balliol's successful incursions of 1332-33 (culminating in the battle of Halidon Hill on 19th July 1333) appears to have had little to no impact on the progress of St Stephen's. However, the increasing involvement of

⁸²³ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 90-92.

⁸²⁴ Fryde, *Tyranny*, 209-10. Isabella and Mortimer contrived to spend £49890 2s. 1½d. out of Edward's £61921 4s. 9½d. reserve in the first four months of their government, and rapidly expended the remainder.

⁸²⁵ Edmund Boleslav Fryde, "Loans to the English Crown 1328-31," *English Historical Review* 70 (1955), 207; Fryde, "The Financial Policies of the Royal Governments and Popular Resistance to them in France and England c. 1270-c. 1420," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 57 (1979), 839; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 110-13.

France in the Scottish cause brought about a rapid escalation of the conflict which, coupled with the peculiar pressures of a cash-starved economy, was to have a cumulative effect on royal finances. Philip VI's increasingly antagonistic stance ensured that continued attempts to subjugate Scotland ran an increasing risk of simultaneous invasion in the south by a foreign power.⁸²⁶ On 24th August 1336, Edward III received word that the French Parliament had declared willingness to support David II of Scotland's cause with military force and began to make preparations for the defence of the south.⁸²⁷ It is not coincidental that work at St Stephen's ceased soon after this point – accounts from 28th November 1335 recorded the scaffold being taken down and raw materials being placed in storage despite significant parts of the masonry remaining unfinished.⁸²⁸ Like Edward II, however, it was not warfare in general which was the cause of the break, but the added uncertainty of foreign invasion which demanded greater flexibility in financial resources. As in November 1325, once a convenient stopping point had been reached the chapel was shut down. Such an interpretation is supported by the subsequent gap in accounts during which the threat of invasion continued. Throughout summer 1335 French ships openly preyed on English ports, and at the end of September in 1336 a second invasion scare broke out resulting in the raising of an army for the realm's defence.⁸²⁹

By the end of October this army had been dissolved, but the chapel was not immediately resumed. Indeed, the subsequent break must have been further exacerbated by the apparent disappearance of its master mason, Thomas of Canterbury who is generally assumed to have died in the interim.⁸³⁰ Any change of master was certain to cause some delay in construction. Furthermore, subsequent masters never focused on St Stephen's exclusively – William Ramsey (1337-49) superintended as master of the king's masons beneath Trent (“*magister cementariorum domini Regis citra Trentam*”) then “*magister operis pertinentis ad cementeriam in palacio predicto et Turri London*” and John Box (c. 1350-54) as “*cementarius existentis super ordinacione operum Regis tam in palacio Westm' quam Turri Regis London*”.⁸³¹ Regardless, construction's extremely brief resumption from 5th March-14th April 1337 seems somewhat abortive and small scale, comparable to the preliminary

⁸²⁶ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 170.

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*, 173-74; Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 130-32.

⁸²⁸ E 101/470/15, m. 11-12.

⁸²⁹ Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 130-32.

⁸³⁰ Harvey, *Architects*, 243; Wilson, “Origins,” 123.

⁸³¹ E 101/470/2, m. 1; .E 101/470/18, m. 3; E 101/471/6, m. 17.

phases observable in earlier campaigns with the stones stored at the end and not installed.⁸³² A cursory search of the building's immediate political and financial context reveals compelling reasons for sudden curtailment. Following the Parliament of 2nd March 1336 Edward had shifted attention towards an offensive on French soil and was engaged in negotiations for a continental alliance involving the payment of huge sums to foreign rulers.⁸³³ By April 1336 Edward and his advisers knew that they needed £124,000 by the end of 1337 for the first instalment alone and shifted their financial priorities accordingly.⁸³⁴ Under such circumstances, escalation of initial works to a full construction campaign is somewhat unlikely and thus the project's abrupt cessation is unsurprising.

Construction was not to resume until 30th September 1342. Financial limitations only intensified after 1337, accentuated by an increasingly scarce coinage, expanding debts to foreign powers, a broadening range of loans at crippling interest rates and the collapse of the Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses who were the king's primary financiers.⁸³⁵ The chapel rarely received attention during this period, with entries relating to it forming part of the broader maintenance of the Palace of Westminster rather than cohesive campaigns. Furthermore, the rebuilding and repairs of the storage areas and Receipt Chapel (1338-42) indicate that St Stephen's was not likely to be completed until some measure of financial stability had returned. Though the war continued unabated, by the end of 1342 Edward's continental alliance had largely fallen apart and with the corresponding reduction of monetary obligations the king's military finances had become far more stable and manageable.⁸³⁶ Crisis passed, the project could be resumed without risk. Future campaigns were not nearly so costly as that of 1338-40, and consequently building could be sustained more easily despite the additional overhead of warfare.⁸³⁷

Yet war also affected the building materially. Not only did the delays in construction resulting from financial crises open up possibilities for stylistic alteration, particularly with the changeover of masters and craftsmen in the interim periods (as in the case of the new

⁸³² E 101/470/2.

⁸³³ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 191.

⁸³⁴ Edmund B. Fryde, "Financial Resources of Edward III in the Netherlands, 1337-40 (2nd Part)," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 45 (1967), 1146.

⁸³⁵ Fryde, "Financial Problems," 839-40; Fryde, "Financial Resources," 1159; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 111-18, 179-211.

⁸³⁶ Fryde, "Financial Problems," 840-41.

⁸³⁷ The total cost of the 1346-47 Crécy campaign to the wardrobe was £200,000, half that estimated for 1338-40. Ormrod, *Edward III*, 297.

vestibule), but also warfare limited possibilities for international trade in building materials. Piracy and other depredations of shipping were rife even after the Battle of Sluys (1340), and official trade with France was scarcely an option. This is of particular importance considering the prominence of Caen stone in royal construction which together with Rag and Reigate had been the core stones of Plantagenet building since Henry III. The last order of Caen stone was made in October 1334, around the time at which attacks on English shipping began to escalate. When stone purchases resumed in October 1342 they were sourced from Reigate and Pontefract and, from October-December 1347, Bere Regis and Portland (see Appendix III/H.T.1). Though a nine-month truce was brokered on 28th September 1347 (later extended to September 1349),⁸³⁸ no more Caen stone arrived until April 1348 (see Appendix III/J.T.1). Such a delay might conceivably be due to Caen's severe disruption following its brutal sacking in July 1346. Indeed, a profound effect of this shift in stone usage would be visual disparity between the old and new, one which would further emphasise the already prevalent stylistic dissidence of the new vestibule. Limitations from political decisions, thus, could affect significantly the material outcome of building.

Interplay between war and economics was not the only source of relevant socioeconomic change at this time – hanging in the chronological centre of Edward III's campaigns at St Stephen's was the Black Death. Given the resulting vast death toll, it is perhaps unsurprising that an apparent cessation of building occurred in 1348, but this chronological coincidence does not automatically imply a causal link. Accounts certainly break off remarkably suddenly in the week of 4th August 1348 with no indication of the conventional gradual reduction in craftsmen, taking down scaffolding, covering walls or storing materials; an unusual anomaly given no new work was undertaken until 1350 and no cohesive campaign with its own dedicated accounts appeared until 1351.⁸³⁹ Yet whilst this apparently sudden halt might seem to tie remarkably closely with the arrival of the Black Death in England (largely positioned between July and August 1348 by scholars) the Plague's impact was not simultaneous nation-wide.⁸⁴⁰ By most estimates the Plague did not reach London itself until the following November,⁸⁴¹ rendering any premature stoppage in August anticipatory. Regardless, the chaos surrounding the Plague would certainly disrupt works if only through the difficulty in holding together a group of craftsmen, a problem further exacerbated by

⁸³⁸ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 323-24.

⁸³⁹ E 101/470/18; E 372/197, rot. 47.

⁸⁴⁰ Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (London, 1969), 120-21.

⁸⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 156-57; Barney Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Stroud, 2011), 32-34.

deaths among their masters. William Ramsey died around 3rd June 1349, and his successor as master of the masons beneath Trent, John atte Grene, only appears to have lasted until 30th May 1350 when John Box was called up from Canterbury to take over at Westminster and the Tower, events which have plausibly been attributed to the Plague's impact.⁸⁴² Even for individuals with prior experience of the site such as Box who had been employed there in the 1330s, taking over as master in a time of unrest would require a period of adjustment. It is thus unsurprising that when work resumed it was at a reduced level.

The death of a master mason may also have had stylistic consequences owing to his replacement, but this is difficult to judge as Box's cloister does not survive in any form. A better case, however, can be made for its effect on the chapel's iconographic schema. Millard Meiss has observed that uses of the iconography of Job in fourteenth-century Florence and Siena increased markedly after the disease struck and suggested the development of a close visual consonance between the Old Testament figure's diseased body and the outward appearance of the Black Death.⁸⁴³ As such, the focus on Job and his companion sufferer Tobit at the east end of St Stephen's might well reflect similar concerns. In a space for commemorating Edward's family the story of Job would have a peculiar poignancy for a king who lost his own daughter, Joan, to the Plague whilst she was on route to her marriage in 1348.⁸⁴⁴ The placement of the black sores of Job's affliction so close to the ordered ranks of the king's surviving daughters could only render the association more acute.

In addition, the use of impressment orders for painters and glaziers in the period leading up to the building's resumption (1349-50) has frequently been associated with the Plague's economic consequences.⁸⁴⁵ These consisted of commissions for masters and royal officials to compel craftsmen to service, a hitherto seldom-used practice which had not been employed since Edward I's reign.⁸⁴⁶ With a reduced pool of craftsmen to call upon within London, it would be natural to assume that impressment orders were a pressing institutional necessity for large-scale building work, an observation borne out by their increasing frequency after

⁸⁴² Harvey, *Architects*, 31, 124, 243; CCR 1349-54, 226.

⁸⁴³ Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1964), 68; Henk van Os, "The Black Death and Sienese Painting: A Problem of Interpretation," *Art History* 4 (1981), 237-41.

⁸⁴⁴ Mortimer, *Perfect King*, 260. Barney Sloane has proposed that the College's foundation provided a "personal intercessory armament against the impending scourge" (Sloane, *Black Death*, 24-25).

⁸⁴⁵ Phillip Lindley, "The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and Some Assumptions" in *The Black Death in England*, ed. Mark Ormrod and Lindley (Stamford, 1996), 130.

⁸⁴⁶ Knoop and Jones, "Impressment," 57-64.

1348.⁸⁴⁷ However, as Knoop and Jones have demonstrated, the Black Death was neither the catalyst for impressment nor necessarily the chief cause of its use.⁸⁴⁸ Impressment orders were issued for the king's abortive Round Table building at Windsor in February 1344 (420 masons and 300 stone cutters in total), Corfe Castle in April 1345 and the Palace of Westminster in April 1346, though it is unclear whether this was in anticipation of the chapel's 1347-48 campaign.⁸⁴⁹ It is thus still possible that expediency continued to be the chief reason for impressment's employment in the immediate aftermath of the Black Death. Though an impressment order may have been necessary to gather sufficient craftsmen, the same could be said of any project that the king wished to be completed quickly. Speed of organisation placed its own pressures on the supply and demand of labour. Yet it was not short-term effects alone which affected building – as wages increased dramatically in the Black Death's wake impressment orders and their enforcement became increasingly necessary to retain craftsmen at affordable rates.⁸⁵⁰ In 1353 Edward II complained to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex that his workmen at Westminster had withdrawn their labour without leave, and in 1362 this was backed up by orders to sheriffs explicitly forbidding the hiring of masons previously employed by the king without his express command.⁸⁵¹ These developments may explain the additional clause added to a later 1352 impressment commission for painters which gave the master painter Hugh and his Exchequer overseer Martin Ixnyng the right to arrest and imprison any who rebelled against the terms of royal service.⁸⁵² Even so, in August 1360 the king had to authorise the clerk of works to pay masons and carpenters above statute rates in order to retain them.⁸⁵³ It was these second-order economic effects which cemented impressment as the standard means for gathering royal craftsmen, permanently altering the character of the workplace. No longer enticed by higher wages or prestige as they had been in the past, workmen at St Stephen's were now pressed labourers many of whom apparently desired to escape.

At the same time, the period saw an equally extensive shift in the circumstances of patronage. The chapel's re-foundation as a collegiate institution in August 1348 placed a

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸⁴⁸ Knoop and Jones, "Impressment," 63-64.

⁸⁴⁹ CCR 1343-46, 351; CPR 1343-45, 279, 499; CPR 1345-48, 112. For Round Table building see Colvin, *HKW*, II, 870-71; Munby, "Windsor building accounts," 44-52.

⁸⁵⁰ Knoop and Jones, *Medieval Mason*, 111-12, 121-23.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁵² CPR 1350-54, 308.

⁸⁵³ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 184-85; E 101/472/8, m. 7.

new set of functional demands on St Stephen's. Furthermore, the new college's interests had a definite impact on certain aspects of the project's design, furnishing and organisation. Closely associated with the Exchequer, the college and its canons were not only those principally concerned with the chapel's operation, but also those at the centre of the Plantagenet administrative and political machine.⁸⁵⁴ This gave a new inflection to royal agency within the chapel, opening it up to the interventions of royal officials many of whom were semi-permanently based at Westminster and, more often than not, were organising the project finances. The crucial figure in this period was William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, former Keeper of the Wardrobe and Treasurer of England from 12th April 1344.⁸⁵⁵ On 20th April 1346 it was Edington under whose bill the impressment order for the Palace was issued.⁸⁵⁶ Following the deaths of William Ramsey and John atte Grene, it was the Treasurer who was responsible for interviewing and dispensing orders to Master John Box regarding the palace on 4th June 1350.⁸⁵⁷ Based largely in his house at Southwark (within walking distance of the palace), Edington's Bishop's Register confirms that he was present on these two dates.⁸⁵⁸ By contrast, in 1346 the king was recorded at Guildford on 18th April and did not appear at Westminster until 3rd May, and in 1350 he spent 4th June at Windsor, not appearing at Westminster again until 18th June.⁸⁵⁹ Cumulatively, it seems that in the king's absence Edington was taking responsibility for organising all works within the Palace. As discussed above, the Treasurer was apparently directly responsible for the consideration and rejection of the first iteration of choir stalls in August 1352, an association reinforced by his role in ordering their subsequent sale. Similarly, the 1350 interview with John Box carries considerable significance for the chapel, as the only major new construction he was involved with following his appointment was the canons' cloister. From this Edington's direct agency can be inferred for the two specific features of this period closest to the canons' concerns, the cloister and stalls. This would be consonant with his wider interests in the college – with an absentee Dean for much of its earliest phase, it was Edington who appears to have been the principal mover in organising the college statutes which were

⁸⁵⁴ Five out of seven Exchequer clerks and controllers who signed off on the 1331-63 St Stephen's accounts became canons of the college, three from the outset.

⁸⁵⁵ R. G. Davies, "Edington, William (d. 1366)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 20th June 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8481>.

⁸⁵⁶ CPR 1345-48, 112.

⁸⁵⁷ CCR 1349-54, 226.

⁸⁵⁸ Ormrod, *Edward III*, 621-22.

⁸⁵⁹ Dom S. F. Hockey (ed.), *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-66, Part 1* (Winchester, 1986), vii, 15, 114, 136.

sealed in his house on their completion on 8th December 1355.⁸⁶⁰ In addition to Westminster Palace, Edington held responsibility for getting the college up and running and this appears to have applied as much to architecture as to institutional structure.

Edward's reign serves to reinforce notions established in the reigns discussed thus far. With the vast array of funding possibilities available to a fourteenth-century monarch, only the most extraordinary of economic circumstances were capable of enforcing a cessation on royal building. The uncertainty of foreign invasion and total economic collapse remain the principal cause of such modifications to building plans. Royal agency could overcome restrictions generated by political and economic change to a far greater degree than any others. At the same time, however, royal agency was increasingly tempered by external intervention, particularly through the mediating presence of those tasked with accomplishing patronal directives and the developing college. What emerges from Edward's reign, thus, is stronger insight into the conglomerate nature of royal patronage, its composition contingent on the political circumstances which surrounded it. For all his new emphasis on personal identity, Edward III's diversification of patronage and responsiveness to events beyond his immediate control remained endemic aspects of his reign.

Conclusions

More than any other monarch discussed thus far, the St Stephen's of Edward III displays the symbiotic relationship of art and political activity in medieval government. Whether responding to the forced circumstances of economic demands, or adapting existing artistic ideas creatively in response to political impetuses, Edward III's interventions within the chapel design demonstrate close iconographic and functional ties to ongoing processes and underlying changes in the conception royal government and authority. Edward III, the artists which he employed and the advisors who took on increasing responsibilities during his reign were unusually conscious of the power of architecture and the decoration and imagery it contained to convey concepts of rulership and identity to both the present and posterity. The king's continental ambitions, their consequences, his dynastic interests and concerns of civil unrest – the completion and decoration of St Stephen's formed a bold artistic statement responsive to all of these pressing issues, articulating relationships between its viewers, the

⁸⁶⁰ Westminster Abbey Muniments MSS 18431. This work forms part of a PhD thesis presently being completed by Elizabeth Biggs at the University of York.

king, his college and the saints through artistic patronage. The artistic developments of his reign set a new tone for English royal self-depiction, and St Stephen's Chapel played a central role in orchestrating the change.

Conclusions: Architectural Causality in Plantagenet Royal Patronage 1227-1363

Thus far, this thesis has largely explored individualised political circumstances influencing the chapel's construction under separate kings. Its thematic treatment of art and politics at St Stephen's, focusing on the chapel's implications for patronal agency, the relationship between architectural iconography and royal identity, the intersection of building and international relations, and the economic limitations of construction, has revealed interrelationships between diverse political strategies and architectural production across four reigns. However, such specific and temporally localised observations raise a more fundamental question: considered holistically, what can the decisions of four sequential kings and their master craftsmen at St Stephen's reveal more generally about interactions between art and politics for thirteenth- to fourteenth-century English monarchs? Drawing together the strands of argument laid throughout the thesis, it becomes increasingly evident that this question cannot be resolved through the problem's initial thematic formulation alone. Providing a framework for initiating discussion rather than a cohesive structure for understanding royal architectural causality, the four themes discussed above have prompted many additional observations and avenues of exploration which must be addressed. By dividing these into five sections, based only partially on the four themes stated above, this conclusion aims to address this thesis' core question regarding relationships between art and politics by delineating an integrated model of royal architectural causality.

Architecture, Iconography and the Image of Kingship

Whether in Henry III's imperialising and moralising artistic choices, Edward I's emulative engagement with diverse archetypes, Edward II's deliberate reengagement with an established design or Edward III's aggressive challenge to French models and shift towards a self-oriented royal image, all four monarchs considered St Stephen's a focal point for shaping public and private conceptions of kingship. This observation bears two important corollaries. Firstly, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, the four kings exercised direct involvement in the artistic process.⁸⁶¹ Despite many demonstrable instances of delegation, these kings engaged at a variety of distances with their architectural works, corresponding to differing levels of involvement throughout their construction. Royal identity, thus, was a continuous

⁸⁶¹ See above, especially 35-38, 111-12, 138-39.

formative influence at all levels of artistic production in the sense that royal architecture was intrinsically representative of the king and directly responsive to his decisions. Secondly, identity formation at St Stephen's as elsewhere was a cumulative phenomenon, each king adopting, adapting, augmenting and reimagining the iconographic interventions of his predecessors whilst simultaneously encouraging striking innovations. Purbeck marble, with its imperialising connotations and connections with longstanding English traditions, remained a constant presence in its continually reiterated design in the furnishings (1238-40), columns (1290s-1340s), tabernacles (1320s-40s) and floor (1350s). Edward II adopted and adapted the heraldic programme on the upper cornice his father instigated, and Edward III used heraldry again in a new and inventive manner in his east end programme, establishing continuity even as he adapted it into a new and personalised mode of kingship. The proportional system of Edward I gave way to the combative conquest of height under Edward III whilst the Solomonic overtones of the original plan emerged again in the latter king's angelic decoration and other iconographic choices. With each new generation, royal identity was actively adapted through the iconography of the king's works in response to contemporary political demands, generating a dichotomy between established tradition and its modification.

In demonstrating these points a more fundamental critical observation regarding iconographic interpretation has emerged. By drawing out associations between art and politics, this thesis has largely followed convention in viewing political factors as specific 'influences' through which artistic forms can be explained and understood. Architectural iconography treated thus is a secondary, responsive medium of political expression, generating a methodological disjunction between its immediate generation and ultimate causes. In the process of disentangling iconography from its Panofskian roots in the unconscious impetuses of personality (partially inspired by Freudian discourses), scholars' emphasis on concrete 'influences' has often inserted a crampon between art and the evidence for its interpretation.⁸⁶² Such approaches exclude the possibility that royal iconography could itself prove an active political force, marginalising the potential for co-influential relationships between politics and the artistic formation of royal identity. St Stephen's provides evidence to the contrary. Much like the imagery of the Painted Chamber to the south, Henry III's chapel with its Nebuchadnezzar cycle served the purpose of guiding royal

⁸⁶² See above, 21.

behaviour by extravagant exemplar, the educational morality play of good and bad kings exerting a positive influence over present and future rulers.⁸⁶³ This was one of the reasons why typology remained such a constant within Plantagenet patronage: it was an active part of the formation of kingship, made matter in the masonry, painting and decoration of their buildings. By the 1360s St Stephen's invited its worshippers to Solomonic emulation, challenged the scale and opulence of its European counterparts and, in its east end, cemented iconographically a relationship between Edward III, his saints and his nobility which could be passed on to his descendants. Architecture thus activated was a continuous exhortation to political action, its imaging of kingship instilling pious, virtuous and competent governance.

This argument can be extended further. The bidirectional relationship between politics and artistic iconography raises the intriguing possibility that iconographic thinking was not limited to royal patronage alone, but extended into a king's political actions themselves. Many historians have emphasised the practical and pragmatic evaluation of a king's activities, judging success with reference to an actuarial definition of their perceived political aims, implicitly formulated as idealised outcomes. Yet such models struggle in considering a monarch's patronal, ceremonial and symbolic activities as anything but a form of cultural capital serving those aims. This assumption marginalises one central point: that kings believed in themselves and their image. Architectural projects like St Stephen's demonstrate that kings were not only self-aware, but also actively self-forming, and it follows that their capacity to think iconographically about their actions' symbolic implications was more generally applied.

This is of particular interest when considering historical moments which do not fit readily within strictly pragmatist assessments of royal character. Henry III's failed attempt to gain the Sicilian throne for his second son Edmund from 1258-63 has been judged an ill-conceived venture from the start, in particular as a source of grievance for the 1258 Provisions of Oxford and resulting political instability.⁸⁶⁴ However, the lure of self-definition as a king above kings, quasi-imperial in his capacity to exert sovereignty over other monarchs, provided a symbolic incentive which proved greater than the opposing practicalities of the king's military, financial and political capacity, leading him to accept the offered throne

⁸⁶³ See above, 66-69.

⁸⁶⁴ For a summary and challenge to this position see Björn Weiler, "Henry III and the Sicilian Business: a reinterpretation," *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 127-50.

heedless of more cautious counsel. A similar lure lay behind Edward I's armed interventions in Wales and Scotland, with the iconographic formulation of the English monarchy (in particular Arthurian and imperial) forming as powerful and active an influential factor as the more pragmatic aims it has been claimed to serve.⁸⁶⁵ Perhaps the most potent example is Edward III's assumption of the French throne (1340), which has primarily been judged a necessary course of action taken purely to gain Flemish allies for his military campaigns and bargaining power, readily discarded for its political leverage.⁸⁶⁶ Yet there are strong indications that Edward III's action reflected a long-term desire to enforce his claim. John le Patourel has argued that despite Edward's supposed willingness to abandon the title for territorial concessions at the 1344 Avignon peace negotiations, draft treaty at Guines and the First (1358) and Second Treaties of London (1359), only in the latter case was the initiative from the English side and even the possibility attracted bitter criticism from his nobility.⁸⁶⁷ Indeed the king generally displayed active commitment to his cause right up to the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360, nowhere more so than the ultimately unsuccessful Reims campaign of 1359-60.⁸⁶⁸ Targeting first the French coronation city, then Paris, this has been dubbed a 'coronation campaign' with the serious aim of legitimising his claim over an all-but-defeated enemy.⁸⁶⁹ Thus his French title could at times prove as much a driving factor behind international politics as *realpolitik* aims, whilst simultaneously acting as a public and symbolic reformulation of the Plantagenet monarchy. As argued in the introduction, iconography was a mode of thinking: kings acted in iconographic ways, and architecture was just one of a number of actions embedded within an extended interchange of identity, the core matrix through which art and politics interacted.

Architectural Interaction, International Politics and Transnational Discourses of Building

Though this thesis has reiterated and demonstrated the importance of interactions between art and international political aims, it has consciously stepped back from established conventions of their interpretation. Engaging directly with questions surrounding the influence of singular building archetypes over St Stephen's, it has proposed an alternative

⁸⁶⁵ See above, 98.

⁸⁶⁶ Ormrod, Edward III, 213-14, 338-39, 393-96, 400-02.

⁸⁶⁷ John le Patourel, "Edward III and the Kingdom of France," *History* 43 (1958), 173-89; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 412.

⁸⁶⁸ Le Patourel, "Edward III," 176-79.

⁸⁶⁹ Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000), 386-418; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 400-01.

framework focused on its building genre: palace chapels. De-emphasising Krautheimerian notions of medieval copying which resulted in the chapel's labelling as an English Sainte-Chapelle, it has shifted away from the architectural iconographer's search for original sources towards a study of originality. Consistently throughout its construction history a notable feature of St Stephen's was its capacity to combine diverse typological, stylistic, material and symbolic traditions creatively with innovative responses to external stimuli. In charting these developments, the influential role of archetypes has been de-emphasised in favour of the traditions which generated them, leading to the proposition of a 'palatine chapel discourse' of design which encouraged artistic independence within established inherited frameworks. Form, function, ground plan, the material iconography of building (marble) and the space's decoration all responded to a shared discourse which extended deep into the medieval past, antiquity and even the Old Testament. This historicising mode of design, forming a cumulative iconographic palimpsest, was not simply an associative process of political appropriation at St Stephen's, but opened up a variety of tones dependent on the interests and concomitant circumstances of its patrons and designers.

Tone, thus, was a major variable in international architectural interactions. A large proportion of this thesis has, perhaps unsurprisingly, focused on the relationship between St Stephen's and France.⁸⁷⁰ Two persistent trends in its previous interpretation have been significantly undermined by this thesis: rivalry as the underlying drive for cross-Channel interactions and the accompanying notion of French cultural hegemony. Rivalry, fandom and the associated notion of artistic superiority were not the only modes in which rulers could react to external exemplars, and at St Stephen's links with the Sainte-Chapelle were responsive to a range of tones including Edward III's cultural aggression, Edward I's emulative yet non-subordinate adaptation and Henry III's partial diffusion.⁸⁷¹ Furthermore, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that international associations did not revolve exclusively around interaction with France, and instead entered a far broader network of intersections including the Eastern and Western Empires, the Old Testament and numerous other local and international sources. Consequently, in thirteenth-fourteenth-century English royal architecture at least, it is necessary to modify the notion of France as a dominant cultural force, and instead assert a transnational mode of architectural interaction. This is not

⁸⁷⁰ See above, 50-58, 93-107, 184-91.

⁸⁷¹ See above, 54-58, 93-102, 185-88.

proposing a shared ‘court culture’ of the kind opposed in the introduction.⁸⁷² Instead, this observation suggests a continuous, multidirectional process of interchange within royal traditions of building which accumulated new exemplars over time and provided frames of reference for any new project. Archetypal buildings like the Sainte-Chapelle neither possessed a monopoly on invention nor were opposed to these traditions, contributing instead to an accumulative body of standing design tropes which acted as potential departure points for master masons engaged in royal works.

Yet despite this assertion, the archetype cannot be removed entirely from the historical model. Even once reduced to tropes within an extended discourse, certain buildings did command authority within their genre, much like the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁸⁷³ Where was this authority founded? Form or function? Style or iconography? The Sainte-Chapelle certainly attracted functional emulation, such as Emperor Charles IV’s series of chapels at Castle Karlštejn near Prague (1348-65) and Charles V of France’s ‘Sainte-Chapelle’ at Vincennes (founded 1379, completed by the 1480s) both of which incorporated relics translated directly from their Parisian reference point, and itself represented a Byzantine tradition of palatial relic shrines.⁸⁷⁴ Yet artistic interaction did not necessarily equate with transposition of an archetype’s cultural value: form and function were not inextricably bound. Under Edward I and Edward III (possibly, though less certainly, Henry III), St Stephen’s responded directly to the Sainte-Chapelle in its proportions and decoration, yet the two institutions were never functionally equated. Despite numerous opportunities, St Stephen’s never became a relic chapel nor a space which drew upon French theological notions of sacralised kingship. Its stark contrast with Charles IV’s chapels in this regard, completed at a near-contemporary date, indicates that kings and their artists could pick and choose freely from their source material, as the Emperor did with his variegated marble walls and personalised portraiture.⁸⁷⁵ Archetypal status belonged to those buildings which could innovate within the guise of tradition, selectively and inventively rearranging existing motifs and ideas, and did not convey authoritative dominance over an architectural genre.

⁸⁷² See above, 22-27.

⁸⁷³ Krautheimer, “Introduction,” 2-20.

⁸⁷⁴ Paul Crossley, “The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia” in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks and Anthony J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 2000), 132-56; C. Billot, “La Sainte-Chapelle de Vincennes,” *Information Historique* 48 (1986), 49-57.

⁸⁷⁵ Crossley, “Presentation,” 146; Jiří Fajt, *Magister Theodoricus, Court Painter of Emperor Charles I: Decorations of the Sacred Spaces at Castle Karlštejn* (Prague, 1997).

Courts and Institutions

Disassociating these transnational connections from conceptions of ‘court culture’ and ‘court styles’, however, does not mean that the institutions surrounding the king should be omitted entirely from royal architectural causality. This thesis has elaborated considerably on questions raised in its introduction regarding the role of ‘courts’ as the basic units of cultural interaction and their centrality within architectural narratives. In the process it has emphasised the role of institutions and individuals over an amorphous court in the creation of St Stephen’s, observations which cumulatively provide an alternative interpretation of the human context of building founded in dialectic between master masons, the Exchequer clerks who paid them and audited their accounts, and the patrons who ordered their works.

As St Stephen’s aptly demonstrates, the organisation of the king’s master craftsmen was still individual rather than institutional throughout this period. Despite titles like William Ramsey’s ‘master of the lord king’s masons beneath Trent’ (“*magister cementariorum domini Regis citra Trentam*”) and John Box’s ‘mason appointed over the ordination of the king’s works in the Palace of Westminster and the King’s Tower of London’ (“*cementarius existentis super ordinacione operum Regis tam in palacio Westm’ quam Turri Regis London’*”), Colvin’s assertion that the ‘king’s works’ was yet to develop as a formal institution is borne out by the chapel’s history. Such superintending roles, much like that of John of Gloucester under Henry III, usually did not last beyond a lifetime (the only exception being John atte Grene’s succession to William Ramsey’s position which lasted less than a year), and were thus individualised and specific rather than representative of an institutionalised structure. However, the lack of formal organisation did not prevent master masons and their subordinates from being frequently recycled and reused throughout royal service, disappearing and reappearing in royal accounts as they were passed from task to task.⁸⁷⁶ New St Stephen’s, with its multi-generational construction history, provides a potent example. Despite long hiatuses and changeover of kings and masters, the works show great continuity in personnel with Michael of Canterbury being re-employed after a twenty-three-year lapse and eventually replaced in 1323 by Thomas of Canterbury, himself supplanted by William Ramsey whose family had worked on the project for generations.⁸⁷⁷ John Box was the only apparent outsider, but even he was brought in from Canterbury like his

⁸⁷⁶ Colvin, *HKW*, I, 179-85, 201-10.

⁸⁷⁷ Harvey, *Architects*, 213-18.

predecessors.⁸⁷⁸ Yet even within a continuous project like St Stephen's, its organised group of craftsmen was a body in a constant flux of structure and personnel, reorganised and resized continuously in response to funding, the personal inclinations of the individuals in charge, availability of workers and the present state of works. Multiple masters (masons, carpenters, painters, glaziers etc.) and their *apparillatores* or equivalents performed a spectrum of roles from consultation to direct intervention in a continuous collaborative effort of intersecting responsibilities. Thus despite the distribution of a group of trusted masters across multiple royal projects (Michael of Canterbury at Cheapside Cross (1291-94), William Ramsey at the Tower (1335-42) and John Box at Queenborough Castle (1361 onwards)),⁸⁷⁹ it is impossible to construct royal building as a clear, structured organisation. Instead every project reflected a constantly changing, multiplicitous agency by its designers and manufacturers, each with an individualised relationship between themselves, their project and the king who ordered it.

However, the recurrence of craftsmen within royal service did have a formal and practical effect on royal patronage in developing internal traditions of building. The retrospective ascription of a 'royal art policy' to medieval monarchs may have been resoundingly rejected by recent scholars,⁸⁸⁰ but the recurrence of craftsmen in royal service throughout this period was analogous insofar that it was a conscious repetition of individuals who could be trusted to render royal commands in architectural form with an appropriate opulence, expense and craftsmanship. The experience of men in those circumstances might naturally develop certain repertoires of motifs and means of thinking about motifs within royal service,⁸⁸¹ if only through their regular re-employment and the continuing requirements placed upon them to complete established projects or adapt new work to old. It has been commented that William Ramsey excelled at completing works designed by others and contributing to them where necessary in a sympathetic style,⁸⁸² and a practiced hand at artistic integration certainly was one of the advantages of re-employing established king's masons, a process facilitated by their enhanced knowledge both of the buildings in question and the institutions which surrounded their construction. However, as Ramsey readily demonstrated with the 1347-48 vestibule, such tendencies were non-prescriptive and admitted freely original departure from established forms. Re-employment was doubtless indicative of talent or, rather, the ability to

⁸⁷⁸ Harvey, *Architects*, 40.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 52, 216; Wilson, "Origins," 31, 226-27, 479-81, 483-85, 724-28, 793-803.

⁸⁸⁰ See above, 23-25.

⁸⁸¹ Such patterns have been traced by Wilson, most recently in connection to St Augustine's Bristol. See Wilson, "Gothic Metamorphosed," 95-111.

⁸⁸² Wilson, "Origins," 185-226.

fulfil royal demands, and the capacity to originate within traditions was a desirable priority in royal architectural design.

Far more consistent in organisation and (usually) prescriptive in their role were the clerks and other officials of the Exchequer and Chancery, who performed a vital, mediating role between an itinerant king and his stationary architectural projects. For New St Stephen's the Exchequer was apparently the principal point of contact, with dedicated Particulars of Account being enrolled in sequence under its clerks and comptrollers.⁸⁸³ However, under Henry III the Chancery was far more significant in disseminating royal orders, reflecting the more cumulative quality of his patronage.⁸⁸⁴ Though evidence of direct involvement appears throughout the chapel's history, architectural agency was generally exercised at arm's length, with works being produced as the local devolved responsibility of sheriffs, clerks and other officers. It is within this group of men in royal service that examples of independent agency under the auspices of the conglomerate king-as-patron appear. An important example is William Edington, whose decisive role in the formation of St Stephen's College was apparently paralleled by an expanded responsibility for its buildings.⁸⁸⁵ His organisation and vetting of the choir stalls and interaction with Master John Box outlined above indicate that a considerable autonomy could be devolved to royal administrators in certain circumstances. This kind of transference places a different inflection on the notion of the king as conglomerate entity. Delegated authority was, on occasion, capable of developing self-determining sub-groups under the banner of royal patronage, further pluralising agency within an already heavily mediated structure of individuals.

Continuity, Change and Family

Another theme emerging from this thesis is family. St Stephen's in particular formed a focal point for a diversity of visual and conceptual exchanges relating to families, genealogy, commemoration and dynastic establishment, their shared element being problems of inheritance. Inheritance, for the purposes of this argument, is defined as a bidirectional term, both retrospective and prospective, which governs the transfer of objects, states of affairs and concepts between human agents. St Stephen's, an architectural project which suffered a

⁸⁸³ See above, 11.

⁸⁸⁴ See above, 35-37.

⁸⁸⁵ See above, 209-10.

prolonged and heavily disrupted construction campaign, was a building which had to deal continuously with such transfers as it was passed from king to king and mason to mason, also serving an iconographic role in positioning current monarchs in relation to their successors and forebears. Manned largely by families, with surnames appearing and disappearing in the accounts over time and frequently passing from master to master, mason to mason, labourer to labourer and even supplier to supplier, the project bred a capacity to respond diversely and sensitively to existing architecture through shared experience of its construction. Artists and patrons alike generated a genealogy of form which could be transferred across generations, accruing new meanings and aesthetic or stylistic features as it was repeatedly reimaged.

One important aspect of this was retrospective interactions between successors and their predecessors.⁸⁸⁶ By proposing a tension between respectful continuity and competitive departure in architectural form for both patrons and master masons alike in inherited architectural projects, this thesis has opposed conventional models of ancestral reverence in favour of a variety of possible tones. Henry III's St Stephen's was subjected to a considerable process of material enrichment and expensive decoration which cumulatively optimised the existing structure to the king's demands, representing just one of many campaigns of renewal for existing royal residences which poured significant resources into improving the homes of his forefathers.⁸⁸⁷ Similarly, Edward I's chapel was instantly retrospectively comparative by its scale and opulence alone, replacing a building deemed insufficient for the contemporary demands of monarchy. This tone was not necessarily actively combative. Even Edward II's modifications to the fabric are difficult to construct as an act of genealogical aggression, combining an assertion of patronal independence with an extended assertion of paternal respect. Edward III is perhaps most expressive of this dichotomy: in his letter patent for the foundation of St Stephen's backdated to August 6th 1348 the king referred explicitly to his completion of a building which his ancestors had begun, a reference both to his capacity to exceed his father and grandfather in finishing what they could not and his position within a line of tradition stretching back to the twelfth century, a reverent undertone reinforced by the masses to be celebrated there.⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁶ See above, 144-50.

⁸⁸⁷ See above, 30, 39-40.

⁸⁸⁸ "*Et quia bona est Negotiatio, per quam, largiendo, Transitoria declinantur, & Æterna, felici Commercio, subrogantur, Capellam quondam spatiosam, in Pallatio nostro apud Westmonasterium situatam, in honorem beati Stephani Prothomartiris, per Progenitores nostros nobiliter inchoatam, nostris Sumptibus Regiis fecimus consummari, in qua, ad hominem Omnipotentis Dei, & specialiter beatissimæ Genitricis ejus Mariæ, et dicti Martiris, ordinamus, volumus, constituimus, & Auctoritate nostra Regia, perpetuo stabilimus quod sint,*

The latter point indicates the importance of another facet of familial relations and their linkage to architecture: commemoration. Though associations between the 1292-97 campaign and specific commemoration of Edward I's recently deceased wife remain only speculative,⁸⁸⁹ the later functionality of the building indelibly linked architectonic form and its decoration with remembrance of deceased ancestors. Edward III's foundation charter stipulated that divine office was to be celebrated for himself, his successors and his progenitors ("*pro Nobis, ac Progenitoribus, & Successoribus nostris*"),⁸⁹⁰ a bidirectional mode of intercessory functionality. Such a mode affected not just the purpose and function of the building, but also its appearance. The chapel incorporated two extensive heraldic programmes of diverse dates which extended its commemorative aspect into a wider field of dynastic relations across three kings' reigns, freezing the building in particular frames of historical reference represented by the armigerous individuals represented. What survives of the upper cornice shields as completed under Edward II reflects a strong bidirectional familial preoccupation in completing his father's programme and using the arms of his mother, Eleanor of Castile, and wife Isabella of France, mother of his descendants (Plates 54-55). Simultaneously, the evocation of canonised predecessors (Edward the Confessor and Edmund the Martyr) and dynastic origins (the Plantagenet arms of Anjou ancient) placed Edward II and his heirs within a typological genealogy of descent visibly linking ancestral and contemporary commemoration in visual form. Edward III's heraldic programme continued this trend through deploying the quartered arms of his French title (newly validated on the battlefield after 1346-47), contrasting and complementing visually his mother's arms on the cornice immediately above (Plates 212-13). The fleurs-de-lis, repeated throughout the interior in the reveals of the great windows, served as an integrating motif which subordinated the earlier genealogical aspects of Edward II's programme to the new dynastic and political aims of his son. In this manner, each new king played a political positioning game with his antecedents which was facilitated and articulated through inherited architectural forms, allowing a monarch to exert an iconographic influence over past, present and future interpretations of monarchy.

exnunc, Decanus Unus, & Duodecim Canonici Seculares, cum totidem Vicariis, & aliis Ministris congruentibus, Divina pro Nobis, ac Progenitoribus, & Successoribus nostris, in partem Satisfactionis eorum, de quibus in extremo Judicio rationem erimus reddituri, celebraturi imperpetuum; & tam Nocturna, quam Diurna Officia, cum nota, dicturi singulis diebus in comuni, secundum formam Ordinationis nostræ, inde plenius faciendæ." Thomas Rymer, *Fœdera* (London, 1745), 37.

⁸⁸⁹ See above, 99-105.

⁸⁹⁰ See above, 221 n. 888.

The latter of these carried with it the particular inflection of dynastic establishment. The relative permanence of architectural form and its consequent ability to project iconographic, ceremonial and other relations onto future generations rendered it a powerful tool for the reinforcement and reformulation of dynasty. The instability of the English monarchy post-conquest cannot be emphasised enough: during this period alone monarchs were subjected to rebellion, civil war, deposition, murder and numerous failed attempts to secure kingdoms for relatives from Scotland down to Sicily.⁸⁹¹ The relative permanence of St Stephen's provided an opportunity for fixing royal identity and conveying that reinforcement onto prospective heirs. Edward III's east end programme and its accompanying heraldry served in just such a manner, forming a new, personalised set of relationships between king, saints and nobility which simultaneously conferred those new power relations onto his descendants depicted flanking the altar.⁸⁹² Richard II's redeployment of the same iconographic mode, exemplified by the Wilton Diptych and the lost altarpiece of the English College in Rome, indicates the effectiveness of this transfer.⁸⁹³ Inherited structures continued to exert an influence over descendants even as they were re-imagined, and it was with the political impact of this in mind that buildings like St Stephen's were constructed and modified. Shortly before the Merciless Parliament of 1388, Richard II attended mass at St Stephen's held by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wearing his crown and fortified by the space which his grandfather had completed, he compelled the amassed nobility to swear an oath of fealty, the first to do so being his uncles whose images adorned the chapel's east end.⁸⁹⁴ Thus, architecture's capacity for iconographic transfer along familial lines remained an integral part of Plantagenet political thinking right up to the dynasty's last king.

Architecture and Accident

The picture painted thus far of the process of architectural generation is largely one of careful orchestration and planning. Assuming a certain autonomy of individual action in building, such a model generally privileges human choices over their immediate causes, stripping the latter of direct agency by virtue of the human agents interposing decisively

⁸⁹¹ Edmund for Sicily, Richard of Cornwall for the Holy Roman Empire, the Black Prince for Aquitaine and Edward III for France.

⁸⁹² See above, 191-202.

⁸⁹³ See above, 202.

⁸⁹⁴ Jean Froissart, *Sir J. Froissart's chronicles of England, France and the adjoining countries*, trans. T. Johnes, 5 vols (London, 1803-10), III, 498-99.

between context and response. The above discussion of royal architectural causality, however, has emphasised interpermeability between political actions and patronal decisions. Therefore, it remains to be considered whether political events could take on more active agency in building by forcing decisions along certain lines, restricting possible choices for patrons and craftsmen alike. Indeed, as this thesis has demonstrated, two of the most underappreciated yet powerfully influential elements of architectural causality are accident and chance.

Of all the factors which imposed new and demanding conditions on the construction process, the Black Death was perhaps the furthest from human control. Though it appears not to have been a direct cause for the August 1348 cessation of works, the deaths of personnel entailed and its potential association with a shift towards impressment in workforce organisation had a direct and irrevocable impact on the chapel's construction.⁸⁹⁵ The catalytic potential of death for stylistic change within an established project, demonstrated above through the diversity of responses displayed by master masons to their predecessors' works, was translated onto a far larger scale by the Plague which presented new difficulties regarding assembling the work force required for the next phase. Such an event, thus, placed severe limits on artistic autonomy which forced kings to take action along certain lines (both in delaying the works and selecting new personnel and masters), an obvious point which nonetheless had profound secondary consequences for the style and schedule of subsequent building and decoration.

A more complex problem is presented by royal economics, one of the thesis' four initial themes. A king's capacity to push beyond conventional financial boundaries to fund architecture even within periods of fiscal strain was apparent under all three Edwards,⁸⁹⁶ but this did not mean these circumstances were entirely devoid of effect. Reduced workforces and slower speeds of construction occurred between the two *memoranda* issued to stop works at Westminster under Edward I (1296-97), a pattern repeated under Edward III during the 1340s.⁸⁹⁷ Absolute cessations of building, largely the result of preparations for warfare, represent the interruption and overcoming of a powerful drive to complete building projects once instigated, and it is perhaps unsurprising that for St Stephen's all hiatuses occurred in

⁸⁹⁵ See above, 207-08.

⁸⁹⁶ See above, 88-93, 139-44, 202-206.

⁸⁹⁷ See above, 77, 163-68.

situations where the king had no other options available in pursuing his wider political aims. Even so, the identification of two distinct patterns causing breaks in construction at St Stephen's, namely the threat of foreign invasion and collapse of the banking system which sustained royal finance,⁸⁹⁸ implies two discrete types of response: the first a free and decisive choice within a range of options, the second forced by the king's political intentions. Yet the repetitiveness of these responses within the chapel's construction history indicates that, even within comparatively free circumstances, kings reacted with certain tropes deemed appropriate based on past experience. Contemporary political writings directed at kings frequently gave advice in the form of tropes of activity. The *Milemete* treatise in particular provided exemplars of action in all aspects of a king's life, suggesting specific responses to political situations ranging from tricks to assess the trustworthiness of others to actions taken before battle to inspire men and ensure their loyalty and courage.⁸⁹⁹ Royal reactions to economic situations at St Stephen's suggest that similar tropes applied in financing royal patronage, in particular where continuing construction would be more detrimental to a king's political aims than its cessation. Thus, in addition to the capacity of events to force certain courses of activity upon royal patronage, economic and other circumstances were also capable of triggering established patterns of response to which a king resorted in times of strain.

Political choices also possessed second-order consequences which extended beyond their immediate impact on a building project. Hiatuses, whether responsive to the Plague, monetary supply or other compelling reasons, shifted the time-frame of a project and subjected it to a broader spectrum of personal, material and other contextual circumstances over the chronological divide. Deaths of kings and master masons, economic downturns, martial limitations, plagues and other chance events which could affect building could happen at any time, but a hiatus increased the probability of such events occurring. Furthermore, sharp temporal displacement could interrupt smooth transition between master craftsmen as in the case of William Ramsey, John atte Grene and John Box. The knock-on consequences of such incidents, thus, could have significant formal, structural and iconographic effects. Edward III's England was not Edward I's, and the artistic products of his reign reflected considerable differences in underlying values and conceptions of monarchy. Time dilation was not the only way in which the accidental consequences of

⁸⁹⁸ See above, 142-44.

⁸⁹⁹ Nederman, *Political Thought*, 15-61.

contemporary events could exert wider formative effects on building, however. Outbreaks of war could have material consequences, such as the change in stone usage under Edward III during the 1340s, or could be iconographically influential as in the distinction between pre- and post-Crécy image choices.⁹⁰⁰ By altering the framework for the king and his craftsmen's decisions, contemporary events directed architectural solutions through a combination of short- and long-term limiting and enabling factors.

Yet these accidents were not all world-shaking. The St Stephen's accounts are filled with small incidents which, whilst negligible in the grand scheme of building, nevertheless would have had a distinctive impact on the construction campaign. In the week of 20th-27th August 1324, a mason named Roger Alomaly was killed during a fight between the St Stephen's masons and armed monks of Westminster Abbey resulting from a quarrel instigated by one of the latter's stableboys.⁹⁰¹ This short street skirmish had an immediate and demonstrable impact on the workforce in the loss of one of its members. With a mason dead, someone else would have to pick up where Roger had left off and, though the workforce size increased the following week, this will have had a disruptive effect, however small. Furthermore, during the three weeks within which the case initially came to court, two of the masons who had forwarded the legal complaint (John Coblinton and William de Anesty) left the workforce permanently, suggesting either dissatisfaction with the proceedings or, more likely, that they had stayed only until they took place.⁹⁰² The coming and going of craftsmen, however permanent, added an additional level of uncertainty to the construction process which would have required continuous adjustment by the master mason, *apparillator* and other individuals involved. Perhaps more visually significant were the breakages of half-finished, stored or even installed materials for which evidence is littered throughout the accounts.⁹⁰³ Some of the tabernacles which were constructed during the 1320s were damaged whilst in storage, apparently "through [those] entering at the coronation of the lady Queen" on 4th March 1330.⁹⁰⁴ The results were long lasting with the tabernacles still listed as damaged in the 1346 inventory, only undergoing repairs in preparation for painting in 1351-52.⁹⁰⁵ Royal politics

⁹⁰⁰ See above, 191-202.

⁹⁰¹ CPR 1325-27, 71, 176; TNA KB 27/261.

⁹⁰² E 101/469/8, m. 9.

⁹⁰³ For plaster repairs to stones see E 101/469/12, m. 23; E 101/470/15, m. 1; E 372/189, rot. 49 m. 1.

⁹⁰⁴ "*Et de x peciis petre de Reygate in tabernaculis quarum due in toto perfecte et aliquantulum defracte per introeuntes ad coronacionem domine Regine et octo non in toto perfecte et eodem tempore aliquanter defracte, vij peciis petre de Reygate pro tabernaculis non operatis quarum duo debiles*" (E 101/469/11, m. 1d). Salzmann, *Building*, 149-53.

⁹⁰⁵ See above, 175-77. E 101/471/6, m. 4, 13.

might well provide the overarching narrative for the chapel's construction, but ultimately architecture was grounded in the mistakes, successes, skills and wills of the individuals who made it.

Art and Politics at St Stephen's and Beyond

Architecture is not created in isolation. With a history split across two buildings (1227-53; 1292-1363) and four kings amidst one of the Plantagenet dynasty's most turbulent periods of political change, St Stephen's Chapel proved intricately responsive to the issues, processes and actions of contemporary royal administration and governance. Across the period St Stephen's presented not one, but multiple chapels as it was redesigned and repurposed from generation to generation, integrating cumulatively past works into present demands. Politics formed a continuous source of disruptive and formative influence over royal patronage, affecting the form, functionality and disposition of building just as the chapel in turn exerted influence over political activity and thought. As the king was a conglomerate patronal entity, so too was St Stephen's an aggregate building reflecting diverse interlocking agencies fostered by its position within royal circles. Architecture's formative power over royal identity, articulated through materials, decoration, structure, international interactions and familial relations, rendered the chapel a politically active location. Its positioning within royal institutions and responsiveness to the economic consequences of royal decisions linked artistic decisions to wider choices by the king and the advisers and administrators which surrounded him, impacting directly or indirectly on architectural form. St Stephen's, like the king, was a political animal.

By exploring these issues, this thesis has used the chapel as a case study for developing a model of royal architectural causality in an unusually formative period for English architecture. Though few other buildings possess the same breadth of patrons, artists, chronology and documentation which renders St Stephen's so appropriate to this task, these observations indicate the potential for adapting similar lines of enquiry on a larger scale. Having demonstrated the extent and interrelation of building history, formal appearance, patronal agency, institutional input, iconography and economics within the political field, it has suggested strategies for similar interpermeable treatments of other royal buildings, several of which have already been considered in passing throughout the thesis. There was no singular solution to architectural causality: circumstances changed throughout the lives of

every patron, administrator and artist, constantly mediating each other's responses to artistic problems. Yet even within change there were certain continuities, and St Stephen's provides an excellent barometer for historical patterns.

St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Architecture, Decoration and Politics
in the Reigns of Henry III and the three Edwards (1227-1363)

Volume II of III

James Hillson

Ph.D.

University of York

History of Art

October 2015

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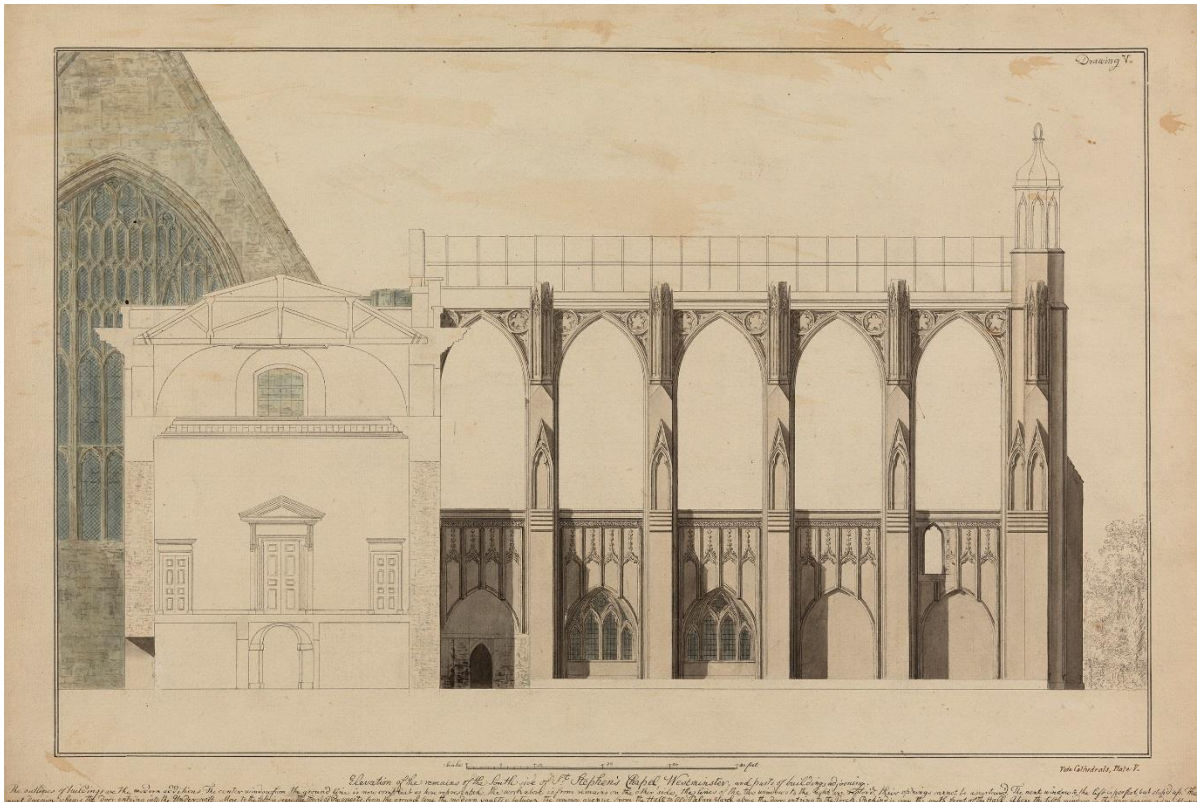


Plate 1 – John Carter, St Stephen's Chapel elevation, facing north, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 71 (Car)].

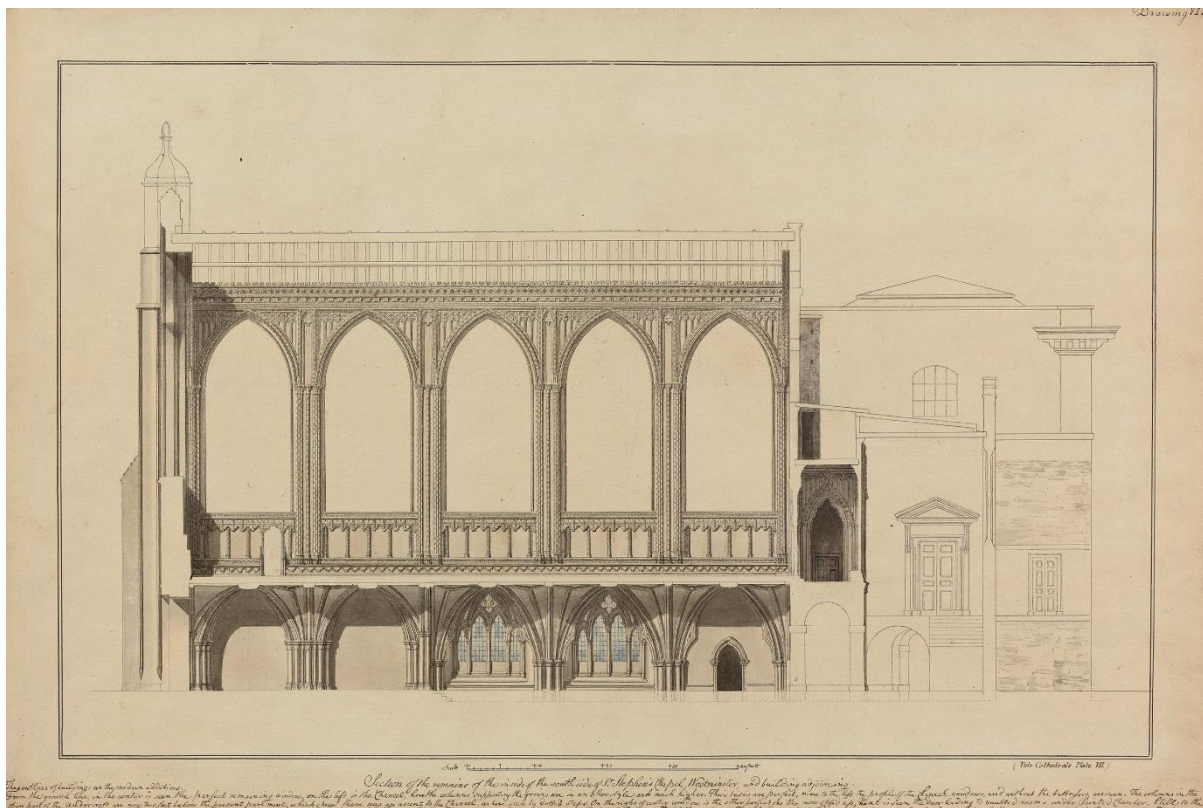


Plate 2 – John Carter, Longitudinal section, facing south, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 74 (Car)].

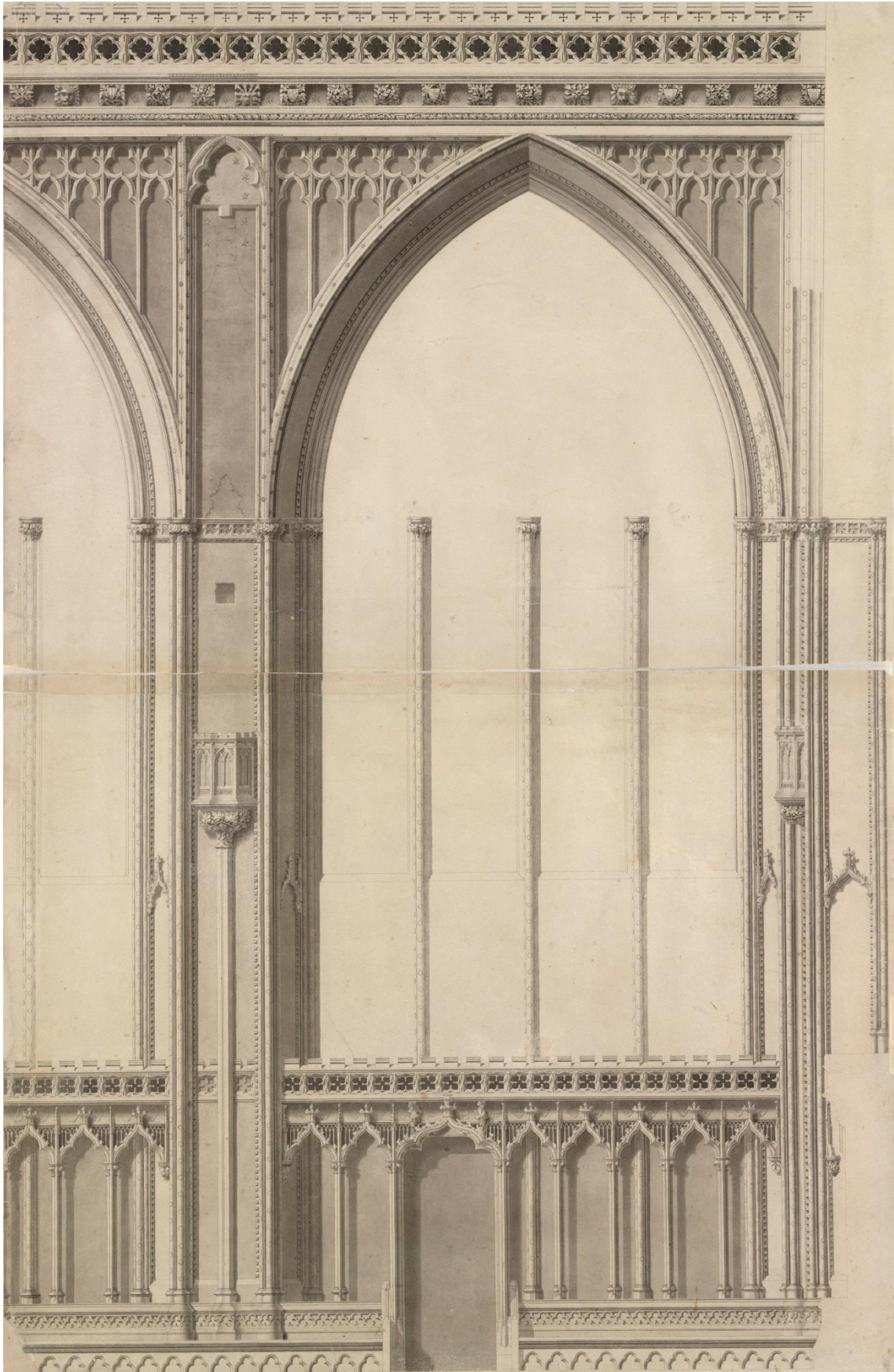


Plate 3 – John Dixon, Upper Chapel interior, east end, facing north, c. 1800-05. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 84 (Dix)].

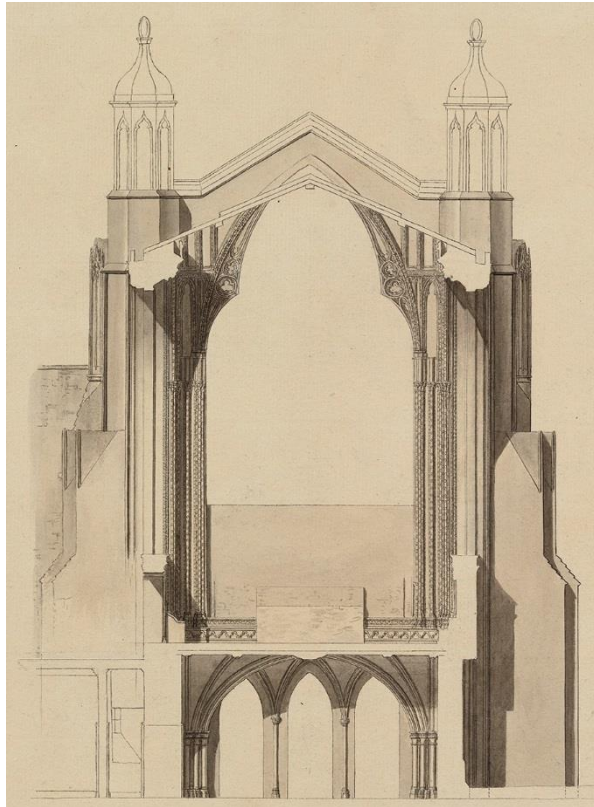


Plate 4 – John Carter, St Stephen's Chapel transverse section, facing east, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 73 (Car)].

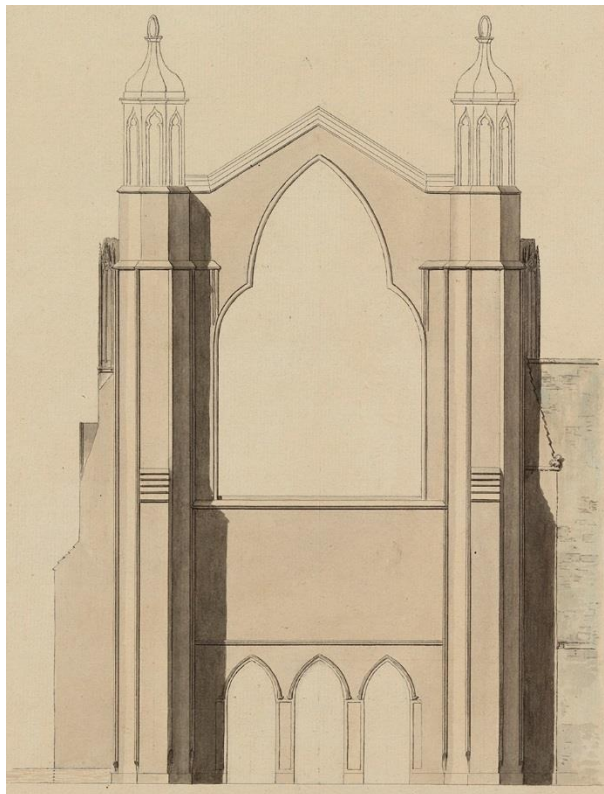


Plate 5 – John Carter, St Stephen's Chapel elevation of east end, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 72 (Car)].



Plate 6 – Upper Cornice Fragment, 1292-1327. Painted stonework. British Museum.

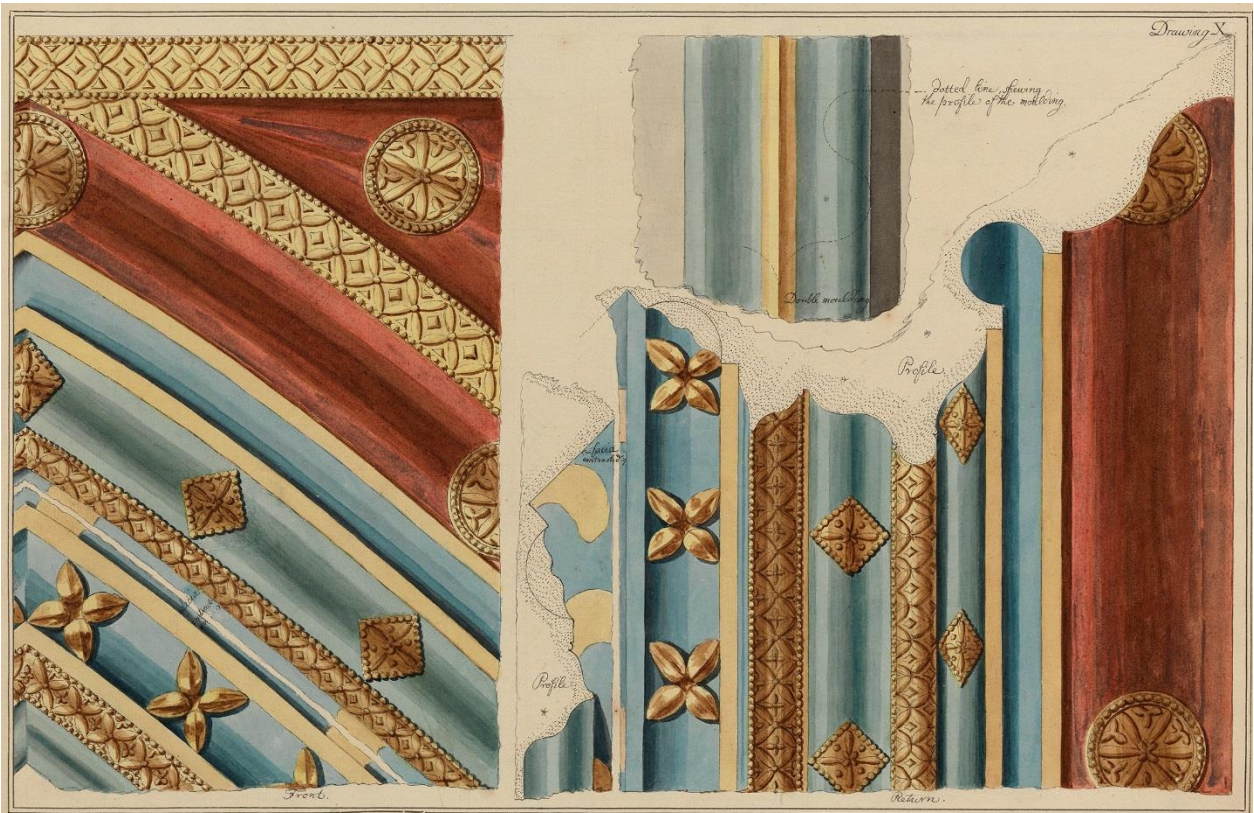


Plate 7 – John Carter, Upper Chapel window moulding, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 77 (Car)].



Plate 8 – Upper Chapel reconstruction, June 2015 render. Virtual St Stephen's Project, Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture, University of York.

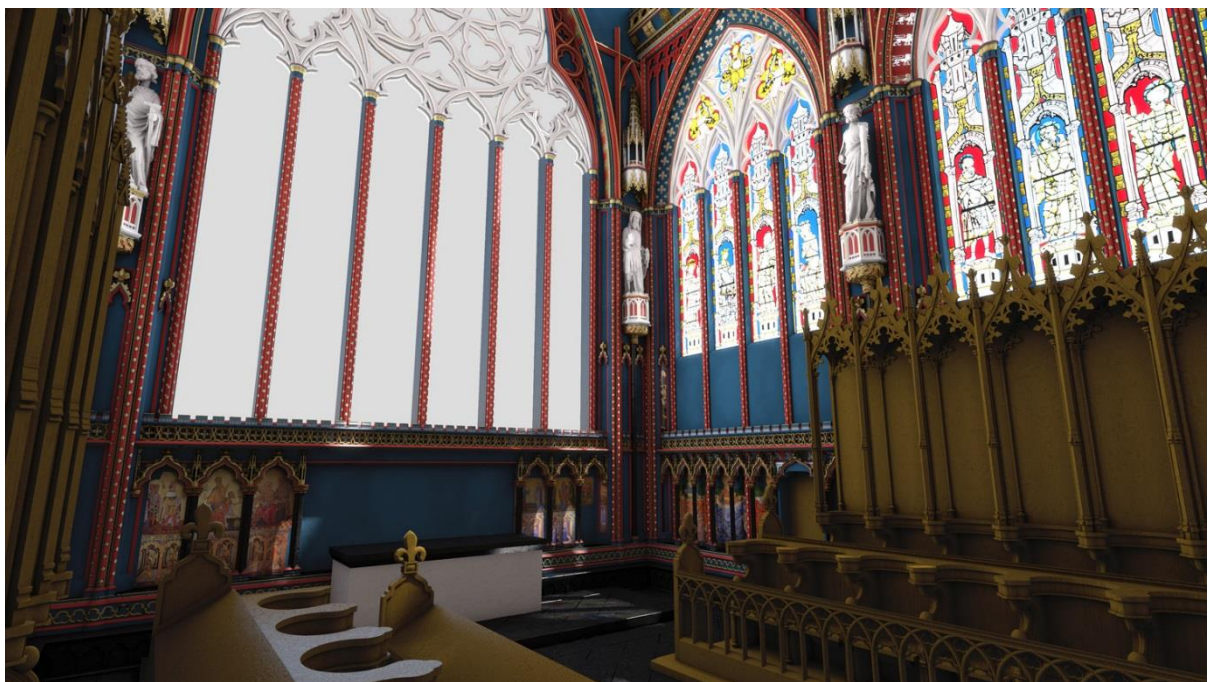


Plate 9 – Upper Chapel reconstruction, June 2015 render. Virtual St Stephen's Project, Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture, University of York.

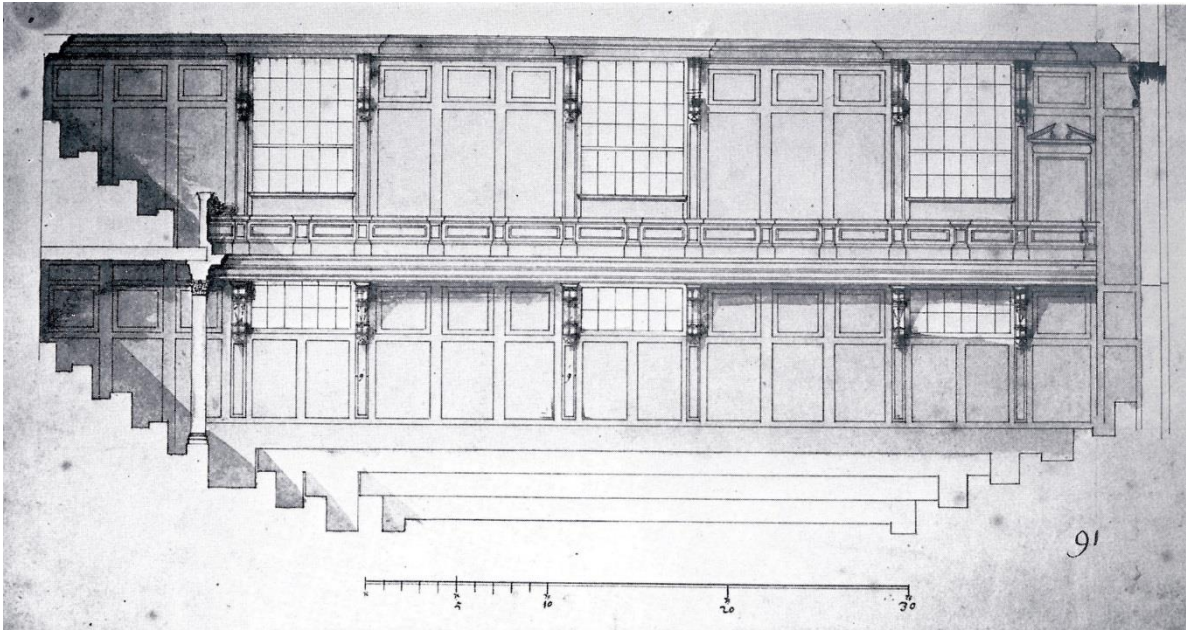


Plate 10 – Nicholas Hawksmoor, Section of Commons Chamber as arranged by Christopher Wren, formerly St Stephen’s Upper Chapel, (1692). Drawing on paper. Oxford, All Souls College, Wren Collection.



Plate 11 – John Thomas Smith, East end of St Stephen’s Chapel as modified by Christopher Wren, c. 1807. Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 29].

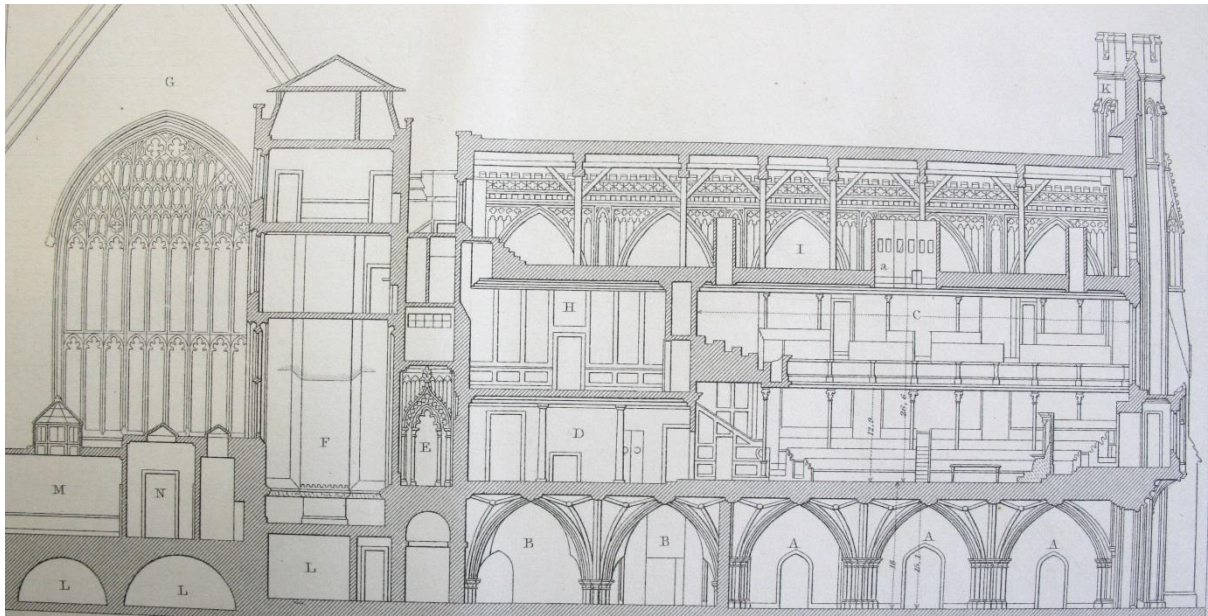


Plate 12 – G. Gladwin, section of St Stephen's Chapel as arranged by James Wyatt from a drawing by R. W. Billings, 1835. Engraving. Plate XXV in Brayley and Britton, *History*. [BRA 14].



Plate 13 – Anonymous, East end of St Stephen's Chapel, 1807-34. Engraving. Westminster, Parliamentary Archives.



Plate 14 – John Coney, North front of the Great Hall, Westminster, 1807. Watercolour on Paper. British Museum.



Plate 15 – Interior view east of the Lower Chapel as restored by Charles and Edmund Barry, c.1850-70.

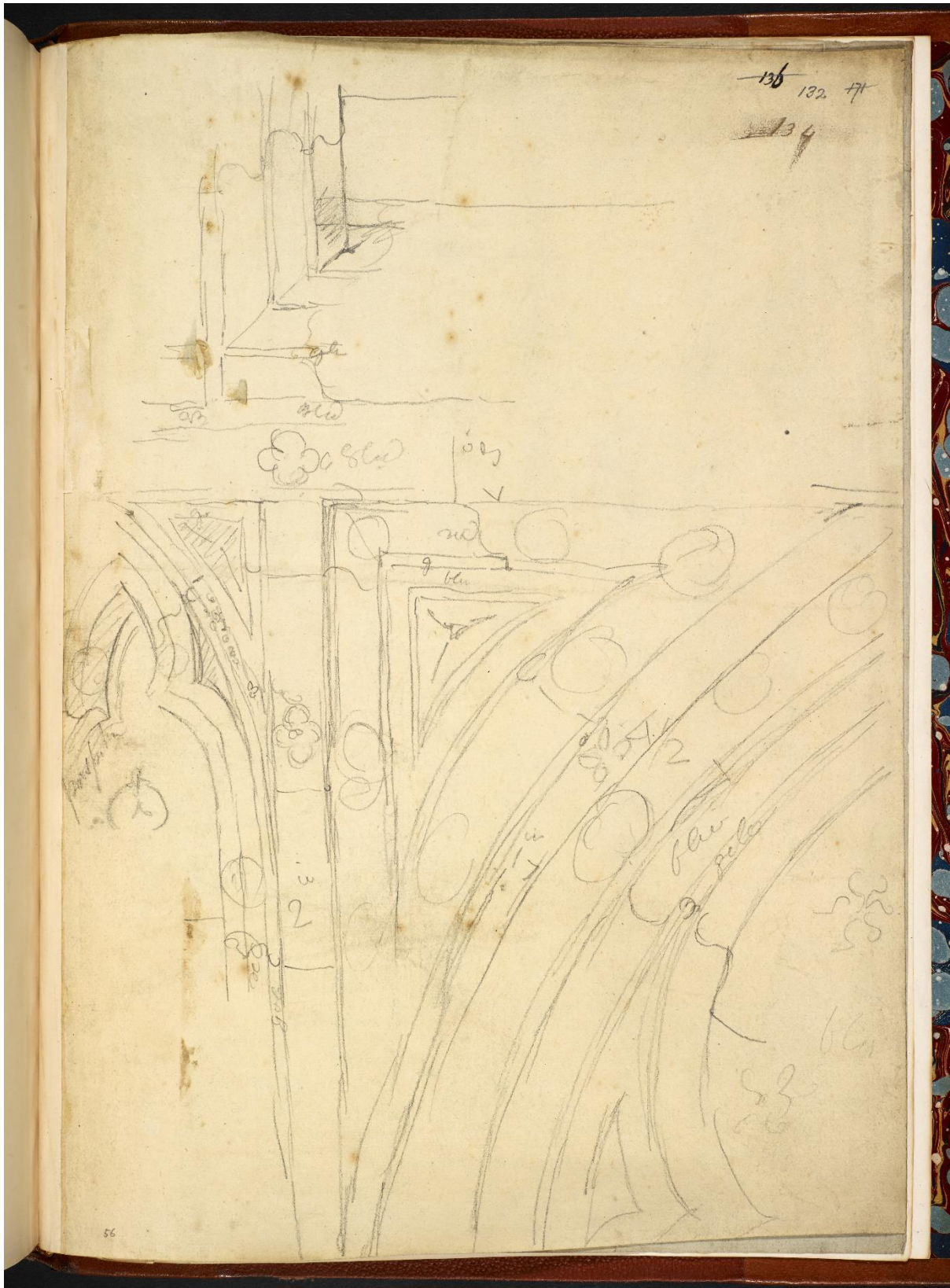


Plate 16 – John Carter, Sketch of Upper Chapel east window spandrel, c. 1791-92. Graphite on paper. British Library MS Add. 29930, fol. 132r. [DRA 55 (Car)].

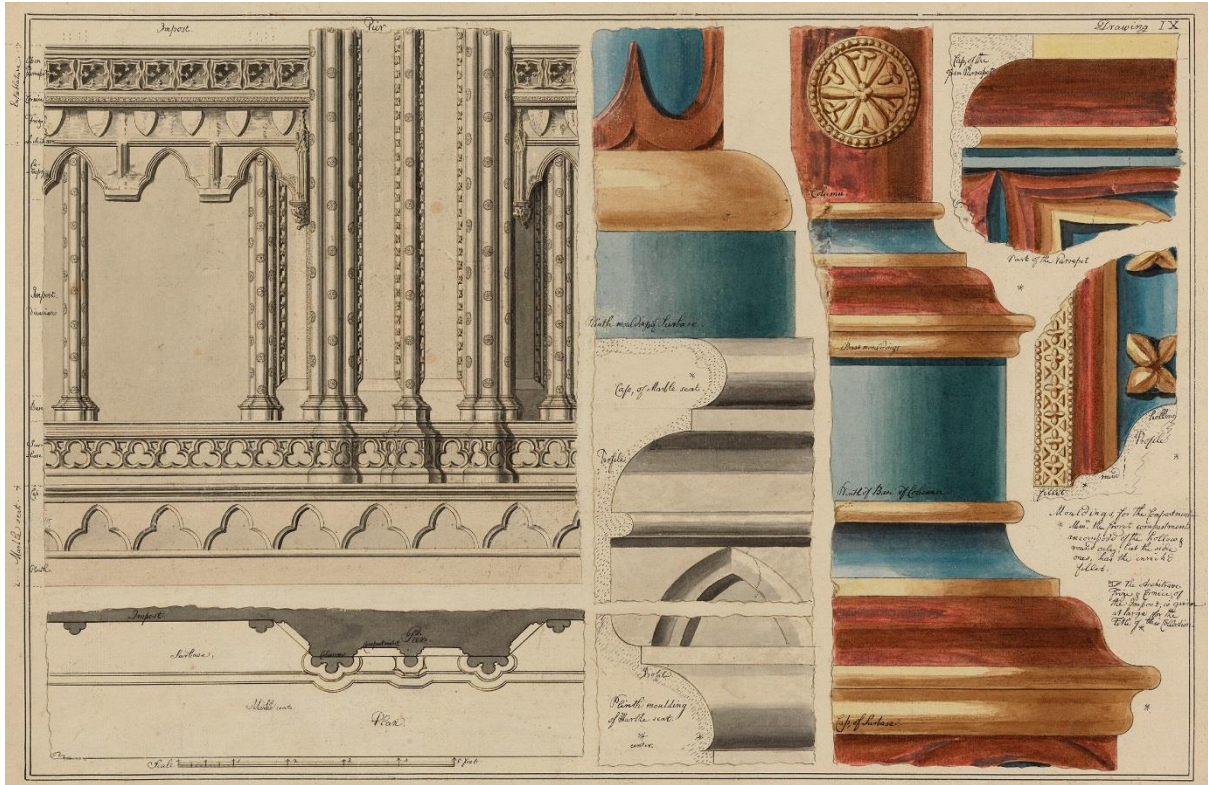


Plate 17 – John Carter, Upper Chapel arcading, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 75 (Car)].

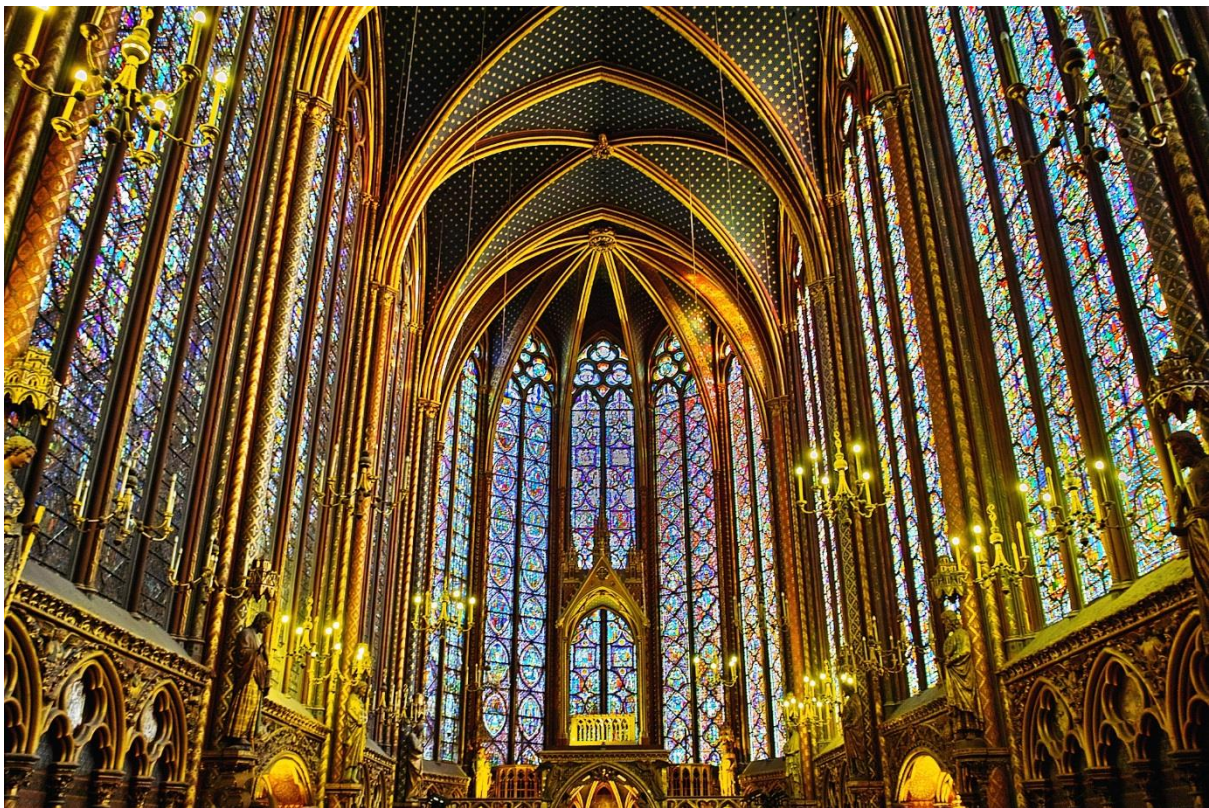


Plate 18 – Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, interior, east end, c. 1239-46.



Plate 19 – Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, exterior, south side, c. 1239-46.

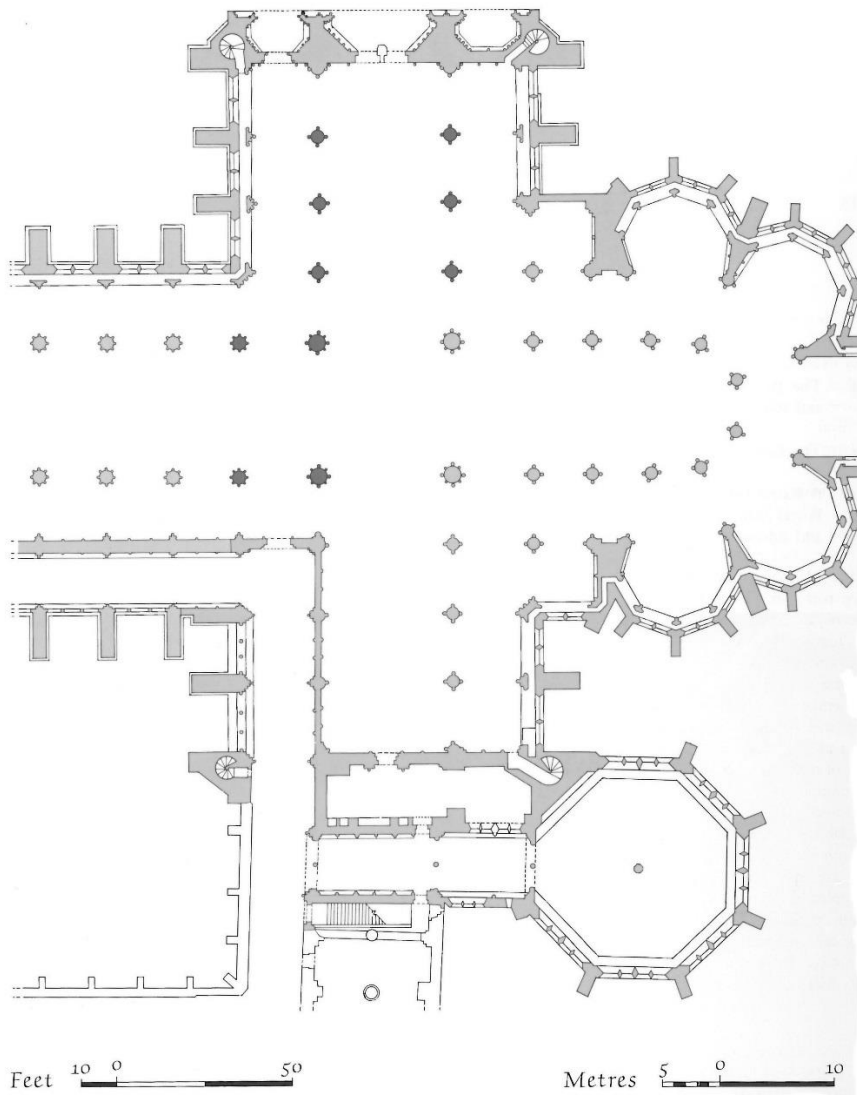


Plate 20 – Westminster Abbey, ground plan. Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven and London, 1995), Plate 1.

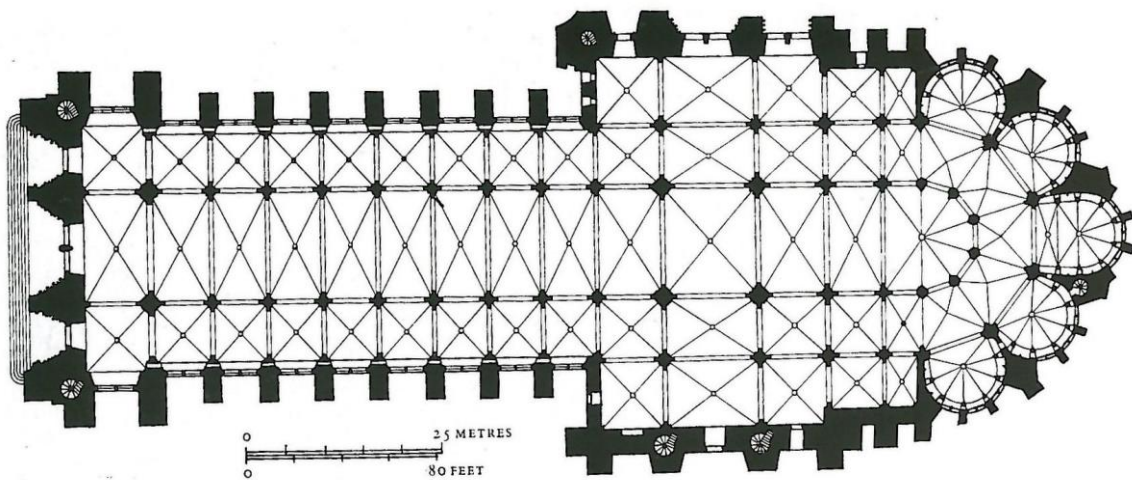


Plate 21 – Reims Cathedral, ground plan. Paul Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, rev. Paul Crossley (New Haven and London, 2000), Figure 8.

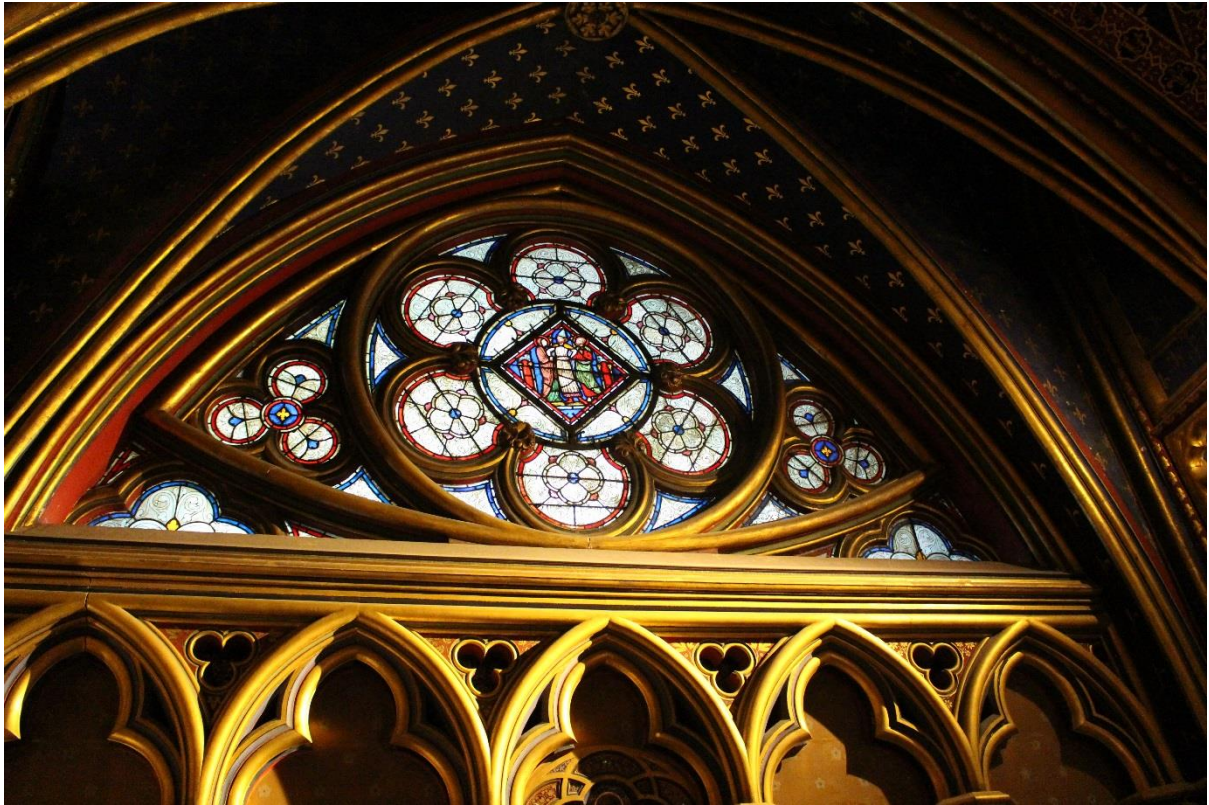


Plate 22 – Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, interior view of Lower Chapel windows, 1239-46.



Plate 23 – Westminster Abbey, interior view of apsidal chapels, 1245-60. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, Plate 58.



Plate 24 – Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, west window interior view, 1239-46/fifteenth-century.

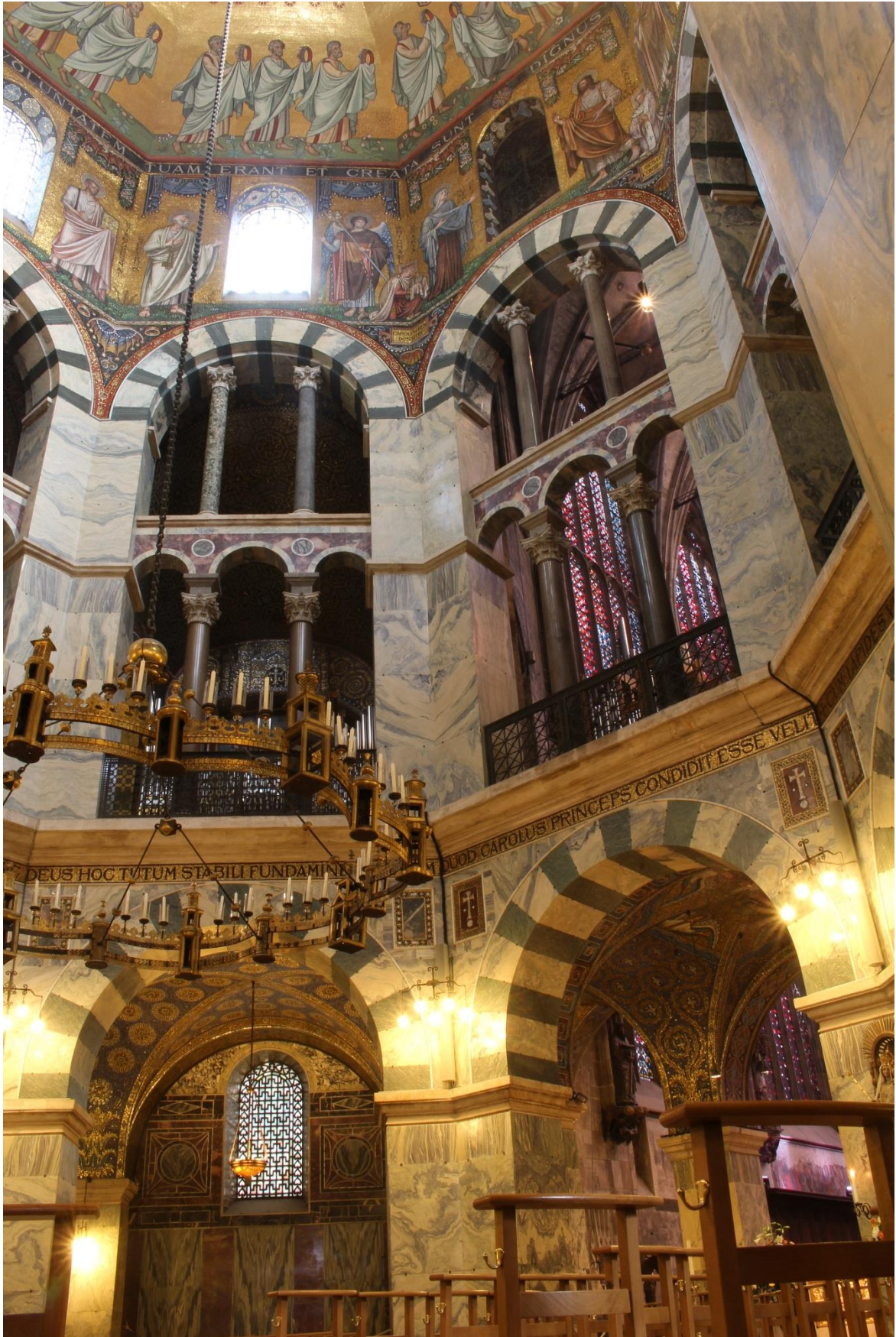


Plate 25 – Palatine Chapel, Aachen, 796-805.

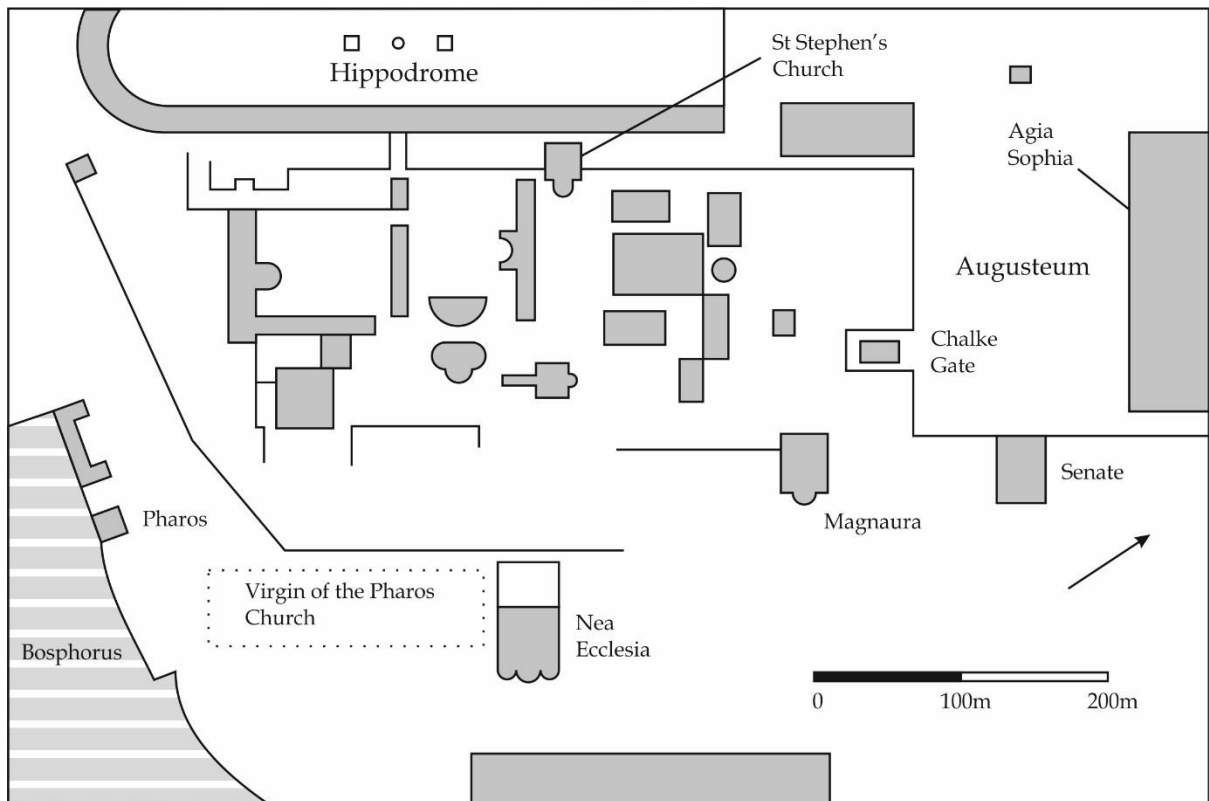


Plate 26 – Great Palace of Constantinople, reconstructed ground plan.

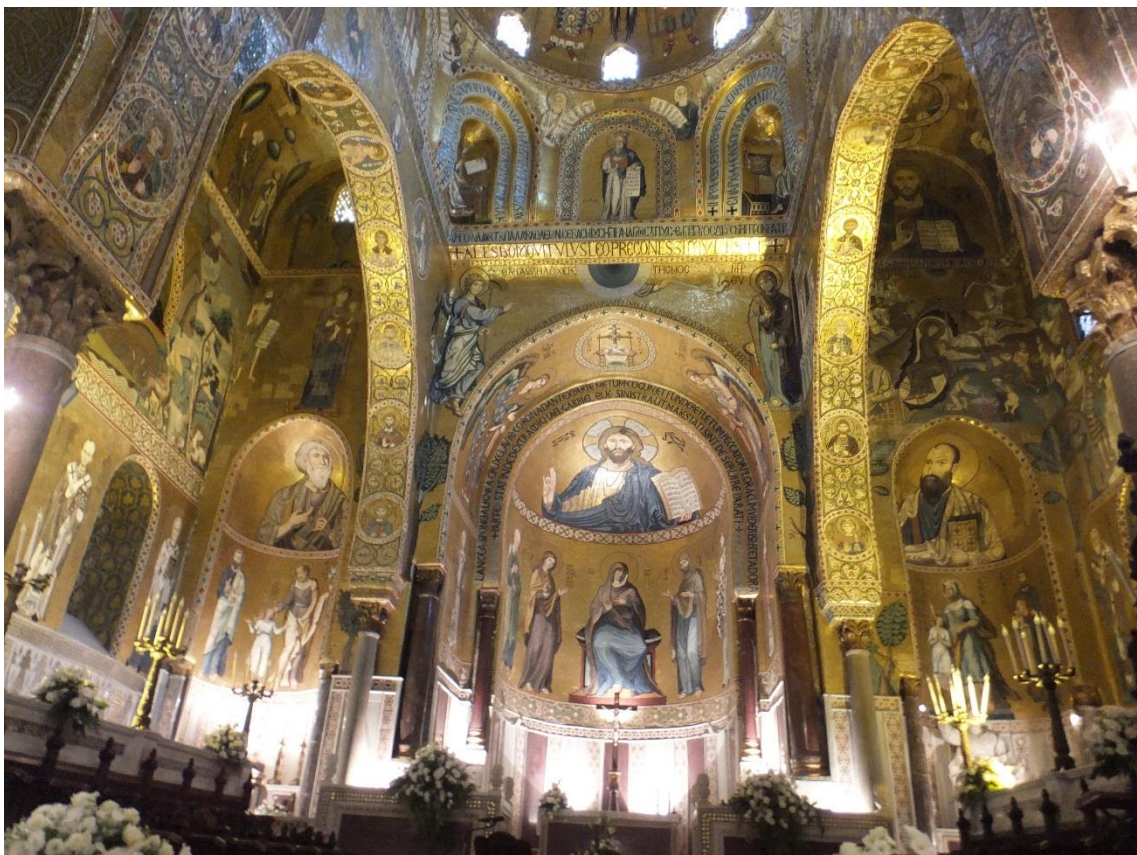


Plate 27 – Capella Palatina, Palermo, interior view looking east, 1132-43.



Plate 28 – Cosmati Pavement, Westminster Abbey choir, c. 1268.



Plate 29 – Shield showing arms of France Ancient, Westminster Abbey nave arcading, 1253-72.

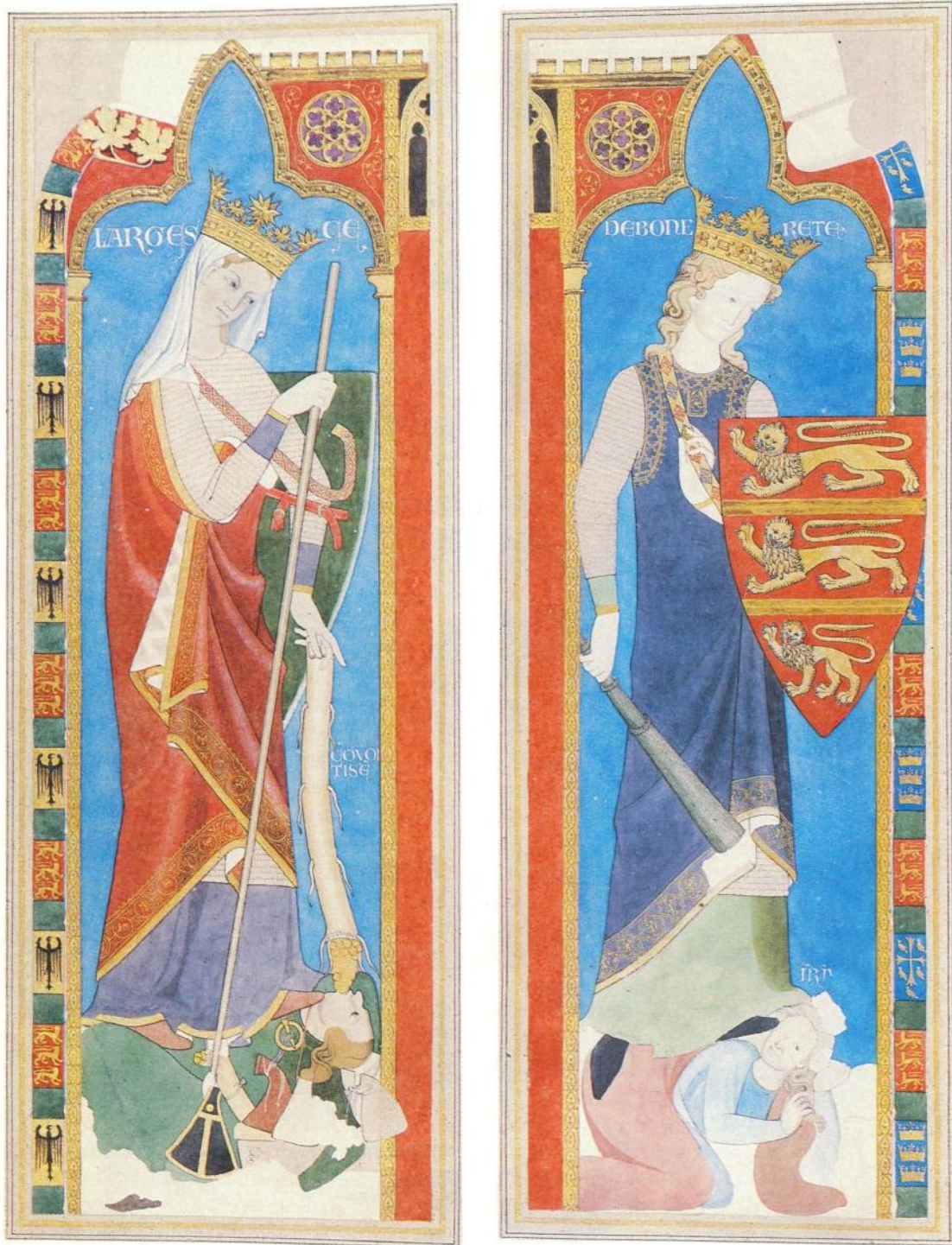


Plate 30 – Charles Stothard, *Largesce* defeating *Covoitise* and *Debonereté* defeating *Ira* from the Painted Chamber, Westminster, Society of Antiquaries 1819-20. Watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries. Binski, *Painted Chamber*, Colour Plate II.



Plate 31 – Gold Penny of Henry III, 1257-58. Gold coin. British Museum.



Plate 32 – Florentine Florin, 1252-1303. Gold coin. British Museum.



Plate 33 – Hyperpyron of Michael VIII Palaiologos, 1261-72. Gold coin. Dumbarton Oaks Collection.



Plate 34 – King Henry III's First Great Seal, 1219. British Museum.



Plate 35 – King Henry III's Second Great Seal, 1259. Durham Cathedral Library. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, Plate 122.



Plate 36 – Richard of Cornwall’s Great Seal as King of the Romans, 1257. Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv. Hausherr, *Zeit der Staufer*, III, Abb. 29.



Plate 37 – Emperor Friedrich I’s Great Seal, 1154-55. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv. Hausherr (ed.), *Zeit der Staufer*, III, Abb. 4.



Plate 38 – Emperor Henry VI’s Great Seal, 1185. Düsseldorf, Hauptstaatsarchiv. Hausherr (ed.), *Zeit der Staufer*, III, Abb. 6.



Plate 39 – Emperor Otto IV’s Great Seal, 1209. Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv. Hausherr (ed.), *Zeit der Staufer*, III, Abb. 11.



Plate 40 – Emperor Friedrich II’s Great Seal as King of Jerusalem, 1228. Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. Hausherr (ed.), *Zeit der Staufer*, III, Abb. 20.



Plate 41 – Count William II of Holland’s Great Seal as King of the Romans, 1248. Hajo Brugmans and Klaas Heeringa, *Corpus Sigillorum Neerlandicorum: De Nederlandse zegels tot 1300* (‘s-Gravenhage, 1937-40), no. 512.



Plate 42 – Copy of Edward the Confessor’s Great Seal, twelfth-century. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, Plate 123.





Plate 43 – Nebuchadnezzar dreams of a boulder on the dado arcade of the west front at Amiens, early thirteenth-century. Stone.



Plate 44 – King Nebuchadnezzar in the north transept of Chartres Cathedral, thirteenth-century. Stained glass.

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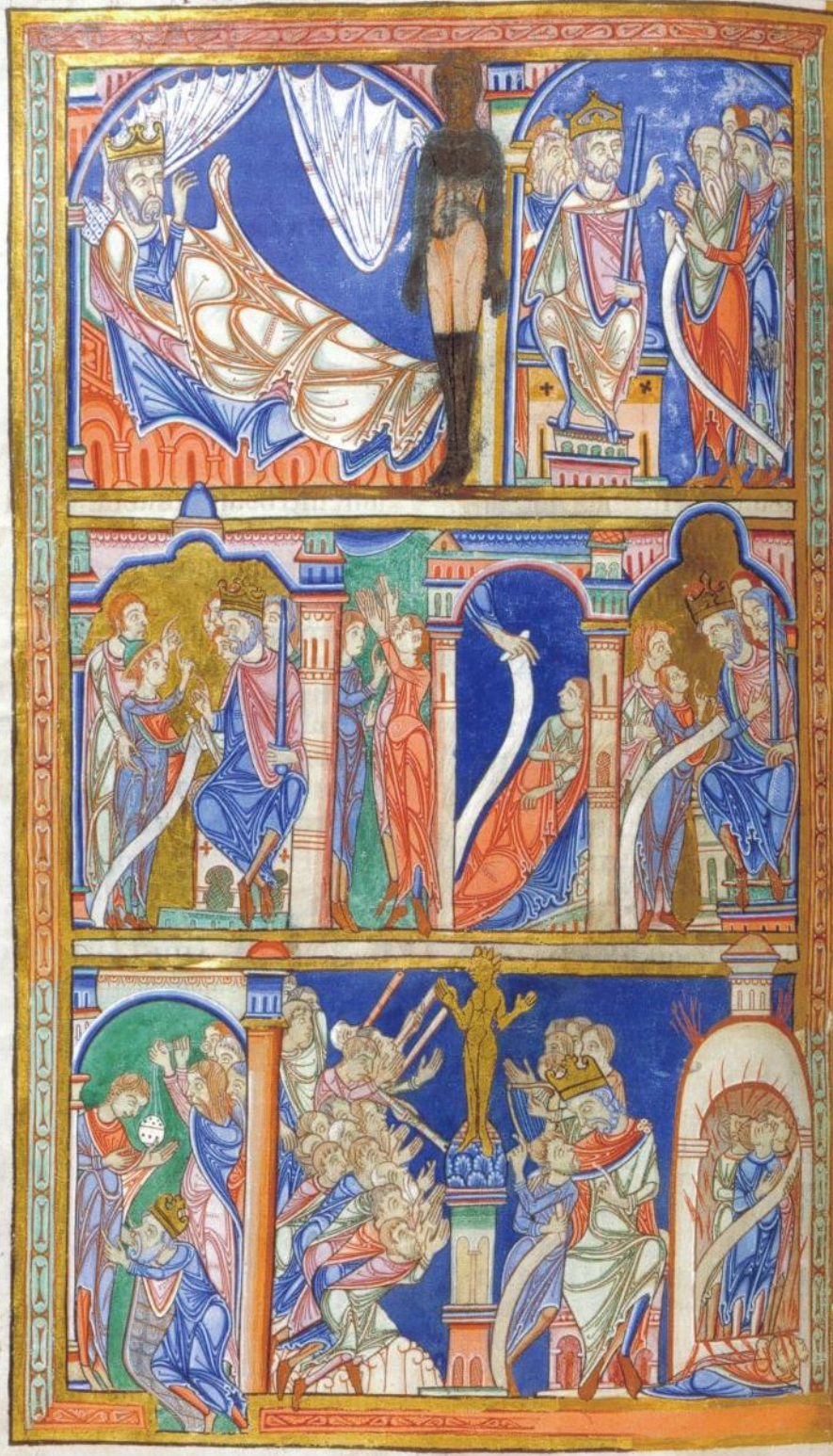


Plate 45 – Frontispiece to Daniel in the Lambeth Palace Bible, twelfth-century. Lambeth Palace Library MS 3, fol. 285v. Shepard, *Lambeth Bible*, Plate 14.



Plate 46 – Book of Daniel initial of the Lothian Bible, c. 1220. The Morgan Library MS M.791.



Plate 47 – Nebuchadnezzar summons his councillors, window G panel 85 in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s. Stained glass.



Plate 48 – Nebuchadnezzar makes Daniel governor, window G panel 71 in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s. Stained glass.



Plate 49 – Nebuchadnezzar sees a great tree, window G panel 65 in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s. Stained glass.



Plate 50 – The tree is cut down, window G panel 59 in the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s.
Stained glass.



Plate 51 – Charles Stothard, Edward the Confessor giving a ring to St John the Evangelist as Pilgrim, Society of Antiquaries, 1819-20. Watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries.
Binski, *Painted Chamber*, Plate IV.

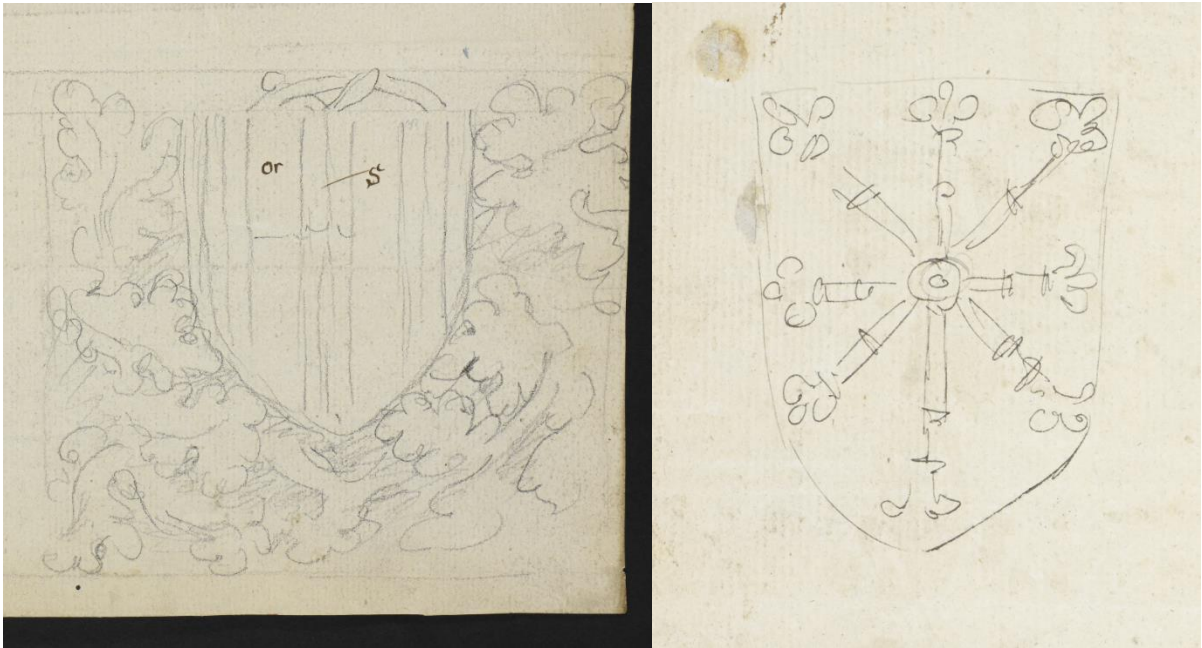


Plate 52 – John Carter, Sketch of Upper Chapel upper cornice ornaments, c. 1791-92. Graphite on paper. British Library, MS Add. 29930, fols 128v (left), 129r (right). [DRA 50-51 (Car)].



Plate 53 – John Carter, Sketch of Upper Chapel upper cornice ornaments, c. 1791-92. Graphite on paper. British Library MS Add. 29930, fols 130v-31r. [DRA 54 (Car)].



Plate 54 – John Carter, Upper cornice ornaments, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 79 (Car)].



Plate 55 – John Carter, Upper cornice ornaments, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 80 (Car)].

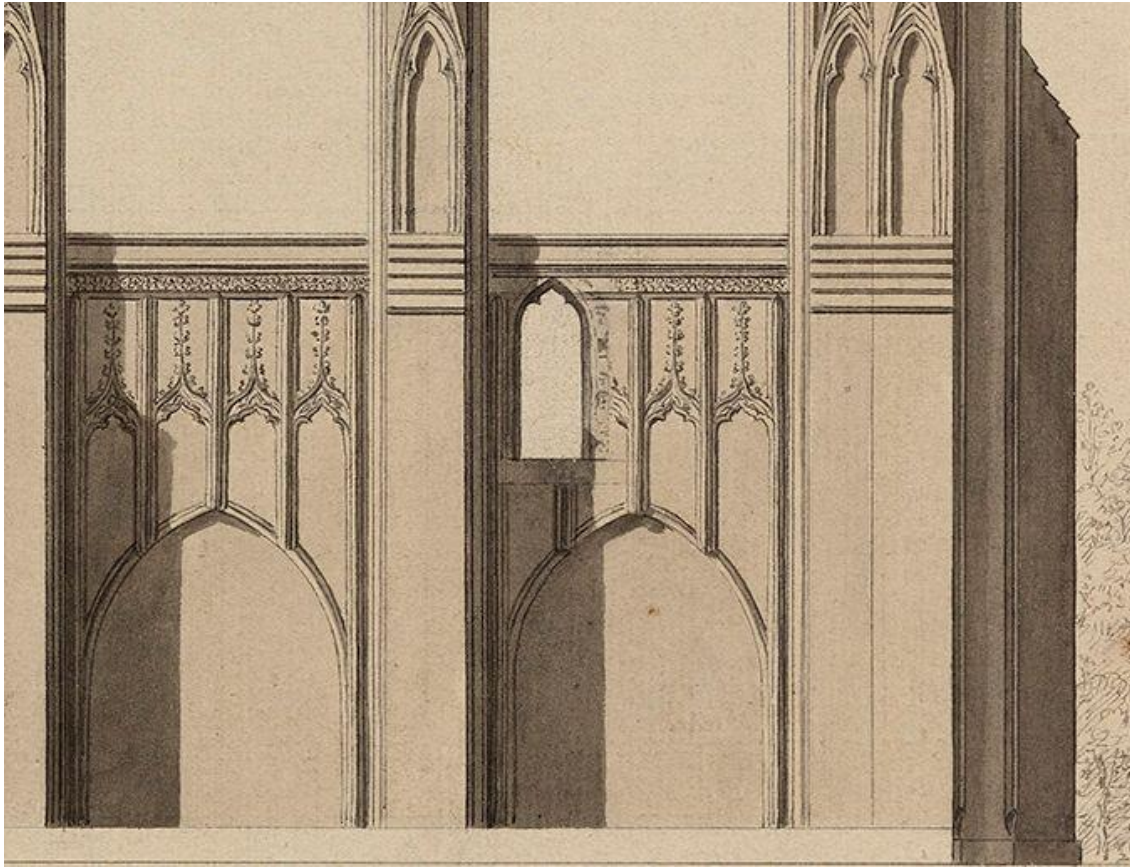


Plate 56 – John Carter, Detail of longitudinal elevation facing north, east end, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 75 (Car)].

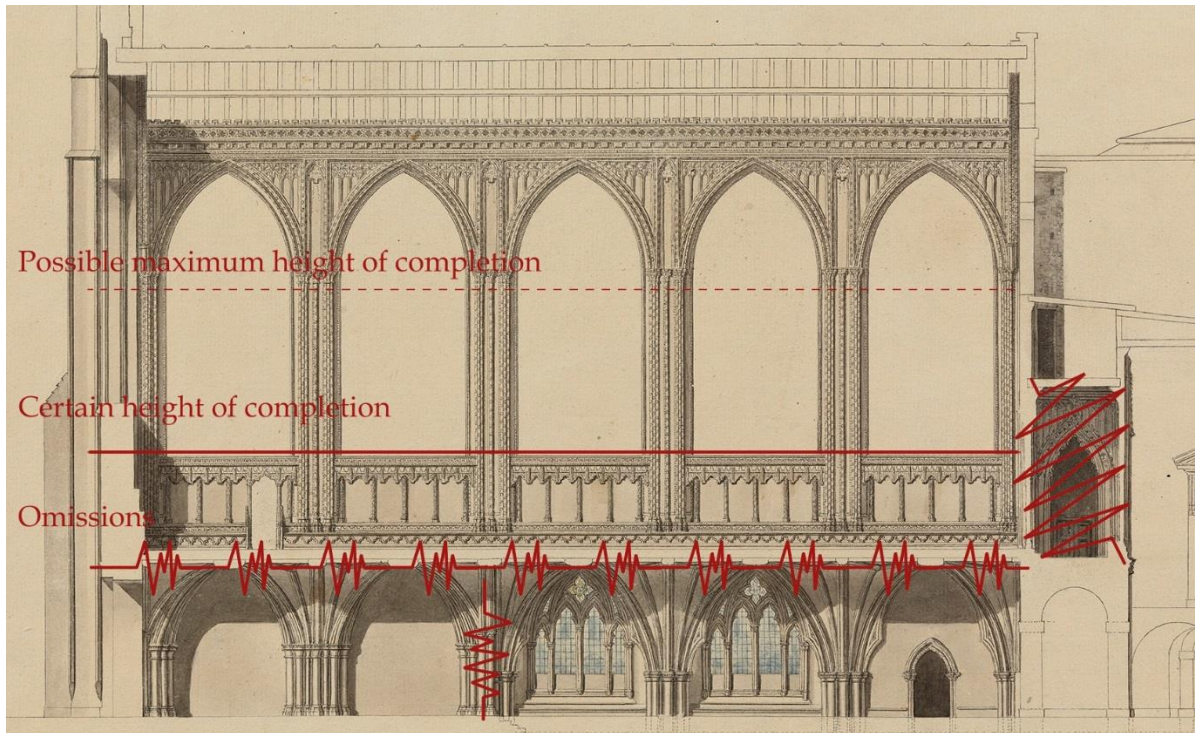


Plate 57 – Based on Plate 2. Overlay showing possible heights of completion, 1292-97.



Plate 58 – Boss of St Stephen in the Lower Chapel as replaced under Charles and Edmund Barry, 1858-63. Painted stonework.



Plate 59 – Boss of St John the Evangelist in the Lower Chapel as replaced under Charles and Edmund Barry, 1858-63. Painted stonework.



Plate 60 – Boss of St Catherine in the Lower Chapel as replaced under Charles and Edmund Barry, 1858-63. Painted stonework.



Plate 61 – Boss of St Margaret in the Lower Chapel as replaced under Charles and Edmund Barry, 1858-63. Painted stonework.



Plate 62 – Boss of St Lawrence in the Lower Chapel as replaced under Charles and Edmund Barry, 1858-63. Painted stonework. Parliamentary Archives.



Plate 63 – John Carter, Lower Chapel vault bosses, 1780s. John Carter, *Specimens of the ancient sculpture and painting* (London, 1780-94).



Plate 64 – Luttrell Psalter, bas-de-page figures, c. 1330-40. British Library MS Add. 42130, fol. 197v.



Plate 65 – Luttrell Psalter, bas-de-page figures, c. 1330-40. British Library MS Add. 42130, fol. 198r.



Plate 66 – Ethelbert Gate, Norwich, c. 1320.



Plate 67 – Old Town Bridge Tower, Prague, c. 1357.

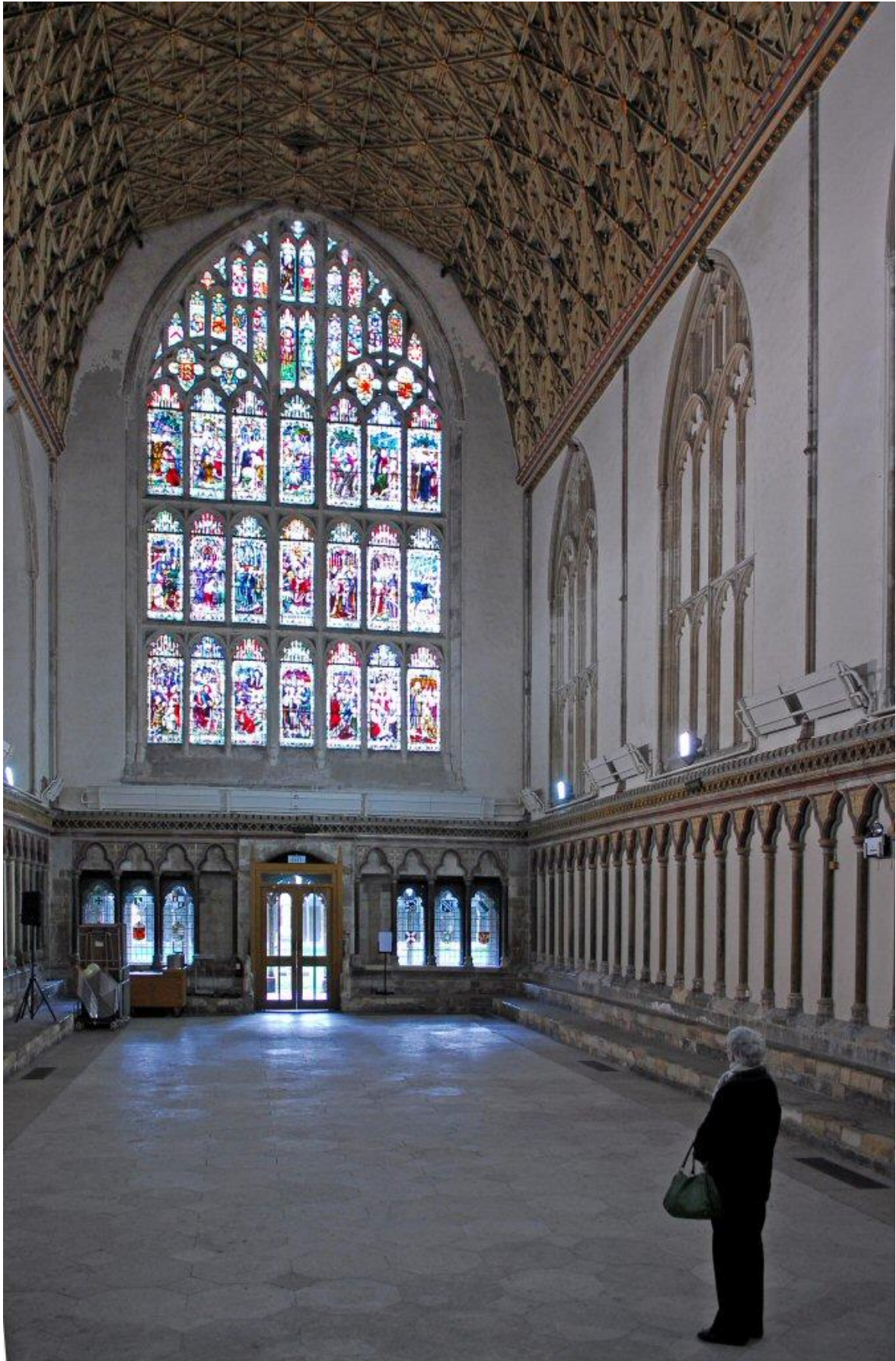


Plate 68 – Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House, c. 1300.



Plate 69 – Interior of St Etheldreda's, Holborn, east end, 1284-86.



Plate 70 – Interior of St Etheldreda's, Holborn, north wall, 1284-86.

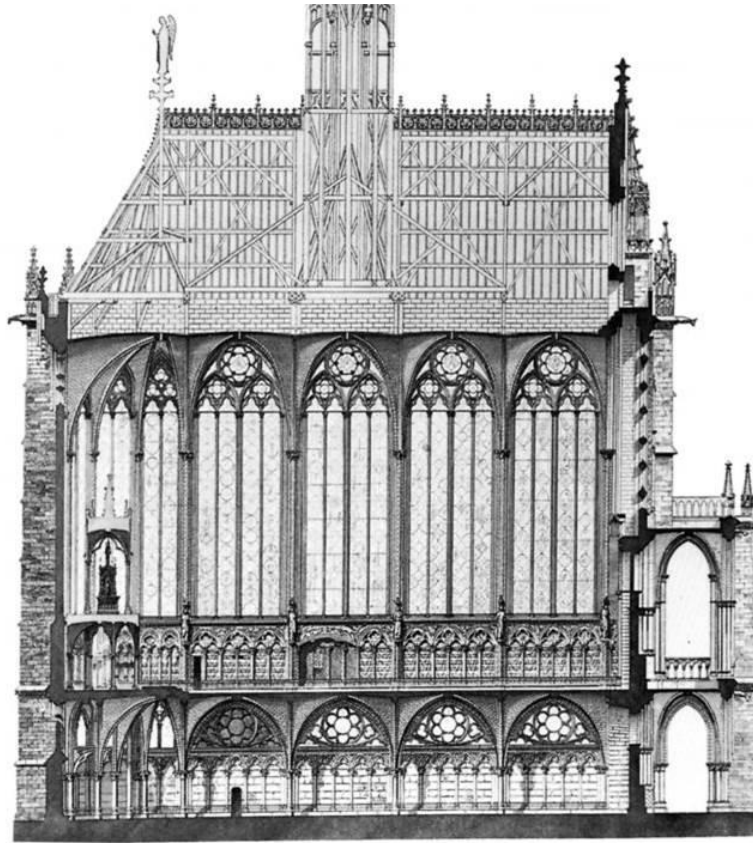
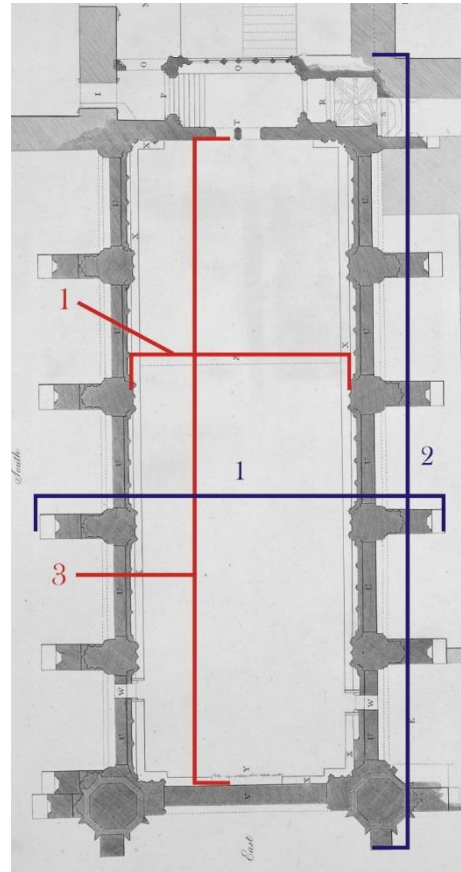
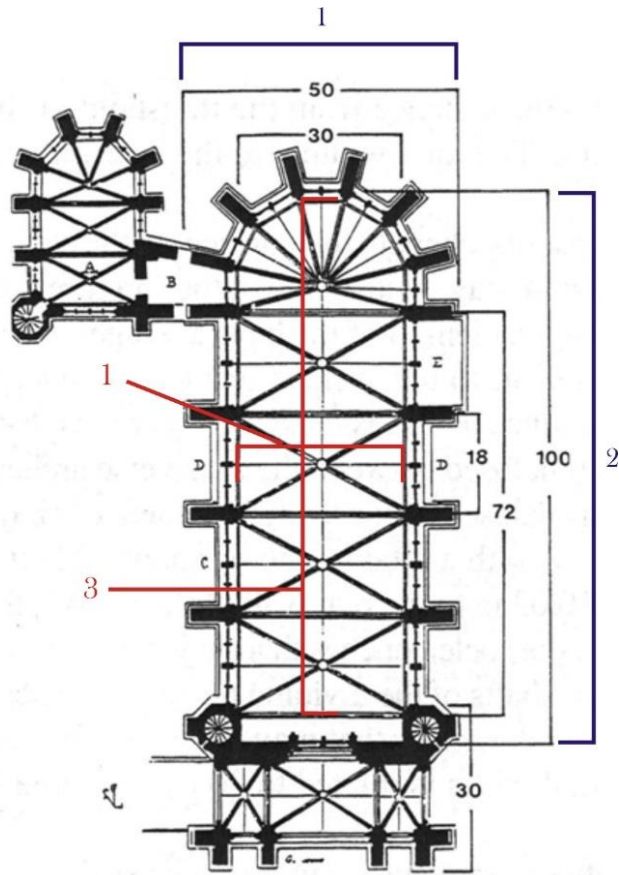


Plate 71 – Leon Gaucherel, Longitudinal section of Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, facing south, c. 1865. Engraving. Alfred P. H. Decloux and Doury, *Histoire Archeologique, Descriptive et Graphique de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris, 1865).



Plate 72 – W. F. Starling, St Stephen's Chapel longitudinal section from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate VII in Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen. Westminster* (London, 1844). [MAC 7].



Left:

Plate 73 – Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, ground plan overlaid with proportional analysis (1239-48), based on a plan by Stephen Murray in Stephen Murray, “The Architectural Envelope of the Sainte-Chapelle,” *Avista Forum* 10 (1997), 21-25.

Right:

Plate 74 – St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Upper Chapel ground plan overlaid with proportional analysis. Based on Plate III in John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster* (London, 1795-1811). Engraving with digital alterations. [TOP 3].



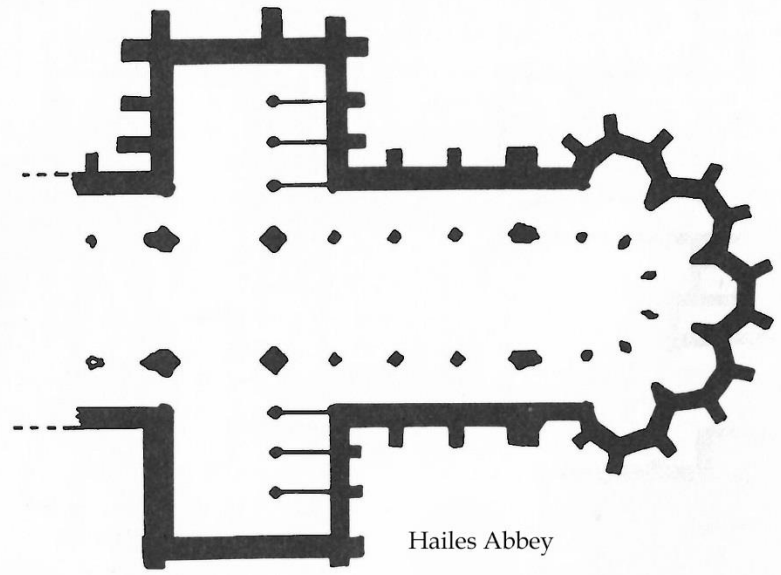
Plate 75 – Caernarfon Castle, 1283-1325.



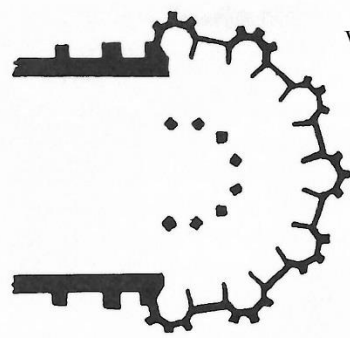
Plate 76 – Eagle sculpture on Eagle Tower at Caernarfon Castle, 1283-92.



Plate 77 – King's Gate at Caernarfon Castle, 1316-25.



Hailes Abbey



Vale Royal Abbey

Plate 78 – Above: Hailes Abbey ground plan, c. 1246. Below: Vale Royal Abbey ground plan, 1270s-1370s. Nicola Coldstream, “Cistercian Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution” in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge, 2011), 144.

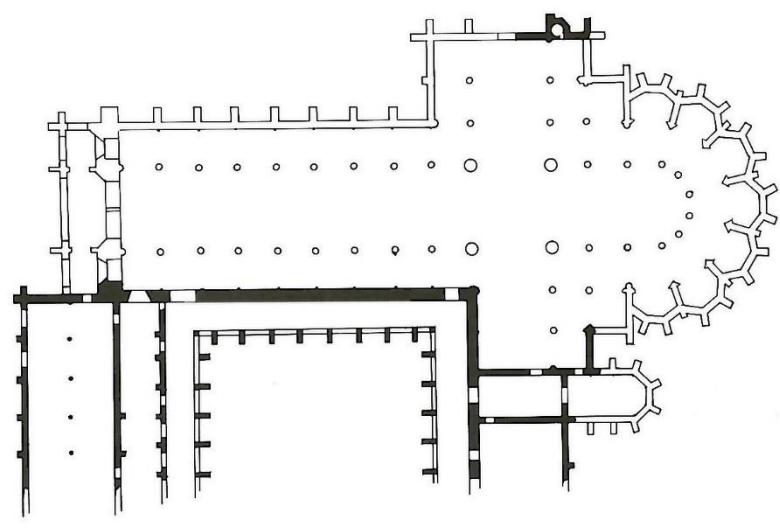


Plate 79 –Royaumont Abbey, ground plan. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, Plate 3.



Plate 80 – Hardingstone Cross (1291-94).

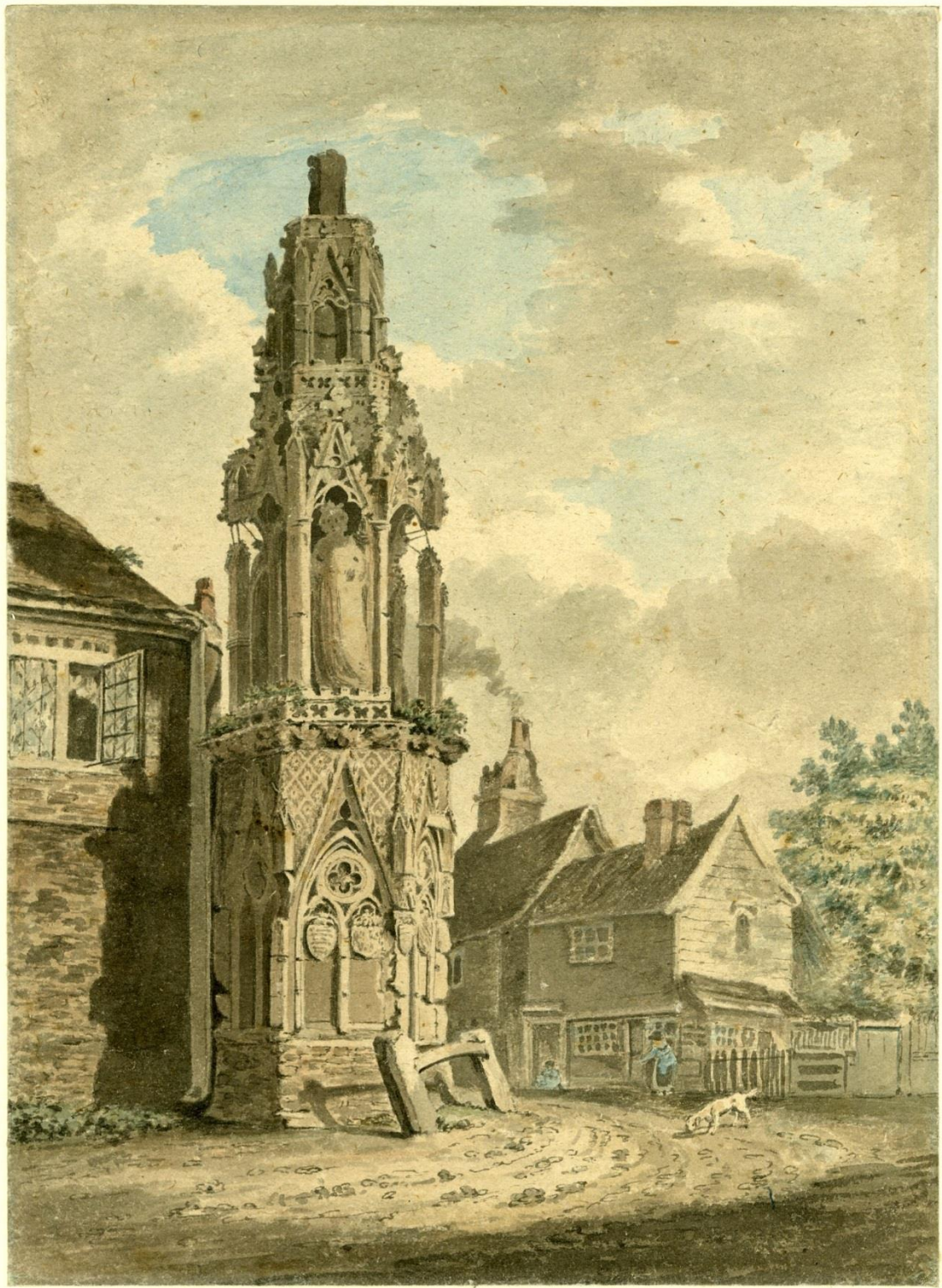


Plate 81 – William Alexander, Waltham Cross, 1767-1816. Watercolour. British Museum.



Plate 82 – Geddington Cross, 1291-94.

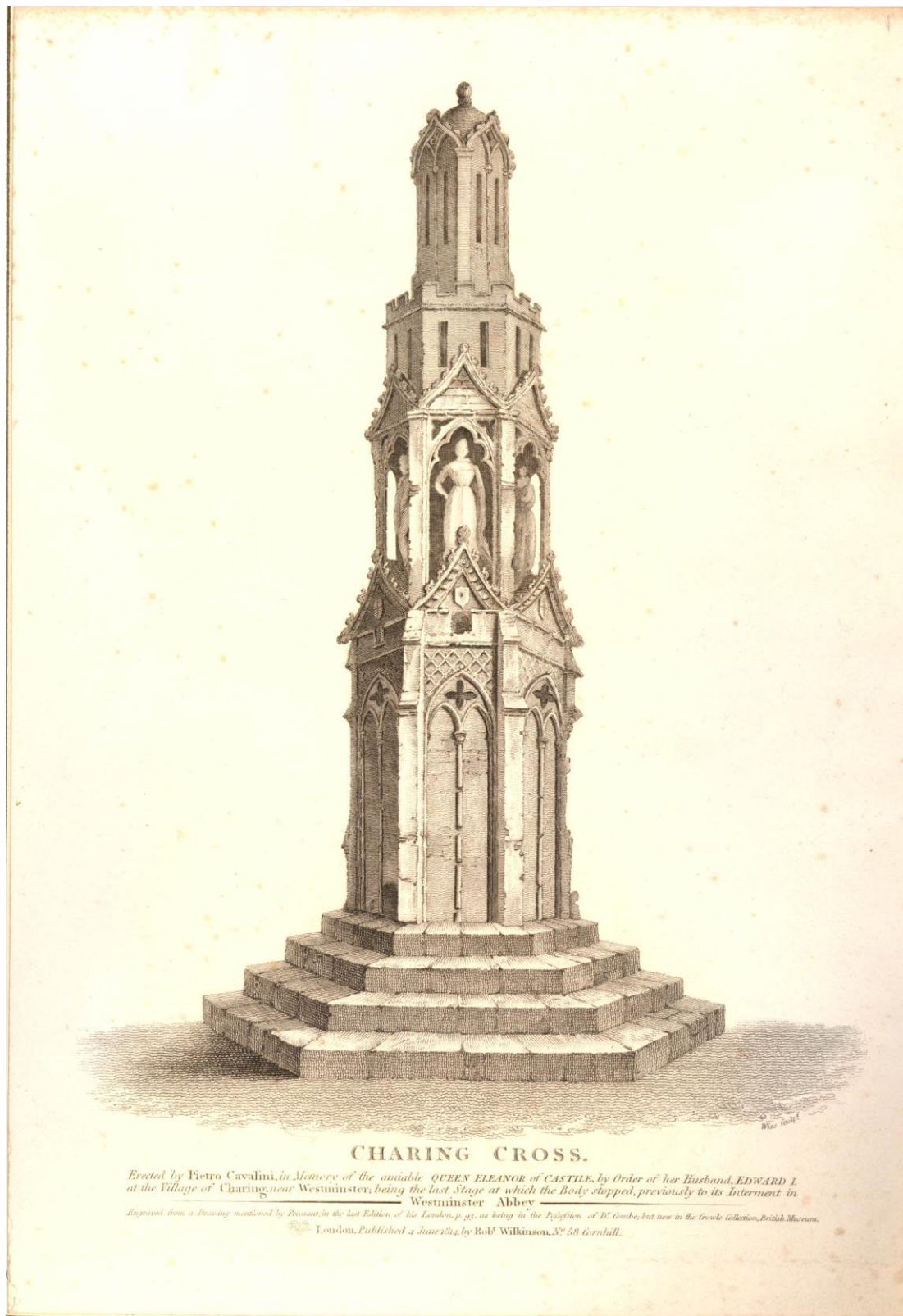


Plate 83 – William Wise, Charing Cross, 1814. Etching and engraving. British Museum.

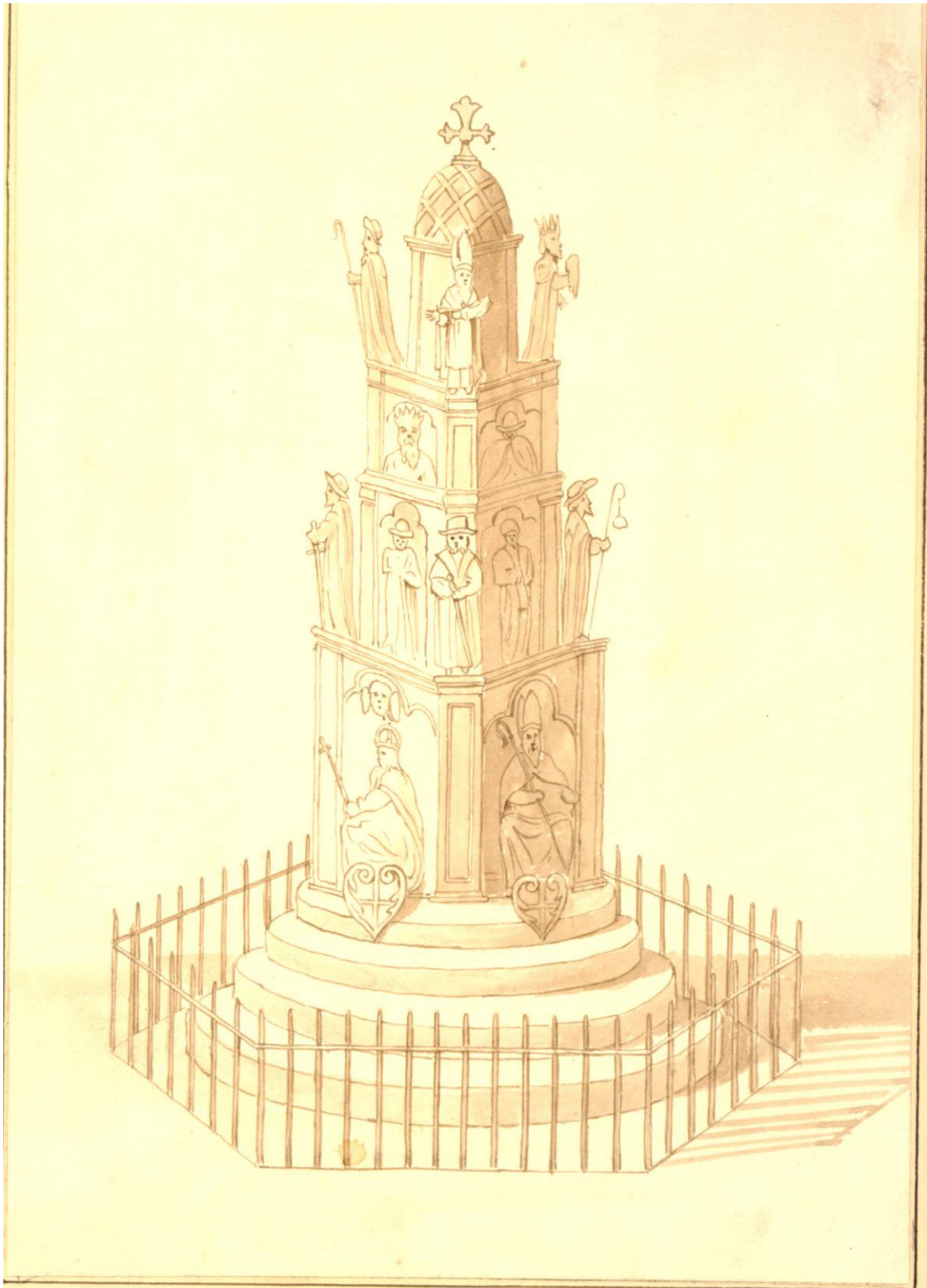


Plate 84 – Anonymous Cheapside Cross, 1800-50. Pen and ink on paper. British Museum.



Plate 85 – Lincoln Cross Fragment, Lincoln, 1291-94.



Plate 86 – Stamford Cross Fragment, 1291-94. Stone. Stamford Museum.



Plate 87 – Cheapside Cross Fragment, 1291-94. Stone. Museum of London.



Plate 88 – Shrine of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey choir, 1279-90.



Plate 89 – Tomb of Henry III, Westminster Abbey choir, c. 1280-1290s.

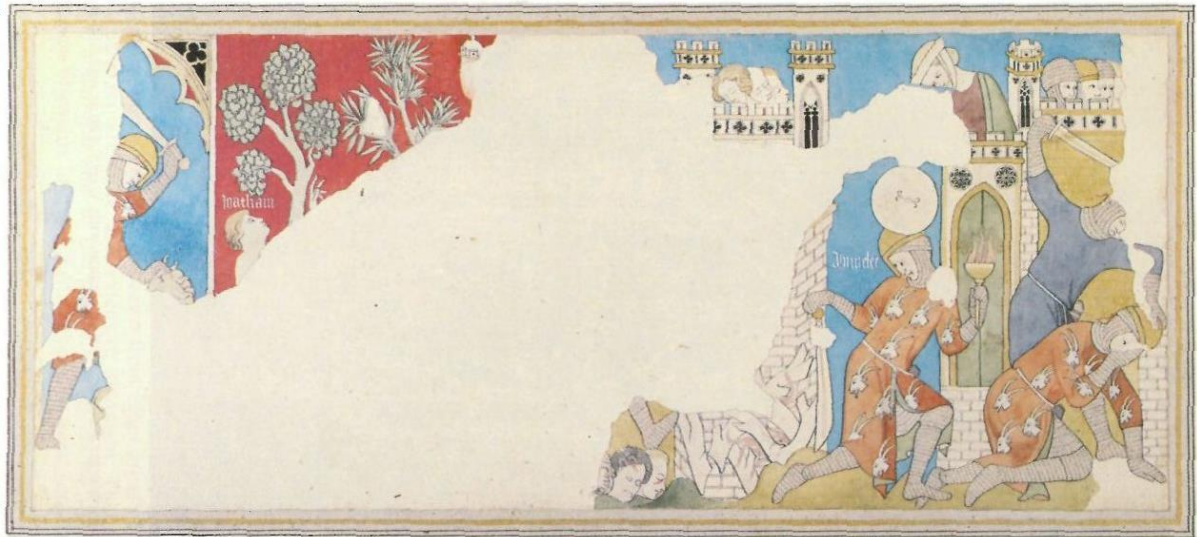


Plate 90 – Charles Stothard, Death of King Abimelech, Society of Antiquaries, 1819-20. Watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries. Binski, *Painted Chamber*, Colour Plate V.



Plate 91 – Capella Palatina, Palermo, interior view of opus sectile throne and floor at the west end, 1132-43.

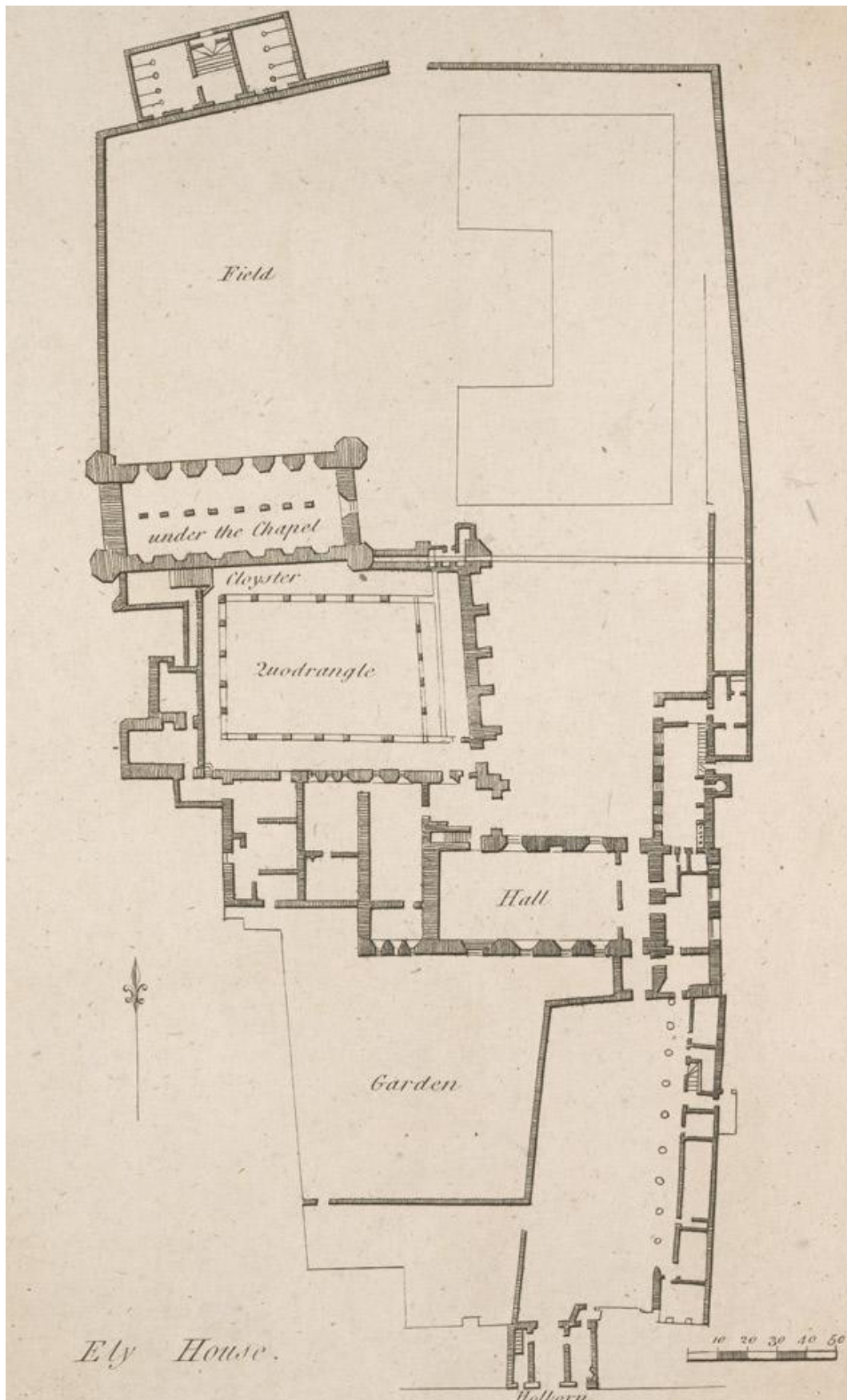


Plate 92 – Francis Grose, Ground plan of the Bishop's Palace at Ely including St Etheldreda's, Holborn, 1785. Engraving. British Library.



Plate 93 – John le Keux St Etheldreda's, Holborn, exterior view of west end from a drawing by John Carter, 1828. Etching. British Museum.

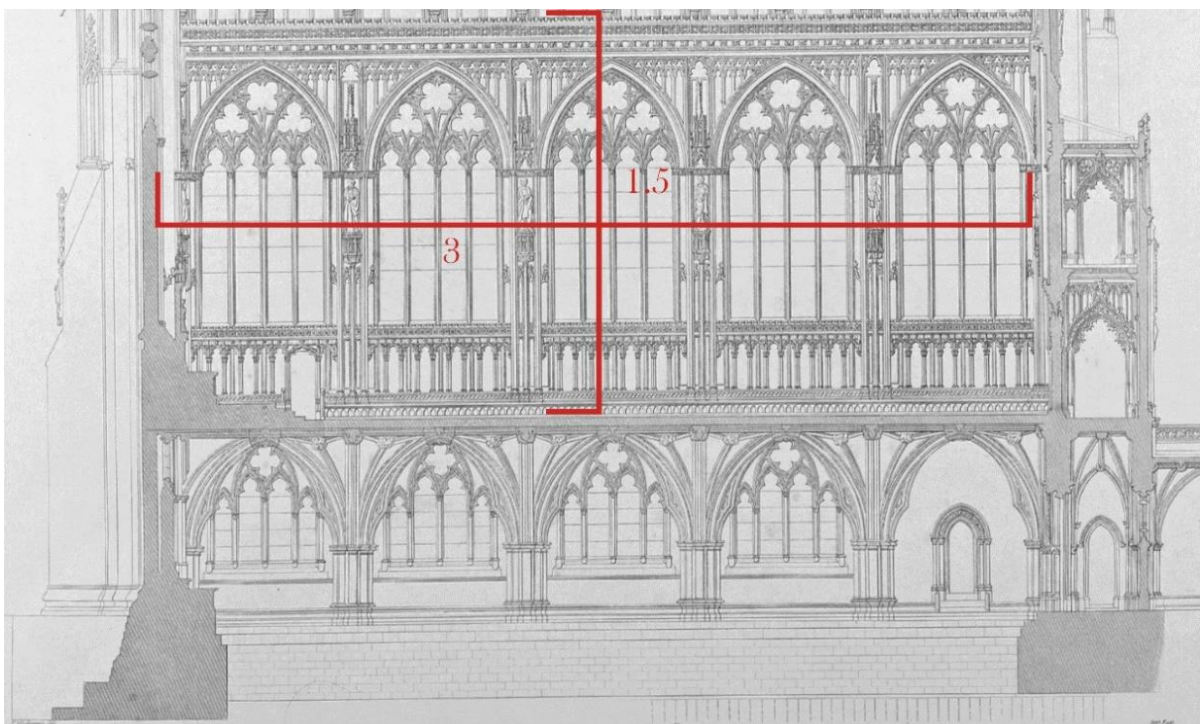
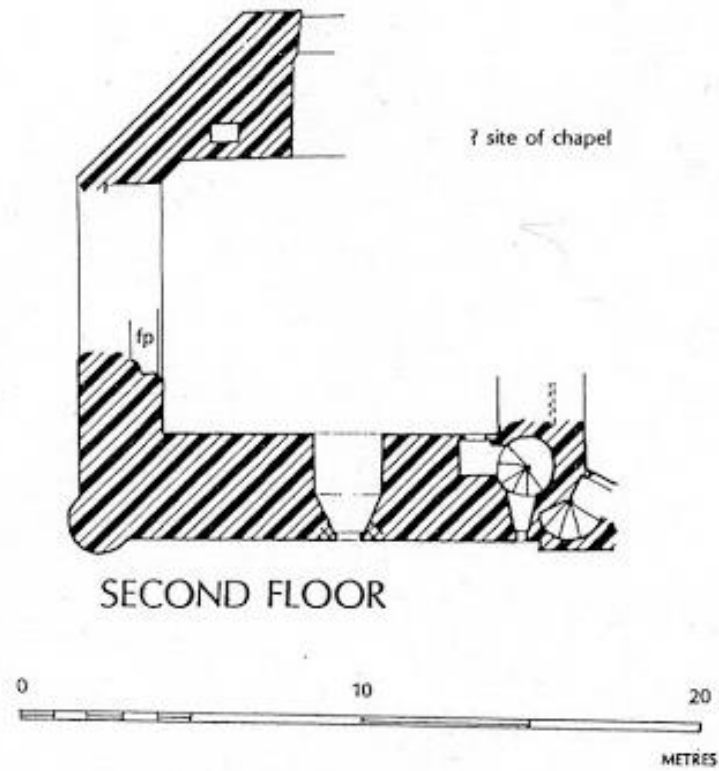


Plate 94 – Longitudinal section of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster (1292-1363), overlaid with proportional analysis. Based on Plate VII in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. Engraving. [MAC 7].



EAST-WEST SECTION

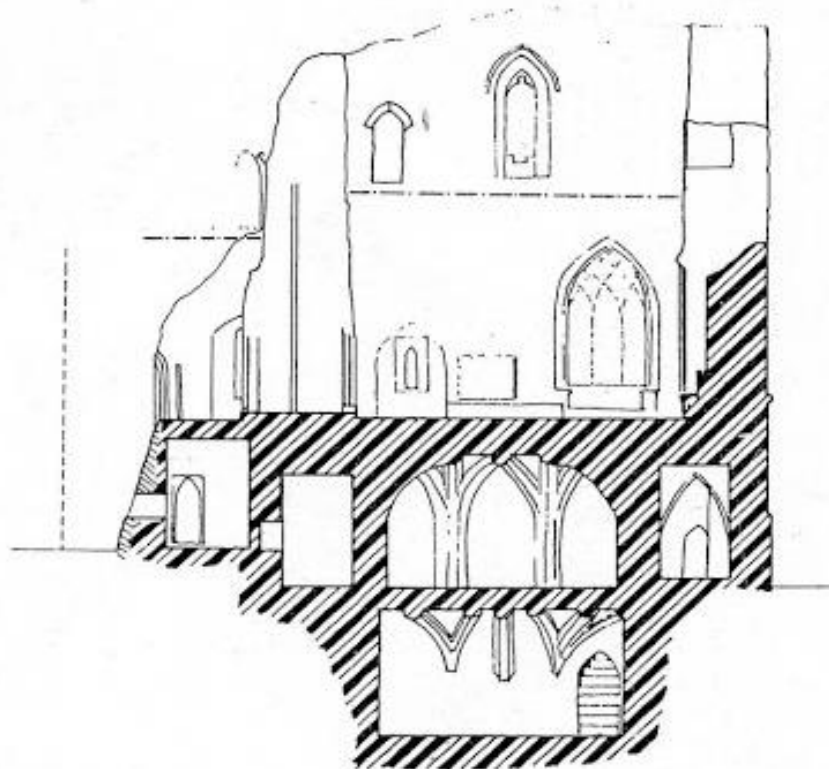


Plate 95 – Knaresborough castle reconstruction drawing, plan and section. Philip Dixon, “The Donjon of Knaresborough: the castle as theatre,” *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellologie médiévale* 14 (1990), fig. 4.

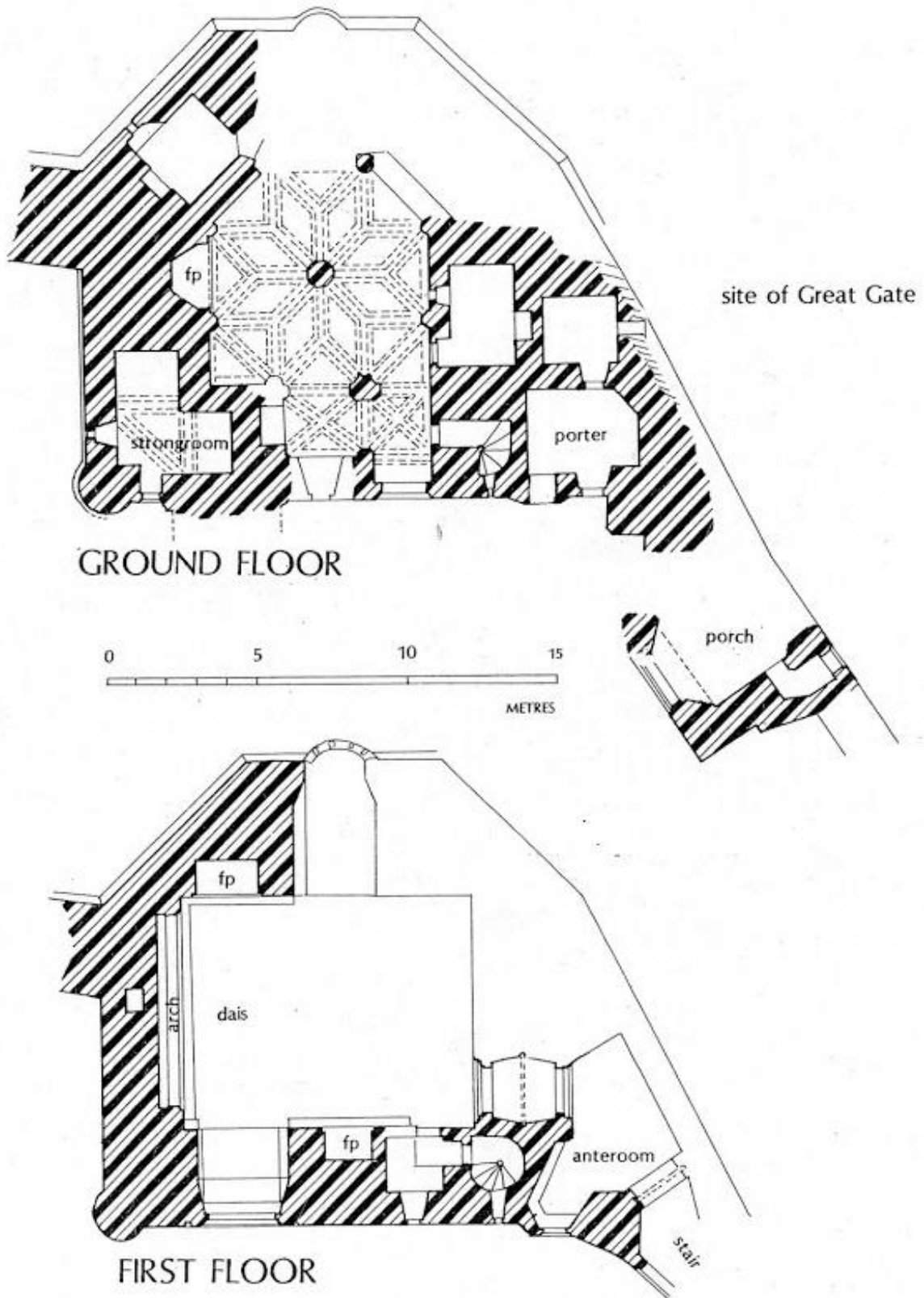
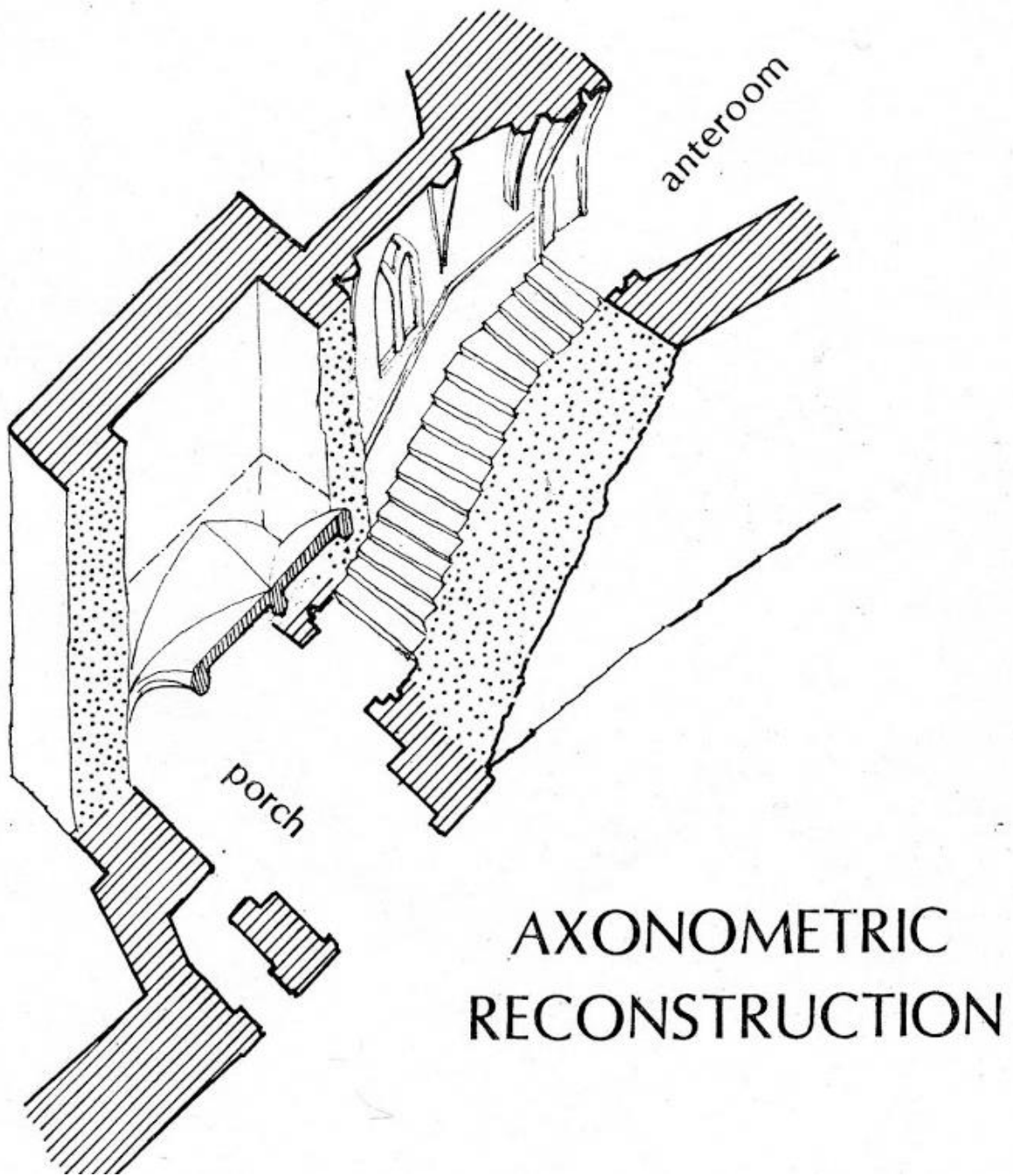


Plate 96 – Knaresborough castle reconstruction drawing, plans. Philip Dixon, “The Donjon of Knaresborough: the castle as theatre,” *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellologie médiévale* 14 (1990), fig. 3.



AXONOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION

Plate 97 – Knaresborough castle reconstruction drawing, plans. Philip Dixon, “The Donjon of Knaresborough: the castle as theatre,” *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellologie médiévale* 14 (1990), fig. 5.



Plate 98 – W. F. Starling, West entrance to St Stephen's Upper Chapel from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate X in Frederick Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 10].

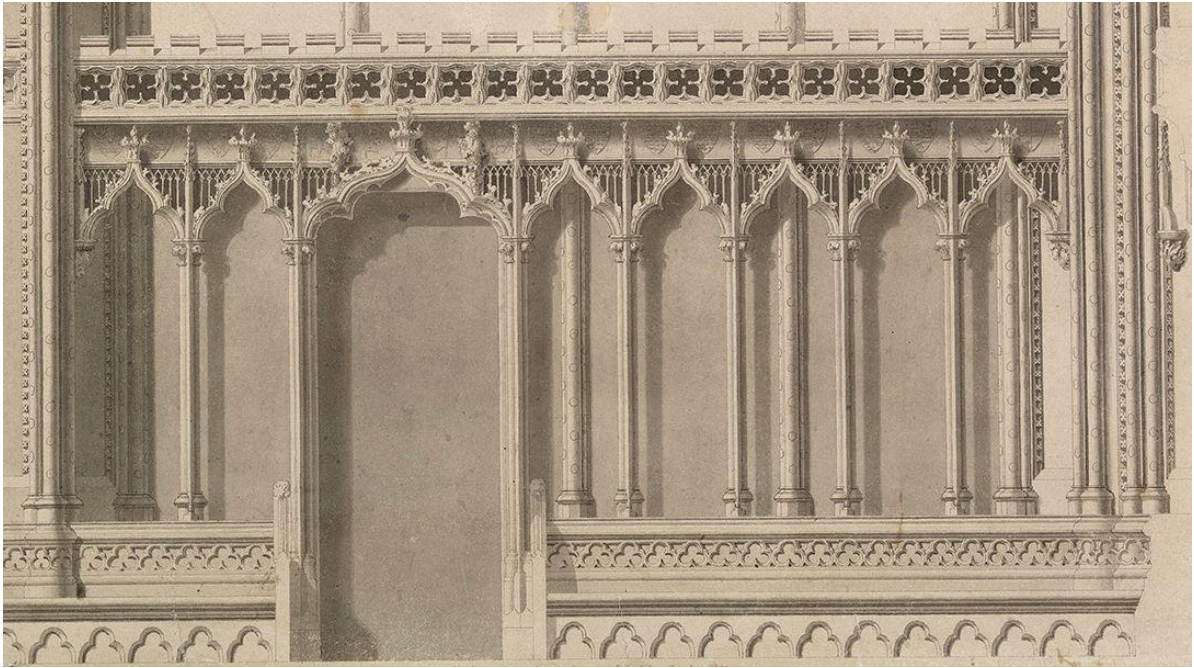


Plate 99 – Detail of Plate 3. [*DRA 84 (Dix)*].

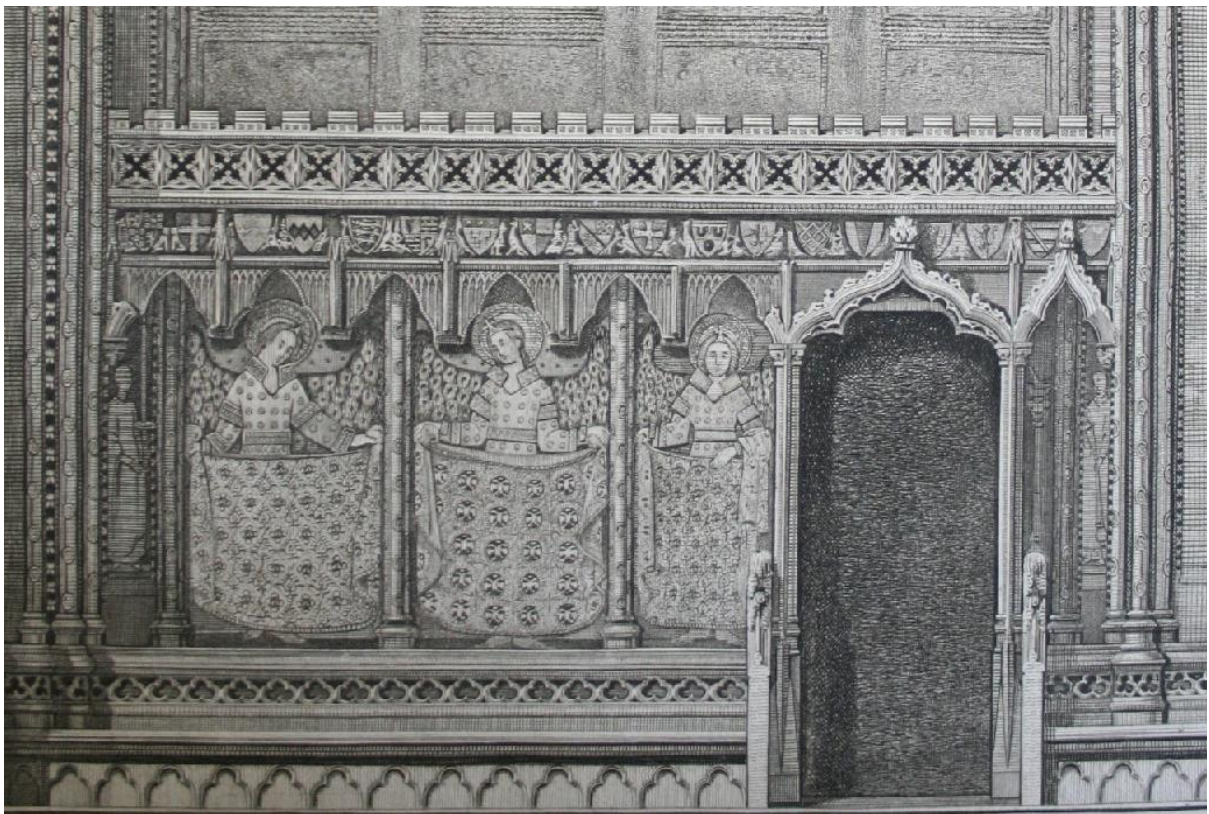


Plate 100 – John Thomas Smith, Southeast entrance to St Stephen's Upper Chapel, 1807.
Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [*SMI 9*].

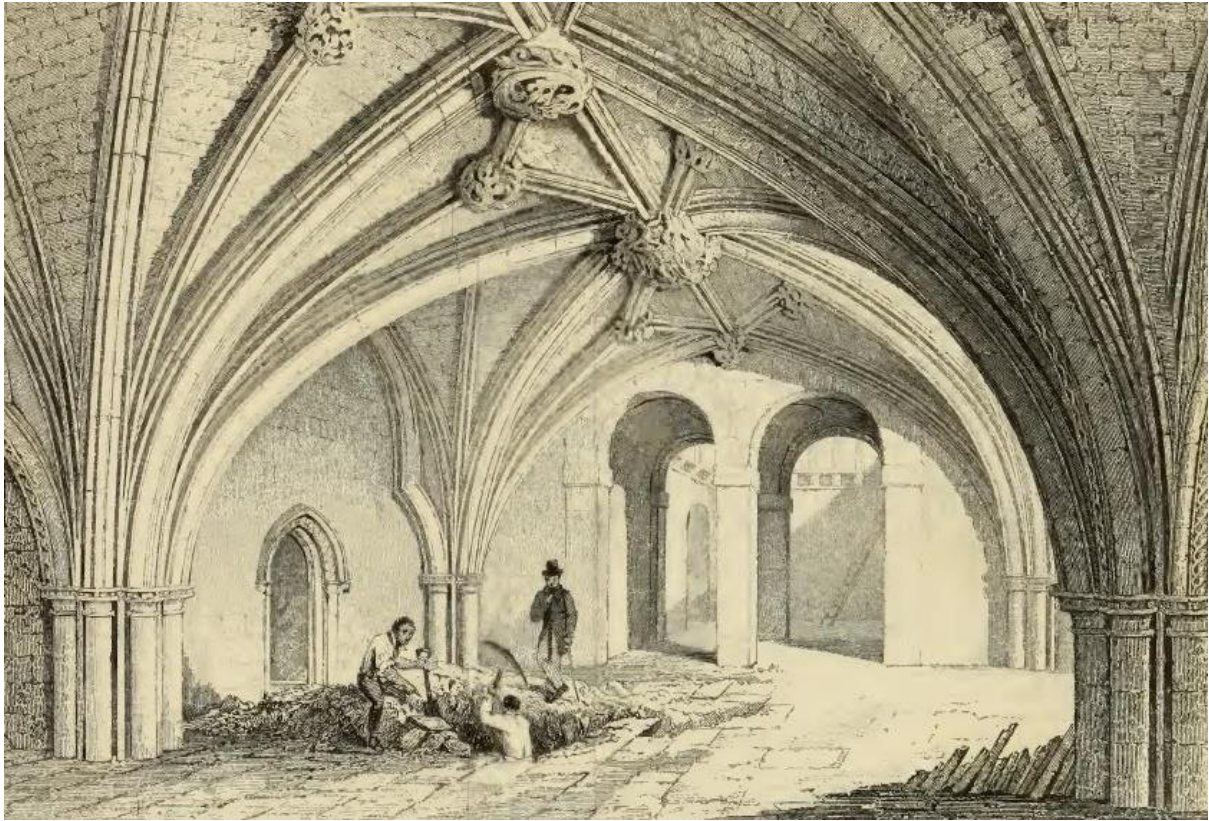


Plate 101 – T. Woolnoth, View of Lower Chapel west end after the 1834 fire from a drawing by R. W. Billings, c. 1836. Engraving. Brayley and Britton, *History*. [BRA 12].

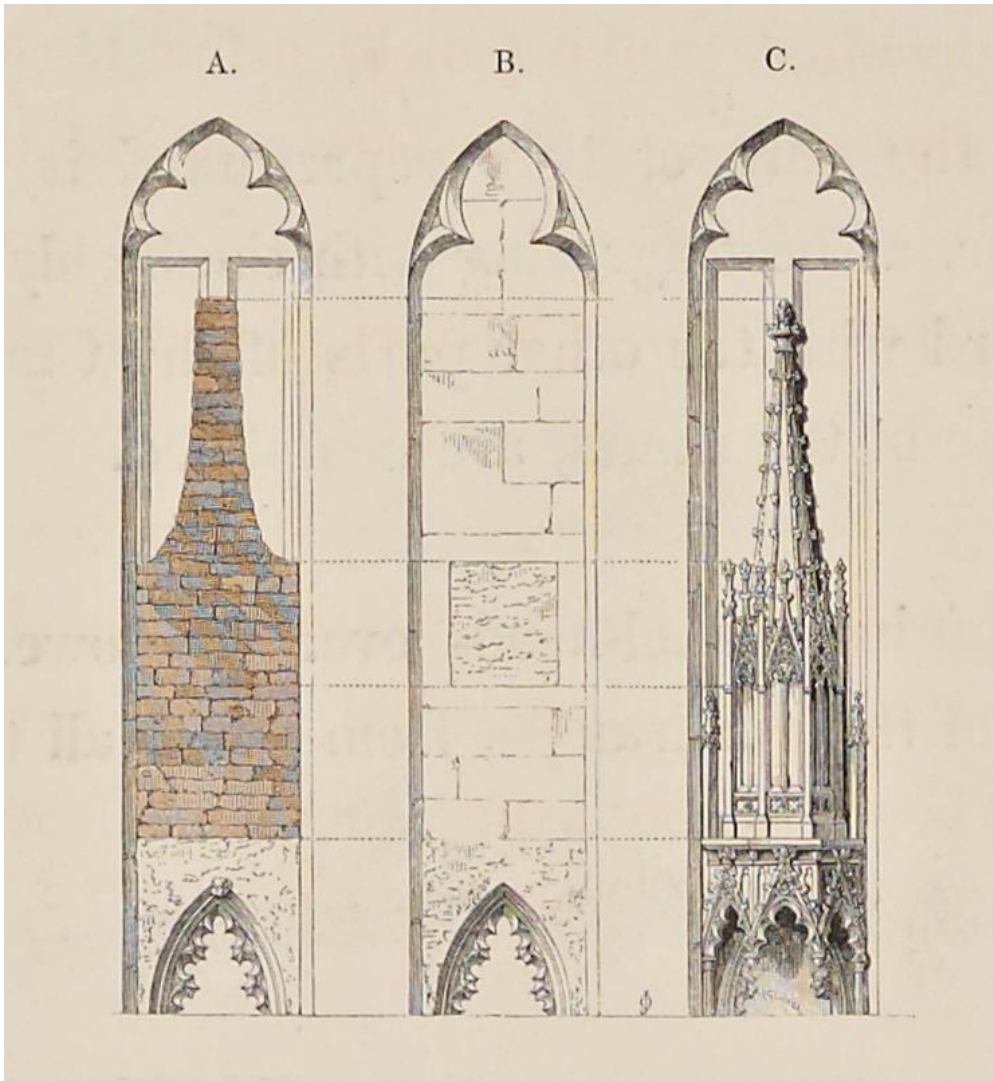


Plate 102 – W. F. Starling, Projected tabernacle reconstruction from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Frederick Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 31].



Plate 103 – John Thomas Smith, Pier bracket, c. 1807. Hand-coloured engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 11].

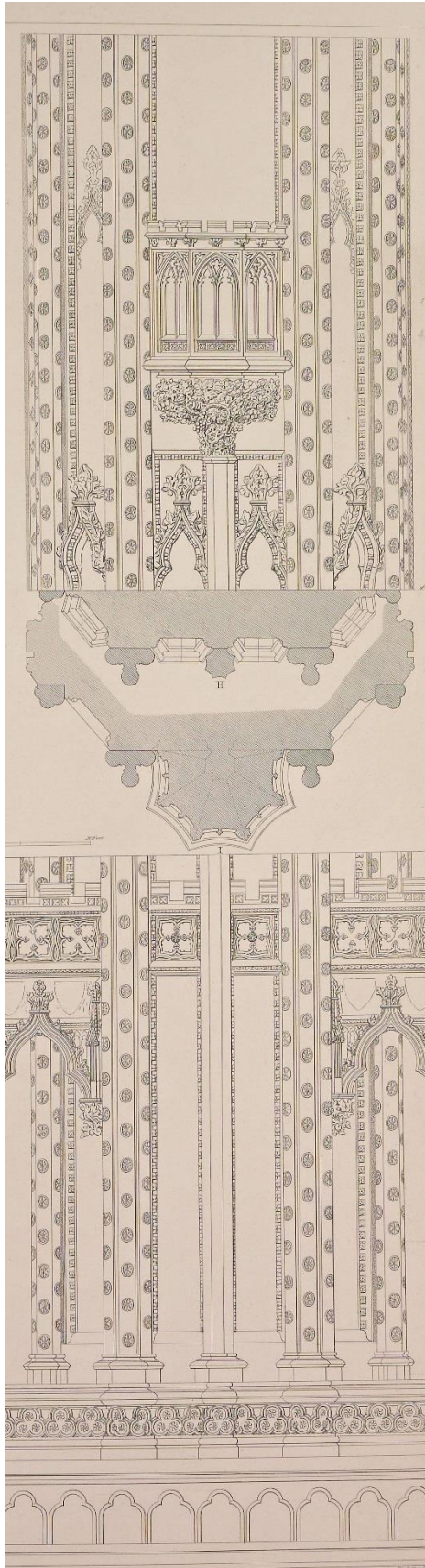


Plate 104 – W. F. Starling, Octagonal columns underpinning tabernacle bases from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate XVI in Frederick Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 16].

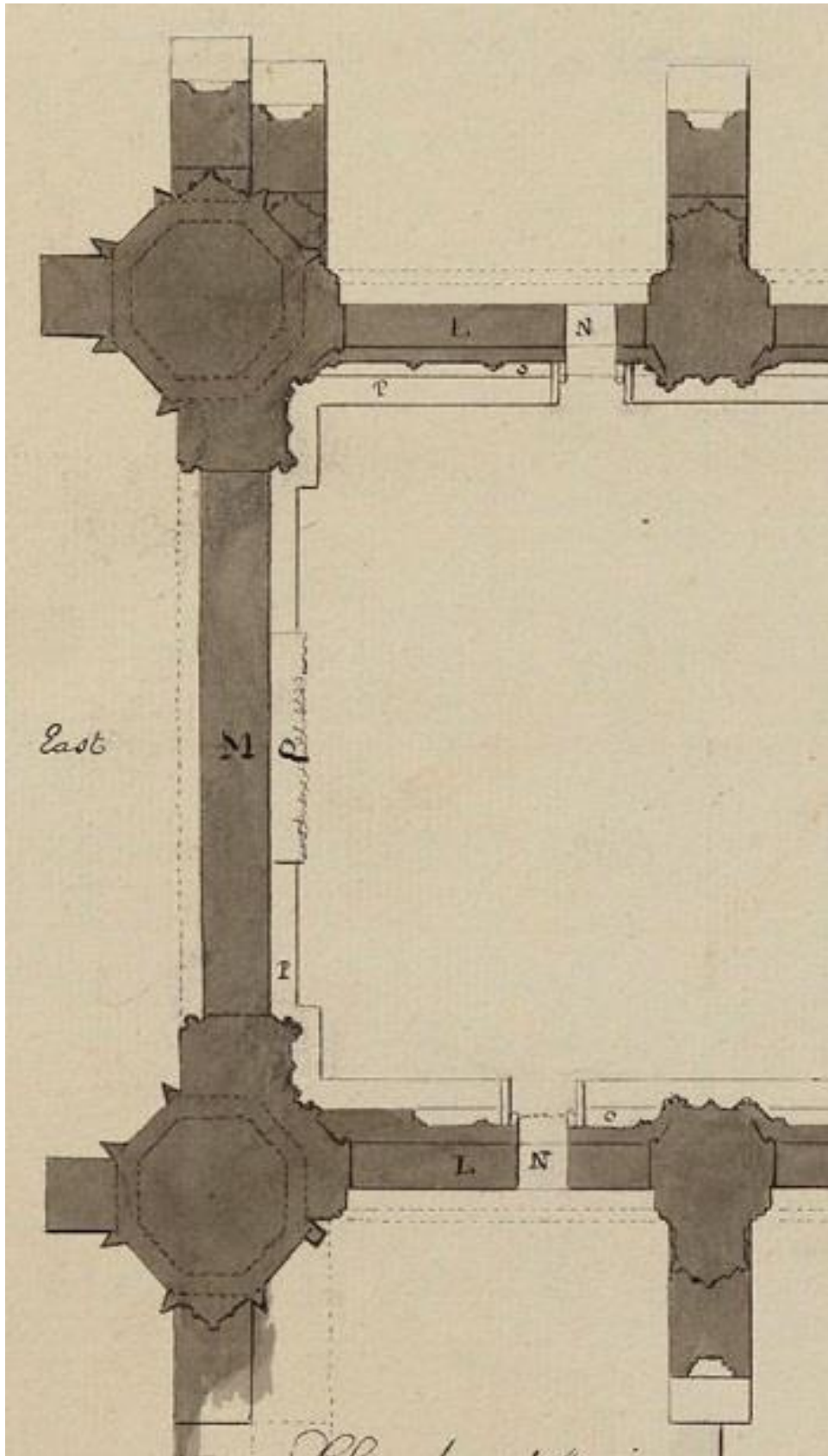


Plate 105 – John Carter, Detail of Upper Chapel ground plan, east end, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 69 (Car)].

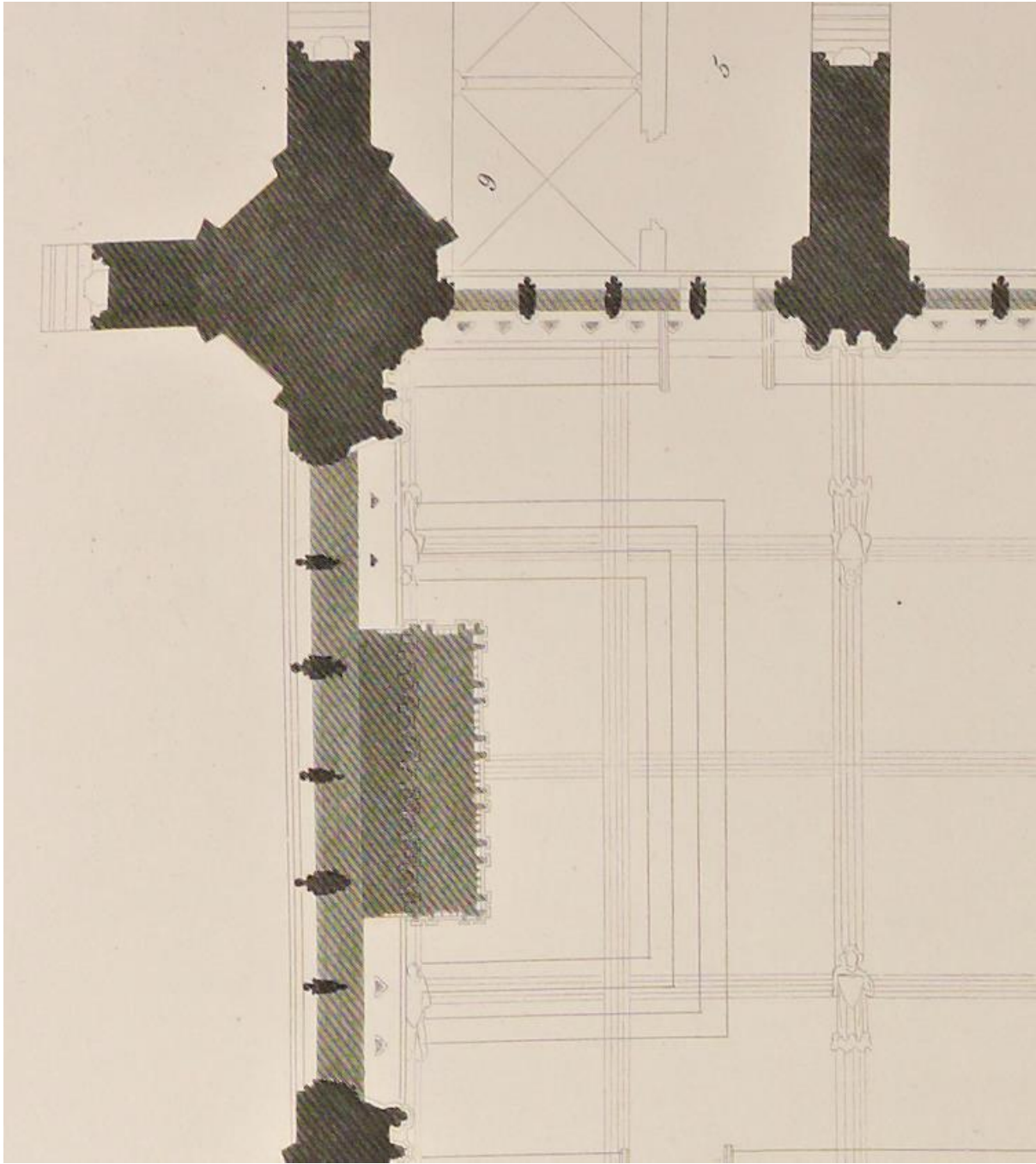


Plate 106 – W. F. Starling, Close up of ground plan of Upper Chapel, east end from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate II in Frederick Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 2].



Plate 107 – George Belton Moore, St Stephen's Chapel after the 1834 fire, south wall, 1835.
Watercolour on paper. Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection.



Plate 108 – Anonymous, St Stephen's Chapel after the 1834 fire, south side, 1834. Museum of London.



Plate 109 – Triforium tracery, Amiens cathedral transept, 1230s-40s.

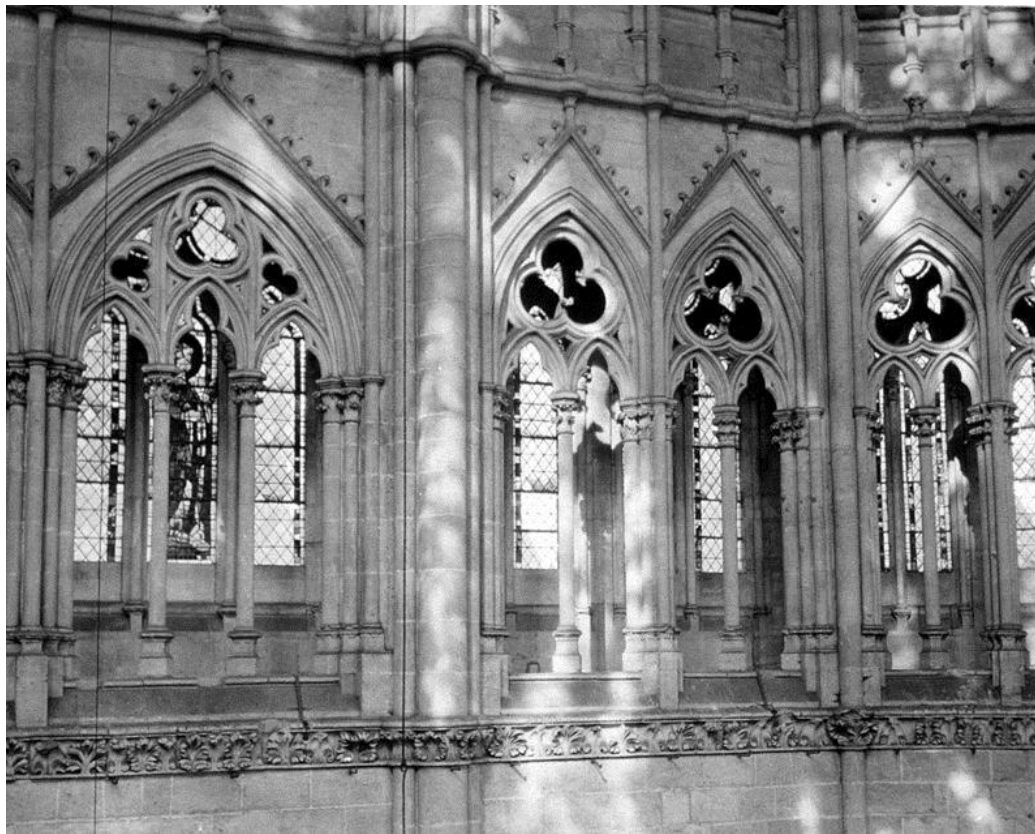


Plate 110 – Triforium tracery, Amiens cathedral choir, c. 1245-60.

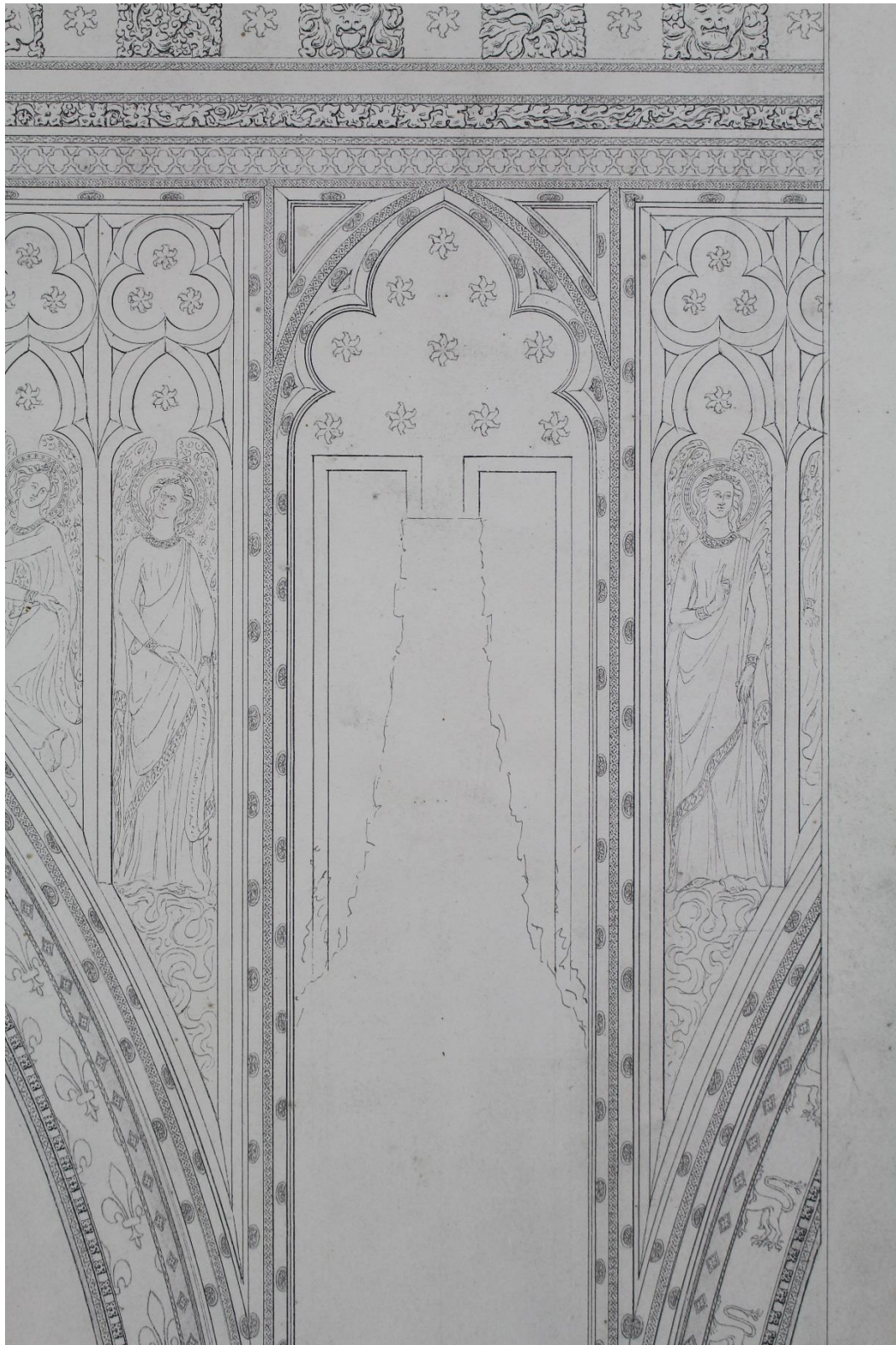


Plate 111 – Frederick Mackenzie, Detail of Upper Chapel pier elevation, before 1844. Pen, ink and watercolour. The National Archives, Work 29. [DRA 100 (Mac)].

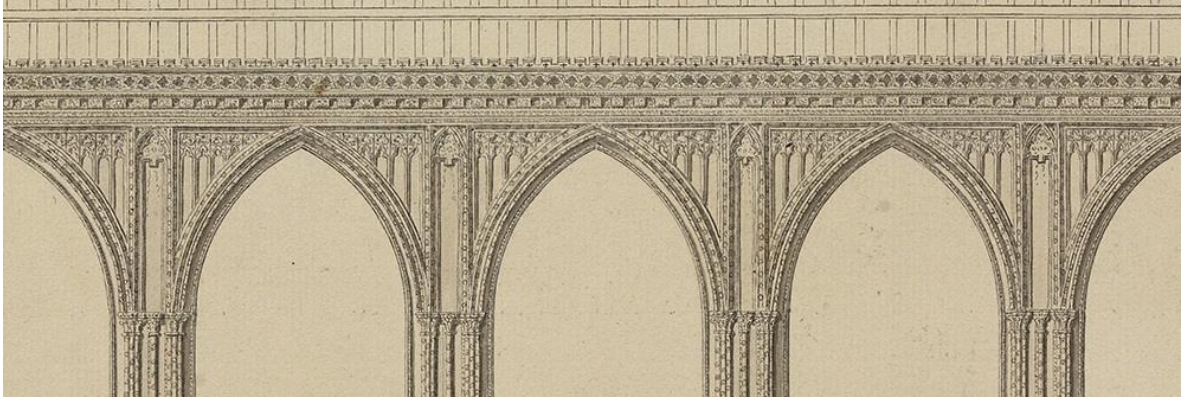


Plate 112 – Detail of Plate 2. [*DRA 74 (Car)*].



Plate 113 – John Carter, Detail of Upper Chapel pier elevation, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [*DRA 76 (Car)*].

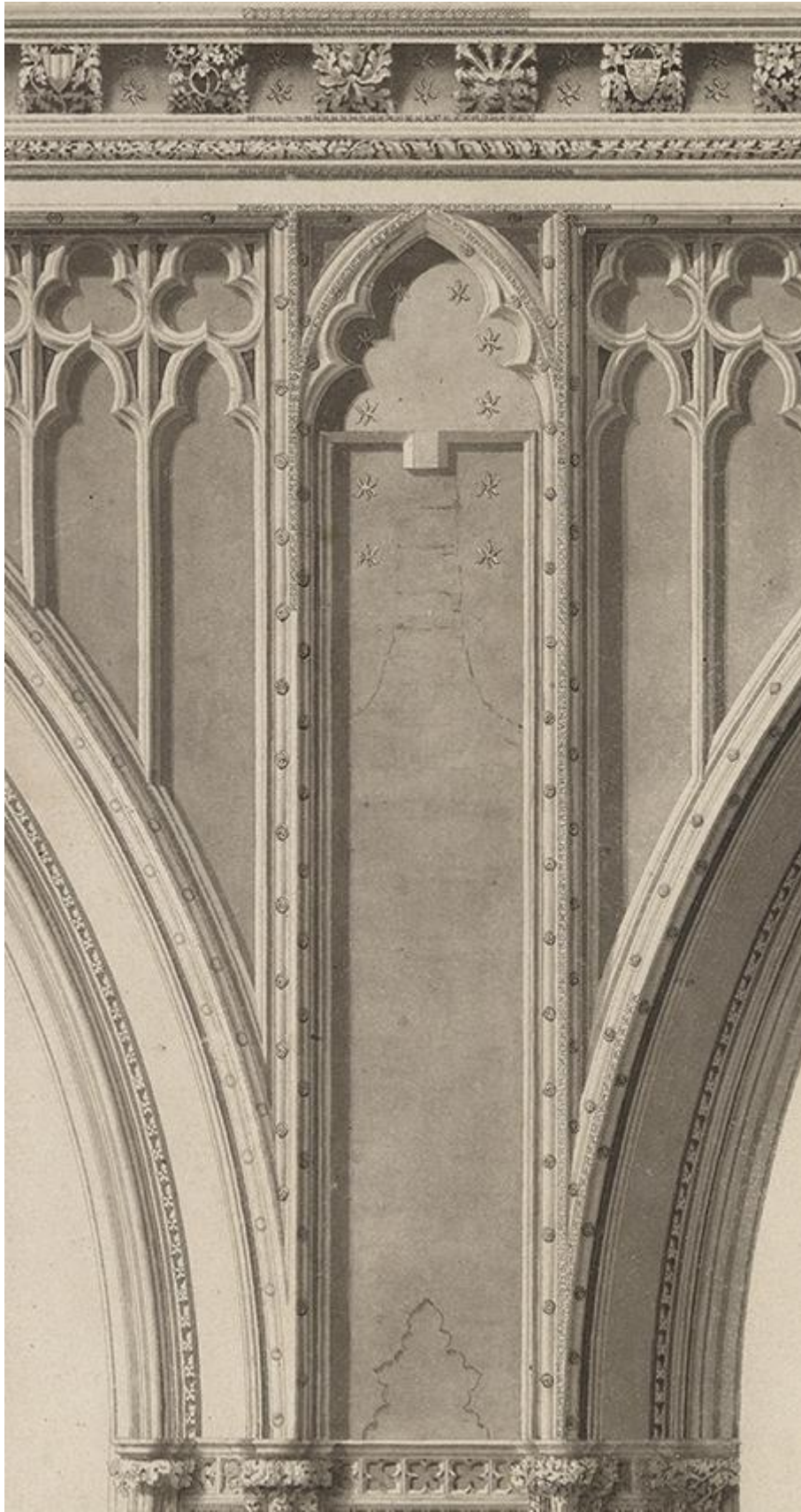


Plate 114 – Detail of Plate 3. [*DRA 84* (Dix)].



Plate 115 – George Belton Moore, St Stephen's Chapel after the 1834 fire, northeast corner, 1835. Watercolour on paper. Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection. [DRA 104 (Moo)].

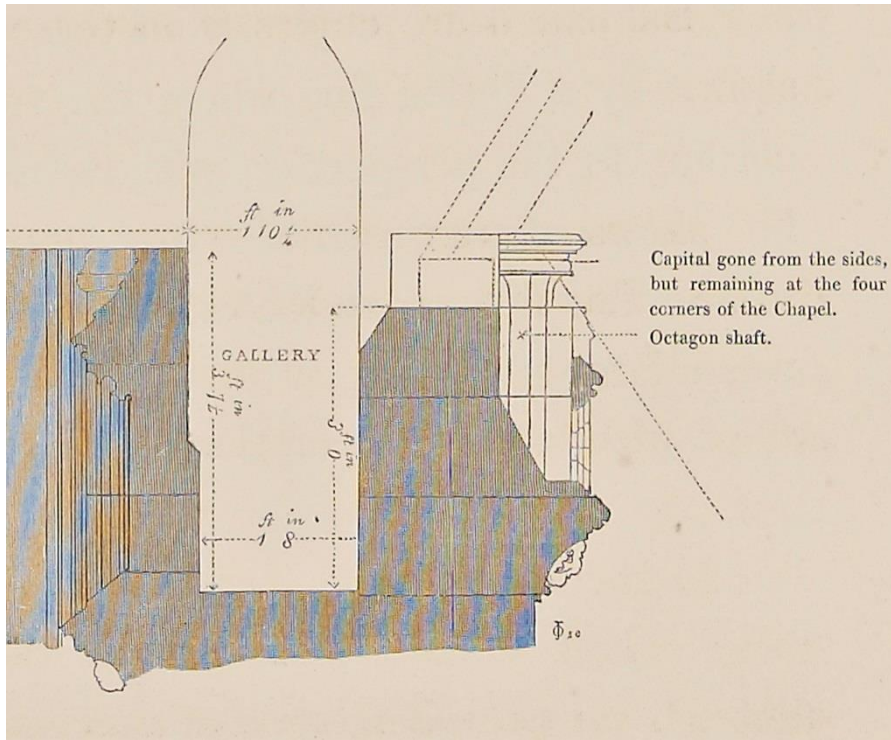


Plate 116 – W. F. Starling, Detail of figure showing upper cornice from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 20].

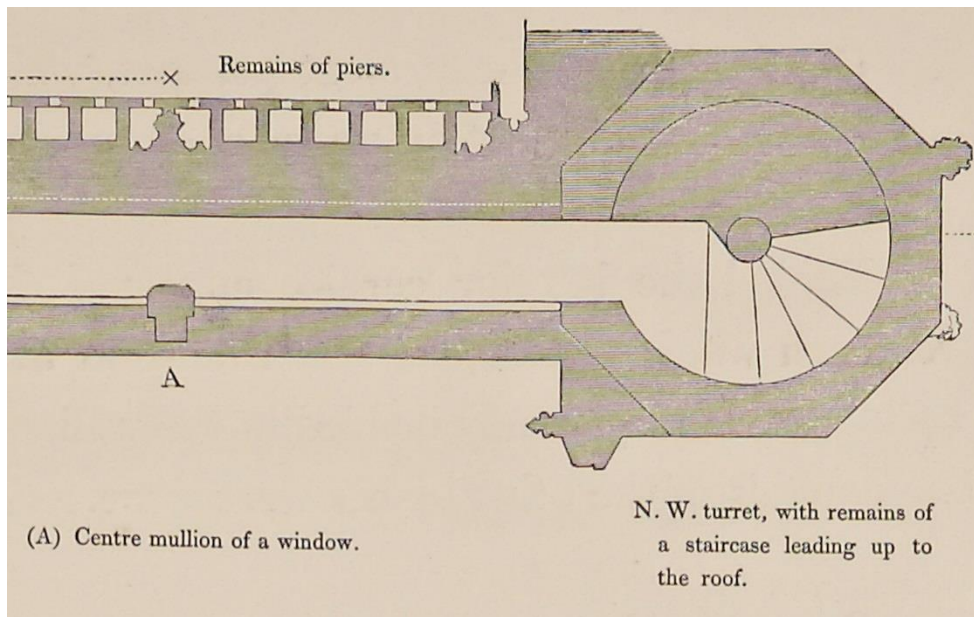


Plate 117 – W. F. Starling, Details showing pier mouldings *in situ* from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 21].



Plate 118 – W. F. Starling, Capitals above upper cornice from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Plate XIV in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 14].



Plate 119 – Ely Lady Chapel, pier, 1321-49.

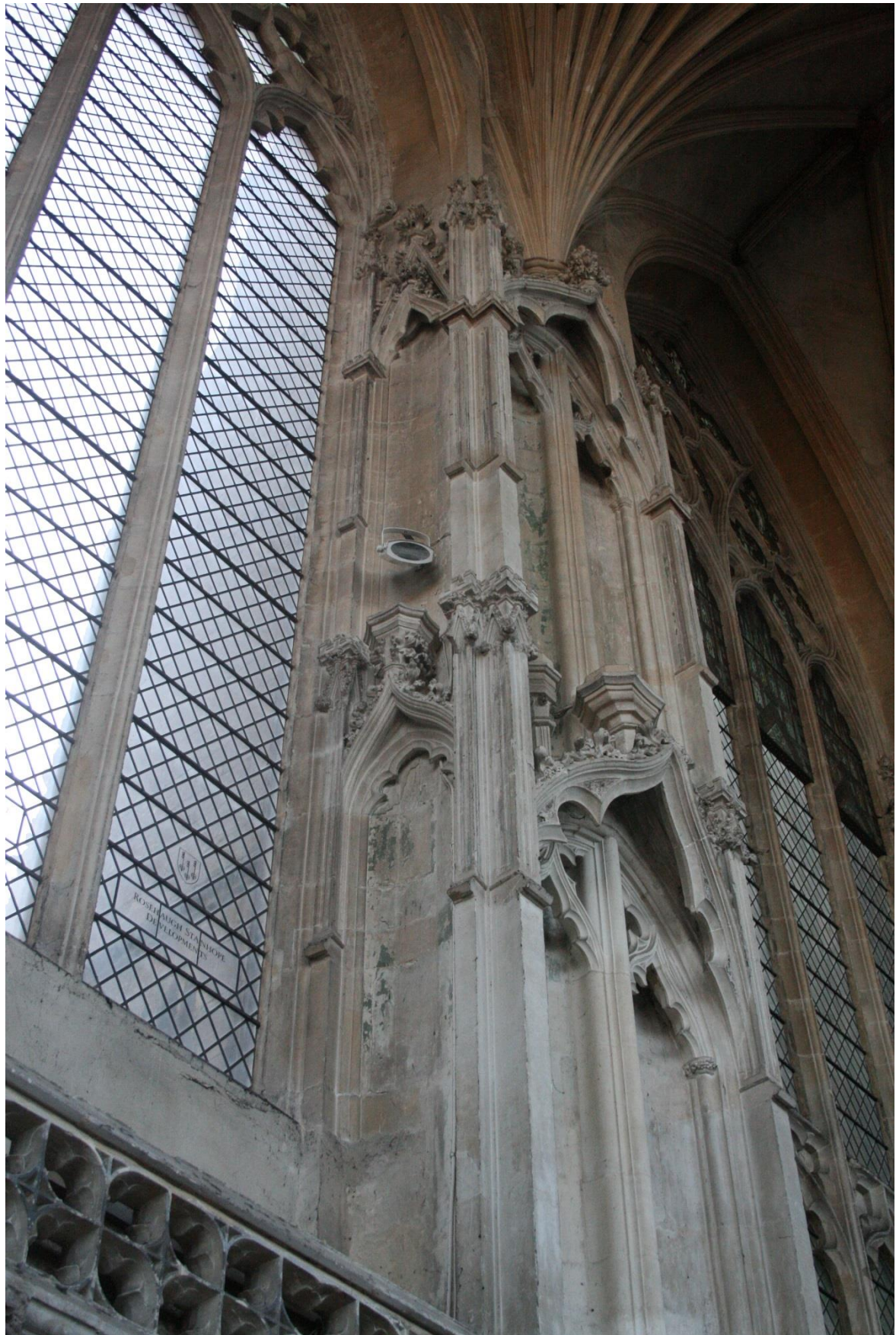


Plate 120 – Ely Lady Chapel, pier, 1321-49.



Plate 121 – Ely Lady Chapel, south side, 1321-49.



Plate 122 – Ely Lady Chapel, southwest corner, 1321-49.

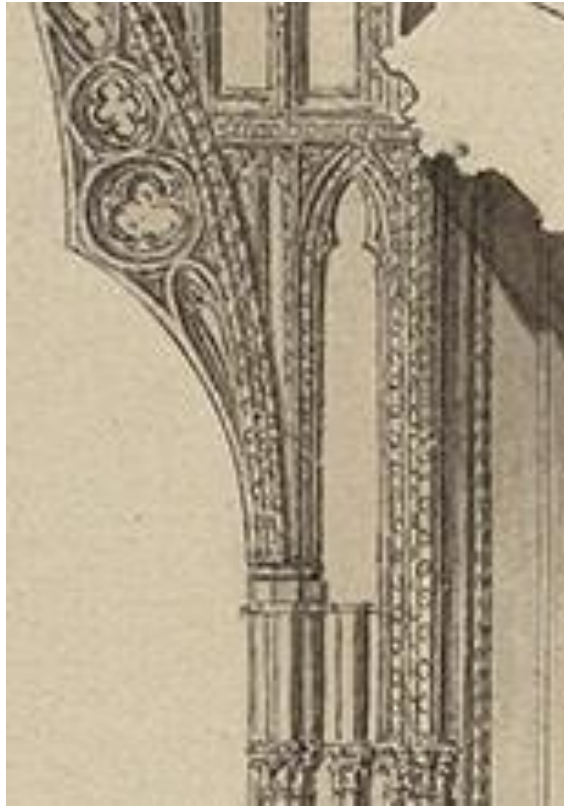


Plate 123 – Detail of Plate 4. [*DRA 73 (Car)*].



Plate 124 – John Carter, Sketch of St Stephen’s Chapel Arcading, c. 1791-92. Graphite on paper. British Library MS Add. 29930, fol. 120r. [DRA 43 (Car)].

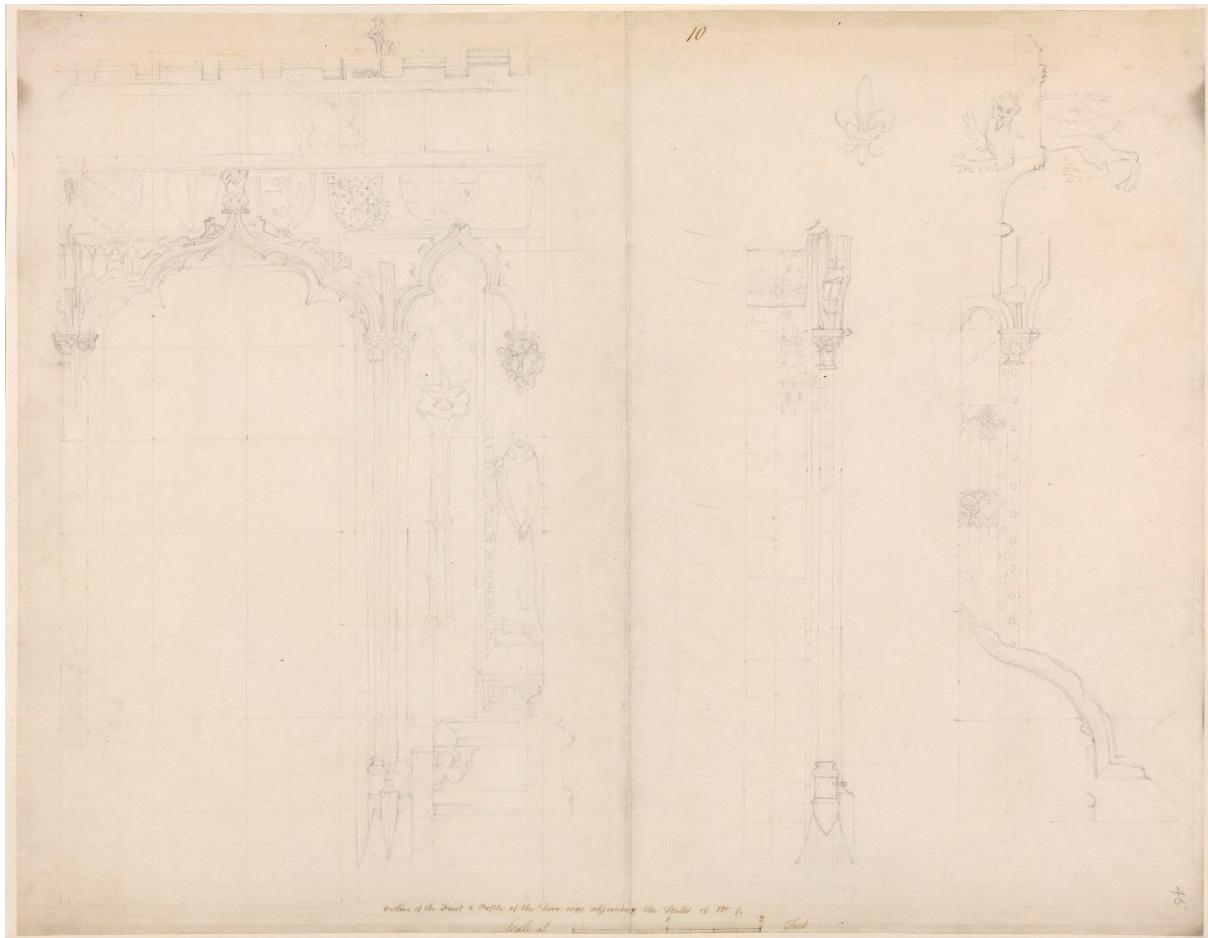


Plate 125 – Richard Smirke, Sketch of St Stephen's Chapel Arcading, c. 1800-05. Graphite on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 139 (Smi)].



Plate 126 – Shrine of St Eadburga, St Michael’s Church, Stanton Harcourt, formerly Bicester Priory, c. 1300.



Plate 127 – Tomb of Thomas II Berkeley at St Augustine's, 1307-09 or 1320s. Photograph by Jon Cannon.



Plate 128 – Nodding ogee, Berkeley Chapel west entrance, Bristol, 1300s-20s.

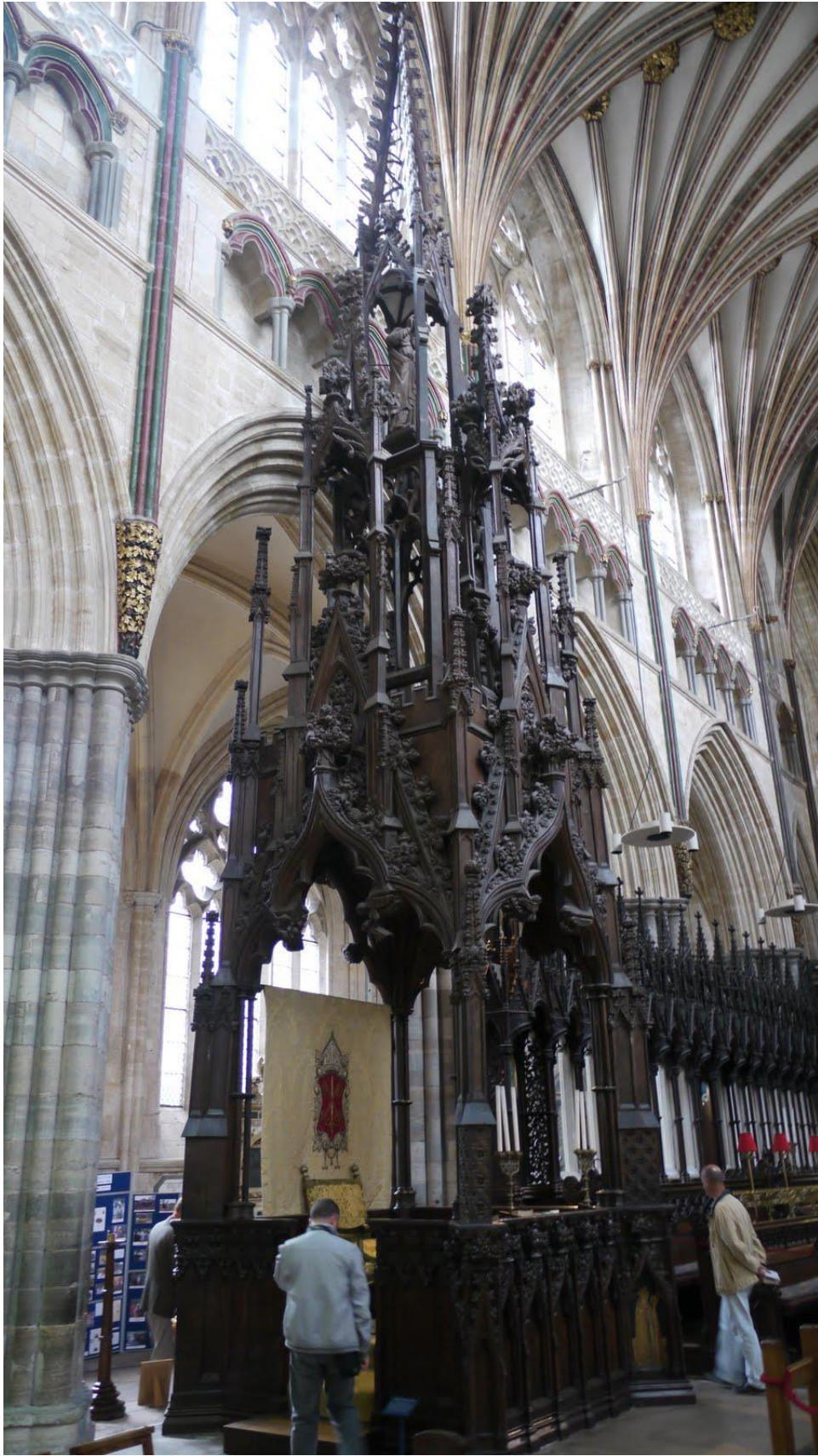


Plate 129 – Bishop's throne, Exeter Cathedral, 1313.



Plate 130 – Nodding ogee, Ely Lady Chapel, arcading, 1321-49.



Plate 131 – Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House arcading, east end, c. 1300.



Plate 132 – Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House arcading, walls, c. 1300.

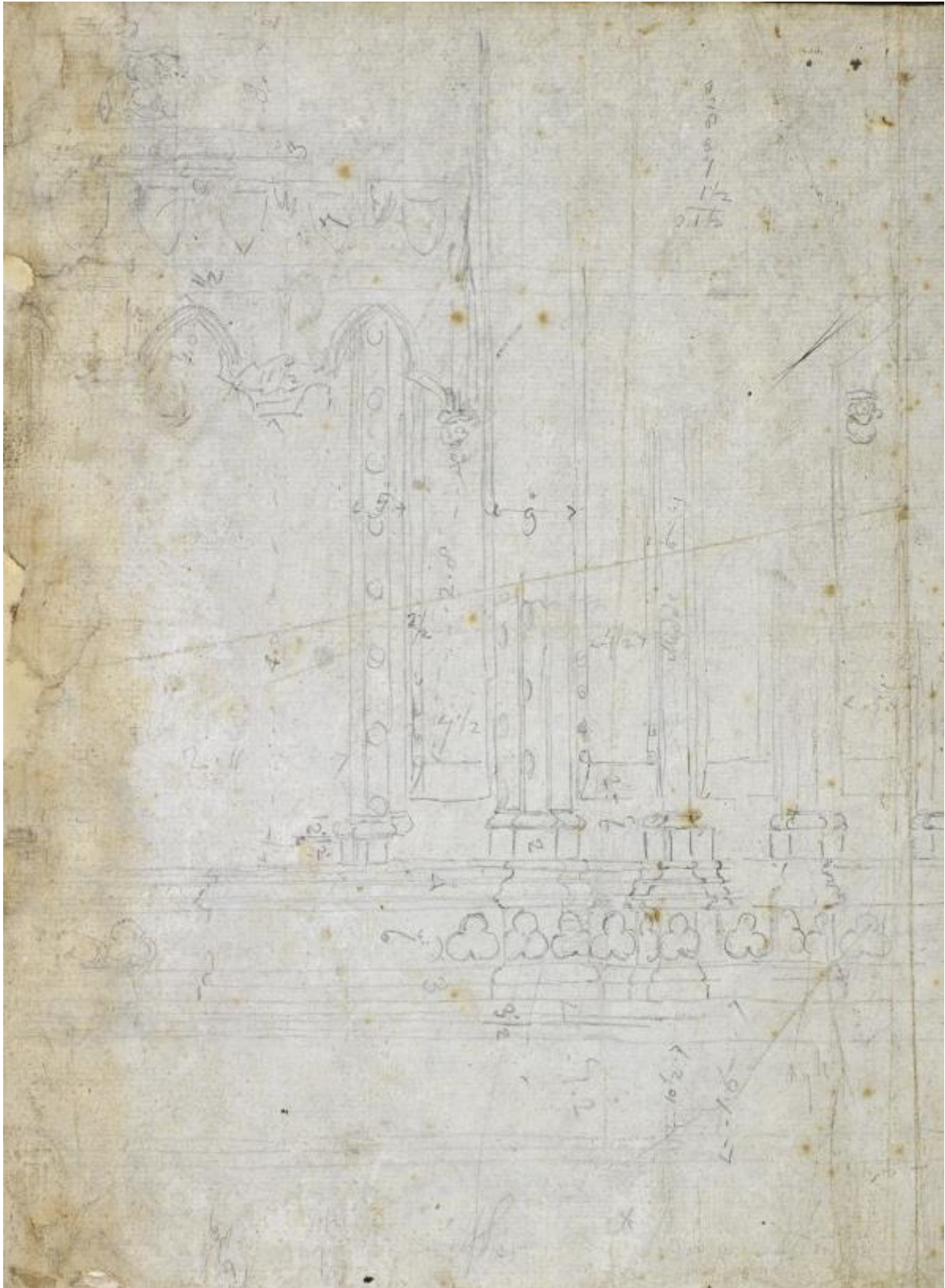


Plate 133 – John Carter, Sketch of St Stephen's Chapel Arcading, c. 1791-92. Graphite on paper. British Library MS Add. 29930, fol. 119v. [DRA 43 (Car)].



Plate 134 – Frederick Mackenzie, Detail of Upper Chapel arcading, before 1844. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. The National Archives, Work 29. [DRA 97 (Mac)].

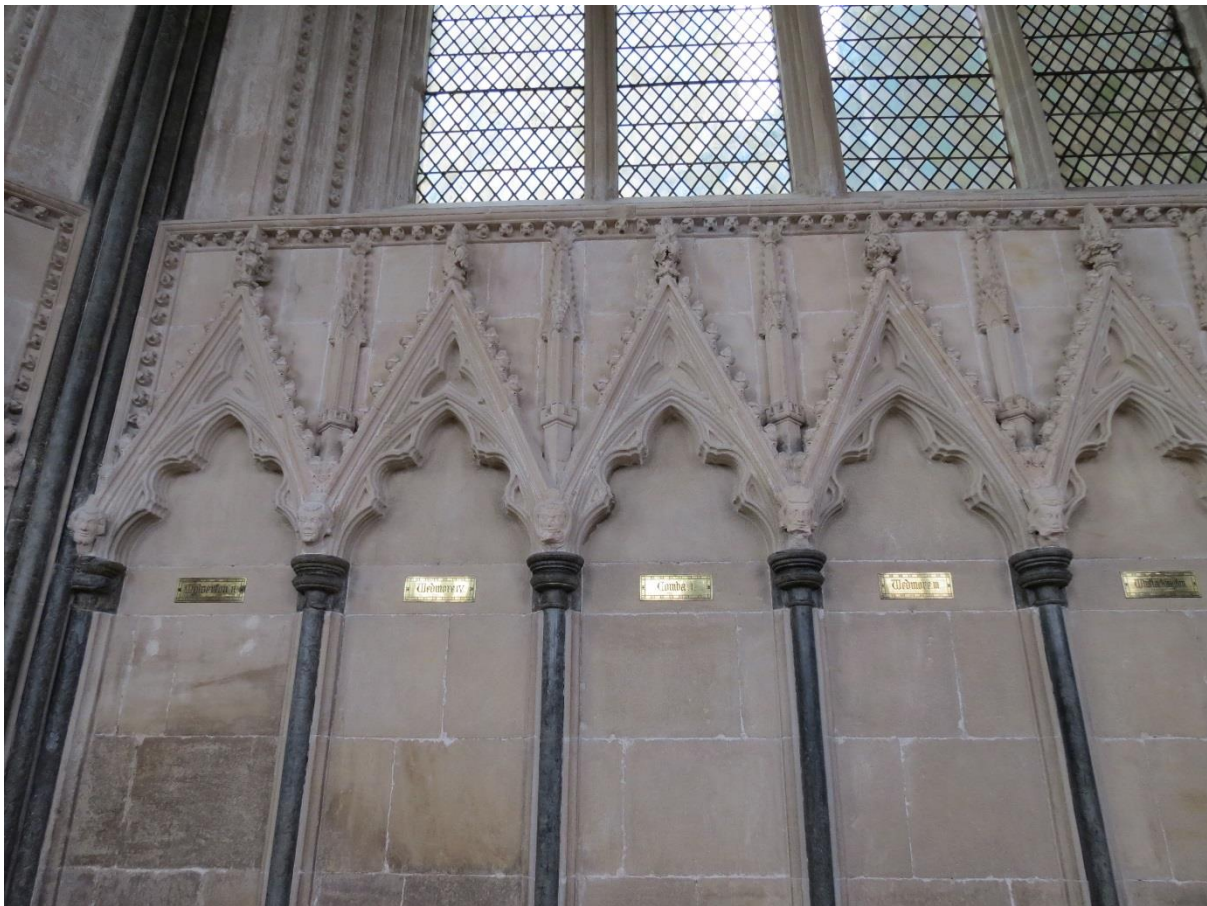


Plate 135 – Wells cathedral chapter house pinnacles, 1286-1306. Photograph by Sophie Dentzer.



Plate 136 – Peckham Tomb, Canterbury, 1292-93.

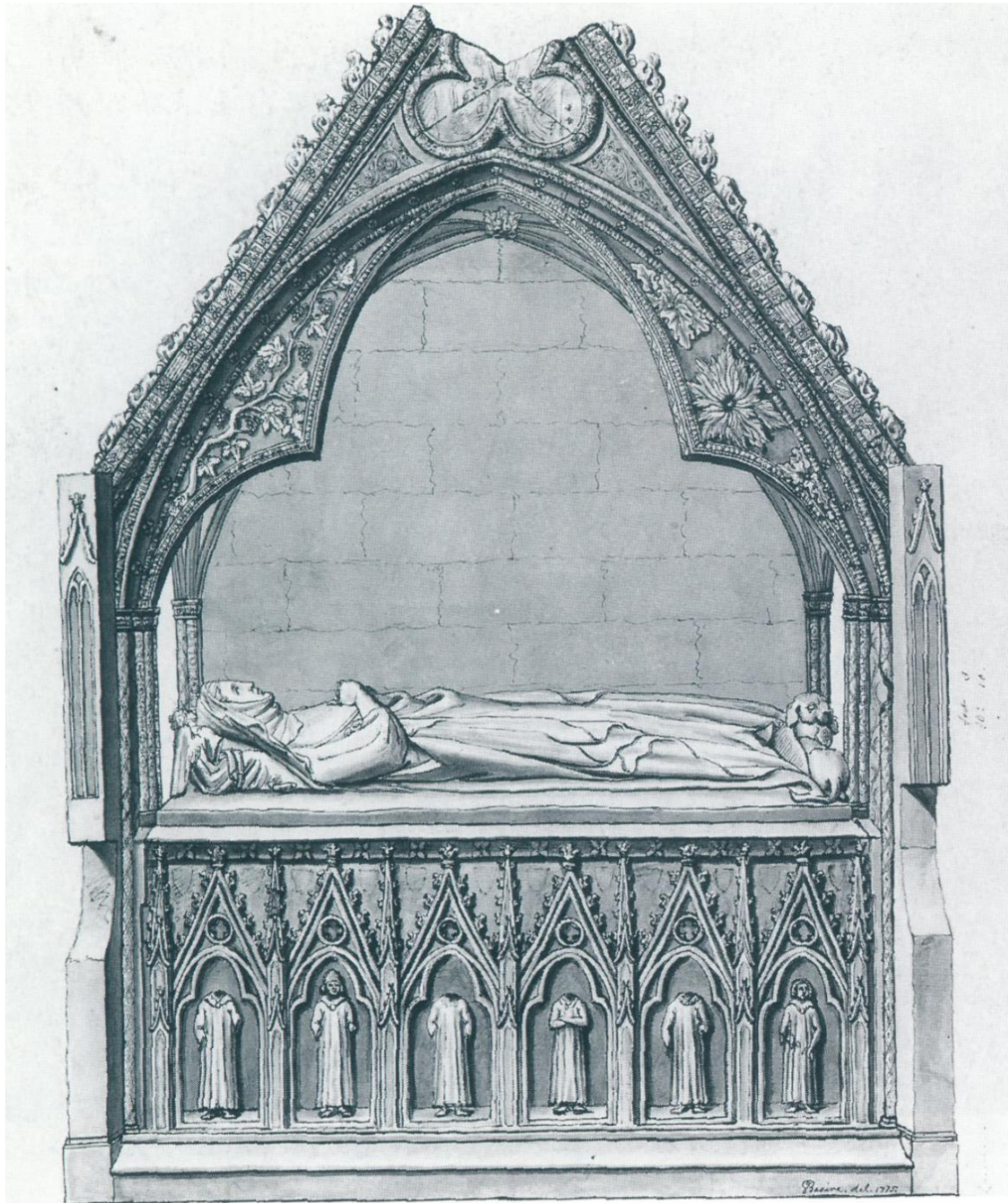


Plate 137 – ‘Blake’, Aveline de Forz Tomb, unknown date. Watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries. Binski, *Westminster Abbey*, Plate 155.



Plate 138 – Crouchback Tomb, Westminster, 1297.



Plate 139 – Louth Tomb, Ely, 1298.



Plate 140 – Westminster Abbey Cloister, c.1298.



Plate 141 – Canterbury Cathedral Chapter House bishop’s throne, c.1300.



Plate 142 – The Eastry Screen, Canterbury Cathedral, 1304-05.



Plate 143 – St Augustine’s Gatehouse, 1300-08.

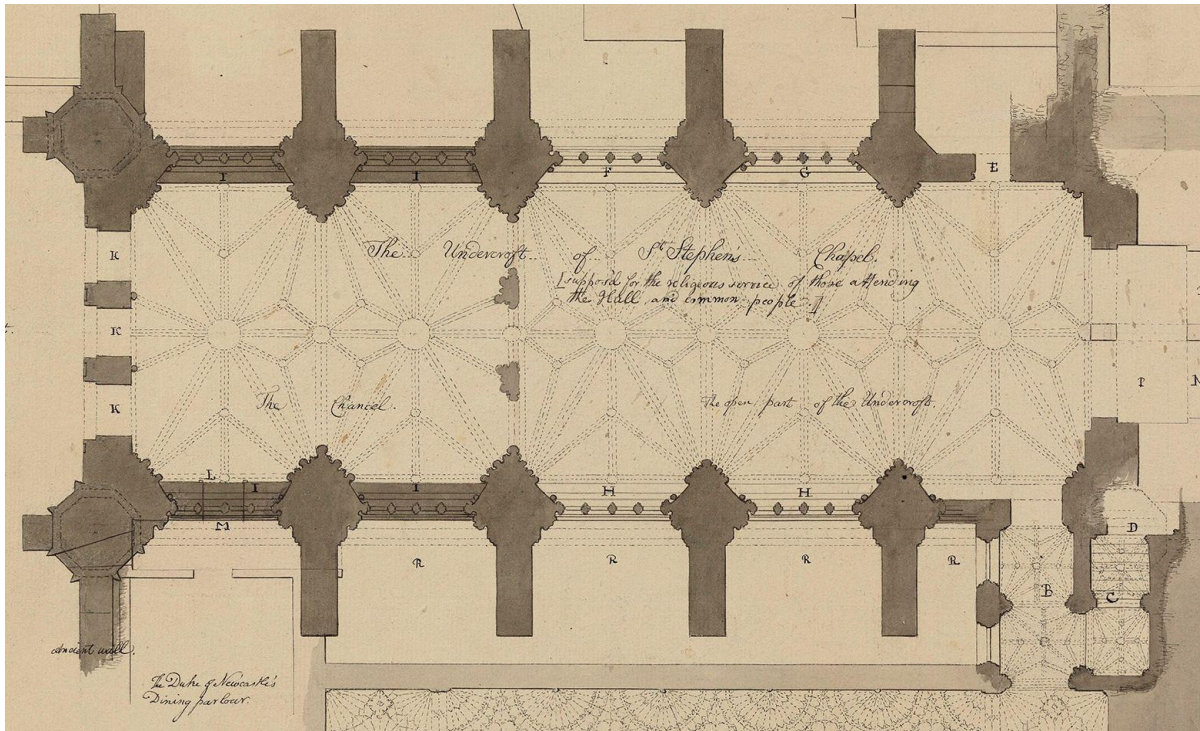


Plate 144 – John Carter, Lower Chapel ground plan, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 68 (Car)].

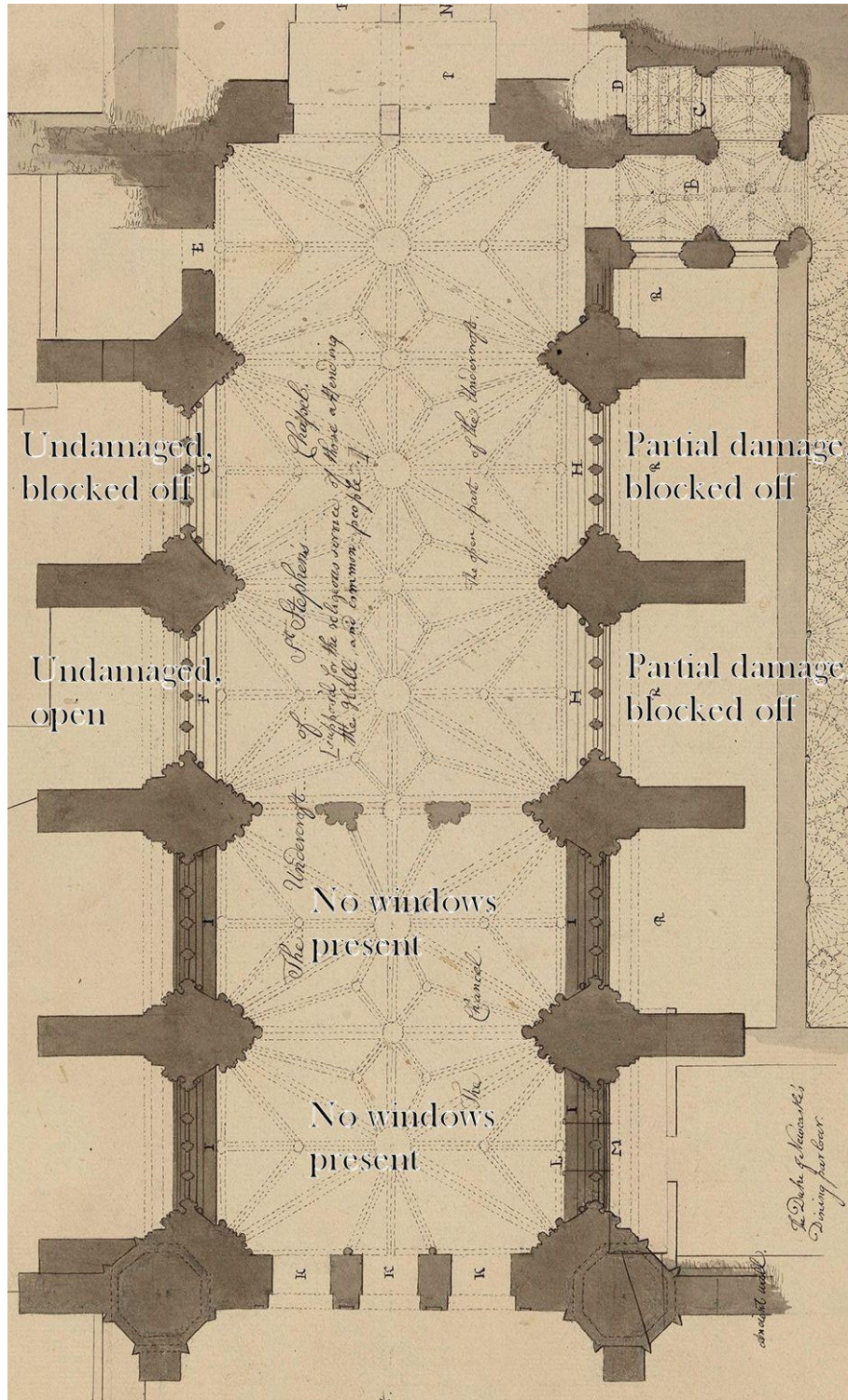


Plate 145 – Lower Chapel ground plan annotated by author. Based on Plate 116.

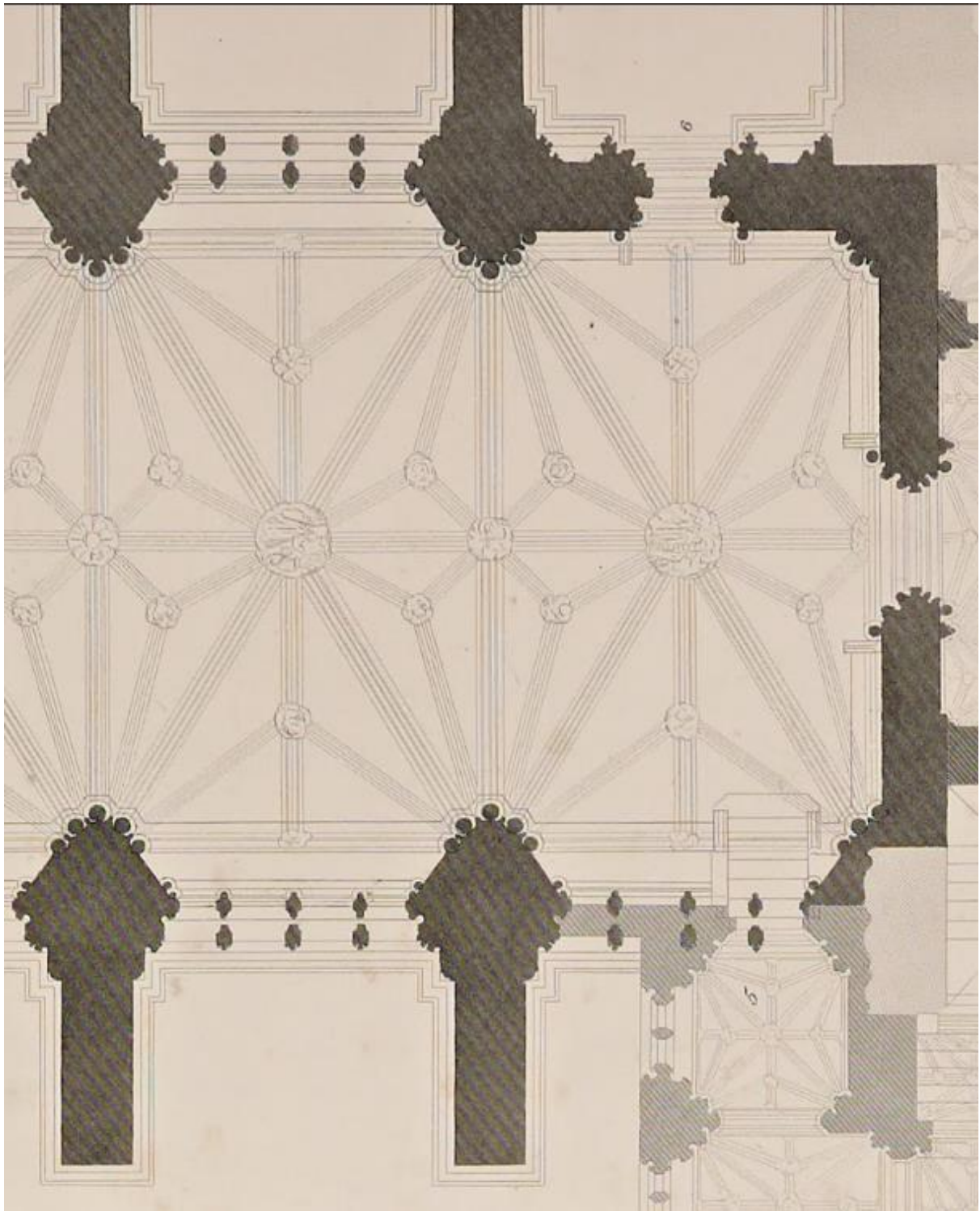


Plate 148 – W. F. Starling, West end of Lower Chapel ground plan from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate I in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 1].



Plate 149 – W. F. Starling, Richard II entranceway from the Vestibule to the Lower Chapel from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate XI in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 11].

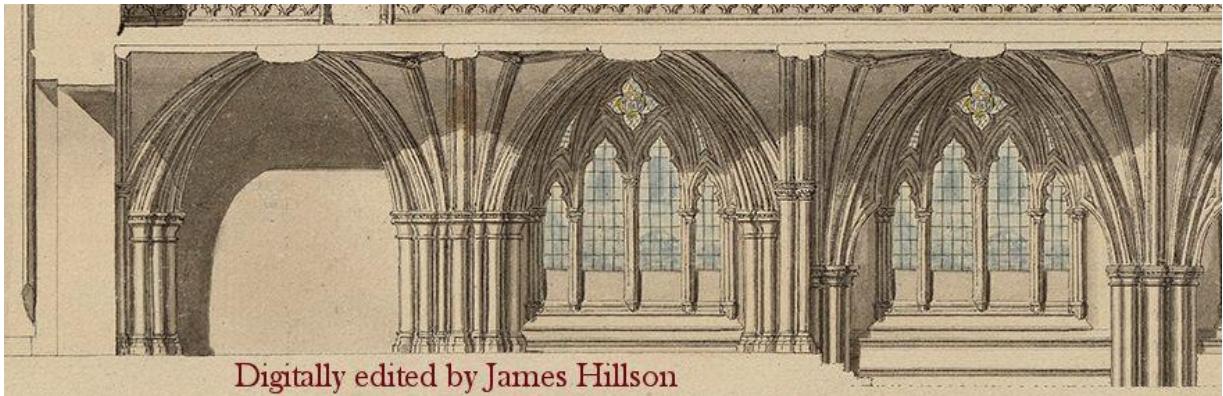
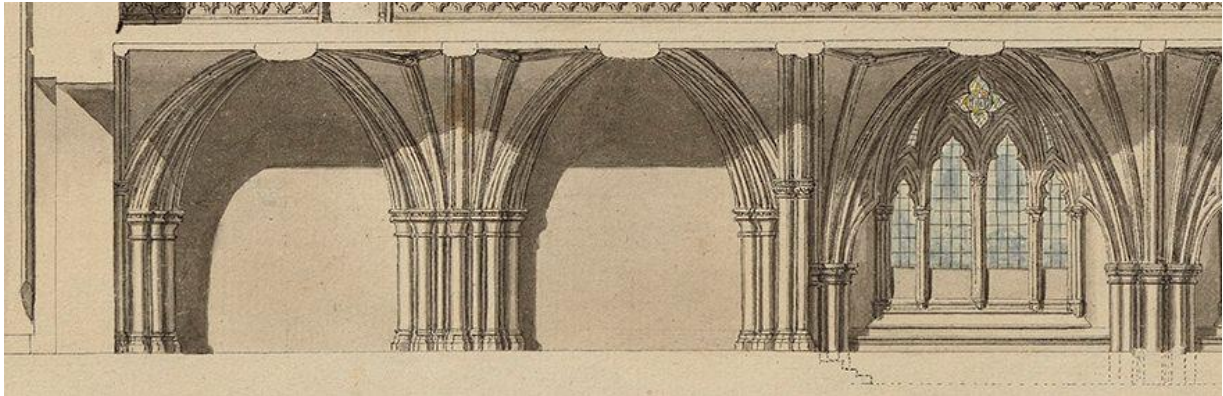


Plate 150 – Above: Detail of Plate 2. Below: Same detail with window digitally added to the second bay from the left and bases to the window and columns of the third bay. [*DRA 74* (Car)].



Plate 151 – W. F. Starling, Lower Chapel window exterior, south side, from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate IV in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 4].



Plate 152 – St Mary's Church, Westwell, wall screen, mid-14th century.

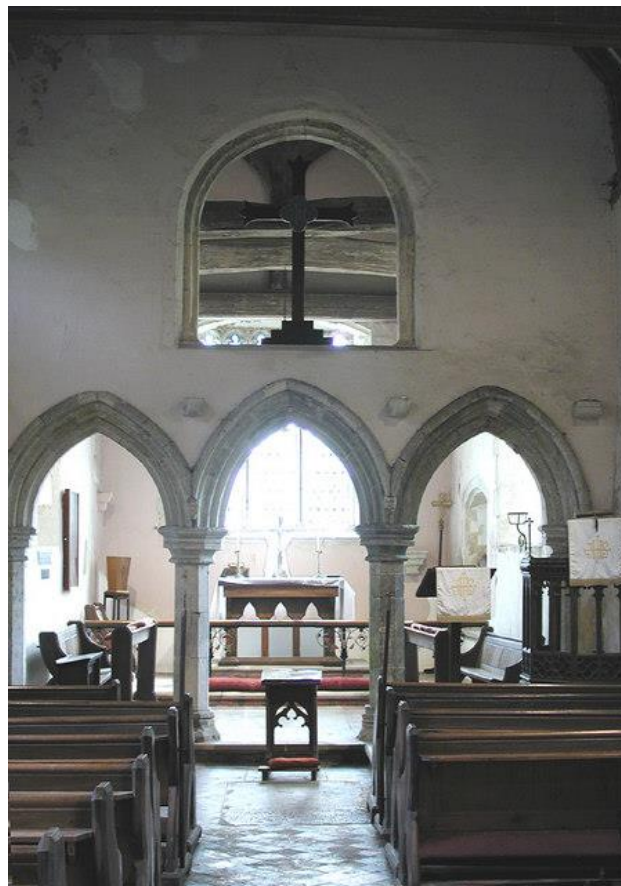


Plate 153 – Capel-le-Ferne church, wall screen, mid-14th century.



Plate 154 – Stebbing church, wall screen, mid-14th century.

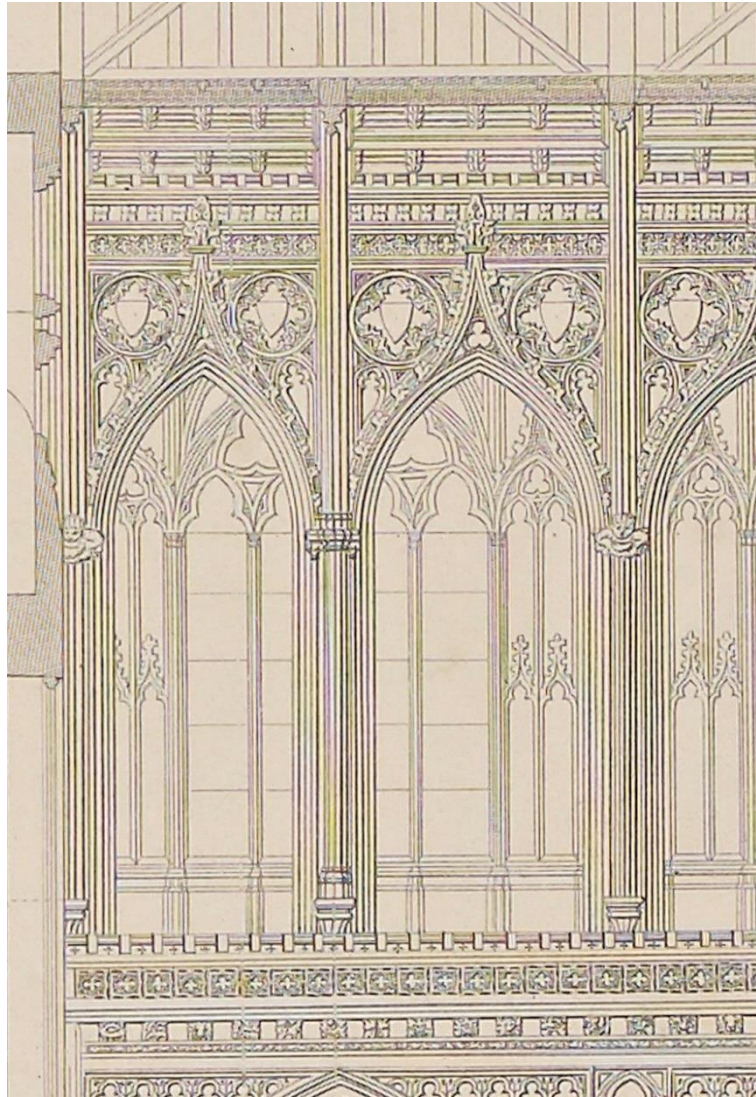


Plate 155 – W. F. Starling, Clerestorey reconstruction from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Detail of Plate VII in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 7].

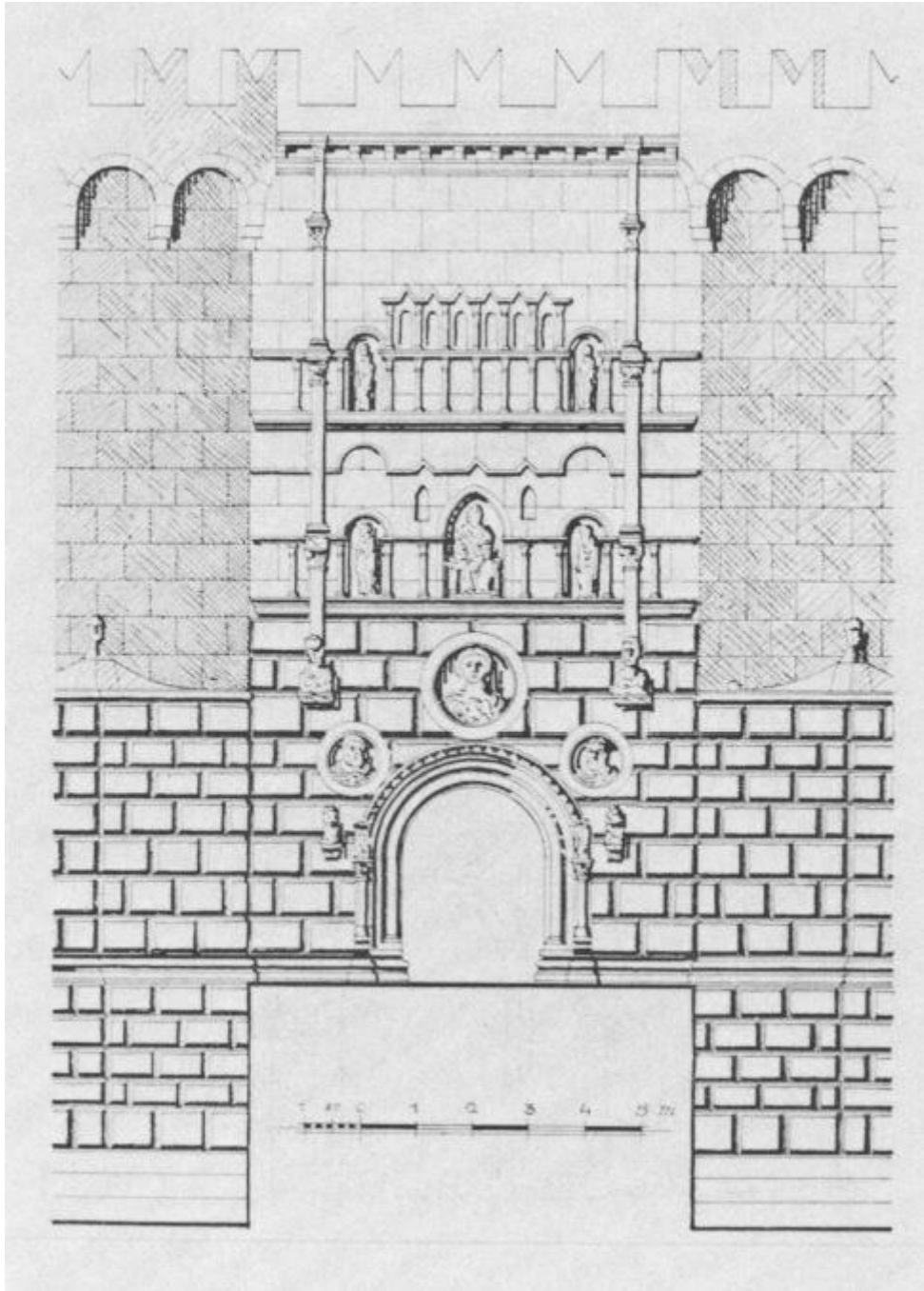


Plate 156 – Reconstruction of the Capuan Gate. Carl A. Williamsen, *Kaiser Friedrichs II: Triumphator zu Capua* (Wiesbaden, 1953).



Plate 157 – Image of Louis IX, *Salle Synodal*, east side, Sens, 1235-40. Stone sculpture. Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, *L'Architecture Gothique en France 1130-1270* (Paris, 1990), Illustration 383.



Plate 158 – Statue of Boniface VIII, Opera del Duomo, Florence, c. 1298. Stone sculpture.

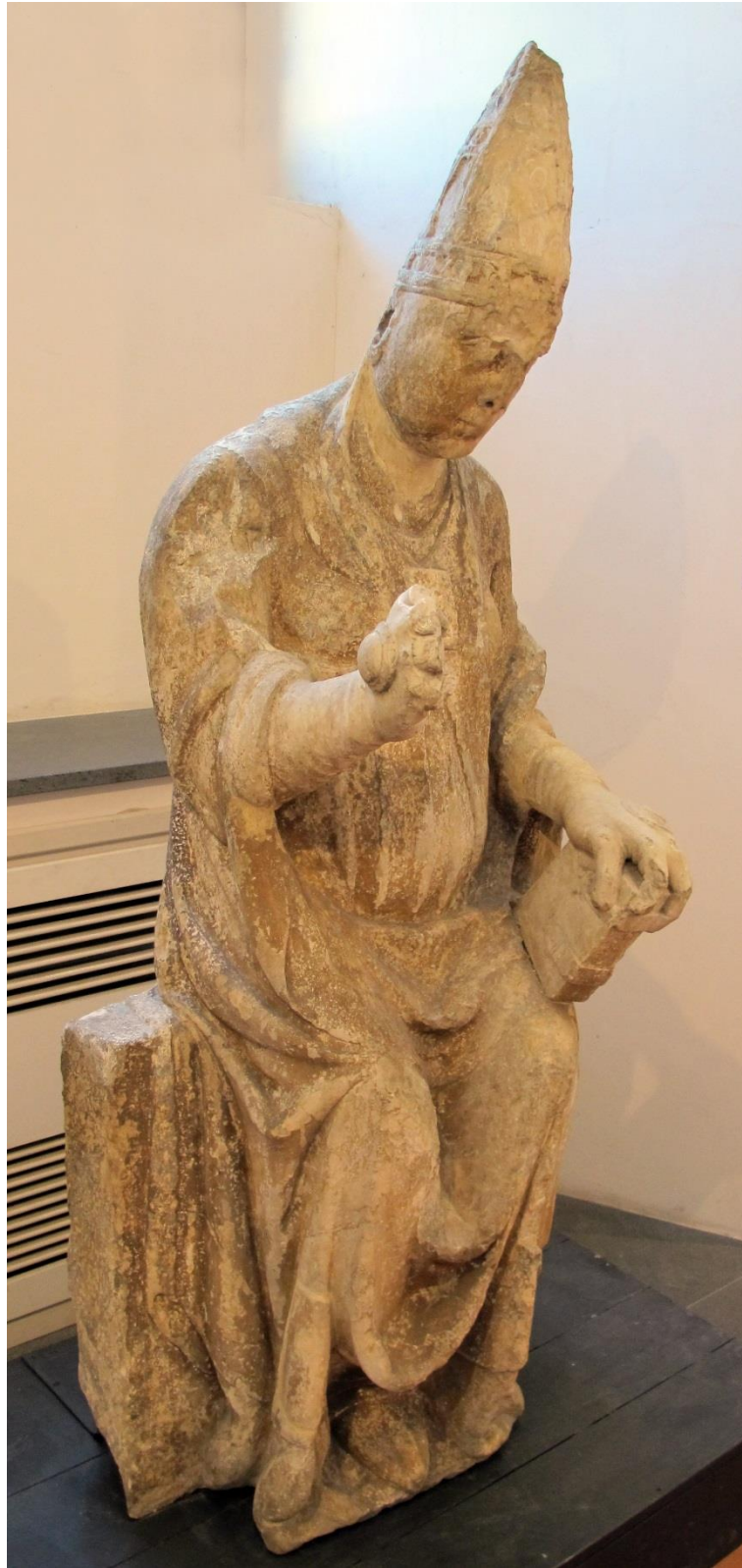


Plate 159 – Statue of Boniface VIII, formerly Porta Maggiore, Orvieto, 1297. Stone sculpture.



Plate 160 – Manno Bandini da Siena, Statue of Boniface VIII, formerly Palazzo Publico, Bologna, 1301. Bronze sculpture.



Plate 161 – Denbigh castle gate, c. 1298.



Plate 162 – Tomb of Edward I, Westminster Abbey, 1307-10.

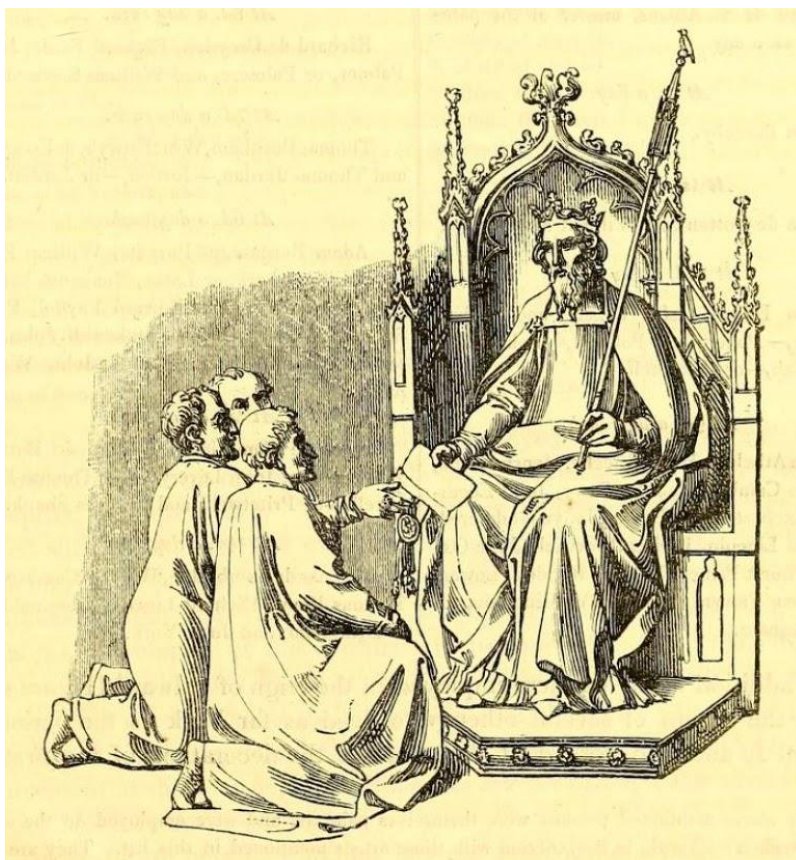


Plate 163 – Thomas Stothard and John Berryman, Edward III sending forth his men to gather craftsmen, c. 1807. Wood engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*, 269. [SMI 28].

The works of the west gable still in progress	15th and 17th	} Edward III.
The <i>upper story</i> erected	From the 6th to the 20th inclusive	
The roof built	19th, 20th, and 21st	
Altering the lower part of the turrets, and raising them	In progress from the 6th to 26th	
The parapet, and works above the walls of the upper story, completed	26th	
Some further alterations to the side walls, internally	26th	
The Cloisters of Le Pewe still in progress	31st	
The statues, with their pedestals and canopies, on the piers, internally	19th and 20th, and between the 21st and 31st	
The tabernacles under the windows, and the windows renewed or repaired	19th, 20th, 25th, and 26th	
The west porch to the Chapel of St. Mary in the Vaults, and the <i>Bell Tower</i> *	19th and 20th	
The Vestries	15th, 16th, and 17th	
The high altar	19th, 20th, and 25th	
The stalls of timber. These were placed against a dwarf-wall of chalk, leaving a passage behind them	25th, 26th, 31st, and 32nd	
There was also a rood-loft. Henry VI. directed in his will that the <i>stalls</i> and <i>rood-loft</i> of Eton College Chapel should be made like those of St. Stephen's. (Royal and Noble Wills.)		
The altars in the Vestries, almariols in the same, and ambo (reading desk)	26th	
The images, generally	From 6th to 31st	
Canons' and Vicar's Houses	20th (Stow)	
The Cloisters on the north side, and stairs from the same leading up to the vestibule, in progress, also the west porch rebuilt or repaired; the front of the vestibule repaired; and stairs formed from the street, leading up to the north-west entrance to the vestibule	18th Richard II.	
The Chapel and Gallery of Le Pewe (burnt in the year 1452) rebuilt	Edward IV., before 1471 (Stow).	
The present Cloisters built	Henry VIII.	
Amongst the appendages to the interior of St. Stephen's Chapel, in addition to those before mentioned, were the following, viz.:		
Two altars in the nave	When erected, uncertain.	
A font for the baptism of the children of the King and the Nobility	18th Richard II.	
A pulpit. A donation of £ 20 was given "as a beginning for the work of the same," in the year	1410.	
There were also, besides the altar in the Chapel of Le Pewe, two altars in the Cloisters of Le Pewe	When erected, uncertain.	

* On the back of a Roll containing the accounts of Walter de Weston, clerk of the works, from January in the 4th to Michaelmas in the 6th of Edward III., he is charged with a large quantity of materials for the Chapel and Bell Tower, but they were not used till the 19th and 20th, when Martin de Ixnyng was clerk.

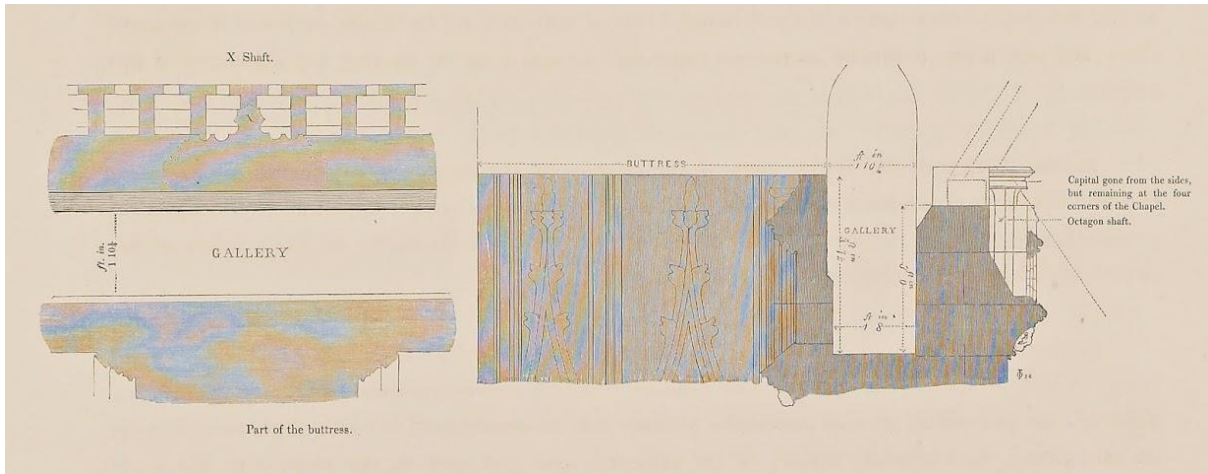


Plate 165 – W. F. Starling, Clerestorey moulding from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 20].

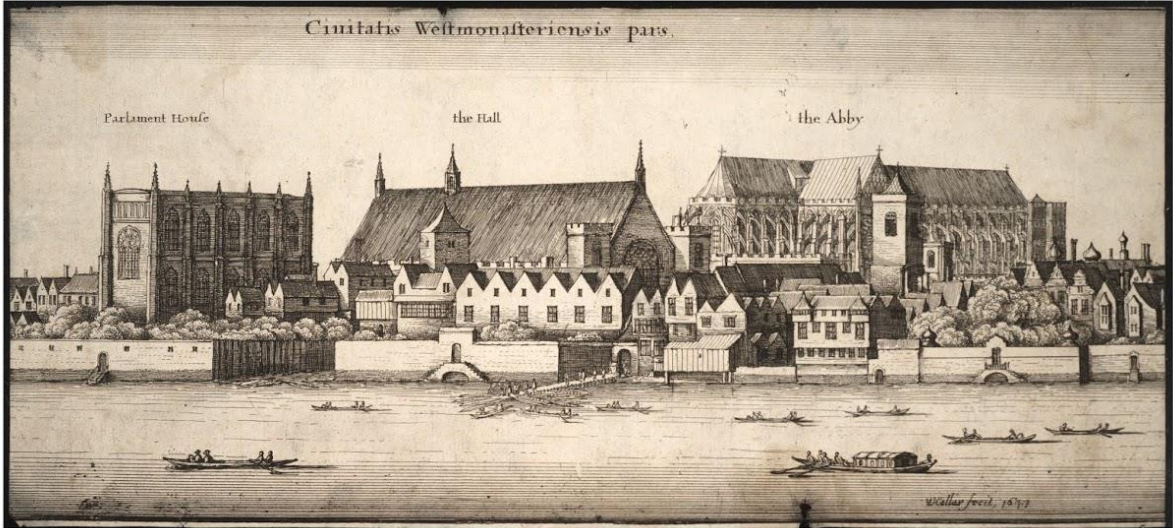


Plate 166 – Wenceslaus Hollar, *Civitas Westmonastiernsis pars.*, c. 1647. Engraving.

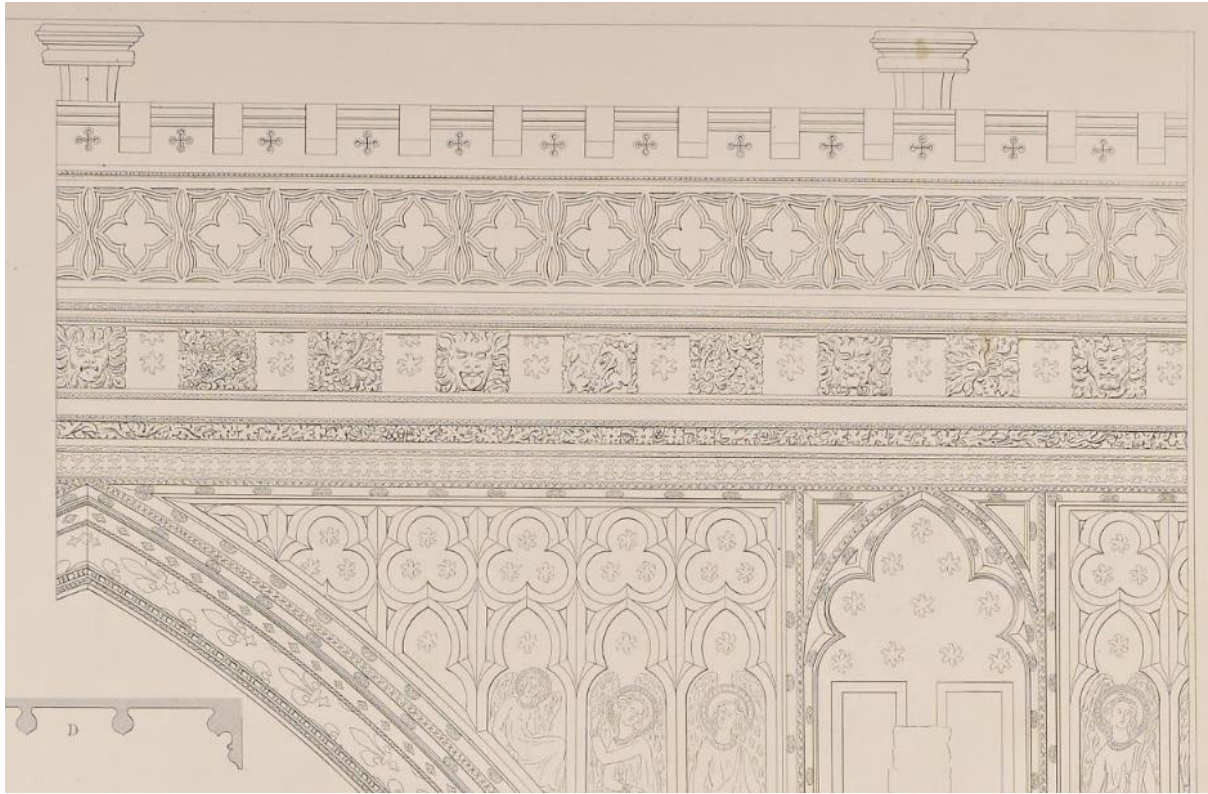


Plate 167 – W. F. Starling, Upper Chapel upper cornice from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate XIV in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 6-7].

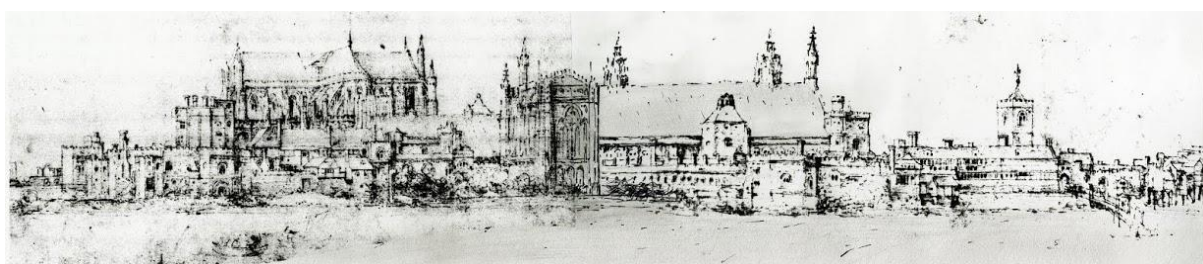
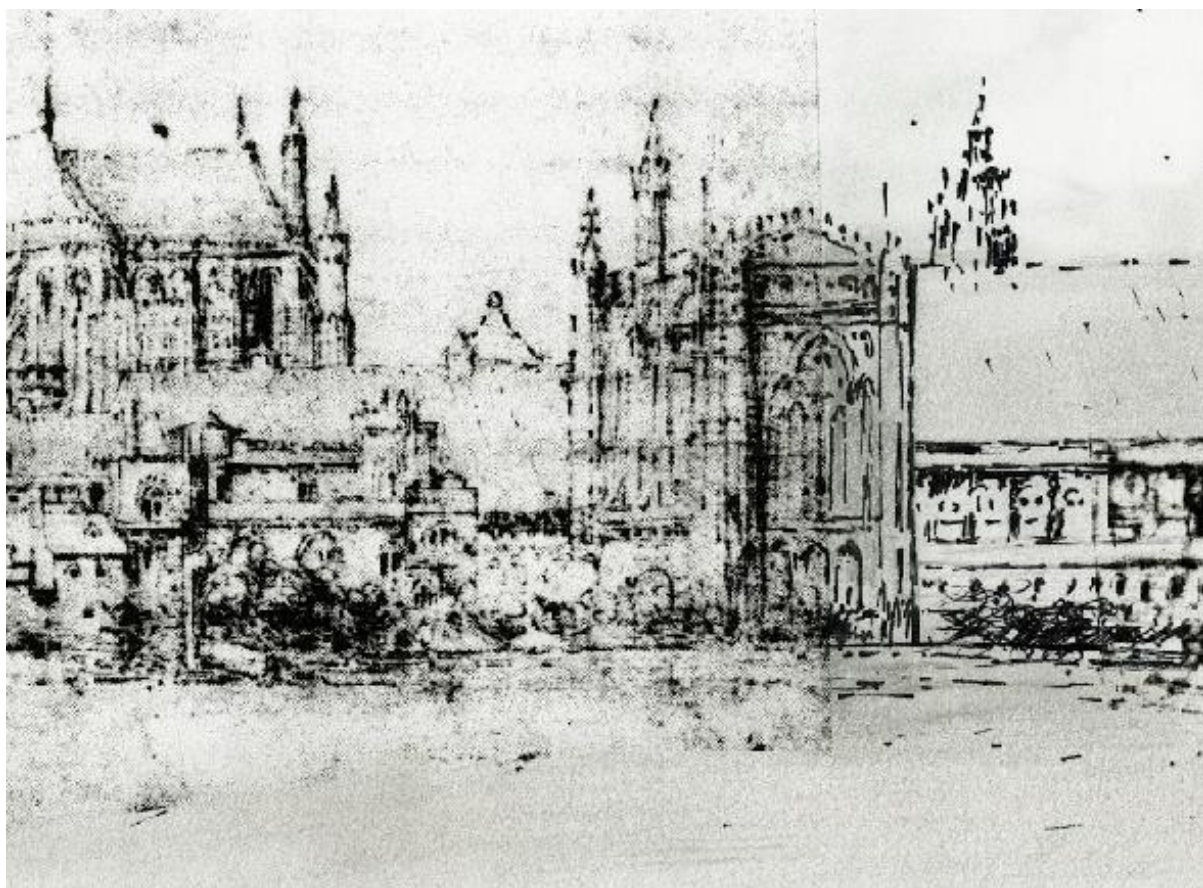


Plate 168 – Anonymous, *View of Westminster*, c. 1600. Pen and ink on paper, digitally altered by Mark Collins along central cut. Victoria and Albert Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

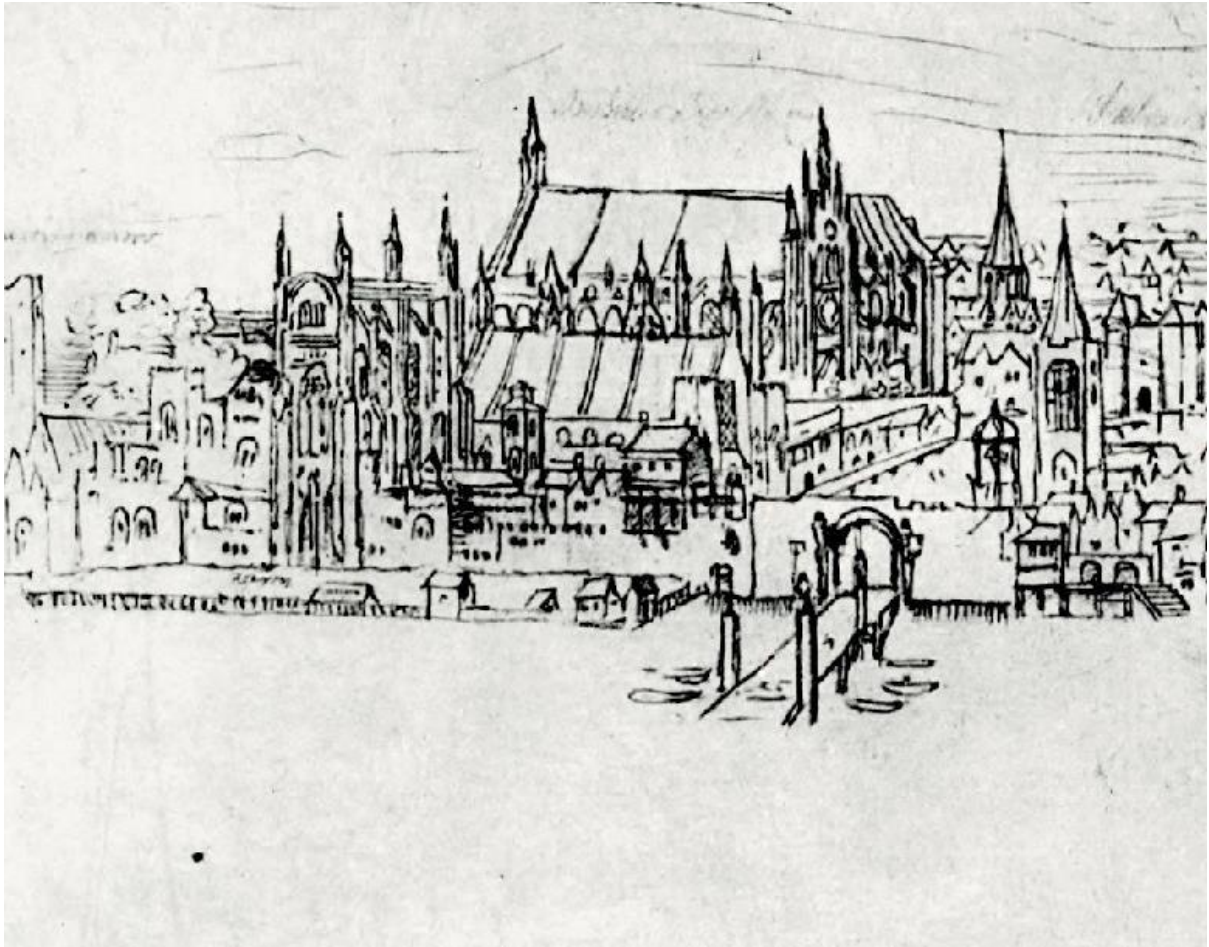


Plate 169 – Anthonis van der Wijngaerde, *Panorama of London*, c. 1543-44. Pen and ink on paper. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. [DRA 155 Wij].



Plate 170 – ‘R. W.’, Frontispiece showing an allegorical image of the Civil War featuring St Stephen’s Chapel, 1682-83. Engraving. John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, British Museum (1682-83).



Plate 171 – W. F. Starling, St Stephen's Chapel east window exterior mullions, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate III in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 3].

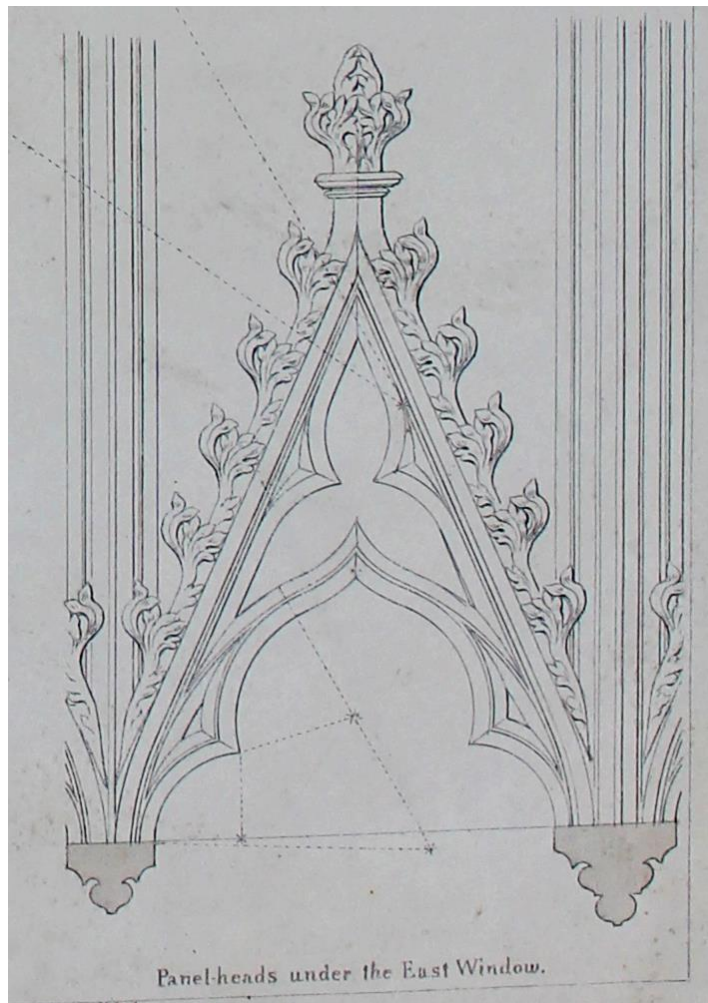


Plate 172 – Frederick Mackenzie, Detail showing east window exterior mullions, before 1844. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. The National Archives, Work 29. [DRA 94 (Mac)].

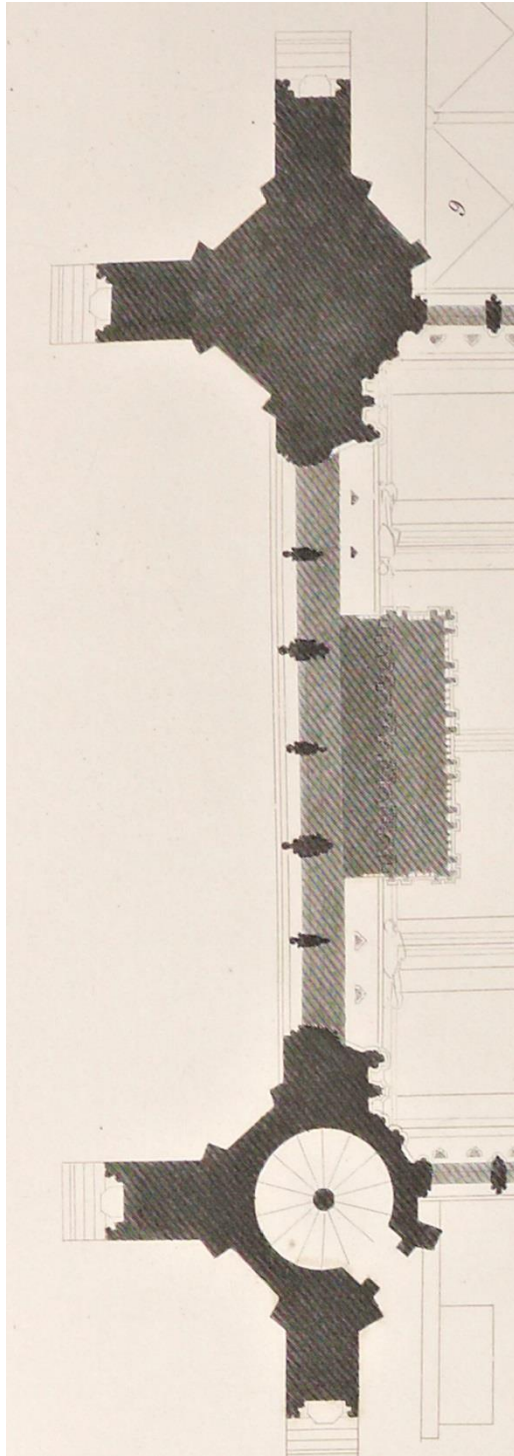
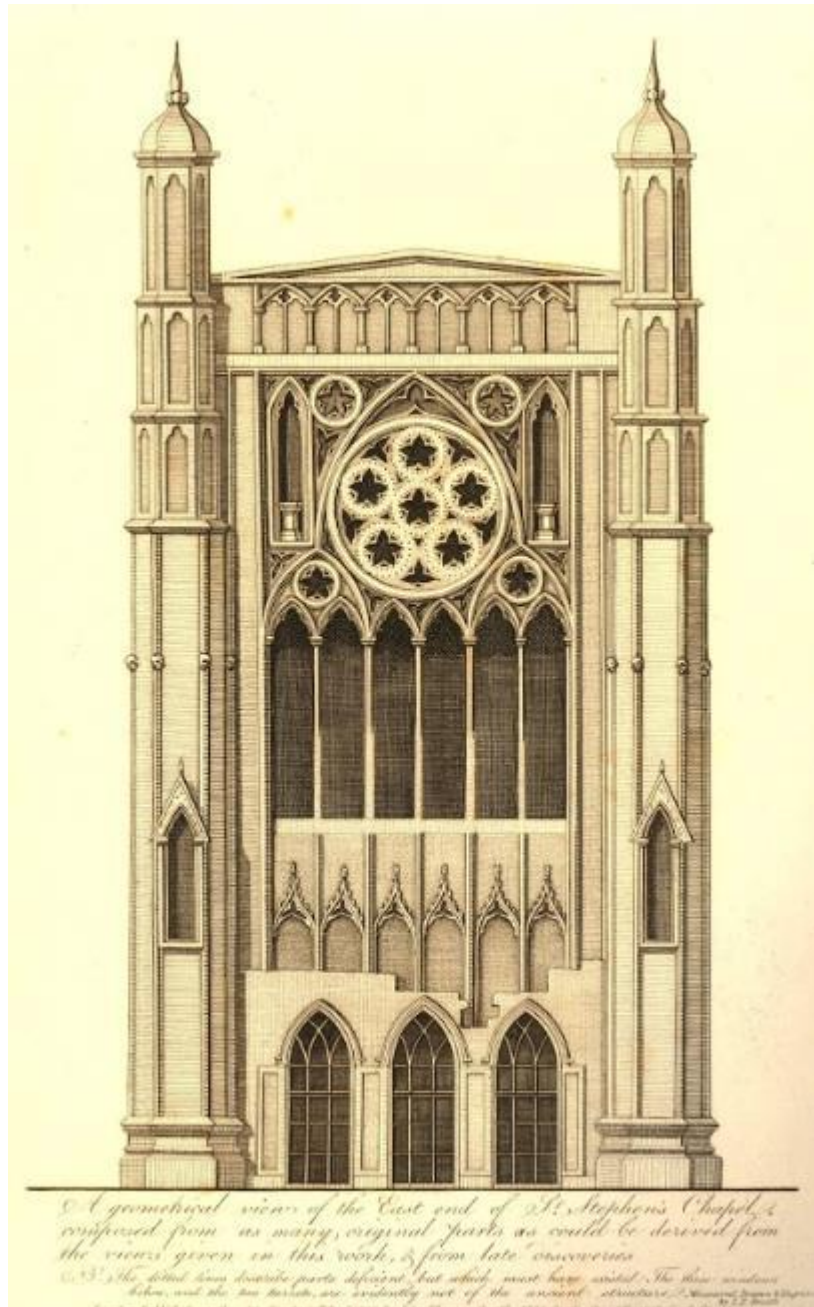


Plate 173 – W. F. Starling, Detail of Upper Chapel plan view showing east window mullions, 1844. Engraving. Detail of Plate II in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 2].



A geometrical view of the East end of St. Stephen's Chapel, & composed from as many original parts as could be derived from the views given in this work, & from late discoveries. The dotted lines denote parts deficient but which must have existed. The three windows below, and the two towers, are evidently not of the ancient structure.

Plate 174 – John Thomas Smith, East end restoration, c. 1807. Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 30].



Plate 175 – James Basire, St Stephen's Chapel east end interior and exterior from a drawing by John Carter, c. 1795. Engraving. Plate VI in Topham, *Account*. [TOP 6].

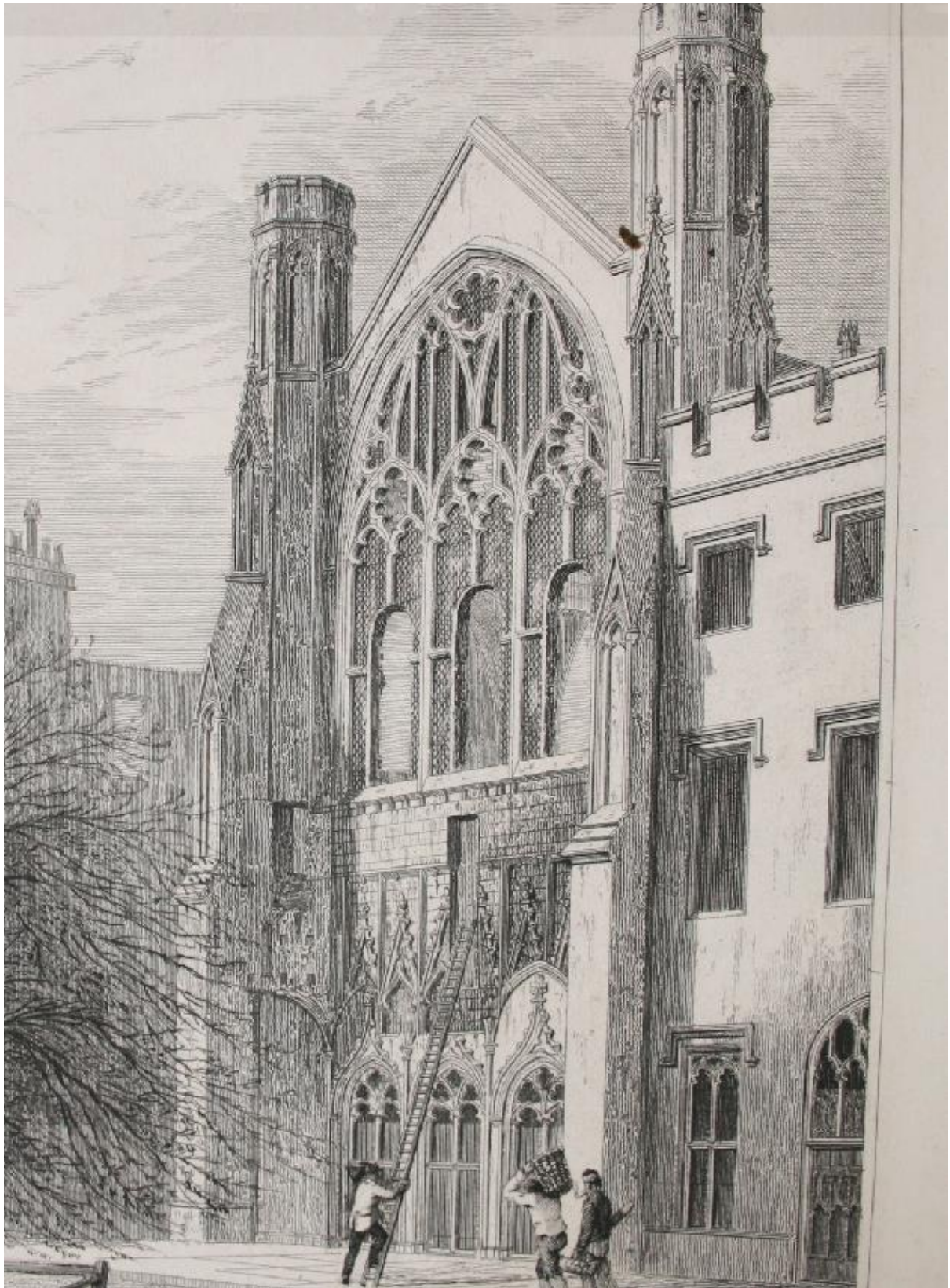


Plate 176 – Anonymous, St Stephen's west end, c. 1834. Engraving. Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection.



Plate 177 – St Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury, c. 1336.

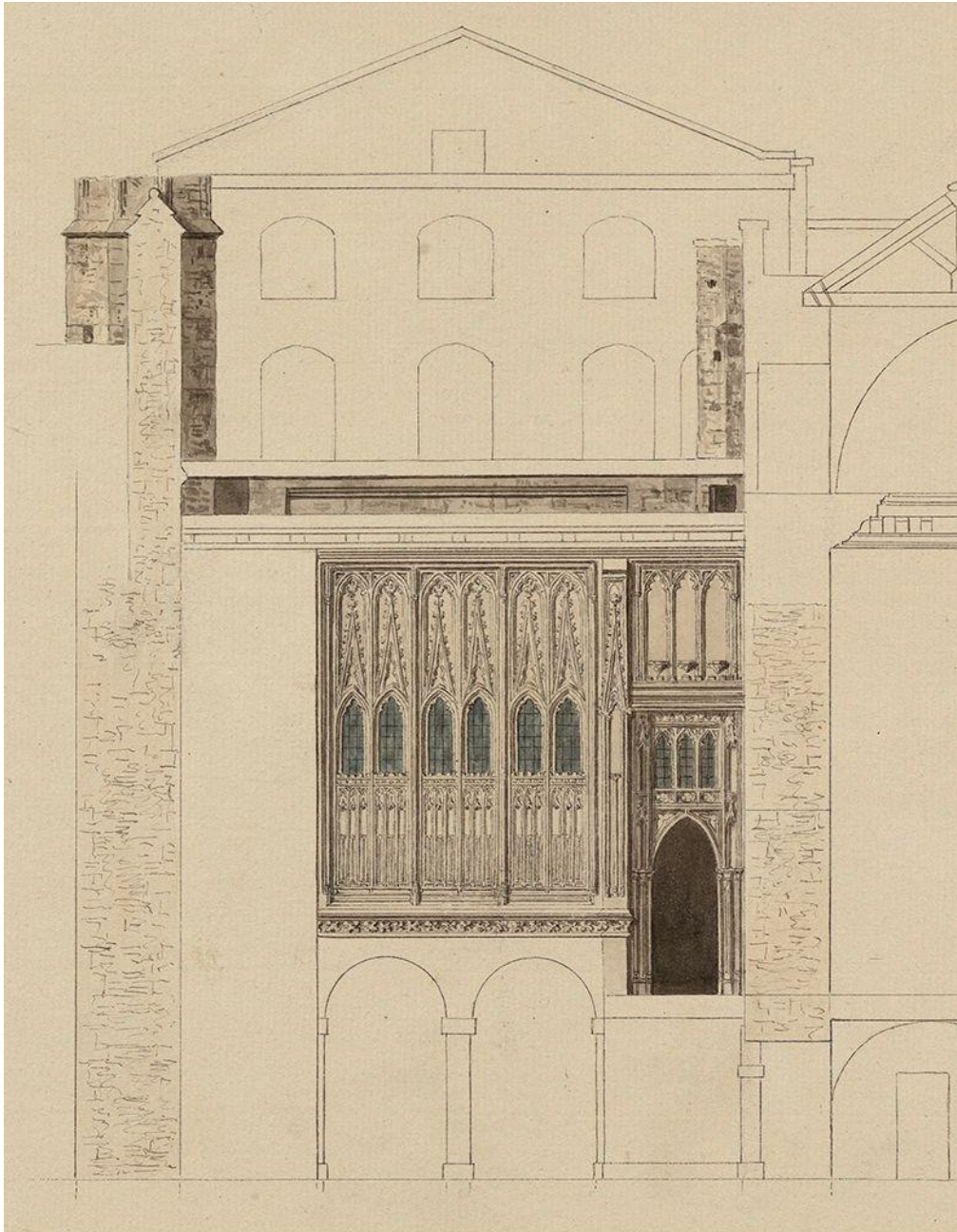


Plate 178 – John Carter, Vestibule exterior, c. 1791-92. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper.
Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 70 (Car)].

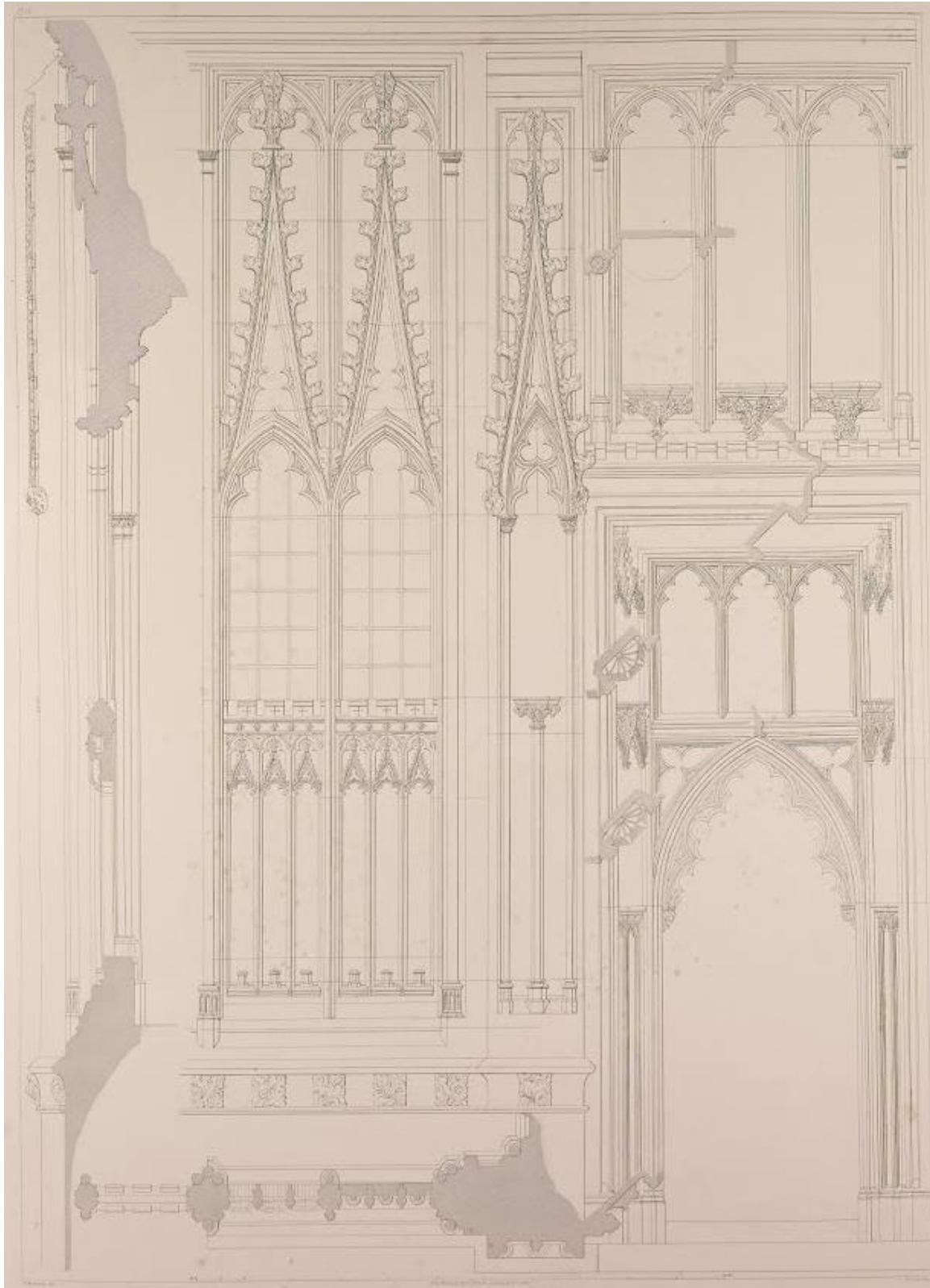


Plate 179 – W. F. Starling, Vestibule exterior details from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate IX in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 9].

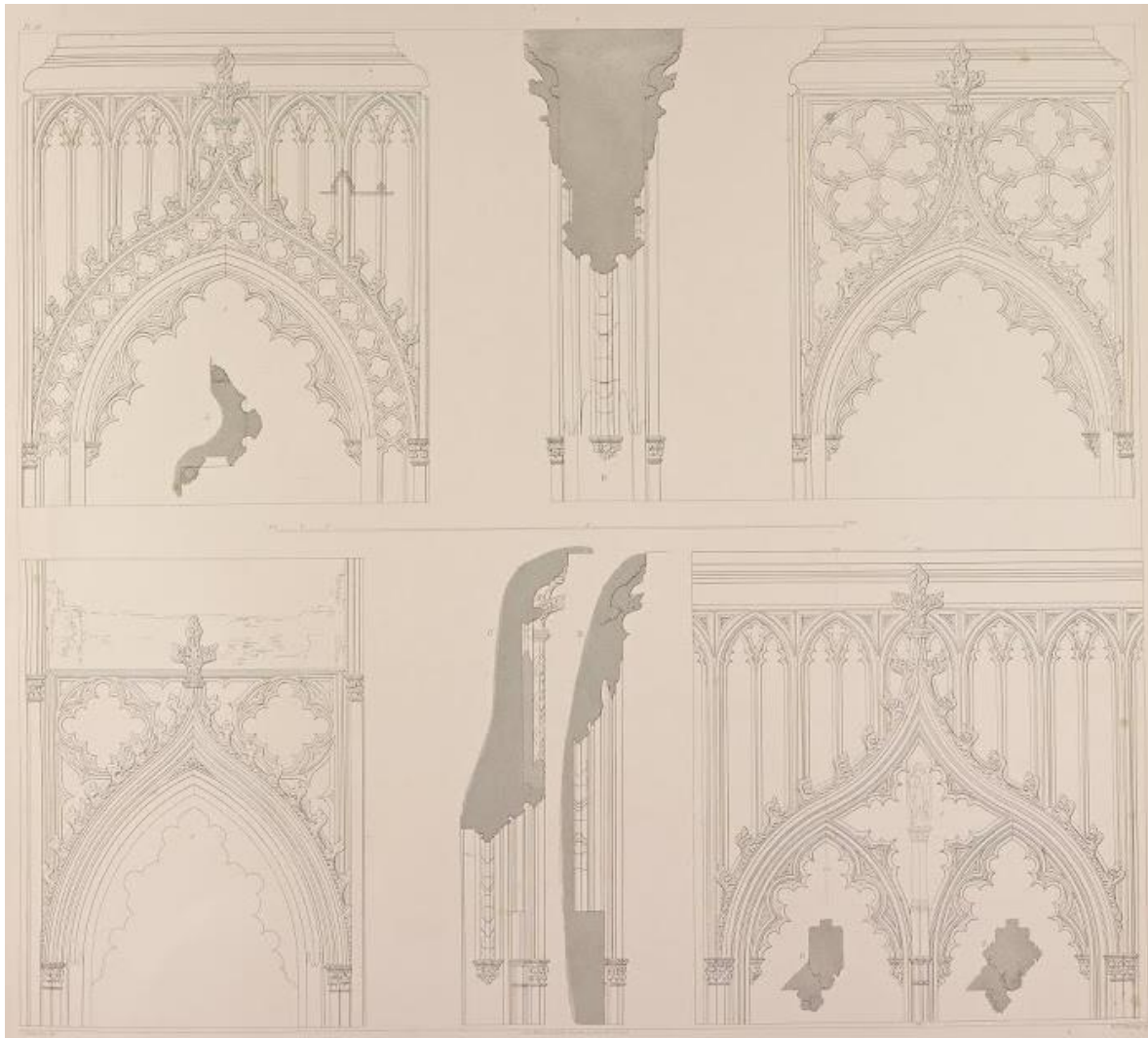


Plate 180 – W. F. Starling, Vestibule doorways from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie, 1844. Engraving. Plate X in Mackenzie, *Architectural Antiquities*. [MAC 10].



Plate 181 – Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral, west end, 1170-75.



Plate 182 – Galilee entrance, Ely Cathedral, west end, early thirteenth-century.



Plate 183 – East walk of Norwich Cathedral Cloister, 1297-1308.

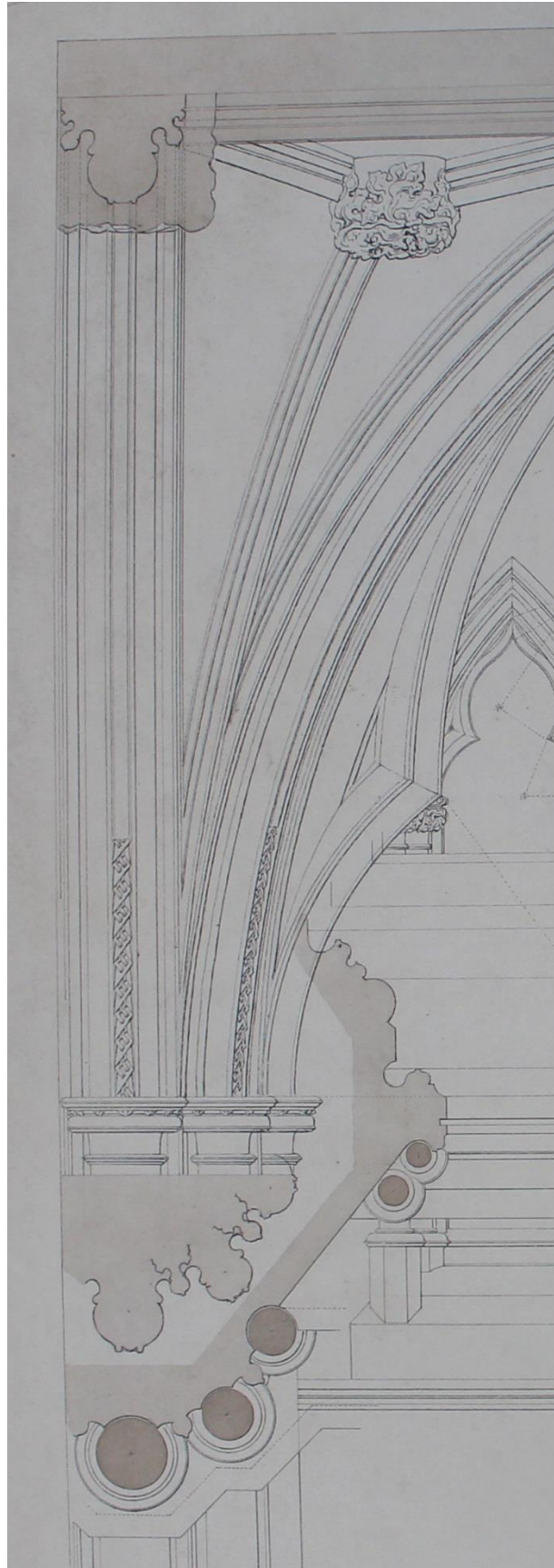


Plate 184 – Frederick Mackenzie, Lower Chapel pier and vault intersection, before 1844. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. The National Archives, Work 29. [DRA 96 (Mac)].

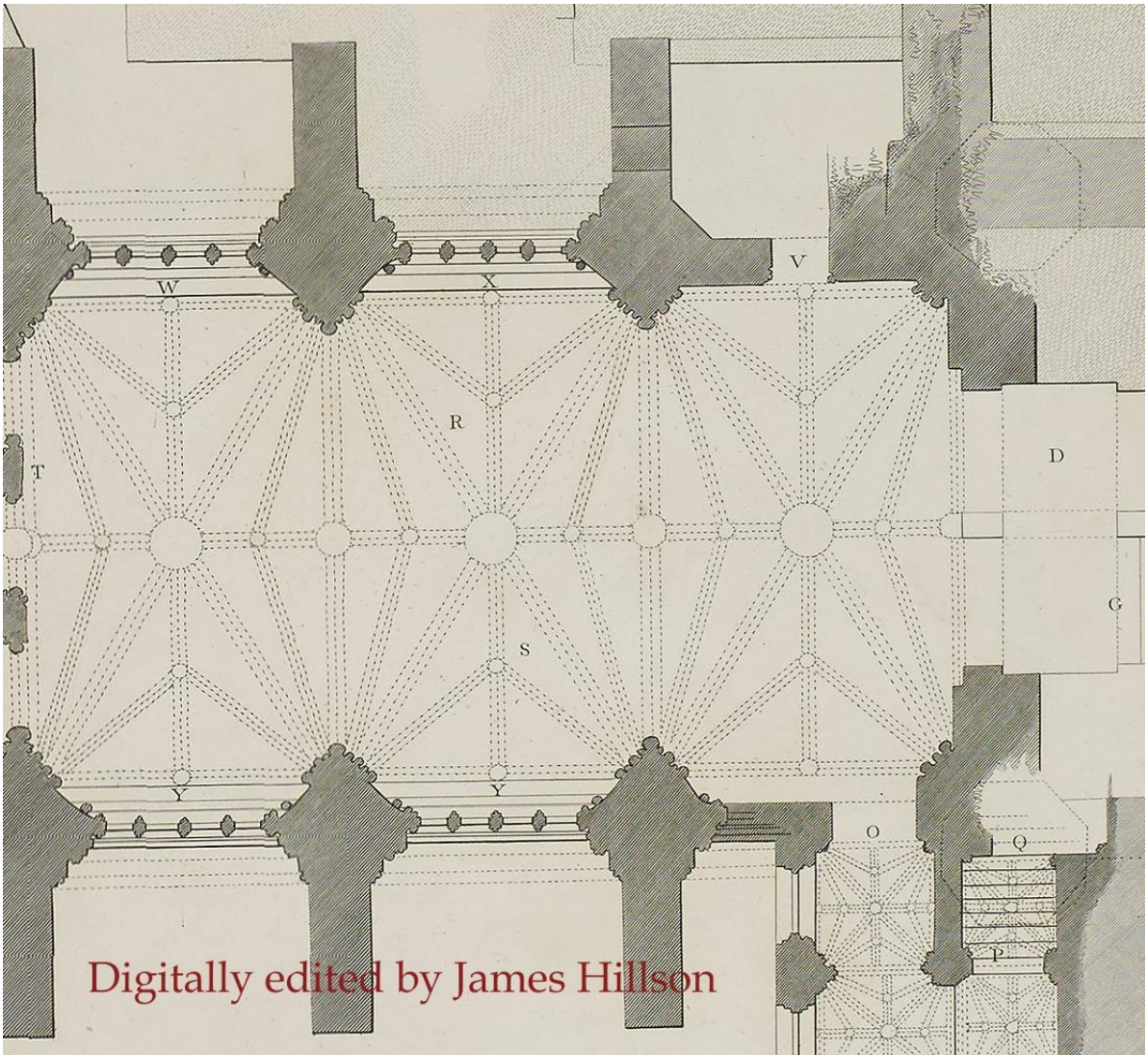


Plate 185 – James Basire, Lower Chapel vault plan from a drawing by John Carter, c. 1795, digitally edited to show a tierceron vault construction. Engraving with digital modifications. Based on Plate 2 in John Topham, *Account* [TOP 2].



Plate 186 – Aqueduct built by Edmund of St Andrew from York to Worksop, late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D. 1066, fol. 26v.

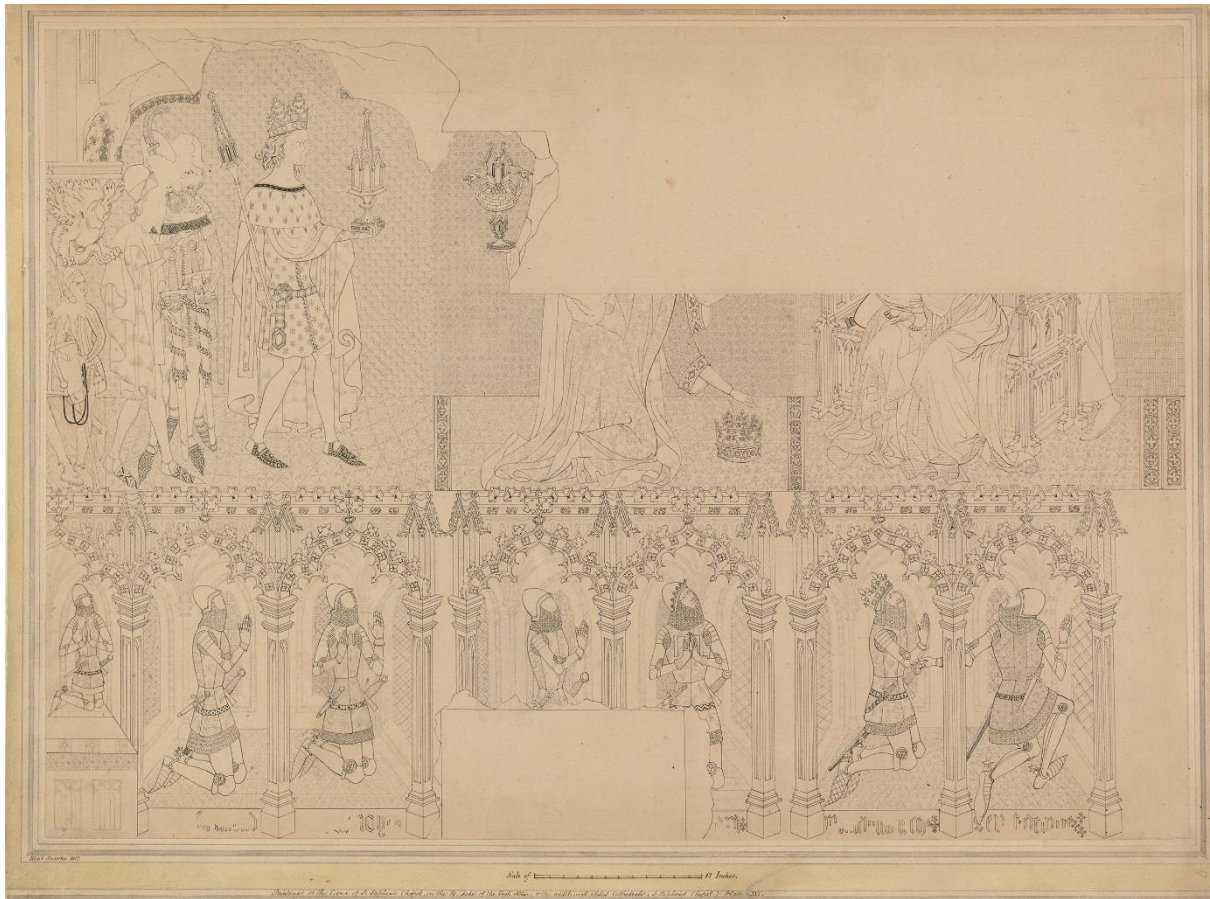


Plate 187 – Richard Smirke, East end wall paintings, north side, c. 1800-05. Pen and ink on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 129 (Smi)].

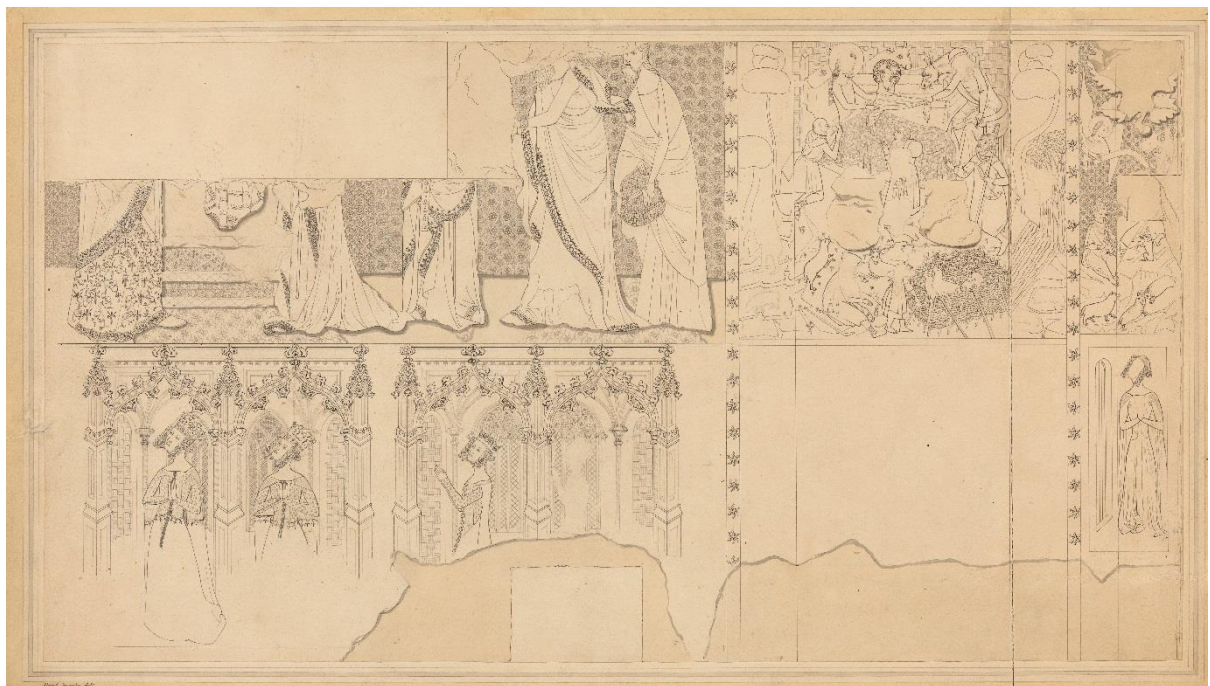


Plate 188 – Richard Smirke, East end wall paintings, south side, c. 1800-05. Pen and ink on paper. Society of Antiquaries, Red Portfolio 236/E. [DRA 136 (Smi)].



Plate 189 – Sir George Naylor, Female figure (possibly Queen Philippa), east end wall paintings, south side, c. 1800. Bodycolour on paper. Society of Antiquaries, 236/E. [DRA 108 (Nay)].



Plate 190 – John Wykeham Archer, St Stephen's Chapel Fragments, c. 1834. Watercolour on paper. British Museum. [DRA 6 (Arc)].



Plate 191 – John Wykeham Archer, St Stephen's Chapel Fragments, c. 1834. Watercolour on paper. British Museum. [DRA 7 (Arc)].



Plate 192 – Book of Job Narrative Paintings, c. 1351-63. Oil painting on stone. British Museum.



Plate 193 – Book of Tobit Narrative Paintings, c. 1351-63. Oil painting on stone. British Museum.



Plate 194 – Frederick Mackenzie, Detail of Upper Chapel window arch showing angel paintings, before 1844. Pen, ink and watercolour on paper. The National Archives, Work 29. [DRA 100 (Mac)].

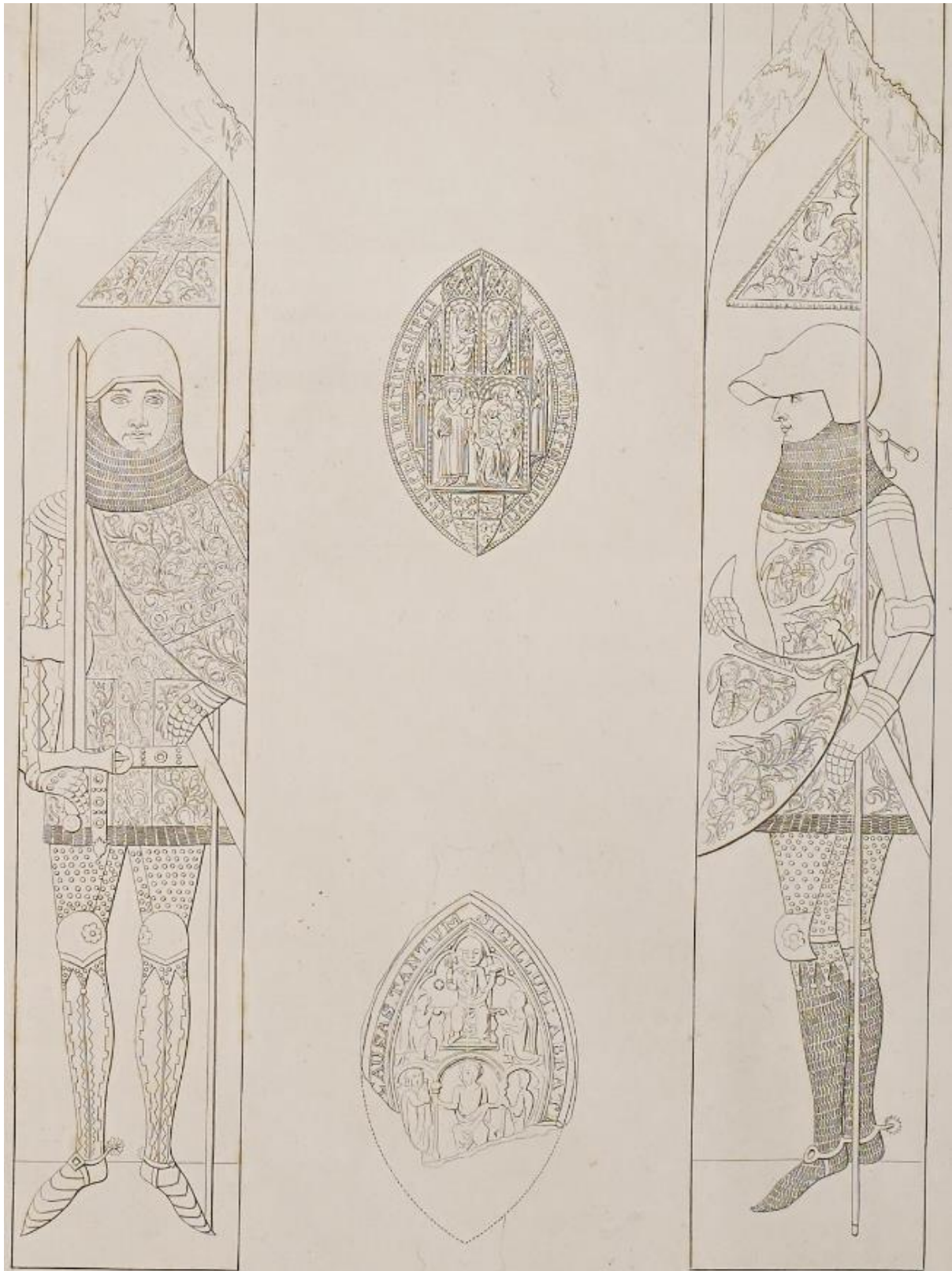


Plate 195 – James Basire, Eustace and Mercurius from a drawing by Richard Smirke, 1807. Engraving. Plate XXVIII in Topham, *Account*. [TOP 28].

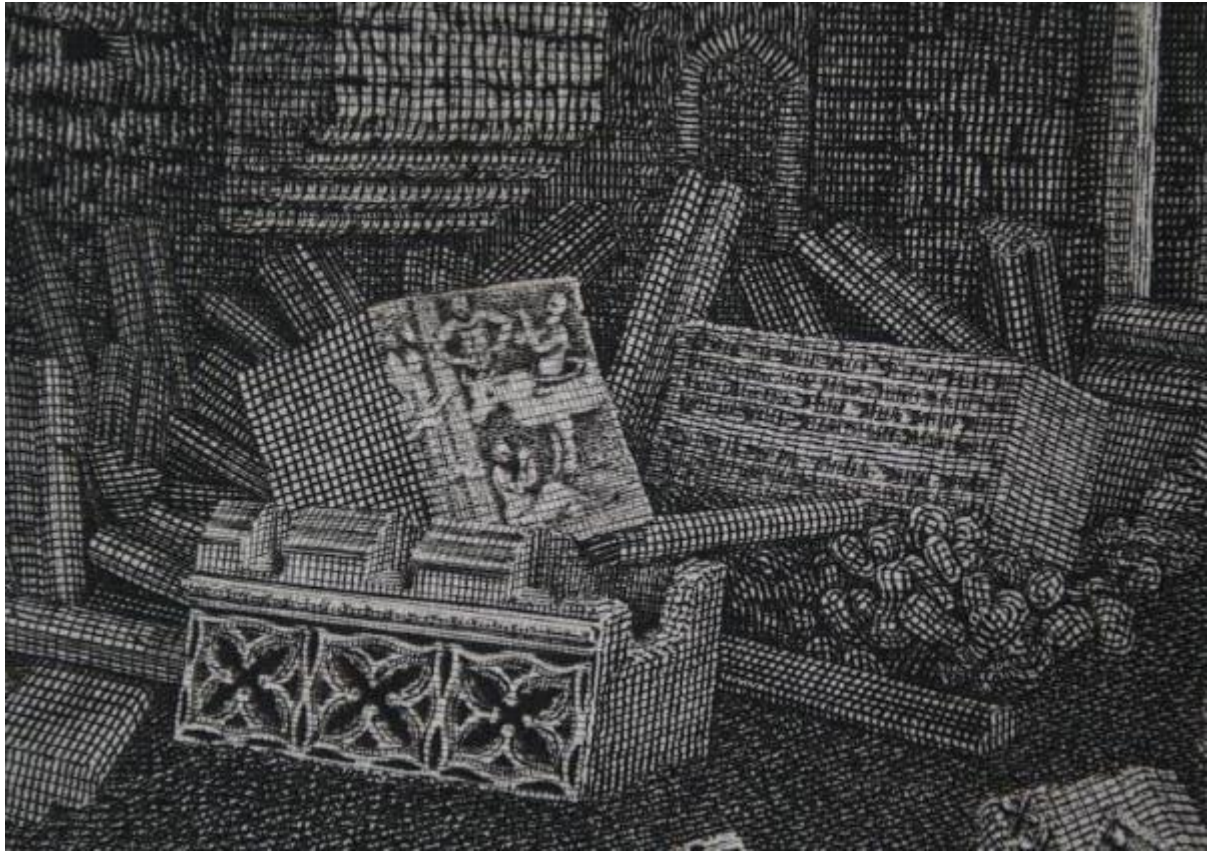


Plate 196 – John Thomas Smith, Martyrdom of St Eustace fragment, c. 1807. Engraving.
Detail in Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 26].



Plate 197 – Adam Lee, Detail of *Cosmoramaic View of the Palace of Westminster* showing John the Evangelist (top) and James the Less (bottom), c. 1820-29. Painting on board. Parliamentary Archives.

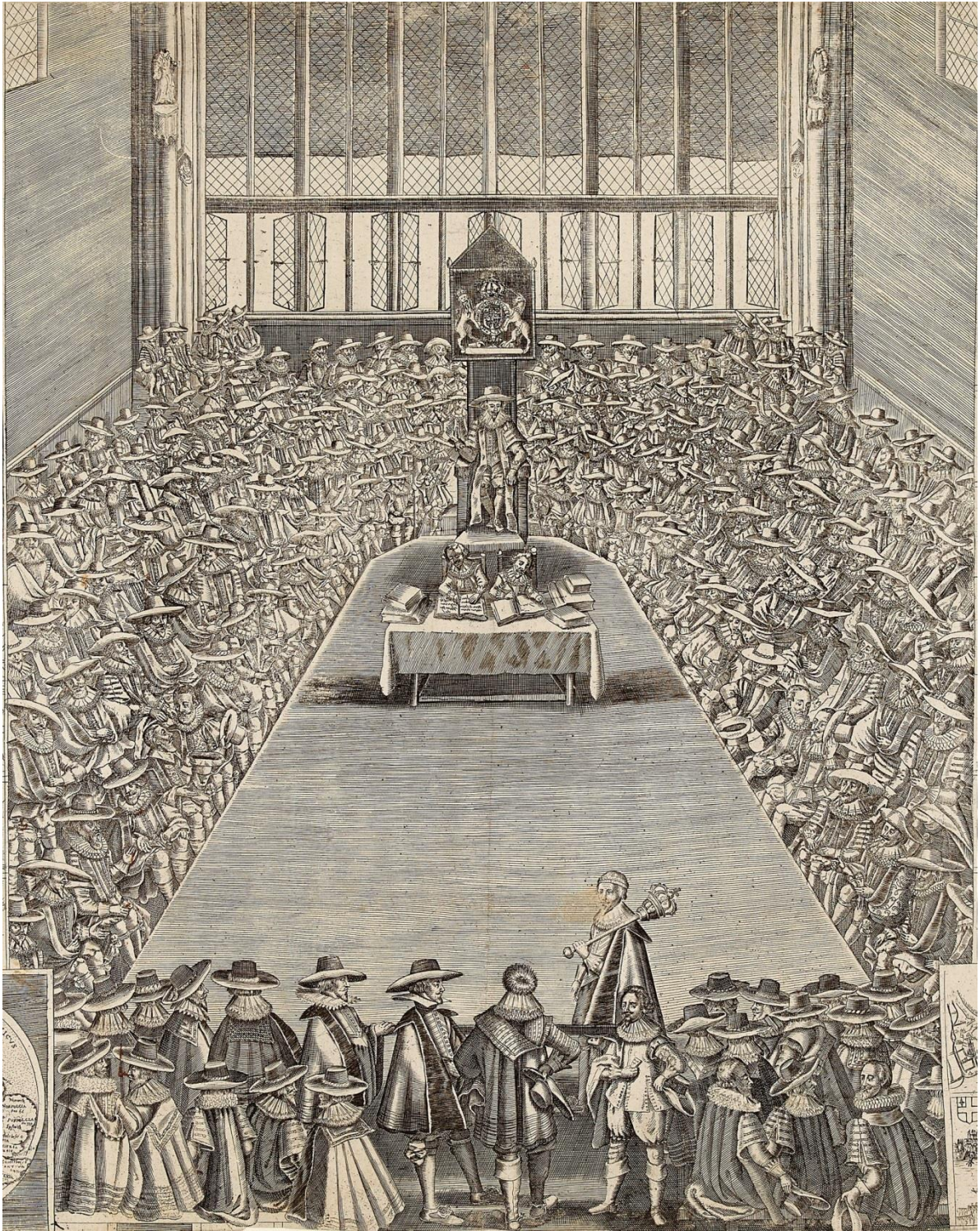


Plate 198 – Anonymous, Long Parliament in Session, 1640. Engraving. British Museum.



Plate 199 – Apostle Statue, formerly Sainte-Chapelle, 1239-48. Musée National du Moyen Âge.



Plate 200 – Apostle Statue, Cologne Cathedral Choir, c. 1280.



Plate 201 – John Thomas Smith, Stained glass fragments, c. 1807. Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 12].



Plate 203 – John Thomas Smith, Stained glass fragments, c. 1807. Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 14].



Plate 204 – St Stephen mural, Upper Chapel arcade, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s.
Photograph by Emily Guerry.



Plate 205 – Lives of SS Felix and Nabor, Cologne Cathedral Choir Stall Screen, c. 1332-49.

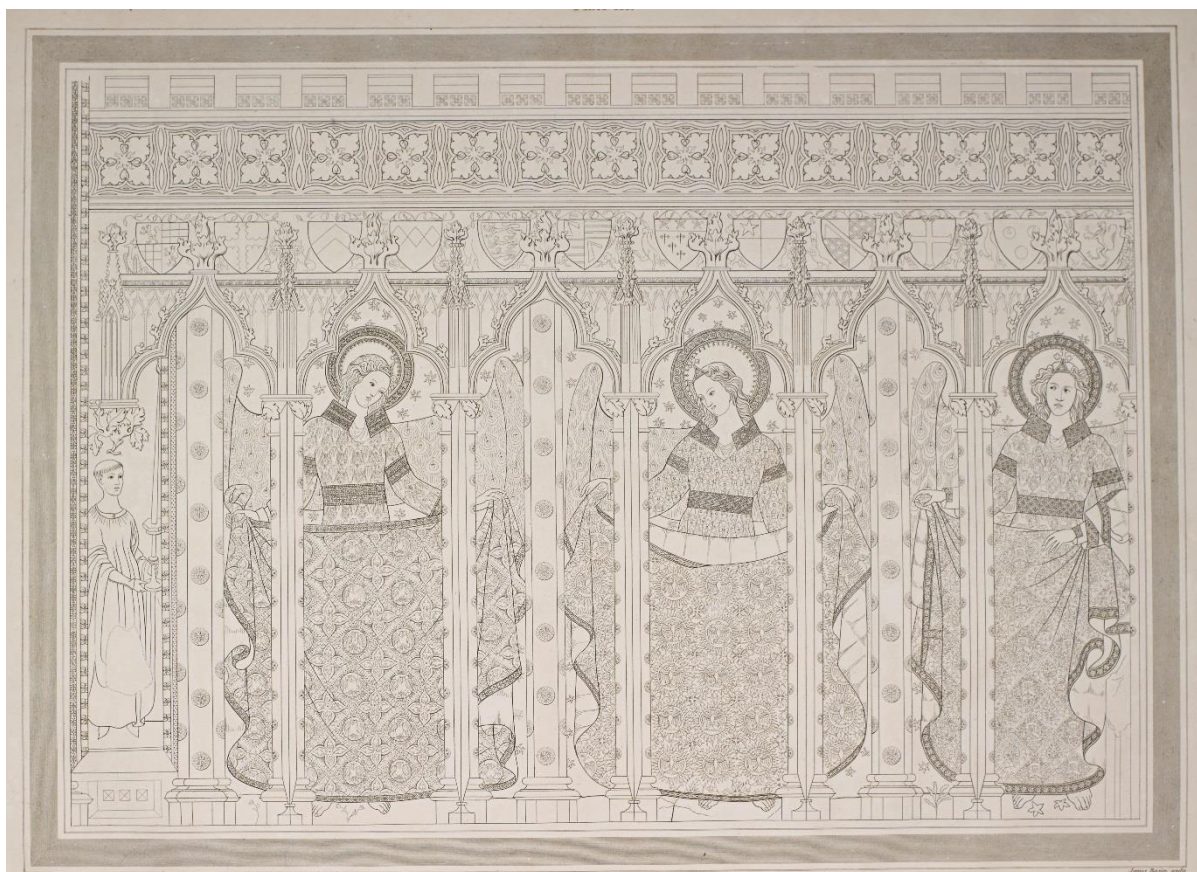


Plate 206 – James Basire, Arcade wall paintings, south side, east corner, from a drawing by Richard Smirke, 1806. Engraving. Plate XVIII in Topham, *Account*. [TOP 18].



Plate 207 – Detail of Plate 63.



Plate 208 – Angel sculpture, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1240s.



Plate 209 – Censing angel sculpture, Westminster Abbey, before 1253.



Plate 210 – Musician angel sculpture, Lincoln Cathedral Angle choir (1256-80). Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.



Plate 211 – George Belton Moore, St Stephen's Chapel after the 1834 fire, 1835. Watercolour on paper. Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection. [DRA 105 (Moo)].



Plate 212 – John Thomas Smith, Upper Chapel lower cornice shields, north side, c. 1807.
Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 17].

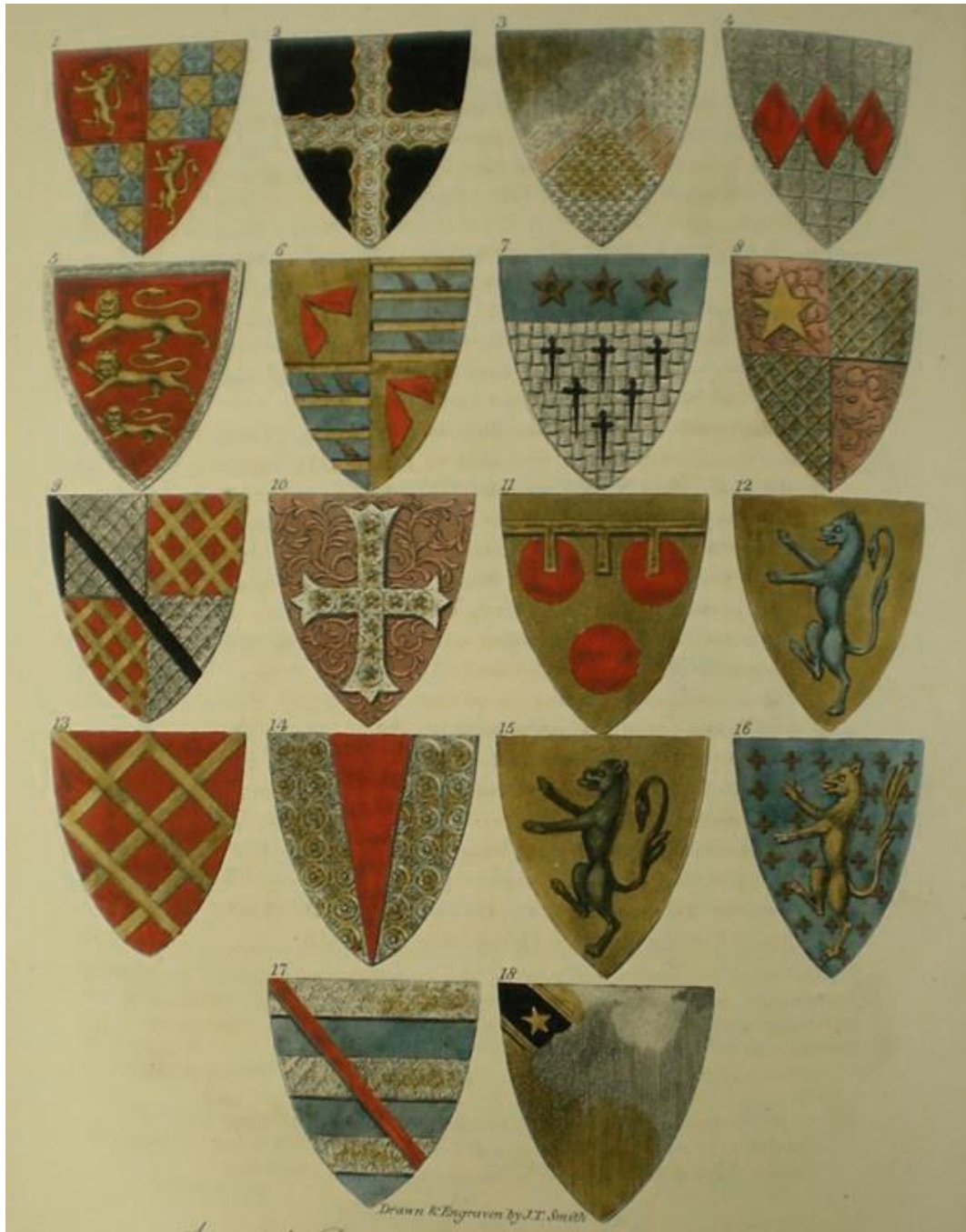


Plate 213 – John Thomas Smith, Upper Chapel lower cornice shields, south side, c. 1807.
Engraving. Smith, *Antiquities*. [SMI 18].



Plate 214 – St George and Edward III, c. 1325-27. CCCO MS 92, fol. 3r.

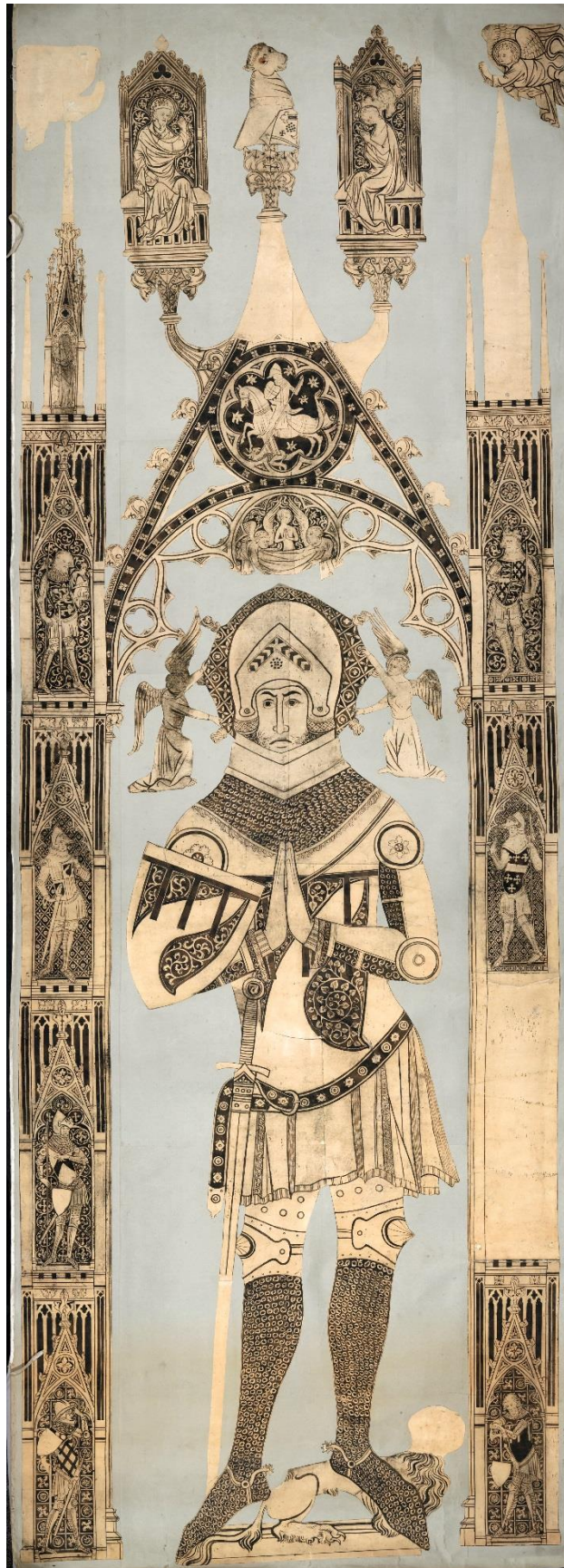


Plate 215 – Craven Ord, Brass from the Tomb of Hugh Hastings, c. 1346. Brass rubbing.
British Library MS Add. 32488/D.



Plate 216 – Anonymous, Portrait of King John II of France, after 1350. Oil painting on panel. Musée du Louvre.

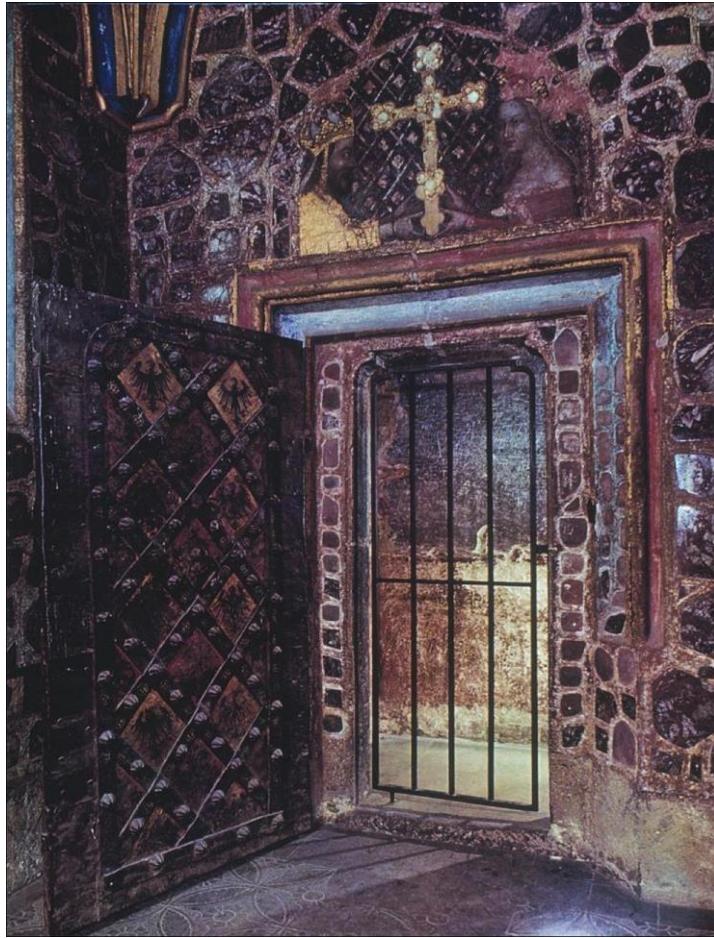


Plate 217 – Emperor Charles IV and Empress Anna of Schweidnitz mural, St Catherine's Chapel, Castle Karlštejn, c. 1357. Oil painting on stone.

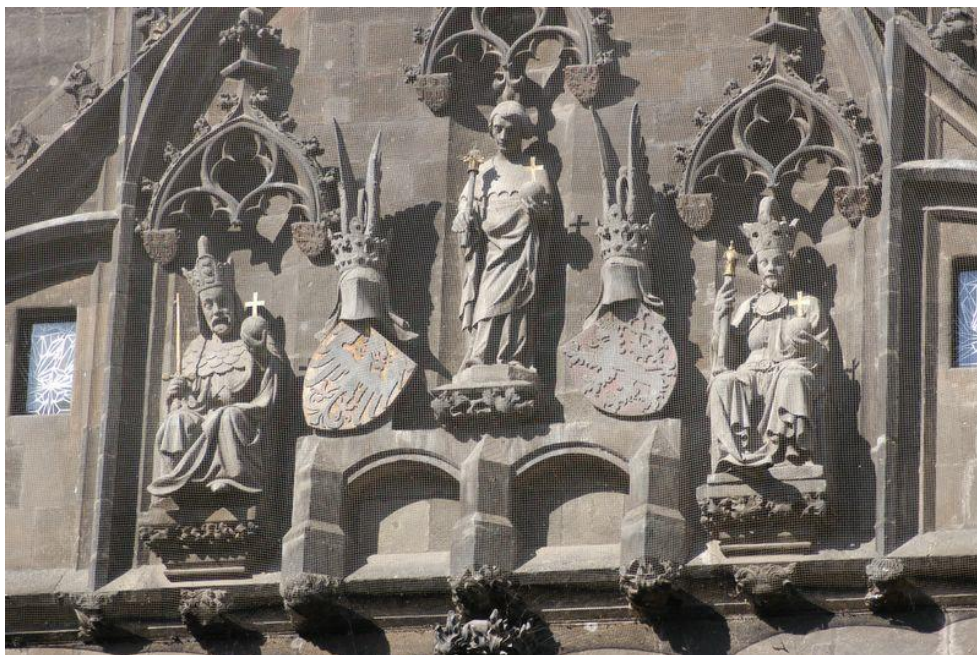


Plate 218 – Emperor Charles IV (left), St Wenceslaus (centre) and future King of the Romans Wenceslaus IV, Old Town Bridge Tower, Prague, 1357-1402.



Plate 219 – Wilton Diptych, interior, c. 1395-99. Oil painting on panel. National Gallery.



Plate 220 – Wilton Diptych, exterior, c. 1395-99. Oil painting on panel. National Gallery.

St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Architecture, Decoration and Politics
in the Reigns of Henry III and the three Edwards (1227-1363)

Volume III of III

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Ph.D.

University of York

History of Art

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Appendix I – Reconstruction Drawings Descriptions and Catalogue of Sources

Contents:

Methodology

Reconstruction Drawings Descriptions (RD)

Catalogue of Sources

- *Dedicated Publications*

- TOP
- CAR
- SMI
- BRA
- MAC

- *Paintings (PAI)*

- *Prints (PRI)*

- *Drawings (DRA)*

Methodology

These reconstruction drawings are intended to provide an accurate representation of the current state of knowledge regarding the visual appearance of the interior of St Stephen's Chapel, as presented in this thesis. Based primarily on the measured drawings and prints produced by antiquarians between the 1790s and 1840s, they are the product of a systematic process of comparison and assessment between diverse visual and textual sources which revealed many points of contrast and contradiction. By producing new drawings based on these analyses, my thesis explored an alternative means of interrogating these which proved integral to the process of my research. Drawing became a principal means of considering and resolving the structural problems which the chapel's partial survival presents to the architectural historian. Equally, the production of measured drawings has allowed me to gain new perspectives on established scholarship of the chapel, which has remained entirely reliant on past visual interpretations of the chapel's material fabric for illustrating and interpreting the building.

Initially, visual source materials were gathered from Museums, Archives and publications and analysed comparatively for style, accuracy, consistency and reliance on other sources, generating a complex picture of the genealogy of antiquarian responses to St Stephen's. Contradictions were noted and, where possible, resolved through cross-comparison of style, drawing technique, method of recording and, where possible, the known accessibility of the features depicted and the author's capacity to view them. This was further facilitated by an extensive range of textual sources, primarily those contained within antiquarian publications (which often discussed at length the processes of measuring and recording St Stephen's) and the chapel's extensive building accounts which often yielded clues regarding the building's form. In the latter case, these invariably became components of the thesis text. For John Carter's works in particular the regular contributions which he made to the *Gentleman's Magazine* were considerably useful in ascertaining the accessibility of the building, a complete list of which is available in J. M. Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival* (London, 1995). Every visual source thus considered is listed in full below, with a detailed description of their contents. In addition, for the Lower Chapel specifically a survey was conducted of its present, late nineteenth-century iteration completed under Edmund

Barry, producing measurements and moldings which were compared to the antiquarian materials.

As this process revealed that there was little which could be added to antiquarian images of the chapel exterior (or, at least, which could not readily be explored by a transverse section), it was decided to focus instead on the interior. Basing my decision on the availability of usable visual sources, five viewpoints were selected: three ground plans (Upper Chapel, Lower Chapel vault and Lower Chapel floor), a longitudinal section facing south (the direction universally adopted by antiquarians) and a transverse section taken from the central bay, looking east. The sources were converted into the final drawings through four distinct methods:

- 1) Direct tracing of reliable visual sources with textually-attested measurements taken from the original fabric. Frederick Mackenzie's drawings and engravings were the most frequently used in this manner.
- 2) Extrapolation from known measurements or moldings. Often architectural features were known only through a single viewing angle or a sketch which could be related to other known elements of the architecture. In these cases, the final views had to be extrapolated from known elements, with two dimensional drawings being projected along a third dimensional axis to construct the final shape.
- 3) Extrapolation from building accounts. Some features, such as the upper portion of the tabernacles in the Upper Chapel, left no details of their appearance behind. However, their attested presence in the financial accounts and the marks of fixing points remaining in the masonry necessitated their inclusion.
- 4) Extrapolation from sketches or unclear images. On occasion images provided an indistinct glimpse of a feature which independent images confirmed were once present, one particular example being the statues contained by the tabernacles which were backed by known fixing points in the masonry. These thus had to be included in some form, conventionally a cursory red outline.

The result of these four methods was a range of degrees of uncertainty regarding the reconstruction of the chapel. Some features could be measured and reproduced in considerable detail, whereas others could at best be presented as a vague outline. Whereas previous reconstruction drawings resorted primarily to textual explanation to convey uncertainty, my drawings aim to achieve more immediate clarity through a colour-coded system, outlined below. The end result is a set of five drawings which combine accuracy with accountability and defined areas of uncertainty, providing this thesis with a complementary visual expression of the appearance of St Stephen's Chapel on its completion.

Reconstruction Drawings Descriptions (RD):

General

The lines on the drawings are colour-coded based on the degree of speculation involved. Black lines indicate the use of clear, reliable measured drawings and a high level of certainty. Grey lines indicate tentative reconstruction from sketches, other less clear visual material or deductions based on comparison with known architectural features, representing high certainty but less precision than features in black. Red lines indicate rough approximations – features known to be present from documentary or other evidence, but for which no visual evidence survives.

All drawings are to scale, with the scale shown on the drawing in feet (the dimensions employed by antiquarians) and metres. The sections also include a human scale at a modern average height of 5 feet 7 inches.

RD.1 – Upper Chapel Plan

This drawing is sectioned horizontally through the shafts of the Upper Chapel's blind arcading above their seats and bases. The height is shown on the transverse section. Sections from other levels of the piers and vestibule window and south doorway are shown in purple.

The plan includes an arrow pointing north.

Sources:

TOP 3-6, 17; SMI 8-9; BRA 17-18; MAC 2-5, 9-11, 16; DRA 2, 24, 33, 42, 45, 58, 69-73, 94-95, 97-99, 113, 135-36, 151, 154.

RD.2 – Lower Chapel Vault Plan

This drawing shows the Lower Chapel vault ribs at their point of intersection with the chapel's columns. As these occur at multiple levels in the Lower Chapel (see the longitudinal section), this is not a true horizontal section and is instead a schematic drawing intended to show the interaction between vault and Lower Chapel. The vault is also included in consequence.

The plan includes an arrow pointing north.

Sources:

TOP 2, 5-8; BRA 11-12; MAC 1, 3-4, 12, 16; PRI 2; DRA 15, 18-19, 22-24, 33-38, 57, 68, 71-75, 91, 96-97, 102, 106, 151.

RD.3 – Lower Chapel Floor Plan

This drawing is a horizontal section through the Lower Chapel columns above their bases and seats. The height is shown on the transverse section. The piers' mouldings which intersect with the vault are shown in purple.

The plan includes an arrow pointing north.

Sources:

TOP 2, 5-8; BRA 11-12; MAC 1, 3-4, 12, 16; DRA 15, 18-19, 22-24, 33-38, 57, 68, 71-73, 75, 91, 96-97, 102, 106, 151.

RD.4 – Longitudinal Section

This drawing is a vertical section taken through the chapel's centre in a line running from east to west end, looking south. It is cut off at clerestorey level as there is insufficient information for reconstruction at that level.

Apostle statues are included in red, the silhouettes taken from Cologne Cathedral's east end. Alternative sections of the vestibule doorway and windows are shown in purple.

Sources:

TOP 5-11, 15, 18; CAR 1,3; SMI 2, 4-5, 10-11, 29-32; BRA 8-9, 14, 16, 20, 28-29; MAC 3-4, 7, 9-12, 14-16, 22-24, 26-31; PAI 1; PRI 2-3; DRA 1-3, 9-11, 17-19, 22, 24, 28-40, 42-43, 48-49, 52-53, 57-66; 71-78, 84-88, 94-100; 103-05, 107, 109-11, 114, 117-18, 137, 139, 152-53, 155.

RD.5 – Transverse Section

This drawing is a vertical section taken through the centre of the central windows of the Lower Chapel on a north to south axis, facing east. A second blue colour scheme is included for the more distant east end of the Upper Chapel and choir screen of the Lower Chapel in order to differentiate it from those pertaining to the central bay. Alternative horizontal sections of the chapel pier and buttress are included in purple.

Sources:

TOP 6, 9-11, 17; CAR 2-3; SMI 4-5, 9, 11, 29-32; BRA 8, 16, 20, 28-29; MAC 6-8, 15-16, 22-24, 26-31; PAI 1; PRI 2-3; DRA 1, 3, 9-11, 18-19, 22, 24, 27-32, 34, 36-40, 43, 48-49, 455-56, 58-63, 72-73, 76-78, 85-87, 89, 92, 94, 97, 103-05, 107, 109-11, 114, 117-18, 135-36, 139, 152-53, 155.

Catalogue of Sources:

Dedicated Publications:

TOP - John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster*, (London, 1795-1811).

Authors/Illustrators: John Topham (introduction),¹ Sir Henry Charles Englefield (plate description),² James Basire senior (engraver),³ James Basire junior (engraver),⁴ John Carter (original draughtsman),⁵ Richard Smirke (original draughtsman),⁶ John Dixon (original draughtsman)⁷ and Sir George Naylor (original draughtsman).⁸

Sources:

TOP 1

Title/page reference: Plate I / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 67*]. Frontispiece derived from entablature under the windows of the Upper Chapel.

TOP 2

Title/page reference: Plate II / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 68*]. Lower Chapel ground plan.

TOP 3

Title/page reference: Plate III / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 69*]. Upper Chapel ground plan.

TOP 4

Title/page reference: Plate IV / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 70*]. West front elevation.

TOP 5

Title/page reference: Plate V / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 71*]. South side elevation.

TOP 6

Title/page reference: Plate VI / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 72-73*]. East front elevation and transverse section through easternmost bay, facing east.

¹ G. H. Martin, "Topham, John (1746–1803)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27553>.

² Bernard Nurse, "Englefield, Sir Henry Charles, seventh baronet (c.1752–1822)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8812>

³ Lucy Peltz, "Basire, Isaac (1704–1768)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1619>.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook, "Carter, John (1748–1817)," *ODNB* online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4791>.

⁶ Tina Fiske, "Smirke, Robert (1753–1845)," *ODNB* online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25762>.

⁷ Timothy Clayton, "Dixon, John (c.1740–1811)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7701>.

⁸ Thomas Woodcock, "Naylor, Sir George (*bap.* 1764, *d.* 1831)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19813>.

TOP 7

Title/page reference: Plate VII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 74*]. South side longitudinal elevation.

TOP 8

Title/page reference: Plate VIII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 75*]. Sections and elevations of the pier columns, windows and their mouldings in the Upper Chapel.

TOP 9

Title/page reference: Plate IX / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 76*]. Upper Chapel spandrel, interior longitudinal and transverse sections.

TOP 10

Title/page reference: Plate X / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 77*]. Upper Chapel spandrel mouldings, interior and mullion mouldings.

TOP 11

Title/page reference: Plate XI / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 78*]. Upper Chapel upper cornice details and mouldings.

TOP 12

Title/page reference: Plate XII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 79*]. Upper Chapel upper cornice heraldic shields.

TOP 13

Title/page reference: Plate XIII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 80*]. Upper Chapel upper cornice foliate tablets and heraldic shields.

TOP 14

Title/page reference: Plate XIV / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire (1795) from drawing by John Carter [*DRA 81*]. Cloister.

TOP 15

Title/page reference: Plate XV / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from drawing by John Dixon [*DRA 84*]. Upper Chapel easternmost bay, north side longitudinal section.

TOP 16

Title/page reference: Plate XVI / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from painting [*PAI 2*] and drawings by Richard Smirke. East wall painting, north side.

TOP 17

Title/page reference: Plate XVII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from drawing by Richard Smirke [*DRA 136*]. East wall painting, south side.

TOP 18

Title/page reference: Plate XVIII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from drawing by Richard Smirke [*DRA 138*]. Southeast Upper Chapel arcading with angel paintings.

TOP 19

Title/page reference: Plate XIX / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 140].
Destruction of Job's children painting.

TOP 20

Title/page reference: Plate XX / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807). Painting inscriptions.

TOP 21

Title/page reference: Plate XX / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 147]. Job addressing his sons and the muting of Tobit's eyes.

TOP 22

Title/page reference: Plate XX / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 142, 148]. Tobias' wedding feast.

TOP 23

Title/page reference: Plate XXIII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 149]. Raphael reveals itself to Tobit and Tobias.

TOP 24

Title/page reference: Plate XXIV / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 143]. Job's daughters seek permission to visit their brothers.

TOP 25

Title/page reference: Plate XXV / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 144]. Job receives word of his childrens' deaths.

TOP 26

Title/page reference: Plate XXVI / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 145]. The rebuking of Job's three false friends.

TOP 27

Title/page reference: Plate XXVII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire from drawing by Richard Smirke [DRA 146]. Zophar and Job painting.

TOP 28

Title/page reference: Plate XXVIII / n/a

Description: Engraving by James Basire junior (1807) from a lost drawing by Sir George Naylor. Saints Eustace and Mercurius paintings.

CAR - John Carter, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture and Ancient Buildings in England* (London, 1824).

CAR 1

Title/page reference: Plate XVII

Description: Engraving (1824) from a drawing John Carter [*DRA 64*]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior longitudinal section.

CAR 2

Title/page reference: Plate XVIII

Description: Engraving (1824) from a drawing John Carter [*DRA 65*]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior transverse section, details of several architectural details, plan views of the Upper and Lower Chapels, an image of the St Margaret boss of the Lower Chapel and moulding profiles for the window frames of the Upper and Lower Chapels (the latter including the ribs of the vaulting above).

CAR 3

Title/page reference: Plate XIX

Description: Engraving (1824) from a drawing John Carter [*DRA 66*]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior transverse section, details of several architectural details, plan views of the Upper and Lower Chapels, an image of the St Margaret boss of the Lower Chapel and moulding profiles for the window frames of the Upper and Lower Chapels (the latter including the ribs of the vaulting above).

SMI - John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, (London, 1807).

Authors/Illustrators: J. T. Smith (author, draughtsman, engraver and etcher),⁹ John Sidney Hawkins,¹⁰ Nathaniel Smith (draughtsman), T. Sandby (watercolourist),¹¹ J. Jeakes (engraver), Isaac Mills (etcher), Samuel Rawle (engraver),¹² J. Bryant, Canaletto (draughtsman),¹³ Frederick Christian Lewis (aquatint),¹⁴ William and John Berryman (wood engravings in text), Sawyer Junior, W. J. White (engraver), W. M. Fellows (engraver), Robert Freebairn (painter),¹⁵ W. Skillman (engraver), J. Spilbergh (draughtsman), Wenceslaus Hollar (etcher),¹⁶ Adam A Bierling, T. Hall (engraver), George Vertue (draughtsman),¹⁷ John Brock (engraver), B. Lens (draughtsman),¹⁸ John Hall (engraver),¹⁹ Leendert Knyff (draughtsman),²⁰ M. Moss (draughtsman), G. Arnald (painter), Samuel Scott (painter),²¹ John June (engraver),²² J. C. Vischer (draughtsman), J. C. Keirincx (draughtsman) and Richard Sawyer (printmaker).

Sources:

SMI 1

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 38

Description: Engraving by Sawyer junior. Plan of the Palace of Westminster, depicting pre-fire state in outline.

SMI 2

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 45

Description: Etched and drawn by J. T. Smith. Misc. objects. Includes an image of the door in the fifth south bay of the Lower Chapel.

⁹ Lucy Peltz, "Smith, John Thomas (1766–1833)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2007, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25867>.

¹⁰ W. W. Wroth and Richard Riddell, "Hawkins, John Sidney (*bap.* 1758, *d.* 1842)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12676>.

¹¹ Luke Herrmann, "Sandby, Thomas (*bap.* 1723, *d.* 1798)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24614>.

¹² B. Hunnisett, "Rawle, Samuel (1775/6–1860)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23182>.

¹³ Charles Beddington, "Canal, Giovanni Antonio [Canaletto] (1697–1768)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62065>.

¹⁴ Charles Newton, "Lewis, Frederick Christian, senior (1779–1856)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16582>.

¹⁵ L. H. Cust and Ruth Stewart, "Freebairn, Robert (1764–1808)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10142>.

¹⁶ Robert J. D. Harding, "Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13549>.

¹⁷ Martin Myrone, "Vertue, George (1684–1756)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28252>.

¹⁸ Katherine Coombs, "Lens family (*per. c.* 1650–1779)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66537>.

¹⁹ Timothy Clayton, "Hall, John (1739–1797)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11973>.

²⁰ Paul Taylor, "Knyff, Leendert (1650–1722)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15796>.

²¹ Richard Kingzett, "Scott, Samuel (1701/2–1772)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24910>.

²² Lucy Peltz, "June, John (*fl. c.* 1744–1775)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15166>.

SMI 3

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 125

Description: Etched and drawn by J. T. Smith. Foundation plan of the ancient Palace of Westminster.

SMI 4

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 144

Description: Aquatinted by Frederick Christian Lewis and afterwards etched and finished by J. T. Smith from a painting by G. Arnald. View of Westminster from the east. Shows the Abbey, palace and St Stephen's Chapel after the Wren interventions.

SMI 5

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 145

Description: Two images. Upper: Etched by J. T. Smith (1805) from a drawing by Thomas Sandby. View of St Stephen's Chapel from the river following its repairs by Christopher Wren, but prior to the modification of the turrets by Sir William Chambers. Lower: Etched by J. T. Smith (1805) from anonymous drawing. View of St Stephen's Chapel from the river.

SMI 6

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 146

Description: Etched and drawn by G. Arnald (?). South side of the House of Commons (St Stephen's Chapel) from the roof of Painted Chamber.

SMI 7

Title/page reference: n/a / embedded on page 147

Description: Two images. Wood engraving by William and John Berryman (?) from engraved frontispiece to John Nalson's *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State* (1682-83). View of St Stephen's from the river before 1682.

SMI 8

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 150

Description: Engraving by W. J. White (?) from a drawing by J. T. Smith. Details of north west vestibule entrance.

SMI 9

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 153

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1806). East wall paintings and northeastern bay arcading angel paintings.

SMI 10

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 155

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1805). Upper Chapel lower cornice showing its geometric construction.

SMI 11

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 157

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Upper Chapel pier bracket and glass fragments.

SMI 12

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 232

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Specimens of stained glass from St Stephen's Chapel, foliage.

SMI 13

Title/page reference: n/a / between SMI 12 and SMI 14.

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Specimens of stained glass from St Stephen's Chapel, heraldry, animals and borders.

SMI 14

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 233

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Specimens of stained glass from St Stephen's Chapel, figures and inscriptions.

SMI 15

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 234

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Upper Chapel lower cornice grotesques, south side.

SMI 16

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 235

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Upper Chapel lower cornice grotesques, south side.

SMI 17

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 237

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Upper Chapel lower cornice arms, north side.

SMI 18

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 241

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Upper Chapel lower cornice arms, south side.

SMI 19

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 242

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (?). Stone fragments including seat termination, brackets, upper cornice shield, arcading pinnacles and pier shaft mouldings.

SMI 20

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 243

Description: Engraved by W. J. White (?) from a drawing by J. T. Smith. Prints, column mouldings, foliate sculpture fragments and arcading shafts.

SMI 21

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 244

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Saints Eustace and Mercurius (considered to be knights by Hawkins and Smith).

SMI 22

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 248

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Annunciation to the shepherds, east wall south.

SMI 23

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 249

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Adoration of the shepherds, east wall south.

SMI 24

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 250 (1)

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). Presentation in the Temple, east wall south.

SMI 25

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 250 (2)

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1804). King from adoration of the Magi, east wall north.

SMI 26

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 251

Description: Drawn and etched by J. T. Smith (?). Cotton garden, Westminster showing removed stones including St Eustace image.

SMI 27

Title/page reference: n/a / opposite page 252

Description: Drawn and etched by J. T. Smith (1806). Misc objects including oak door found preserved in speaker's dining room, tile from vicar's houses and possible moulding for the vestry.

SMI 28

Title/page reference: n/a / embedded on page 269

Description: Wood engraving by John Berryman (?). Edward III commissioning Hugh of St Albans, John Athelard, and Benedict Nighegale to collect painters for St. Stephen's Chapel.

SMI 29

Title/page reference: Additional Plate 1 / n/a

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1807). St Stephen's Chapel east front, as it appeared before the alterations in 1806, a reconstruction of its post-Wren state.

SMI 30

Title/page reference: Additional Plate 2 / n/a

Description: Drawn and engraved by J. T. Smith (1807). St Stephen's Chapel east front, as it appeared before the alterations in 1806, a reconstruction of its pre-Wren state.

SMI 31

Title/page reference: Additional Plate 3 / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. J. White (1809) from a drawing by Gravelot. House of Commons as it appeared in "174½".

SMI 32

Title/page reference: Additional Plate 59 / n/a

Description: Etching by Richard Sawyer (?). Three views of Westminster. Upper: From a drawing by J. C. Keirincx (1625). View from the River. Middle: From an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar [*PRI* 2]. Lower: From an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar.

BRA - Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palace and late Houses of Parliament at Westminster*, London 1836

Authors/Illustrators: Edward Wedlake Brayley,²³ John Britton,²⁴ R. W. Billings (draughtsman and engraver),²⁵ J. Hawkesworth (engraver), Thomas Clark (engraver), S. Williams (engraver), William Capon (draughtsman),²⁶ N. Whittock (woodcutter), William Taylor (engraver), J. Woods (engraver), J. Carter (draughtsman), G. Gladwin (engraver), Samuel Bellin (engraver),²⁷ T. Woolnoth (engraver), J. Carter, engraver (could be the same), E. Jones (engraver), J. le Keux (engraver),²⁸ J. Hewitt (draughtsman),²⁹ F. P. Becker (engraver), J. R. Thompson (draughtsman), F. Mansell, (engraver), T. Woods (engraver), W. Woolnoth (engraver).

Sources:

BRA 1

Title/page reference: Plate X / frontispiece

Description: Engraved by J. Hawkesworth (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Westminster Hall, south side and part of the west side.

BRA 2

Title/page reference: Plate I / frontispiece

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clarke (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings under the direction of John Britton. Parts of St Stephen's Chapel and Cloister.

BRA 3

Title/page reference: n/a / title page

Description: Woodcut by S. Williams (1836?) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Shows college seal of St Stephen's along with other details. Also includes an image of a crowned figure supporting the springing of two arches.

BRA 4

Title/page reference: "Edward I" / 77

Description: Engraved by S. Williams (1836?) from a drawing by William Capon. Image of a crowned figure supporting the springing of two arches.

BRA 5

Title/page reference: n/a / 360

Description: Engraved by S. Williams (1836?) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Cell in staircase turret, southeast corner, Painted Chamber.

²³ Thompson Cooper and Elizabeth Baigent, "Brayley, Edward Wedlake (1773–1854)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3302>; John Britton, *A brief memoir of Edward Wedlake Brayley ... from the Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1855).

²⁴ J. Mordaunt Crook, "Britton, John (1771–1857)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3458>; John Britton, *Autobiography*, 2 vols, (London, 1850–57).

²⁵ Annette Peach, "Billings, Robert William (1813–1874)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2391>.

²⁶ Richard Riddell, "Capon, William (1757–1827)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2006, accessed 16 Sept 2014, accessed 6 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4594>.

²⁷ Lucy Peltz, "Bellin, Samuel (1799–1893)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2055>.

²⁸ David Wootton, "Le Keux family (*per.* 1800–1885)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/64148>.

²⁹ Thompson Cooper and Claude Blair, "Hewitt, John (1807–1878)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2008, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13151>.

BRA 6

Title/page reference: n/a / 360

Description: Engraved by S. Williams (1836?) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Cell in staircase turret, southeast corner, Painted Chamber.

BRA 7

Title/page reference: V / opposite page 422

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (27th Oct 1834). "Three windows, S. End, Court of Requests".

BRA 8

Title/page reference: XXXIX / opposite page 432

Description: Engraved by William Taylor (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (February 1835). House of Commons (St Stephen's Chapel).

BRA 9

Title/page reference: VI / opposite page 434

Description: Engraved by Hawkesworth (?) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Shows one bay of St Stephen's Chapel, interior and exterior elevation and in transverse section. The image itself is based very heavily on John Carter's reconstruction of the chapel [*CAR 1-3*], especially in the tracery attributed the Upper Chapel windows.

BRA 10

Title/page reference: II / opposite page 447

Description: Engraved by G. Gladwin (?) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Plan of Westminster from before the fire of 1834. The extent of the fire (16th Oct 1834) is shown by a dotted line.

BRA 11

Title/page reference: XXVI / opposite page 448

Description: Engraved by Samuel Bellin (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings based on measurements and sketches by J. Carter. Plans of Chapel & of Crypt, St Stephen's Chapel. Based heavily on Carter's plans, minus choir screen [*TOP 2*].

BRA 12

Title/page reference: III, XXVI / after page 448

Description: Engraved by T. Woolnoth (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (9th July 1835). Crypt under St Stephen's Chapel, west end, looking west displaying workmen excavating the floor.

BRA 13

Title/page reference: XVIII, III / after page 448

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a measured drawing by R. W. Billings (July 1835). Lower Chapel window with scale.

BRA 14

Title/page reference: XXV, XVIII / after page 448

Description: Engraved by G. Gladwin (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. North longitudinal section of St Stephen's Chapel and Crypt as set up as the House of Commons before the fire in 1834 (James Wyatt's iteration).

BRA 15

Title/page reference: XII / opposite page 454

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (15th Jan 1835). East end Painted Chamber and side of St Stephens Chapel, post fire view.

BRA 16

Title/page reference: XXVIII, XII / after page 454

Description: Engraved by J. Carter (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. East end view of the chapel, post fire.

BRA 17

Title/page reference: XXIX, XXVIII / after page 454

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Vestibule to St Stephen's Chapel.

BRA 18

Title/page reference: XI, XXIX / after page 454

Description: Drawn and engraved by R. W. Billings (1835). Elevation, section and plan of one compartment of the vestibule exterior.

BRA 19

Title/page reference: XVI, XI / after page 454

Description: Engraved by E. Jones (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Stairs from St Stephen's Chapel to Cloister.

BRA 20

Title/page reference: XXVII / opposite page 456

Description: Engraved by J. Le Keux (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. St Stephen's Chapel, looking east after the fire.

BRA 20

Title/page reference: XXVII / after page 456

Description: Engraved by P. Becker (1835) from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Plan view of the cloisters at lower level.

BRA 21

Title/page reference: XXII, XVII / after page 456

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by J. R. Thompson. View west and elevation of east end of Cloister chapter house (here called Chantry chapels).

BRA 22

Title/page reference: XXXIII, XXII / after page 456

Description: Engraved by J. Hawkesworth (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Two compartments from southeast angle of St Stephen's Cloister and view of the vaulting with pier profiles.

BRA 23

Title/page reference: XXXV, XXXIII / after page 456

Description: Engraved 1835 from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Cloister window plan including mouldings.

BRA 24

Title/page reference: XXI, XXXV / after page 456

Description: Engraved by F. Mansell (1835) from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Cloister details including columns and profile of a capital.

BRA 25

Title/page reference: XXIII, XXI / after page 456

Description: Engraved by F. Mansell (1835) from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Cloister details.

BRA 26

Title/page reference: XXIII, XXI / after page 456

Description: Engraved by Samuel Bellin (1835) from a drawing by J. R. Thompson (May 1835). Ground plan of Cloister Chapter House.

BRA 27

Title/page reference: XXIII, XXXI / after page 456

Description: Engraved by T. Woods (1835) from a drawing by J. R. Thompson. "Chantry Chapel" in Cloister.

BRA 28

Title/page reference: XXXVIII, XXIII / after page 456

Description: Drawn and engraved by Thomas Clark (1835). Long Gallery looking north, showing the chapel's south side viewed north.

BRA 29

Title/page reference: XXV, XXXVIII / after page 456

Description: Engraved by W. Woolnoth (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Cloister showing view of the chapel's north side.

BRA 30

Title/page reference: XXX, XXV / after page 456

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (21st Oct 1834). Upper Cloister of St Stephen's Chapel, looking south.

BRA 31

Title/page reference: XXXVI, XXX / after page 456

Description: Engraved by Thomas Clark (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings. Cloister south walk looking east.

BRA 32

Title/page reference: XXXIV, XXVI / after page 456

Description: Engraved by J. Woods (1835) from a drawing by R. W. Billings (May 1835). Cloister, northwest angle.

BRA 33

Title/page reference: XXII, VIII / after page 456

Description: Engraved by F. Mansell (1835) from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Compartments of ceiling at north and south sides of Cloister, including mouldings and plan of vaulting.

BRA 34

Title/page reference: VIII / opposite page 457

Description: Engraved by F. Mansell (1835) from a drawing by J. Hewitt. Westminster Hall, Compartment on the east side near the south end, entrance into some high-level area, presumably the cloister.

MAC - Frederick Mackenzie, The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, The Late House of Commons: Drawn from actual survey and admeasurements made by direction of the commissioners of her majesty's woods and works, &c. accompanied by observations on the original and perfect state of the building, and a description of the plates, (London, 1844).

Authors/Illustrators: Frederick Mackenzie (author and draughtsman),³⁰ W. F. Starling (engraver) and G. B. Smith (engraver).

MAC 1

Title/page reference: Plate I / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Plan of St Stephen's at crypt level.

MAC 2

Title/page reference: Plate II / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Plan of St Stephen's at upper level.

MAC 3

Title/page reference: Plate III / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. East elevation of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 4

Title/page reference: Plate IV / n/a

Description: Engraved by G. B. Smith from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. South elevation of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 5

Title/page reference: Plate V / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. West elevation of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 6

Title/page reference: Plate VI / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. East transverse section of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 7

Title/page reference: Plate VII / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. South longitudinal section of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 8

Title/page reference: Plate VIII / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. West transverse section of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 9

Title/page reference: Plate IX / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [DRA 99]. Part of the vestibule front.

³⁰ Simon Fenwick, "Mackenzie, Frederick (c.1787–1854)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2009, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17577>.

MAC 10

Title/page reference: Plate X / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 98*]. Vestibule doors.

MAC 11

Title/page reference: Plate XI / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 95*]. Passage and stairs from cloister to vestibule.

MAC 12

Title/page reference: Plate XII / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 96*]. Lower Chapel window.

MAC 13

Title/page reference: Plate XIII [XVI in text] / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing lost by Frederick Mackenzie. Ground plan of cloister "chapter house". Plate 13 and Plate 16 have been switched around when compared to the descriptions in the text.

MAC 14

Title/page reference: Plate XIV / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 100*]. Interior spandrel of Upper Chapel with details.

MAC 15

Title/page reference: Plate XV / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 94*]. Exterior spandrel of Upper Chapel, external panelling and buttress details.

MAC 16

Title/page reference: Plate XVI [XIII in text] / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 97*]. Upper Chapel arcading and pier, Lower Chapel door and other details. Plate 13 and Plate 16 have been switched around when compared to the descriptions in the text.

MAC 17

Title/page reference: Plate XVII / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie [*DRA 101*]. "Chapter house" and oratory.

MAC 18

Title/page reference: Plate XVIII / n/a

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Cloister ceiling plans.

MAC 19

Title/page reference: n/a /

Description: Engraved by W. F. Starling from a lost drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. East transverse section of St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 20

Title/page reference: n/a / vii

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Clerestorey 'gallery' transverse section and plan view.

MAC 21

Title/page reference: n/a / viii

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Clerestorey 'gallery' plan view.

MAC 22

Title/page reference: n/a / viii

Description: Engraved from a drawing by J. C. Keirincx. View of Westminster.

MAC 23

Title/page reference: n/a / viii

Description: Engraved from an engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar [*PRI 2*]. View of Westminster.

MAC 24

Title/page reference: n/a / ix

Description: Engraved from an anonymous drawing. View of Westminster including a unique, high-pitched roof on St Stephen's Chapel.

MAC 25

Title/page reference: n/a / 10

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Window tracery from east wall paintings, proposed window tracery for Upper Chapel windows.

MAC 26

Title/page reference: n/a / 11

Description: Engraved from an anonymous engraving. View of Westminster.

MAC 27

Title/page reference: n/a / 13

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Clerestorey reconstruction sketch.

MAC 28

Title/page reference: n/a / 13

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Clerestorey reconstruction plan.

MAC 29

Title/page reference: n/a / 14

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Clerestorey proposed reconstruction.

MAC 30

Title/page reference: n/a / 14

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Mullion remains, elevation and plan.

MAC 31

Title/page reference: n/a / 24

Description: Engraved from a drawing by Frederick Mackenzie. Tabernacle remains and proposed reconstruction.

Paintings:

Arranged alphabetically by author, location then reference.

PAI 1 (Sch)

Title and/or accession number: "Panorama of the Ruins of the Old Palace of Westminster, 1834"; WOA 3793
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by George Scharf (1834). The right half of the panorama has been lost. Its contents survive in printed form in [*PAI 3*].

PAI 2 (Smi)

Title and/or accession number: St Stephen's Chapel, east end mural.
Location: Society of Antiquaries
Description: Painting by Richard Smirke (1800-07). Shows the east end murals to the left of that altar from Saint Stephen's in original colours. Includes St George, the king and his sons and the Adoration of the Magi.

PAI 3 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2912
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Showing the St Stephen's Adoration of the Shepherds mural, based on Richard Smirke and J. T. Smith's renditions.

PAI 4 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2922
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Based on [*PAI 2*] showing the Virgin and Child mural.

PAI 5 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2923
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Based on [*PAI 2*] showing the three Magi mural.

PAI 6 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2925
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Based on [*PAI 2*] showing the St George and Edward III mural.

PAI 7 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2926
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Based on [*PAI 2*] showing Edward III's sons.

PAI 8 (TRI)

Title and/or accession number: WOA 2927
Location: Parliamentary Art Collection
Description: Painting by Ernest William Tristram (c. 1927). Based on [*PAI 2*] showing Edward III's sons.

Prints:

Arranged alphabetically by author, location then reference.

PRI 1 (Ano)

Title and/or accession number: n/a

Location: Illustrated London News, 5th February 1859

Description: Anonymous engraving. Shows the Lower Chapel vault in the process of restoration.

PRI 2 (Hol)

Title and/or accession number: *Ciuitatis Westmonasteriensis pars* (1880,1113.1284)

Location: British Museum

Description: Etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1647). View of Westminster from across the Thames.

PRI 3 (Sch)

Title and/or accession number: "Explanation of the Panoramic View of the Ruins of the Late Houses of Parliament, surrounding buildings & distant View, taken shortly after the Fire, From the Top of the Western Wall of St Stephen's Chapel"; 1880,1113.2638

Location: British Museum

Description: Engraving by George Scharf (1834). Accompanying print for [*PAI 1*].

Drawings:

Arranged alphabetically by author, location then reference.

DRA 1 (Ano)

Title or accession number: 1880,1113.1286

Location: British Museum

Description: Anonymous drawing (1724). View of Westminster from across the Thames.

DRA 2 (Ano)

Title or accession number: WOA 257

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Anonymous drawing (1835). Appears to be a drawing of the vestibule taken during the demolition process. Large bulk in the background would appear to be the Great Hall, not the body of the chapel.

DRA 3 (Ano)

Title or accession number: WOA 259

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Anonymous drawing (1834). St Stephen's Chapel, view of south side, east end.

DRA 4 (Arc)

Title or accession number: 1874,0314.170

Location: British Museum

Description: Watercolour drawing by John Wykeham Archer (1852).³¹ Bishop Lindwood, Lower Chapel burial in situ.

DRA 5 (Arc)

Title or accession number: 1874,0314.185

Location: British Museum

Description: Watercolour drawing by John Wykeham Archer (c. 1834). Corbels from St Stephen's Chapel.

³¹ Lucy Peltz, "Archer, John Wykenham (1806–1864)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/625>.

DRA 6 (Arc)

Title or accession number: 1874,0314.186

Location: British Museum

Description: Watercolour drawing by John Wykeham Archer (c. 1834). Crowned female sculpture head, stone fragments and tile fragment.

DRA 7 (Arc)

Title or accession number: 1874,0314.187

Location: British Museum

Description: Watercolour drawing by John Wykeham Archer (c. 1834). Sculpture and architecture fragments.

DRA 8 (Arc)

Title or accession number: 1874,0314.188

Location: British Museum

Description: Watercolour drawing by John Wykeham Archer (c. 1834). Stone and glass fragments.

DRA 9 (Bal)

Title or accession number: WOA 1279

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by George Balmer (1834).³² View west of Upper Chapel interior.

DRA 10 (Bil)

Title or accession number: WOA 1665

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by William Billings (1834). St Stephen's Chapel, View from ruined interior of Cloister towards chapel north side.

DRA 11 (Can)

Title or accession number: 1868,0328.306

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Antonio Canaletto (1746-68). View of Westminster.

DRA 12 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 99r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Attached directly to 100r. Unidentified moulding.

DRA 13 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 99v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Attached directly to 100r. Unidentified moulding.

DRA 14 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 100r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Upper drawing shows some form of entrance passageway, as yet unidentified. Lower is a moulding profile pasted onto the main sheet, presumably connected to the former.

DRA 15 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 100v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Plan view of the Lower Chapel including entrance from cloister and elements of choir screen. Lower half of plan view is collapsed. First three bosses named "St. Stephen" "Angel fiddle" "St. John" and ribbing shown for first two bays. Top right includes a plan of vaulting from some part of cloister. Bottom right plan view is unidentified and visually collapsed. Preparatory for [TOP 2]

³² Marshall Hall, "Balmer, George (1805–1846)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1243>.

DRA 16 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 101r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Sheet divided along fold. Upper section focuses on windows of Lower Chapel. To the right drawing of leading lines for window, to the left a drawing of glass from the quatrefoil tracery showing the seventeenth-century arms of Westminster. Lower section on the left shows a transverse section of the then Lesser hall (preparatory for [TOP 5]) and a moulding to the right with writing above in pen and miniature sketch of chapel exterior upper storey windows. Text: *Mr. Baker. his door*

Inside the court of request, the roof of it

Finish of last arch next court of requests

and top of roof _____ line to sketch of upper storey

The circles of each side of arch in line with circles

height of roof in line with height of roof

DRA 17 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 102r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Continuation of theme from 101r. Shows intersection between St Stephen's Chapel and the window of the Great hall. Preparatory for [TOP 5].

DRA 18 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 103r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Lower Chapel window elevation above and plan view below. In addition, to the left there is a faint drawing of what appears to have been one of the buttresses of the chapel, seen from transverse section.

DRA 19 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 103v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Faint image of "Pile of Window inside" with measurements.

DRA 20 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 104r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter (1811). Exterior "Spandrell / St. Stephens cha. west 1811". Includes profiles.

DRA 21 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 104v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Unidentified image. Plan view of foursquare building with compass directions. Window tracery below.

DRA 22 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 105r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Second, more detailed view of Lower Chapel window. Includes measurements and moulding profiles. Also includes drawing of outer archway with columns and profiles thereof, signed Carter.

DRA 23 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 105v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Eclectic collection of drawings. Upper three are details of the central carving of arch mouldings. Left is identified as "first soffit in 1 ~ 2 arches", centre as "second and right as something illegible. Below is an image of a capital and bottom right is a plan view of some kind with stairs, unidentified location.

DRA 24 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 106r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Exterior south elevation including disposition of buttresses, doorway and Upper Chapel windows and a small drawing of the tip of an octagonal turret. Preparatory for [TOP 5].

DRA 25 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 106v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Two indistinct drawings – one plan view and one section.

DRA 26 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 107r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. East exterior elevation, post-Wren. Includes the inscription: “see if this sketch is not too narrow”.

DRA 27 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 107v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Indistinct detailing of buttresses and archways.

DRA 28 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 108r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Judging by paste marks on the back, this was presumably formerly attached to 107r with corners cut off. It shows further details in plan view of the “east end”, especially the towers and buttressing.

DRA 29 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 109r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Interior section east to west. Preparatory for [TOP 7]. Displays upper and Lower Chapel with a gap in between, looking east. In addition, there is a small section view of an octagonal turret. Includes measurements

DRA 30 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 109v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Extension of 109r west with detailed measurements, including vestibule. Preparatory for [TOP 7].

DRA 31 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 110v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Extension of 109v west – “continuation of long section west”. Shows connection with the former lesser hall and staircase thereof. Preparatory for [TOP 7].

DRA 32 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 111r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Transverse section view of east end of the Chapel, upper and lower, divided with measurements. Accompanied by the annotation “dont [sic] understand this profile about wa[illegible]ed”. Preparatory for [TOP 7].

DRA 33 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 111v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. The uppermost drawing appears to be a floor level plan view, showing steps and heights. At present it is unknown whether this links to the Upper or Lower Chapel, or even some other feature of the building entirely. There are also two perspective sketches, the upper with unclear annotation.

DRA 34 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 112r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Two sheets pasted together. Left sheet consists of moulding profiles and a view east for the Lower Chapel's east end windows and piers, identifiable from its column widths and placement. The right consists of moulding profiles divided into two - the upper labelled "end plan of ribs", the lower "side plan of Ribbs". The upper can be identified with the mouldings for the east window, the lower those of the east end south wall corner and central pier.

DRA 35 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 113v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Lower Chapel chancel central pier longitudinal section with moulding profile, labelled 'side section'.

DRA 36 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 114r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Lower Chapel choir screen sketch with pasted foliate carving.

DRA 37 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 114v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Central arch of the Lower Chapel choir screen, viewed westwards.

DRA 38 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 115r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Lower Chapel choir screen, viewed westwards.

DRA 39 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 116r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Three sheets pasted together. Left upper sheet appears to be a sketch of a buttress, showing a close up of the traceried polygonal upper section. The left lower sheet depicts a doorway in perspective which is yet to be identified. The right is a section view of one of the octagonal towers through the archway of the east end.

DRA 40 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 117r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Two scraps of paper pasted onto same sheet. Left is a close view of the exterior of the Lower Chapel windows. The right is a sketch view of a buttress including some form of plan (possibly associated with the octagonal towers).

DRA 41 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 118r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Miscellaneous sketches including some plans with measurements; unidentified.

DRA 42 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 118v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Sketch with a large block of text - "This ?ases to col. under the members dea? / an? cotton mouldings of stone seat under architrave mol. under / windows of 80 ... / in left side of Porch / Distance from Porch door to partition / of House of Commons _____ / D. N. side / remains of ?????? windows and entrance near it / Get out of Bala??s windows / See vaults with Mr Gough / See west end again over porch". Includes one plan and sketch section, neither clear or identifiable.

DRA 43 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 119v-120r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Continuous drawing of Upper Chapel arcading. Shows piers, archways and doorways. Preparatory for [TOP 8]. Far right includes a perspective view of the interior of the archways.

DRA 44 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 120v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Sketch of trefoil friezes at base of Upper Chapel with colour notations.

DRA 45 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 121v-22r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. A series of plan views to accompany 119v-120r with a series of measurements and showing the mouldings. Preparatory for [TOP 8]. Pasted sheet consists of unidentified mouldings.

DRA 46 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 123v-124r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. "Architrave under 2 friezes". A moulding profile with parts and colour notations and quatrefoil frieze extending into a series of foliate friezes, presumably sequential in some way yet to be determined.

DRA 47 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 125r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Some numerical notations in graphite on paper.

DRA 48 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 125v-126r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Finished drawing for [TOP 9], depicting the arch and spandrel of the Upper Chapel windows and a section view with a meticulous moulding profile.

DRA 49 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 127v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Moulding and drawings of the tablets from the Upper Chapel's upper cornice. Moulding preparatory for [TOP 11] and tablets for [TOP 13].

DRA 50 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 128r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter.

DRA 51 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 128v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter.

DRA 52 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 129r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Upper Chapel window with distance from floor to roof of the House of Commons.

DRA 53 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 129v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Sketch view of an Upper Chapel window.

DRA 54 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 130v-131r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Upper Chapel upper cornice tablets, primarily heraldic shields with charges and tinctures.

DRA 55 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 132r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Great east window, clarificatory spandrel detail.

DRA 56 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29930 fol. 132v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter.

132v - Graphite on paper. Detail of an Upper Chapel window moulding, perhaps great east window.

DRA 57 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 67r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Two drawings divided by a central fold. Both relate to the Lower Chapel. On the left, drawing of the wall door in south bay five (counted 1-5 from east to west). Moulding profiles are included, identified by letters A and B. A relates to the columns below the capitals, B the archway moulding above the capitals. The right is a drawing of a window of the Lower Chapel, but one apparently cut through with an additional doorway with a shallow pointed archway. This could easily be the Richard II doorway in North bay 5 as it was similarly off centre (see BM 1881,0409.113 John Saddler, view from other side) and this would fit with the other drawing on the sheet. There is a moulding profile attached, probably of the ribs of the outer trefoil archway of the window.

DRA 58 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 68v-69r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Compositionally falls into at least six units:

2- 4-
1- 3- 5- 6-

1 is a sketch of the arcading of the Upper Chapel with the ogival outer archways missing and a moulding profile for a niche below, presumably for the intermediate column and edge of each bay's arcading unit. 2 is a complex series, difficult to place series of mouldings. 3 is a capital, presumably that which is conspicuously missing from 1 at the far right of the arcading. 4 is a moulding profile described by Carter as "Side next to great window". 5 consists two drawings, the one on the left being mouldings and sections relating to the arcading archways [illegible]; the one on huge right being the base of the arcading shafts. 6 is labelled "stone seat / Marble" and represents the seats of the Upper Chapel - includes the trefoil frieze and the shaft base above it.

DRA 59 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 69v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. A series of lightly sketched mouldings with colour notations.

Unidentified.*

DRA 60 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 70r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Upper Chapel window spandrel, detail. Preparatory for [TOP 10].

DRA 61 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 70v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Two drawings. The upper is the "profile of east arch" - longitudinal section and moulding profile of the archway before the great east window. The lower is a detail of the great east window, the blind tracery of the cusps including circular trefoil and mouchette.

DRA 62 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 71r

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Identified as "profile or section to architrave to window arch". This is a clarificatory detail of the upper drawing of 70v [DRA 61].

DRA 63 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 29943 fol. 71v

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Great east window spandrel interior elevation.

DRA 64 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 31153 fol. 100

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter (1791). Preparatory drawing for [CAR 1]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior longitudinal section.

DRA 65 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 31153 fol. 100

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter (1791). Preparatory drawing for [CAR 2]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior transverse section, details of several architectural details, plan views of the Upper and Lower Chapels, an image of the St Margaret boss of the Lower Chapel and moulding profiles for the window frames of the Upper and Lower chapels (the latter including the ribs of the vaulting above).

DRA 66 (Car)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 31153 fol. 102

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by John Carter (1791). Preparatory drawing for [CAR 3]. Reconstructed chapel exterior and interior transverse section, details of several architectural details, plan views of the Upper and Lower Chapels, an image of the St Margaret boss of the Lower Chapel and moulding profiles for the window frames of the Upper and Lower Chapels (the latter including the ribs of the vaulting above).

DRA 67 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. "Vide Cathedralis Plate 1." Original drawing for [TOP 1].

DRA 68 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 2

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Plan view of the Lower Chapel; "Vide Cathedrals Plate II." Original drawing for [TOP 2].

DRA 69 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 3

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Plan view of the Upper Chapel; "Vide Cathedrals Plate III." Original drawing for [TOP 3].

DRA 70 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 4

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. West elevation of the chapel exterior showing vestibule. Original drawing for [TOP 4].

DRA 71 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 5

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. South elevation of the chapel exterior; "Vide Cathedrals Plate V." Original drawing for [TOP 5].

DRA 72 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 6/1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. East end exterior elevation; "Vide Cathedrals Plate VI." One of two original drawings for [TOP 6].

DRA 73 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 6/2

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. East end transverse section; "Vide Cathedrals Plate VI." One of two original drawings for [TOP 6].

DRA 74 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 7

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Longitudinal section, view south; "Vide Cathedrals Plate VI." Original drawing for [TOP 7].

DRA 75 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 8

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. Arcading and piers; "Vide Cathedrals Plate VIII." Original drawing for [TOP 8]. Consists of 6 component drawings (left to right):

1 - 3 - 4 - 5

2 - 6

1 is the elevation of the arcading, 2 is a plan of the same (both monochrome), three is the base of the seats up into the base of the columns (the lower monochrome and the upper colour), 4 is a pier column, 5 is the top of the open parapet moulding of the arcade, 6 is a moulding of the edge of the little compartments containing acolytes in the pier (all in full colour).

DRA 76 (Car)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 9

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by John Carter. "Elevation and section of one of the arches, its pier and entablature of the windows on the south side"; spandrel area of the Upper Chapel windows; "Vide Cathedrals Plate IX." Original drawing for [TOP 9]. Group with SSC 10 and 11.

DRA 85 (Hol)

Title or accession number: 1882,0812.224

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar (1637-43). View of Westminster across the Thames from Lambeth House.

DRA 86 (Hol)

Title or accession number: 1935,0608.3

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar (1637-43). View of Westminster south bank looking north.

DRA 87 (Hor)

Title or accession number: WOA 6926

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by James Hore (1834). St Stephen's Chapel, east end view.

DRA 88 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15449

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29).³³ One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. Longitudinal section of the chapel.

DRA 89 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15450

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29). One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. West Transverse section.

DRA 90 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15451

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29). One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. Stairwell leading to St Stephen's Chapel Cloister, northwest corner.

DRA 91 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15453

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29). One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. "Plan of his Majesty's ancient Palace of Westminster & adjacent buildings as they appeared in the year 1807". This is a plan view at Lower Chapel level. It is identified at the top as PL VII, presumably referring to the exhibition.

DRA 92 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15454

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29). One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. Perspective view east of St Stephen's Chapel.

DRA 93 (Lee)

Title or accession number: A15455

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by Adam Lee (c. 1820-29). One of the artist's "Cosmographic Views and Delineations of the Palace of Westminster" exhibited in 1831. Longitudinal Section of the west cloister. Production date given 1820-29.

³³ Mireille Galinou, "Adam Lee's drawings of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: antiquarianism and showmanship in early 19th-century London," *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Antiquarian Society* 34 (1983), 231-44.

DRA 94 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/763

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Upper Chapel exterior spandrel, panelling and buttresses. Preparatory for [MAC 15].

DRA 95 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/764

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Stairs between vestibule and cloister. Preparatory for [MAC 11].

DRA 96 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/765

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Lower Chapel window. Preparatory for [MAC 12].

DRA 97 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/766

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Upper Chapel interior arcading and piers sections, elevations and plans; Lower Chapel doorway. Preparatory for [MAC 16].

DRA 98 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/767

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Vestibule doorways. Preparatory for [MAC 10].

DRA 99 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/768

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Vestibule west front exterior elevation and window longitudinal section. Preparatory for [MAC 9].

DRA 100 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/769

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Transverse section and interior spandrel of Upper Chapel window. Preparatory for [MAC 14].

DRA 101 (Mac)

Title or accession number: Work 29/770

Location: The National Archives, London

Description: Drawing by Frederick Mackenzie (1835-44). Longitudinal and transverse sections of cloister "chapter house". Preparatory for [MAC 17].

DRA 102 (Mac)

Title or accession number: WOA 84

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by J. Mackenzie (1834). *The Crypt of St Stephen's Westminster, used as The Speaker's Dining Room*. View of the west end, emphasising the southwest corner.

DRA 103 (Mil)

Title or accession number: 1880,1113.1364

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by James Miller (1781). View of Westminster from York buildings.

DRA 104 (Moo)

Title or accession number: WOA 260

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by G. Moore (1834).³⁴ St Stephen's Chapel, view of the north side from interior at high level on scaffolding.

DRA 105 (Moo)

Title or accession number: WOA 1281

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by G. Moore (1835). View west along south wall from scaffolding. Shows western three bays.

DRA 106 (Moo)

Title or accession number: WOA 5195

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by G. Moore (1834). Lower Chapel west end with masonry chunks.

DRA 107 (Moo)

Title or accession number: WOA 6926

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by George Belton Moore (1834). Same view as WOA 259.

DRA 108 (Nay)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/4

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by "G. Naylor" (Sir George Naylor). Shows Queen Philippa in full colour.

DRA 109 (Ove)

Title or accession number: G,3.245

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Michiel van Overbeek (1663-66). View of Westminster.

DRA 110 (Ric)

Title or accession number: WOA 259

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by Francis Rickman (before 1834). St Stephen's Chapel, Ladies' Gallery showing ventilation lantern.

DRA 111 (Sad)

Title or accession number: 1881,0409.111

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by John Saddler (1834).³⁵ Post-fire view of Upper Chapel interior.

DRA 112 (Sad)

Title or accession number: 1881,0409.112

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by John Saddler (1834). Passage from Speaker's chamber to St Stephen's chapel.

DRA 113 (Sad)

Title or accession number: 1881,0409.113

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by John Saddler (1834). Richard II entrance to St Stephen's Lower Chapel.

³⁴ L. H. Cust and Emily M. Weeks, 'Moore, George Belton (1805–1875)', *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19113>.

³⁵ R. E. Graves and Joanna Desmond, "Saddler, John (1813–1892)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2004, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24452>.

DRA 114 (San)

Title or accession number: 1880,1113.5847

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Thomas Sandby (1723-98). View of Westminster from across the Thames.

DRA 115 (Sch)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 36489 A fol. 64

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by George Scharf.³⁶ Inscription reads "G. Sharf del on the spot / Part of the inside of the / Cloister, near the Ruins of St Stephen's Chapel, soon / after the Fire in 1834". Below it there is a second, rubbed out inscription reading "1834 / G. Scharf / near St Stephen's Chapel". The drawing consists of a perspectival view of an arch with heavily decorated masonry above, revealing the remains of a decorative vault beyond. There is also a moulding profile for the entablature to the top right.

DRA 116 (Sch)

Title or accession number: MS Add. 36489 A fol. 65

Location: British Library

Description: Drawing by George Scharf. Text reads "? Restoration of Screen in St Stephen's Chapel / Westminster" and below "by g S".

DRA 117 (Sch)

Title or accession number: WOA 259

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by Georg Scharf (1834). *Panorama of the Ruins of the Old Palace of Westminster, 1834.*

DRA 118 (Sco)

Title or accession number: 1865,0610.1323

Location: British Museum

Description: Drawing by Samuel Scott (1739). View of Westminster

DRA 119 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Traced drawing by Richard Smirke. "Tracing from reduced drawings..." - see SSC 16/2. Shows the Virgin and the right arm of the first Magus. The pattern on the two edges of the virgin's robe is shown, but not the central bulk of the fabric, and the detailing of the throne is present as is the patterning on the arm of the first Magus. The foot behind the throne indicates an individual standing behind it. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 120 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/2

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Traced drawing by Richard Smirke. "Tracing from reduced drawings ... made for the purpose of repetition during the progress of the finished paintings in St. Stephen's Chapel". "Reduced drawings" presumably refers to SSC 16/9. This drawing is the compartment containing the "Queen and the Virgin Mary" - in fact Mary and the first two Magi. To the right it depicts the leading, kneeling Magus, his robe showing its patterning. To the left, rotated 90 is the cup of the second Magus, presumably containing Frankincense and quite detailed. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 121 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/3

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Traced drawing by Richard Smirke. "Depicts the King and St George and their surrounding compartment. Includes cursory notes on the patterns of diagonal and round pryncs on St George and window patterns, but very sketchily. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

³⁶ Peter Jackson, "Scharf, Sir George (1820-1895)," *ODNB*, online edition, 2010, accessed 16 Sept 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24796>.

DRA 122 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/4

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Traced drawing by Richard Smirke. Outline of Edward III.

Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 123 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/5

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Traced drawing by Richard Smirke. Outline of the Black Prince.

Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 124 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/6

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. "Tracing of the fifth son prior to its removal". Apparently 1:1 scale, tracing from the walls of the chapel. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 125 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/7

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. Outline of the fifth some traced from SSC 16/7. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 126 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/8

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Outline of the fifth some traced from SSC 16/7. St George, King Edward and the Black Prince, east end right side of altar lower level. The image purports to be a study for [PAI 2].

DRA 127 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/9

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Shows paintings on the north side of the east end altar, "made previous to the removal of it from St Stephen's Chapel". It was laid out utilising a grid system in order to get the scale accurate - no scale is provided on the drawing, however. Preparatory for [PAI 2].

DRA 128 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/10

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Shows paintings on the north side of the east end altar, "exhibited to the Society at the same time with the finished painting of that side of the chapel". This is a finished design drawing for [PAI 2].

DRA 129 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 16/11

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Finished preparatory drawing for [TOP 16]. Indicates every detail later in the engraving.

DRA 130 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/1 a

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. Annunciation to the shepherds.

DRA 131 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/1 b

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. Annunciation to the shepherds tracing showing the shepherds and the sheep.

DRA 132 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/2

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. Shows Queen Philippa from the south side of the altar. Shows details of the costume utilised in later images including stars and materials. Also contains a detailed drawing/tracing of one of the painted archways above the kneeling figures to the bottom left, canted 90°.

DRA 133 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/3

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Tracing by Richard Smirke. Traced from tracing SSC 17/2, "with the face carefully corrected from the original before it was removed". Shows all details of the costume and the face of Queen Philippa, her hair corresponding closely to that on her tomb effigy.

DRA 134 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/5

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. paper. Tracing of "an attendant previous to removal". In fact this means the final female figure on the south side of the altar, the opposite number to the fifth son.

DRA 135 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/6

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Shows a full view of the south side of the altar.

DRA 136 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 17/7

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Preparatory for [TOP 17].

DRA 137 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 18/1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Outline of south side stalls with angels and scale, squared up, presumably the equivalent of the earlier squared transfers prior to the paintings' removal.

DRA 138 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 18/2

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Preparatory for [TOP 18].

DRA 139 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 19

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Shows in elevation and profile the doorway in the arcading of the Upper Chapel, south side. Includes three drawings, right an elevation of the door to the pier, the centre the centre section of door and left section of archway next to door. Connected with SSC 18/2.

DRA 140 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 20/1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Preparatory for [TOP 19].

DRA 141 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 20/1

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Full watercolour copy of SSC 20/1 in original polychromy.

DRA 142 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 21

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Job giving his sons a "paternal admonition". Preparatory for [TOP 23].

DRA 143 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 22

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Job visited by his three daughters. Preparatory for [TOP 24].

DRA 144 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 23

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Job and his wife hearing about the destruction of his family. Preparatory for [TOP 25].

DRA 145 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 24

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Job in affliction with the three false friends being rebuked by Elisha. Preparatory for [TOP 26].

DRA 146 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 25

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Job on his dung heap conferring with Zophar. Preparatory for [TOP 27].

DRA 147 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 26

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Tobias muted by birds. Preparatory for [TOP 21].

DRA 148 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 27

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Nuptial feast of Tobias. Preparatory for [TOP 22].

DRA 149 (Smi)

Title or accession number: Red Portfolio 236/E SSC 28

Location: Society of Antiquaries

Description: Drawing by Richard Smirke. Tobias and the angel Raphael. Preparatory for [TOP 23].

DRA 150 (Sto)

Title or accession number: WOA 1254

Location: Parliamentary Art Collection

Description: Drawing by G. Stokes (1837). Copy of WOA 1281.

DRA 151 (Sto)

Title or accession number: 46.41/1

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by G. Stokes (1837). St Stephen's Chapel exterior, south side.

DRA 152 (Sto)

Title or accession number: 46.41/2

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by G. Stokes (1837). St Stephen's Chapel during demolition, viewed from the north side looking south-east.

DRA 153 (Sto)

Title or accession number: 46.41/3

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by G. Stokes (1837). St Stephen's Chapel Cloister, north side of the chapel.

DRA 154 (Sto)

Title or accession number: 46.41/4

Location: Museum of London

Description: Drawing by G. Stokes (1837). View of the northwest corner of St Stephen's Chapel vestibule from the exterior. The only known image of the northwest doorway into the vestibule adjoining the Great Hall.

DRA 155 (Wij)

Title or accession number: WA1950.206.1

Location: Ashmolean Museum

Description: Drawing by Antonis van der Wijngaerde (c. 1543-44).³⁷ View of Westminster.

³⁷ Howard Colvin and Susan Foster (eds), *The Panorama of London circa 1544 by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde* (London, 1996).

Appendix II - Henry III's Chapels

This list was compiled using evidence from the published editions of the Close and Liberate Rolls and additional materials uncovered by Howard Colvin and Tancred Borenius.³⁸ It is thus not exhaustive, but is a representative sample. The alphabetically-organised list includes all chapels within royal residences which either had works conducted, indicating projected royal use, or can be demonstrated to have had permanent chaplains employed within them. This is the first time that information regarding this class of building from Henry III's reign has been presented together in tabulated form. On occasion 'chapel' is defined relatively broadly, particularly in the cases of Salisbury, Dover and the Tower wherein the castles' incorporated churches are included, primarily because royal accounts identified them explicitly as 'chapels'. 'Royal free chapels' are not generally included as this was a broader category of institution which extended beyond royal residences, though examples in castles (St George's College in Oxford castle etc.) have been included.³⁹

List of Known Dedications:

All Saints	(Clarendon)
Holy Cross	(Salisbury)
St Andrew	(Dover)
St Edward the Confessor	(Corfe, Dublin, Harrington, Newton, Windsor and Woodstock)
St George	(Oxford)
St John the Evangelist	(Clavering and Westminster)
St John the Baptist	(Devises and the Tower of London)
St Judoc	(Winchester)
St Katherine	(Guildford, Ludgershall and Winchester)
St Lawrence	(Westminster)
St Leonard	(Ludgershall and Marlborough)
St Margaret	(Rochester, Salisbury)
St Martin	(Bristol)
St Mary	(Caversham, Devises, Dover, Havering and Salisbury)
St Nicholas	(Corfe, Ludgershall, Marlborough, Oxford, Salisbury and Southampton)
St Peter ad Vincula	(the Tower of London)
St Stephen	(Guildford and Westminster)
St Thomas	(Dover and the Tower of London)
St Thomas the Martyr	(Orford and Winchester)

Henry III's Chapels 1226-72:

- * - Orders given on site.
- ** - Orders given shortly after visit to site (up to one month).
- ^ - Orders given before the king's arrival.

Arundel Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 554)

Chapel

³⁸ Colvin, *HKW*, I-II; Borenius, "Cycle," 40-50.

³⁹ Jeffrey Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: a Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), esp. 119-31.

Beeston Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 559-60)

Chapel

Brill (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 902-03)

King's Chapel

1238 Wooden piles are brought in for finishing the chapel (CCR 1237-42, 64).

1252 Oak is ordered for the chapel and cloister works (CCR, 1251-53, 145).

Bristol Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 576-81)

St Martin's Chapel (Outer Ward)

1250 Glass windows are made and three windows lengthened (CLR 1245-51, 300-01).**

1252 The chapel is elongated by 24 feet and the chancel demolished (CCR 1251-53, 40).

Chapel by the King's Great Hall

1250 The chapel doors are blocked (CLR 1245-51, 300-01).

Chapel of the King's Tower

Canterbury Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 588-90)

Chapel

1247 Order to repair the chapel is issued (CLR 1245-51, 112).

Carlisle Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 595-600)

'Chapel'

1244 The chapel is repaired, roofed and glass windows are made for it (CCR 1242-27, 166; CLR 1240-45, 220-21).

Caversham

*Chapel of St Mary*⁴⁰

1239 Oak is ordered for making shingles for covering the chapel (CCR 1237-42, 164).

1241 Oak is ordered for making *cindulam* for covering the chapel (CCR 1237-42, 375).

1246 Works are conducted (CLR 1245-51, 31).

1260 Oak is ordered for shingles for covering the chapel (CCR 1259-61, 121).

Chester Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 607-12)

King's Chapel

1241 A great oriel is made before the doorway (CLR 1240-45, 70).

Clarendon (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 910-18)

King's Chapel (above chamber)

1231 Wood is ordered for panelling and roofing the king's chapel (CCR 1231-34, 46).

1234 Wood is provided for constructing the chapel (CCR 1231-34, 371, 486, 497).

1238 Windows are barred with iron for the king's visit (CLR 1226-40, 347).

⁴⁰ CCR 1237-42, 375.

1244 Glass windows are barred with iron and repaired and the pavement of king's chapel, a gallery is made, a trap-door down into chapel is to be removed and a winding stair made in the north corner (CLR 1240-45, 223-24).

1246 A window on the south side is made and paint renewed where necessary (CLR 1245-51, 63).*

1249 An order to renew and amend painting is issued (CLR 1245-51, 221).*

1250 A winding stair to the chamber under the chapel is made (CLR 1245-51, 324).*

1251 The chapel is paved and Images of Mary, St Edward and cherubim are sculpted (Borenius, "Cycle," 47; CLR 1245-51, 362).**

1252 The chamber underneath the chapel is paved; two gilded angels and two tables are made (Borenius, "Cycle," 47; CLR 1251-60, 61).*

1252 New windows and paving for the king's chamber beneath the chapel are made (CLR 1251-60, 61).

1256 A picture above the altar is painted and the painting of the panels renewed (CLR 1251-60, 311**, 346*).

Chapel of All Saints

1235/36 The story of Edward the Confessor is painted there (Borenius, "Cycle," 48).

1237 The chapel is crested (CLR 1226-40, 304).

1250 A font, belfry with two bells on top of the chapel, Wooden Crucifix with two flanking images and an image of the Virgin and child are made (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1245-51, 296).**

'Chapel'

1241 Images of Mary, John and two angels intended for flanking a crucifix and a portion of 12 small pictures are sent there (Borenius, "Cycle," 47; CLR 1240-51, 26).

Queen's Chapel

1244 The chapel is painted, a porch is made before the door, glass windows barred with iron outside and repaired where necessary Crucifixion with Mary and John and the Lord's supper painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 47; CLR 1240-45, 223-24).

1246 The chapel is painted "as arranged" with symbols and stories (CLR 1245-51, 67).**

1249 The chapel is roofed, a Cross with Mary and St John sculpted and works ordered to be completed which were begun and not finished (Borenius, "Cycle," 47; CLR 1245-51, 239).*

1250 Two windows are made on each side of the altar (CLR 1245-51, 296-97).**

1252 The chapel and Queen's chamber underneath it are paved and the painting is amended (CLR 1251-60, 61, 67).

Chapel by the almonry

1244 The painting is renewed and a porch built (CLR 1240-45, 223-24).

Clavering (Colvin, HKW, I, 128)

John the Evangelist's Chapel

1251 St Edward is painted on east side of lower part of the doorway extending a ring up to an image of St John on the upper part (CLR 1245-51, 342).*

Clipstone (Colvin, HKW, II, 918-21)

New chapel

1247 Money and wood are authorised for newly constructing a chapel (CLR 1245-51, 102-03; CCR 1242-47, 495).

1252 Plain glass windows, wainscoting and borders are installed (CLR 1251-60, 18).

Queen's chapel

1252 Plain glass windows, wainscoting and borders are installed (CLR 1251-60, 18).

Clive/Cliff

King's Chapel

1240 Wood is licenced for making the chapel (CCR 1237-42, 230).

1249 The chapel is wainscoted as far as the lower beam next to the altar and an image of St Edmund of Pontigny made in stained glass over the altar and windows in front of the doorway are made (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1245-51, 248).

1252 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1251-60, 19).

Colchester Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 615-16)

Chapel

Conisbrough Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 616)

Chapel

Corfe Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 616-24)

Castle Chapel

1252 Oak is ordered for works (CCR, 1251-53, 86).

*St Edward's Chapel*⁴¹

*St Nicholas' Chapel*⁴²

Devises Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 626-28)

Chapel

1248 The chapel is roofed (CLR 1245-51, 192).

*St Mary's Chapel*⁴³

*St John the Baptist's Chapel*⁴⁴

Dorchester Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 629)

St Nicholas' Chapel

1251 Defects in the chapel are repaired (CCR 1247-51, 454),

⁴¹ CCR 1254-56, 251.

⁴² CCR 1254-56, 251.

⁴³ CCR 1242-47, 525.

⁴⁴ CCR 1242-47, 525.

1252 Oak is ordered for works (CCR, 1251-53, 86).
1266 The chapel is repaired and amended (CLR 1260-67, 212).

Dover Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 629-41)

*St Thomas's Chapel*⁴⁵

*St Andrew's Chapel*⁴⁶

King's Oratory

St Mary's Church

1239 An oratory is ordered to be made above the porch of the new hall (CLR 1226-40, 391).

1247 Three altars are made in honour of Saints Edmund, Adrian and Edward with images of these saints and of John the Evangelist and two chairs "as the king has enjoined by word of mouth" (CLR 1245-51, 112; E 372/78, rot. 6).

1252 Three bells are cast and hung in the tower (CLR 1251-60, 32; E 372/96, rot. 12, E 372/97, rot. 8)

Dublin Castle

*St Edward's Chapel*⁴⁷

1242 An order for making glass windows is issued (CCR 1237-42, 512).

Durham Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 643)

Chapel

Everswell, near Woodstock (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 1014-16)

New Chapel

1239 A cross with Mary and John is sculpted and an image of Mary painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1226-40, 414).

All Chapels

1248 St Edward and the Ring panels are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1245-51, 186).

Feckenham (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 937-38)

Chapel

1233 The east end is wainscoted and decorated with an image of the Virgin to the north of the altar and a majesty on the south (CLR 1226-40, 218).

1250 Two windows on each side of choir and altar are lengthened (CLR 1245-51, 301).

1251 The chapel is wainscoted, its length doubled and windows mended (CLR 1251-60, 7).*

1256 Order for repairs is issued (CLR 1251-60, 270).

Freemantle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 940-41)

King's Chapel

(ground floor)

1251 The chapel is ordered built as part of a complete new house (CLR 1245-51, 325).

1252 Oak is authorized for construction (CCR, 1251-53, 56-57).

⁴⁵ E 101/462/11.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ CCR 1237-42, 227.

Queen's Chapel

1251 The chapel is ordered built as part of a complete new house on the end of the queen's chamber with a wine cellar beneath (CLR 1245-51, 325).

Geddington (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 943-44)

Queen's Chapel

1247 Order to make the chapel is issued (CLR 1245-51, 25).

1248 Wood is ordered for the chapel and a second order is issued to make the chapel with glass windows (CCR 1247-51, 130; CLR 1245-51, 212).

1252 The chapel is wainscoted and images of Mary and John the evangelist bought to place on either side of the crucifix (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 21).

King's Chapel

1248 An order is issued to make a suitable chapel "to be ready at the coming Assumption of St Mary" (CLR 1245-51, 194).

1250 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1245-51, 290).

1252 The chapel is painted green spangled with gold, a screen is made between the chancel and body of the king's chapel with a door and two seats on either side and a penthouse leading to the king's hall is made (CLR 1251-60, 21).

Gillingham (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 944-46)

King's Chapel

(on top of king's chamber)

1239 Fissures are filled, whitewashed and the door repaired (CLR 1226-40, 415).

1250 An order is issued to finish the chapel as begun, for which wood is provided (CLR 1245-51, 297*; CCR 1247-51, 257-58).

1252 Windows are made everywhere, the chapel is wainscoted, stools and 'forms' are made and images of the Virgin Mary, St Edmund King and Confessor and St Eustace painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 92).*

1255 Order is issued to finish king's chapel, put in glass windows and repair and mend all defects for the king's arrival (CLR 1251-60, 202).^

1260 Timber is ordered for general repairs (CLR 1251-60, 509).

Queen's Chapel

1250 Order to build a new chapel of nine bays on the end of a fifteen bay extension of the old queen's chamber is issued (CLR 1245-51, 297).*

1252 The chapel is wainscoted and images of St Edmund King and Martyr and Edward King and Confessor painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 92).*

1268 Glass windows are repaired (CLR 1267-72, 38).

Gloucester Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 651-56)

King's Chapel

1241 Wood is ordered for more general works (CLR 1240-45, 61).

1245 Glass windows are made (CLR 1240-45, 318).**

1250 Glass in the upper part of windows, a new bell in tune with existing one and a stone altar are made (CLR 1245-51, 301).**

1256 The chapel is painted (CLR 1251-60, 313).*

Queen's Chapel

1245 Glass windows are made (CLR 1240-45, 318).**

1247 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1245-51, 107).

1250 A bell is made (CLR 1245-51, 301).**

Old Chapel

1245 The door is removed (CLR 1240-45, 318).**

Guernsey

Chapel

1252 Repairs are ordered (CCR, 1251-53, 54).

Guildford (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 658-59, 950-55)

King's Chapel (St Stephen's)

1225 A seat is made for the king (E 372/69, rot. 3).

1227 A small ("*mediocrem*") Image of St Mary is bought at Winchester (CLR 1226-40, 51).*

1235 A diptych with a crucifix on one panel and a majesty with four evangelists on the other is painted (E 372/79, rot. 8d).

1240 Glass windows are repaired after a tempest (CLR 1226-40, 458).

1250 Two panels before the altar, one panel above the king's stall, one crucifix with Mary and John and a window of glass are made (CLR 1245-51, 340-41; CCR 1247-51, 340-41*).

1251 A new lattice in front of chapel is made (Walter Waddington Shirley (ed.), *Royal and Other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, 2 vols (London, 1862), II, 67).

1255 The chapel is wainscoted, two great windows are made and wood is authorised for repairs (CLR 1251-60, 263*; CCR 1254-56, 37).

1256 The chapel is whitewashed and a cloister with marble columns in the king's garden made (CLR 1251-60, 289).

1257 The chapel is paved (CLR 1251-60, 410).*

1259 A panel and frontal for the altar are painted (CLR 1251-60, 486).

1261 An image of Edward and St John holding the ring is painted on the wall by the king's seat (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1260-67, 21).**

Queen's chapel (St Katherine's)

1251 An image and story of St Katherine are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; Shirley, *Royal Letters*, ii, 67).

1255 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1251-60, 262).*

1256 The chapel is whitewashed and a window mended (CLR 1251-60, 289, 342).

1257 The chapel is paved (CLR 1251-60, 410).*

- Eleanor's Chapel*
- 1261** An image of Virgin is made (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1260-67, 21).**
- 1268** A chapel is ordered built at the head of a chamber with an upper storey and glass windows as part of new apartments for the future Edward I's wife Eleanor (CLR 1267-72, 11).
- Haverford Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 670-71)**
Chapel
- Harestan/Horston Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 681-82)**
King's Chapel
- 1267** The chapel is repaired and amended where necessary (CLR 1260-67, 289).
- Havering (Colvin, HKW, II, 956-59)**
King's Chapel
- 1234** Wood for repairs is authorized (CCR 1231-34, 488).
- 1240** The chapel is wainscoted, repaired and six glass windows are made (CLR 1226-40, 492).
- 1251** Four evangelists are painted (CLR 1245-51, 372).
- 1260** The chapel is repaired (CLR 1260-67, 24).
- 1253** The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1251-60, 119).*
- 1251** Two glass windows with shields of king's arms, a steeple over the chapel with two bells, a beam across the chancel and a lectern are made and a panel before the altar and three narrow panels above the altar painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1245-51, 372).**
- 1253** A sculpted image of the Virgin is bought and shields of Provence painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 119).*
- King's Upper Chapel*
- King's Lower Chapel*
- 1251** An image of Virgin in Child is made and the Annunciation painted outside the chapel (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1245-51, 372).**
- 1253** Wood is ordered for works (CCR, 1251-53, 417).
- 1255** Order for finishing works by committing masons to the project is issued (CCR 1254-56, 135).
- 1260** Old wood for a 'lamburus' is authorised, the chapel is wainscoted, its floor earthed over, a ridge to the roof and glass windows made and a Crucifix with Mary and John sculpted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 511; CCR 1259-61, 68).
- Queen's Chapel*
- 1253** Order is issued for the chapel to be made with a screen at the entrance (CLR 1251-60, 119).
- New Chapel for the Queen*
- St Mary's Chapel*⁴⁸
- Hereford Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 673-77)**
King's Chapel
- 1233** Order is issued for its construction (CLR 1226-40, 230).

⁴⁸ CCR 1259-61, 61.

1265 Glass in the windows is repaired and general repairs made (CLR 1260-67, 174-75).

Hertford Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 677-81)

King's Chapel

1234-35 Paintings are executed (E 372/79, rot. 7).

Large chapel

1243 A large chapel The chapel is ordered made of lath and plaster (CCR 1242-47, 24)

Queen's Chapel

1248 The chapel is ordered built (CLR 1245-51, 192).

Hetherington/Harrington

*St Edward's Chapel*⁴⁹

1253 Oak and other wood is ordered for construction (CCR, 1251-53, 332, 354).

Houghton

Chapel

Keinefrith/Skenfrith Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 837-38-71)

New chapel

1244 Payment is made for unspecified costs (CLR 1240-45, 237).

Kempton (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 965-67)

Chapel

1236 The chapel is temporarily repaired with a thatched roof due to fire damage and whitewashed; plain glass windows and a 'light painting' ("*levi pictura*") of a cross with Mary and John are made (E 372/80, rot. 1d; CLR 1267-72, 287).

New Chapel (two storeys)

1237 The chapel's construction is ordered (E 101/530/1).

Kenilworth Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 683-85)

Chapel

1241 The chapel is wainscoted, whitewashed and painted, a striped wooden wall to separate chancel from nave, two stalls for the king on south and queen on north side of painted wood for king's visit and window in the north side are made (CLR 1240-45, 32, 71).

Tower Chapel

1241 A painted queen's seat is made (CLR 1240-45, 32).

Kennington (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 967-69)

Chapel of the king's chamber

1233 The chapel is painted with stories and a field of green with gold stars and its windows are repaired (CLR 1226-40, 206).

Queen's Chapel (two storey)

1237 A two-storey plastered chapel of 30x12ft with straw thatched roof ordered, upper storey for queen, lower for king's household is made (CLR 1226-40, 262).

⁴⁹ CCR, 1251-53, 354.

1238 Its upper and lower chapels are wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 306).

1241 An altar is made (CLR 1240-45, 22).

1245 Underpinning of chapel is conducted (CLR 1245-51, 25).

1246 Glass windows are repaired and two pictures above and before the altar bought (CLR 1245-51, 39, 83).

1251 A wall between chamber and chapel is made (CCR 1247-51, 436*; CLR 1245-51, 348).

King's Chapel

1245 Underpinning of chapel is conducted (CLR 1245-51, 25).

1246 Glass windows are repaired and crucifix with Mary and John and two pictures above and before the altar bought (CLR 1245-51, 39, 83).

Chapel

1265 A crucifix with Mary and John is sculpted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48).

Lincoln Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 704-05)

Chapel

1268 An order for a chapel to be repaired is issued (CLR 1267-72, 43).*

1269-70 A chapel is repaired (E 372/115, rot. 10d).

Ludgershall Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 729-31)

St Katherine's Chapel

1234-35 The chapel is whitewashed and lined (E 372/83, rot. 9).

St Leonard's Chapel

1234-35 The chapel is whitewashed and panelled at the east end (E 372/83, rot. 9).

1251 An image of the Virgin Mary is provided (CLR 1245-51, 362-3; E 372/98, rot. 11d.).

St Nicholas' Chapel

1241 The chapel is roofed and whitewashed (CLR 1240-45, 59).

King's Chapel

1250 A crucifix and an image of Mary are made (Borenius, "Cycle," 48).

Marlborough Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 734-38)

*King's Chapel (St Nicholas')*⁵⁰

1227 The windows are repaired (CLR 1226-40, 18).

1229-30 A new chancel is added and roofed (CLR 1226-40, 123, 129, 136, 176; CCR 1227-31, 164).

1231 The interior is painted, wainscoted and an altar and a crucifix are made (E 372/76, rot. 5)

1251 A new belfry on the west end is made (CLR 1245-51, 362).*

1265 The king's seat is newly prepared and painted and a screen made around it. A painted panel is placed above the altar along with an image of Saint Nicholas (CLR 1260-67, 183**; CCR 1264-68, 71).

⁵⁰ CLR 1260-67, 206.

St Leonard's Chapel

1231 Three new windows, stalls, benches, grilles and a picture in front of the altar are made (E 372/76, rot. 5).

1251 An image of Virgin and child is made (CLR 1245-51, 363).

Queen's Chapel

1241 A portico between queen's chamber and chapel and a glazed window before the chapel door are made (CLR 1240-45, 64).

1250 A crucifix with Mary and John and an image of the Virgin and Child are made (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR, 1245-51, 294).

Newcastle upon Tyne, Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 745-48)

Chapel

Newton

St Edward's Chapel

1246 An order to construct the chapel is issued (CCR 1242-47, 384).

Norham Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 749-50)

Chapel

Northampton Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 750-53)

King's Chapel

1236 A round window depicting majesty of the lord is made (E 372/80, rot. 11)

1244 A painted beam for support of candles is installed (CCR 1242-47, 195).

1249 An old picture before the altar is repainted (CLR 1245-51, 248).**

1252 The chapel is re-roofed and its walls raised and crenelated (CLR 1251-60, 20-21).

1265 An image of St Mary is painted, the chapel is whitewashed and the king's seat widened before the king's arrival (CLR 1260-67, 187).^

Queen's Chapel

1247 Order to make the chapel is issued (CLR 1245-51, 137).

1248 Order to make a suitable chapel where the porch is against the Queen's chamber is issued (CLR 1245-51, 191).

1248-49 The chapel is glazed and wainscoted; new doorways and a lattice beyond them are made (E 372/93, rot. 16; CLR 1245-51, 212, 247).*

Nottingham Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 755-65)

King's Chapel

1230-31 The chapel is wainscoted and painted (E 372/75, rot. 9).

1244 The chapel is wainscoted "against the king's arrival" (CLR 1240-45, 243).^

1251 A picture of St William in front of altar, a story of St Edward above the altar, a picture in front of the altar of St Katherine and one above it with her story

- and a picture of the judgment on the chapel gable are painted (CLR 1251-60, 11)*
- New Chapel by King's Chamber*
 'New' Chapel
 1237 A chapel is made with a screen of timber and plaster (E 372/82, rot. 9; CCR 1234-37, 309*. 428).
 1244 An altar and sedilia are remade nearer to the gable (CLR 1240-45, 252).*
 1251 The chapel is uncovered and re-covered (CCR 1247-51, 533-34).
 1244 The chapel is roofed with lead and a glass window made (CLR 1240-45, 252).*
- Little Chapel by the Queen's Chamber*
 'White Chapel'
 1252 An image of the virgin and child flanked by St Edward and John the evangelist in front of the chapel and two borders of the chapel are painted (CLR 1251-60, 17).*
- 'Chapel'
 1252 The hall around the chapel is raised and crenelated (CLR 1251-60, 21).
- Chapel of the Moat*
- Odiham Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 766-68)**
 Chapel of the Tower
 1229 5 marks are given to complete the chapel (CLR 1226-40, 233).
 1234 The chapel is whitewashed, panelled above the altar and an image of the John the Baptist made and placed in it (CLR 1267-72, 285).*
- Orford Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 769-71)**
Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr
- Oxford Castle (Colvin, HKW, II, 771-75, 986-87)**
King's Chapel (St Nicholas)⁵¹
 1227 Four forms are made (CLR 1226-40, 14).
 1244 The chancel is wainscoted and the leaden windows are replaced with glass ones (CLR 1240-45, 216).
 1245 The chapel is roofed (CLR 1240-45, 304).
 1247 Order is issued to take down two leaden windows and replaced them with glass in the nave and build an altar to Edward the Confessor on the south side of nave (CLR 1245-51, 119).**
 1251 The chapel is mended (CLR 1251-60, 4).
 1254 Oak is authorized for shingles for covering the chapel (CCR 1253-54, 77).*
 1260 The chapel is roofed and mended after being unroofed by the wind (CLR 1251-60, 529).
 1239 Money is given for completion of works (CLR 1226-40, 431; CCR 1237-42, 151).
 1240 Money is given for completion of the works and a pentice made between the chapel and wardrobe (CCR 1237-42, 180, 248*).
- Queen's Chapel*

⁵¹ CLR 1226-40, 2, 247.

1244 The chapel is wainscoted and images of the crucifixion, Mary and John above the altar and a story of the Lord's Supper under the beam are painted (CLR 1240-45, 216).

1245 The painted panels before the altar are renewed (CLR 1245-51, 8).

1248 Images of St Mary and the Three Kings and St Mary Magdalene are made (CLR 1245-51, 182)

1256 General repairs are ordered if necessary (CLR 1251-60, 275).

Chapels

*St George's Chapel*⁵²

Peak Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 776-77)

Chapel

Pontefract Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 781-83)

Chapel

Portchester Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 783-92)

Queen's Chapel

1253 Oak is ordered for making the chapel (CCR, 1251-53, 384).

Chapel

1260 The chapel is repaired (CLR 1251-60, 522).

Portsmouth (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 988)

Queen's Chapel

1253-54 The chapel is erected along with a Queen's chamber (CLR 1251-60, 30, 170, 423; CCR 1251-53, 403-04*; CCR 1253-54, 73, 98).

Rochester Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 806-14)

Chapel

1239 The chapel is plastered, whitewashed, painted and roofed and a majesty is repainted (CLR 1226-40, 365).

*St Margaret's Chapel*⁵³

1247 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR, 1245-51, 113).*

1244 A wooden (corrected from stone) two-storey chapel is ordered to be made "according to the king's verbal injunctions" (CLR 1240-45, 211).

1247 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR, 1245-51, 113).*

1249 An external staircase from chamber to chapel is ordered (CLR 1245-51, 42).

1254 An order is issued to make stairs in the right side of the king's chapel outside the castle with a *hostium* for entering the chapel for the arrival of the king, allowing access without moving through the king's chamber (CCR 1253-54, 285; CLR 1251-60, 290-91).^

Rockingham Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 815-18)

⁵² CLR 1260-67, 213.

⁵³ CLR 1245-51, 42.

Chapel **1244** Three glass windows are made (CLR 1240-45, 262).

St Briavels Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 821-23)

Chapel

Salisbury Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 824-28)

Chapel of the Holy Cross
(above eastern gateway)

1239 General repairs are ordered and the roof repaired (CCR 1234-37, 279; CLR 1226-40, 374).

1246 Order to pull down chapel body (“*corpus*”) and build anew is issued (CLR 1245-51, 96; E 372/91, rot. 9).

1247 Order to make the chapel anew is issued (CLR 1245-51, 109).

King’s Chapel

1246 The chapel is roofed and mended CLR 1245-51, 31, 62).

Chapel of St Mary

Chapel of St Margaret

Chapel of St Nicholas (in the great tower)

Sauvey Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 829)

Chapel

1244 A wooden chapel of 40x22ft is made (CLR 1240-45, 249; CCR, 1242-47, 208, 225, 283).

Chapel

1252 An order is issued for a certain chapel with walls of plaster to be made (CCR, 1251-53, 41).

Scarborough Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 829-32)

Chapel

1232 The chapel is repaired (CLR 1226-40, 186).

Sherborne Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 832-33)

King’s Chapel

1250 Glass windows are repaired (CLR 1245-51, 297).**

Queen’s Chapel

1250 A pentice for the entrance from queen’s chamber to chapel is made (CLR 1245-51, 297).**

Shotwick Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 833-34)

Chapel

Silverston (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 1002-03)

King’s Chapel

1248 Money for making the chapel is given (CLR 1245-51, 183).

1249 Wood is provided for making the chapel (CCR 1247-51, 187).

Queen’s Chapel

1247-50 The chapel is erected (CLR 1245-51, 136, 245, 290; CCR 1247-51, 187).

1252 A wall between between the chapel and king’s chamber and forms are made (CLR 1251-60, 11).

King’s Old Chapel

1257 The chapel is repaired and wood authorized for those repairs (CLR 1251-60, 384; CCR 1256-59, 73).

Southampton Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 840-44)*Chapel (St Nicholas)*⁵⁴**1230** The chapel is repaired (CLR 1226-40, 180).**1248** Money for repairs is given (CLR 1245-51, 184).**1252** Orders to repair a glass window and other defects and for covering the chapel are issued (CLR 1251-60, 93; CCR 1251-53, 113).**1259** The chapel is roofed and its steeple repaired following collapse (CLR 1251-60, 477).*Lesser Chapel by the King's Chamber* **1243** Order for construction is issued and works conducted (CLR 1240-45, 185; CCR 1242-47, 24, 107, 123).**Tewkesbury (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 1004-05)***Greater Chapel***1241** The chapel is repaired and a glass window installed (CLR 1240-45, 66).*Lesser Chapel of the Chamber***1241** A glass window is installed (CLR 1240-45, 66).**Tower of London (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 706-29)***St Thomas' Chapel***1234** A pentice is erected in front of the chapel (E 372/79, rot. 11).*Wakefield Tower Chapel***1238** A screen between chapel and chamber is made (E 372/82, rot. 13; CLR1226-40, 315-16).**St John the Baptist's Chapel (White Tower)***1240** Glass windows are repaired, whitewashed, three glass windows (Virgin and child on the north side; Trinity and John the Evangelist on the south side) made and a cross and beam painted above altar and two images of St Edward holding a ring and John the Evangelist receiving it are made (CLR 1226-40, 453).**1251** Two small bells are placed there (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 715; CCR 1247-51, 427).*St Peter ad Vincula***1240** The chancels of St Peter and St Mary are glazed, wainscoted and painted, and seats for king and queen before the altars of St Nicholas and St Katherine respectively and a great painted beam with a crucifix flanked by Mary and John are made. Images of Saints Mary with her Tabernacle, Peter, Nicholas and Katherine are painted. On the south side above the altar of St Peter an image of the Virgin is painted, along with St Peter as archbishop on the north side, an image of St Christopher and two panels of stories of Nicholas and Katherine before their altars. Two cherubim flanking the great crucifix and a marble font and marble columns are made (Borenus, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1226-40, 452-53; CLR 1240-45, 14-15).**Westminster (Colvin, *HKW*, I, 494-504)***St John's Chapel***1231** An altar frontal and panel painting of St John are made (CCR 1231-34, 9-10).

⁵⁴ CLR 1251-60, 526.

St Lawrence's Chapel

1233 The panel painting of St John is ordered again (CCR 1231-34, 207).

1238 A story of Joseph is painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CCR 1237-42, 26-27).

1255 Defective pictures are amended (CCR 1254-56, 157).

1263 Pictures are painted (CCR 1261-64, 315).

1265 The chapel is painted (CLR 1260-67, 156).*

St Stephen's Chapel

1227 20l. are given for the works (CLR 1226-40, 38).*

1231 An altar frontal and panel painting of St Stephen are made (CCR 1231-34, 9-10).

1233 The panel painting of St Stephen is ordered again (CCR 1231-34, 207).

1234 Borders are panelled (CCR 1231-34, 378).

1235 Two bells are made (CLR 1267-72, 249).*

1236 The border on the back of the king's and queen's stalls and a crucifix next to the queen's seat are painted (CCR 1234-37, 239).

1238 A marble step is made before the altar (CCR 1237-42, 26).

1239 A *hostium* is made in the head of the chapel (CCR 1237-42).

1240 A marble altar and basins of Limoges are installed (CLR 1226-40, 478).

1244 The *alea* is made (CCR 1242-47, 272)

1245 The outer part of the king's seat is painted with an image of the virgin and next to the garden gate images of a king and queen are made (CCR 1242-47, 287).

1250 Apostles encircling the chapel, a judgment in east end and an icon of the Virgin on a panel are painted (CCR 1247-51, 311).

1253 The story of Nebuchadnezzar is painted (CCR 1253-54, 311).

1255 The chapel is repaired (CCR 1254-56, 157).

1265 The bell tower is roofed (CLR 1260-67, 167).

Queen's Chapel

1238 A marble step before the altar is made and tiles used (CCR 1237-42, 26-27).

1239 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 364).*

1240 A marble font is installed (CLR 1226-40, 478).

1241 The chapel is painted (CCR 1237-42, 312).

1242 A writ for painting the chapel is issued (CLR 1240-45, 134).

1244 A silver *lectorium* is made (CLR 1240-45, 228).

*'King's Chapel'
Chapels*

1244 A silver *lectorium* is made (CLR 1240-45, 228).

1255 Repairs are made (CCR 1254-56, 157).

Winchester Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 854-64)

*St Katherine's chapel
(in top of the keep)*

1229-30 The chapel in top of the tower is repaired (E 372/74).

St Judoc's Chapel
(recorded 1181-82)

1249 An order to pull down and rebuild the tower is issued (CLR 1245-51, 236).

1252 The chapel is wainscoted and glass windows are made (CLR 1251-60, 95).*

1256 A chapel "in the top of the tower" is wainscoted (CLR 1251-60, 308).

1237 An order for chapel's completion is issued and wood brought in for chevrons, timbers, beams and planks (CCR 1234-37, 281, 431, 443).

1239 A porch is built before the door (CLR 1226-40, 432).

1237 The round chancel is pulled down and remade square with the same length and width, the roof is also pulled down, the walls raised and the chapel is floored (CLR 1267-72, 289).

1238 The chapel is wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 319).

St Thomas the Martyr's Chapel

1231 A passage to king's chamber is wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 405).

1234 A gallery is to be made between the 'great chamber' and chapel (CCR 1231-34, 512).

1236 An image of the Majesty of the Lord is painted above the altar (CCR 1234-37, 355).*

1237 A beam is placed running from king's to queen's seat with a cross with sculpted images of Mary, John and two angels placed in the middle of it (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1226-40, 260).

1238 The king and queen's seats are painted and a beam is made before the altar with a Majesty painted on it (CLR 1226-40, 319).

1239 A belfry is made and a passage from chapel to chamber wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 432).

1241 A panel picture above altar is painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1240-51, 26).

1246 An image of St Edward is painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1245-51, 30).**

1251 St Edward and the ring is painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 49).

1252 A panel for an altar and a super-altar are made; an image of the virgin and child, an "angel on the other side of the chapel", images of prophets around it and St Edward with a ring in the glass window are painted (CLR 1251-60, 57, 95).*

1256 An image of the majesty and below it a figure of Edward holding a king offered to the majesty are painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1251-60, 308).*

Queen's Chapel
New Queen's Chapel

1256 A picture is newly painted (CLR 1251-60, 343).*

1231 The porch is wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 405).

1237 Two chapels with fine windows are made, one

(two storey, lower king's household) for the queen (upper) and one for king's household (lower) (CLR 1267-72, 289).

1237 A door is made and wood purchased for a gallery between entrance to the queen's chamber and chapel entrance (CCR 1237-42, 16;* CLR 1226-40, 305).

1238 A queen's seat is made and painted; an image of the Virgin and child with a great tabernacle and *tabula depicta* before the Queen's altar are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1226-40, 319, 350).

1239 The porch is wainscoted (CLR 1226-40, 405).

1241 The chapel is roofed with lead (CLR 1240-51, 26).

1242 Work is conducted on the gallery from queen's chamber to chapel (CLR 1240-45, 127).

1246 A lavatory is made (CLR 1245-51, 30).**

1247 A cross with Mary and John is sculpted and placed on a newly made beam; the chapel is roofed and the passage to it repaired (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1245-51, 157).^

1248 The east end of the chapel and images of St Christopher carrying Christ "as he is painted elsewhere" and Edward and the ring narrative "painted in like manner" are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1245-51, 177, 192).

1250 Wooden windows are made in the gallery (CLR 1245-51, 325).*

1256 A picture is painted (CLR 1251-60, 343).*

1268 An oriel between new chamber and queen's chapel is made; wood is authorised for the oriel (CLR 1267-72, 43*; CCR 1268-72, 5).

1269 The chapel is completed "as enjoined by word of mouth" (CLR 1267-72, 103).

All Chapels

1241 A portion of twelve small pictures are sent there (CLR 1240-51, 26).

King's Chapel

1246 The altar is renewed in marble (CLR 1245-51, 30).**

1247 The chapel is reroofed, the passage to chapel repaired, a door in the bell tower made and an image of St Mary painted above the altar along with a Virgin and child (CLR 1245-51, 157-58).^

1255 The painting near the king's lecturn is renewed (CLR 1251-60, 262).*

1267 The chapel is whitewashed and repainted (CLR 1260-67, 289).

1269 Paintings before the dais and other paintings are removed, repaired and repainted (CLR 1267-72, 89, 98).**

Chapel near the King's bed

1249 An order is issued for the chapel to be made (CLR 1245-51, 270).

1252 A panel for an altar and a super-altar are made (CLR 1251-60, 57).*

1252 A cross with Mary and John along with image with Virgin and child are made (CLR 1251-60, 57).*

1256 The painting is renewed and a staircase made from Rosamond's chamber to the chapel; the "king's small chapel" windows are barred (CLR 1251-60, 308, 343).*

King's 'New' chapel

1250 A story of Joseph is painted and the chapel is floored with tiles (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1245-51, 325).

Windsor Castle (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 864-888)

Chapel of the Hall

1240 The chapel is painted (CLR 1240-45, 17).

Chapel Cloister

1243 Marble is ordered for the cloister's construction; the chapel is roofed (CCR 1242-47, 11, 20).

1248 Lead is bought to roof the cloister (CLR 1245-51, 201).*

1263 Broken marble columns are repaired in the cloister between king's chapel and chamber (CCR 1261-64, 245).

St Edward's Chapel

1242 The chapel is paved and painted; pictures of the old and new Testament and a beautiful king's seat between the chancel and nave of the chapel are made (CCR 1237-42, 514).

1243 Payment is made for further works, pictures of the old and new Testament are ordered made; the chapel is roofed after the manner of Lichfield with stone and wood, painted and covered with lead; three images are to be made and gilded; a stone turret at the front of the chapel is made in which is placed a bell. (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CCR 1242-47, 20, 39, 123, 136; CLR 1240-45, 173).

1245 Lead for roofing the chapel is purchased (CLR 1240-45, 13).

1246 Oak is ordered for the works (CCR 1242-47, 442).

1248 The chapel is painted and alder and nails are ordered to make a scaffold for painting the chapel (CLR 1245-51, 187; CCR 1247-51, 54).

1249 Money is given for painting (CLR 1245-51, 255).**

1250 A bell is made (CCR 1247-51, 264).*

1251 A large and beautiful standing basin with chains is made (CCR 1247-51, 505).

1260 The chapel is painted and a wooden enclosure on either side of altar with sufficient doors, also painted, is made (CLR 1260-67, 11).**

Queen's Chapel

1242 The chapel is painted (CCR 1237-42, 514).

- 1243** Payment for further works is made and the painting finished (CLR 1240-45, 173, 184).
- 1246** Two pictures are bought, one in front of the altar and one above it, and images of Crucified and Mary and John for the same altar made (CLR 1245-51, 45).*
- 1256** The painting is amended and renewed (CLR 1251-60, 276).
- 1258** An order is issued to make chapel as begun with two storeys, making a double chapel to go with the queen's new chamber (CLR 1251-60, 422).
- Queen's New Chapel*
(two stories, both chapels)
- Chapel in the Tower*
King's Chapel in the Park
- 1246** The altar is equipped (CLR 1245-51, 38).
- 1251** The chapel is painted (CLR 1245-51, 368).
- 1254** Two painted pictures are bought and placed before the altar (CLR 1251-60, 40).
- 1241** A portion of twelve small pictures are sent there and images of the king made (CLR 1240-51, 26; CCR 1237-42, 332-33).
- 1256** The paintings are renewed (CLR 1251-60, 276).^
- Chapels*
- Woodstock (Colvin, HKW, II, 1009-17)**
- King's Great Chapel*
- 1233** A crucifixion with Saints Mary and John is is painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 49; CLR 1226-40, 220-21).*
- 1252** Two pictures of bishops are placed in the chapel (CLR 1251-60, 67).*
- King's Round Chapel*
(possibly also great chapel)
- 1233** Majesty of the Lord and Four Evangelists flanked by St Edmund and St Edward are painted and two new glass windows made (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR 1226-40, 196-97).
- King's Chapel*
- 1229** Glass windows are repaired (CLR 1226-40, 115).
- 1240** A panel is placed above the altar and the chapel is boarded up with two windows opened up (CLR 1226-40, 465; CLR 1240-51, 4).
- 1244** Images of the Crucifix, St Mary, St John the Evangelist and two angels in the manner of Cherubim and Seraphim are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR 1240-45, 218).
- 1251** A picture before the altar and smaller one above the altar are made (CLR 1251-60, 3).
- 1252** Passages from chapel are wainscoted (CLR 1251-60, 24).*
- 1257** An order is issued for the 'king's chapel' to be elongated (CCR 1256-59, 144).
- 1258** Wood is ordered for the king's chapel (CCR 1256-59, 267).
- 1259** Money is given for finishing works and glass windows (CLR 1251-60, 457).
- 1262** Walter de Dunelm is paid for images taken from him for the chapel (CLR 1260-67, 109).

<i>Upper Chapel</i>	<p>1264 Wood is ordered for the chapel (CCR 1264-68, 6).</p>
<i>St Edward's Chapel</i>	<p>1250 A crucifix with Mary and John is painted on the walls by the king's seat and bars are added to the windows where necessary (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR 1245-51, 292).*</p> <p>1250 Order to make chapel with a wooden altar in the upper storey of the queen's new chamber, the chapel is releaded and decorated glass windows are made (CLR 1245-51, 292).*</p>
<i>Queen's Chapel</i>	<p>1252 A picture of the virgin is painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR 1251-60, 67).*</p> <p>1238-39 The chapel is under construction (CLR 1226-40, 218, 372; CCR 1237-42, 108).</p> <p>1244 The chapel is elongated and a porch and pentice made (CCR 1242-47, 162).</p> <p>1251 The chapel is crenelated, a new seat for the queen made and picture of the Virgin by the Queen's seat repaired (Borenius, "Cycle," 50; CLR 1245-51, 332).*</p> <p>1252 The painting is amended (CLR 1251-60, 90).*</p> <p>1256 An image of the Virgin is bought (CLR 1251-60, 272).*</p> <p>1257 A new throne ("<i>cathedra</i>") is to be made for the queen (CCR 1256-59, 144).</p>
<i>King's New Chapel (adjoining chamber)</i>	<p>1239 A lattice containing door and benches and a cross with Mary, John and an image of the Virgin are made (CLR 1226-40, 414).</p> <p>1250 The chapel is wainscotted (CCR 1247-51, 404).</p> <p>1251 A vault between chamber and chapel is made, the chapel is wainscoted and whitewashed (CLR 1245-51, 332).*</p> <p>1251 The chamber under king's new chapel is wainscoted and buttressed (CLR 1245-51, 364)</p> <p>1252 An image of the virgin is painted in stained glass (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 24).*</p> <p>1257 Money is given for finishing the works (CLR 1251-60, 393).^</p> <p>1259 Money is given for finishing works and glass windows (CLR 1251-60, 457).</p> <p>1259 The chapel is paved (CLR 1251-60, 464).</p> <p>1266 The chapel is repaired and amended due to ruinous condition (CLR 1260-67, 237).</p>
<i>King's old chapel</i>	<p>1268 The chapel is newly painted (CLR 1267-72, 14).</p> <p>1251 Glass windows are mended (CLR 1245-51, 332).*</p> <p>1252 A penthouse is made above the above door; imagery of the woman taken in adultery, "how the lord wrote on the ground", "how the lord gave a stroke to St Paul and "something" about St Paul and four</p>

All Chapels

evangelists are painted (Borenius, "Cycle," 48; CLR 1251-60, 24-25).*

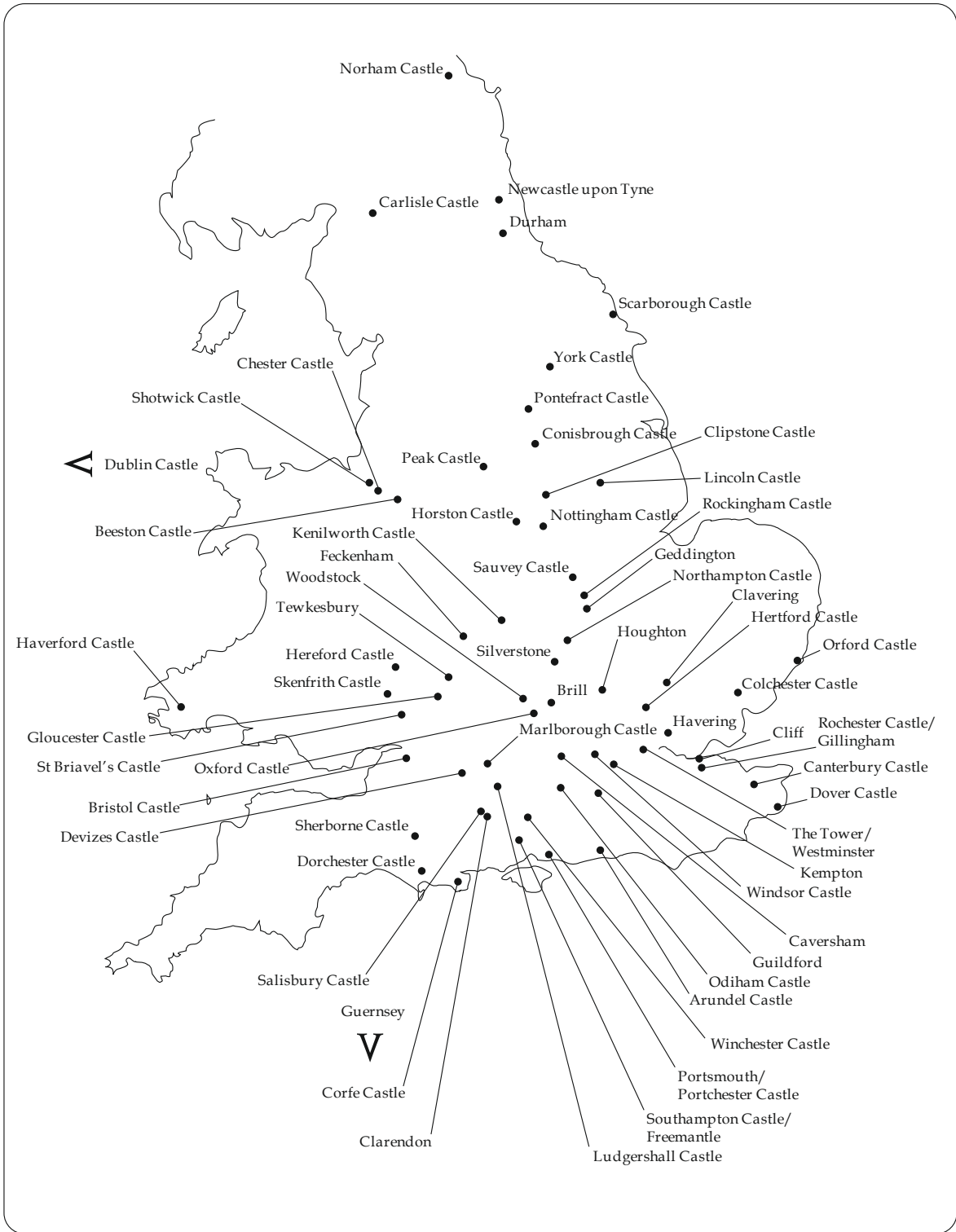
1248 Images of Edward with the pilgrim are painted on boards (CLR 1245-51, 186).

York (Colvin, *HKW*, II, 889-94)
Chapel

1244 An order is issued for a chapel to be made with plaster or otherwise; wood is authorised for its construction (CLR 1240-45, 257**; CCR 1242-47, 219).

1246 An order for stone, wood and lead for constructing a chapel above the gaol is issued (CCR 1242-47, 413).

Map 8 – Henry III's Palace Chapels



Appendix III – Financial Accounts Tables and Graphs

Lists of Documents:

Tabulated Documents:

Document title:	Section:	Dates:
E 101/468/6	A)	1292-95
E 101/469/6	D)	1343-44
E 101/469/8	B)	1323-25
E 101/469/10	B)	1325-26
E 101/469/11	C)	1331-32
E 101/469/12	C)	1331-33
E 101/469/17	C)	1333
E 101/470/15	C)	1334-35
E 101/470/2	D)	1337
E 101/470/5	E)	1338-39
E 101/470/7	F)	1339-40
E 101/470/10	G)	1341-42
E 101/470/13	H)	1342-43
E 101/470/18	J)	1347-48
E 101/471/5	K)	1351-52
E 101/471/6	L)	1351-52
E 101/471/9	L)	1354
E 101/471/11	L)	1353-54
E 101/471/15	M)	1355
E 101/471/16	M)	1355-56
E 101/472/4	N)	1357-58
E 101/547/18	A)	1296
E 405/1/2	A)	1293-94
E 405/1/6	A)	1295-96
E 405/1/11	A)	1297

Non-tabulated Documents:

Document title:	Dates:
BL MS Add. 17361	1311
E 101/468/21	1307-08
E 101/469/1	1319
E 101/469/3	1319-20
E 101/469/19	1334
E 101/469/20	1336-37
E 101/470/3	1337-38
E 101/470/16	1345-46
E 101/471/12	1354-55
E 101/472/14	1365-66
E 372/172	1323-25
E 372/185	1331-41

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E 372/196	1350
E 372/201	1351-54
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E 372/206	1359-61
E 372/207	1361-62
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E 403/79	1293
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E 403/90	1294-95
E 403/97	1295
E 405/1/1	1292
E 405/1/9	1296
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A) 1292-97 [E 101/468/6, E 101/547/18, E 405/1/2, 6, 11]

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- A.T.2 - Building Materials 1292-95
- A.T.3 - Craftspeople 1292-95
- A.T.4 - Building Materials 1296
- A.T.5 - Craftspeople 1296
- A.T.6 - Payments and Building Materials 1293-96
- A.T.7 - Ragstone Expenditure (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.T.8 - Boulogne Stone Expenditure (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.T.9 - Caen Stone Expenditure (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.T.10 - Herquelinnes Stone Expenditure (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.T.11 - Taynton Stone Expenditure (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.T.12 - Reigate Stones Expenditure (Perpani and Stones) 1292-95

Graphs:

- A.G.1 - Stone (Boatloads) 1292-95
- A.G.2 - Stone (Feet) 1292-95
- A.G.3 - Stones 1292-95
- A.G.4 - Masons 1292-95
- A.G.5 - Carpenters 1292-95
- A.G.6 - Labourers 1292-95
- A.G.7 - Other Craftspeople 1292-95
- A.G.8 - Ragstone Expenditure 1292-95
- A.G.9 - Ragstone Expenditure weekly averages per boatload 1292-95
- A.G.10 - Other Stone Expenditure 1292-95

B) 1323-26 [E 101/469/8, 10]

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B.T.2 - Masons [See B.G.5, 8]
B.T.3 - Carpenters [See B.G.6, 8]
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B.G.1 - Stones (Chapel)
B.G.2 - Stones (Alura)
B.G.3 - Stone (Boatloads)
B.G.4 - Stone (Feet)
B.G.5 - Masons
B.G.6 - Carpenters
B.G.7 - Scaffolders
B.G.8 - Craftsmen

C) 1331-35 [E 101/469/11, 12, 17; E 101/470/15]

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C.T.1 - Stones [See C.G.1]
C.T.2 - Building Materials [See C.G.2-3]
C.T.3 - Craftspeople [See C.G.4]

Graphs:

C.G.1 - Stone Usage
C.G.2 - Timber Usage
C.G.3 - Timber Usage (Boards and Laths)
C.G.4 - Craftsmen

D) 1337 [E 101/470/2]

Contents:

Table:

D.T.1 - Masons

E) 1338-39 [E101/470/5]

Contents:

Table:

E.T.1 - Building Materials

E.T.2 - Craftsmen

Graph:

E.G.1 - Craftsmen

F) 1339-40 [E 101/470/7]

Contents:

Tables:

F.T.1 - Building Materials

F.T.2 - Craftsmen

G) 1341-42 [E 101/470/10]

Contents:

Tables:

G.T.1 - Building Materials

G.T.2 - Craftsmen

H) 1342-43 [E 101/470/13]

Contents:

Tables:

H.T.1 - Building Materials

H.T.2 - Craftsmen

Graphs:

H.G.1 - Stone Usage

H.G.2 - Craftsmen

I) 1343-44 [E 101/469/6]

Contents:

Tables:

I.T.1 - Building Materials
I.T.2 - Craftsmen

J) 1347-48 [E 101/470/18]

Contents:

Tables:

J.T.1 - Building Materials
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Graphs:

J.G.1 - Stone Usage
J.G.2 - Stone Usage (Cartloads)
J.G.3 - Craftsmen

K) 1351-52 (Carpenters) [E 101/471/5]

Contents:

Tables:

K.T.1 - Carpenters

Graphs:

K.G.1 - Carpenters

L) 1351-54 [E 101/471/6; E 101/471/9; E 101/471/11]

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L.T.1 - Painting Materials
L.T.2 - Metal
L.T.3 - Building Materials
L.T.4 - Craftspeople

Graphs:

L.G.1 - Painters 27th June 1351-30th September 1352
L.G.2 - Glass Painters 27th June 1351-30th September 1352
L.G.3 - Other craftspeople 27th June 1351-30th September 1352
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Tables:

M.T.1 - Building Materials

M.T.2 - Craftspeople

Graphs:

M.G.1 - Painters

M.G.2 - Carpenters

N) 1357-58

[E 101/472/4]

Contents:

Tables:

N.T.1 - Craftspeople

N.T.2 - Building Materials

Graphs:

N.G.1 - Craftspeople

A.T.4 -Building Materials 1296		E101/547/18				
		Wood			Misc	
		Oak		Alder		
Month	Week	Pieces (scaffold)	Piece (vestibule)	Hertliaths (scaffold)	Pieces (vestibule)	Virgae tortae
Jan	195					
	196					
	197					
Feb	198					
GAP	199					
GAP	200					
GAP	201					
Mar (GAP)	202					
GAP	203					
GAP	204					
GAP	205					
Apr (GAP)	206					
GAP	207					
GAP	208					
GAP	209					
GAP	210					
May (GAP)	211					
GAP	212					
GAP	213					
	214	139				1000
Jun	215					
GAP	216					
GAP	217					
GAP	218					
Jul (GAP)	219					
GAP	220					
GAP	221					
	222					
	223					
Aug	224		91		23	
	225					
	226		21	600		
	227					

A.T.5 -Craftspeople 1296		E101/547/18						
Month	Week	Masons	Carpenters	Operarius	Polisher	Scaffator	Smith	Stonelayers
Jan	195	30		6			5	
	196							
	197							
Feb	198							
GAP	199							
GAP	200							
GAP	201							
Mar (GAP)	202							
GAP	203							
GAP	204							
GAP	205							
Apr (GAP)	206							
GAP	207							
GAP	208							
GAP	209							
GAP	210							
May (GAP)	211							
GAP	212							
GAP	213							
	214	11		9				
Jun	215							
GAP	216							
GAP	217							
GAP	218							
Jul (GAP)	219							
GAP	220							
GAP	221							
	222	19		18	1	1	14	
	223							
Aug	224	19	5	19	1	1	?	
	225							
	226	21	8	20	1	1	2	
	227							

A.T.6.a - Payments and Building Materials 1293-94				E405/1/2							
Works on the Chapel				Lead sent from Corfe				Iron			
Month	Week	li	s	d	li	s	d	lb.	[li]	[s]	[d]
Sep	75	34	10								
Oct	76	30									
	77	44									
	78	38									
	79	16		4	30	6					
Nov	80	22									
	81	25									
	82	7									
	83	15									
	84	14									
Dec	85	18									
	86	20									
	87										
	88										
Jan	89										
	90										
	91	1						5000	11	13	4
	92	12	16	6							
Feb	93	10	5								
	94	15	12								
	95	13	10								
	96	15	16								
Mar	97	27									

A.T.6.b - Payments and Building Materials 1295-96				E405/1/6											
Works on the Tower and Westminster				Master Michael				Works at Westminster				Works on Saint Stephen's			
Month	Week	li	s	d	li	s	d	li	s	d	li	s	d		
Dec	191	114	11	1	3	13	4								
	192														
Jan	193														
	194														
	195														
	196														
	197														
Feb	198														
	199							7							
	200										2	10			
	201														
Mar	202											1			

A.T.6.c - Payments 1297				E405/1/11							
Works on St Stephen's Chapel				Master Michael of Canterbury, king's mason				Master Robert de Colebroke, king's carpenter			
Month	Week	li	s	d	li	s	d	li	s	d	
May	264	14	18	8							
	265										
	266										
Jun	267	19	4	5							
	268										
	269	10									
	270										
Jul	271										
	272	22	9								
	273										
	274										
	275										
Aug	276										
	277										
	278										
	279										
Sep	280										
	281										
	282				1	4		1	4		

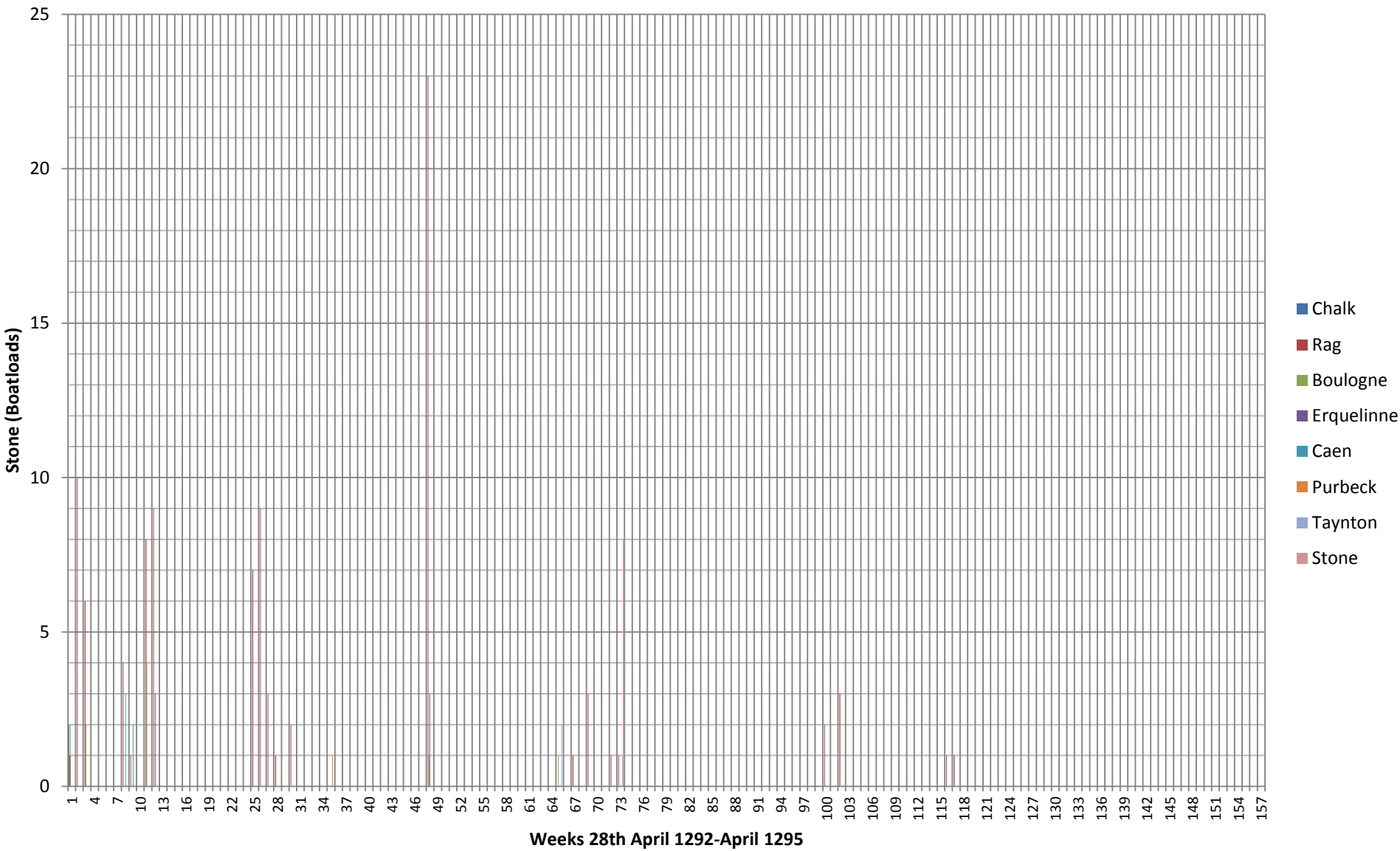
GAP	78													
GAP	79													
Nov (GAP)	80													
GAP	81													
GAP	82													
GAP	83													
GAP	84													
Dec (GAP)	85													
GAP	86													
GAP	87													
GAP	88													
Jan (GAP)	89													
GAP	90													
GAP	91													
GAP	92													
Feb (GAP)	93													
GAP	94													
GAP	95													
GAP	96													
Mar (GAP)	97													
GAP	98													
	99	1	18	8	1	18	8	464		464	1	18	8	
	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	101	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
April	102	1	5	0	1	5	0	300		300	1	5	0	
GAP	103													
GAP	104													
GAP	105													
May (GAP)	106													
GAP	107													
GAP	108													
GAP	109													
GAP	110													
Jun (GAP)	111													
GAP	112													
GAP	113													
GAP	114													
Jul (GAP)	115													
	116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
GAP	118													
Aug (GAP)	119													
	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	121	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	122	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
Sep	124	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	125	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
GAP	126													
	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
Oct	128													
GAP	129													
GAP	130													
GAP	131													
Nov (GAP)	132													
GAP	133													
GAP	134													
GAP	135													
GAP	136													
Dec (GAP)	137													
GAP	138													
GAP	139													
GAP	140													
Jan (GAP)	141													
GAP	142													
GAP	143													
GAP	144													
GAP	145													
Feb (GAP)	146													
GAP	147													
GAP	148													
GAP	149													
Mar (GAP)	150													
GAP	151													
GAP	152													
GAP	153													
Apr (GAP)	154													
GAP	155													
	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0

A.T.10 - Herquelinnes Stone Expenditure (Boatloads)		TOTAL (NORMALISED)			TOTAL (d.)	AVERAGE per boatload (d.)	AVERAGE per boatload (li. s. d.)		
Month	Weeks	li.	s.	d.	d.	d.	li.	s.	d.
Apr (28th)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GAP	4								
GAP	5								
Jun (GAP)	6								
GAP	7								
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jul	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	9	0	0	2160	720	3	0	0
No Further Expenditure									

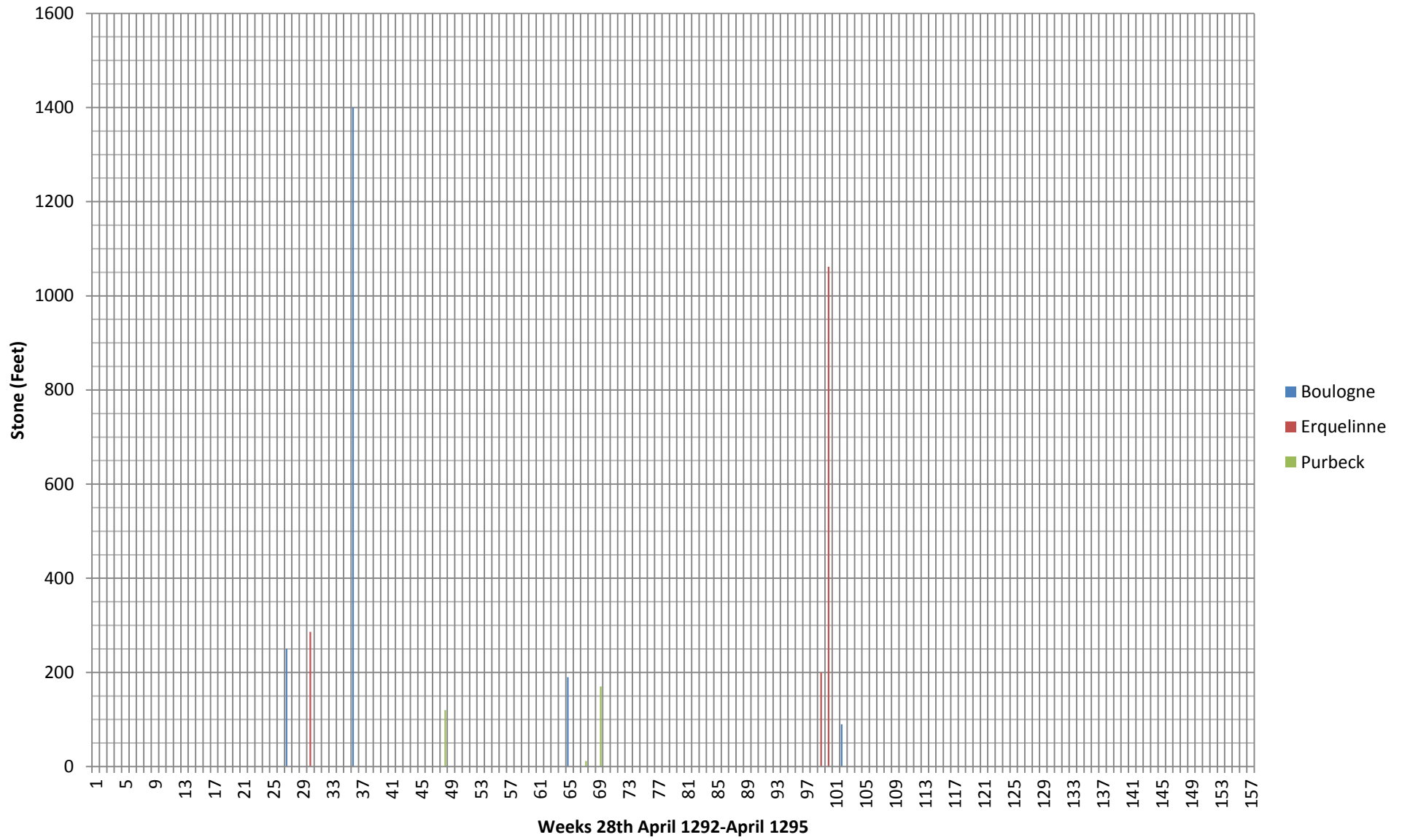
A.T.11 - Taynton Stone Expenditure (Boatloads)		TOTAL (NORMALISED)			TOTAL (d.)	AVERAGE per boatload (d.)	AVERAGE per boatload (li. s. d.)		
Month	Weeks	li.	s.	d.	d.	d.	li.	s.	d.
Apr (28th)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GAP	4								
GAP	5								
Jun (GAP)	6								
GAP	7								
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jul	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GAP	13								
GAP	14								
Aug (GAP)	15								
GAP	16								
GAP	17								
GAP	18								
Sep (GAP)	19								
GAP	20								
GAP	21								
GAP	22								
GAP	23								
Oct (GAP)	24								
	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nov	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dec (GAP)	32								
	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GAP	34								
	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jan	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feb	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apr (GAP)	50								
GAP	51								
GAP	52								
GAP	53								
May (GAP)	54								
GAP	55								
GAP	56								
GAP	57								
Jun (GAP)	58								
GAP	59								
GAP	60								
	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jul (GAP)	62								
GAP	63								
GAP	64								
	65	7	9	0	1788	894	3	14	6
GAP	66								
Aug	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	68	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sep	72	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	73	2	11	10	622	622	2	11	10
No Further Expenditure									

A.T.12 - Reigate Stones Expenditure		Perpani				Cost				Stones				Cost				TOTAL (d.)			TOTAL (NORMALISED)		
Month	Weeks	no.	li	s.	d.	Total (d.)	no.	li	s.	d.	Total (d.)	d.	li	s.	d.								
Apr (28th)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
May	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
GAP	4																						
GAP	5																						
Jun (GAP)	6																						
GAP	7																						
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
Jul	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
GAP	13																						
GAP	14																						
Aug (GAP)	15																						
GAP	16																						
GAP	17																						
GAP	18																						
Sep (GAP)	19																						
GAP	20																						
GAP	21																						
GAP	22																						
GAP	23																						
Oct (GAP)	24																						
	25	768	2	6	0	552	0	0	0	0	0	552	2	6	0								
	26	0	0	0	0	0	850	2	13	10	646	646	2	13	10								
	27	0	0	0	0	0	1050	3	16	1	913	913	3	16	1								
Nov	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	29	0	0	0	0	0	275	0	17	5	209	209	0	17	5								
	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Dec (GAP)	32																						
	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
GAP	34																						
	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Jan	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Feb	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Mar	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	48	400	1	5	4	304	0	0	0	0	0	304	1	5	4								
	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Apr (GAP)	50																						
GAP	51																						
GAP	52																						
GAP	53																						
May (GAP)	54																						
GAP	55																						
GAP	56																						
GAP	57																						
Jun (GAP)	58																						
GAP	59																						
GAP	60																						
	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
Jul (GAP)	62																						
GAP	63																						
GAP	64																						
	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
GAP	66																						
Aug	67	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0								
	68	500	1	11	8	380	0	0	0	0	0	380	1	11	8								

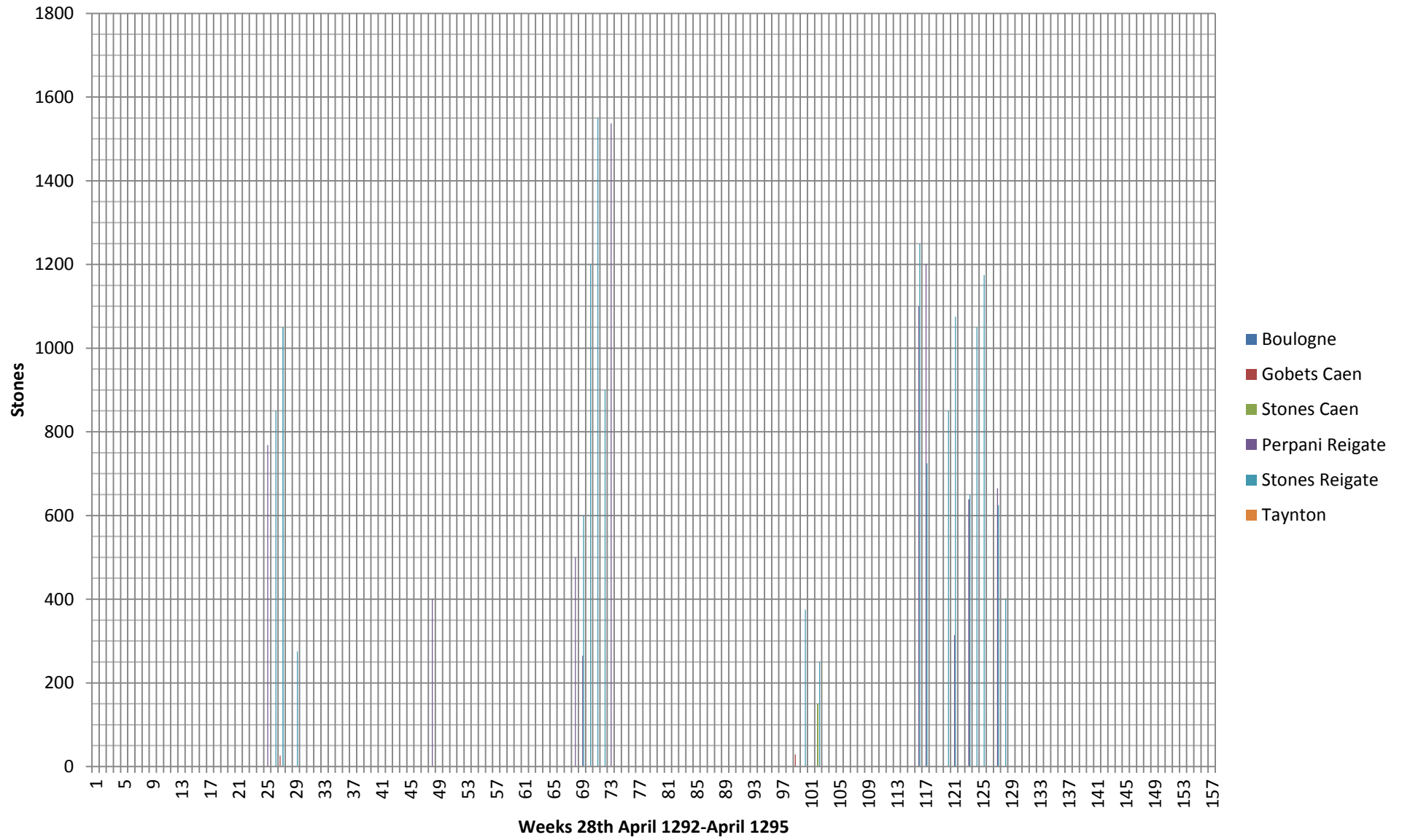
A.G.1 - Stone (Boatloads)



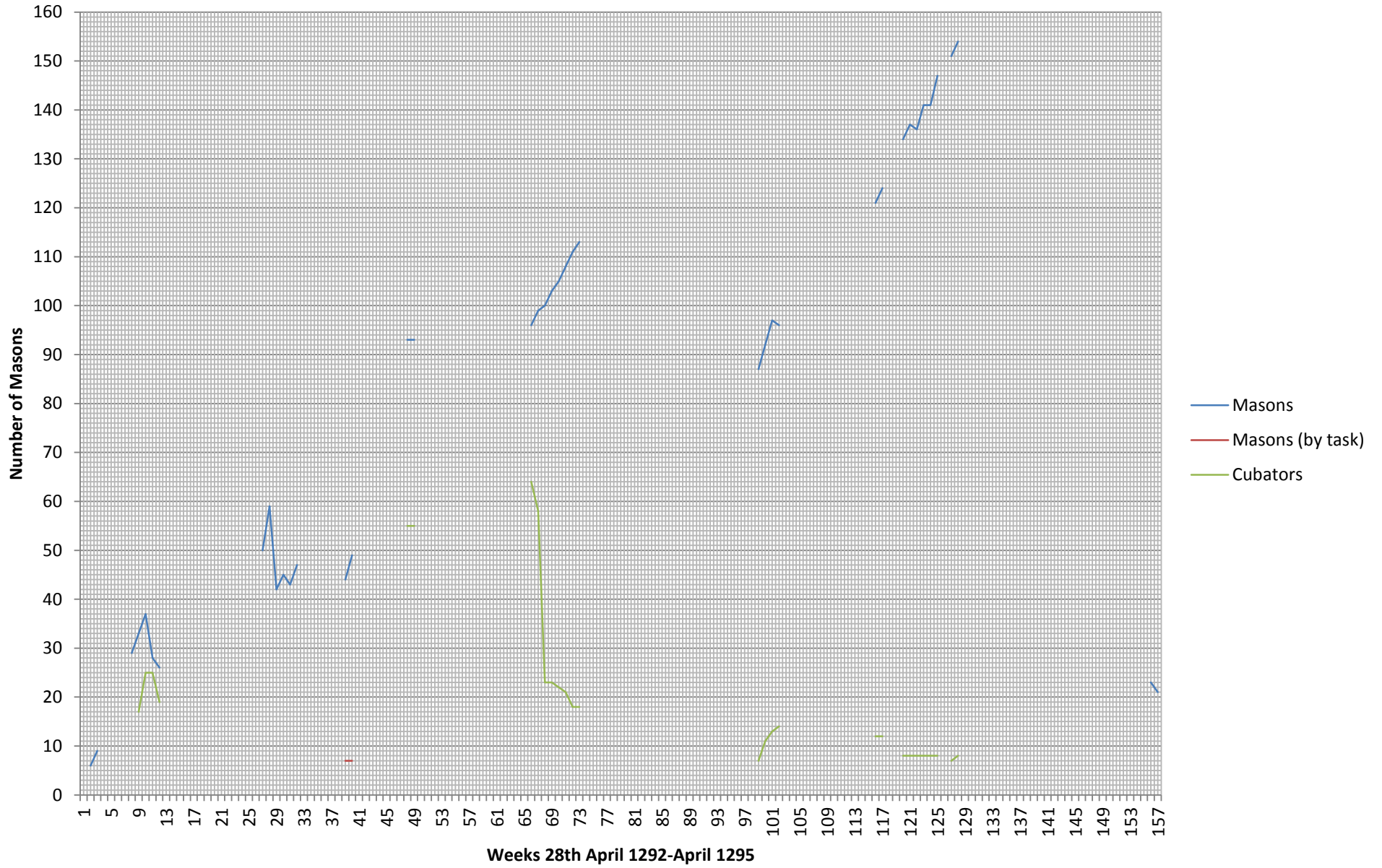
A.G.2 - Stone (Feet)



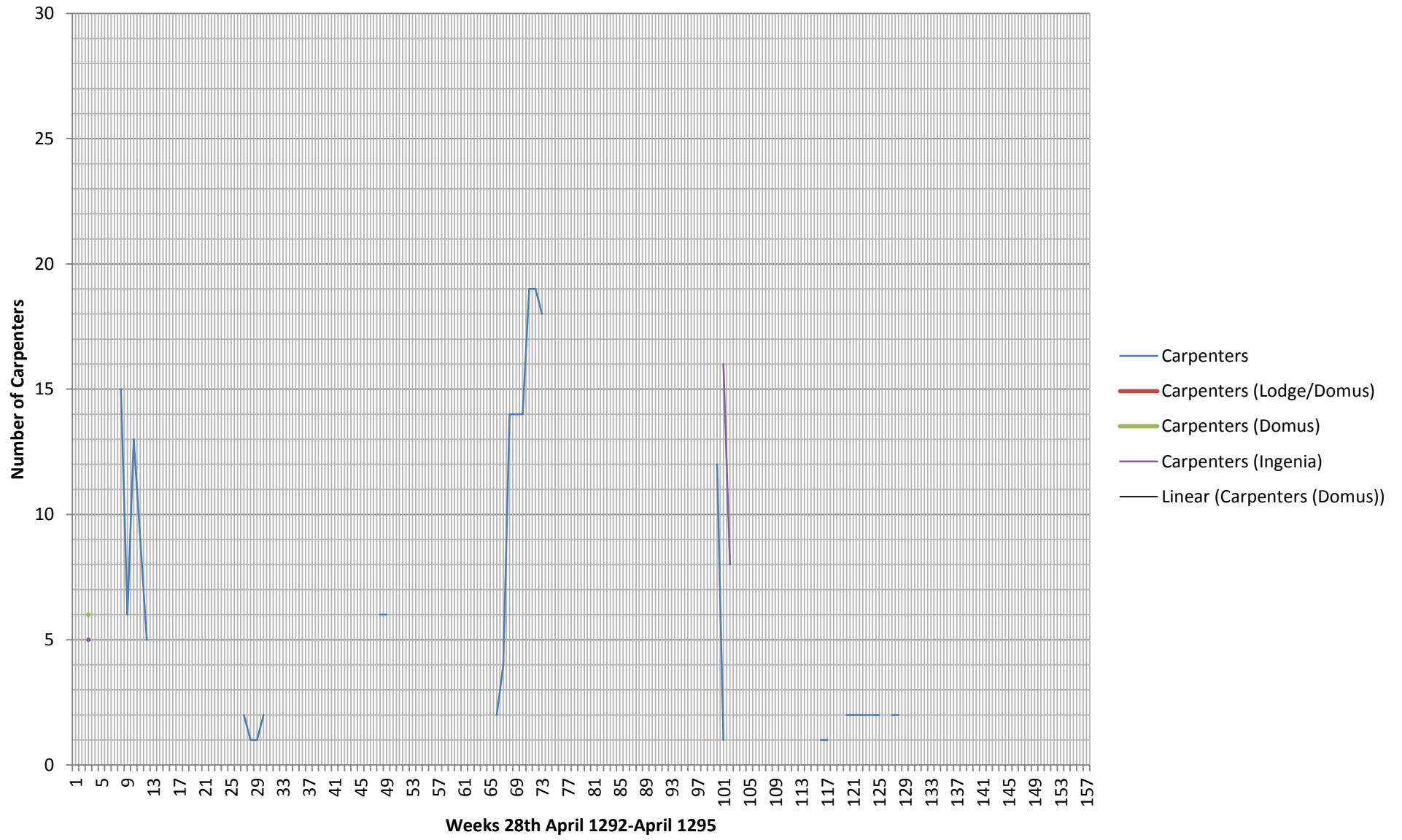
A.G.3 - Stone



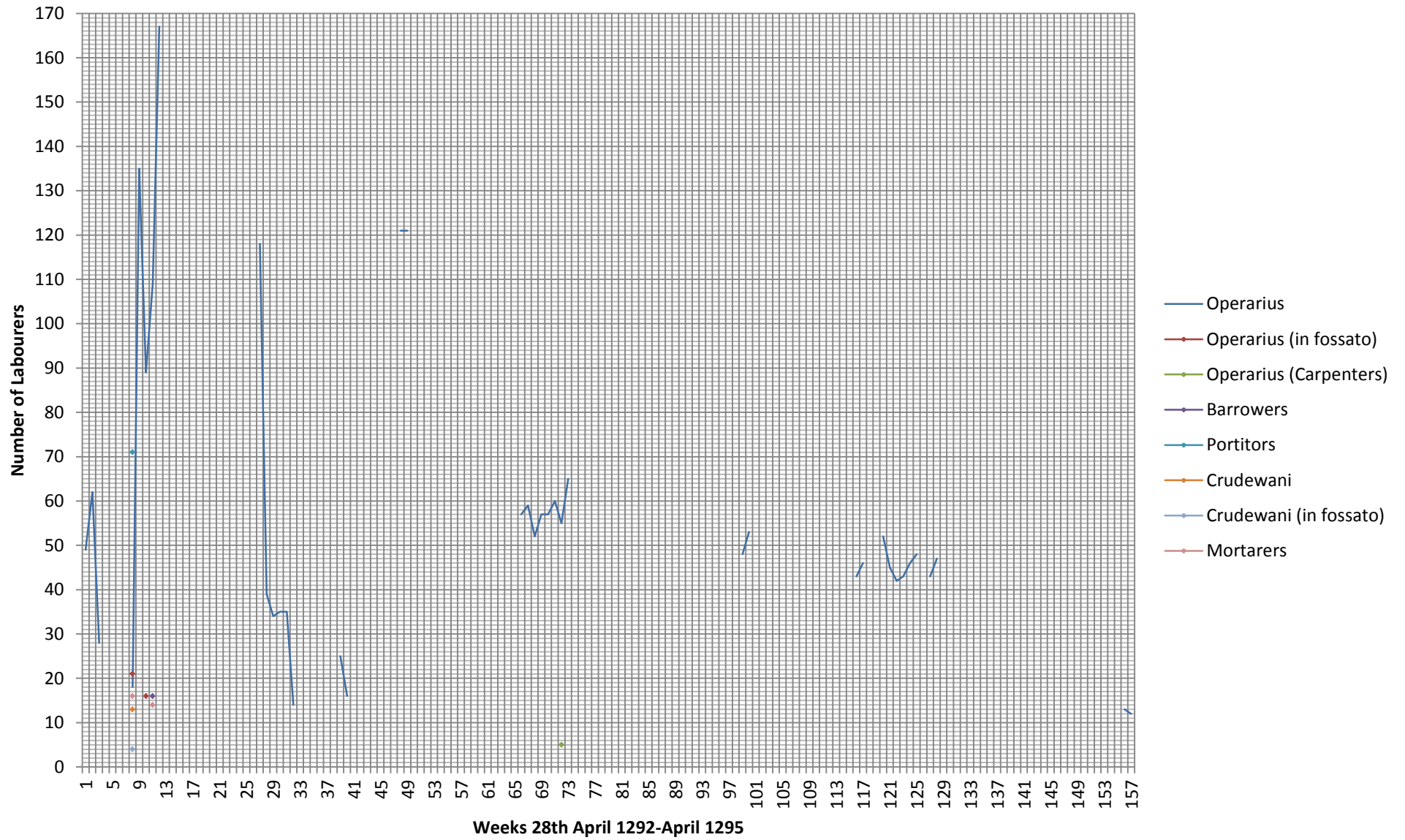
A.G.4 - Masons



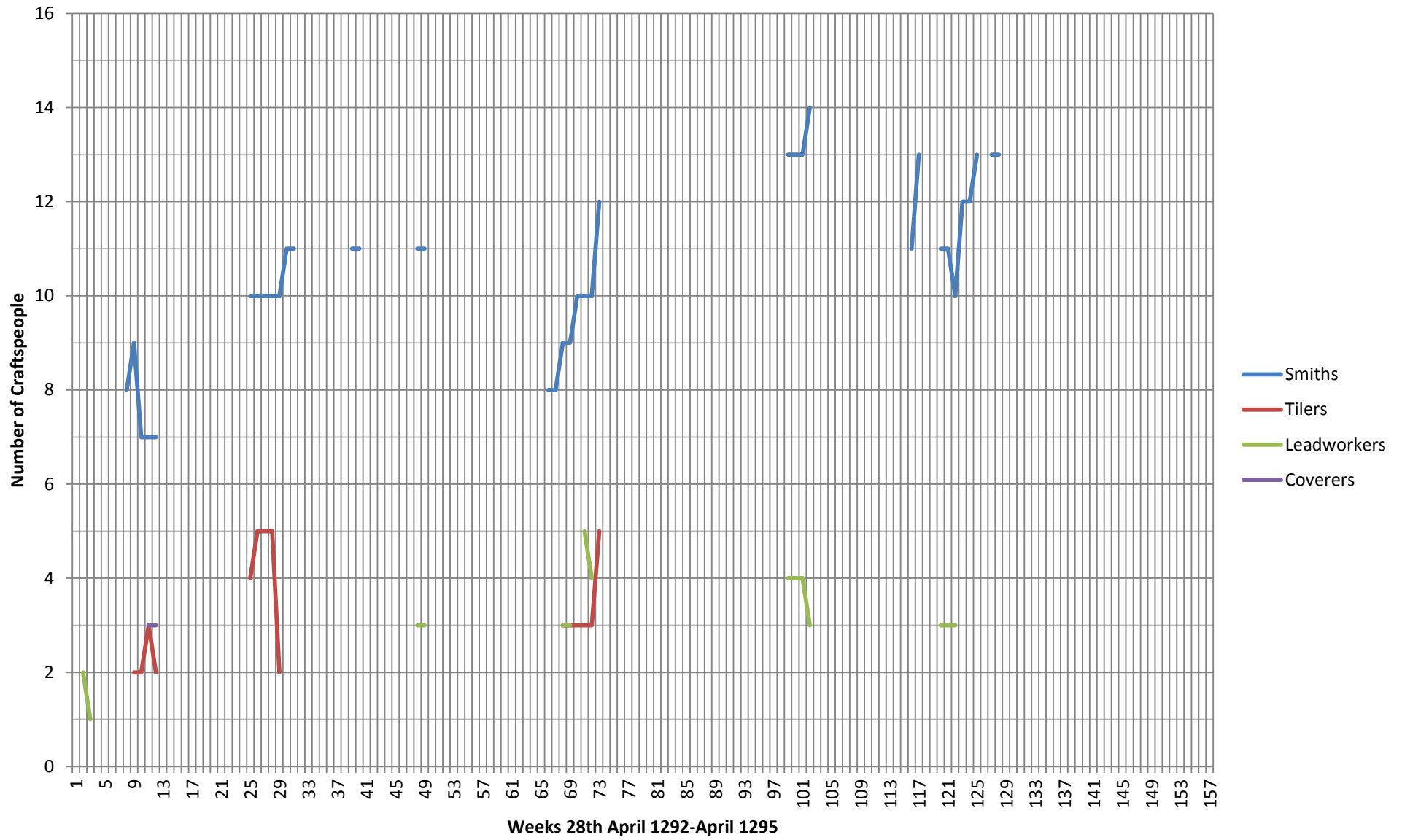
A.G.5 - Carpenters



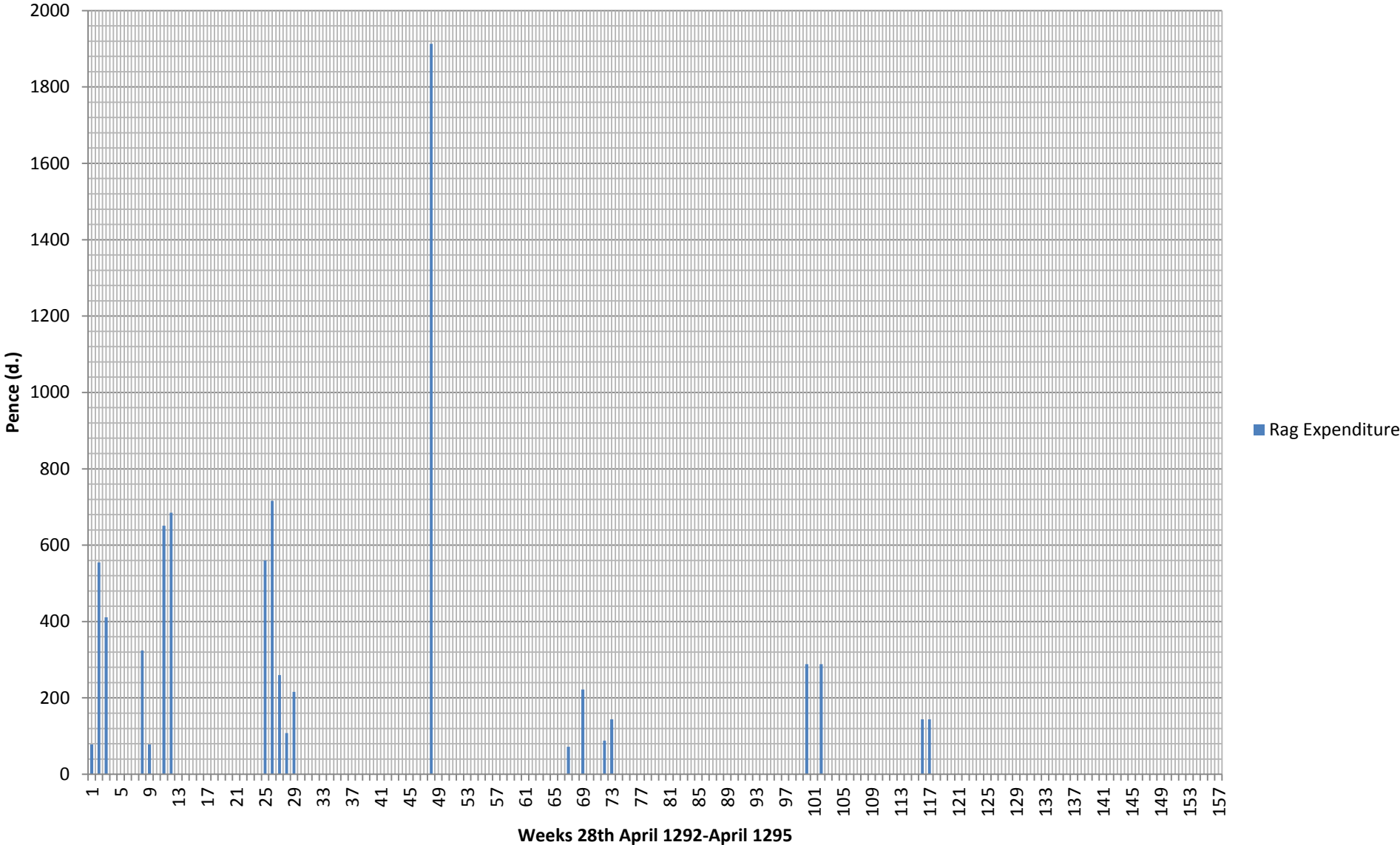
A.G.6 - Labourers



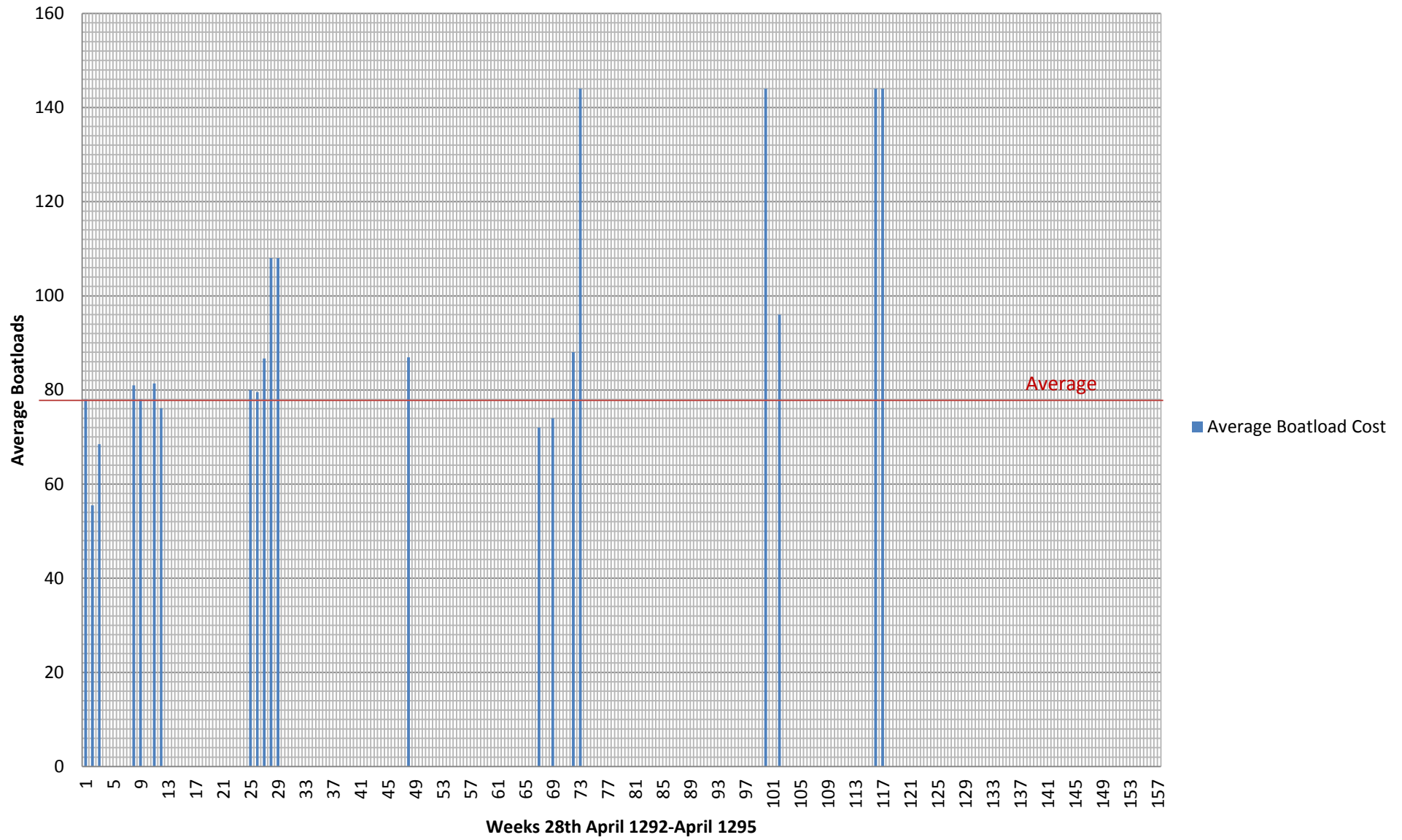
A.G.7 - Other Craftspeople



A.G.8 - Ragstone Purchases



A.G.9 - Ragstone Weekly Average Boatloads



B.T.1 - Stone Usage 1323-26		E 101/468/10		Chapel													Alura																			
Months	Misc.	Caen Stone						Reigate				Aylesford	Chalk	Purbeck	Caen Stone			Reigate			Aylesford	Chalk	Purbeck													
	Stones?	Great Stones	Gobets	dj	q	Stones	dj	Coyns	Mold Pieces	Feet	taleston'	Great Stones	Stones	Form pieces	Ragstone	Boatloads	Boatload	Feet (for columns)	Pieces (pro sourcis)	Coyns	taleston'	dj	Stones	dj	q	Feet (pro crestis)	Form pieces	Ragstone	Boatloads	Boatloads	Individual	dj				
Nov			0																																	
Dec			0																																	
Jan			88																																	
Feb			58																																	
Mar			0					300							3			165																		
Apr			507		3		506		349	150				3			108																			
May			459	1			350	1	157					2																						
Jun			0									6																								
Jul			132				242							3			131.5																			
Aug			0											1																						
Sep			585								300																									
Oct			0												1																					
Nov			0																																	
Dec			0																																	
Jan			0				600																													
Feb			0																																	
Mar			0										12	8																						
Apr	109		0								2	4	22				110	16																		
May			0										36				260	4																		
Jun			0								1		22	1					200	250	1	1275	1	1			22	8	9							
Jul			102										36				159																			
Aug			125	1			100						0		1																					
Sep			0																																	
Oct			0				250	1					12																							
Nov			0										36																							
Dec			0																																	
Jan			0																																	
TOTAL	109	0	2056	2	3	2348	2	506	150	300	34	52	136	14	1	933.5	20	200	250	1	11020.5	29	20.5	442	22	16	11	2	1							

B.T.2 - Masons 1323-26						
Month	Week	Number of Masons	Marblers	Polishers	Month	Average Masons
Nov (1323)	1	20	0	0	Nov	22
	2	24	0	0	Dec	19.3
Dec	3	19	0	0	Jan	21.4
	4	19	0	0	Feb	33
	5	20	0	0	Mar	47.25
	6	0	0	0	Apr	48.25
Jan (1324)	7	17	0	0	May	60
	8	19	0	0	Jun	53.75
	9	20	1	0	Jul	55.8
	10	24	0	0	Aug	56.5
	11	27	0	0	Sep	61.5
Feb	12	30	0	0	Oct	52.2
	13	32	0	0	Nov	36
	14	37	0	0	Dec	24
Mar	15	45	0	0	Jan	23.25
	16	48	0	0	Feb	24.5
	17	48	0	0	Mar	25.75
	18	48	0	0	Apr	29.25
Apr	19	51	0	0	May	34.3
	20	50	0	0	Jun	42.5
	21	46	0	0	Jul	48.2
	22	46	0	0	Aug	46.25
May	23	57	0	0	Sep	41
	24	59	0	0	Oct	29.75
	25	62	0	0	Nov	21.25
	26	62	0	0	Dec	0
Jun	27	61	0	0	Jan	0
	28	49	0	0		
	29	50	0	0		
	30	55	0	0		
Jul	31	56	0	0		
	32	55	0	0		
	33	55	0	0		
	34	57	0	0		
	35	56	0	0		
Aug	36	56	0	0		
	37	54	0	0		
	38	56	0	0		
	39	60	0	0		
Sept	40	62	0	0		
	41	62	0	0		
	42	62	0	0		
	43	60	0	0		
Oct	44	52	0	0		
	45	50	0	0		
	46	50	0	0		
	47	50	0	0		
	48	59	0	0		
Nov	49	50	0	0		
	50	47	0	0		
	51	23	0	0		
	52	24	0	0		
Dec	53	24	0	0		
	54	24	0	0		
	55	24	0	0		
Jan (1325)	56	21	0	0		
	57	24	0	0		
	58	24	0	0		
	59	24	0	0		
Feb	60	24	0	0		
	61	24	0	0		
	62	25	0	0		
	63	25	0	0		
Mar	64	25	0	0		
	65	26	0	0		
	66	26	0	0		
	67	26	0	0		
Apr	68	26	0	0		
	69	28	0	0		
	70	31	0	0		
	71	32	0	0		
May	72	32	0	0		
	73	35	0	0		
	74	36	0	0		
	75	0	0	0		
Jun	76	31	0	1		
	77	45	0	1		
	78	55	0	3		
	79	55	3	0		
Jul	80	57	3	0		
	81	44	4	0		

B.T.3 - Carpenters 1323-26						
Month	Week	Number of	Sawyers	William Hu	Month	Average Carpenters
Nov (1323)	1	0	0		Nov	0
	2	0	0		Dec	0
Dec	3	0	0		Jan	0
	4	0	0		Feb	0
	5	0	0		Mar	0
	6	0	0		Apr	0
Jan (1324)	7	0	0		May	0
	8	0	0		Jun	0
	9	0	0		Jul	0
	10	0	0		Aug	0
	11	0	0		Sep	0
Feb	12	0	0		Oct	0
	13	0	0		Nov	0
	14	0	0		Dec	0
Mar	15	0	0		Jan	0
	16	0	0		Feb	0
	17	0	0		Mar	6
	18	0	0		Apr	10.5
Apr	19	0	0		May	17.75
	20	0	0		Jun	15.25
	21	0	0		Jul	18.2
	22	0	0		Aug	19
May	23	0	0		Sep	18.6
	24	0	0		Oct	19.75
	25	0	0		Nov	14.5
	26	0	0		Dec	0.25
Jun	27	0	0		Jan	0
	28	0	0			
	29	0	0			
	30	0	0			
Jul	31	0	0			
	32	0	0			
	33	0	0			
	34	0	0			
	35	0	0			
Aug	36	0	0			
	37	0	0			
	38	0	0			
	39	0	0			
Sept	40	0	0			
	41	0	0			
	42	0	0			
	43	0	0			
Oct	44	0	0			
	45	0	0			
	46	0	0			
	47	0	0			
	48	0	0			
Nov	49	0	0			
	50	0	0			
	51	0	0			
	52	0	0			
Dec	53	0	0			
	54	0	0			
	55	0	0			
Jan (1325)	56	0	0			
	57	0	0			
	58	0	0			
	59	0	0			
Feb	60	0	0			
	61	0	0			
	62	0	0			
	63	0	0			
Mar	64	0	0			
	65	0	2	1		
	66	6	4	1		
	67	6	4	1		
Apr	68	7	4	0		
	69	10	2	1		
	70	11	4	1		
	71	14	4	1		
May	72	16	4	1		
	73	20	4	1		
	74	21	4	1		
	75	14	4	0		
Jun	76	15	4	0		
	77	15	4	0		
	78	15	4	0		
	79	16	4	1		
Jul	80	12	4	1		
	81	20	4	1		

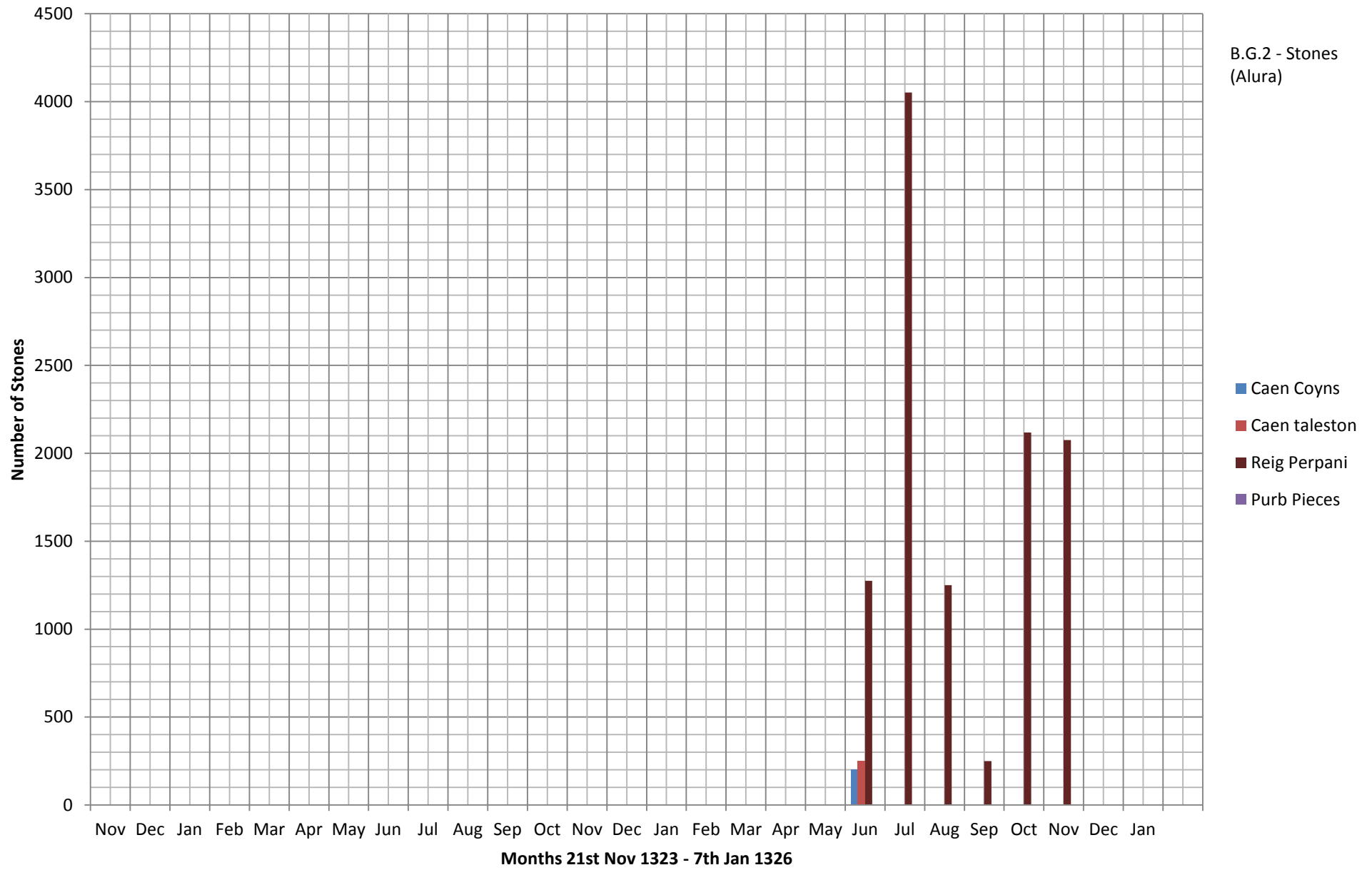
	82	46	4	0
	83	46	4	0
	84	48	4	0
Aug	85	47	4	0
	86	46	4	0
	87	46	4	0
	88	46	4	0
Sept	89	44	4	0
	90	41	4	0
	91	41	4	0
	92	41	1	3
	93	38	2	2
Oct	94	38	2	2
	95	36	2	2
	96	24	0	2
	97	21	2	2
Nov	98	22	2	0
	99	21	2	0
	100	21	2	0
	101	21	2	0
Dec	102	0	0	0
	103	0	0	0
	104	0	0	0
	105	0	0	0
Jan (1326)	106	0	0	0

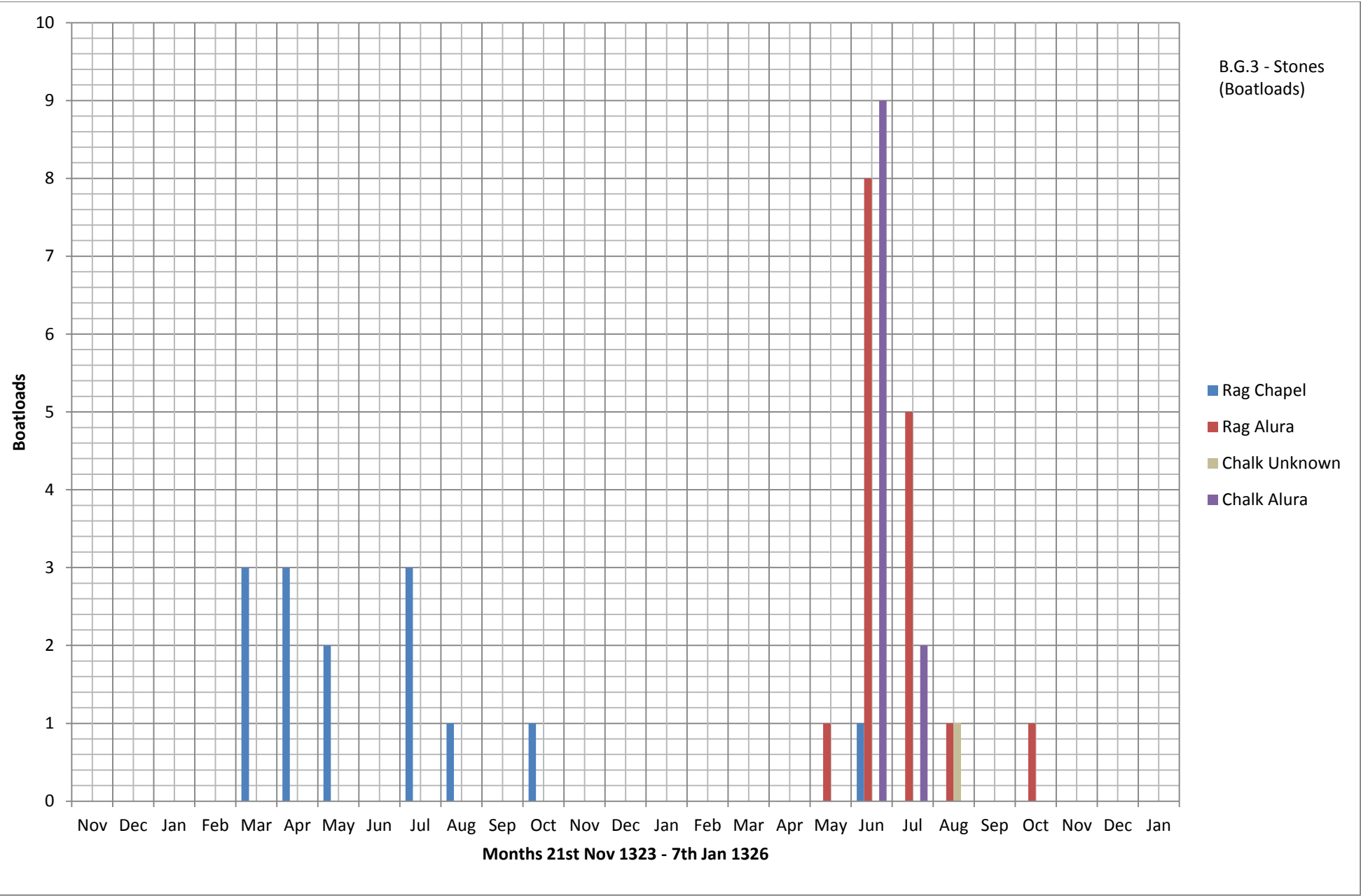
	82	20	4	1
	83	21	4	1
	84	18	4	1
Aug	85	17	4	0
	86	19	4	0
	87	20	4	0
	88	20	4	0
Sept	89	18	4	0
	90	18	4	1
	91	17	4	1
	92	18	4	1
	93	22	4	1
Oct	94	22	4	1
	95	23	4	1
	96	17	4	1
	97	17	4	0
Nov	98	11	2	0
	99	11	2	0
	100	13	2	0
	101	23	2	0
Dec	102	0	0	
	103	1	0	
	104	0	0	
	105	0	0	
Jan (1326)	106	0	0	
	107	0	0	
	108	0	0	
	109	0	0	
Feb	110	0	0	
	111	1	0	
	112	1	2	
	113	1	0	
Mar	114	1	0	
	115	0	0	
	116	0	0	
	117	0	0	

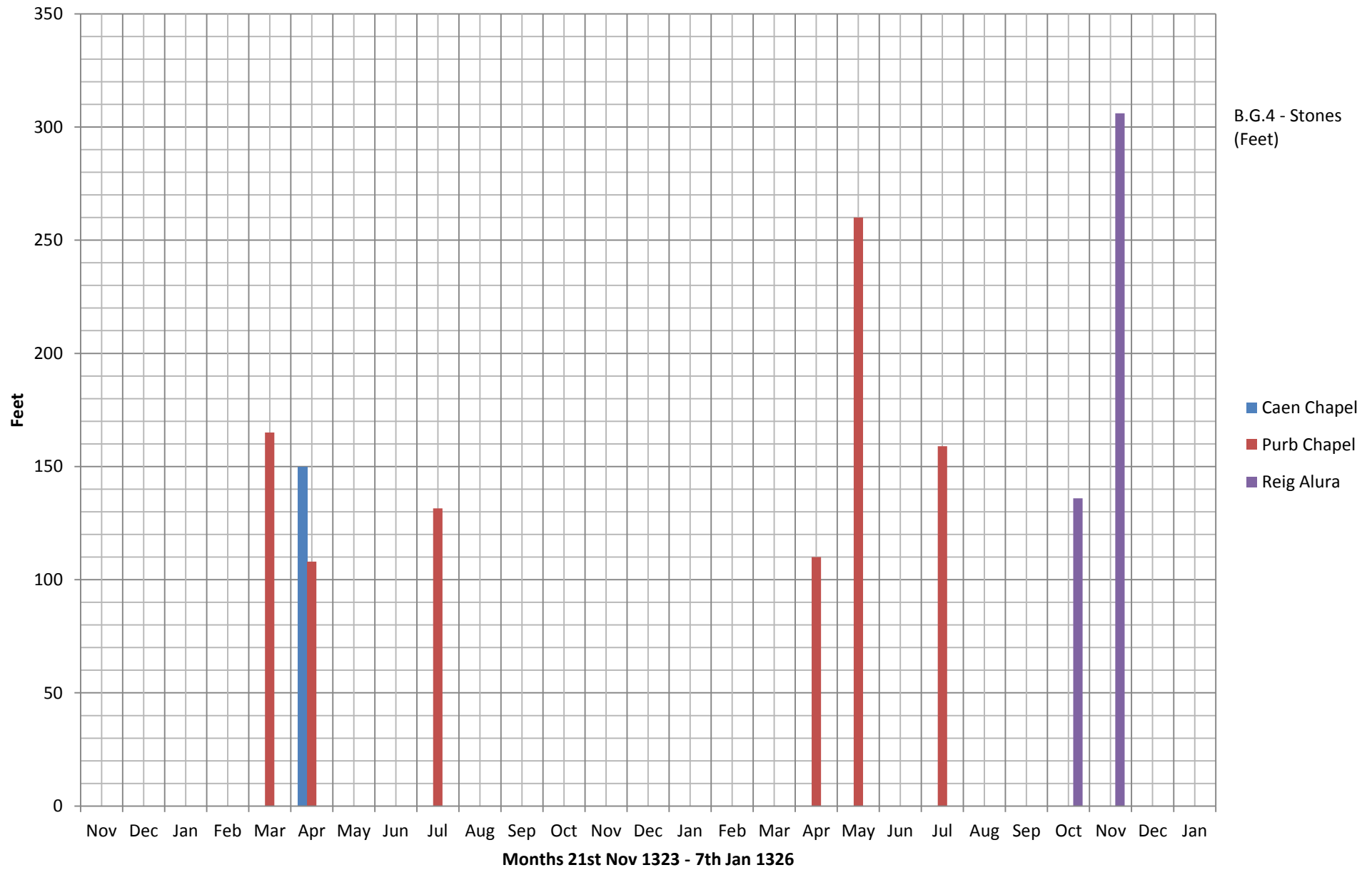
B.T.4 - Scaffolders 1323-36				
Month	Week	Scaffators	Operarii/positoires	Carpenters (scaffold)
Nov (1323)	1	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0
Dec	3	0	0	0
	4	0	0	0
	5	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0
Jan (1324)	7	0	0	0
	8	0	0	0
	9	0	0	0
	10	0	0	0
	11	0	0	0
Feb	12	0	0	0
	13	0	0	0
	14	0	0	0
Mar	15	0	0	0
	16	4	0	0
	17	4	0	0
	18	5	0	0
Apr	19	0	0	2
	20	5	4	0
	21	3	0	0
	22	6	0	0
May	23	6	0	1
	24	6	0	1
	25	6	0	1
	26	6	0	1
Jun	27	2	0	0
	28	5	3	0
	29	6	0	0
	30	6	0	0
Jul	31	6	0	0
	32	5	0	0
	33	6	0	0
	34	6	0	0
	35	5	0	0
Aug	36	5	0	0
	37	5	0	0
	38	5	0	0
	39	5	0	0
Sept	40	4	0	0
	41	4	0	0
	42	4	0	0
	43	0	0	0
Oct	44	0	0	0
	45	5	0	0
	46	4	0	0
	47	3	0	0
	48	5	0	0

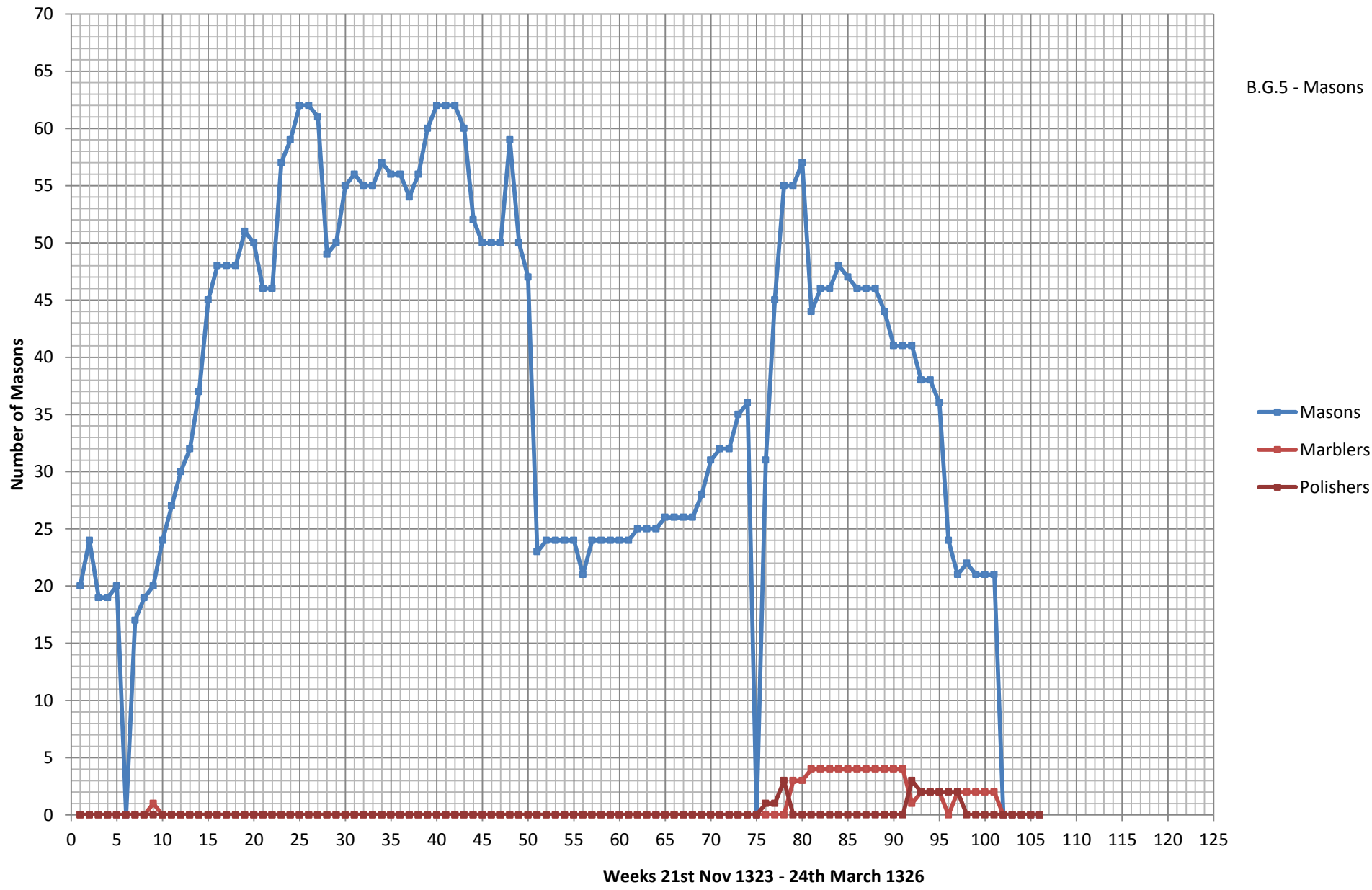
Nov	49	5	0	0
	50	5	0	0
	51	0	0	0
	52	0	0	0
Dec	53	0	0	0
	54	0	0	0
	55	0	0	0
Jan (1325)	56	0	0	0
	57	0	0	0
	58	0	0	0
	59	0	0	0
Feb	60	0	0	0
	61	0	0	0
	62	0	0	0
	63	0	0	0
Mar	64	0	0	0
	65	0	0	0
	66	0	0	0
	67	0	0	0
Apr	68	0	0	0
	69	0	0	0
	70	0	0	0
	71	0	0	0
May	72	0	0	0
	73	0	0	0
	74	0	0	0
	75	0	0	0
Jun	76	2	0	0
	77	9	0	0
	78	8	0	0
	79	8	0	0
Jul	80	8	0	0
	81	9	0	0
	82	9	0	0
	83	9	0	0
	84	9	0	0
Aug	85	8	0	0
	86	6	0	0
	87	6	0	0
	88	0	0	0
Sept	89	6	0	0
	90	5	0	0
	91	5	0	0
	92	4	0	0
	93	5	0	0
Oct	94	5	0	0
	95	5	0	0
	96	5	0	0
	97	4	0	0
Nov	98	5	0	0

	99	5	0	0
	100	6	0	0
	101	5	0	0
Dec	102	0	0	0
	103	0	0	0
	104	0	0	0
	105	0	0	0
Jan (1326)	106	0	0	0
	107	0	10	0
	108	0	0	0
	109	0	3	0
Feb	110	0	3	0
	111	0	0	0
	112	0	0	0
	113	0	0	0
Mar	114	0	0	0
	115	0	0	0
	116	0	0	0
	117	0	0	0

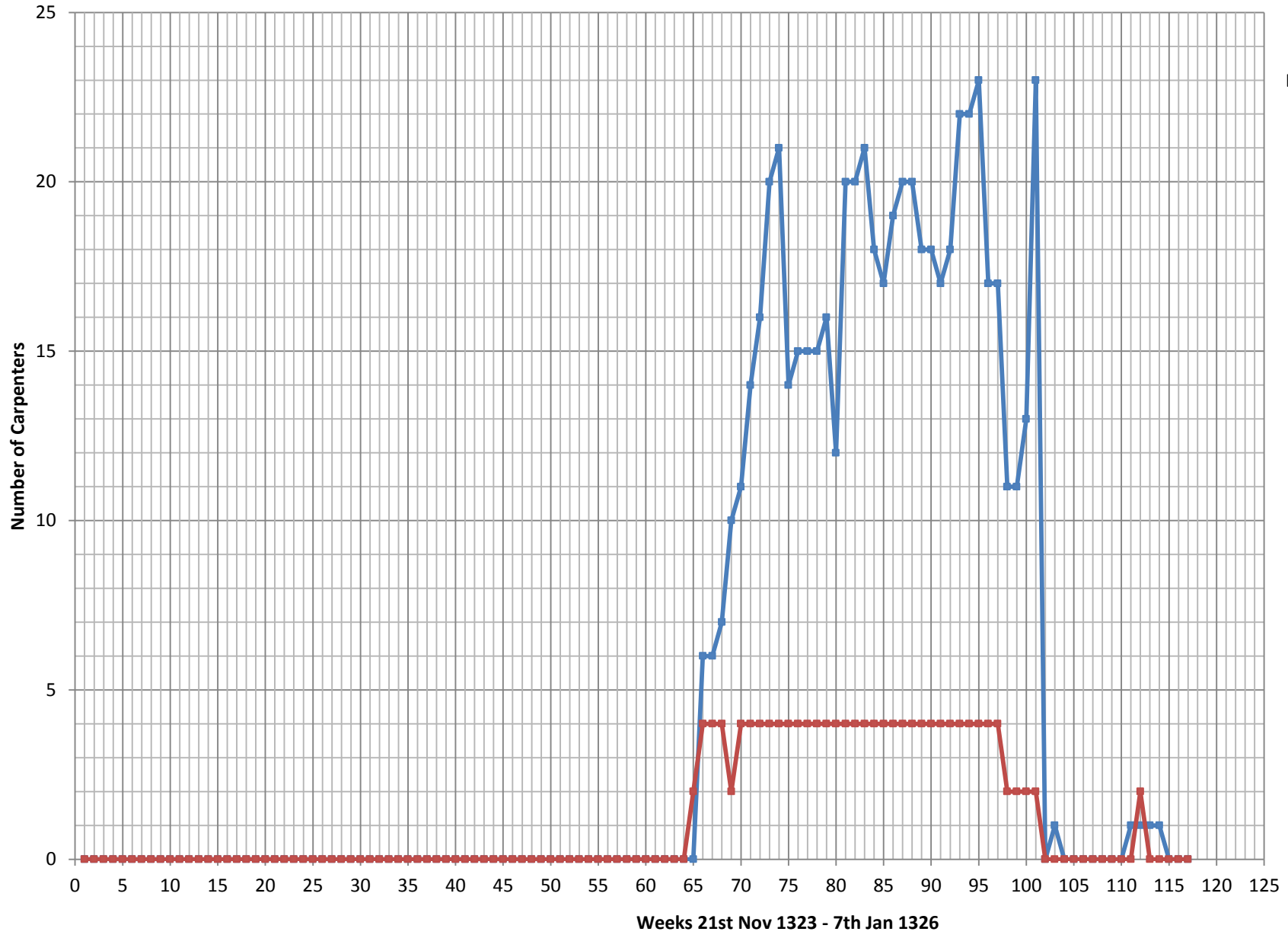




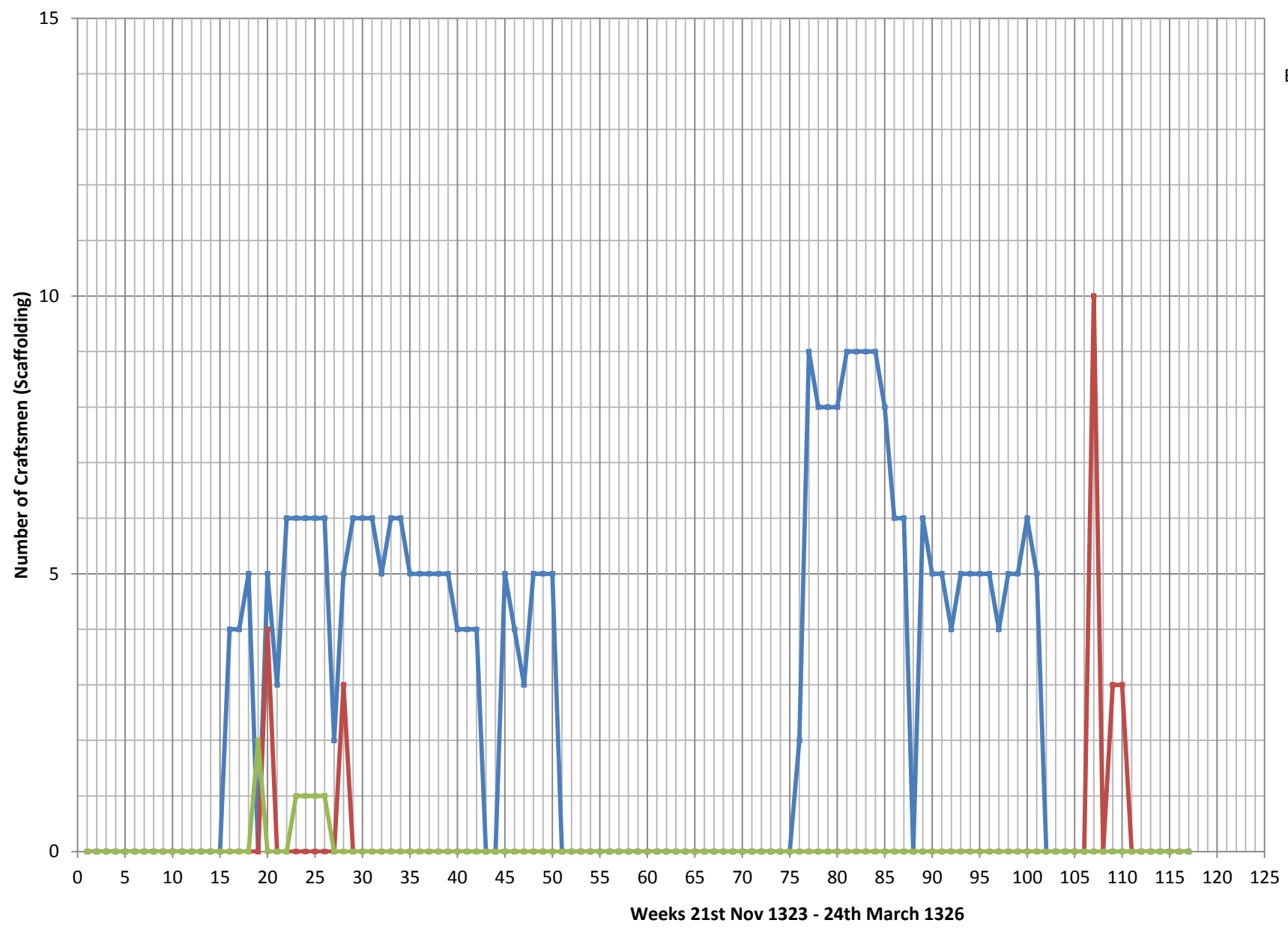




B.G.6 - Carpenters



B.G.7 - Scaffolding



Mar																				
Apr		50	1																	
May		50	1																	
June																				
Jul		50																		
Aug																				
Sept																				
Oct																				
Nov																				
Dec																				800
Jan																				300
																				10

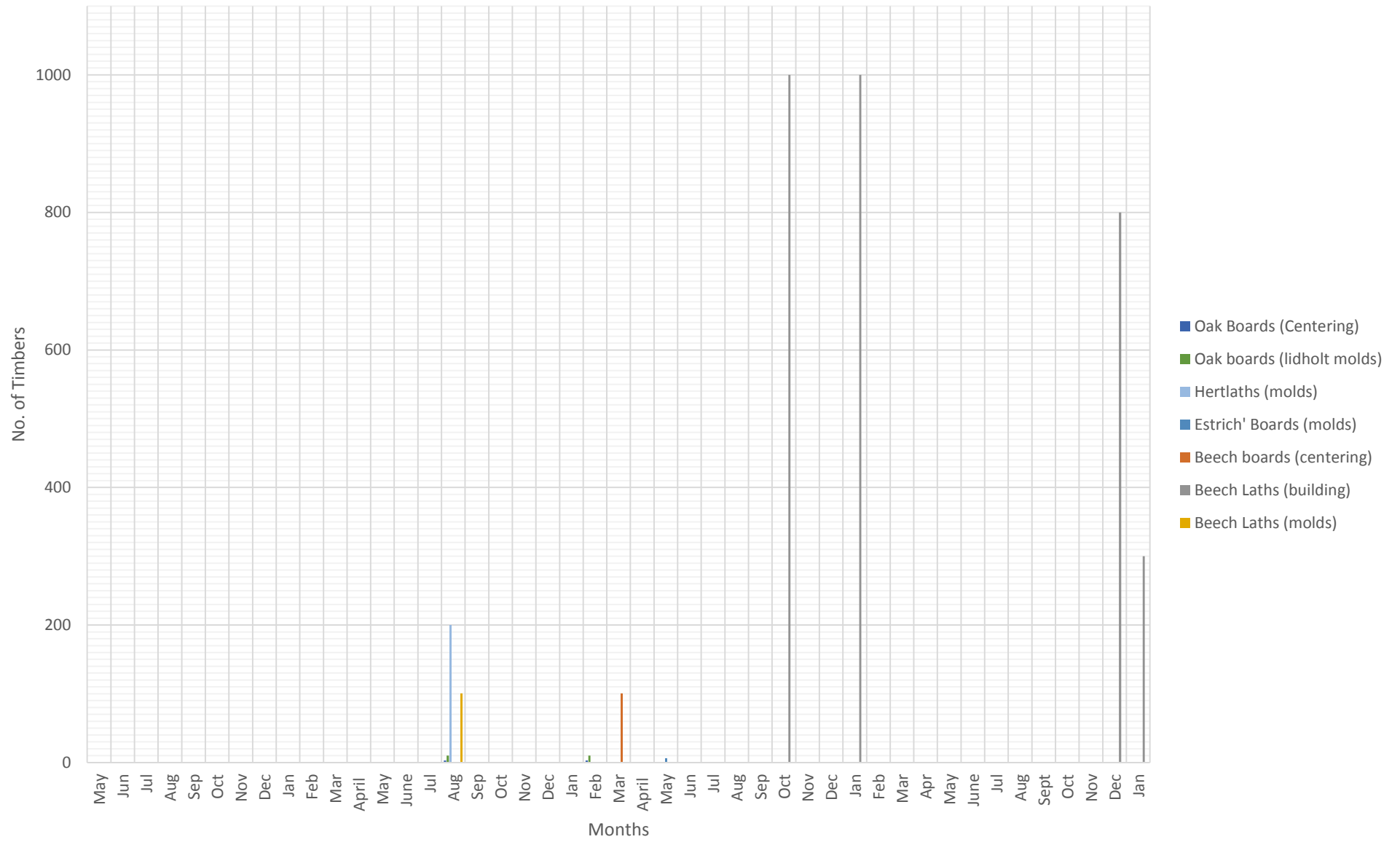
 = Change over of Rolls

		87	19	10	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		88	20	10	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feb		89	24	10	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		90	22	10	0	6	0	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		91	22	10	0	6	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		92	22	10	0	6	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar		93	22	10	0	8	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		94	22	10	0	8	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		95	17	10	0	12	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		96	20	10	0	12	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
April		97	21	10	0	11	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		98	10	3	0	10	0		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		99	20	3	0	10	0		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		100	20	3	0	11	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
May		101	20	3	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		102	19	2	0	9	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		103	17	2	0	9	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		104	0	0	0		0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0
		105	9	0	0	8	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jun		106	9	0	0	8	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		107	11	0	0	8	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		108	12	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		109	11	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jul		110	11	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		111	11	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		112	11	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
		113	12	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aug		114	12	0	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		115	12	0	0	9	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		116	12	0	0	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		117	12	0	0	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		118	12	0	0	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sep		119	12	0	0	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		120	12	0	0	8	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		121	12	0	0	8	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		122	12	0	0	8	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oct		123	10	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		124	10	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		125	11	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		126	10	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Nov		127	10	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		128	10	0	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0
		129	10	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		130	10	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

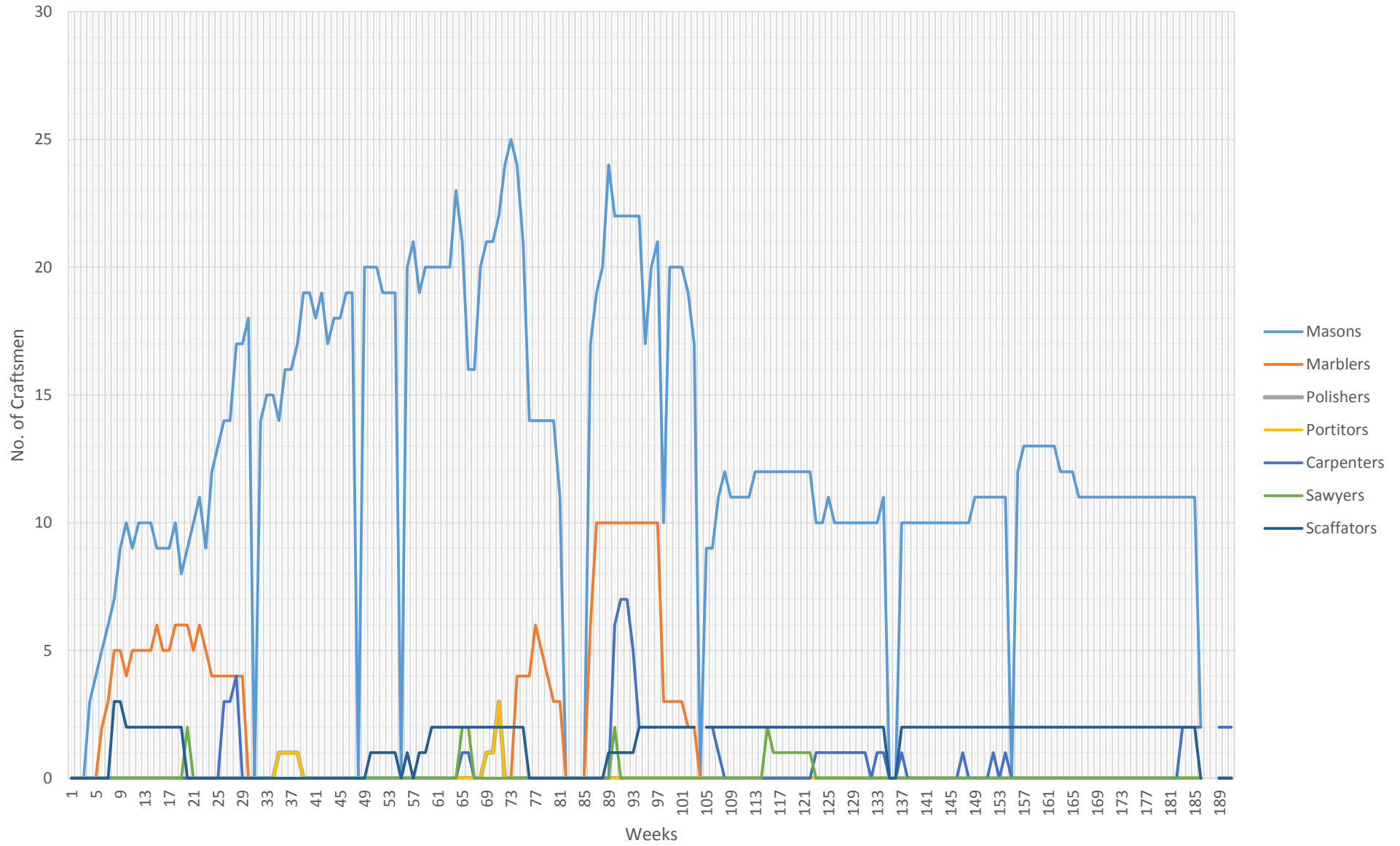
		131	10	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dec		132	10	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		133	10	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		134	11	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		135	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jan		136	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		137	10	0	0	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		138	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		139	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		140	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Feb		141	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		142	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		143	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		144	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mar		145	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		146	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		147	10	0	0	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		148	10	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apr		149	11	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		150	11	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		151	11	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		152	11	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
May		153	11	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		154	11	0	0	6	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		155	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		156	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		157	13	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
June		158	13	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		159	13	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		160	13	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		161	13	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jul		162	13	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		163	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
		164	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		165	12	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aug		166	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		167	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		168	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		169	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		170	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sept		171	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		172	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		173	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
		174	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

Oct	175	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	176	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	177	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	178	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	179	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nov	180	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	181	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	182	11	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	183	11	0	0	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dec	184	11	0	0	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	185	11	0	0	5	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	186	2	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	187														
Jan	188														
	189	2	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	190	2	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	191	2	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

C.G.3 - Timber Usage 27th May 1331-23rd Jan 1335



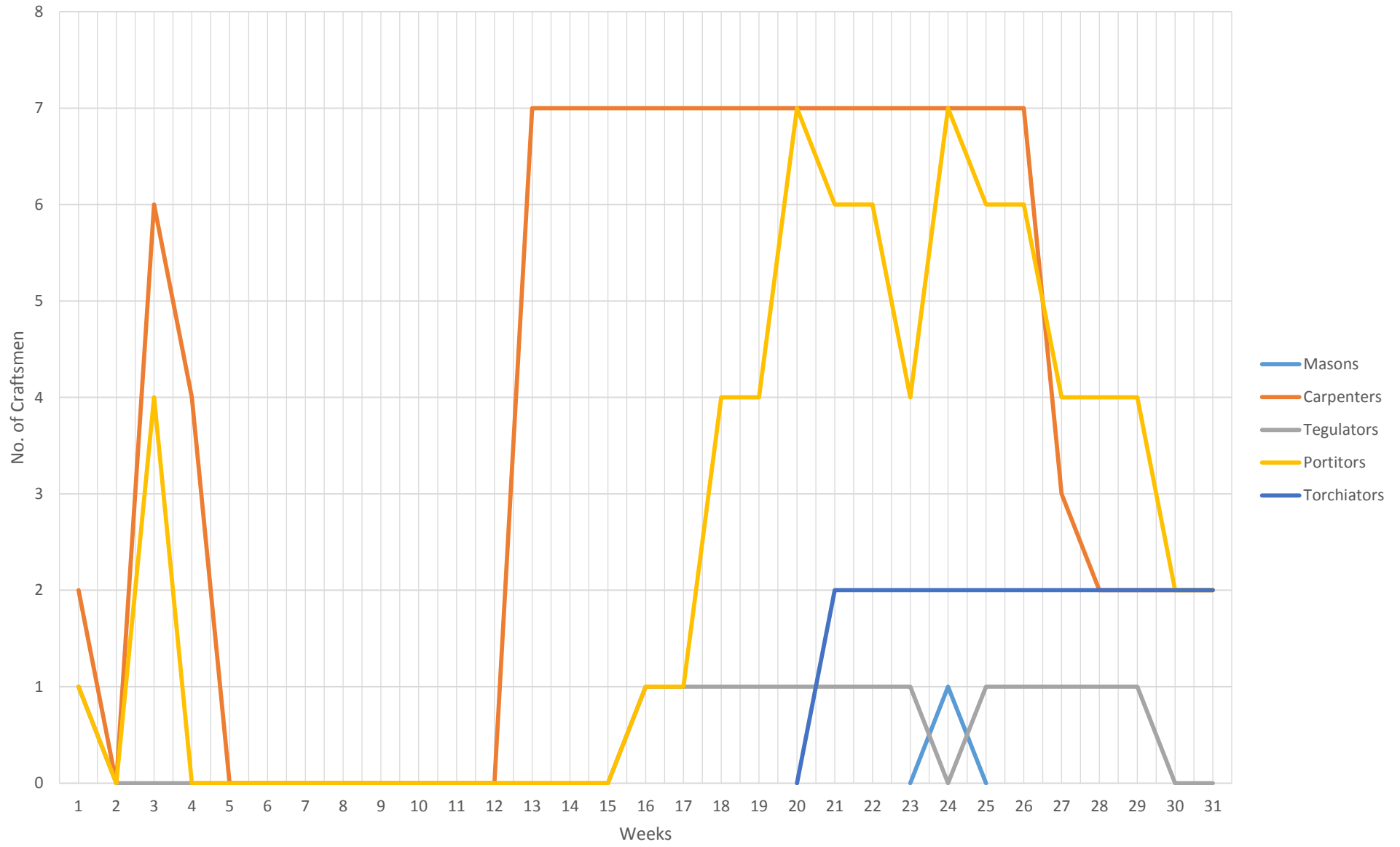
C.G.4 - Craftsmen 27th May 1331-23rd Jan 1335



D.T.1 - Masons 1337	E101/470/2	
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Mason
Mar (5th)	1	0
	2	5
	3	5
	4	5
	5	5
Apr	6	5
(14th)	7	5

E.T.2 - Craftsmen 1338-39						
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Mason	Carpenter	Tiler	Porter	Torchiator
Mar	1		2	1	1	
	2		0	0	0	
	3		6	0	4	
	4		4	0	0	
	5		0	0	0	
Apr	6		0	0	0	
	7		0	0	0	
	8		0	0	0	
	9		0	0	0	
May	10		0	0	0	
	11		0	0	0	
	12		0	0	0	
	13		7	0	0	
	14		7	0	0	
Jun	15		7	0	0	
	16		7	1	1	
	17		7	1	1	
	18		7	1	4	
Jul	19		7	1	4	
	20		7	1	7	0
	21		7	1	6	2
	22		7	1	6	2
Aug	23	0	7	1	4	2
	24	1	7	0	7	2
	25	0	7	1	6	2
	26		7	1	6	2
	27		3	1	4	2
Sept	28		2	1	4	2
	29		2	1	4	2
	30		2	0	2	2
	31		2	0	2	2

E.G.1 - Craftsmen 7th Dec 1338-27th Sept 1339



F.T.2 - Craftsmen 1339-40						
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Carpenter	Tiler	Torchiator	Porter	
Sep	1	2				Partial GAP
Oct	2	4		1	2	
	3					GAP
	4	5	3		3	
	5					GAP
Nov	6					GAP
	7					GAP
	8					GAP
	9					GAP
Dec	10					GAP
	11					GAP
	12					GAP
	13					GAP
	14					GAP
Jan	15					GAP
	16					GAP
	17					GAP
	18					GAP
Feb	19					GAP
	20					GAP
	21					GAP
	22					GAP
Mar	23	4	3		5	
	24	4	3		5	
	25					GAP
	26					GAP

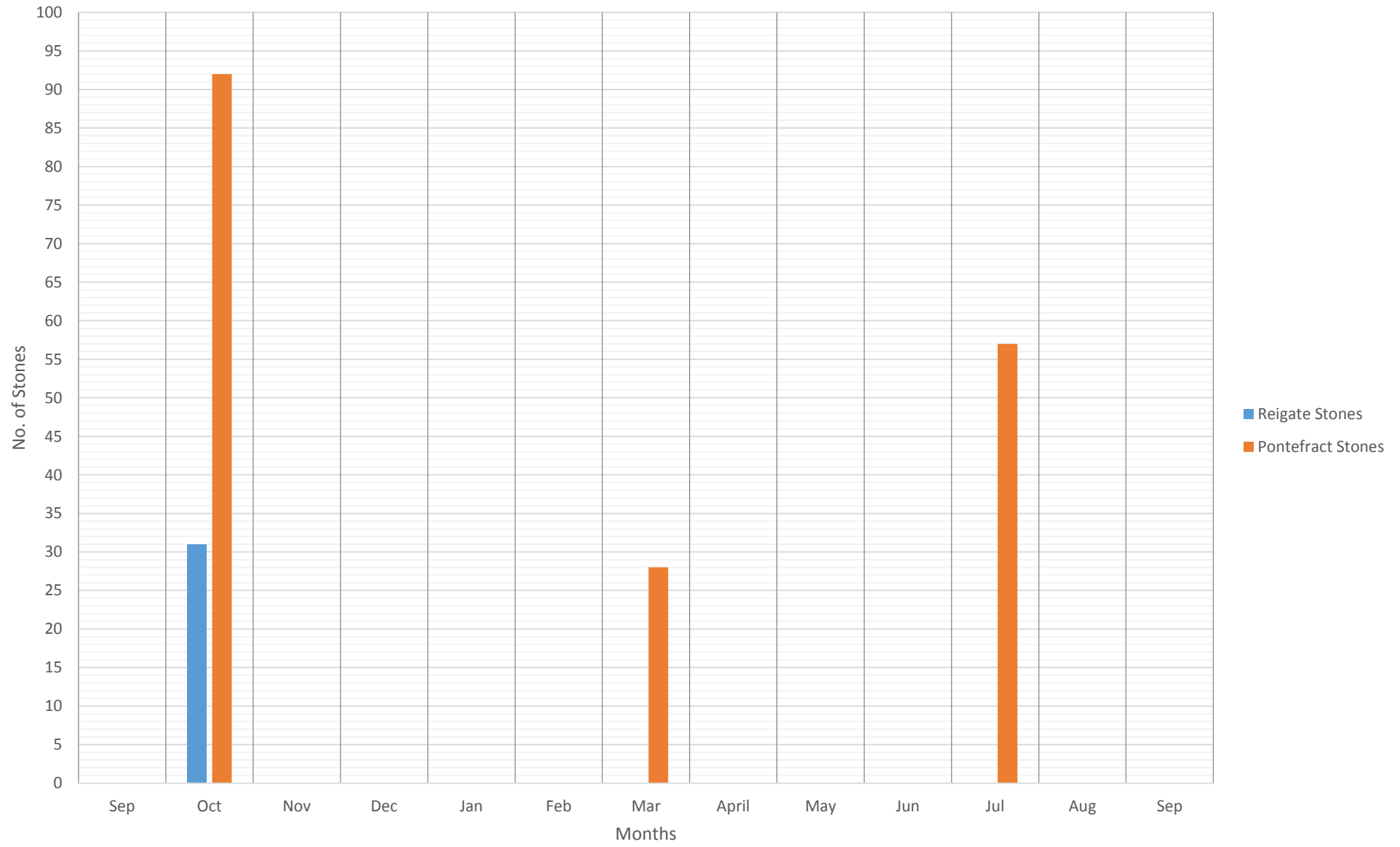
G.T.2 - Craftsmen 1341-42		E101/470/10							
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Carpenter	Tiler	Torchiator	Plasterers	Reeder	Sawyers	Porters	
Oct	1				1			3	
	2				1			2	
Nov	3				1			5	
	4								
	5	1		2		1			
	6								GAP
Dec	7								GAP
	8	3	1					1	
	9								GAP
	10								GAP
Jan	11								GAP
	12								GAP
	13								GAP
	14								GAP
	15								GAP
Feb	16								GAP
	17								GAP
	18					1			
	19								GAP
April	20		1					3	
	21								GAP
	22						2		

H.T.1 - Building Materials 1342-43		E101/470/13	
		Stone	
		Reigate	Pontefract
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Pieces	Pieces
Sep (30th)	1	0	0
Oct	2	0	0
	3	31	0
	4	0	92
	5	0	0
Nov	6	0	0
	7	0	0
	8	0	0
	9	0	0
Dec	10	0	0
	11	0	0
	12	0	0
	13	0	0
	14	0	0
Jan	15	0	0
	16	0	0
	17	0	0
	18	0	0
Feb	19	0	0
	20	0	0
	21	0	0
	22	0	0
Mar	23	0	0
	24	0	0
	25	0	0
	26	0	28
	27	0	0
April	28	0	0
	29	0	0
	30	0	0
	31	0	0
May	32	0	0
	33	0	0
	34	0	0
	35	0	0
Jun	36	0	0
	37	0	0
	38	0	0
	39	0	0
	40	0	0
Jul	41	0	0
	42	0	0
	43	0	0
	44	0	57
Aug	45	0	0
	46	0	0
	47	0	0
	48	0	0
Sep	49	0	0
	50	0	0
	51	0	0
	52	0	0

Building Materials 1342-43		
Stone		
	Reigate	Pontefract
Month	Pieces	Pieces
Sep	0	0
Oct	31	92
Nov	0	0
Dec	0	0
Jan	0	0
Feb	0	0
Mar	0	28
April	0	0
May	0	0
Jun	0	0
Jul	0	57
Aug	0	0
Sep	0	0

May	32							GAP	
	33	13	0	0	0	0	3		John de Ramsey
	34	13	0	0	0	0	3		"
	35	12	0	0	0	0	3		"
Jun	36							GAP	"
	37	6	1	0	0	0	2		"
	38	6	1	0	0	0	2		"
	39	6	1	0	0	0	2		"
	40	6	0	0	1	0	2		"
Jul	41	6	0	0	1	1	2		"
	42	6	0	0	1	0	3		"
	43	7	0	0	1	0	3		"
	44	7	0	0	1	1	3		"
Aug	45	7	0	0	1	0	4		"
	46	6	0	0	1	0	3		"
	47	5	0	0	1	0	3		"
	48	5	0	0	1	0	3		"
Sep	49	5	0	0	1	0	2		"
	50	6	0	0	0	0	1		"
	51	6	0	0	1	0	2		"
	52	6	0	0	0	0	2		"

H.G.1 - Stone Usage 30th Sept 1342-22nd Sept 1343



H.G.2 - Craftsmen 30th Sept 1342-22nd Sept 1343



I.T.1 - Building Materials 1343-44		E101/469/6						
		Wood			Metal		Tiles	
		Beech	Oak		Lead	Iron		
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Laths (Walls, pentice)	Small "Formula "	Hertlaths (stable)	Small pieces	Pikis	Tiles (Stable)	
Sept (30th)	1	300			2			
Oct	2							GAP
	3					3		
	4							GAP
	5							GAP
Nov	6							GAP
	7							GAP
	8							GAP
	9							GAP
Dec	10							GAP
	11							GAP
	12							GAP
	13							GAP
	14							GAP
Jan	15		1					
	16							GAP
	17							GAP
	18							GAP
Feb	19							GAP
	20							GAP
	21							GAP
	22							GAP
Mar	23							GAP
	24							GAP
	25							GAP
	26							GAP
Apr	27							GAP
	28							GAP
	29							GAP
	30							GAP
	31							GAP
Jun	32							GAP
	33							GAP
	34							GAP
	35							GAP
Jul	36							GAP
	37							GAP
	38							GAP
	39							GAP
	40							GAP
Aug	41							
	42							GAP
	43							GAP
	44							GAP
	45							GAP
Sept	46							GAP
	47							GAP
	48							GAP
	49							
Oct	50							
	51							
	52							
	53							
Nov	54			500			2000	
	55							
	56							
	57							
Dec	58							
	59							
	60							
	61							

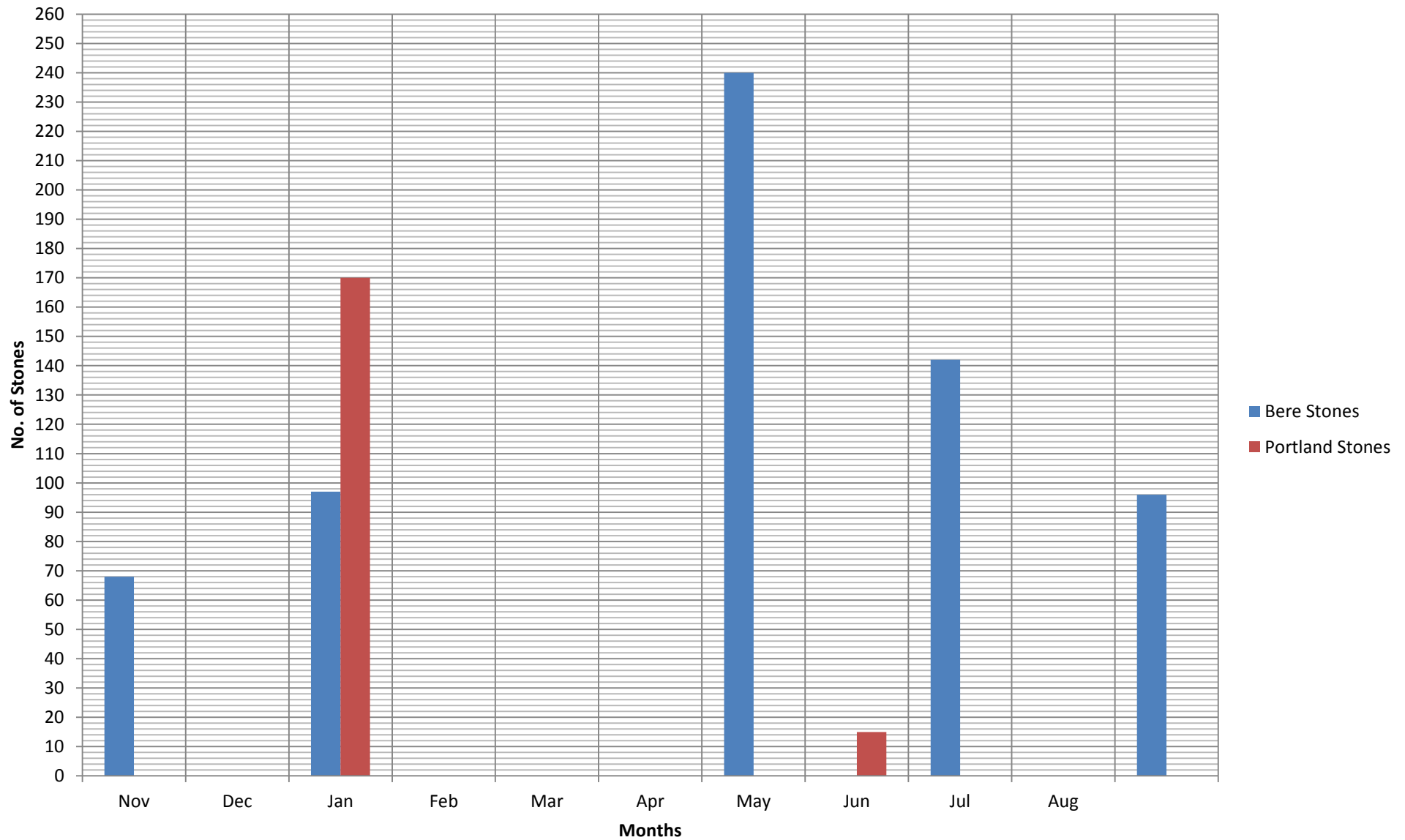
I.T.2 - Craftsmen 1343-44									
Month	Week (starting May 27th)	Mason	Carpenter	Sawyer	Tilers	Torchiator	Porters		Apparalliator
Sept (30th)	1						2		
Oct	2							GAP	
	3							GAP	
	4							GAP	
	5							GAP	
Nov	6							GAP	
	7							GAP	
	8							GAP	
	9							GAP	
Dec	10							GAP	
	11							GAP	
	12							GAP	
	13							GAP	
	14							GAP	
Jan	15							GAP	
	16							GAP	
	17							GAP	
	18							GAP	
Feb	19							GAP	
	20							GAP	
	21							GAP	
	22							GAP	
Mar	23							GAP	
	24							GAP	
	25							GAP	
	26							GAP	
Apr	27							GAP	
	28							GAP	
	29							GAP	
	30							GAP	
	31							GAP	
Jun	32							GAP	
	33							GAP	
	34							GAP	
	35							GAP	
Jul	36							GAP	
	37							GAP	
	38							GAP	
	39							GAP	
	40							GAP	
Aug	41							GAP	
	42							GAP	
	43							GAP	
	44							GAP	
	45							GAP	
Sept	46							GAP	
	47							GAP	
	48							GAP	
	49	7 ?					2		John de Ramsey
Oct	50	5	1						"
	51	6					?		"
	52	4?					2		"
	53	7	5	1			3		"
Nov	54	?	3		2		?		"
	55	4 ?				?			"
	56	?	?				3		"
	57	?					?		"
Dec	58	7 ?					3		"
	59	?					?		"
	60	?					3		"
	61	?					?		"

J.T.1 - Building Materials 1347-48		E101/470/18																					
		Stone					Wood													Tiles			
Month	Weeks	Bere Stones	Portland Stones	Reigate Cartloads	Caen Cartloads	Rag Boatloads	Estrich' boards (celura/vousura)	boards (capella)	boards (galliee)	ryngold/riigel boards (molds)	boards	Holshete Great Pieces	Alder Logges (scaff)	Oak Laths (nove domus next to mason's lodge)	wood Plaunchboards	Plaunchboards (la floar supra celuram)	Laths	Great Pieces	Timbers	Tiles	Holtyl	Flaundr' (diverse camerae)	
Oct (15th)	1	68					100																
	2																						
	3																						
Nov	4									12													
	5														18								
	6																						
	7							500			100		3	25									
Dec	8																						
	9																						
	10	97	170																				
	11																						
	12																						
Jan	13																						
	14																						
	15																						
	16																						
Feb	17																						
	18																						
	19																						
	20																						
Mar	21			280			200																
	22																						
	23																						
	24																60						
	25						90																
Apr	26																						
	27	120				204																	
	28																						
	29	120																					
May	30		15				100			8			100		105		26						
	31																						
	32															32							
	33													50									
Jun	34														1000								
	35																						
	36			408			200						50				500			500	25		500
	37																						
	38	142				2	100																
Jul	39																						
	40									100													
	41												25						2				
	42									100												23	
Aug	43	96		600													500				29		

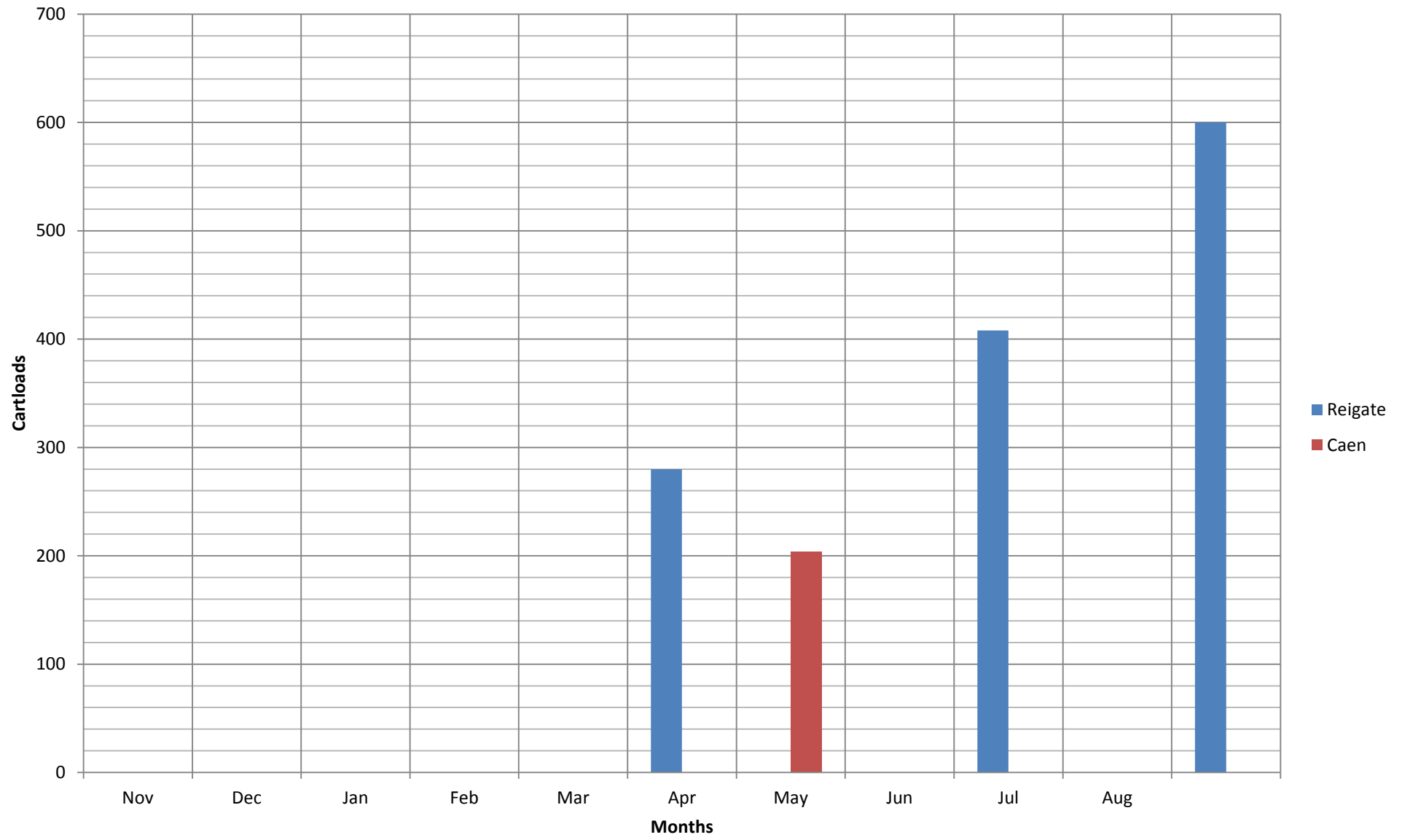
Building Materials 1347-48		E101/470/18																					
		Stone					Wood													Tiles			
Month	Weeks	Bere Stones	Portland Stones	Reigate Cartloads	Caen Cartloads	Rag Boatloads	Estrich' boards (celura/vousura)	boards (capella)	boards (galliee)	ryngold/riigel boards (molds)	boards	Holshete Great Pieces	Alder Logges (scaff)	Oak Laths (nove domus next to mason's lodge)	wood Plaunchboards	Plaunchboards (la floar supra celuram)	Laths	Great Pieces	Timbers	Tiles	Holtyl	Flaundr' (diverse camerae)	
Oct (15th)		68					100			12													
Nov								500			100	3	25		18								
Dec		97	170																				
Jan																							
Feb																							
Mar				280			290																
Apr		240			204																		
May			15				100			8			150		137		26						
Jun		142		408		2	300						50	1000			500				500	25	500
Jul									200				25										
Aug		96		600													500				29		

J.T.2 Craftspeople 1347-48			E101/470/18												
Month	Weeks	Masons	Porters	Carpenters	Apprentice Carpenters	Sawyers	<i>famuli</i>	Scaffolder	Porters	Porters sawing stone	<i>Plumbarius</i>	Tiler	<i>Latherius</i>	Daubers	
Oct (15th)	1	47	7	16		2		1	30						
	2	57	1	24		1	0	0							
	3	67	1	20		1	1	1	33						
Nov	4	41	0	23		0	0	1	27						
	5	31	0	19			2	0	23						
	6	32	1	19			2	1	22						
	7	28	0	19			0	1	18						
Dec	8	27		17			2	1	21						
	9	26		17			2	0	1	21					
	10	26		29			2	2	1	16					
	11	0		0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	26		23				1	17						
Jan	13	26	0	23				1	25						
	14	26	1	26				1	19						
	15	28	1	16		0		1	19	4					
	16	28	1	15		2		1	7						
Feb	17	26	0	17			2	1	13						
	18	26		13			0	1	15						
	19	26	0	17			2	1	15						
	20	30	1	17			0	1	19						
Mar	21	30	0	12			2	0	0						
	22	18	2	7			2		15						
	23	28	1	17			2	1	12						
	24	28	0	18			4	0	12						
	25	28		18			4		11						
Apr	26	26		22			4		11						
	27	23		22			0		11						
	28	0		0			0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	29	28		18			2		11						
May	30	36		22			3		13						
	31	40	0	22			2	0	3	2					
	32	42	1	23			4	1	16		2				
	33	45	1	26			2	0	17		2				
Jun	34	59	1	26			2	1	18				2		
	35														GAP
	36	50	1	23			2	1	20						
	37	57	1	23			2	1	18		1	1		3	
	38	58	1	23			4	1	20			1			
Jul	39	57	1	21			2	1	17						
	40	51	0	21			2	1	18		1				
	41	51	1	21			2	1	18		1				
	42	51	1	21			2	1	18		1				
Aug	43	51	1	21			2	1	17						

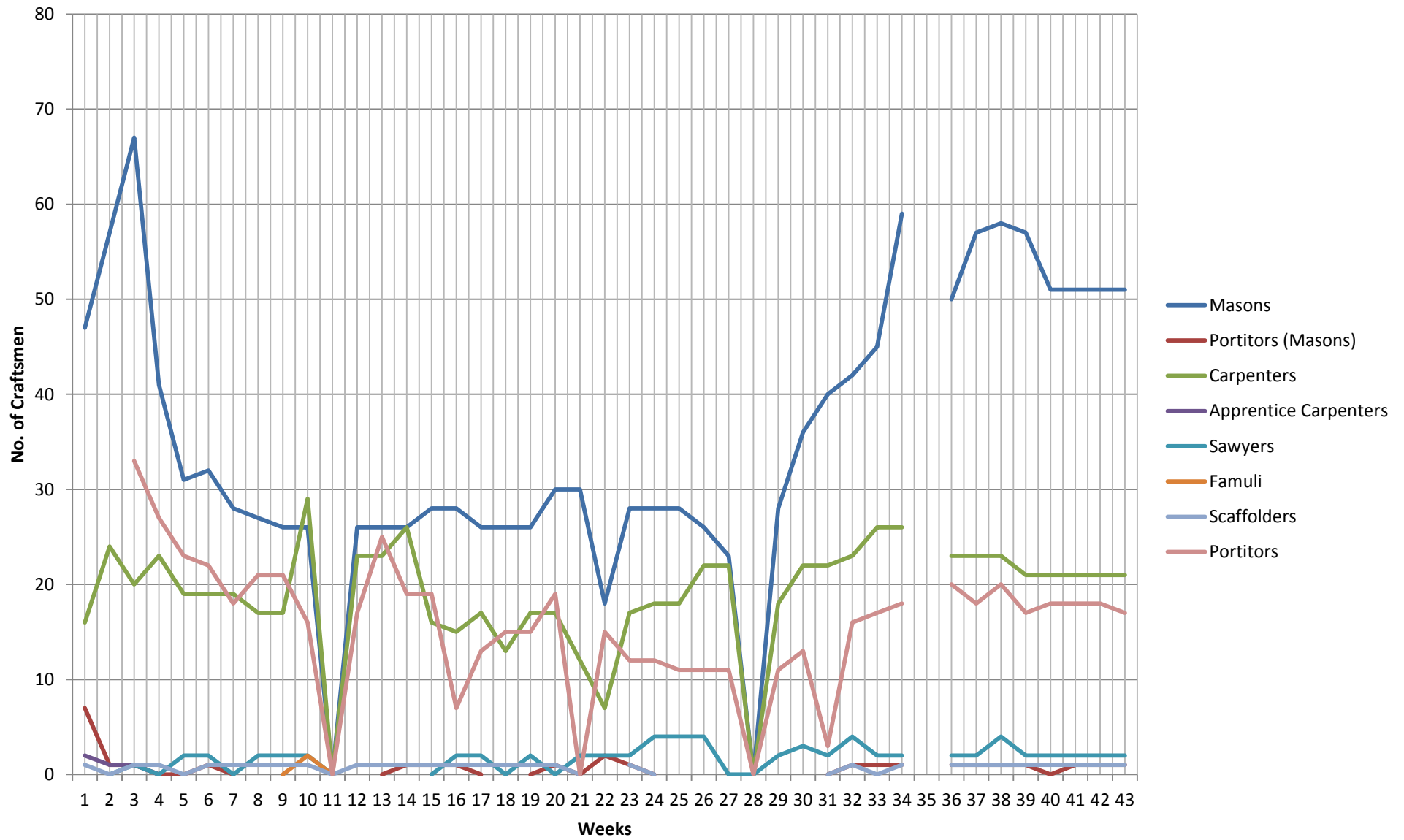
J.G.1 - Stone Usage (Whole Stones) 15th October 1347-4th August 1348



J.G.2 - Stone Usage (Cartloads) 15th October 1347-4th August 1348



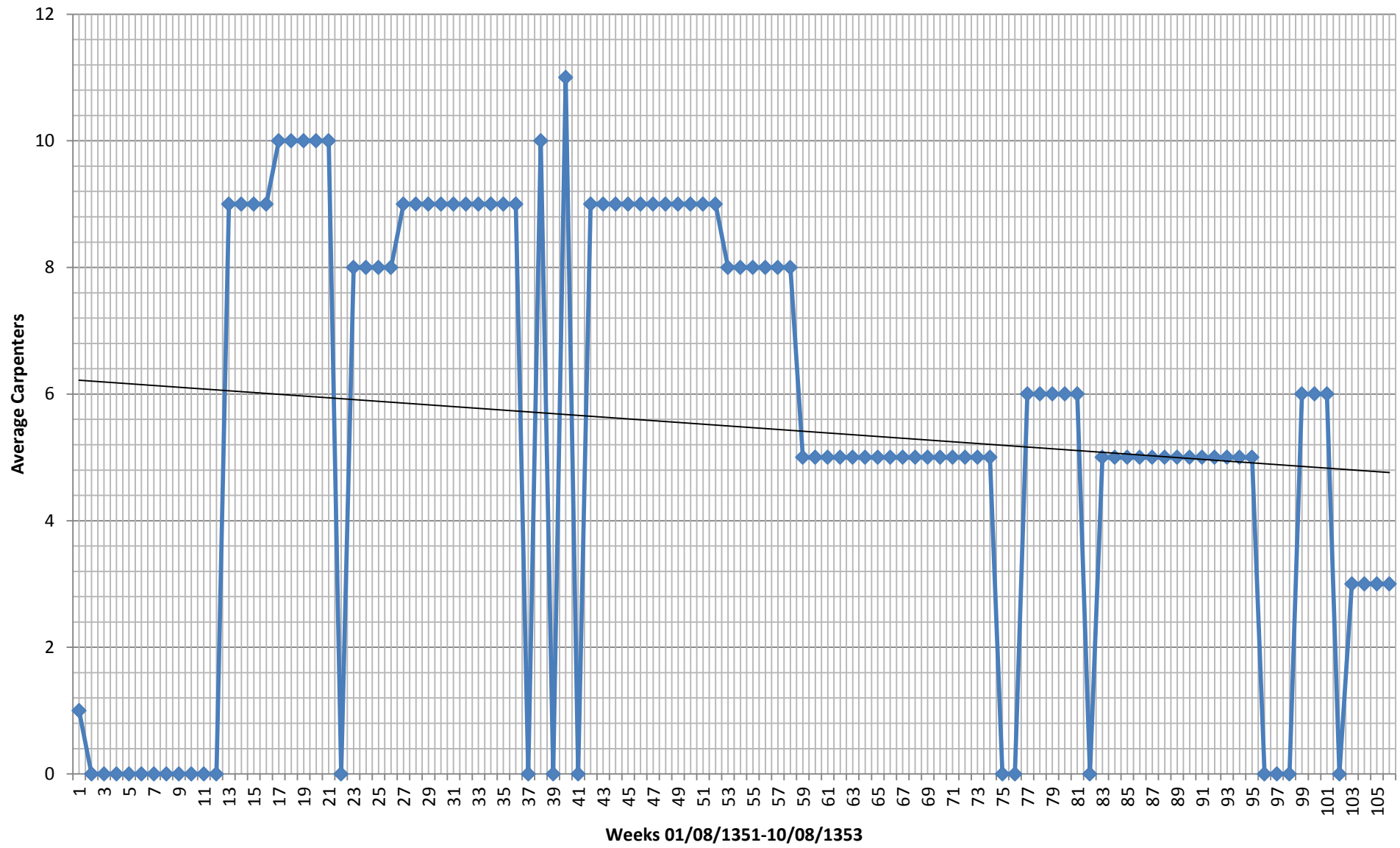
J.G.3 - Craftspeople 15th October 1347-4th August 1348



K.T.1 - Carpenters 1351-52		E101/471/5		
Week starting	Total Carpenters at Week Start	Weeks	Weekly Average	
01/08/51	1	1	1	
08/08/51	11	2	11	
15/08/51	6	3	6	
22/08/51	9	4	9	
29/08/51	8	5	8	
05/09/51	10	6	10	
12/09/51	10	7	10	
19/09/51	10	8	10	
26/09/51	10	9	10	
03/10/51	10	10	10	
10/10/51	9	11	9	
17/10/51	9	12	9	
24/10/51	9	13	9	
31/10/51	9	14	9	
07/11/51	9	15	9	
14/11/51	9	16	9	
21/11/51	10	17	10	
28/11/51	10	18	10	
05/12/51	10	19	10	
12/12/51	10	20	10	
19/12/51	10	21	10	
26/12/51	10	22	9.428571429	
02/01/52	8	23	8	
09/01/52	8	24	8	
16/01/52	8	25	8	
23/01/52	8	26	8	
30/01/52	9	27	9	
06/02/52	9	28	9	
13/02/52	9	29	9	
20/02/52	9	30	9	
27/02/52	9	31	9	
05/03/52	9	32	9	
12/03/52	9	33	9	
19/03/52	9	34	9	
26/03/52	9	35	9	
02/04/52	9	36	9	
09/04/52	9	37	9.857142857	
16/04/52	10	38	10	
23/04/52	10	39	10.85714286	
30/04/52	11	40	11	
07/05/52	11	41	9.285714286	
14/05/52	9	42	9	
21/05/52	9	43	9	
28/05/52	9	44	9	
04/06/52	9	45	9	
11/06/52	9	46	9	
18/06/52	9	47	9	
25/06/52	9	48	9	
02/07/52	9	49	9	
09/07/52	9	50	9	
16/07/52	9	51	9	
23/07/52	9	52	9	
30/07/52	8	53	8	
06/08/52	8	54	8	
13/08/52	8	55	8	
20/08/52	8	56	8	
27/08/52	8	57	8	
03/09/52	8	58	8	
10/09/52	5	59	5	
17/09/52	5	60	5	
24/09/52	5	61	5	
01/10/52	5	62	5	
08/10/52	5	63	5	
15/10/52	5	64	5	
22/10/52	5	65	5	
29/10/52	5	66	5	
05/11/52	5	67	5	
12/11/52	5	68	5	
19/11/52	5	69	5	

26/11/52	5	70	5
03/12/52	5	71	5
10/12/52	5	72	5
17/12/52	5	73	5
24/12/52	5	74	5
31/12/52	5	75	1.428571429
07/01/53	0	76	4.285714286
14/01/53	6	77	6
21/01/53	6	78	6
28/01/53	6	79	6
04/02/53	6	80	6
11/02/53	6	81	6
18/02/53	6	82	5.714285714
25/02/53	5	83	5
04/03/53	5	84	5
11/03/53	5	85	5
18/03/53	5	86	5
25/03/53	5	87	5
01/04/53	5	88	5
08/04/53	5	89	5
15/04/53	5	90	5
22/04/53	5	91	5
29/04/53	5	92	5
06/05/53	5	93	5
13/05/53	5	94	5
20/05/53	5	95	5
27/05/53	5	96	2.142857143
03/06/53	0	97	0
10/06/53	0	98	4.285714286
17/06/53	6	99	6
24/06/53	6	100	6
01/07/53	6	101	6
08/07/53	6	102	3.857142857
15/07/53	3	103	3
22/07/53	3	104	3
29/07/53	3	105	3
05/08/53	3	106	3

K.G.1 - Average Carpenters Employed per Week (varying no. of working days)



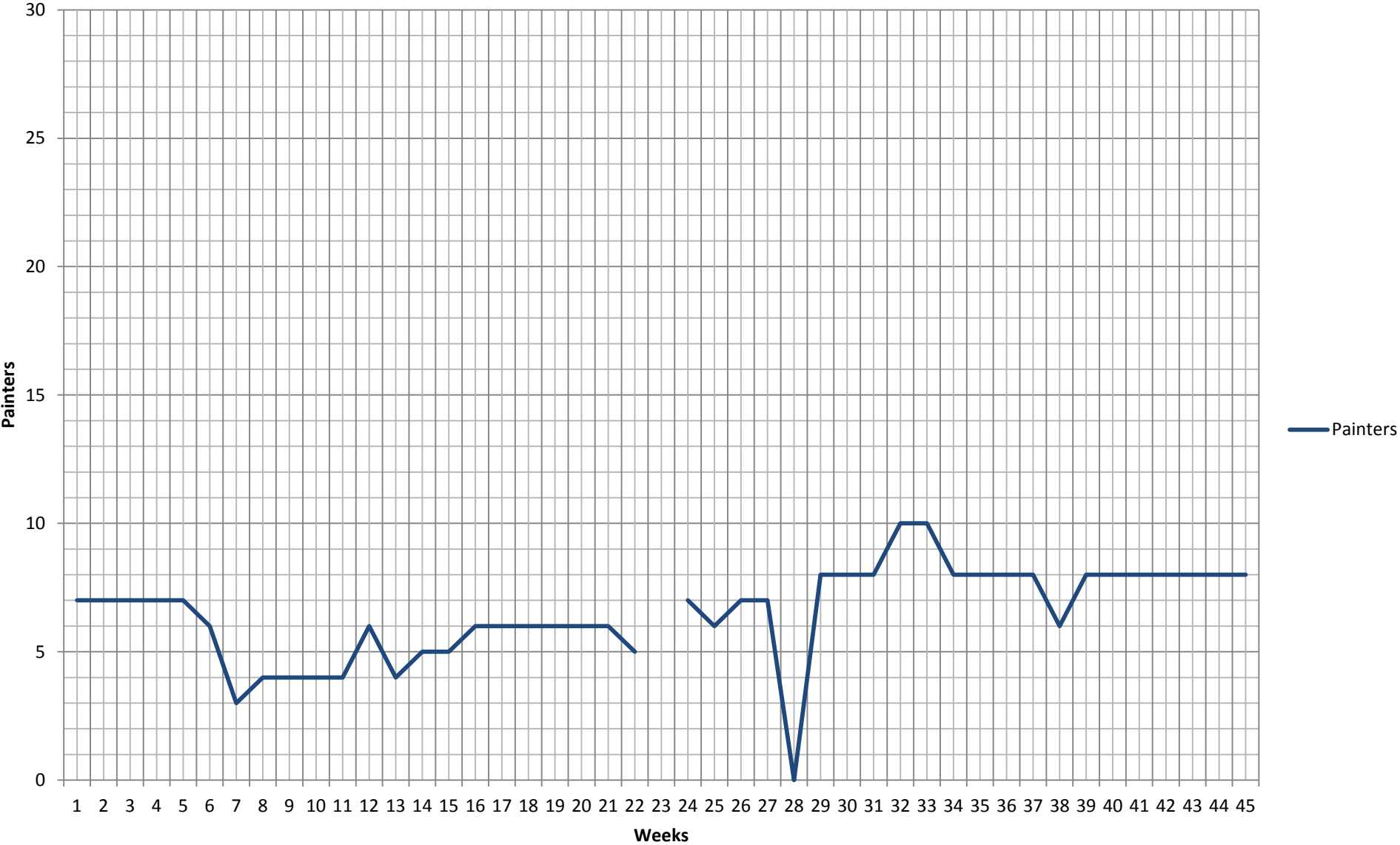
L.T.4.a - Craftspeople 1351-52		E101/471/6											Glass workers											Other										
		Painters											Master glaziers											Other										
Month	Weeks	Painter (tabularnata)	Painter (chapel)	Painter (tabernacles and walls)	Painter (angels and tabernacles)	Painter (prints et eas porrentibus)	Painter (scold)	Painter (molanti et temperant)	Master glaziers	Glass painters	Glass joiners	Colour Mixers (Glass)	Mixing Greet and arnmentum	Provisor	Scaffolders	Regulators	Boys (teal)	Carpenter	Sawyers	Labourers	Daubers	Latherius	Imaginer	Mason	Plumberius	Famulus (plumb)								
Jun (20th)	1	6						1	6	11	15																							
	2	7						1	6	12	14																							
	3	6						1	6	12	17																							
	4	6						1	7	12	15																							
	5	2						1	6	12	15																							
	6							1	6	12	17																							
	7	2						1	6	12	16																							
	8							1	6	12	18																							
	9							1	7	12	18																							
	10							1	7	12	18																							
	11							1	7	11	18																							
	12							2	7	4	18																							
	13							3	6	12	17																							
	14							3	7	12	15																							
	15							5	6	12	13																							
	16							5	6	11	16																							
	17							6	6	11	16																							
	18							6	6	11	16																							
	19							5	6	13	18																							
	20							5	6	13	17																							
	21							4	5	12	17																							
	22							4	4	12	16																							
	23							4	4	12	16																							
	24							3	4	12	16																							
	25							2	4	12	15																							
	26							3	4	12	16																							
	27							4	4	12	13																							
	28							0	0	0	0																							
	29							1	4	9	11																							
	30							1	3	4	8																							
	31							1	3	4	8																							
	32							1	3	4	9																							
	33							2	3	3	9																							
	34							2	3	2	9																							
	35							3	3	2	9																							
	36							3	3	2	9																							
	37							6	3	2	6																							
	38							3	3	2	6																							
	39							4	4																									
	40							4	4																									
	41							3	12	4																								
	42							3	4																									
	43							2	3																									
	44							11	4																									
	45							3	5																									
	46							4	4																									
	47							11	5																									
	48							12	5																									
	49							5	7																									
	50							3	1																									
	51							4	3																									
	52							4	4																									
	53							6																										
	54							4																										
	55							5																										
	56							6																										
	57							5																										
	58							3																										
	59							4																										
	60							10																										
	61							5																										
	62							23																										
	63							8																										
	64							6																										
	65							9																										
	66							5																										
	67							4																										

L.T.4.b 25th August - 20th Sept 1351		E101/471/9																																
Craftspeople		Painters											Glass workers											Other										
Month	Week	Painter (tabularnata)	Painter (chapel)	Painter (tabernacles and walls)	Painter (angels and tabernacles)	Painter (prints et eas porrentibus)	Painter (scold)	Painter (molanti et temperant)	Master glaziers	Glass painters	Glass joiners	Colour Mixers (Glass)	Mixing Greet and arnmentum	Provisor	Scaffolders																			
Oct	19	4							2						1																			

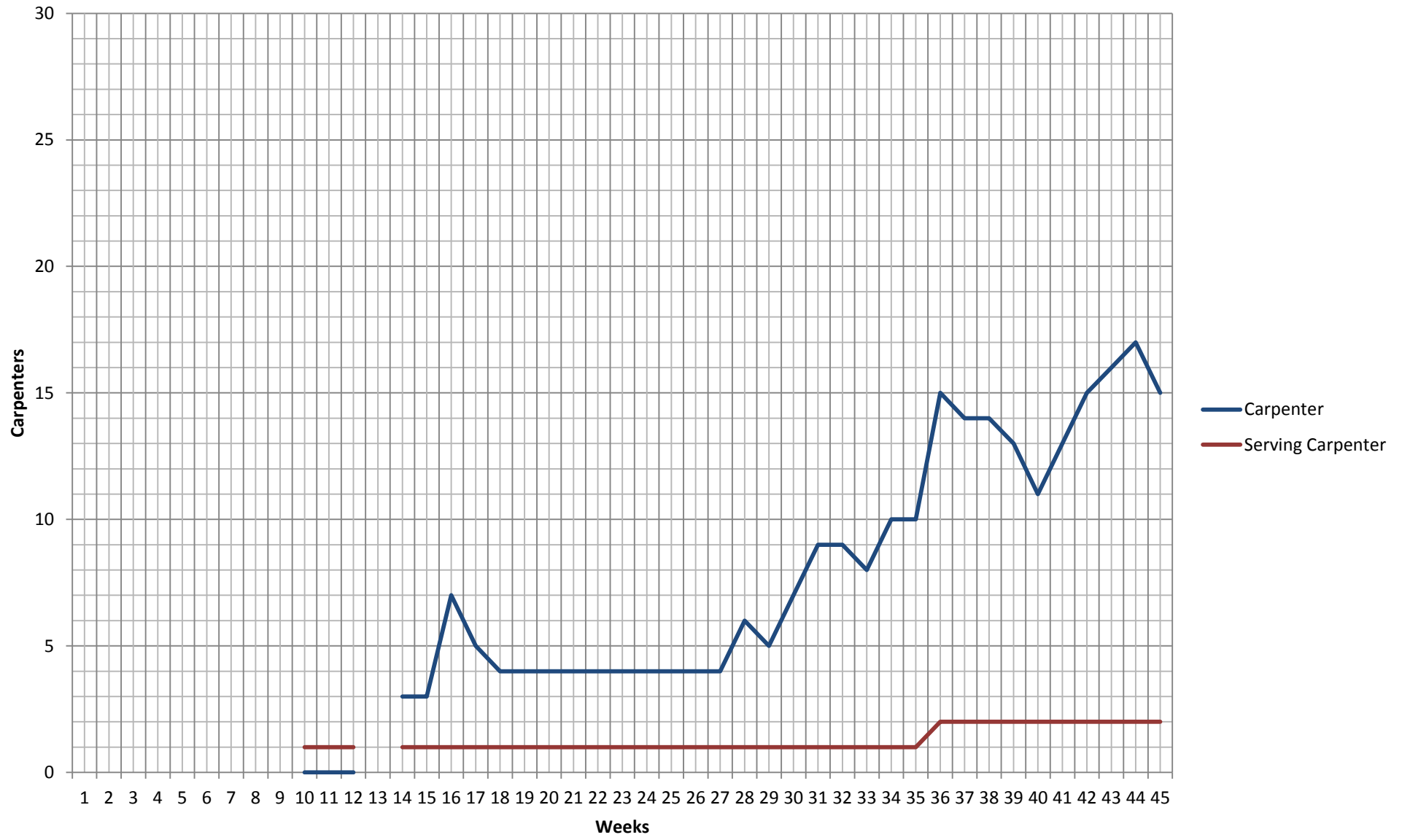
20th August 1353-25th August 1354		E101/471/1											Westminster and the Tower																					
CARPENTERS		Diverse operations of the king under william Herland											PAINTERS											Masons										
(REG)	(REG)	(REG)	On the Warf	On the Warf	TOTAL	TOTAL (Warf)	(Master)	(Regular)	(Regular)	(Regular)	(Mixing Colours)	(Mixing Colours)	Prints	Super consilbus	TOTAL	(Apost)	(Under Master John Boy)	(Regular)	(Regular)	(Regular)	(Regular)	(In Warf)	TOTAL											
25/08/53					0	0									0									0										
26/08/53					0	0									0									0										
27/08/53					0	0									0									0										
28/08/53					0	0									0									0										
29/08/53					0	0									0									0										
30/08/53					0	0									0									0										
31/08/53					0	0									0									0										
01/09/53					0	0									0									0										
02/09/53					0	0									0									0										
03/09/53					0	0									0									0										
04/09/53					0	0									0									0										
05/09/53					0	0									0									0										
06/09/53					0	0									0									0										
07/09/53					0	0									0									0										
08/09/53					0	0									0									0										
09/09/53					0	0									0									0										
10/09/53					0	0									0									0										
11/09/53					0	0									0									0										
12/09/53					0	0									0									0										
13/09/53					0	0									0									0										
14/09/53					0	0									0									0										
15/09/53					0	0									0									0										
16/09/53					0	0									0									0										
17/09/53					0	0									0	</																		

M.T.2 - Craftspeople 1355		E101/471/15,16															
		Painters	Glass workers	Other													
Month	Weeks	Painter (chapel)	Glass painters	Provisor	Scaffolders	Labourers	Mason	Positores	Plumbarius	Latherius	Tiler	Carpenter	Serving Carpenter	Ymaginator	Carpenters (mason's lodge)	Sawyers (mason's lodge)	Daubers (lodge)
Jul (27th)	1	7	1?		1	36	9										
Aug	2	7	1?	1	1	35	9										
	3	7	1?	1	1	29	9										
	4	7	1?	1	1		9										
	5	7	1?	1	1	29	9										
	6	6	1?	1	1	29	9										
Sep	7	3	1?		1	35	9										
	8	4	1?	1	1	36	9										
	9	4	?	1	1	1	9		1	1							
CHANGE	10	4	1?		1	37	14					1?		1			
Oct	11	4		3	1	1	37	14				?		1			
	12	6		2	1	1	37	1?				?		1			
	13	4		2		1	45	15									
	14	5		2	1	1?		15					3	1			
Nov	15	5		2	1	1	37	15					3	1			
	16	6		2	1	1	37	15					7	1			
	17	6		2	1	1	34	17					5	1			
	18	6		2	1	1	37	20					1	1			
	19	6		2	1	1	30	21			1	1	4	1			
Dec	20	6		2	1	1	32	21			1	1	4	1			
	21	6		2	1	1	30	21					4	1			
	22	5		2	1	1	30	16	8				4	1			
	23				1		1?						4	1			
Jan	24	7		2	1		25	19	8				4	1			
	25	6		2	1	1	25	19					4	1			
	26	7		2	1	1	1	19					4	1	1		
	27	7		2	1	1	1	21					4	1	1		4
Feb	28	6?			1	1	26	21					6	1			
	29	8		2	1	1	28	22					5	1	1		
	30	8			1	1	39	13	13				7	1		3	2
	31	8		2	1	1	37	14	14				9	1		18	2
	32	10		2	1	1	45	15	12			1	9	1		21	
Mar	33	10		2	1	1	48	13	10			1	8	1	1	1?	
	34	8		2	1	1	31	16			1		10	1	1		18
	35	8		2	1	1	37	19					10	1	1	1?	
	36	8		2	1	1	38	19					15	2	1	1?	2
Apr	37	8		2	1	1	39	21	17				14	2	1	5?	2
	38	6		2	1	1	34	22					14	2	1	1?	
	39	8		2	1	1	29	23					13	2	1		18
	40	8		2	1	1	28	19	13				11	2	1	1?	2
May	41	8		2	1	1	31	20	13				13	2	1	1?	
	42	8		2	1	1	33	17					15	2		1?	
	43	8		2	1	1	25	19					16	2		1?	
	44	8		2	1	1	24	18					17	2		1?	
	45	8		2	1	1	25	20					15	2	1		

M.G.1 - Painters



M.G.2 - Carpenters



N.T.1 - Craftspeople 1357-58	E101/472/4										
	TOTAL Talliatores	Painters (arranged by contract)					TOTAL Painters	Scaffator	William Brence, keeper of the carpenters' tools	Provisor	
05/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
06/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
07/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
08/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
09/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
10/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
11/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
12/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
13/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
14/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
15/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
16/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
17/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
18/06/57	11		1				1	1		1	1
19/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
20/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
21/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
22/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
23/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
24/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
25/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
26/06/57	13		1				1	1		1	1
27/06/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
28/06/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
29/06/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
30/06/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
01/07/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
02/07/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
03/07/57	13	1	1				2	1		1	1
04/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
05/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
06/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
07/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
08/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
09/07/57	12	1	1				2	1		1	1
10/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
11/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
12/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
13/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
14/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
15/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
16/07/57	12	1	1			1	3	1		1	1
17/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
18/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
19/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
20/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
21/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
22/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
23/07/57	12	1				1	2	1		1	1
24/07/57	16	1				1	2	1		1	1
25/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
26/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
27/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
28/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
29/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
30/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
31/07/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
01/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
02/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
03/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
04/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
05/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
06/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
07/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
08/08/57	14	1				1	2	1		1	1
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10/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
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14/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
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16/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
17/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
18/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
19/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
20/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
21/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
22/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
23/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
24/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
25/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
26/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
27/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1
28/08/57	14					1	1	1		1	1

29/08/57	14				1	1	1	1	1
30/08/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
31/08/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
01/09/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
02/09/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
03/09/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
04/09/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
05/09/57	13				1	1	1	1	1
06/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
07/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
08/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
09/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
10/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
11/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
12/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
13/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
14/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
15/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
16/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
17/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
18/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
19/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
20/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
21/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
22/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
23/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
24/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
25/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
26/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
27/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
28/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
29/09/57	11				1	1	1	1	1
30/09/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
01/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
02/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
03/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
04/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
05/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
06/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
07/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
08/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
09/10/57	10				1	1	1	1	1
10/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
11/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
12/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
13/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
14/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
15/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
16/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
17/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
18/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
19/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
20/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
21/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
22/10/57	6				1	1	1	1	1
23/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
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25/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
26/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
27/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
28/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
29/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
30/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
31/10/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
01/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
02/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
03/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
04/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
05/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
06/11/57	10	2			1	3	1	1	1
07/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
08/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
09/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
10/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
11/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
12/11/57	5	2			1	3	1	1	1
13/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
14/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
15/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
16/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
17/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
18/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
19/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
20/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
21/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
22/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1
23/11/57	6	2			1	3	1	1	1

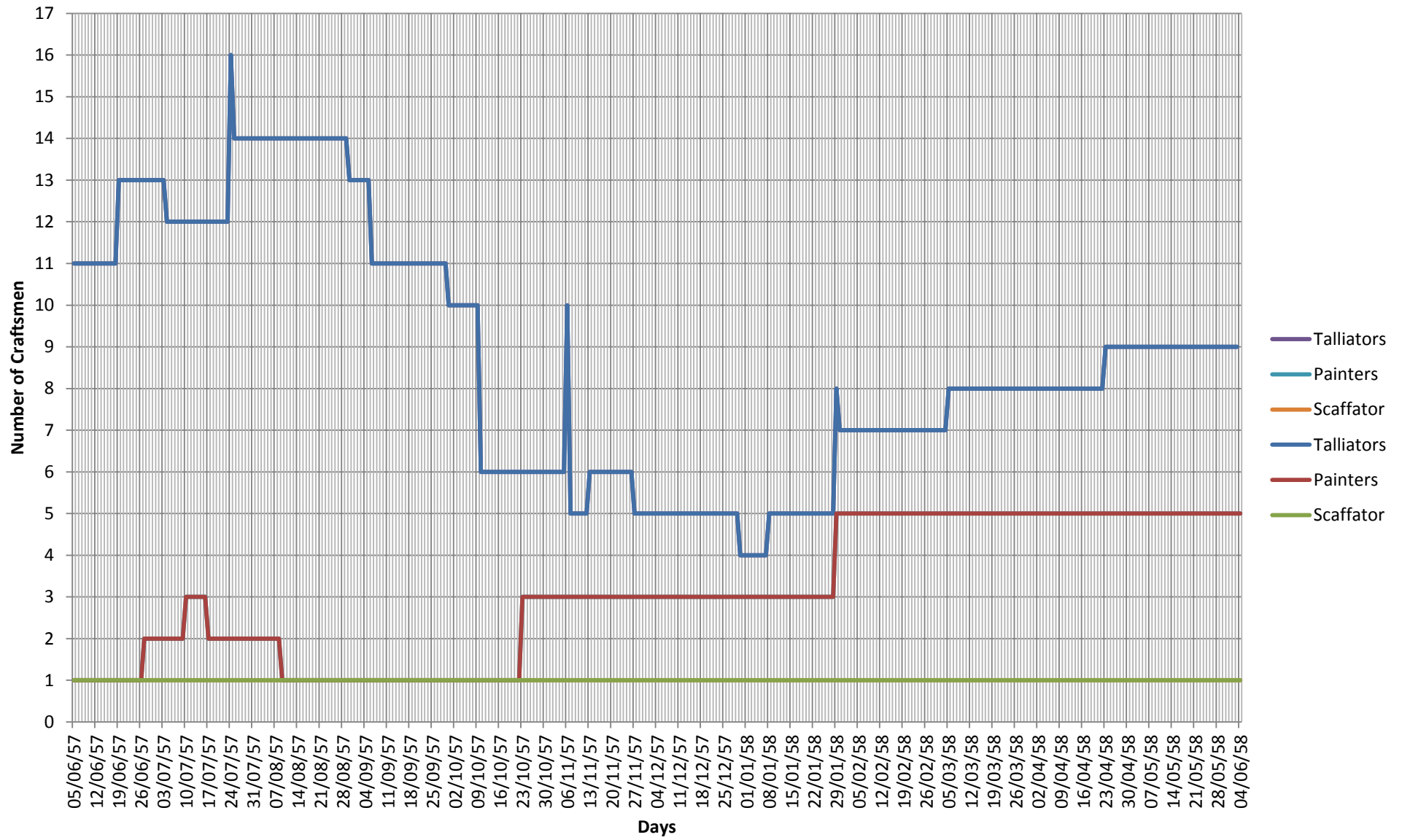
24/11/57	6	2				1	3	1		1	1
25/11/57	6	2				1	3	1		1	1
26/11/57	6	2				1	3	1		1	1
27/11/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
28/11/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
29/11/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
30/11/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
01/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
02/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
03/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
04/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
05/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
06/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
07/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
08/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
09/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
10/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
11/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
12/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
13/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
14/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
15/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
16/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
17/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
18/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
19/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
20/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
21/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
22/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
23/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
24/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
25/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
26/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
27/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
28/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
29/12/57	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
30/12/57	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
31/12/57	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
01/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
02/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
03/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
04/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
05/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
06/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
07/01/58	4	2				1	3	1		1	1
08/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
09/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
10/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
11/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
12/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
13/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
14/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
15/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
16/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
17/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
18/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
19/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
20/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
21/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
22/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
23/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
24/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
25/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
26/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
27/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
28/01/58	5	2				1	3	1		1	1
29/01/58	8	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
30/01/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
31/01/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
01/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
02/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
03/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
04/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
05/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
06/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
07/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
08/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
09/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
10/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
11/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
12/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
13/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
14/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
15/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
16/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
17/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1
18/02/58	7	1	1	1	1	1	5	1		1	1

17/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
18/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
19/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
20/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
21/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
22/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
23/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
24/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
25/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
26/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
27/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
28/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
29/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
30/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
31/05/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
01/06/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
02/06/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
03/06/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1
04/06/58	9	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1

N.T.2 - Building Materials 1357-58				
Wood	Wood	Pieces (stalls)	44	From Christchurch
		Pieces for timbers (house of the deacons)	24	From Baynardescastel
		Pieces (<i>trabibus ad predictos tignos</i>)	12	From Baynardescastel
		Traunsen (stalls)	10	
		Sprigg (stalls)	10000	
		Scaffoldloggs (scaffold)	275	From Wood Street
Metal	Tin	Ferramenta (<i>ymagina sancti Stephani</i>)	1	
		Foils (painting)	12	
	Iron	<i>ridellae (capella beate Marie)</i>	2	
	Gold	Foils (<i>pictura capella</i>)	2300	
Painting	Oil	<i>lagena</i>	4	
Pigment	sinopre	lb.	0.75	
	Vermilion	lb.	1.5	
	Verdigris	lb.	2	
	White Lead	lb.	6	

Task Work				
Images	Wood	(Stalls)	11	William Patrington

N.G.1 - Craftspeople



Appendix IV – Biographical Tables

A list of dates of references to craftsmen by name in financial accounts, selected for their significance to arguments contained in the above thesis.

A) Henry III's Reign (1207-1272)

A.1) John of Gloucester

Offices and gifts:

Receiving a robe from the king:

[1253 (CCR 1251-53, 204, 366); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 91); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 177); 1259 (1256-59, 429)]

Wife receiving a robe from the king:

[1255 (CCR 1254-56, 91); 1256 (CCR 1256-59, 13); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 54, 159, 163)]

Receiving gifts from the king:

[1253 (CLR 1251-60, 109); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 147); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 278, 314, 352)]

Appointed to view the defects of castles and buildings this side of Trent:

[1257 (CLR 1251-60, 350)]

Advising on works:

Advising on works at Guildford:

[1255 (CCR 1254-56, 26); 1256 (CLR 1251-60, 342)]

Advising on works at Havering:

[1255 (CCR 1254-56, 35); 1256 (CLR 1251-60, 278, 335)]

Appointed to see and advise on all the king's works:

[1256 (CCR 1256-59, 11)]

Advising on works at Windsor:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 271)]

Advising on works at Oxford:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 275)]

Advising on works at Gloucester:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 284)]

Advising on works at Portchester:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 310); 1260 (CLR 1251-60, 533)]

Advising on works at the Tower of London:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 332)]

Advising on the works at Woodstock:

[1259 (CLR 1251-60, 464)]

Works:

Works at Woodstock:

[1252 (CLR 1251-60, 28); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 362-63, 388); 1258 (CCR 1256-59, 144; CLR 1251-60, 419, 427, 444)]

Works at Westminster:

[1255 (CCR 1254-56, 77-78, 87); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 366, 377; CLR 1251-60, 488); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 29; CLR 1251-60, 507)]

Works at the Tower of London:

[1255 (CLR 1251-60, 256); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 301; CLR 1251-60, 291); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 406); 1258 (CLR 1251-60, 428)]

Works at St Martin's London:

[1256 (CCR 1254-56, 314); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 11); 1258 (CCR 1256-59, 199); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 370, 385)]

Works at Blackfriars London:

[1256 (CCR 1254-56, 366); 1259 (CCR 1259-61, 10); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 244)]

Works at Windsor Castle:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 268); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 69-70; CLR 1251-60, 363, 382-64); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 362, 445)]

Works at Guildford:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 305); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 375, 410)]

Works at Gloucester:

[1256 (CLR 1251-60, 313); 1259 (CLR 1251-60, 480)]

Works at Merton:

[1257 (CCR 1256-59, 168)]

Works at Salisbury Castle:

[1257 (CLR 1251-60, 374)]

Works at Fekham:

[1257 (CLR 1251-60, 395)]

Works at Oxford:

[1258 (CLR 1251-60, 422)]

Works at St Paul's, London:

[1260 (CCR 1259-61, 65)]

Other works:

[1256 (CCR 1254-56, 337); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 81, 163); 1258 (CLR 1251-60, 419) 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 388); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 28)]

Other:

[1254 (CLR 1251-60, 176); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 428)]

A.2) *Odo the Goldsmith*

Offices and gifts:

Received gifts from the king:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1235 (CCR 1234-37, 133)]

Works

Works at Westminster Palace:

Total: 31 (Close Rolls 6; Liberate Rolls 25)

[1226 (CLR 1226-40, 1); 1227 (CLR 1226-40, 17, 23, 28, 45, 56, 59); 1228 (CLR 1226-40, 67, 73, 77, 81, 86, 93, 103); 1229 (CLR 1226-40, 120); 1232 (CCR 1231-34, 90), 1233 (CCR 1231-34, 200; CLR 1226-40, 196, 199, 202, 208, 216, 223, 235); 1234 (CCR 1231-34, 530); 1235 (CCR 1234-37, 69, 81); 1236 (CCR 1234-37, 245; CLR 1226-40, 248); 1237 (CLR 1226-40, 262); 1239 (CLR 1226-40, 393¹)]

Images at Westminster Palace:

Total: 1 (Liberate Rolls 1)

[1237 (CLR 1226-40, 283)]

Works at St Stephen's Chapel:

Total: 1 (Liberate Rolls 1)

[1227 (CLR 1226-40, 38)]

Works at Holy Trinity, Canterbury:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1233 (CCR 1231-34, 205)]

Images

Total: 1 [1237 (CCR 1234-37, 484)]

¹ With Edward of Westminster.

Other:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 1; Liberate Rolls 2)

[1227 (CLR 1226-40, 60); 1237 (CCR 1234-37, 440); 1238 (CLR 1226-40, 313²)]

Offerings:

Offerings to Edward the Confessor's Shrine:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 1, Liberate Rolls 2)

[1236 (CCR 1234-37, 309-10; CLR 1226-40, 243); 1239 (CLR 1226-40, 393³)]

Offerings:

Total: 2 (Liberate Rolls 2)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 366, 393⁴)]

Arranged by year:

1226 – Total: 1

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

1227 – Total: 7

Works at Westminster Palace: 6

Works at St Stephen's Chapel: 1

Other: 1

1228 – Total: 7

Works at Westminster Palace: 7

1229 – Total: 1

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

1232 – Total: 1

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

1233 – Total: 9

Works at Westminster Palace: 8

Works at Holy Trinity, Canterbury: 1

1234 – Total: 1

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

1235 – Total: 3

Works at Westminster Palace: 2

Received gifts from the king: 1

1236 – Total: 3

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

Offerings to Edward the Confessor's Shrine: 2

1237 – Total: 4

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

Images at Westminster Palace: 1

Images: 1

Other: 1

1238 – Total: 1

Other: 1

1239 – Total: 4

Works at Westminster Palace: 1

Offerings to Edward the Confessor's Shrine: 1

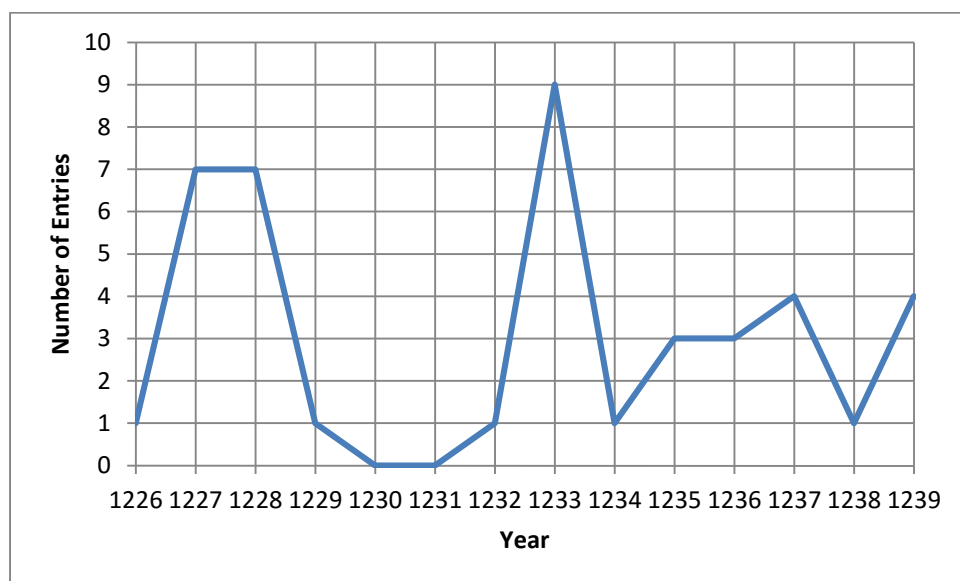
Offerings: 2

² With Edward of Westminster.

³ Working alongside Edward of Westminster.

⁴ Working alongside Edward of Westminster.

Graph A.2.1 - Number of Entries per year



A.3) Edward of Westminster, son of Odo the Goldsmith

Offices and Gifts:

Office of *fusor* in the Exchequer inherited:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 169)]

Given custody of the Exchequer Seal:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1248 (CCR 1247-51, 58)]

Given custody of the Exchequer Seal again after its release by Hugh Bigod and Walter de Merton:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1259 (CCR 1259-61, 13)]

Receiving gifts from the king:

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 3; Liberate Rolls 2)

[1244 (CCR 1242-47, 208); 1245 (CLR 1240-45, 307); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 175); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 319); 1263 (CLR 1267-72, 280)]

Works:

St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster:

Total: 11 (Close Rolls 8; Liberate Rolls 3)

[1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 478); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 272, 273, 279); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 287, 333, 448); 1247 (CCR 1247-51, 18); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 316); 1251 (CLR 1245-51, 338)]

St John's Chapel Westminster:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1247 (CCR 1247-51, 18)]

Works at Westminster (including Westminster Palace and **Abbey**):⁵

Total: 76 (Close Rolls 33; Liberate Rolls 43)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 376, 388-89, 399, 404-05); 1240 (CCR 1237-42, 179; CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 444, 449, 462, 477, 502; CLR 1240-45, 8); 1241 (CCR 1237-42, 305, 312; CLR 1240-45, 54, 83); 1242 (CLR 1240-45, 121); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 45, 142; CLR 1240-45, 206); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 160, 163, 167, 169, 173, 275);

⁵ It is often difficult to distinguish where works "at Westminster" were taking place. This category includes all descriptions of works "at Westminster" as well as more specific descriptions. Any entries referring explicitly to the Abbey are in red.

CLR 1240-45, 212, 239, 248); 1245 (CLR 1240-45, 325; CLR 1245-51, 10, 14, 15); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 395, 403; CLR 1245-51, 24, 32, 34, 46, 50, 102); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 82); 1249 (CCR 1247-51, 203, 245); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 307; CLR 1245-51, 274); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 409, 413, 461, 463, 473; CLR 1245-51, 349, 374); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 160, 280-81); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 338; CLR 1251-60, 111); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 280); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 157, 226; CLR 1251-60, 236); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 390; CLR 1251-60, 466, 470); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 80, 112; CLR 1251-60, 529, 530; CLR 1260-67, 6); 1261 (CCR 1259-61, 359, 435; CLR 1260-67, 27, 66, 86); 1262 (CCR 1261-64, 29; CLR 1260-67, 107); 1263 (CLR 1260-67, 120)]

Images at Westminster Palace:

Total: 8 (Close Rolls 2; Liberate Rolls 6)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 364, 393, 399, 404-05); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 444); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 19-20, 45); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 292)]

Works at Windsor Castle:

Total: 13 (Close Rolls 11; Liberate Rolls 2)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 172, 178, 254); 1242 (CCR 1237-42, 397); 1244 (CLR 1240-45, 245); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 70); 1249 (CCR 1247-51, 238); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 264, 326); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 447); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 160); 1253 (CLR 1251-60, 104); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 80)]

Works on the Tower of London:

Total: 7 (Close Rolls 4; Liberate Rolls 3)

[1249 (CLR 1245-51, 244); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 300; CLR 1245-51, 294); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 427); 1253 (CLR 1251-60, 112); 1261 (CCR 1259-61, 359); 1262 (CCR 1261-64, 29)]

Works at other king's residences:

Total: 6 (Close Rolls 5; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 253); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 435); 1249 (CCR 1247-51, 151); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 126; CLR 1251-60, 62); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 431)]

Works at religious institutions in London:

Total: 7 (Close Rolls 7)

[1256 (CCR 1254-56, 314, 444); 1259 (CCR 1259-61, 10); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 130); 1261 (CCR 1259-61, 347, 359); 1262 (CCR 1261-64, 169)]

Works at a bishop's residence:

Total: 1 (Liberate Rolls 1)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 376⁶)]

Images/pictures:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 3)

[1243 (CCR 1242-47, 19-20); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 372);⁷ 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 326)]

Images gifted to named institutions:

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 2)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 255); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 317)]

Offerings and charity:

Offerings at St Stephen's Chapel:

Total: 2 (Liberate Rolls 2)

[1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 488)]

Offerings at Westminster Palace:

Total: 2 (Liberate Rolls 2)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 364); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43)]

Offerings (bread, wine for mass, money, candles, incense, liturgical vessels, etc.) at Westminster Abbey:

Total: 52 (Close Rolls 29; Liberate Rolls 23)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 376, 388-89, 399, 426); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 449); 1241 (CCR 1237-42, 308, 309-10, 312, 333; CLR 1240-45, 22, 55, 83); 1242 (CLR 1240-45, 120); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 22, 41, 138); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 153, 201, 279; CLR 1240-45, 213, 248); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 285, 295, 312-13, 331, 372; CLR 1240-45, 306, 324⁸); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 393, 460, 466, 491; CLR 1245-51, 6, 771); 1247 (CLR 1245-51, 111); 1249 (CCR 1247-51, 343); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 422, 460, 477; CLR 1251-60, 1); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 40, 59; CLR 1251-60, 40); 1254 (CLR 1251-60, 187-88); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 81, 222; CLR 1251-60, 247); 1256 (CLR 1251-60, 297, 337); 1257 (CCR 1256-59, 68); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 133-34; CLR 1251-60, 498)]

⁶ Houses of the Bishops of Durham and Norwich.

⁷ Wine for the king's pigments.

⁸ For the soul of the Count of Provence.

Offerings made in place of the King by Edward of Westminster:

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 1; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1244 (CLR 1240-45, 228); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 335)]

Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar):

Total: 40 (Close Rolls 20; Liberate Rolls 20)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 376, 393, 404-05); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 478, 488, 501-02); 1241 (CCR 1237-42, 312; CLR 1240-45, 83, 83-84, 86); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 156, 157, 159, 199, 228, 232, 277); 1245 (CLR 1240-45, 306); 1246 (CLR 1245-51, 52, 57); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 422, 467; CCR 1251-53, 15; CLR 1245-51, 335; CLR 1251-60, 1); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 159, 265, 290; CLR 1251-60, 27); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 340; CLR 1251-60, 112, 123); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 275); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 61, 74, 128, 222, 226, 240; CLR 1251-60, 194); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 445); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 416); 1259 (CCR 1259-61, 223, 224; CLR 1251-60, 478); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 257, 314)]

Offerings/works at St Thomas the Martyr's shrine:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 3)

[1244 (CCR 1242-47, 276); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 275); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 128)]

Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine:

Total: 6 (Close Rolls 5; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1242 (CLR 1240-45, 120); 1247 (CCR 1247-51, 12); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 524); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 152-53); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 426); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 275)]

Offering at St Mildred's Shrine in St Augustine's, Canterbury:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1251 (CCR 1247-51, 463)]

Offerings at St Erkenwald's Shrine in St Paul's Cathedral, London:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1251 (CCR 1247-51, 524)]

Offerings at St William's Shrine, York:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1251 (CCR 1251-53, 15)]

Offerings:

Total: 40 (Close Rolls 20; Liberate Rolls 20)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 393, 399, 404-05, 413); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 449, 478, 488, 489, 501-02); 1242 (CCR 1237-42, 425; CLR 1240-45, 121); 1243 (CLR 1240-45, 200); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 277, 279; CLR 1240-45, 213); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 307, 368); 1248 (CLR 1245-51, 169); 1249 (CCR 1247-51, 166, 201); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 264); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 481; CLR 1245-51, 339, 340, 369); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 148, 280-81; CLR 1251-60, 39, 91); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 62); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 59⁹, 81, 237; CLR 1251-60, 247); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 334, 394, 416, 447-48); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 325)]

Masses for souls:

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 1; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1241 (CCR 1237-42, 339); 1247 (CLR 1245-51, 106¹⁰)]

Tomb of Katherine:

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 2)

[1256 (CCR 1254-56, 287-88); 1258 (CCR 1256-59, 222)]

Easter Sepulchre built (location unspecified):

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1245 (CCR 1242-47, 294)]

Feeding the poor at Westminster:

Total: 18 (Close Rolls 10; Liberate Rolls 8)

[1240 (CLR 1240-45, 6); 1241 (CLR 1240-45, 84); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 140, 145; CLR 1240-45, 204¹¹); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 164, 199; CLR 1240-45, 210¹²); 1245 (CLR 1240-45, 307); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 434, 448, 491); 1247 (CCR 1247-51, 18; CLR 1245-51, 106¹³, 111¹⁴); 1248 (CLR 1245-51, 268-69¹⁵); 1251 (CCR 1251-53, 10); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 222)]

⁹ For the soul of Katherine, the king's daughter (see family tree).

¹⁰ For the soul of Joan, former Queen of Scots, king's sister (see family tree).

¹¹ For the soul of Empress Isabella, king's sister (see family tree).

¹² For the soul of Queen Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor and for the salvation of the king, queen and their children.

¹³ For the soul of Joan, former Queen of Scots, king's sister (see family tree).

¹⁴ For the soul of Hugelin, chamberlain of Edward the Confessor.

¹⁵ For the soul of King Richard I.

Feeding the poor of London:

Total: 4 (Liberate Rolls 4)

[1245 (CLR 1240-45, 306-07¹⁶, 324¹⁷); 1246 (CLR 1245-51, 84); 1248 (CLR 1245-51, 168)]

Shoeing the poor of London:

Total: 1 (Liberate Rolls 1)

[1245 (CLR 1240-45, 306-07)]

Feeding the poor (unspecified location):

Total: 2 (Liberate Rolls 2)

[1246 (CLR 1245-51, 69); 1248 (CLR 1245-51, 174)]

Clothing:

Cloth/Clothing/Vestments:

Total: 46 (Close Rolls 34; Liberate Rolls 12)

[1241 (CCR 1237-42, 266); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 19-20, 43, 133, 145); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 285, 288, 296, 373; CLR 1240-45, 288); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 497); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 291, 300, 328, 375); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 425, 494, 498, 521; CCR 1251-53, 24; CLR 1245-51, 337, 338, 339, 340, 352; CLR 1251-60, 2); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 127, 128, 129, 270; CLR 1251-60, 58); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 434; CLR 1251-60, 103, 112); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 272, 284, 320); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 104, 128); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 286-87; 287-88, 291, 334; CLR 1251-60, 337); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 406); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 246)]

Processional Banner for the King:

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1243 (CCR 1242-47, 42)]

Vestments for *Capella Regis*:

Total: 6 (Close Rolls 4; Liberate Rolls 2)

[1240 (CLR 1226-40, 478); 1242 (CLR 1240-45, 120); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 149); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 233, 279); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 140)]

Vestments for royal chapels:

Total: 4 (Close Rolls 3; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1241 (CLR 1240-45, 29); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 201, 203); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 132)]

Vestments gifted to named recipients:

Total: 21 (Close Rolls 14; Liberate Rolls 7)

[1241 (CLR 1240-45, 29); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 142); 1244 (CLR 1240-45, 277); 1245 (CLR 1240-45, 306); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 484); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 60); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 377); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 431, 454, 467, 472, 506; CCR 1251-53, 34; CLR 1251-60, 8-9); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 32, 275 (twice); CLR 151-60, 39-40); 1253 (CLR 1251-60, 104); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 273); 1255 (CLR 1251-60, 195)]

Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster):¹⁸

Total: 21 (Close Rolls 17; Liberate Rolls 4)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 179, 255; CLR 1226-40, 456); 1242 (CLR 1240-45, 121); 1244 (CCR 1242-47, 156, 209); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 296); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 55); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 290); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 466, 485, 507; CCR 1251-53, 11); 1252 (CLR 1251-60, 39-40); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 317, 318); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 256); 1255 (CLR 1251-60, 218); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 311, 371); 1258 (CCR 1256-59, 265)]

Metalwork:

Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery (*opus regis* or otherwise):

Total: 48 (Close Rolls 28; Liberate Rolls 20)

[1239 (CLR 1226-40, 413, 415, 436); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 442-43, 502); 1241 (CLR 1240-45, 22, 83); 1242 (CLR 1240-45, 120); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 46, 133); 1244 (CLR 1240-45, 213, 279); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 372); 1246 (CLR 1245-51, 77); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 389, 389-90; CLR 1245-51, 334); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 444, 473, 501; CCR 1251-53, 19; CLR 1245-51, 350, 355, 380); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 70, 151, 158, 272; CLR 1251-60, 55, 63); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 302, 334, 377, 433, 460, 462, 480; CLR 1251-60, 104, 105, 111, 145); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 320; CLR 1251-60, 187); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 60, 63, 104, 212); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 291; CCR 1256-59, 2); 1257 (CLR 1251-60, 351-52); 1259 (CCR 1256-59, 360; CLR 1251-60, 472)]

¹⁶ For the souls of Empress Isabella, king's sister, Griffin, son of Llewlyn, Eleanor Queen of Scots, king's sister and William de Valence and for the salvation of the king, queen and their children.

¹⁷ For the soul of the Count of Provence (see family tree).

¹⁸ Gifts of vestments at Westminster are folded into offerings.

Cup gifted (chalices etc.):

Total: 7 (Close Rolls 5 Liberate Rolls 2)

[1241 (CLR 1240-45, 22); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 491); 1247 (CLR 1245-51, 111); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 264); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 486); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 65); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 372)]

Goods for Queen Eleanor of Provence:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 3)

[1240 (CCR 1237-42, 258); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 306); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 444)]

Goods for King's daughter Margaret (*opus Margarete*):

Total: 8 (Close Rolls 5; Liberate Rolls 3)

[1244 (CLR 1240-45, 213); 1251 (CCR 1251-53, 1, 11, 14, 18-19, 19); 1252 (CLR 1251-60, 39); 1255 (CLR 1251-60, 196)]

Goods of the future Edward I (*opus Edwardi*):

Total: 1 (Close Rolls 1)

[1252 (CCR 1251-53, 152)]

Goods for Eleanor wife of the future Edward I:

Total: 1 (Liberate Rolls 1)

[1255 (CLR 1251-60, 247)]

Goods for Alexander, King of Scots (*opus A. rex Scocie*):

Total: 2 (Close Rolls 2)

[1251 (CCR 1251-53, 12, 14)]

Goods for the king's sister Alice (*opus Alisie*):

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 3)

[1252 (CCR 1251-53, 120); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 384, 392)]

Goods for Windsor Castle chapel:

Total: 6 (Close Rolls 5; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1249 (CCR 1247-51, 162); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 447, 505; CLR 1245-51, 338); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 268); 1261 (CCR 1259-61, 426)]

Goods for the *Capella Regis*:

Total: 3 (Close Rolls 2; Liberate Rolls 1)

[1242 (CLR 1240-45, 120); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 29, 80)]

Goods for king's chapels:

Total: 5 (Close Rolls 2; Liberate Rolls 3)

[1241 (CLR 1240-45, 29); 1251 (CLR 1251-60, 1, 9); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 287); 1262 (CCR 1261-64, 167)]

Other:

Total: 107 (Close Rolls 61; Liberate Rolls 46)

[1238 (CLR 1226-40, 313); 1239 (CLR 1226-40, 356, 366); 1240 (CLR 1226-40, 495; CLR 1240-45, 12); 1241 (CCR 1237-42, 322; CLR 1240-45, 73, 78, 84, 91); 1242 (CCR 1237-42, 414, 422, 455-56; CLR 1240-45, 128, 134); 1243 (CCR 1242-47, 51, 140); 1244 (CLR 1240-45, 225, 261, 278); 1245 (CCR 1242-47, 309, 315, 332, 357, 364; CLR 1240-45, 306; CLR 1245-51, 7); 1246 (CCR 1242-47, 428, 431, 433, 470, 526, 533; CLR 1245-51, 40, 67, 97); 1247 (CCR 1247-51, 12, 15, 45; CLR 1245-51, 108, 150); 1248 (CCR 1247-51, 60, 79, 88, 91, 201-02, 246; CLR 1245-51, 165, 222); 1250 (CCR 1247-51, 304, 318, 326, 328, 331; CLR 1245-51, 314); 1251 (CCR 1247-51, 423, 429, 500, 521; CCR 1251-53, 3-4, 11; CLR 1245-51, 342, 384, 385; CLR 1251-60, 2); 1252 (CCR 1251-53, 77, 94, 110, 111, 160, 226, 233; CLR 1251-60, 36, 45, 48, 55); 1253 (CCR 1251-53, 335, 386, 386-87, 407; CLR 1251-60, 104, 105, 112); 1254 (CCR 1253-54, 97, 210-11; CCR 1254-56, 12; CLR 1251-60, 180, 183, 188); 1255 (CCR 1254-56, 157-58; CLR 1251-60, 192); 1256 (CCR 1254-56, 333, 384, 428; CLR 1251-60, 286, 309, 337); 1258 (CLR 1267-72, 270); 1260 (CCR 1259-61, 122, 198; CLR 1251-60, 513; CLR 1267-72, 273); 1262 (CCR 1261-64, 58, 140, 160); 1270 (CLR 1267-72, 122); 1272 (CCR 1268-72, 566¹⁹)]

Arranged by year:

1238 – Total: 1

Other: 1

1239 – Total: 36

Works at Westminster: 4

¹⁹ Post-humous.

Images at Westminster Palace: 4
 Works at bishop's residences: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Palace: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 4
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 3
 Offerings: 4
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 3
 Other: 2
1240 – Total: 41
 Office of *fusor* in the Exchequer inherited: 1
 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: 2
 Images at Westminster Palace: 2
 Works at Westminster: 8
 Works at Windsor Castle: 3
 Works at other king's residences: 1
 Images gifted to named institutions: 1
 Offerings at St Stephen's Chapel: 2
 Offerings at Westminster Palace: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 3
 Offerings: 6
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Vestments for *Capella Regis*: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 3
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Goods for Queen Eleanor of Provence: 1
 Other: 2
1241 – Total: 29
 Works at Westminster: 4
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 7
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 4
 Masses for souls: 1
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 1
 Vestments for royal chapels: 1
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Goods for king's chapels: 1
 Other: 5
1242 – Total: 15
 Works at Westminster: 1
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine: 1
 Offerings: 2
 Vestments for *Capella Regis*: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 1
 Goods for the *Capella Regis*: 1
 Other: 5
1243 – Total: 24
 Works at Westminster: 3
 Images at Westminster Palace: 2
 Images/pictures: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 3
 Offerings: 1
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 3
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 4
 Processional Banner for the King: 1

Vestments for *Capella Regis*: 1
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Other: 2
1244 – Total: 47
 Receiving gifts from the king: 1
 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: 3
 Works at Westminster: 9
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 5
 Offerings made in place of the King by Edward of Westminster: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 7
 Offerings/works at St Thomas the Martyr's shrine: 1
 Offerings: 3
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 3
 Vestments for *Capella Regis*: 2
 Vestments for royal chapels: 2
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 2
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Goods for King's daughter Margaret (*opus Margarete*): 1
 Other: 3
1245 – Total: 40
 Receiving gifts from the king: 1
 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: 3
 Works at Westminster: 4
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 7
 Offerings made in place of the King by Edward of Westminster: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 1
 Offerings: 2
 Easter Sepulchre built (location unspecified): 1
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Feeding the poor of London: 2
 Shoeing the poor of London: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 5
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 1
 Goods for Queen Eleanor of Provence: 1
 Other: 7
1246 – Total: 36
 Works at Westminster: 8
 Images at Westminster Palace: 1
 Works at other king's residences: 1
 Images/pictures: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 6
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 2
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 3
 Feeding the poor of London: 1
 Feeding the poor (unspecified location): 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 1
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Other: 9
1247 – Total: 12
 St John's Chapel Westminster: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine: 1
 Masses for souls: 1
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 2

Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Other: 5
1248 – Total: 18
 Given custody of the Exchequer Seal: 1
 Works at Westminster: 1
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Offerings: 1
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Feeding the poor of London: 1
 Feeding the poor (unspecified location): 1
 Vestments for royal chapels: 1
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Other: 8
1249 – Total: 8
 Works at Westminster: 2
 Works on the Tower of London: 1
 Works at other king's residences: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offerings: 2
 Goods for Windsor Castle Chapel: 1
1250 – Total: 22
 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: 1
 Works at Westminster: 2
 Works on the Tower of London: 2
 Offerings: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 4
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 3
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Other: 6
1251 – Total: 77
 St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: 1
 Works at Westminster: 7
 Works on the Tower of London: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 4
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 5
 Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine: 1
 Offering at St Mildred's Shrine, St Augustine's Canterbury: 1
 Offerings at St Erkenwald's Shrine in St Paul's Cathedral, London: 1
 Offerings at St William's Shrine, York: 1
 Offerings: 4
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 11
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 4
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 4
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 7
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Goods for Queen Eleanor of Provence: 1
 Goods for King's daughter Margaret (*opus Margarete*): 5
 Goods for Alexander, King of Scots (*opus A. rex Scocie*): 2
 Goods for Windsor Castle Chapel: 3
 Goods for king's chapels: 2
 Other: 10
1252 – Total: 48
 Works at Westminster: 2
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Works at other king's residences: 2
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 3

Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 4
 Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine: 1
 Offerings: 4
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 5
 Vestments for *Capella Regis*: 1
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 6
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Goods for King's daughter Margaret (*opus Margarete*): 1
 Goods of the future Edward I (*opus Edwardi*): 1
 Goods for the king's sister Alice (*opus Alisie*): 1
 Goods for Windsor Castle Chapel: 1
 Goods for king's chapels: 1
 Other: 11
1253 – Total: 37
 Works at Westminster: 2
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Works on the Tower of London: 1
 Works at other king's residences: 1
 Images gifted to named institutions: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 3
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 3
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 2
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 2
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 11
 Cup gifted (chalices etc.): 1
 Goods for the king's sister Alice (*opus Alisie*): 2
 Other: 7
1254 – Total: 19
 Works at Westminster: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 1
 Offerings/works at St Thomas the Martyr's shrine: 1
 Offering at St Edmund the Martyr's Shrine: 1
 Offerings: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 3
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Other: 6
1255 – Total: 33
 Works at Westminster: 3
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 3
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 7
 Offerings/works at St Thomas the Martyr's shrine: 1
 Offerings: 4
 Feeding the poor at Westminster: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 2
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 4
 Goods for King's daughter Margaret (*opus Margarete*): 1
 Goods for Eleanor wife of the future Edward I: 1
 Goods for the *Capella Regis*: 2
 Other: 2
1256 – Total: 28
 Works at religious institutions in London: 2
 Images/pictures: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 2

Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 1
 Offerings: 4
 Tomb of Katherine: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 5
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 2
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 2
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
 Other: 6
1257 – Total: 5
 Receiving gifts from the king: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 1
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 1
1258 – Total: 4
 Tomb of Katherine: 1
 Vestments gifted to named recipients: 1
 Vestments for named institutions (excepting Westminster): 1
 Other: 1
1259 – Total: 11
 Given custody of the Exchequer Seal again after its release: 1
 Works at Westminster: 3
 Works at religious institutions in London: 1
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 3
 Gems, gold and precious metalwork including jewellery: 2
1260 – Total: 17
 Receiving gifts from the king: 1
 Works at Westminster: 5
 Works at Windsor Castle: 1
 Works at religious institutions in London: 1
 Offerings at Westminster Abbey: 2
 Offerings/works at St Edward the Confessor's Shrine (including altar): 1
 Offerings: 1
 Cloth/Clothing/Vestments: 1
 Other: 4
1261 – Total: 9
 Works at Westminster: 5
 Works on the Tower of London: 1
 Works at religious institutions in London: 2
 Goods for Windsor Castle Chapel: 1
1262 – Total: 8
 Works at Westminster: 2
 Works on the Tower of London: 1
 Works at religious institutions in London: 1
 Goods for king's chapels: 1
 Other: 3
1263 – Total: 2
 Receiving gifts from the king: 1
 Works at Westminster: 1
1264 – Total: 0
1265 – Total: 0
1266 – Total: 0
1267 – Total: 0
1268 – Total: 0
1269 – Total: 0
1270 – Total: 1
 Other: 1
1271 – Total: 0
1272 – Total: 1
 Other: 1

Graph A.3.1 - Number of Entries per year

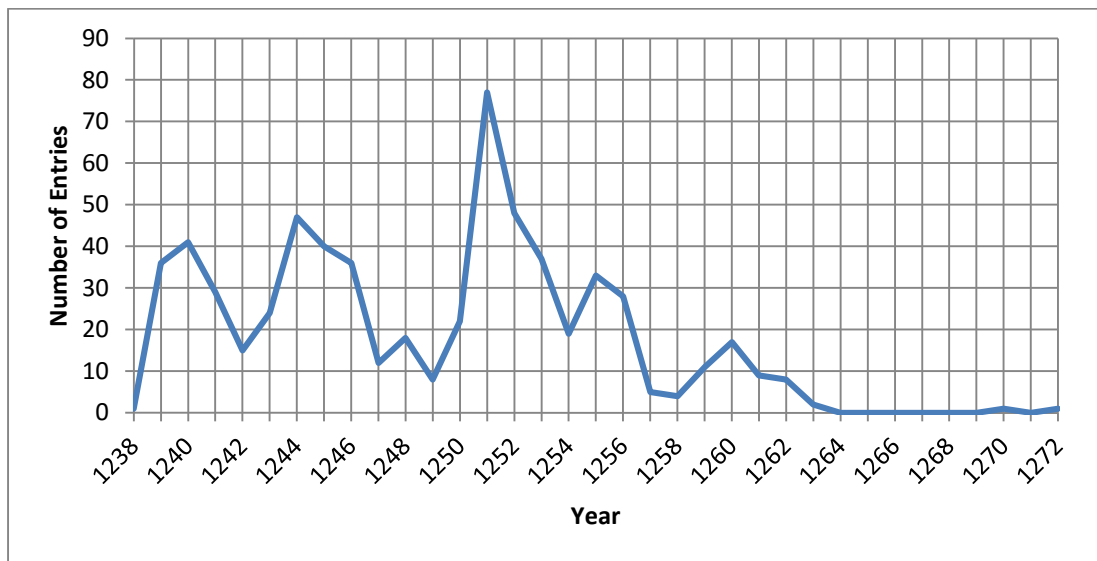


Table A.3.1 - Close Rolls Percentages

	Volume	Pages referencing clerk by name	Pages total	Percentage of pages referencing clerk by name (%)	Pages referencing clerk by name per year	Pages total per year	Percentage of pages referencing clerk by name, per year
Odo	CCR 1231-34	4	599	0.67%	1.33	199.67	0.22%
	CCR 1234-37	8	576	1.39%	2.67	192.00	0.46%
Edward	CCR 1237-42	22	533	4.13%	4.40	106.60	0.83%
	CCR 1242-47	78	548	14.23%	15.60	109.60	2.85%
	CCR 1247-51	77	567	13.58%	19.25	141.75	3.40%
	CCR 1251-53	70	515	13.59%	35.00	257.50	6.80%
	CCR 1253-54	11	320	3.44%	11.00	320.00	3.44%
	CCR 1254-56	37	451	8.20%	18.50	225.50	4.10%
	CCR 1256-59	8	495	1.62%	2.67	165.00	0.54%
	CCR 1259-61	22	503	4.37%	11.00	251.50	2.19%
	CCR 1261-64	6	410	1.46%	2.00	136.67	1.70%
	CCR 1264-68	0	562	0.00%	0	140.50	0.00%
	CCR 1268-72	1	590	0.17%	0.25	397.50	0.04%
	CCR 1244-66*	1	50	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

* Due to the unusual nature and format of these supplementary rolls, they have been omitted from further calculations.

Graph A.3.2 – Close Roll Percentages

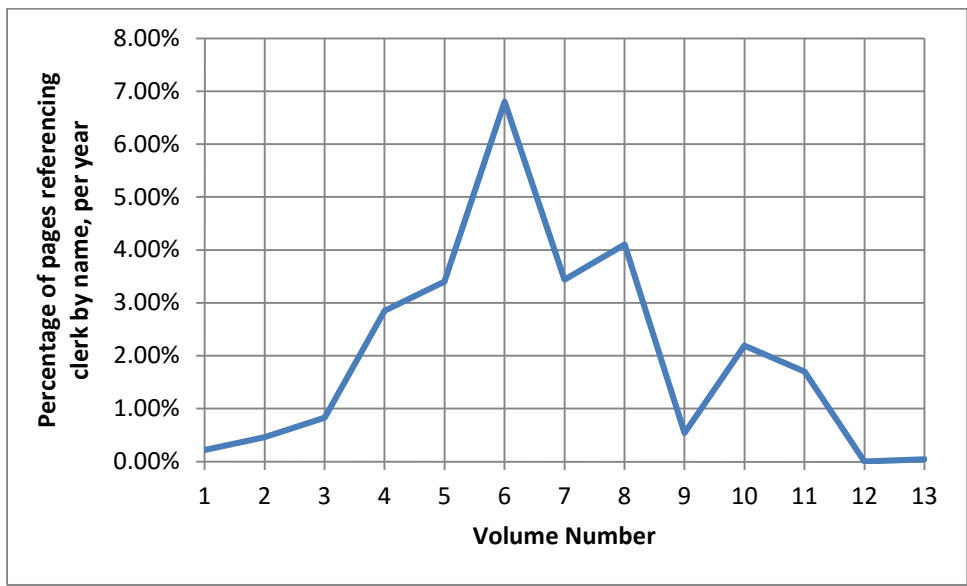


Table A.3.2 - Liberate Rolls Percentages

	Volume	Pages referencing clerk by name	Pages total	Percentage of pages referencing clerk by name (%)	Pages referencing clerk by name per year	Pages total per year	Percentage of pages referencing clerk by name, per year
Odo	CLR 1227-40	31	504	6.15%	2.38	38.77	0.47%
Edward	CLR 1227-40	25	504	4.96%	1.92	38.77	0.38%
	CLR 1240-45	37	326	11.35%	7.40	65.2	2.27%
	CLR 1245-51	49	386	12.69%	8.17	64.33	2.12%
	CLR 1251-60	48	536	8.96%	5.33	59.56	1.00%
	CLR 1260-67	6	298	2.01%	0.86	42.57	0.29%
	CLR 1267-72 (with appendices)	4	292	1.37%	n/a	n/a	n/a

B) 1292-97 Campaign

B.1) Miles le Polisher

~E 101/468/6~

- 1292 Oct 27th
Nov 3rd
Nov 10th
Nov 17th
Nov 24th
Dec 8th
[GAP – 15th December-22nd December]
1293 Jan 19th
Jan 26th
[GAP – 2nd February-23rd March]
Mar 23rd
[GAP – 30th March-22nd June]
Jun 22nd
[GAP – 29th June-27th July]
Jul 27th
Aug 3rd
Aug 10th
Aug 17th
Aug 24th
Aug 31st
Sep 7th
Sep 14th
[GAP – 21st September- 15th March]
1294 Mar 15th
Mar 22nd
Mar 29th
Apr 5th
[GAP – 5th April-9th August]
Aug 9th
Aug 16th
Aug 23rd
Aug 30th
Sep 6th
Sep 13th
[GAP – 20th September-27th September]
Oct 4th
[GAP – 11th October-18th April]

~E101/547/18~

- 1296 Jul 22nd to 5th Aug
Aug 5th to 19th Aug
Aug 19th to 2nd Sep

2) *Nicholas le Polisher*

~E 101/468/6~

- 1292 Mar 23rd
[GAP – 21st September- 15th March]
1294 Mar 15th
Mar 22nd
Mar 29th
Apr 5th
Jul 12th
[GAP – 5th April-9th August]
Aug 9th
Aug 16th
Aug 23rd
Aug 30th
Sep 6th
Sep 13th
[GAP – 20th September-27th September]
Oct 4th
[GAP – 11th October-18th April]
1295 Apr 18th
Apr 25th

3) *Henry de Cruce*

~E 101/547/18~

- 1296 Jul 22nd to Aug 5th – “*Hugoni de Cruce p’bo*”
Aug 5th to Aug 19th – “*Henrico de Cruce pollicerio*”
Aug 19th to Sep 2nd – “*Henrico de Cruce pollicerio*”

C) 1323-26 Campaign

C.1) Walter Peny (/Penny/Beny)

~E 101/469/8~

1324	Jan 16 th	[Identified as “ <i>cementarius et marmorarius</i> ”]
	Jan 23 rd	
	Feb 6 th	
	Feb 13 th	
	...	[Continuous]
	Feb 16 th	
	Mar 5 th	
	...	
	Apr 2 nd	
	...	
	23 rd Apr	
	May 7 th	
	...	
	May 21 st	
	...	
	Jun 12 th	
	...	
	Jun 25 th	
	...	
	Jul 9 th	
	...	
	Jul 30 th	
	Aug 27 th	
	Sep 3 rd	
	...	
	Oct 1 st	
	Oct 8 th	
	Oct 18 th	
	...	
	Nov 12 th	[Last]

C.2) William de Shorham, *cementarius and marmorarius*

~E 101/469/8-10~

1324	Jan 16 th	
	Feb 6 th	
	Feb 13 th	
	Apr 23 rd	
	...	[Continuous]
	May 7 th	
	May 14 th	
	Jun 12 th	
	...	

Jun 25th
 ...
 Jul 9th
 ...
 Jul 23rd
 ...
 Aug 13th
 Aug 20th
 Aug 27th
 ...
 Sep 24th
 ...
 Oct 1st
 Oct 8th
 Oct 15th
 ...
 Nov 12th
 [GAP]
 1325 May 13th [Marble payments restarted in same week]
 ...
 Jun 3rd [Listed as “*marmorarius*” first]
 ...
 Jun 17th [Sole “*marmorarius*”]
 ...
 Jul 8th [“*marmorarius*”, with three others]
 ...
 Jul 29th
 Aug 5th
 Aug 12th
 [GAP]
 Sep 30th
 ...
 Oct 13th
 Oct 21st [Listed as mason, not “*marmorarius*”]
 ...
 Nov 4th
 Nov 12th
 Nov 18th
 Nov 26th [Last entry]

Appendix V - Inventories

A) Inventory 1 (E 101/469/11, m. 1d)

[September 1332]

Number	Object/Material	Dimensions	Details	ID Number
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called ' <i>bemes</i> '; for the new chapel; square section	ID01
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called ' <i>entretseyses</i> '; for the said chapel; square section	ID02
146	timbers	18ft length x 3ft breadth	square section	ID03
10	pieces wood		called ' <i>polrenes</i> '	ID04
6	pieces wood		called ' <i>mountaynes</i> '	ID05
41	pieces wood	10ft length, 2.5ft breadth	for ' <i>courbles</i> '; [incomplete]; square section	ID06
11	pieces wood	10ft length, 2.5ft breadth; 1.5ft thick	for ' <i>courbles</i> '; completely carped	ID07
2	pieces wood	8ft length	called ' <i>quarters</i> '	ID08
8	pieces wood	40ft length	called ' <i>postes</i> '; for the belfry	ID09
8	pieces wood	30ft length	called ' <i>postes</i> '; for the belfry	ID10
16	timbers	50ft	for the belfry	ID11
1	piece wood	20ft length x 3ft breadth	called ' <i>plate</i> '	ID12
X	pieces wood		for the upper vault of the said chapel	ID13
12	pieces wood	10ft length x 1ft breadth x 1ft thickness	for the chapel	ID14
2	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; totally finished but broken at entrance for coronation of the queen	ID15
8	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; NOT totally finished but broken at entrance for coronation of the queen	ID16
7	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; NOT worked; 2 damaged	ID17
40	pieces Caen		for ' <i>oyletz</i> '; NOT worked	ID18
	Caen	44ft	for ' <i>corbeltables</i> '; worked and tailed	ID19
6	pieces Reigate		forms for the said chapel	ID20

30	pieces Reigate		for forms; NOT worked	ID21
30	pieces Caen		for ' <i>soill</i> ' (sills)	ID22
	pieces Caen	180ft	for ' <i>moynieles</i> '	ID23
8	pieces Purbeck		for ' <i>sources</i> '; worked	ID24
16	pieces Purbeck		for ' <i>sources</i> '; NOT worked	ID25
	pieces Purbeck	213ft	for columns; worked	ID26
4	pieces Purbeck		for columns; NOT worked	ID27
23	pieces Reigate		for forms; NOT worked	ID28
	pieces Caen	18ft	NOT worked	ID29
X	pieces Caen		for columns and ' <i>corallis</i> ' in east head	ID30
	pieces Caen	22ft	for ' <i>scutables</i> '; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID31
	pieces Caen	13.5ft	for ' <i>scucrestes</i> '; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID32
1	bell			ID33
1	pair organs		in upper vestibule of the said chapel	ID34

B) Inventory 2 (E 101/470/16, m. 1-2)

[1346]

Received
 Expended
 Remaining

Number	Object/Material	Dimensions	Details	ID Number
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called 'bemes'; for the new chapel; square section	ID01
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called 'bemes'; for the new chapel; square section	ID01
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called 'entreteyses'; for the said chapel; square section	ID02
11	great pieces wood	37ft length x 4ft breadth	called 'entreteyses'; for the said chapel; square section	ID02
146	timbers	18ft length x 3ft breadth	square section	ID03
146	timbers	18ft length x 3ft breadth	square section	ID03
10	pieces wood		called 'polrenes'	ID04
10	pieces wood		called 'polrenes'; " <i>per costeras muri subtus tectum eiusdem capelle</i> "	ID04
6	pieces wood		called 'motaynes'	ID05
6	pieces wood		called 'motaignes'	ID05
48	pieces wood	10ft length, 2.5ft breadth	called 'courbes'; [incomplete]; square section	ID06 [+7 added courbes]
11	pieces wood	10ft length, 2.5ft breadth; 1.5ft thick	for 'courbes'; completely carped	ID07
59	pieces wood		for 'courbles'; " <i>super reparacione de la flor eiusdem capelle in qua archi et claves eiusdem vousure affirmantur</i> "	ID06-07
2	pieces wood	8ft length	called 'quarters'	ID08
2	pieces wood		called 'quarters'	ID08
8	pieces wood	40ft length	called 'postes'; for the belfry	ID09
8	pieces wood	30ft length	called 'postes'; for the belfry	ID10
16	timbers	50ft	for the belfry	ID11
1	piece wood	20ft length x 3ft breadth	called 'plate'	ID12

1	piece wood	20ft length x 3ft breadth	called 'plate'; " <i>iacentem infra murum subtus tectum eiusdem capelle super quam diversas trabas ponuntur et affirmantur</i> "	ID12
X	pieces wood	c. 200ft	for the upper vault of the chapel	ID13
X	pieces wood	c. 200ft	for the upper vault of the chapel	ID13
2	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; totally finished	ID15
8	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; NOT totally finished	ID16
7	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; NOT worked; 2 damaged	ID17
17	pieces Reigate		tabernacles; " <i>ad imponendas diversas ymagines</i> "	ID15-17
40	pieces Caen		for 'oyletta'; NOT worked	ID18
	Caen	44ft	for 'corbeltables'; worked and tailed	ID19
6	pieces Reigate		forms for the said chapel	ID20
30	pieces Reigate		for forms; NOT worked	ID21
30	pieces Caen		for 'soilles' (sills)	ID22
100	pieces Caen and Reigate		for forms, oyletta and soiles; " <i>pro fenestris in prefata capella reparandis et faciendis</i> "	ID18, ID21-22
	pieces Caen	180ft	for 'moynieles'	ID23
242	pieces Caen		for 'corbeltables' and 'moneyles' of the windows;	ID19, ID23
	pieces Caen	2ft		ID19/23
8	pieces Purbeck		for 'sources'; worked	ID24
16	pieces Purbeck		for 'sources'; NOT worked	ID25
24	piece Purbeck		for 'sources'; " <i>ad ymagines subtus tabernaculos</i> "	ID24-25
213	pieces Purbeck		for columns; worked	ID26
200	pieces Purbeck		for columns; " <i>positis tam subtus predictis [sic] sources et ex utraque parte tabernaculorum quam in operibus portici ad occidentalem finem eiusdem capelle</i> "	ID26
4	great pieces Purbeck		for columns; NOT worked	ID27

20	columns Purbeck		not finished	ID27
23	pieces Reigate			ID28
23	pieces Reigate			ID28
8	pieces Caen		NOT worked	ID29
8	pieces Caen		NOT worked	ID29
X	pieces Caen		for columns of the chapel tower	ID30
X	pieces Caen		for columns of the chapel tower	ID30
22	pieces Caen		for 'scutables'; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID31
22	pieces Caen		for 'scutables'; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID31
	pieces Caen	13.5ft	for 'scucrestes'; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID32
	pieces Caen	13.5ft	for 'scucrestes'; worked ; for new <i>alura</i>	ID32
1	bell			ID33
1	bell			ID33
1	pair organs		old and damaged	ID34
1	pair organs		old and damaged	ID34

C) Inventory 3 (E 101/471/16, m. 1d-2d)

[May-June 1356]

First Collation:

Received

Expended

Released

Number	Object/Material	Dimensions	Details	ID Number
8	mouncels plaster			ID35
5	mouncels Plaster		[doesn't tally]	ID35
4	mouncels plaster			ID35
1	thurible			ID36
1	thurible			ID36
1	pair organs		damaged	ID34
2?	pair organs		damaged [doesn't tally]	ID34
?	?		for columns not worked, 4 finished	ID27?
17	pieces Purbeck		for columns	ID27?
4	hinges			ID37
2	hinges			ID37
2	hinges			ID37
1	bell		to be hung on the receipt	ID38
1	bell			ID38
1	anulus			ID39
1	anulus			ID39
1200	pieces Purbeck		for a pavement	ID40
1200	pieces Purbeck		[for pavement]	ID40
400	boards <i>estrich</i> '			ID41
300	boards <i>estrich</i> '		[doesn't tally]	ID41
200?	boards <i>estrich</i> '			ID41
222	logs			ID42
62	logs			ID42
?	logs			ID42
40	pieces wood	24ft length x 1.5ft breadth	square section	ID43
40	pieces wood	24ft length x 1.5ft breadth	square section	ID43
4	pieces wood	16ft length x 3ft breadth		ID44
4	pieces wood	16ft length x 3ft breadth		ID44
?8	pieces wood	18ft length x 3.5ft breadth	square section	ID45
38	pieces wood	18ft length x 3.5ft breadth	square section	ID45
7	pieces wood	30ft length x	square section	ID46

		1ft breadth		
7	pieces wood	30ft length x 1ft breadth	square section	ID46
60	stones Caen			ID47
60	stones Caen			ID47
106	stones Bere	great		ID48
56	stones Bere			ID48
50	stones Bere	great		ID48
111	stones Portland		for ?	ID49
111	stones Portland		for watertables	ID49
?	stones ?		for capitals	ID50
20	stones		for capitals	ID50
17	stones		for bases	ID51
17	stones		for bases	ID51
200	feet Purbeck		for stairs	ID52
200	feet Purbeck		for stairs	ID52
300	feet Ashlar		[Maidstone]	ID53
300	feet Ashlar		[Maidstone]	ID53
200	feet Urnell		[Maidstone]	ID54
200	feet Urnell		[Maidstone]	ID54
88?	?		not worked	ID55
88	stones Portland		not worked	ID55
100	stones		called 'jamb's'	ID56
100	stones		called 'jamb's'	ID56
100	stones [Caen]		called 'coyns'	ID57
100	stones [Caen]		called 'coyns'	ID57
24	stones Egremont	great		ID58
24	stones "Bere"	great	miscopied	ID58
6	great locks			ID59
4	great locks			ID59
3	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID60
4	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID60
2	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID61
2	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID61
2000	laths		2 ligatures for scaffold	ID62
2000	laths		2 ligatures for scaffold	ID62
500	laths		1 ligature for scaffold	ID63
500	laths		1 ligature for scaffold	ID63
22	boards <i>Riggolt</i>		From Riga, for scaffold	ID64
22	boards ?			ID64
80	boards 'destlond'		For scaffold	ID65
?	boards 'destlond'	20ft		ID65
10	? coloured glass			ID66
10	<i>ceem</i> coloured glass			ID66
?	?		armed and not painted	ID67
3	images			ID67
80	stones Portland			ID68
80	stones Portland			ID68

12	stones Bere			ID69
12	stones Bere			ID69
50	cartloads Rag			ID70
50	cartloads Rag			ID70
900	stones Ashlar			ID71
900	feet Ashlar			ID71
400	feet Urnell			ID72
400	feet Urnell			ID72
133	pieces wood	13ft length x 10ft breadth	square section	ID73
133	pieces wood	13ft length x 10ft breadth	square section	ID73
1	platelock			ID74
1	platelock			ID74
2	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID75
2	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID75
6	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID76
6	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID76
21	<i>ferramenta</i>		for piles	ID77
16	<i>ferramenta</i>		for piles	ID77
24	transoms and bars			ID78
24	transombars			ID78
4	hinges			ID79
4	hinges			ID79
80	boards <i>estrich</i>			ID80
80	boards <i>estrich</i>			ID80
80	logs wood			ID81
80	logs wood			ID81
1	bell			ID33
1	bell			ID33

Second Collation (interspersing first and records of expenditure and release):

Received (tallies with first collation)

Received (does not tally with first collation)

Number	Object/Material	Dimensions	Details	ID Number
280	pieces wood		[222 counted above]	ID75, ID43-46
4	mouncels Plaster of Paris			ID35
2?	thuribles		[does not tally with ID36]	ID36
17?	pieces Purbeck		for columns	ID27?
1400	feet Purbeck		[collation of stairs and floor]	ID40, ID52
8	hinges			ID37, ID79
1	anulus		for a certain boss	ID39
480	boards estrich		[280 above]	ID41, ID80
80	boards destlond			ID65
22	boards righolt			ID64
300?	logs		[240 above]	ID42, ID81
60	stones Caen			ID47
118	?		?	?
272	stones Portland		[279 above]	ID49, ID55, ID68
20	stones		called capitals	ID50
17	stones		called bases	ID51
1200	stones Ashlar			ID53, ID71
600	feet Urnell			ID54, ID72
100	stones		called jambs	ID56
100	stones [Caen]		coyns	ID57
24	stones Egremond	great		ID58
13	<i>ferramentae</i>	5 large	[24 above]	ID75-77
250	laths		[2500 above]	ID62-63
10	'seem' of coloured glass			ID66
2	armed images		not painted	ID67
24	bars			ID78

D) Inventory 4 (E 372/202, rot. 40d m. 1d)

[June 1357]

Carried over from Inventory 3

Expended on the Tower of London

Expended on the Palace of Westminster

Remaining in Tower

Remaining in Palace

Number	Object/Material	Dimensions	Details	ID Number
3	mouncels plaster			ID35
3	mouncels plaster			ID35
1	thurible			ID36
2	thuribles			ID36
1	pair organs		damaged	ID34
1	pair organs		damaged	ID34
17	pieces Purbeck		for columns	ID27?
2	hinges			ID37
2	hinges			ID37
1	bell			ID38
1	bell			ID38
1	anulus		for a boss	ID39
1	anulus			ID39
100	boards <i>estrich</i> '			ID41, ID80
100	boards <i>estrich</i> '			ID41, ID80
160	logs			ID42, ID81
80	logs			ID42, ID81
80	logs			ID42, ID81
40	pieces wood	24ft length x 1.5ft breadth	square section	ID43
40	pieces wood	24ft length x 1.5ft breadth	square section	ID43
4	pieces wood	16ft length x 3ft breadth		ID44
4	pieces wood	16ft length x 3ft breadth		ID44
38	pieces wood	18ft length x 3.5ft breadth	square section	ID45
38	pieces wood	18ft length x 3.5ft breadth	square section	ID45
7	pieces wood	30ft length x 1ft breadth	square section	ID46
7	pieces wood	30ft length x 1ft breadth	square section	ID46
60	stones Caen			ID47
60	stones Caen			ID47
50	stones Bere	great		ID48
50	stones Bere	great		ID48

111	stones Portland		for watertables	ID49
111	stones Portland		for watertables	ID49
20	stones		for capitals	ID50
20	stones		for capitals	ID50
17	stones		for bases	ID51
17	stones		for bases	ID51
200	feet Purbeck		for stairs	ID52
200	feet Purbeck		for stairs	ID52
300	feet Ashlar		[Maidstone]	ID53
300	feet Ashlar		[Maidstone]	ID53
200	feet <i>Urnell</i>		[Maidstone]	ID54
200	feet <i>Urnell</i>		[Maidstone]	ID54
88	stones Portland			ID55
88	stones Portland			ID55
100	stones		called ' <i>jamb</i> s'	ID56
100	stones		called ' <i>jamb</i> s'	ID56
100	stones [Caen]		called ' <i>coyn</i> s'	ID57
100	stones [Caen]		called ' <i>coyn</i> s'	ID57
24	stones Egremont	great		ID58
24	stones Egremont	great		ID58
4	great locks			ID59
4	great locks			ID59
3	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID60
3	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID60
2	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID61
2	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID61
2000	laths		2 ligatures [scaff]	ID62
2000	laths		2 ligatures [scaff]	ID62
500	laths		1 ligature [scaff]	ID63
500	laths		1 ligature [scaff]	ID63
22	boards <i>Riggolt</i>		[scaff] [from Riga]	ID64
22	boards ?			ID64
80	boards ' <i>destlond</i> '	30ft	[scaff]	ID65
40	boards ' <i>destlond</i> '	30ft	[scaff]	ID65
40	boards ' <i>destlond</i> '	30ft	[scaff]	ID65
10	<i>seem</i> coloured glass			ID66
10	<i>seem</i> coloured glass			ID66
3	images		not painted	ID67
3	images		not painted	ID67
80	stones Portland			ID68
80	stones Portland			ID68
12	stones Bere			ID69
12	stones Bere			ID69
50	cartloads Rag			ID70
50	cartloads Rag			ID70
900	stones Ashlar			ID71

900	feet Ashlar			ID71
400	feet Urnell			ID72
400	feet Urnell			ID72
133	pieces wood	13ft length x 10ft breadth	square section	ID73
133	pieces wood	13ft length x 10ft breadth	square section	ID73
1	platelock			ID74
1	platelock			ID74
5	locks			ID82
5	locks			ID82
2	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID75
2	great <i>ferramentae</i>			ID75
6	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID76
6	small <i>ferramentae</i>			ID76
21	<i>ferramenta</i>		for piles	ID77
21	<i>ferramenta</i>		for piles	ID77
?	transombars			ID78
24	transombars			ID78
4	hinges			ID79
4	hinges			ID79
80	boards <i>estrich</i>			ID80
80	boards <i>estrich</i>			ID80
80	scaffold logs			ID81
40	scaffold logs			ID81
1	bell			ID33
1	bell			ID33

Abbreviations:

Add.	Additional
<i>APE</i>	Aristotle's Politics English [Aristotle. <i>The Politics</i> , translated by T. A. Sinclair and Trevor J. Saunders. London: Penguin, 1992.]
<i>APL</i>	Aristotle's Politics Latin [Moerbeke, William of. <i>Aristotelis Politicorum Libri Octo</i> , edited by Franz Susemihl. Leipzig: Teubner, 1872.]
BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CCR	Calendar of the Close Rolls
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
CCCO	Corpus Christi College Oxford
CESR	<i>Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance</i>
CLR	Calendar of the Liberate Rolls
<i>CME</i>	<i>Chronica Majora</i> English [Giles, J. A., ed. <i>Matthew Paris's English History</i> , 3 vols. London: H.G. Bohn, 1852-54.]
<i>CML</i>	<i>Chronica Majora</i> Latin [Matthew Paris. <i>Chronica Majora</i> . In <i>Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora</i> , edited by Luard, H. R. 7 vols. London: Longman, 1872-83.]
CPR	Calendar of the Patent Rolls
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>CVMA</i>	<i>Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevii</i>
<i>HKW</i>	History of the King's Works [Colvin, Howard, ed. <i>The History of the King's Works</i> . 6 vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1963-82.]
<i>IEE</i>	Isidore's Etymologies English [Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologies</i> , translated by Stephen A. Barney et al. Cambridge: CUP, 2006.]
<i>JBAA</i>	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
<i>JBSMGP</i>	Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters
<i>JRIBA</i>	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects
<i>JWCI</i>	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
<i>LCE</i>	Liudprand of Cremona English [Liudprand of Cremona. <i>The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona</i> , ed. and trans. Paolo Squatriti. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007.]

<i>NCF</i>	<i>Nugis Curialum</i> facing translation [Walter Map. <i>De Nugis Curialum: Courtier's Trifles</i> , edited and translated M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: OUP, 1983.]
<i>NEE</i>	Nicomachean Ethics English [Aristotle. <i>The Nicomachean Ethics</i> , translated by David Ross and revised by Lesley Brown. Oxford: OUP, 2009.]
<i>ODNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>OUP</i>	Oxford University Press
<i>SA</i>	Society of Antiquaries Library
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives

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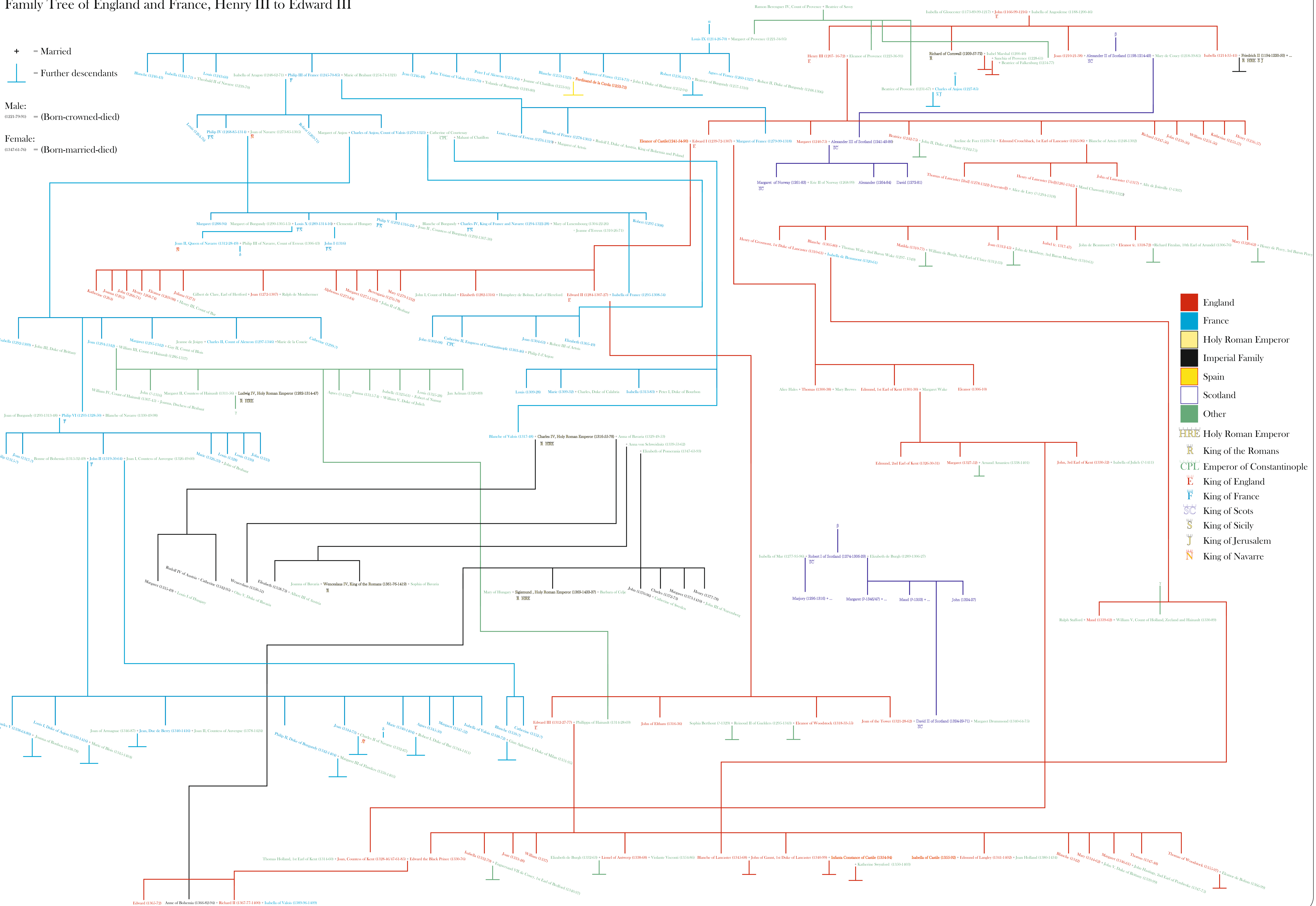
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Family Tree of England and France, Henry III to Edward III

+ = Married
┆ = Further descendants

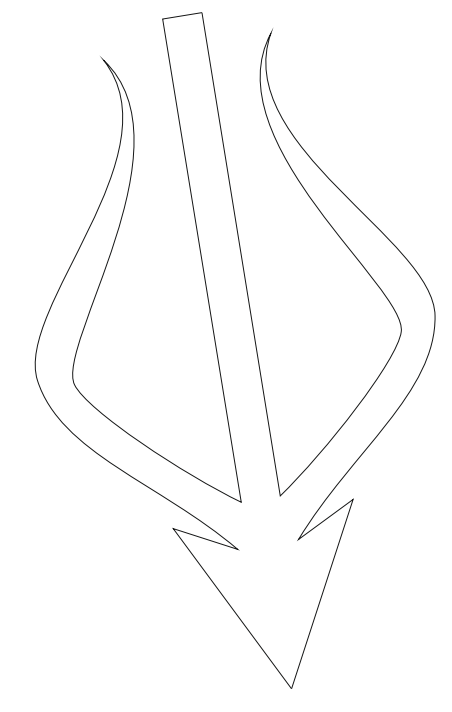
Male:
(1221-2991) = (Born-crowned-died)

Female:
(1317-61-76) = (Born-married-died)

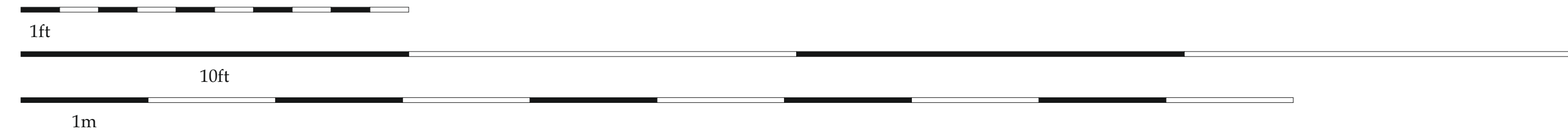
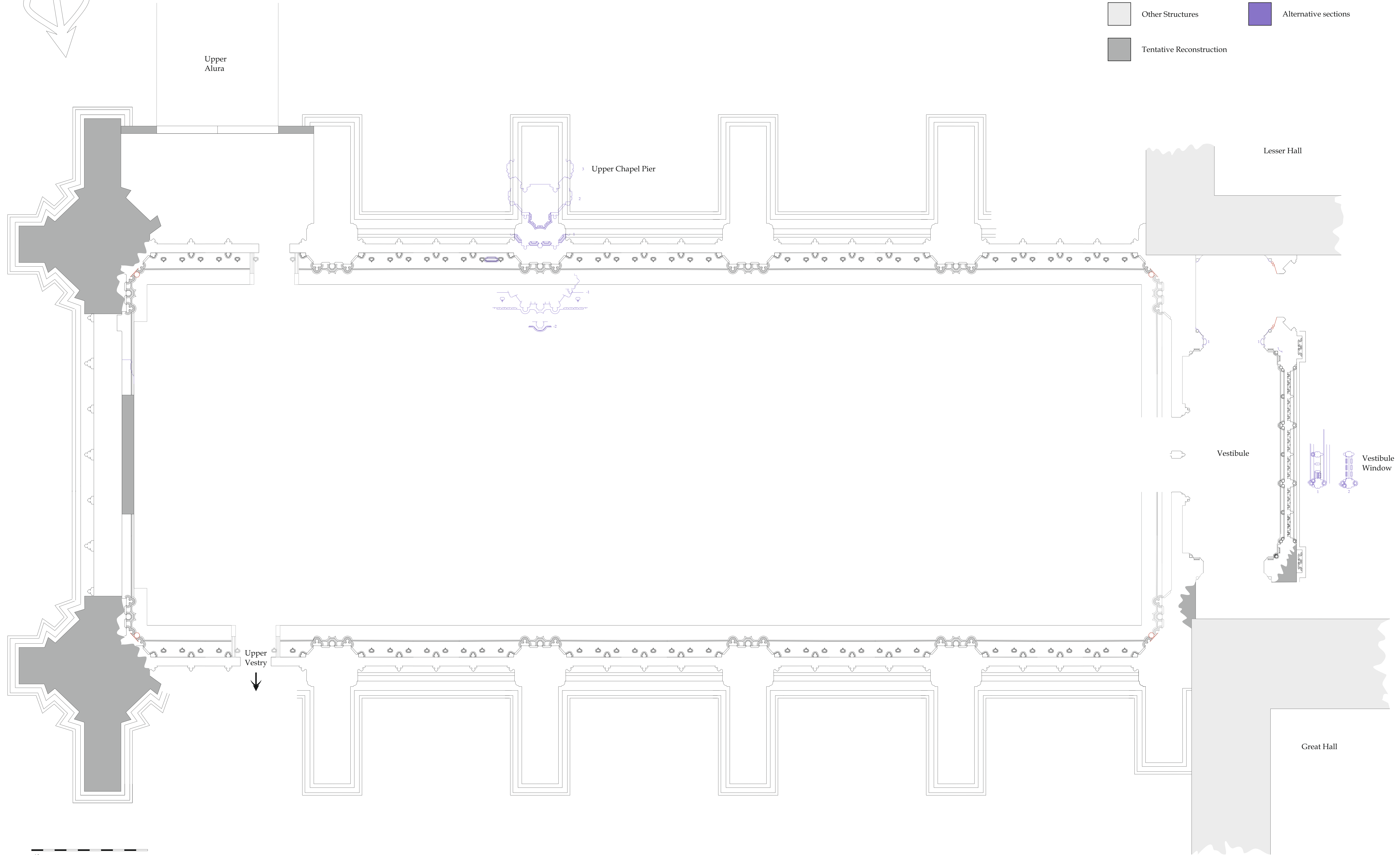


- England
- France
- Holy Roman Emperor
- Imperial Family
- Spain
- Scotland
- Other
- HRE Holy Roman Emperor
- R King of the Romans
- CPL Emperor of Constantinople
- E King of England
- F King of France
- SC King of Scots
- S King of Sicily
- J King of Jerusalem
- N King of Navarre

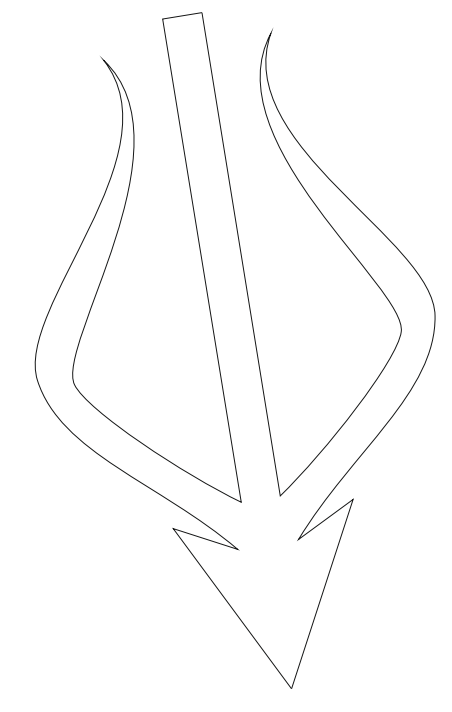
St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Plan View of Upper Chapel



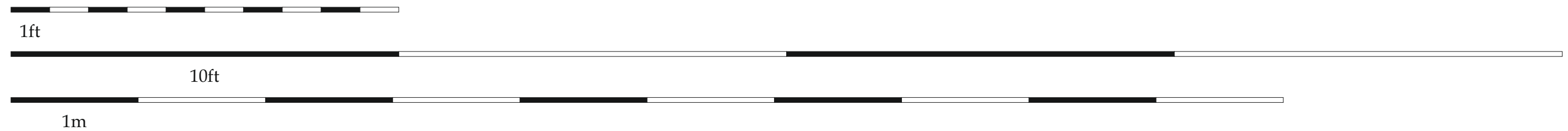
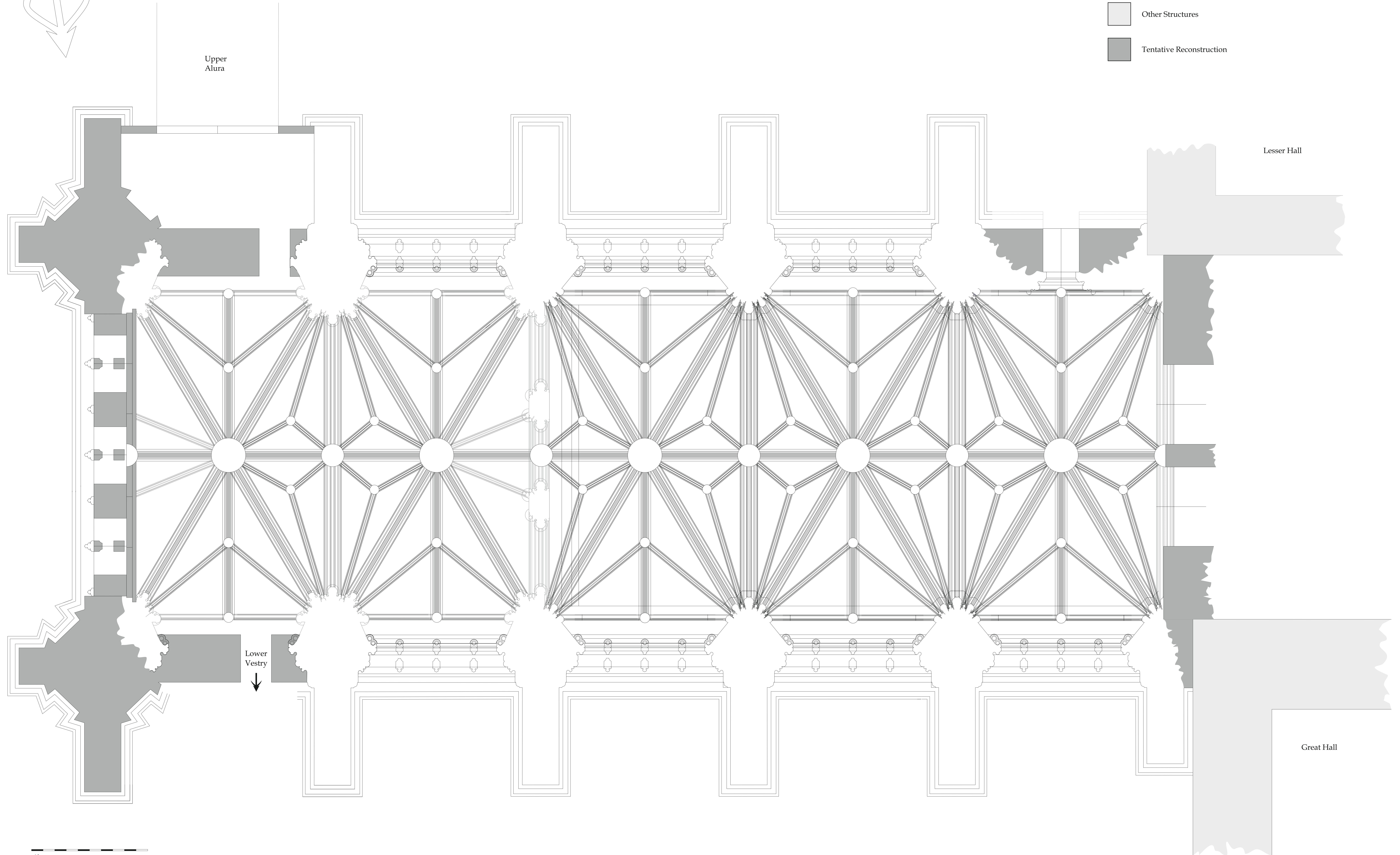
- Chapel
- Other Structures
- Tentative Reconstruction
- Rough Approximation
- Alternative sections



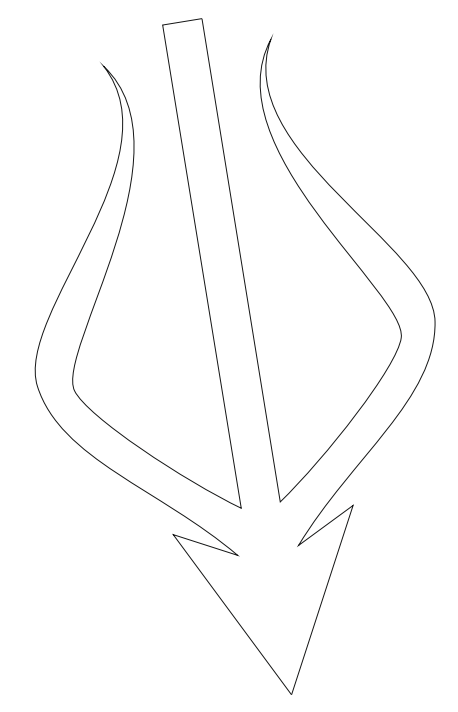
St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Plan View of Lower Chapel Vault



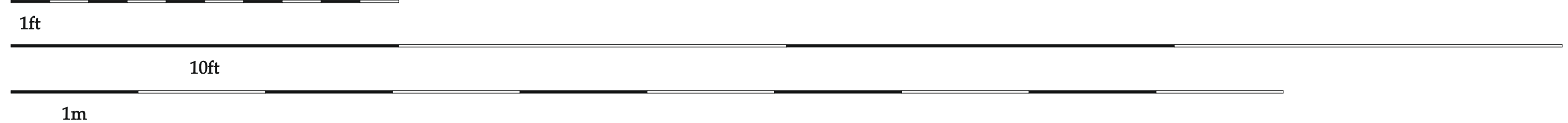
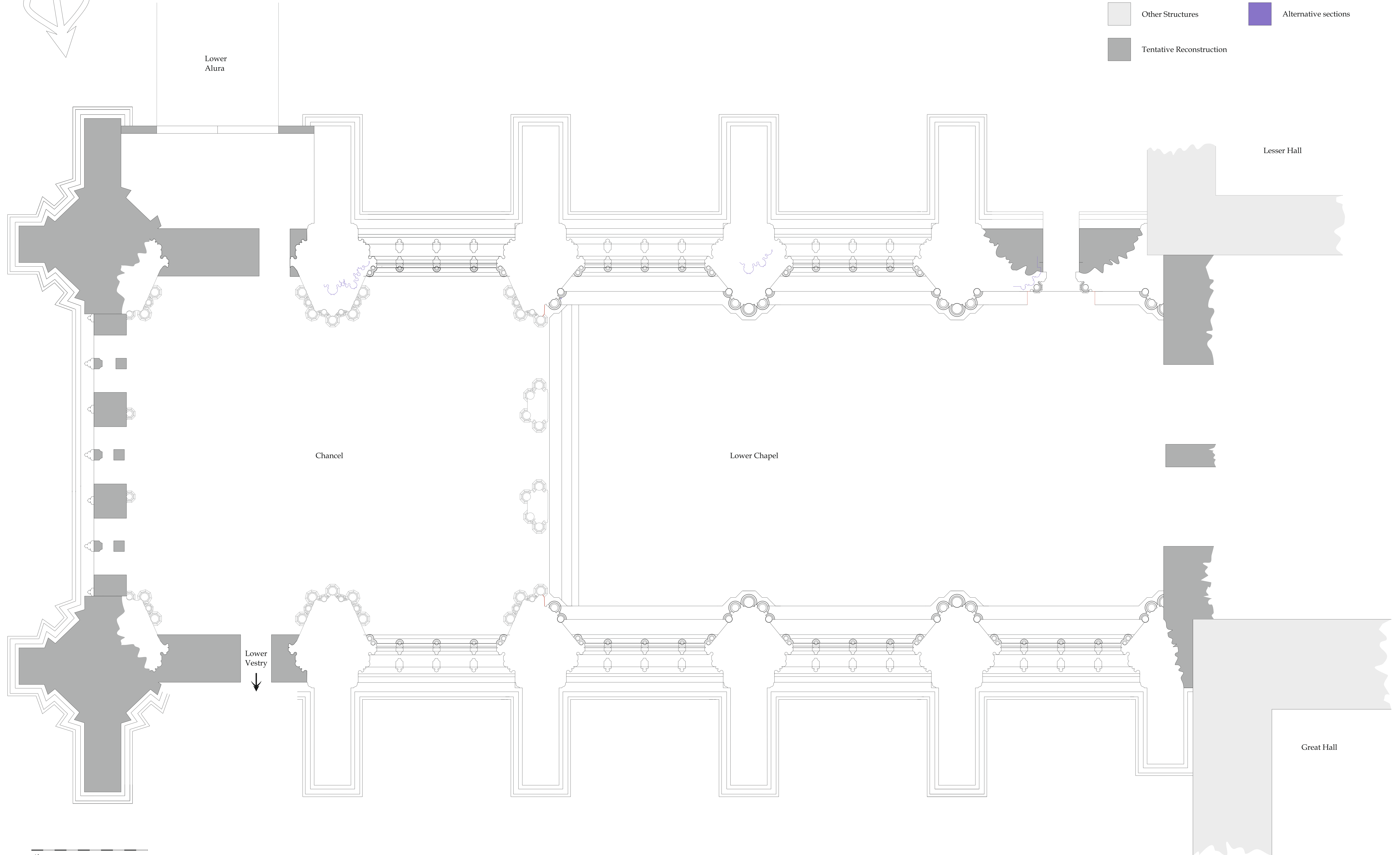
- Chapel
- Other Structures
- Tentative Reconstruction
- Rough Approximation



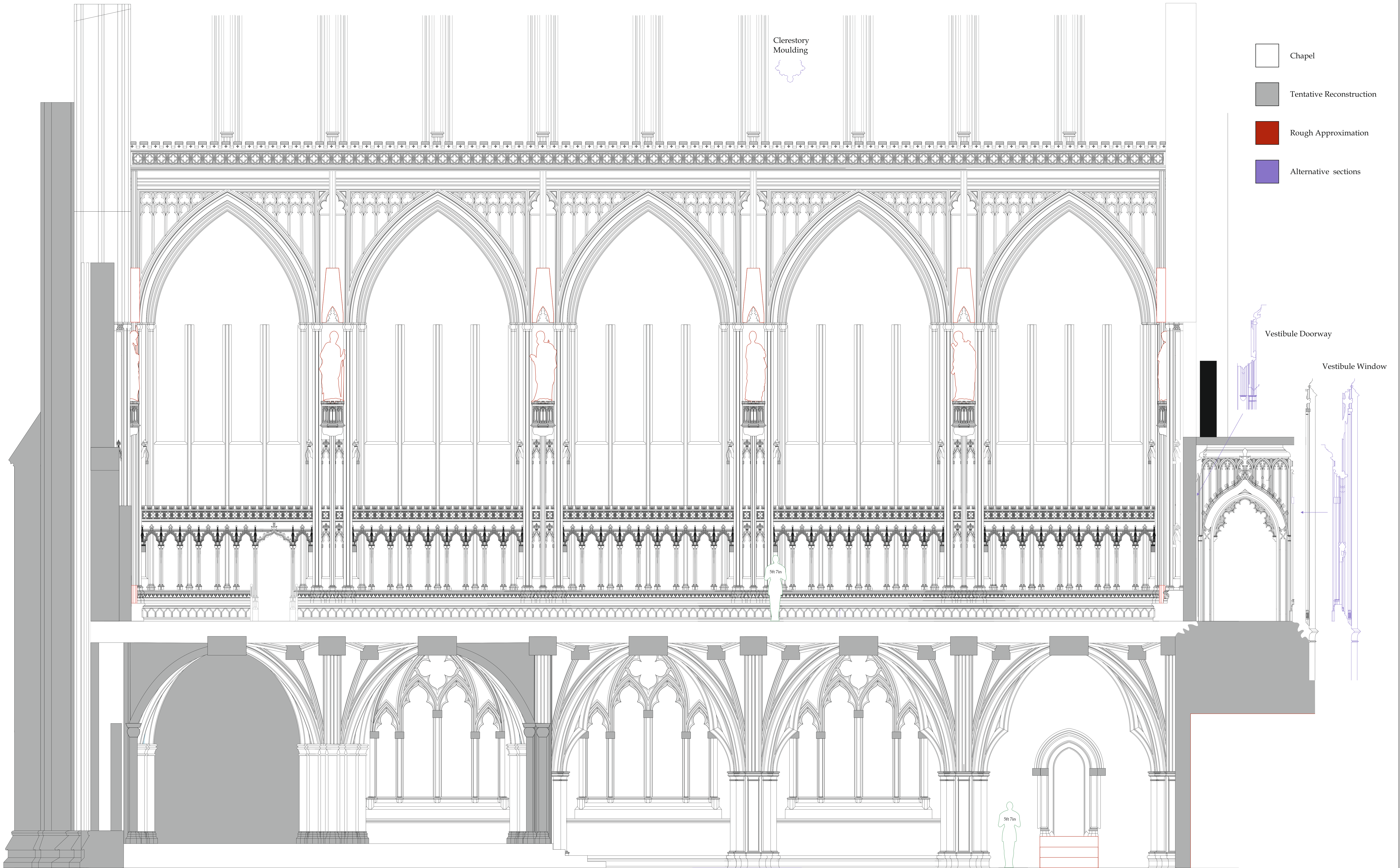
St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Plan View of Lower Chapel



- Chapel
- Other Structures
- Tentative Reconstruction
- Rough Approximation
- Alternative sections



St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster - Longitudinal Section



St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Transverse Section

