

‘MAN IN A RED HAT’
ST MARY’S CHURCH, FAIRFORD: THE CREATION OF A
REMARKABLE LATE MEDIEVAL GLAZING SCHEME

VOLUME 2 OF 2

KEITH CHARLES BARLEY M.B.E. F.M.G.P. A.C.R.

M.A. BY RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

HISTORY OF ART

NOVEMBER 2015

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1, Fairford, St. Mary's Church from the south east. Photo: author.
- Fig. 2, The CVMA numbering system. Image: Brown and Strobl, 2002, 59-60.
- Fig. 3, Fairford, plan of St Mary's Church with window numbering systems. Image: Brown and MacDonald, 2007, opposite page 1.
- Fig. 4, Fairford, subjects in the windows of St Mary's Church. Image: Keble, 2001, 2.
- Fig. 5, Fairford, East elevation, external ferramenta support systems. Photo: author.
- Fig. 6, Fairford, details of three types of ferramenta anchor ends with cast lead coverings. Photo: author.
- Fig. 7, Durham Cathedral, example of right angled ferramenta anchor end with lead encapsulation. Photo: author.
- Fig. 8, Fairford, detail of the herringbone decoration on ferramenta. Photo: author.
- Fig. 9, Fairford, bar section, Westminster Abbey, bar section. Photo: author.
- Fig. 10, Hampton Court. Ferramenta in situ, details of the ferramenta with through bar. Photo: author.
- Fig. 11, King's College, Cambridge, ferramenta with double stanchions. Photo: author.
- Fig. 12, Fairford sII light c, imagery offset to the right; Fairford nIII light c, imagery offset to the left. Photo: author.
- Fig. 13, Fairford, ferramenta on vestry window. Photo: author.
- Fig. 14, Chartres Cathedral, lug-bar with wedges. Photo: author.
- Fig. 15, York Minster, example of the geometric setting out for a window tracery. Photo: Harvey, 1968, fig. 1.
- Fig. 16, York Minster, interior view of the tracing room. Photo: Holton, 2006, fig. 10.
- Fig. 17, Mons, St Waltrude, Vidimus for a three-light window. Brussels, Albert I Royal Library, MS G 1516, f^o 587. Photo: Caen, 2009, 217.
- Fig. 18, Schön, *Crucifixion* vidimuses. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts. Photo: Wayment, 1985/1986, Plates 6a, 6b.
- Fig. 19, Gouda Sint-Janskerk, Cartoon and stained glass window. Photo: van Ruyven-Zeman et al., 2011, 226.

Fig. 20, Fairford, west window, upper tier. Photo: author.

Fig. 21, *Tapestry Cartoon Fragment*, 1500-1550. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo: <http://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/340609>.

Fig. 22, Joyce, tracing of Samson overcoming the lion. London: V&A. Fairford nX, Light j, Cain murdering Abel. Photo: author.

Fig. 23, Warndon, Virgin and Child (left); Fladbury, Virgin and Child (right). Photo: author.

Fig. 24, Fairford window nVIII light d Micah, window nVII light b Zephaniah. Photo: author.

Fig. 25, Henry VII Chapel, Westminster, photographed in 1912 and 1923. Photo: Marks, 1995, Plates 31 and 37.

Fig. 26, Fairford, NIII light b detail, St Georges Chapel Windsor, wI detail. Photo: author.

Fig. 27, King's College Chapel, Messenger in window 1(left). Photo: Wayment, 1984, Pl. LXXIIb. Fairford, Joyce tracing of the Councillor in window nX light a (right). Photo: author.

Fig. 28, Fairford SII light b. Photo: author. Lighthorne, St. Laurence's Church, Warwickshire. Photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/amthomson/2428092405/in/album-72157625050431473/>

Fig. 29, Cylinder glass in production at Glashütte Lamberts, Waldsassen. Photo: author.

Fig. 30, Coloured crown glass from the south transept rose window of York Minster. Photo: author.

Fig. 31, Spun sheet glass, stages in manufacture. Photo: Marson, 1922, 90.

Fig. 32, St. Mary's Fairford. Rounded edge of a spun sheet used uncut for tracery eyelet pieces. Photo: author.

Fig. 33, Modern example of a full sheet of glass produced by the spun process. Photo: author.

Fig. 34, Spun glass disc size from surviving tracery eyelet. Photo: author.

Fig. 35, Maximum pane size from spun glass disc. Photo: author.

Fig. 36, Fairford wI, 1g showing Lucifer in flashed blue and red glass. Photo: author.

Fig. 37, Fairford sII 4c showing the principal demon in flashed red on blue. Photo: author.

Fig. 38, Fairford wI 1g, detail showing flashed blue and red glass. Photo: author.

Fig. 39, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. West Rose, angel and detail. Photo: courtesy of Dr. Michel Hérold.

Fig. 40, Fairford SIII 1c, the dragon beneath St Margaret. Photo: author.

Fig. 41, Verneuil-Sur-Avre, Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine. Photo: Callias Bey et al., 2001, Pl. XXVII.

Fig. 42, Fairford sII 2c Lost soul in Limbo. Photo: author.

Fig. 43, Fairford wI 4g One of the damned in Hell's flames. Photo: author.

Fig. 44, Lichfield Cathedral Lady Chapel, window nII light b. Photo: author.

Fig. 45, Fairford window nII panel 1a, head of the Virgin Mary. Photo: author.

Fig. 46, Glazing table. Girona, Museu d'Art. Photo: author.

Fig. 47, Jost Amman, *Der Glasser*, 1568. Woodcut. Photo: Caen, 2009, 304.

Fig. 48, A discovered grozing iron and a replica in use. Photo: author.

Fig. 49, Pump drills, strap drill, brace drill. Photos:

<http://thomasguild.blogspot.co.uk/2012/06/woodworking-tools-in-libro-de-los.html>,

<http://www.artofmaking.ac.uk/explore/tools/5/Drill>,

<http://www.lowtechmagazine.com/2010/12/hand-powered-drilling-tools-and-machines.html>.

Fig. 50, Fairford, Example of both drilling and hand abrading in transmitted and reflected light. Photo: author.

Fig. 51, Fairford NIV light b, a persecutor of the faith and detail of his surcoat. Photo: author.

Fig. 52, Fairford NIV light b, a persecutor of the faith and detail from the scabbard. Inside in transmitted light and outside showing the free hand abrasion. Photo: author.

Fig. 53, Fairford I light h, detail of decorative banding. Photo: author.

Fig. 54, Fairford NIV light b, detail of the quatrefoil insertion. Photo: author.

Fig. 55, Fairford, Glaziers sorting marks. Photo: author.

Fig. 56, Fairford SIII A5, Singing angel, Detail of the trace and shading pigment colour in transmitted light. Photo: author.

Fig. 57, Fairford, examples of sanguine used for tiled flooring and tinting the hair. Photo: author.

Fig. 58, Stanford on Avon, Northamptonshire, window nII light a, St. Peter c.1325. Photo: author.

Fig. 59, Fairford sIII light d details of fields and hedgerows in silver stain. Photo: author.

Fig. 60, Fairford NII A2, detail of demon decorated with silver stain for the spots on the body, the claws, teeth, spiked hair and lower eyelids. Photo: author.

Fig. 61, Glass painting brushes. Photo: author.

Fig. 62, Fairford NV A1, Demon. Photo: author.

Fig. 63, Fairford sII Christ being lowered from the cross. Photo: author.

Fig. 64, Fairford sII, detail of the feet of Christ. Photo: author.

Fig. 65, Fairford nV light d, detail of the throne of King Solomon. Photo: author.

Fig. 66, Three chambered kiln from 16th century manuscript. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, MS no. 64 f^o 33. Photo: Caen, 2009, 288.

Fig. 67, Joyce tracing from Fairford nV light a, the apple tree. London: V&A. Photo: author.

Fig. 68, Fairford, inset piece within larger drapery piece, with surviving original lead. Photo: author.

Fig. 69, Reconstruction of a lead casting mould from description of Theophilus. Photo: Theophilus trans. Hawthorne and Smith, 1979, 68.

Fig. 70, Iron casting mould for lead. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass. Photo: author.

Fig. 71, Example of a curved cutting knife. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass. Photo: author.

Fig. 72, Examples of soldering irons. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass. Photo: author.

Fig. 73, Fairford sVII, the apostles St. Thomas, St. James the Less, St. Philip and St. Bartholomew. Photo: author.

Fig. 74, Examples of the alternating pedestal designs beneath the figures of the Apostles. Photo: author.

Fig. 75, Fairford sVII, 1a, The pedestal beneath the apostle St. Thomas. Photo: author.

Fig. 76, Fairford sVII 1a, Detail of the Chapel in the pedestal beneath St Philip. Photo: author.

Fig. 77, Master W & key, *A Gothic mantle-clasp (monile)*, ca. 1465-1490. London, British Museum. Photo: British Museum Collection Online, 1845,0809.214.

Fig. 78, Fairford sVII light c, the A positioned behind the shoulder of St Philip. Detail of the upturned piece. Photo: author.

Fig. 79, Joyce tracing of the discovered A. Joyce, 1872, Plate VI.

Fig. 80, Fairford sVII trceries A1 & A2, with thistle and Prince of Wales feather. Photo: author.

Fig. 81, Fairford sX, with two pairs of thistles and Prince of Wales feathers. Photo: author.

Fig. 82, Fairford nII, trimmed down thistle trceries. Photo: author.

Fig. 83, Fairford nVII with the odd canopy above Hosea matching that of St Thomas. Photo: author.

Fig. 84, Fairford NII, Three Persecutors of the Faith. Photo: author.

Fig. 85, Fairford NV 1b depicting Judas with lettering across his undergarment. Photo: author.

Fig. 86, Fairford NV 1c depicting Caiaphas with lettering on the border of his tunic. Photo: author.

Fig. 87, Fairford NII 1c a Persecutor. Detail of the band of lettering. Photo: author.

Fig. 88, Fairford NII, the lower band of inscription. Photo: author.

Fig. 89, possible name of Zittow extracted from the letter A on the band in window NII. Photo: author.

Fig. 90, Fairford I light f and detail of the onlooker. Photo: author.

Fig. 91, Fairford I light f and detail of the inscription. Photo: author.

Fig. 92, Fairford I, Crucifixion. Photo: author.

Fig. 93, van der Weyden, Diptych of Jeanne of France, ca. 1452-70. Chantilly, Musée Condé. Photo: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/w/weyden/rogier/13variou/5diptych.html.

Fig. 94, Memling, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1480-1485. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum. Photo: <http://www.wga.hu/html/m/memling/6copies/08notri1.html>.

Fig. 95, Memling, *The Last Judgement*, 1467-71. Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe. Photo: <http://www.wga.hu/html/m/memling/1early3/02last00.html>.

Fig. 96, Fairford wI, The West Doom Window. Photo: author.

Fig. 97, Memling, *Nativity*, 1470-72, detail, reversed. Cologne, Museum für Angewandte Kunst. Photo: <http://www.wga.hu/html/m/memling/1early2/05nativi.html>.
Fairford nIII 1b, *Nativity*. Photo: author.

Fig. 98, Fairford nV light a, *Eve*. Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: author.

Fig. 99, Joyce tracing of *Eve*, detail. London, V&A. Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: author.

Fig. 100, Joyce tracing of *Eve*, detail. London, V&A. Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: author.

Fig. 101, Master of the St. Lucy Legend, *Mary Queen of Heaven*, c. 1485/1500. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art. Photo: <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.41595.html>.

Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-1502. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 104.

Fig. 102, Sittow, after Rogier van der Weyden, *Pietà* c1500. Granada, Museo de la Capilla Real. Photo: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/s/sittow/pieta.html.

Fig. 103, Fairford I light e, detail. Christ carrying the Cross. Photo: author.

Sittow, after Rogier van der Weyden, *Pietà* c1500, detail. Granada, Museo de la Capilla Real. Photo: http://www.wga.hu/html_m/s/sittow/pieta.html.

Fig. 104, Fairford sIV light c Transfiguration detail. Photo: author.

Juan de Flandes, *Temptation of Christ*, 1502-3, detail. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 94.

Fig. 105, Fairford sIV light d detail from *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Photo: author.

Juan de Flandes, *Last Supper*, ca. 1496, detail. London, Wellington Museum. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 35.

Fig. 106, Fairford sIV light c detail from *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. Photo: author.

Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1504, detail. Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 100.

Fig. 107, Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1504. Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 100.

Fig. 108, Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1504, detail. Madrid, Museo del Prado. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 100.

Fig. 109, Juan de Flandes, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, ca. 1514-19. Madrid, Museo del Prado. Photo: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-resurrection-of-lazarus/ccb0e223-16b1-47ed-9c04-1cb8c44c43bc?searchid=4dea95ae-b827-e718-8aed-27843db07cd2>

Fig. 110, Fairford window I light a, *Entry into Jerusalem*. Photo: author.

Juan de Flandes, *Entry into Jerusalem*, ca. 1497-98. Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 51.

Fig. 111, Fairford sII, East window of the Corpus Christi Chapel, with *Transfiguration* in the centre light. Photo: author.

Fig. 112, Fairford sII light c, details from the *Transfiguration*. Photo: author.

Fig. 113, Juan de Flandes, *Transfiguration*, ca. 1500. Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 68.

Fig. 114, Fairford nII, *Rest on the Flight to Egypt, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary and Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple*. Photo: author.

Fig. 115, Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-1502. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 104.

Fig. 116, Fairford nII detail light c, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Photo: author.

Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-1502, detail. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 104.

Fig. 117, Fairford sV light c, *The Ascension*. Photo: author.

Sittow, *Ascension of Christ*, ca. 1496-1502. London, National Gallery, on loan from private collection. Photo: author.

Fig. 118, Fairford sII light c, Harrowing of Hell. Photo: author.

Juan de Flandes, *Descent into Limbo*, ca. 1501. Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 76.

Fig. 119, Juan de Flandes, *Supper at Emmaus*, ca. 1502, and detail of inscription.

Madrid, Palacio Real. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 85.

Fig. 120, Unknown Artist, *Triptych of the Calvary*, ca. 1500. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 121, Juan de Flandes, *Nailing to the Cross*, ca. 1502. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: Ishikawa, 2004, Fig. 91.

Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, Flagellation. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 122, Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail of scabbard. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 123, Fairford I light c, Christ before Pilate. Photo: author.

Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail from Christ carrying the Cross. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 124, Fairford I light c, Christ before Pilate. Photo: author.

Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail from Christ before Pilate. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 125, Fairford I light d, Flagellation of Christ. Photo: author.

Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, Flagellation. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Photo: author.

Fig. 126, *Morros*, *Christ with the Doctors in the temple and death of the Virgin*. Berlin, *Staatliche Museen*. Photo: Weniger, 2011, 446.

Fig. 127, Fairford nII lights d & e, *Christ with the doctors in the temple*, detail. Photo: author.

Morros, *Christ with the doctors in the temple*, detail. Berlin, *Staatliche Museen*. Photo: Weniger, 2011, 446.

Fig. 128, Penicaud, altar used during the military campaigns of El Gran Capitan, ca. 1500. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 129, Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, top left and top right panels. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 130, Fairford I (east) detail from the Entry *into* Jerusalem. Photo: author.

Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, *detail* from the Heavenly Jerusalem. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 131, Fairford NV, A1, Demon. Photo: author.

Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, demon. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 132, Comparison between the Granada demons and the Fairford demons. Photo: author.

Fig. 133, Fairford wI light g, Depiction of Lucifer. Photo: author.

Fig. 134, Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, detail. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 135, Fairford I upper tier, *Crucifixion*. Photo: author.

Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, lower centre panel, *Crucifixion*. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 136, Comparison between Granada altar (*lower*) and Fairford west window (*upper*), *the dead rising from their graves*. Photo: author.

Fig. 137, Fairford I lower tier, light e, *Christ carrying the Cross*. Photo: author.

Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, lower left panel, *Christ carrying the Cross*. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes. Photo: author.

Fig. 138, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*, ca. 1500. Private Collection. Photo: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/circle-of-michel-sittow-saint-margaret-of-5868426-details.aspx>.

Fig. 139, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*. ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection. Photo: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/circle-of-michel-sittow-saint-margaret-of-5868426-details.aspx>.

Fig. 140, Sittow, *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485, detail. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum. Photo:

www.szepmuveszeti.hu/adatlap_eng/the_virgin_and_child_michiel_9990.

Fairford SIII Light c, St. Margaret, detail. Photo: author.

Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*, ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection. Photo: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/circle-of-michel-sittow-saint-margaret-of-5868426-details.aspx>.

Fig. 141, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene*, ca. 1500, detail. Detroit, Institute of Arts. Photo: <http://www.dia.org/object-info/35c12f36-1403-45f2-be0b-a95bd101daee.aspx?position=1>.

Sittow, *The Vienna Portrait*, ca. 1500-1505, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b0/Michel_Sittow_002.jpg.

Sittow, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1515, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Photo: http://www.wga.hu/html/s/sittow/virgin_c.html.

Fig. 142, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*. ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection. Photo: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/circle-of-michel-sittow-saint-margaret-of-5868426-details.aspx>.

Fig. 143, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso. Photo: <http://tapestries.flandesehispania.org/index.php/Fame>.

Fig. 144, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail of lion holding shield. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso. Photo: <http://tapestries.flandesehispania.org/index.php/Fame>.

Fairford sX light c, detail from the Throne of King David with lion and shield. Photo: author.

Fig. 145, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso. Photo: <http://tapestries.flandesehispania.org/index.php/Fame>.

Fig. 146, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso. Photo: <http://tapestries.flandesehispania.org/index.php/Fame>.

Fig. 147, Cartuja de Miraflores, windows of the choir apse: *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple* and *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary*, ca. 1485. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 11, 12, 13.

Fig. 148, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost window detail. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 9.

Fig. 149, Fairford nII lights d & e detail of upper canopy. Photo: author.

Fig. 150, Cartuja de Miraflores, Flagellation, detail of canopy. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 2.

Fairford, canopy above Apostle. Photo: author.

Fig. 151, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost window. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 9.

Fairford sV light d, Pentecost. Photo: author.

Fig. 152, Cartuja de Miraflores, Adoration of the Magi. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 13.

Fairford nIII light c, Adoration of the Magi. Photo: author.

Fig. 153, Cartuja de Miraflores, Presentation in the Temple. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 12.

Fairford nIII light d, Presentation in the Temple. Photo: author.

Fig. 154, Cartuja de Miraflores, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 11.

Fairford nII light c, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary. Photo: author.

Fig. 155, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.

Fig. 156, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, details of inscriptions on cuff (left), ointment pot (centre), boot (right). Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.

Fig. 157, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost, detail of inscription. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 9.

Fig. 158, Fairford, detail of sIII light c. Photo: author.

Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.

Fig. 159, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.

Fig. 160, Fairford, sII light b, detail, head of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Photo: author.

Fig. 161, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail of heads of the three assistants. Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.

Fig. 162, Fairford, examples of differing heads and painting techniques. Photo: author.

Fig. 163, Sittow, *The Vienna Portrait*, ca. 1500-1505. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b0/Michel_Sittow_002.jpg.

Fig. 164, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene*, ca. 1500, detail. Detroit, Institute of Arts. Photo: <http://www.dia.org/object-info/35c12f36-1403-45f2-be0b-a95bd101daee.aspx?position=1>.

Sittow, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1515, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Photo: http://www.wga.hu/html/s/sittow/virgin_c.html.

Fig. 165, Fairford nIII light b detail, Virgin. Photo: author.

Joyce, tracing of the Virgin. London, V&A. Photo: author.

Fig. 166, Sittow, *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485, detail. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum. Photo:

www.szepmuveszeti.hu/adatlap_eng/the_virgin_and_child_michiel_9990.

Joyce, tracing of the Virgin. London, V&A. Photo: author.

Fig. 167, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene*, ca. 1500, detail. Detroit, Institute of Arts. Photo: <http://www.dia.org/object-info/35c12f36-1403-45f2-be0b-a95bd101daee.aspx?position=1>.

Fairford SIII, St. Margaret, detail. Photo: author.

Fig. 168, Joyce, tracing of the councillors' heads in Fairford sX light a. London, V&A. Photo: author.

Fig. 169, Fairford sIII lights d & e, The Three Marys. Photo: author.

Fig. 170, Fairford sIII light e, detail. Photo: author.

Perréal, *Mary Tudor, Princess of England, Queen of France*, ca. 1512. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Photo: <http://bjws.blogspot.co.uk/2012/12/women-by-french-artist-jean-perreal-c.html>.

Fig. 171, Fairford sVI light a, detail of the head of St. Peter. Photo: author.

Fig. 172, Joyce, tracing of the Queen of Sheba. London, V&A. Photo: author.

Fairford nV light d. Photo: author.

Fig. 173, Fairford nV light d, details of the inscription found on the headdress. Photo: author.

Fig. 174, Unknown artist, *Elizabeth of York*, ca. 1500. London, National Portrait Gallery. Photo: <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw02068/Elizabeth-of-York?>

Fig. 175, Fairford nX light j, *The Messenger*. Photo: author.

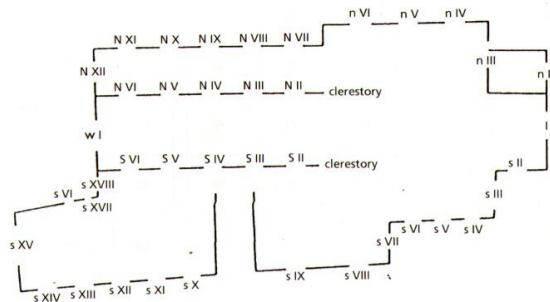
Fig. 176, Sittow, *Man in a Red Hat*, ca. 1512. Detroit, Institute of Arts. Photo: <http://fineartamerica.com/featured/a-young-man-in-a-red-cap-michiel-sittow.html>.

Fig. 177, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, *Deathbed of King Henry VII*, 1509, with detail of Hugh Denys. British Library Add.MS 45131, f.54. Photo: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugh_Denys.



Fig. 1, Fairford, St. Mary's Church from the south east.

CVMA Numbering System for Windows Ground Plan



CVMA Numbering System for Windows, Window Plan and Panel Numbering System

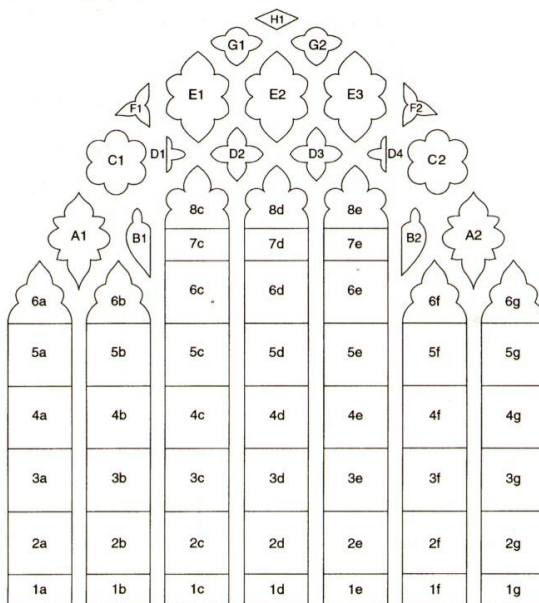


Fig. 2, The CVMA numbering system.

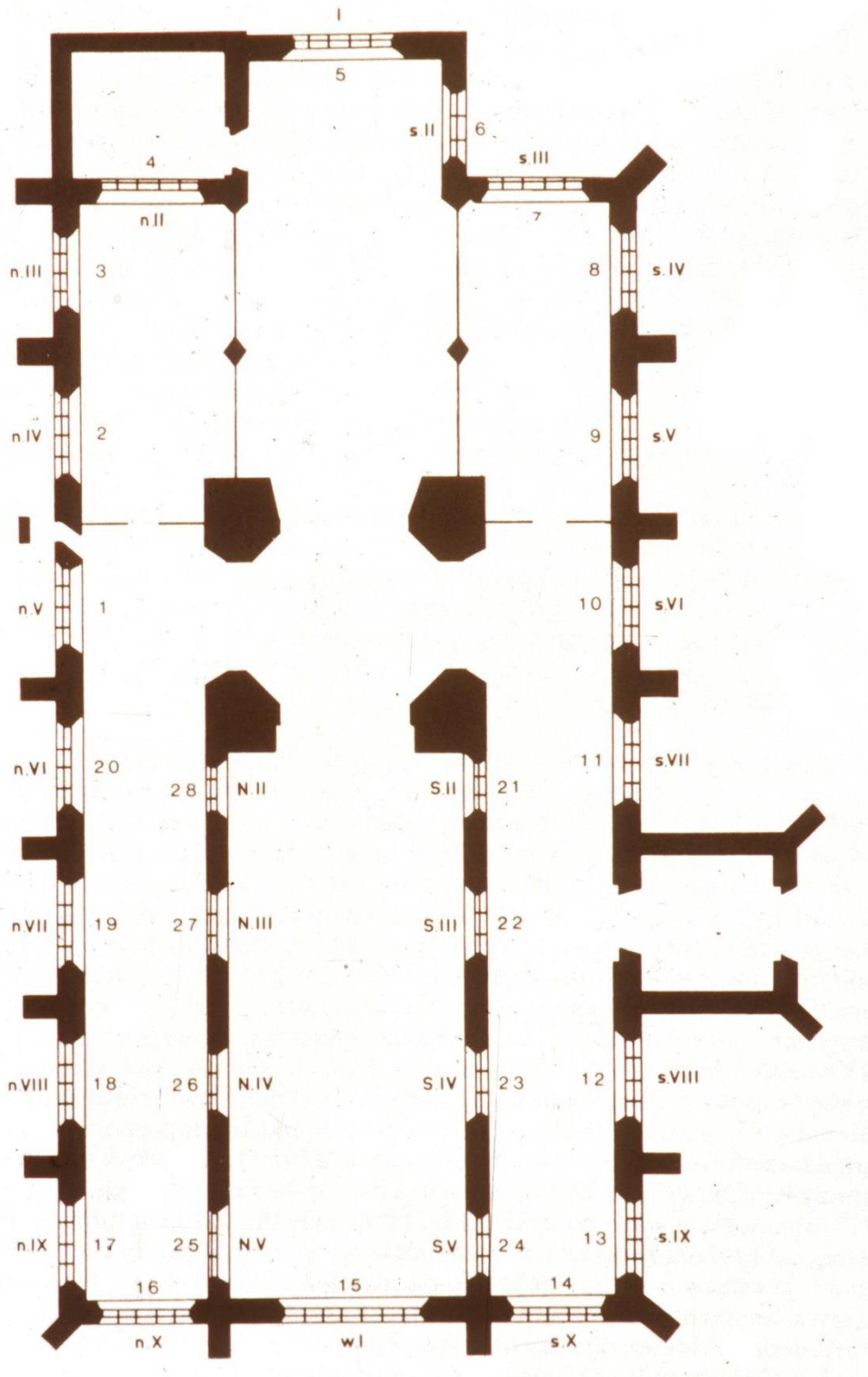


Fig 3, Fairford, plan of St Mary's Church with window numbering systems.

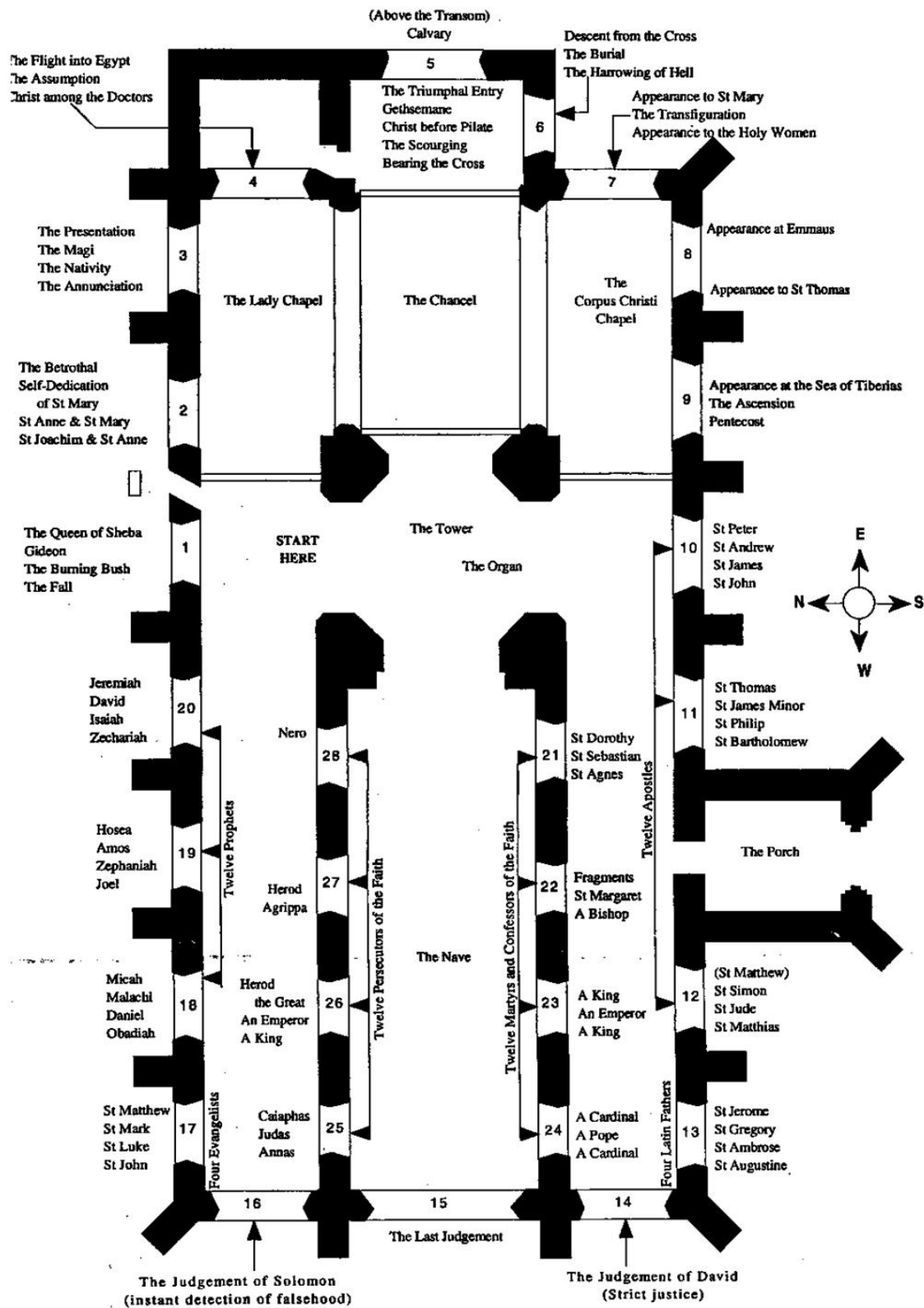


Fig. 4, Fairford, subjects in the windows of St Mary's Church.



Fig. 5, Fairford, East elevation, external ferramenta support systems.



Fig. 6, Fairford, details of three types of ferramenta anchor ends with cast lead coverings.



Fig. 7, Durham Cathedral, example of right angled ferramenta anchor end with lead encapsulation.



Fig. 8, Fairford, detail of the herringbone decoration on ferramenta.



Fig. 9, Fairford, bar section.



Westminster Abbey, bar section.



Fig. 10, Hampton Court. Ferramenta in situ. Details of the ferramenta with through bar.

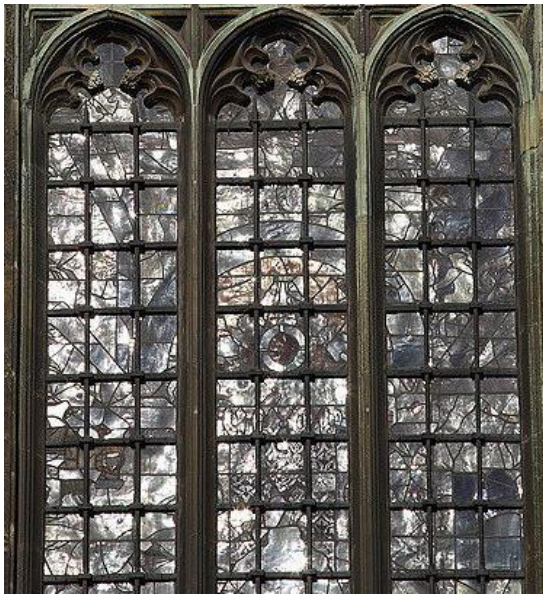


Fig. 11, King's College, Cambridge, ferramenta with double stanchions.



Fig. 12, Fairford sII light c, imagery offset to the right.



Fairford nIII light c, imagery offset to the left.



Fig. 13, Fairford, ferramenta on vestry window.



Fig. 14, Chartres Cathedral, lug-bar with wedges.



Fig. 15, York Minster, example of the geometric setting out for a window tracery.



Fig. 16, York Minster, interior view of the tracing room.

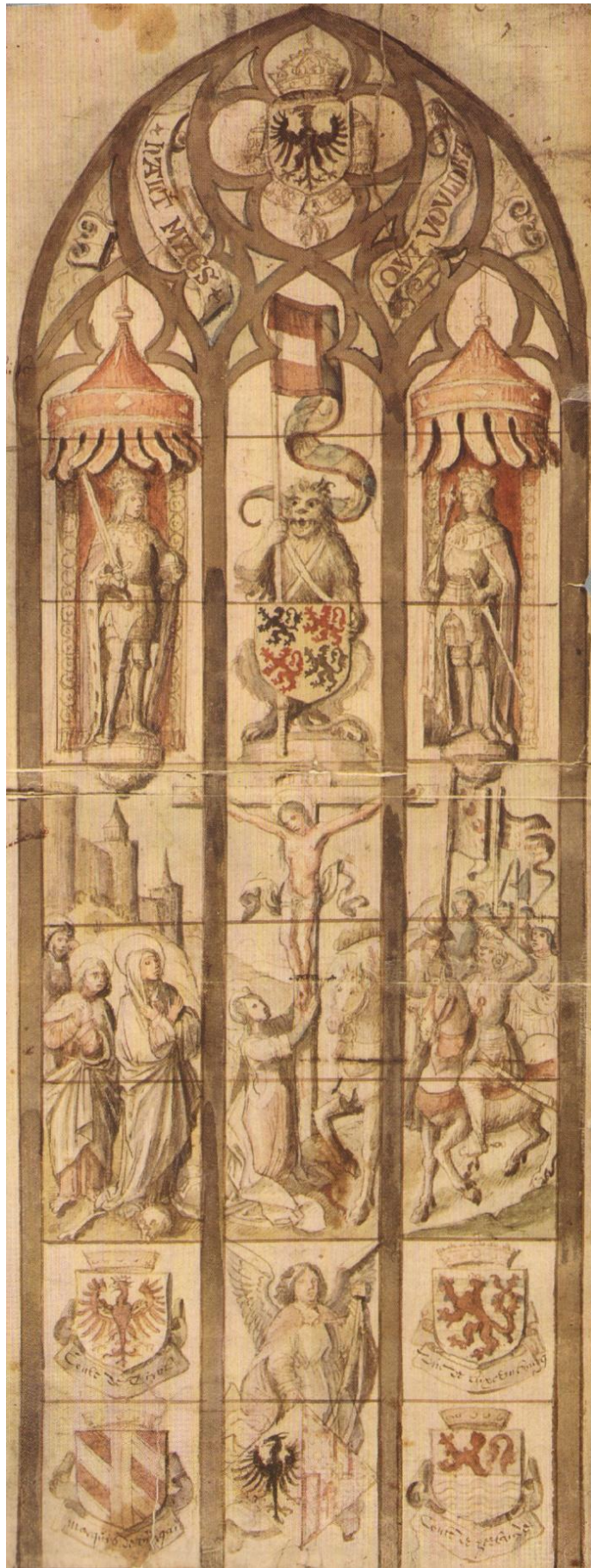


Fig. 17, Mons, St Waltrude, Vidimus for a three-light window.
Brussels, Albert I Royal Library, MS G 1516, f° 587.

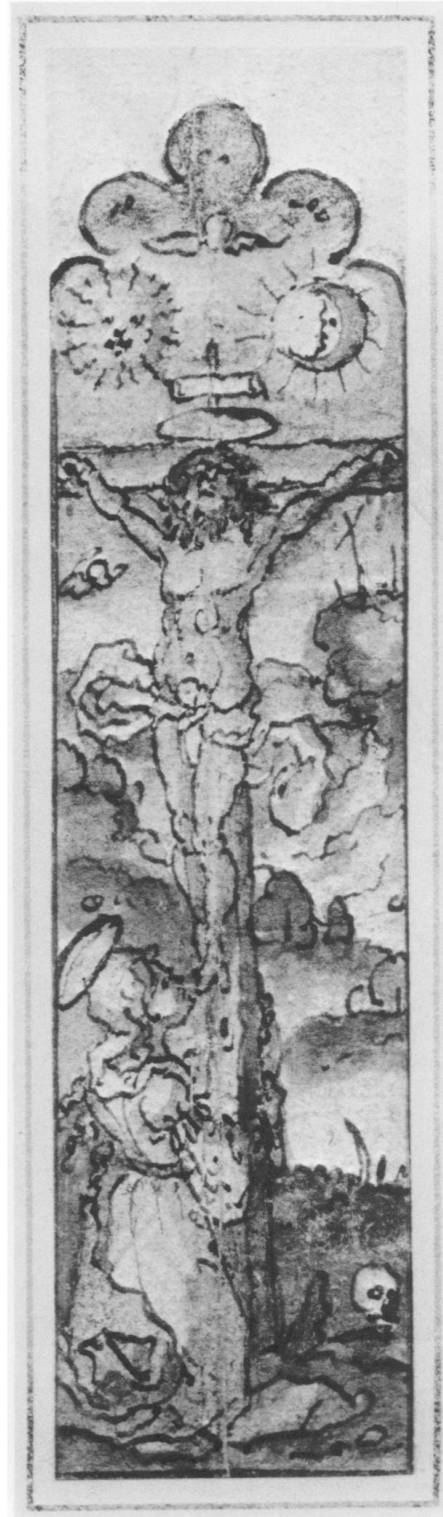
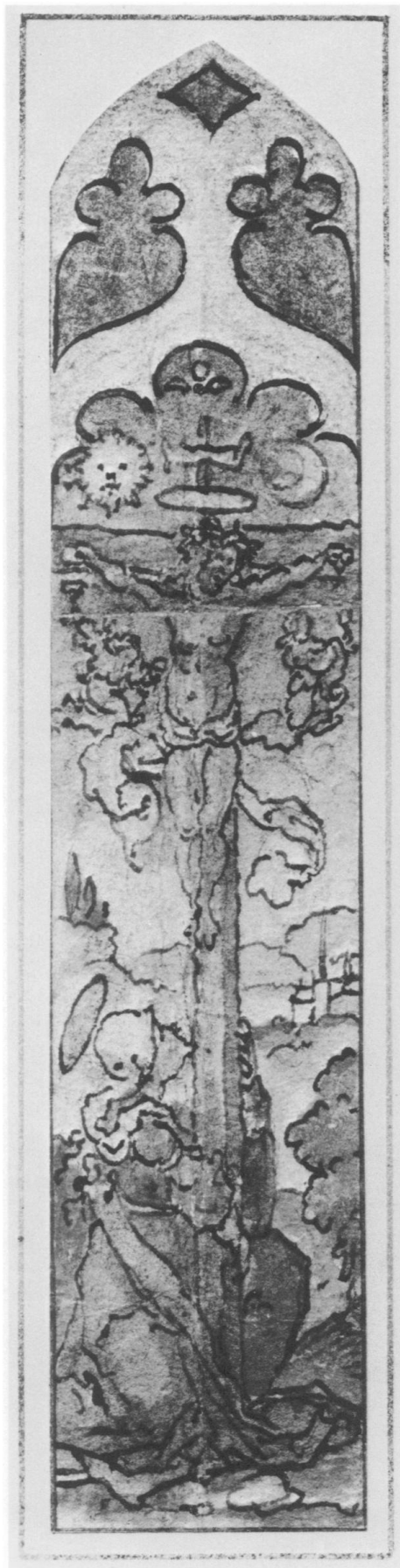


Fig. 18, Schön, *Crucifixion vidimuses*. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts.



Fig. 19, Gouda Sint-Janskerk, Cartoon and stained glass window.



Fig. 20, Fairford, west window, upper tier.



Fig. 21, *Tapestry Cartoon Fragment*, 1500-1550. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 22, Joyce, tracing of Samson overcoming the lion. London: V&A.



Fairford nX, Light j, Cain murdering Abel. Photo: author.



Fig. 23, Warndon, Virgin and Child (left); Fladbury, Virgin and Child (right).



Fig. 24, Fairford window nVIII light d,
Micah.



window nVII light b, Zephaniah.



Fig. 25, Henry VII Chapel, Westminster, photographed in 1912 and 1923.



Fig. 26, Fairford, NIII light b detail.



St Georges Chapel Windsor wI detail.



Fig. 27, King's College Chapel, Messenger in window 1(left). Fairford, Joyce tracing of the Councillor in window nX light a (right).



Fig. 28, Fairford SII light b.



Lighthorne, St. Laurence's Church,
Warwickshire.



Fig. 29, Cylinder glass in production at Glashütte Lamberts, Waldsassen.



Fig. 30, Coloured crown glass from the south transept rose window of York Minster.

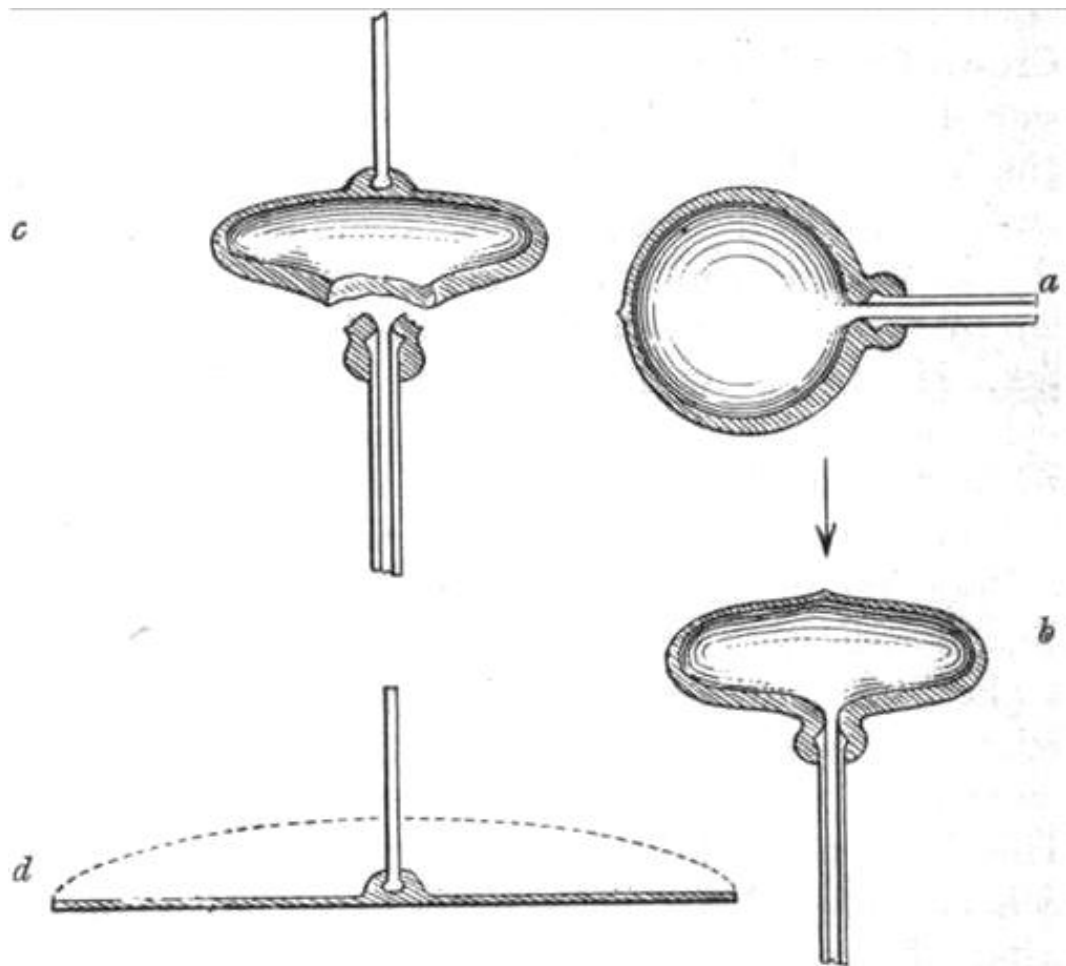


Fig. 31, Spun sheet glass, stages in manufacture.



Fig. 32, St. Mary's Fairford. Rounded edge of a spun sheet used uncut for tracery eyelet pieces.



Fig. 33, Modern example of a full sheet of glass produced by the spun process.

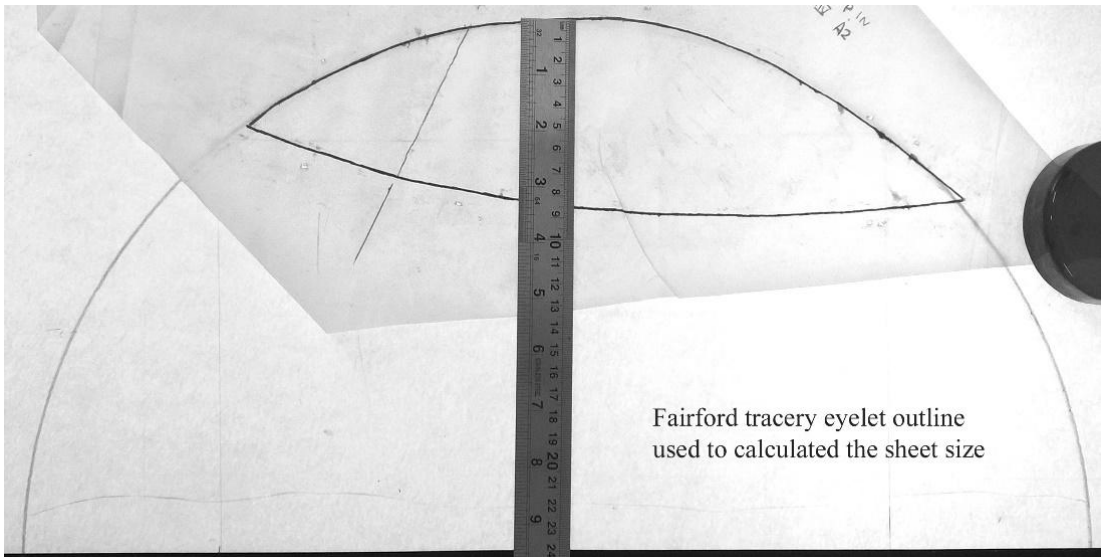


Fig. 34, Spun glass disc size from surviving tracery eyelet.

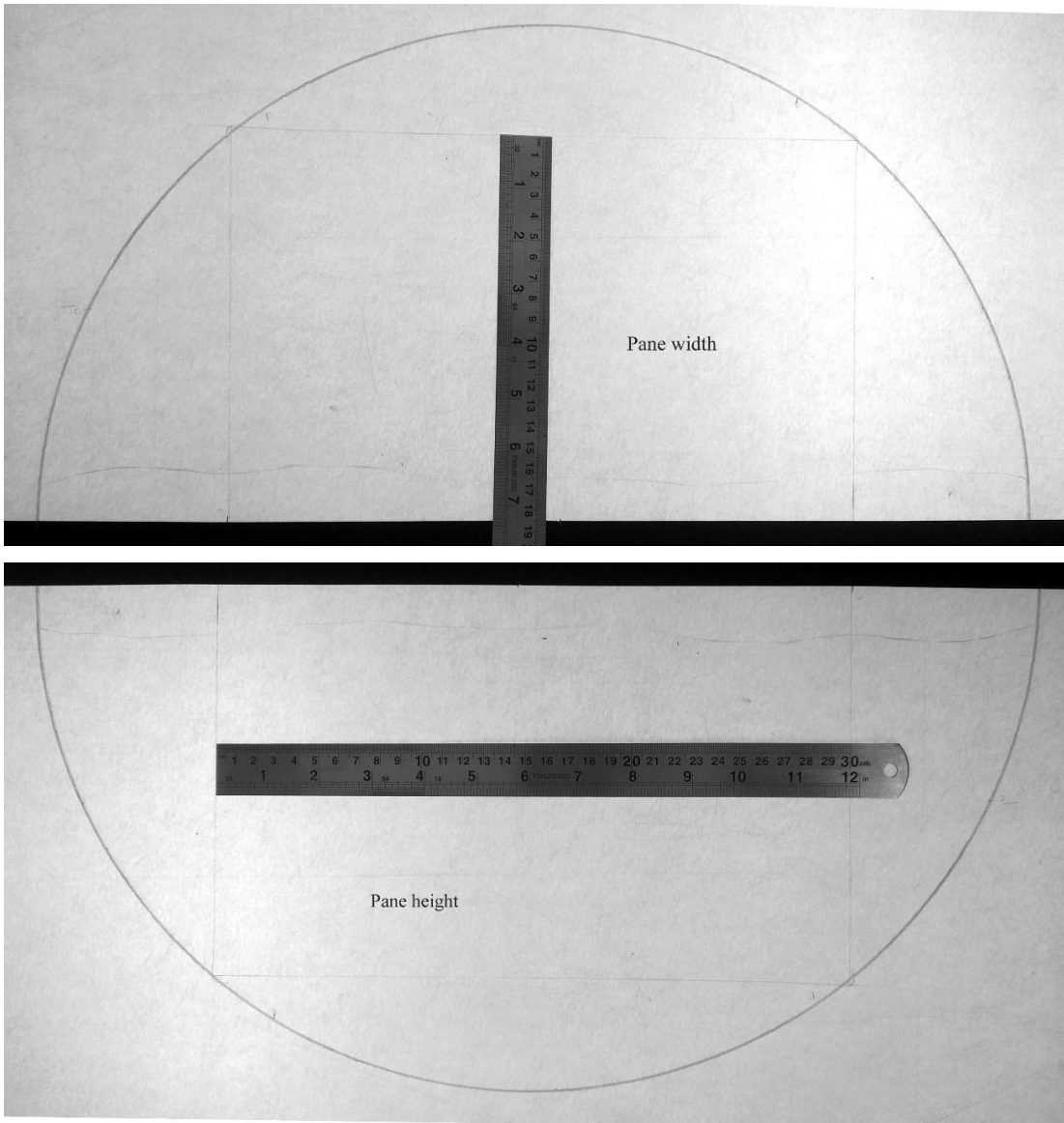


Fig. 35, Maximum pane size from spun glass disc.



Fig. 36, Fairford wI, 1g showing Lucifer in flashed blue and red glass.

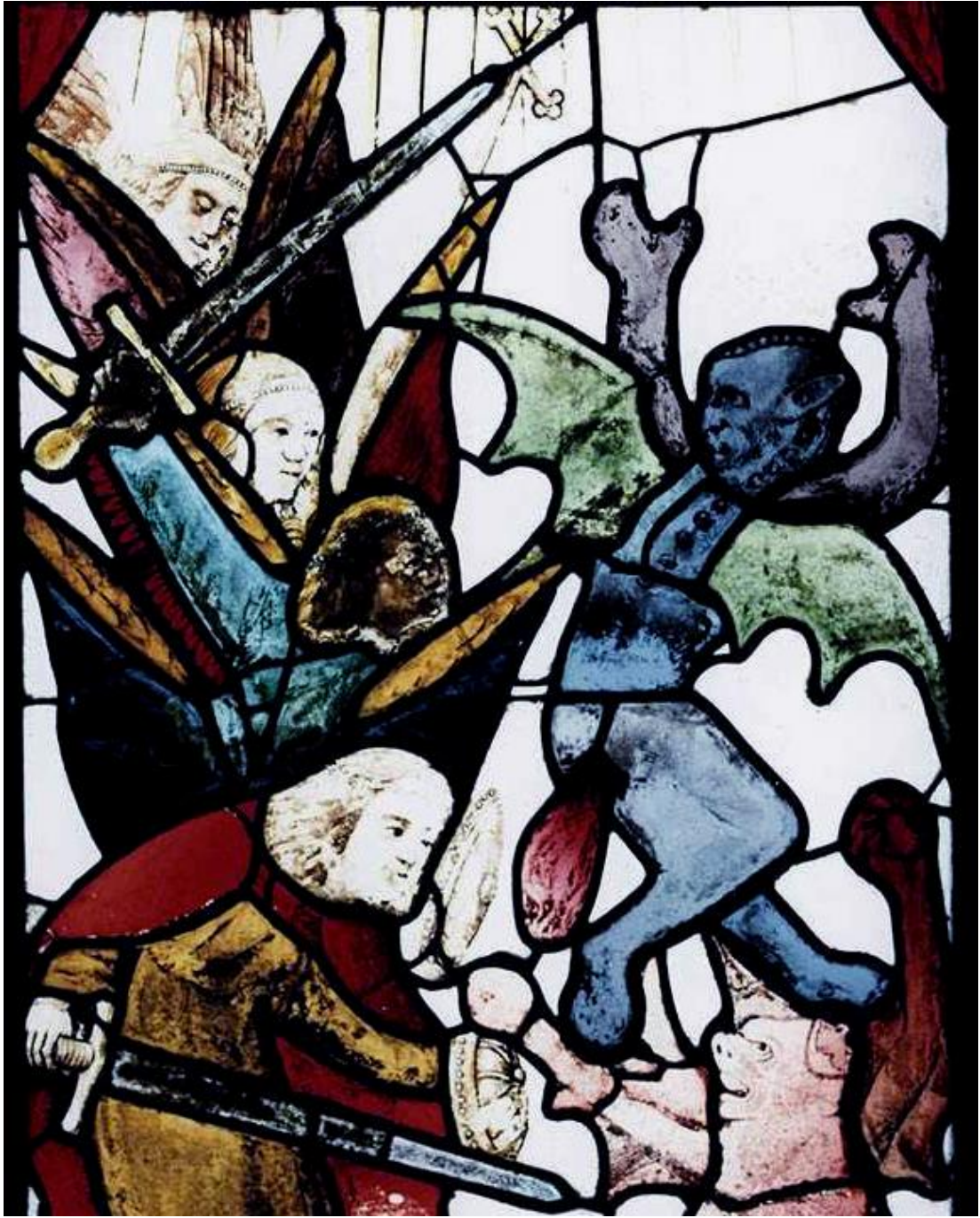


Fig. 37, Fairford sII 4c showing the principal demon in flashed red on blue.



Fig. 38, Fairford wI 1g, detail showing flashed blue and red glass.

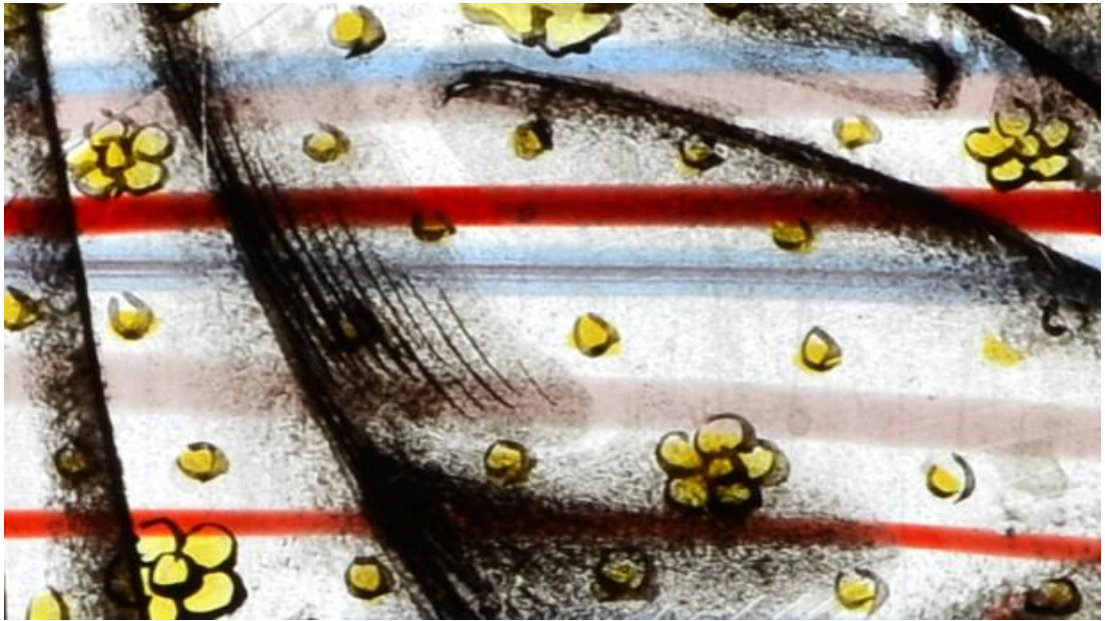


Fig. 39, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris. West Rose, angel and detail.



Fig. 40, Fairford SIII 1c, the dragon beneath St Margaret.



Fig. 41, Verneuil-Sur-Avre, Church of Sainte-Marie-Madeleine.



Fig. 42, Fairford sII 2c Lost soul in Limbo.



Fig. 43, Fairford wI 4g One of the damned in Hell's flames.

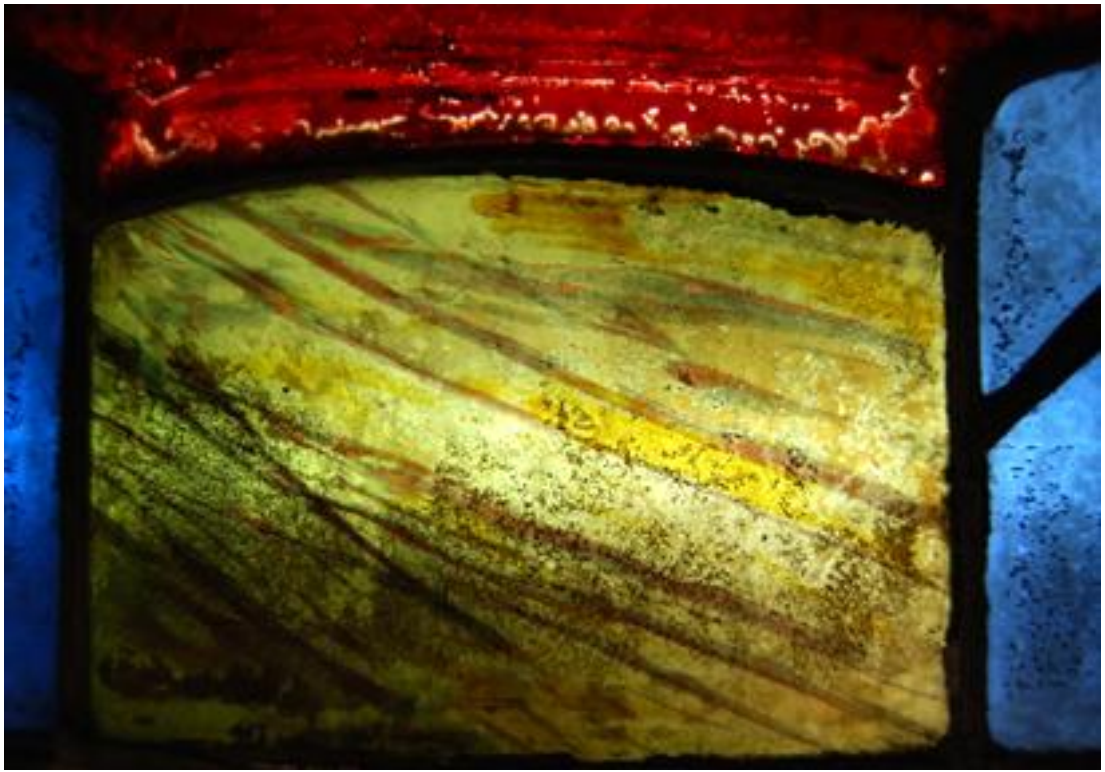


Fig. 44, Lichfield Cathedral Lady Chapel, window nII light b.



Fig. 45, Fairford window nII panel 1a, head of the Virgin Mary.



Fig. 46, Glazing table. Girona, Museu d' Art.



Fig. 47, Jost Amman, *Der Glasser*, 1568. Woodcut.



Fig. 48, A discovered grozing iron and a replica in use.



Fig. 49, pump drills,



strap drill,



brace drill.



Fig. 50, Fairford, Example of both drilling and hand abrading in transmitted and reflected light.



Fig. 51, Fairford NIV light b, a persecutor of the faith and detail of his surcoat.



Fig. 52, Fairford NIV light b, a persecutor of the faith and detail from the scabbard. Inside in transmitted light and outside showing the free hand abrasion.



Fig. 53, Fairford I light h, detail of decorative banding.

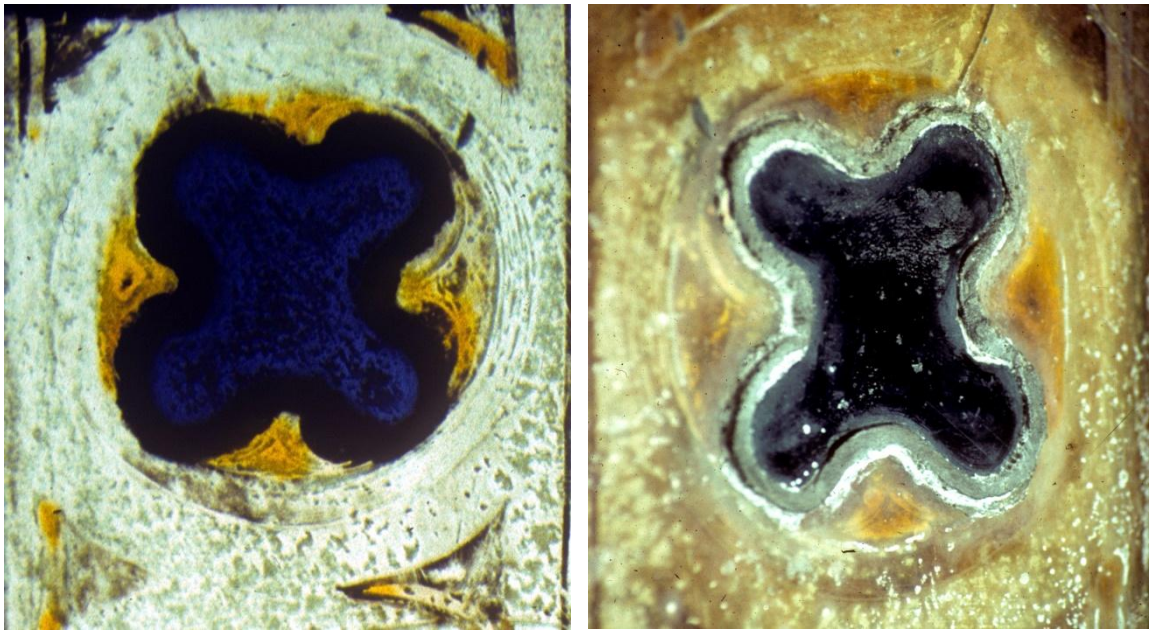


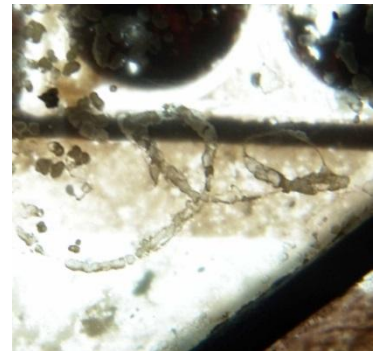
Fig. 54, Fairford NIV light b, detail of the quatrefoil insertion.



sVI B5



sVII 2c



sVIII 1b

Fig. 55, Fairford, Glaziers sorting marks.



Fig. 56, Fairford SIII A5, Singing angel, Detail of the trace and shading pigment colour in transmitted light.

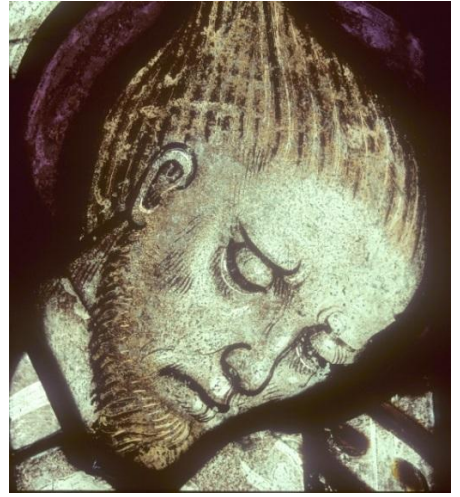


Fig. 57, Fairford, examples of sanguine used for tiled flooring and tinting the hair.



Fig. 58, Stanford on Avon, Northamptonshire, window nII light a, St. Peter c.1325.

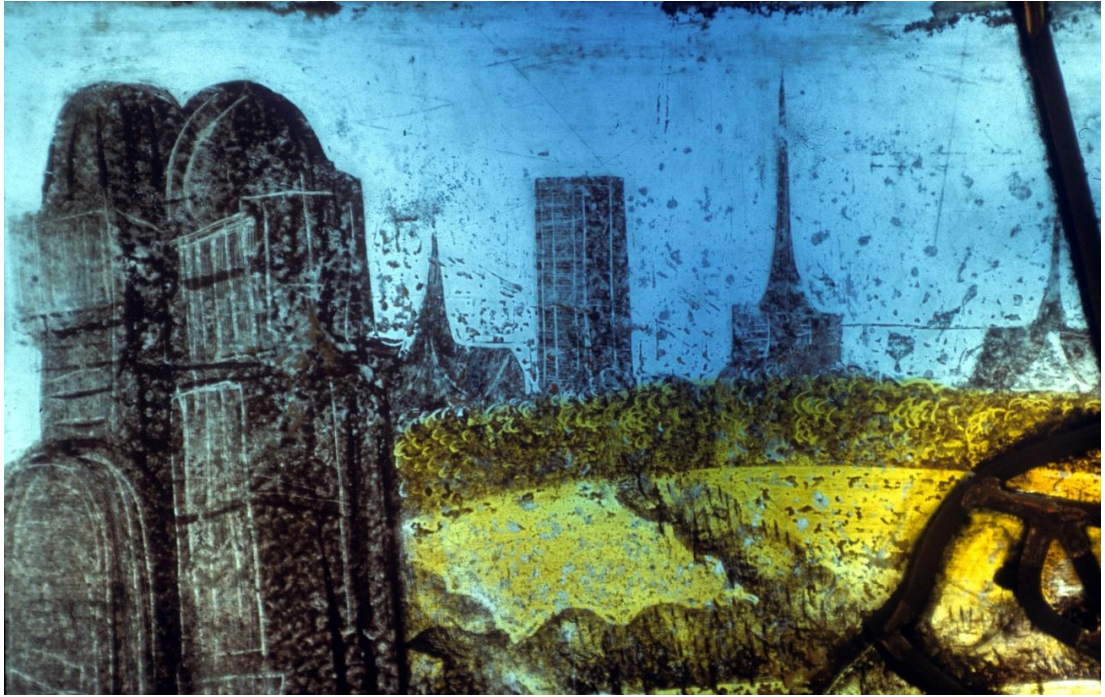


Fig. 59, Fairford sIII light d details of fields and hedgerows in silver stain.



Fig. 60, Fairford NII A2, detail of demon decorated with silver stain for the spots on the body, the claws, teeth, spiked hair and lower eyelids.



Fig. 61, Glass painting brushes.



Fig. 62, Fairford NV A1, Demon.

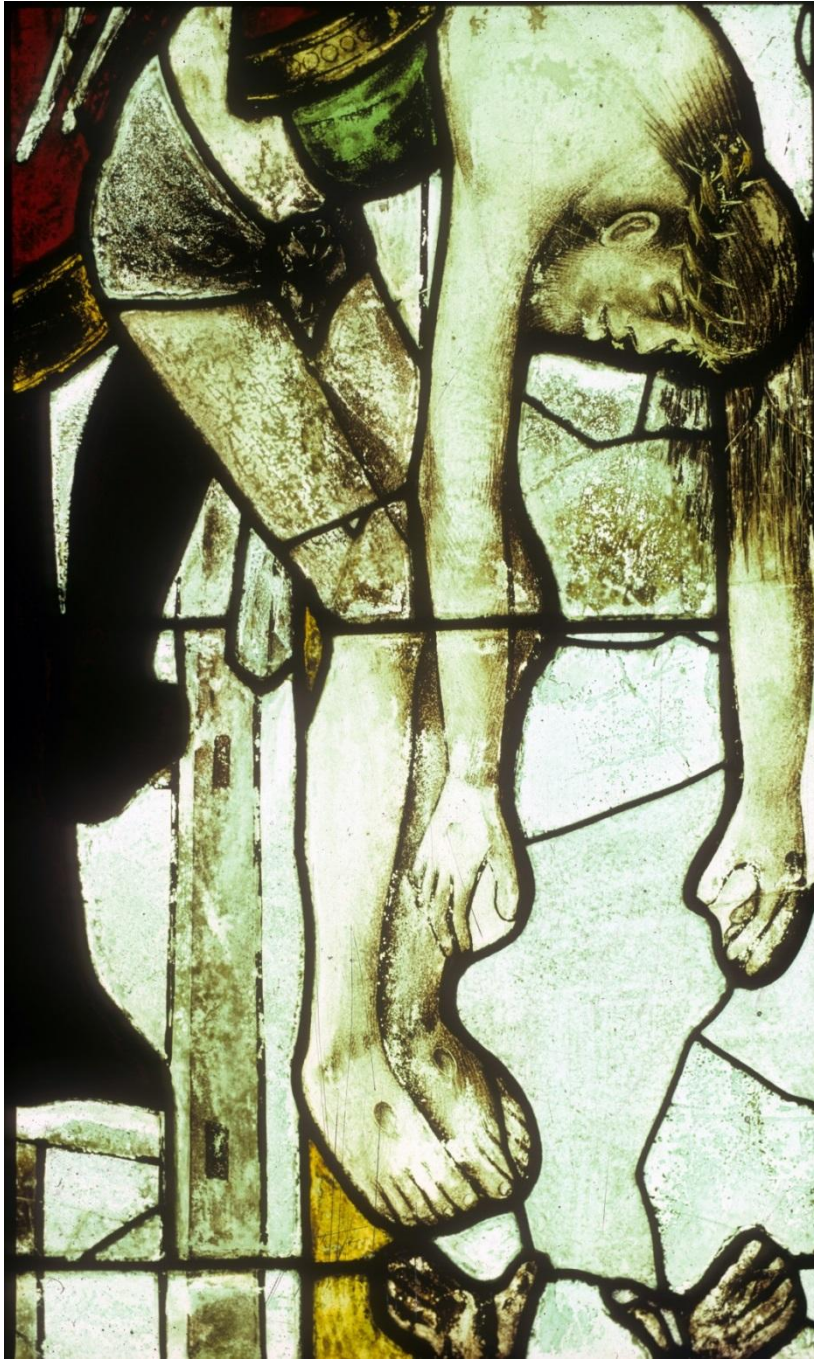


Fig. 63, Fairford sII Christ being lowered from the cross.



Fig. 64, Fairford sII, detail of the feet of Christ.



Fig. 65, Fairford nV light d, detail of the throne of King Solomon.



Fig. 66, Three chambered kiln from 16th century manuscript. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, MS no. 64 f° 33.

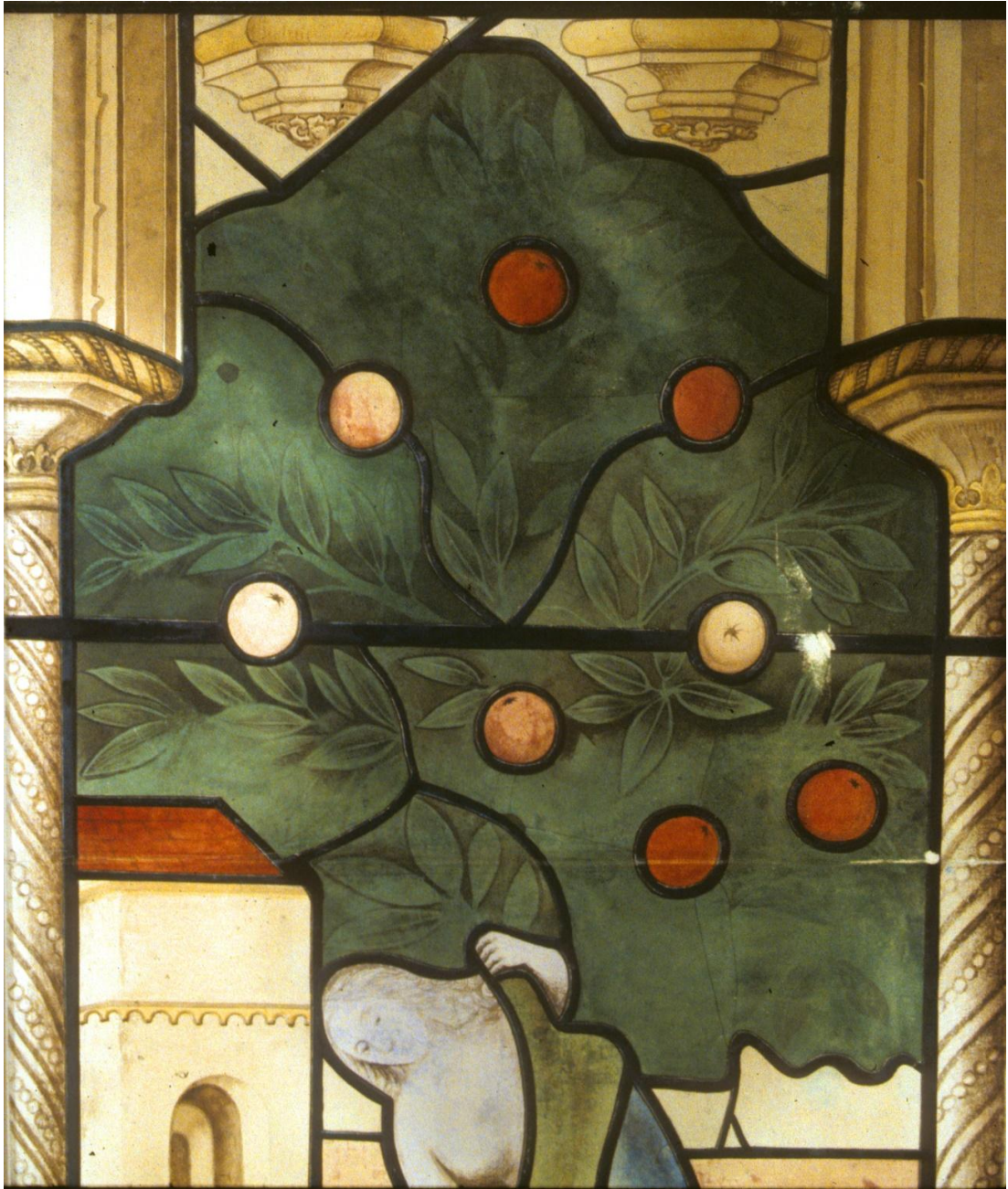


Fig. 67, Joyce tracing from Fairford nV light a, the apple tree. London: V&A.



Fig. 68, Fairford, inset piece within larger drapery piece, with surviving original lead.

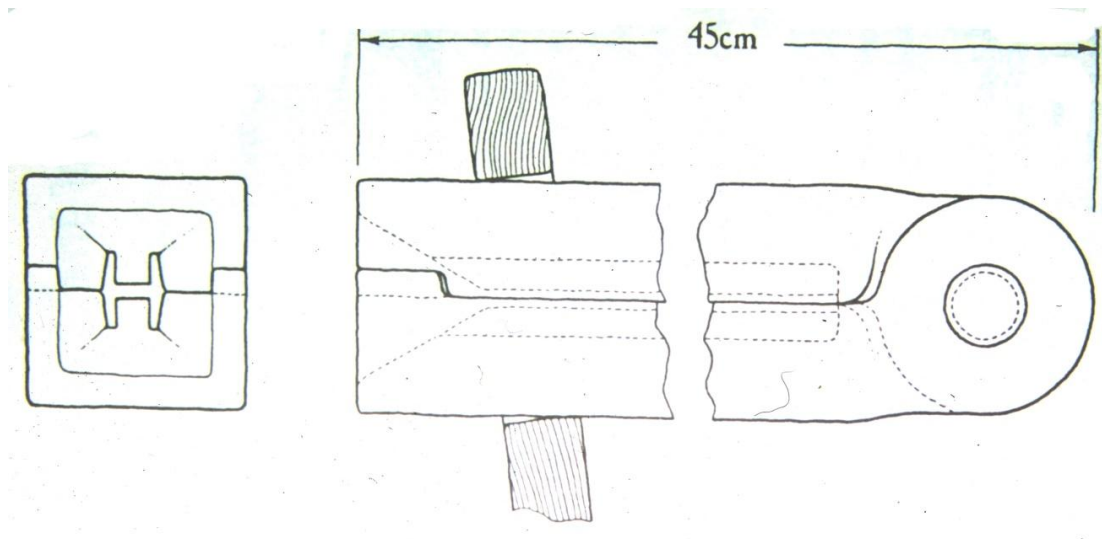


Fig. 69, Reconstruction of a lead casting mould from description of Theophilus.



Fig. 70, Iron casting mould for lead. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass.



Fig. 71, Example of a curved cutting knife. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass.



Fig. 72, Examples of soldering irons. Romont, The Swiss Museum of Stained Glass and Glass.

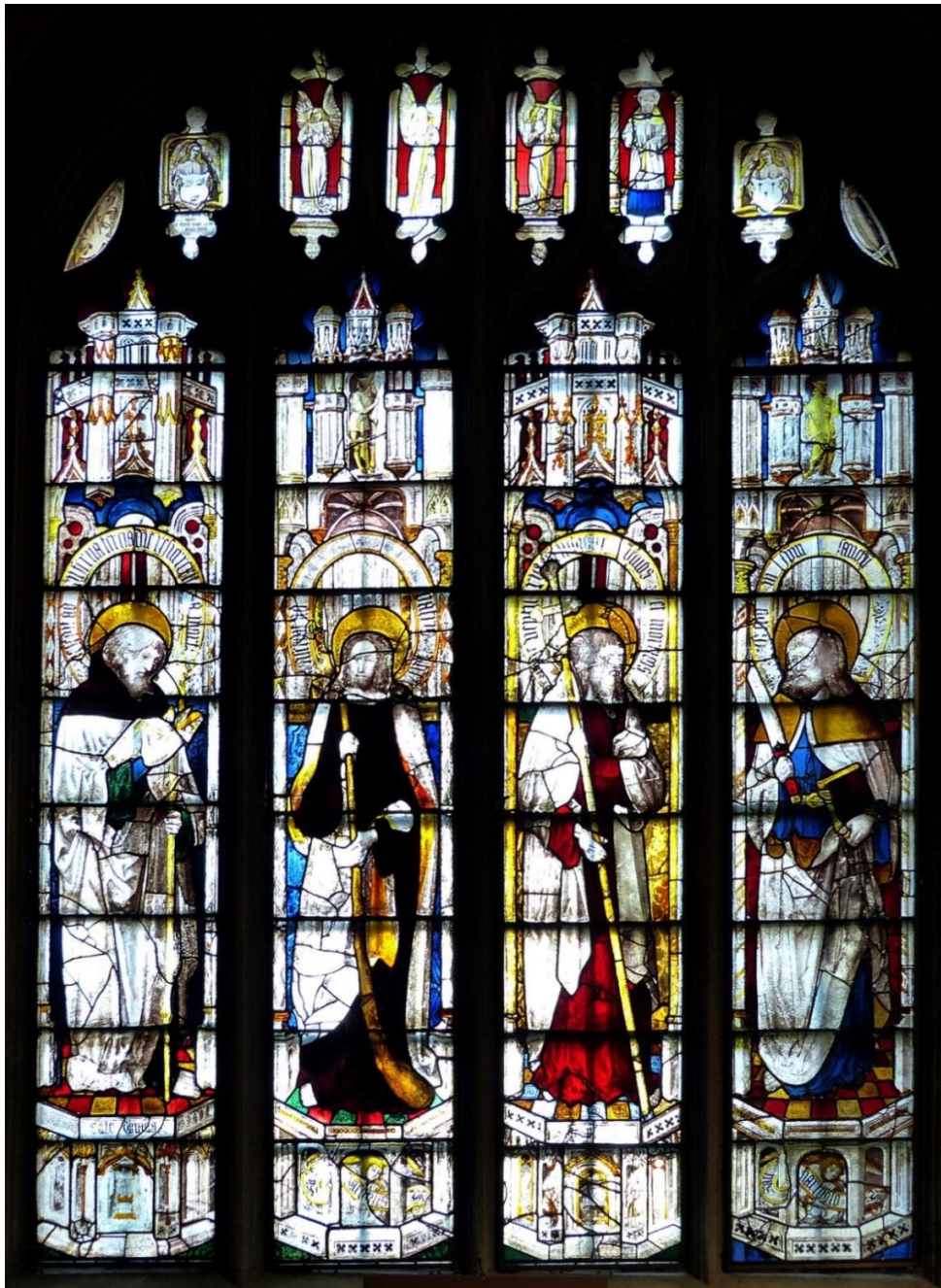


Fig. 73, Fairford sVII, the apostles St. Thomas, St. James the Less, St. Philip and St. Bartholomew.



Fig. 74, Examples of the alternating pedestal designs beneath the figures of the Apostles.



Fig. 75, Fairford sVII, 1a, The pedestal beneath the apostle St. Thomas.



Fig. 76, Fairford sVII 1a, Detail of the Chapel in the pedestal beneath St Philip.

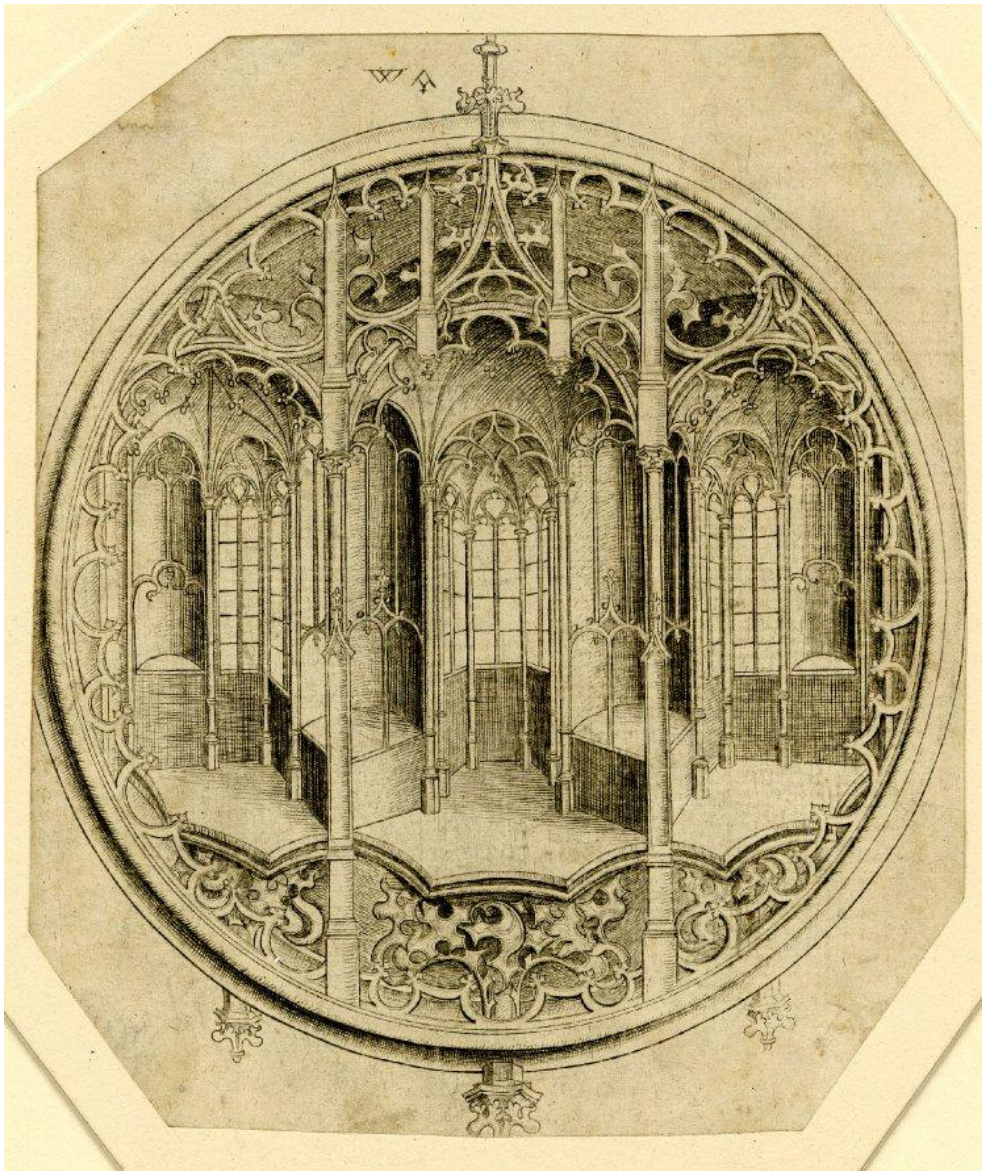


Fig. 77, Master W & key, A Gothic mantle-clasp (*monile*), ca. 1465-1490. London, British Museum.



Fig. 78, Fairford sVII light c, the A positioned behind the shoulder of St Philip.



Detail of the upturned piece.

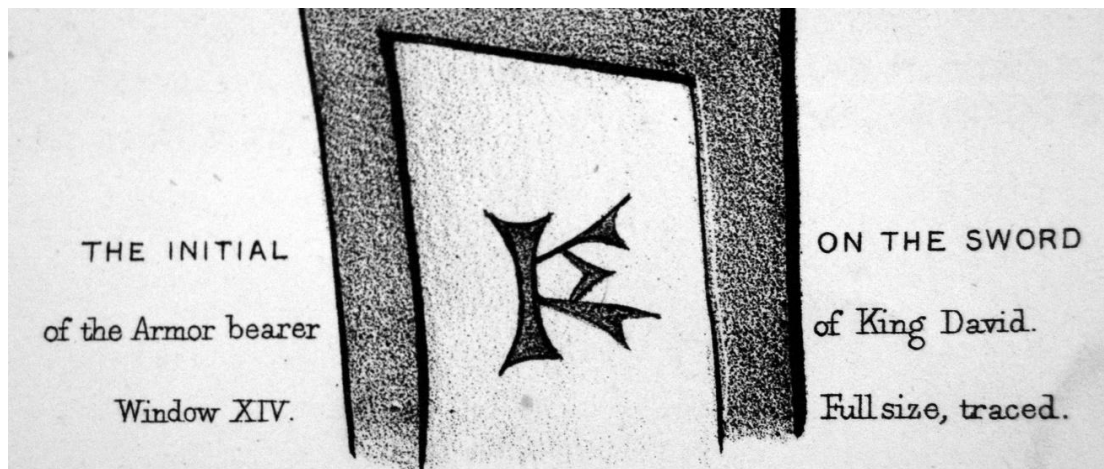


Fig. 79, Joyce tracing of the discovered A.



Fig. 80, Fairford sVII tracers A1 & A2, with thistle and Prince of Wales feather.



Fig. 81, Fairford sX, with two pairs of thistles and Prince of Wales feathers.



Fig. 82, Fairford nII, trimmed down thistle tracers.



Fig. 83, Fairford nVII with the odd canopy above Hosea matching that of St Thomas.



Fig. 84, Fairford XII, Three Persecutors of the Faith.



Fig. 85, Fairford NV 1b depicting Judas with lettering across his undergarment.

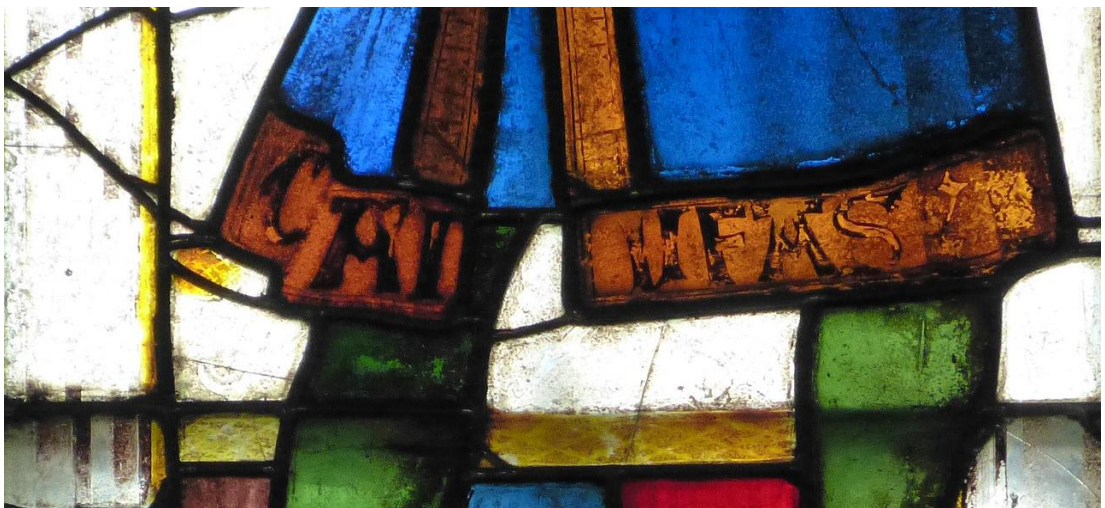


Fig. 86, Fairford NV 1c depicting Caiaphas with lettering on the border of his tunic.



Fig. 87, Fairford NII 1c a
Persecutor



Detail of the band of lettering.



Fig. 88, Fairford NII, the lower band of inscription.



Fig. 89, possible name of Zittow extracted from the letter A on the band in window NII.



Fig. 90, Fairford I light f and detail of the onlooker.

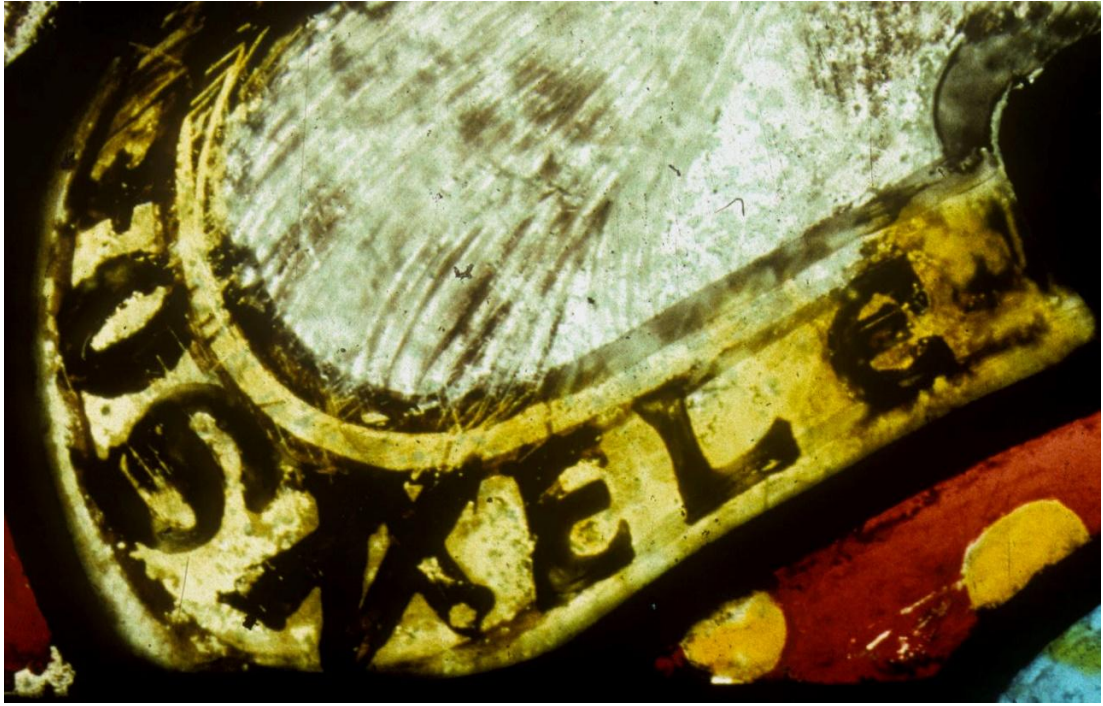


Fig. 91, Fairford I light f and detail of the inscription.



Fig. 92, Fairford I, Crucifixion.



Fig. 93, van der Weyden, Diptych of Jeanne of France, ca. 1452-70. Chantilly, Musée Condé.

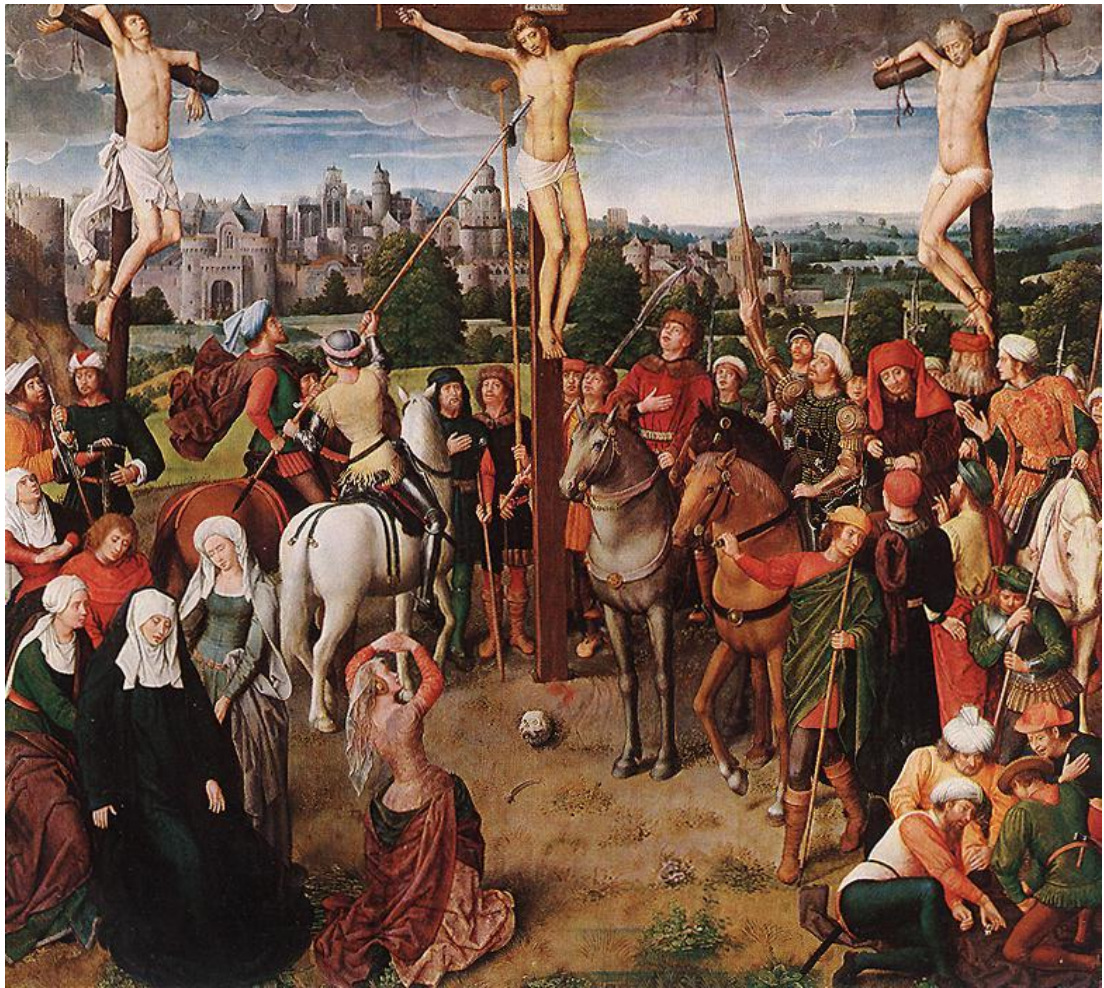


Fig. 94, Memling, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1480-1485. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.



Fig. 95, Memling, *The Last Judgement*, 1467-71. Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe.

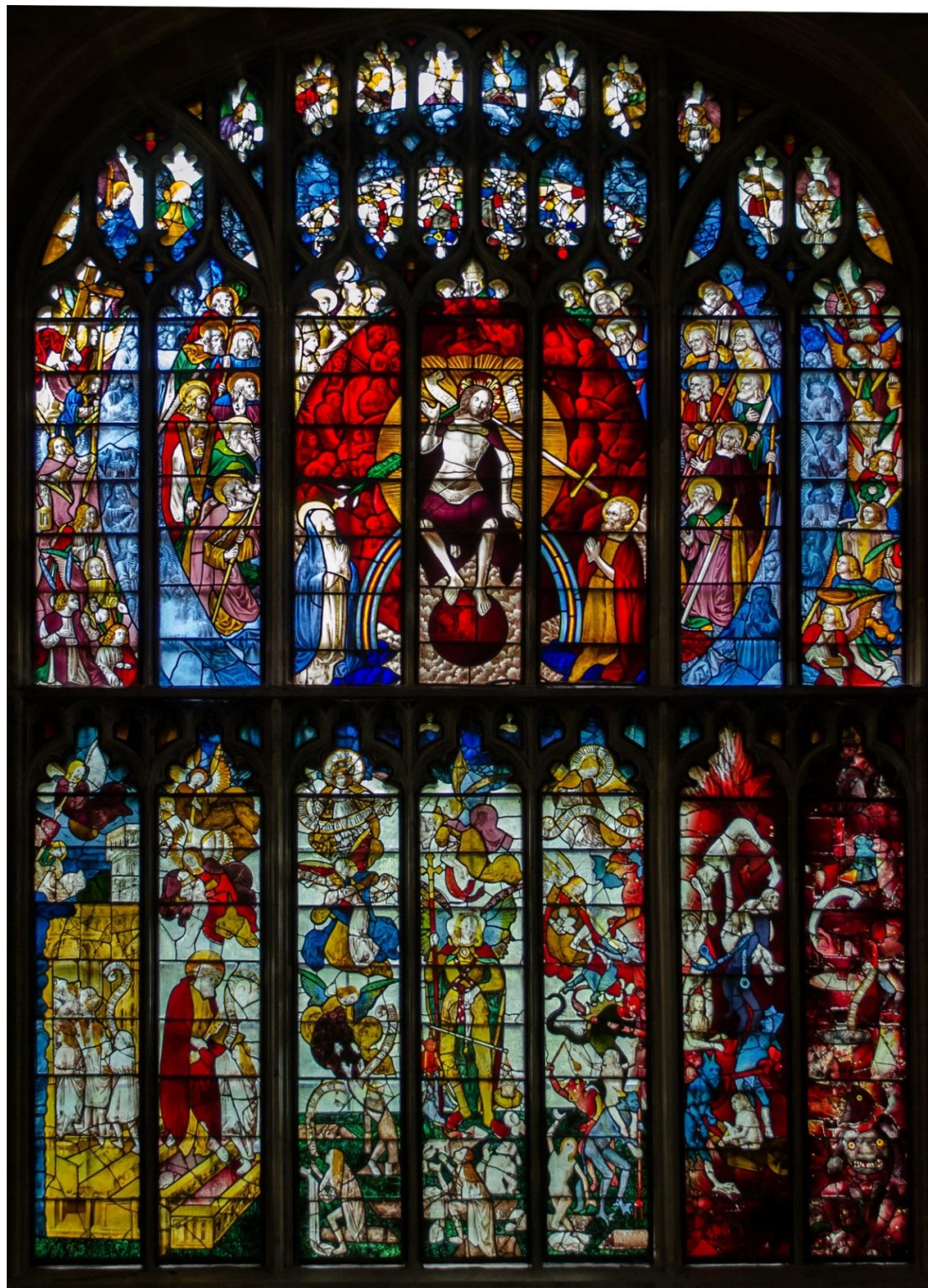


Fig. 96, Fairford wI, The West Doom Window.



Fig. 97, Memling, *Nativity*, 1470-72, detail, reversed. Cologne, Museum für Angewandte Kunst.



Fairford nIII 1b, *Nativity*.



Fig. 98, Fairford nV light a, Eve.



Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 99, Joyce tracing of Eve, detail.
London, V&A.



Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485, detail. Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 100, Joyce tracing of Eve, detail.
London, V&A.



Memling, *Eve*, ca. 1485, detail. Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Fig. 101, Master of the St. Lucy Legend, *Mary Queen of Heaven*, c. 1485/1500. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.



Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-1502. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.



Fig. 102, Sittow, after Rogier van der Weyden, *Pietà* c1500. Granada, Museo de la Capilla Real.



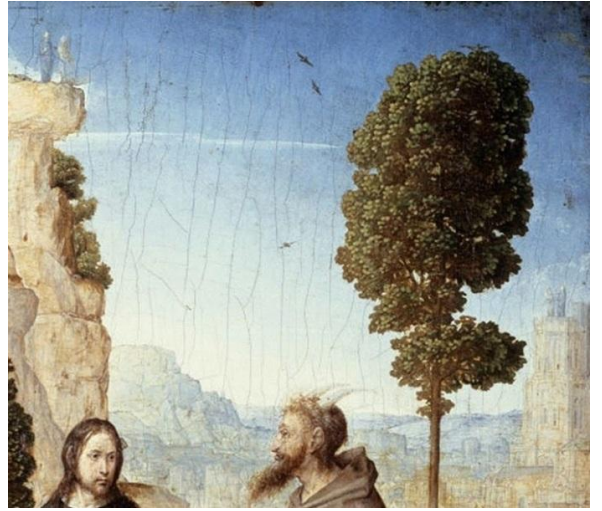
Fig. 103, Fairford I light e, detail.
Christ carrying the Cross.



Sittow, after Rogier van der Weyden, *Pietà*
c1500, detail. Granada, Museo de la Capilla Real.



Fig. 104, Fairford sIV light c
Transfiguration detail.



Juan de Flandes, *Temptation of Christ*, 1502-3, detail. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.



Fig. 105, Fairford sIV light d detail from
Incredulity of St. Thomas.



Juan de Flandes, *Last Supper*, ca. 1496, detail. London, Wellington Museum.



Fig. 106, Fairford sIV light c detail from
Incredulity of St. Thomas.



Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca.
1504, detail. Madrid, Palacio Real.



Fig. 107, Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1504. Madrid, Palacio Real.

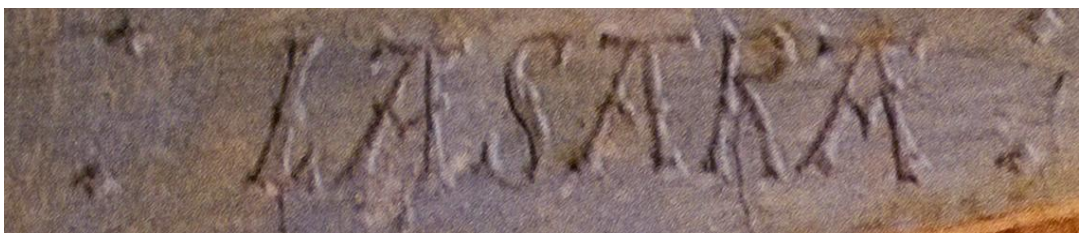


Fig. 108, Juan de Flandes, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1504, detail. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Fig. 109, Juan de Flandes, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*, ca. 1514-19. Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Fig. 110, Fairford window I light
a, Entry into Jerusalem.



Juan de Flandes, *Entry into Jerusalem*, ca. 1497-98.
Madrid, Palacio Real.



Fig. 111, Fairford sII, East window of the Corpus Christi Chapel, with Transfiguration in the centre light.



Fig. 112, Fairford sII light c, details from the Transfiguration.



Fig. 113, Juan de Flandes, *Transfiguration*, ca. 1500. Madrid, Palacio Real.



Fig. 114, Fairford nII, Rest on the Flight to Egypt, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary and Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple.



Fig. 115, Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-1502. Washington DC, National Gallery of Art.



Fig. 116, Fairford nII detail light c,
Coronation of the Virgin.



Sittow, *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1496-
1502, detail. Washington DC, National
Gallery of Art.



Fig. 117, Fairford sV
light c, The Ascension.



Sittow, *Ascension of Christ*, ca. 1496-1502. London, National
Gallery, on loan from private collection.



Fig. 118, Fairford
sII light c,
Harrowing of Hell.



Juan de Flandes, *Descent into Limbo*, ca. 1501. Madrid, Palacio Real.

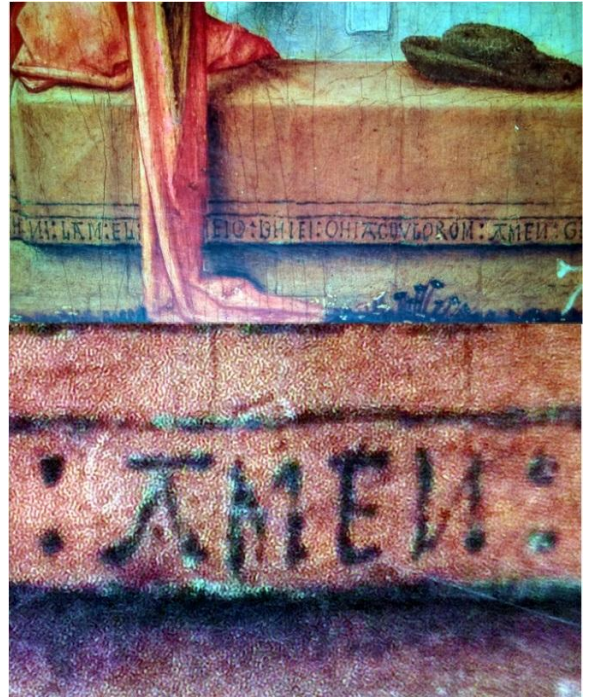


Fig. 119, Juan de Flandes, *Supper at Emmaus*, ca. 1502, and detail of inscription. Madrid, Palacio Real.



Fig. 120, Unknown Artist, *Triptych of the Calvary*, ca. 1500. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

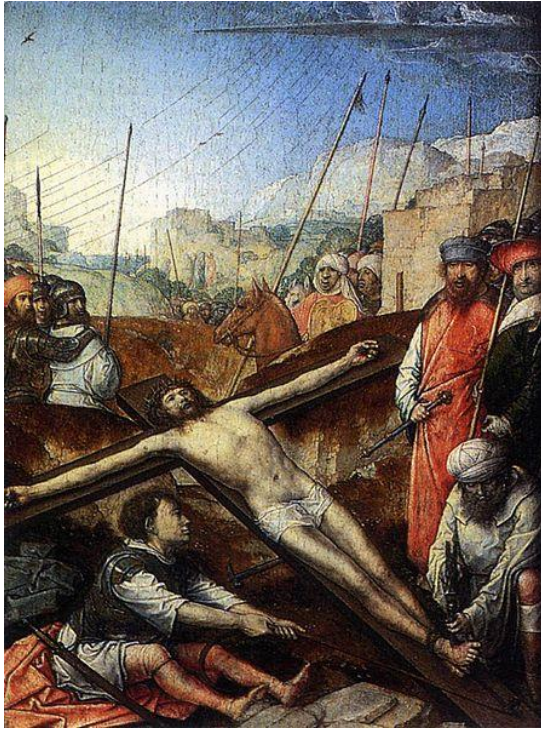
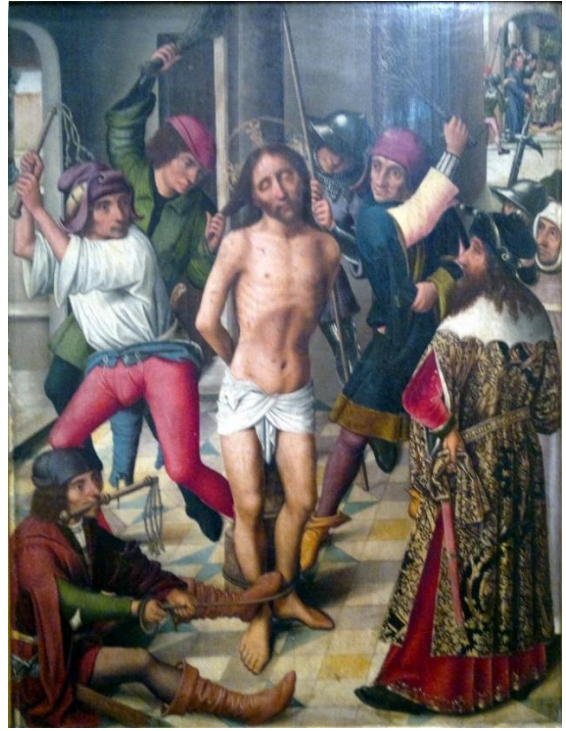


Fig. 121, Juan de Flandes, *Nailing to the Cross*, ca. 1502. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, Flagellation. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Fig. 122, Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail of scabbard. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Fig. 123, Fairford I light c, Christ before Pilate.



Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail from Christ carrying the Cross. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Fig. 124, Fairford I light c, Christ before Pilate. P



Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, detail from Christ before Pilate. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Fig. 125, Fairford I light d,
Flagellation of Christ.



Unknown Artist, *Triptych*, Flagellation. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Fig. 126, Morros, *Christ with the Doctors in the temple and death of the Virgin*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Fig. 127, Fairford nII lights d & e, Christ with the doctors in the temple, detail.



Morros, *Christ with the doctors in the temple*, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Fig. 128, Penicaud, altar used during the military campaigns of El Gran Capitan, ca. 1500. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.

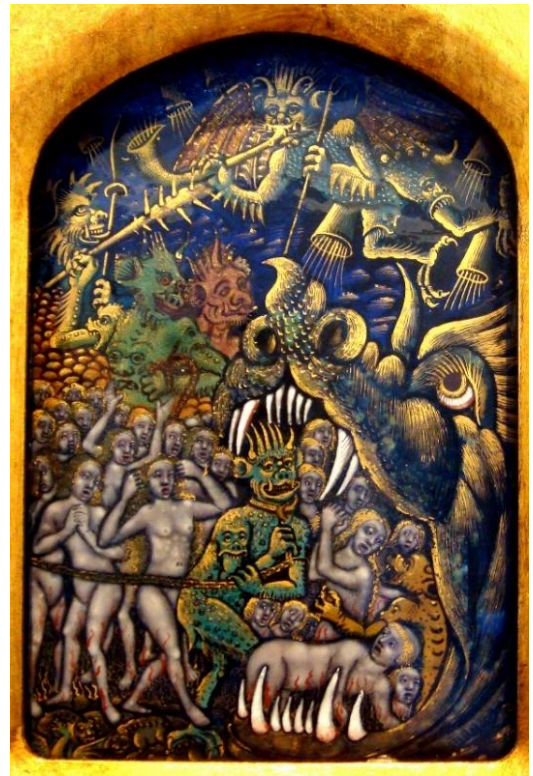


Fig. 129, Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, top left and top right panels. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.



Fig. 130, Fairford I (east) detail from the Entry into Jerusalem.



Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, detail from the Heavenly Jerusalem. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.



Fig. 131, Fairford NV, A1, Demon.



Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, demon.
Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.

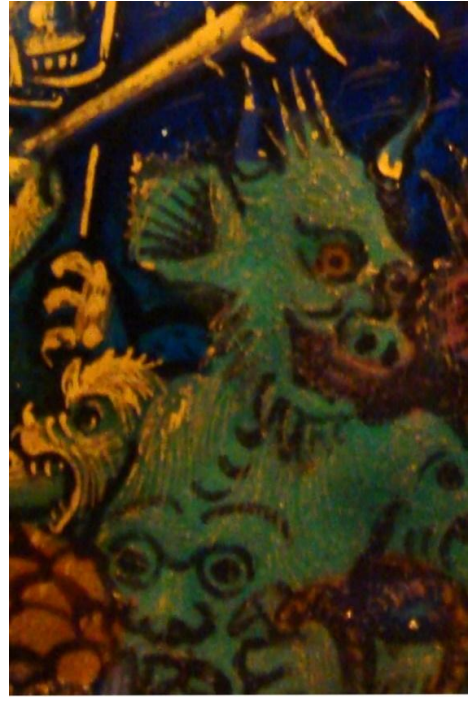


Fig. 132, Comparison between the Granada demons and the Fairford demons.



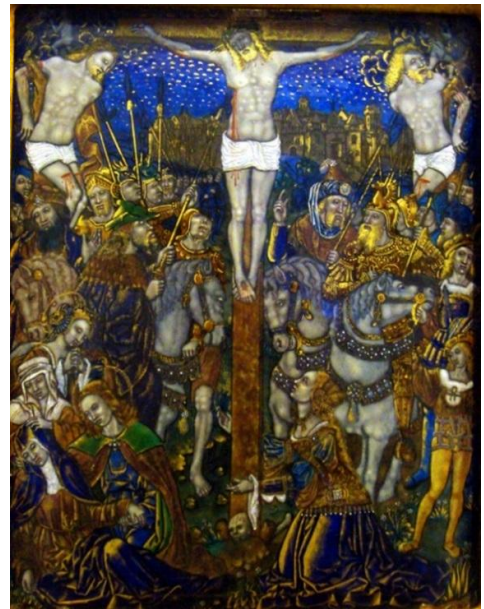
Fig. 133, Fairford wI light g, Depiction of Lucifer.



Fig. 134, Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, detail. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.



Fig. 135, Fairford I upper tier, Crucifixion.



Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, lower centre panel, Crucifixion. Granada, Museo de Bellas Artes.



Fig. 136, Comparison between Granada altar (lower) and Fairford west window (upper), the dead rising from their graves.



Fig. 137, Fairford I lower tier, light e,
Christ carrying the Cross.



Penicaud, altar, ca. 1500, lower left panel,
Christ carrying the Cross. Granada, Museo
de Bellas Artes.



Fig. 138, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*, ca. 1500. Private Collection.



Fig. 139, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*. ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection.

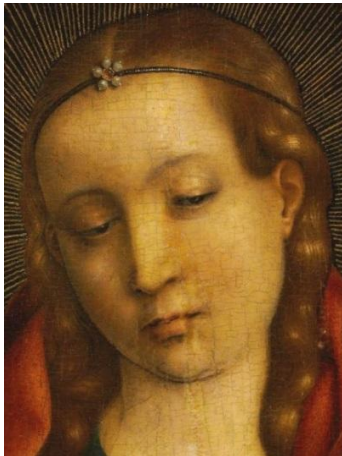
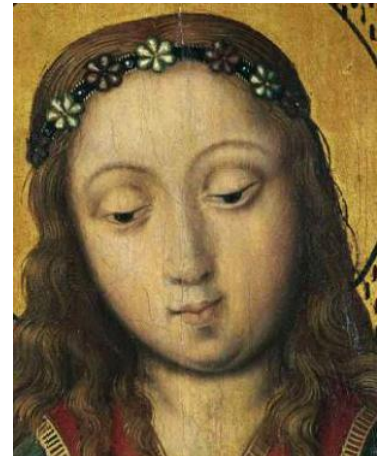


Fig. 140, Sittow, *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485, detail. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.



Fairford SIII Light c, *St. Margaret*, detail.



Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*, ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection.



Fig. 141, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene*, ca. 1500, detail. Detroit, Institute of Arts.



Sittow, *The Vienna Portrait*, ca. 1500-1505, detail. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Sittow, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1515, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Fig. 142, Circle of Michiel Sittow, *St. Margaret of Antioch*. ca. 1500, detail. Private Collection.



Fig. 143, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso.



Fig. 144, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail of lion holding shield. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso.



Fairford sX light c, detail from the Throne of King David with lion and shield.



Fig. 145, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso.



Fig. 146, Workshop of Pieter van Aelst, after Bernaert van Orley, *Los Honores: Fame*, 1520-23, detail. Segovia, Museo de Tapices, Palacio de San Ildefonso.



Fig. 147, Cartuja de Miraflores, windows of the choir apse: *Adoration of the Magi*, *Presentation in the Temple* and *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary*, ca. 1485.



Fig. 148, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost window detail.

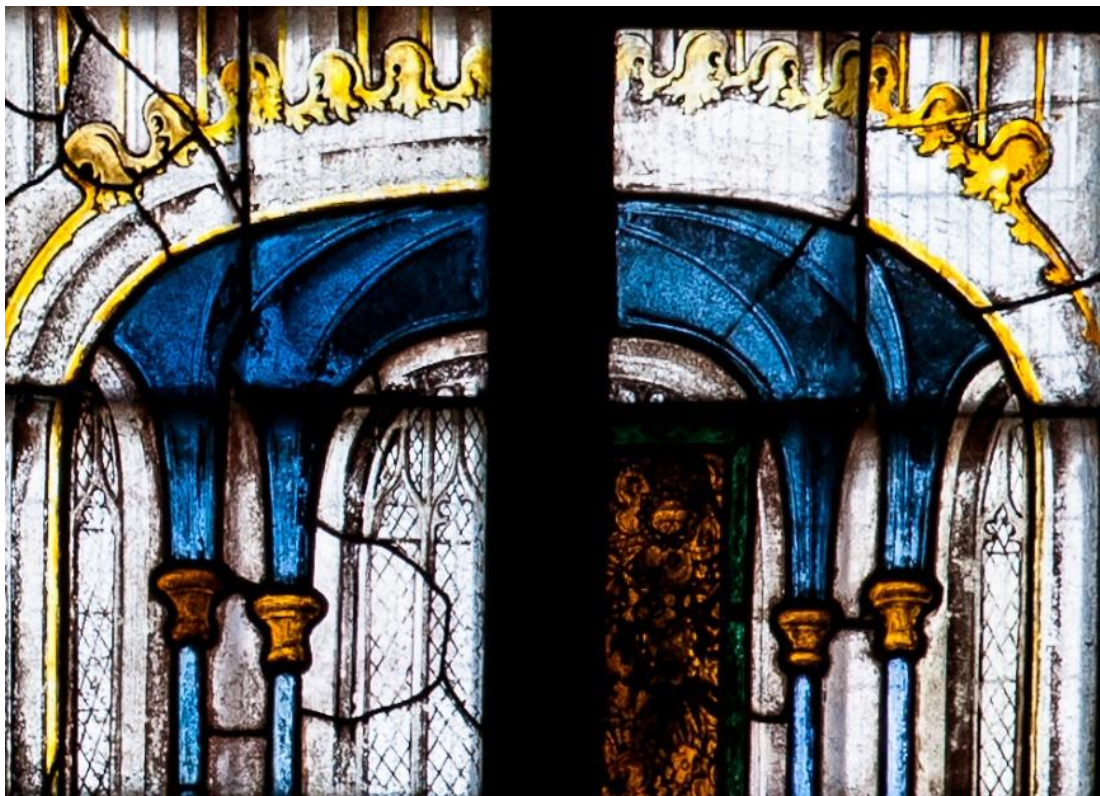


Fig. 149, Fairford n11 lights d & e detail of upper canopy.



Fig. 150, Cartuja de Miraflores, Flagellation, detail of canopy.



Fairford, canopy above Apostle

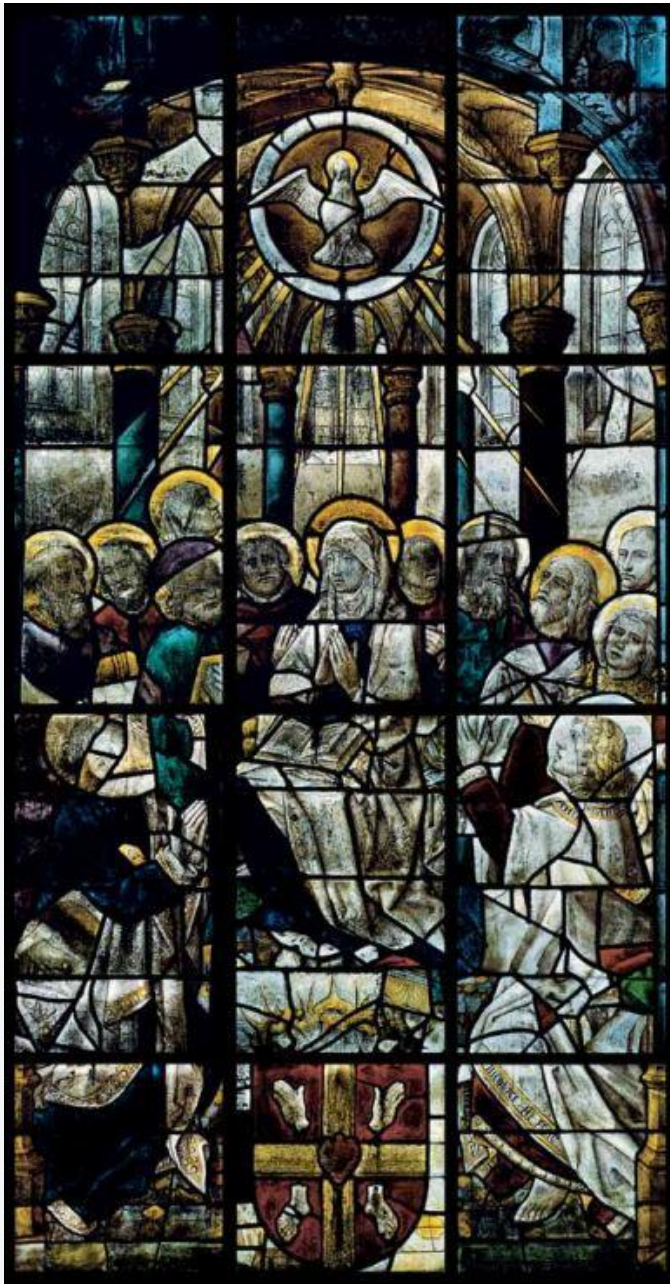


Fig. 151, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost window.



Fairford sV light d, Pentecost.



Fig. 152, Cartuja de Miraflores, Adoration of the Magi.



Fairford nIII light c, Adoration of the Magi.



Fig. 153, Cartuja de Miraflores,
Presentation in the Temple.



Fairford nIII light d, Presentation in the
Temple.



Fig. 154, Cartuja de Miraflores,
Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin
Mary.



Fairford nII light c, the Assumption and
Coronation of the Virgin Mary.



Fig. 155, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ.



Fig. 156, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, details of inscriptions on cuff (left), ointment pot (centre), boot (right). Photo: Fundación Iberdrola, 2007, Il. 6.



Fig. 157, Cartuja de Miraflores, Pentecost, detail of inscription.



Fig. 158, Fairford, detail of sIII light c. Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail.

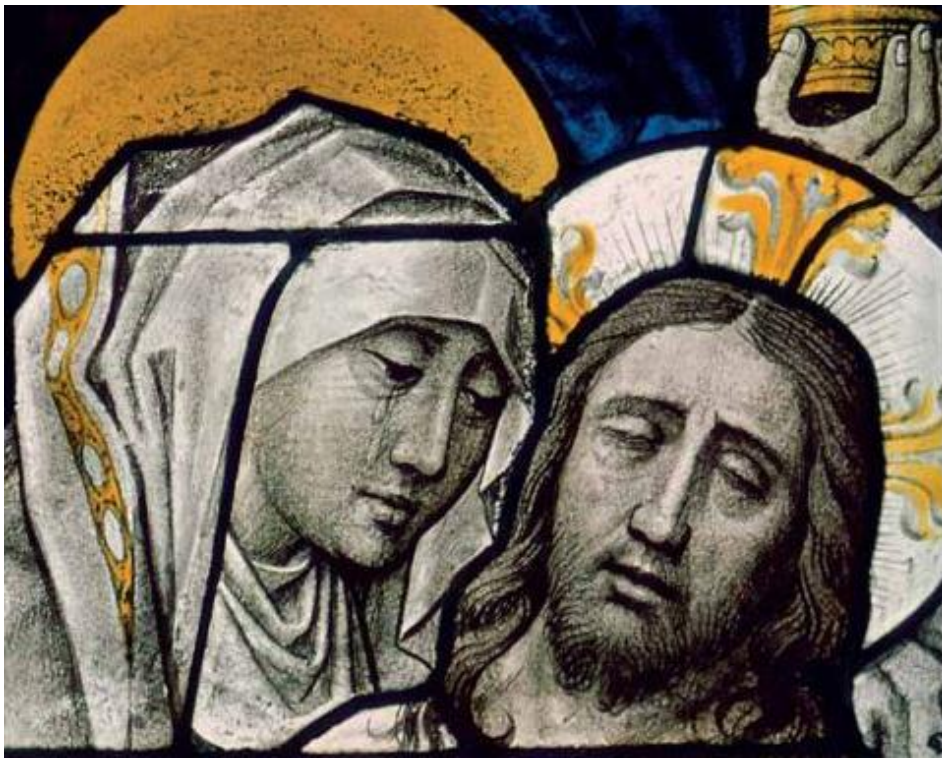


Fig. 159, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail.



Fig. 160, Fairford, sII light b, detail, head of Christ and the Virgin Mary.



Fig. 161, Cartuja de Miraflores, Entombment of Christ, detail of heads of the three assistants.



Fig. 162, Fairford, examples of differing heads and painting techniques.



Fig. 163, Sittow, *The Vienna Portrait*, ca. 1500-1505. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



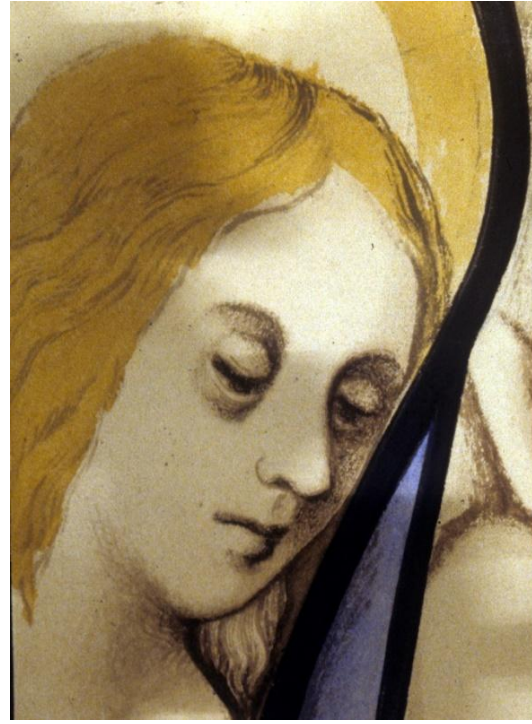
Fig. 164, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene*, ca. 1500, detail. Detroit, Institute of Arts.



Sittow, *Virgin and Child*, ca. 1515, detail. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



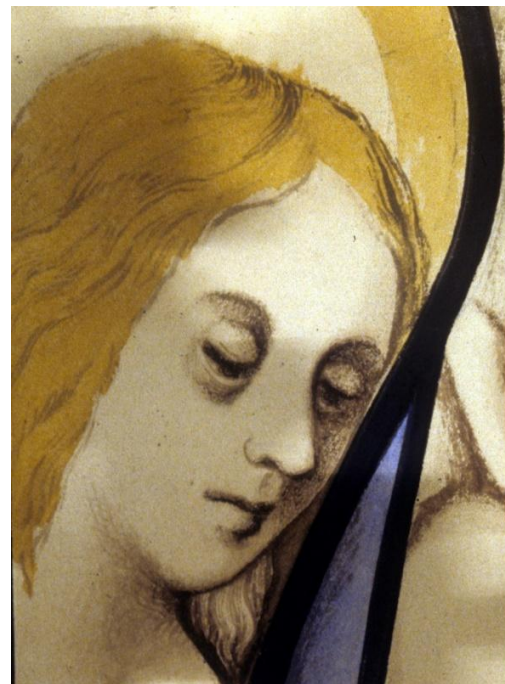
Fig. 165, Fairford nIII light b detail, Virgin.



Joyce, tracing of the Virgin. London, V&A.



Fig. 166, Sittow, *The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1485, detail. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum.



Joyce, tracing of the Virgin. London, V&A.



Fig. 167, Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon* Fairford SIII, St. Margaret, detail.
as the Magdalene, ca. 1500, detail.
Detroit, Institute of Arts.



Fig. 168, Joyce, tracing of the councillors' heads in Fairford sX light a. London, V&A.



Fig. 169, Fairford sIII lights d & e, The Three Marys.



Fig. 170, Fairford sIII light e, detail.



Perréal, *Mary Tudor, Princess of England, Queen of France*, ca. 1512.
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.



Fig. 171, Fairford sVI light a, detail of the head of St. Peter.

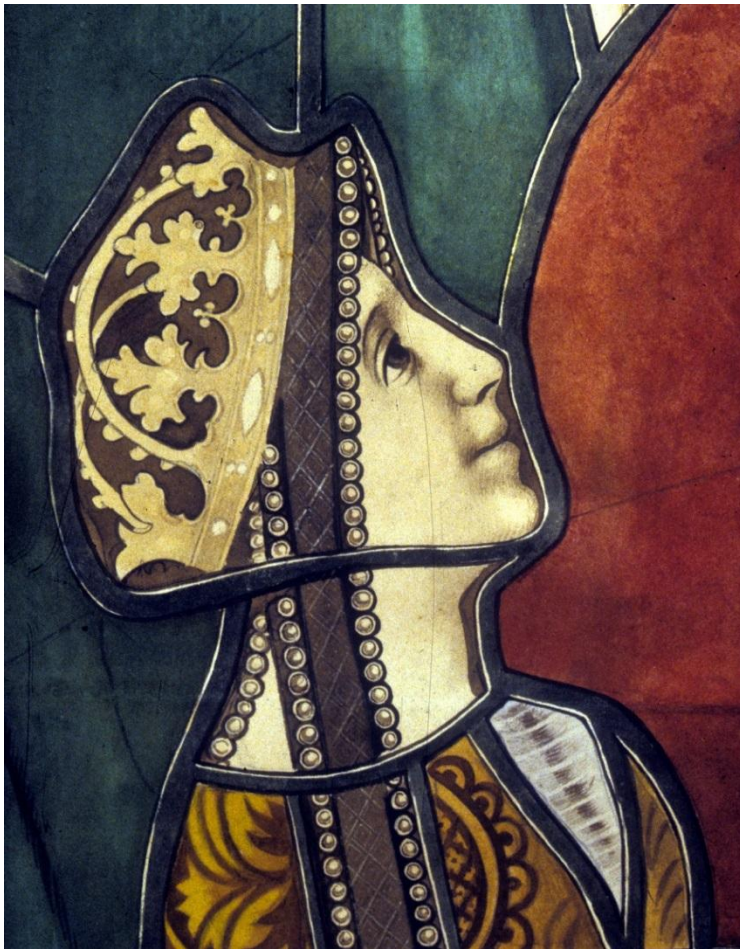


Fig. 172, Joyce, tracing of the Queen of Sheba. London, V&A. Fairford nV light d.

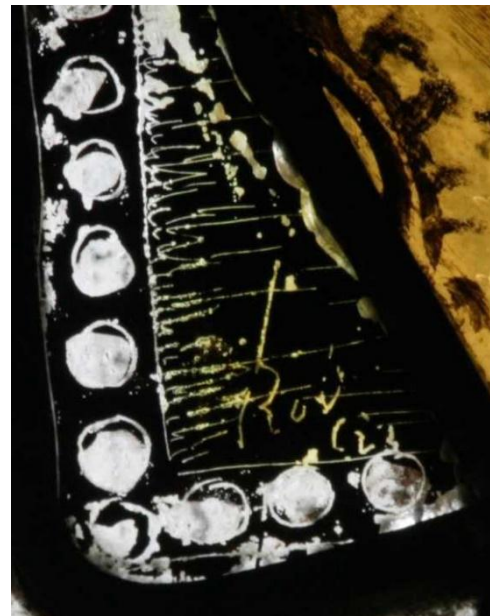
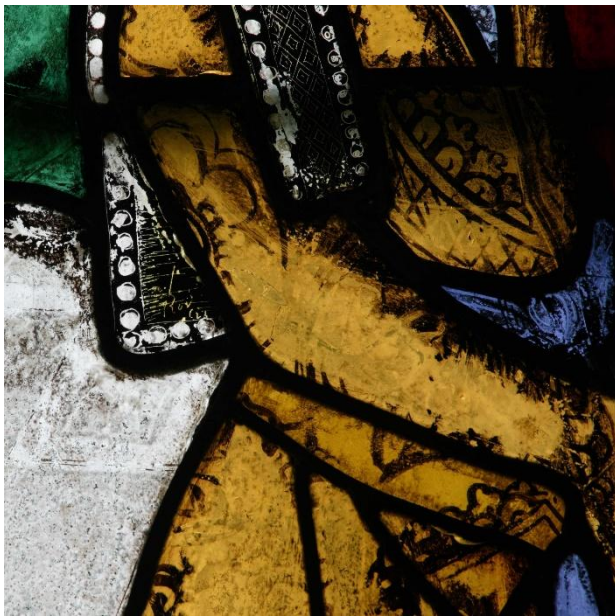


Fig. 173, Fairford nV light d, details of the inscription found on the headdress.



Fig. 174, Unknown artist, *Elizabeth of York*, ca. 1500. London, National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 175, Fairford nX light j, The Messenger.



Fig. 176, Sittow, *Man in a Red Hat*, ca. 1512. Detroit, Institute of Arts.



Fig. 177, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Deathbed of King Henry VII, 1509, with detail of Hugh Denys. British Library Add.MS 45131, f.54.