

**See God Face to Face: Pray for the King:**

**The Painted Glass of Winchester Cathedral, c1495-c1515**

**Volume 1 of 3**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis is the first detailed modern study of the painted glass installed in the Lady Chapel and presbytery of Winchester Cathedral between c1495 and c1515.

The thesis sets the Winchester glass in its wider artistic context. It confirms the glass as a key example of the glass painting style popular at this period, which has been described elsewhere as “Anglo-Netherlandish”, preferring to label it more broadly “Anglo-Continental”. It then describes the physical context for the glass within the cathedral. It considers the building schemes of which the glazing formed part, and discusses new research which helps to date the glass. The analysis of the earlier glass in the presbytery contributes to the debate on the dating of the presbytery clerestory windows.

Much of the glass is lost, dispersed, and jumbled, so a crucial task has been to try to reconstruct as much of the subject matter and layout as possible. The thesis also considers what the glass may have meant to its audience, showing how effectively the schemes supported the liturgy.

The thesis concludes with a broad discussion on patronage, suggesting the intellectual and social context within which the glass was commissioned. It is argued that the glass was part of a programme of royal commemoration, which was widespread and obligatory under Henry VII. New circumstantial evidence supports the possibility of contributions to the Lady Chapel works by the king, by courtiers and by Bishop Langton. It is proposed that Langton is likely to have been a significant influence on the Lady Chapel glass. Bishop Fox’s contribution to the presbytery work is defined more closely than previously. It is argued that Fox’s glazing, depicting traditional subjects in the most up to date painting style, was part of his attempt to reinvigorate the church on the eve of the Reformation.

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- Cat.A.23 Lady Chapel window eI tracery lights B13-B15. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.A.24 Lady Chapel window eI tracery lights B16-B17. Photo: John Crook.
- Cat.A.25 Tracery of Lady Chapel north window (nII) as glazed by C.E. Kempe. Photo: the author.
- Cat.A.26 Lady Chapel window nII tracery lights B1-B2. Photo: the author.
- Cat.A.27 Lady Chapel window nII tracery lights B6-B7. Photo: John Crook.
- Cat.A.28 Lady Chapel window nII tracery lights B9-B11. Photo: John Crook.
- Cat.A.29 Tracery of Lady Chapel south window sII as glazed by C.E. Kempe. Photo: John Crook.
- Cat.A.30 Tracery light B7 of window sII of the Lady Chapel. Photo: John Crook.

### **B. Presbytery clerestory: east gable window (EI)**

- Cat.B.1 Outline of the east gable window, Winchester Cathedral by Stephen Clare, showing numbering of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.
- Cat.B.2 East gable window, main panels 1a-4a, showing St Swithun. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.3 Exterior of east gable window, panels 2a-3a. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.4 Drawing of lights 1a-4a of east gable window by O.B.Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.5 Restoration diagram of panels 1a-4a, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.6 Detail from panel 3a, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.7 Detail from panel 1a east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).
- Cat.B.8 Detail from panel 1a east gable window (exterior). Photo the author.
- Cat.B.9 East gable window, main panels 1b-5b, showing St Peter. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.10 Exterior of east gable window, panels 2b-4b. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.11 Drawing of lights 1b-5b, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.12 Restoration diagram of panels 1b-5b, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.13 Detail from panel 3b, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.14 Detail from panel 1b, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.15 Detail from panel 1a east gable window. Photo the author.

Cat.B.16 East gable window, main panels 1c-4c, showing the prophet Jeremiah. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.17 Exterior of east gable window, panels 1c-3c. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.18 Drawing of lights 1c-4c, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.19 Restoration diagram of panels 1c-4c, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.20 Detail from panel 3c, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.21 Detail from panel 1c east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.22 East gable window, main panels 1d-3d, showing St Andrew. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.23 Exterior of east gable window, panels 1d-2d. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.24 Drawing of lights 1d-3d, east gable window, by Carter, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.25 Restoration diagram of panels 1d-3d by the author.

Cat.B.26 Detail from panel 2d, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.27 Detail from panel 3d east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.28 East gable window, main panels 1e-3e, showing the prophet Haggai. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.29 Exterior of east gable window, panels 1e-2e. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.30 Drawing of lights 1e-3e, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.31 Restoration diagram of panels 1e-3e, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.32 Detail from panel 2e, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.33 Detail from panel 3e east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.34 East gable window, main panels 1f-4f, showing St Paul. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.35 Exterior of east gable window, panels 1f-3f. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.36 Drawing of lights 1f-4f, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.37 Restoration diagram of panels 1f-4f, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.38 Detail from panel 3f, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.39 Detail from panel 1f east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.40 East gable window, main panels 1g-4g, showing unnamed ecclesiastical saint. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.41 Exterior of east gable window, panels 2g-4g. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.42 Drawing of lights 1g-4g, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.43 Restoration diagram of panels 1g-4g, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.44 Detail from panel 3g, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.45 Detail from panel 4g east gable window. Photo the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

- Cat.B.46 East gable window, main panels 5c-6c, showing unnamed nimbed prophet. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.47 Exterior of east gable window, panels 5c-6c. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.48 Drawing of lights 5c-6c, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.49 Restoration diagram of panels 5c-6c, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.50 Detail from panel 5c, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.51 East gable window, main panels 4d-5d, showing unnamed bishop saint. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.52 Exterior of east gable window, panels 4d-5d. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.53 Drawing of lights 4d-5d, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.54 Restoration diagram of panels 4d-5d, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.55 Detail from panel 4d, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson, with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.56 East gable window, main panels 4e-5e, showing nimbed prophet. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.57 Exterior of east gable window, panels 4e-5e. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.58 Drawing of lights 4e-5e, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.59 Restoration diagram of panels 4e-5e, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.60 Detail from panel 4e, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.61 East gable window, main panels 7c-8c, showing the Virgin in prayer. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.62 Exterior of east gable window, panels 7c-8c. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.63 Drawing of lights 7c-8c, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.64 Restoration diagram of panels 7c-8c, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.65 Detail from panel 7c, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.66 Exterior of east gable window, detail of panel 7c. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.67 East gable window, main panels 6d-7d, showing Christ in Majesty. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.68 Exterior of east gable window, panels 6d-7d. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.69 Drawing of lights 6d-7d, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.70 Panel from the Stained Glass Museum Ely Cathedral. Photo: the author, with permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Cat.B.71 East gable window, main panels 6e-7e, showing John the Baptist in prayer. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.B.72 Exterior of east gable window, panels 6e-7e. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.73 Drawing of lights 6e-7e, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.74 Restoration diagram of panels 6e-7e, east gable window, by the author.
- Cat.B.75 East gable window, tracery panel B1, showing angel holding arms of Bishop Fox's See of Bath and Wells. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.B.76 Exterior of east gable window, panel B1. Photo: the author.
- Cat.B.77 Drawing of light B1, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.B.78 Restoration diagram of panel B1, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.79 Detail from panel B1, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.80 East gable window, tracery panel B2, showing angel holding arms of Bishop Fox's See of Winchester. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.81 Exterior of east gable window, panel B2. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.82 Drawing of light B2, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.83 Restoration diagram of panel B2, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.84 Detail from panel B2, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.85 East gable window, tracery panel B3, showing angel holding arms of Bishop Fox's See of Durham. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.86 Exterior of east gable window, panel B3. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.87 Drawing of light B3, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.88 Restoration diagram of panel B3, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.89 Detail from panel B3, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.90 East gable window, tracery panel B4, showing angel holding arms of Bishop Fox's See of Exeter. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.91 Exterior of east gable window, panel B4. Photo: the author.

Cat.B.92 Drawing of light B4, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.93 Restoration diagram of panel B4, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.94 Detail from panel B4, east gable window. Photo: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.B.95 East gable window, tracery panel C1, showing trumpeting angel. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.96 Exterior of east gable window, tracery panel C1. Photo the author.

Cat.B.97 Drawing of light C1, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.98 Restoration diagram of panel C1, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.99 Detail from panel C1, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.100 East gable window, tracery panel C2, showing trumpeting angel. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.B.101 Exterior of east gable window, tracery panel C2. Photo the author.

Cat.B.102 Drawing of light C2, east gable window, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.B.103 Restoration diagram of panel C2, east gable window, by the author.

Cat.B.104 Detail from panel C2, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.105 Tracery lights F1 and E1, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.B.106 Tracery lights E2 and F2, east gable window. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

## **C. North and south presbytery clerestory windows (NII-NV and SII-SV)**

### *Early 16th-century glass*

Cat.C.1 Outline of the north and south presbytery clerestory windows, Winchester Cathedral showing numbering of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. The plan is based on the ACAD plans provided by the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.2 North presbytery clerestory window NII, main lights 2a-4d and tracery. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.C.3-C.4 Panels 2b and 2c of lower main lights, window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photos: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.C.5-C.6 Panels 4a and 4b of upper main lights, window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photos: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.C.7-C.8 Panels 4c and 4d of upper main lights, window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photos: the author (copyright Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral).

Cat.C.9 Light A1 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.10 Light A1 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.11 Light A2 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.12 Light A2 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.13 Light A3 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.14 Light A3 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.15 Light A4 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.16 Light A4 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.17 Light A5 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.18–C.19 Details from light A5 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior. Photos: the author.

Cat.C.20 Light A6 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.21 Light A6 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory from exterior. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.22 Lights C1–C2 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.23 Light C2 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory, from exterior scaffolding. Photo: the author.

Cat.C.24 Light C3 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.25 Lights C4–C5 of window NII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.26 Main light panel 2b of window NIII, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.27 Detail from light A4 of window NIV, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson, with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.28 Detail from light A6 of window NIV, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

Cat.C.29 Detail from exterior of light A6 of window NIV, north presbytery clerestory. Photo: the author.



- Cat.C.30 Lower detail from SII 3b south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.31 Lower detail from SII 3d south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.32 Lower detail from SIII 3a south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.33 Lower detail from SIII 3b south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.34 Lower detail from SIII 3c south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.35 Lower detail from SIII 3d south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.36 Detail from SIII 3c, south presbytery clerestory Winchester Cathedral. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

*Late 14th/early 15th-century glass*

- Cat.C.37 Winchester Cathedral north presbytery clerestory NIII. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.C.38 Winchester Cathedral north presbytery clerestory NIII tracery. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.39 North presbytery clerestory window NIII 3a. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral..
- Cat.C.40 North presbytery clerestory window NIII 3b. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.41 North presbytery clerestory window NIII 3c. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.42 North presbytery clerestory window NIII 3d. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.43 Winchester Cathedral north presbytery clerestory window NIV tracery. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.44 North presbytery clerestory window NIV tracery lights C3 and C4. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.45 Winchester Cathedral north presbytery clerestory NV tracery. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.46 North presbytery clerestory NV lights A1 and A2. Photo: Chris Parkinso with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.47 Winchester Cathedral south presbytery clerestory window SII. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.C.48 South presbytery clerestory window SII 3c. Photo: Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.C.49 Winchester Cathedral south presbytery clerestory window SIII. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.C.50 South presbytery clerestory window SIII 3b. Photo Chris Parkinson with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral..
- Cat.C.51 Winchester Cathedral south presbytery clerestory SV. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.C.52 Detail from south presbytery clerestory SV including late 14th/early 15th-century seraphim on wheel and fragment of 13th-century grisaille. Photo: the author, with permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral.

## **D. Presbytery aisle windows**

Cat.D.1 Outline of the north presbytery aisle windows, Winchester Cathedral by the author, showing numbering of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.

Cat.D.2 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery and main lights 4a-4d. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.3-D.6 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, main lights 2a-2d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.7-D.10 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, main lights 4a-4d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.11 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.12 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nVIII, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.13 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A3. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.14 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A6. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.15 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nVIII, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.16 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A7. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.17 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nVIII, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.18 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A1. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.19 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery lights A4, B, A5. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.20 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light A8. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.21 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light D1. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.22 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nVIII, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.23 North presbytery aisle window nVIII, tracery light D2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.24 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery and main lights 4a-4d. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.25-D.28 North presbytery aisle window nIX, main lights 2a -2d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.29-D.32 North presbytery aisle window nIX, main lights 4a-4d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.33 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery lights A1 and A2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.34 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nIX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.35 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery lights A3 and A4. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.36 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nIX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.37 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery lights A5 and A6. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.38 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nIX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.39 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery lights A7 and A8. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.40 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nIX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.41 North presbytery aisle window nIX, tracery lights B, D1 and D2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.42 North presbytery aisle window nIX tracery light D1. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.43 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nIX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.

Cat.D.44 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.45-D.48 North presbytery aisle window nX, main lights 2a-2d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.49-D.52 North presbytery aisle window nX, main lights 4a-4d. Photos: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.53 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery light A2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

Cat.D.54 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery light A3. Photo: Gordon Plumb.

- Cat.D.55 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.D.56 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery lights A5 and A6. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.57 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery light A7. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.58 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.D.59 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery light D1. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.60 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.D.61 North presbytery aisle window nX, tracery light D2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.62 Drawing of tracery light in north presbytery aisle window nX, by Carter. Photo: the author, with permission of the Society of Antiquaries.
- Cat.D.63 Outline of the south presbytery aisle window sVIII, Winchester Cathedral by the author, showing numbering of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi.
- Cat.D.64 South presbytery aisle window sVIII, tracery. Photo: Geoffrey Lane.
- Cat.D.65 South presbytery aisle window sVIII, tracery light A2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.66 South presbytery aisle window sVIII, tracery light A3. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.67 South presbytery aisle window sVIII tracery light A6. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.68 South presbytery aisle window sVIII, tracery light A7. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.69 South presbytery aisle window sVIII tracery lights E1 and E2. Photo: Gordon Plumb.
- Cat.D.70 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 2a. Photo: the author.
- Cat.D.71 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 2b. Photo: the author.
- Cat.D.72 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 2c. Photo: the author.
- Cat.D.73 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 4a and tracery light A1. Photo: the author.
- Cat.D.74 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 4b. Photo: the author.
- Cat.D.75 South presbytery aisle window sXI, main light 4c. Photo: the author.

## **E. The great west window (wI)**

Unless otherwise stated all of the photographs in this section are taken by the Reverend Gordon Plumb.

The lights of the great west window are numbered in accordance with the CVMA panel numbering system shown in Cat.E.2.

- Cat.E.1 The great west window of Winchester Cathedral (wI).
- Cat.E.2 CVMA panel-numbering system for the great west window of Winchester Cathedral. Photo: CVMA.
- Cat.E.3 Great west window, panel 1b.
- Cat.E.4 Great west window, panel 1c.
- Cat.E.5 Great west window, panel 1d.
- Cat.E.6 Great west window, panel 1e.
- Cat.E.7 Great west window, panel, 1g.
- Cat.E.8 Great west window, panel 1h.
- Cat.E.9 Great west window, panel 1i.
- Cat.E.10 Detail from Chamberlain MacDonald window, north nave aisle Winchester Cathedral.
- Cat.E.11 Great west window panel 2b.
- Cat.E.12 Detail from great west window panel 2b.
- Cat.E.13 Great west window panel 2c.

- Cat.E.14 Great west window panel 2d.  
 Cat.E.15 Detail from great west window panel 2d.  
 Cat.E.16 Great west window panel 2e.  
 Cat.E.17 Great west window panel 2f.  
 Cat.E.18 Great west window panel 2g.  
 Cat.E.19 Detail from great west window panel 2g.  
 Cat.E.20 Further detail from great west window panel 2g.  
 Cat.E.21 Great west window panel 2i.  
 Cat.E.22 Great west window panel 3b.  
 Cat.E.23 Great west window panel 3d.  
 Cat.E.24 Great west window panel 3f.  
 Cat.E.25 Great west window panel 3g.  
 Cat.E.26 Great west window panel 3i.  
 Cat.E.27 Great west window panel 4a.  
 Cat.E.28 Detail from great west window panel 4a.  
 Cat.E.29 Great west window panel 4b.  
 Cat.E.30 Great west window panel 4c.  
 Cat.E.31 Great west window panel 4d.  
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Cat.G.6 Photo from Ward, unpublished c1945: 28 WA 5/1, used with the permission of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology.

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## **Author's declaration**

I declare that this thesis has not previously been submitted for examination at the University of York or any other university. Except in so far as expressly stated, it is entirely my own work.

The article by me included in Appendix 3, for ease of reference, was published in the online journal *Vidimus* in February 2014 (“Lost Panels Found”, Evening News, 26 September 1934’, *Vidimus* 77 (February 2014), <http://vidimus.org/issues/>).

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The late medieval glass of the cathedral church of St Swithun's Priory, now Winchester Cathedral, was complete and glorious for only a brief time. The earliest glass of which significant evidence survives, in the nave, was begun around 1370. The latest glass, from the east end, which is the subject of this study, was probably complete by 1515. With the coming of the Reformation, the cathedral's glass is likely to have suffered significant damage - perhaps as early as 1538, but more probably by 1547.<sup>2</sup> The final destruction of most of what remained of the glass in the Civil War, in December 1642, is dramatically recorded in a contemporary account. The troops entered the cathedral "with colours flying, their drums beating", some on horseback, as they approached the altar to begin their work of destruction in the choir.<sup>3</sup>

The most obvious survivals from the pre-Reformation glazing schemes are in the cathedral's colossal west window, which contains a patchwork of fragments, bright colours, and intriguing faces (Fig. 0.1). Opposite this, at the east end, above the choir and presbytery, the east gable window contains much early 16th-century glass (Figs. 0.2 and 0.3). It is likely that the window has appeared in roughly its current form since at least the late 17th century, with the Last Judgement at the top, and portraits of standing saints and prophets below.<sup>4</sup> The dark blue and jewel-like colours of the east gable window draw the viewer in from the brightness of the nave to the sacred space of the presbytery.

The quantity of medieval glass that survives in Winchester Cathedral overall is relatively small compared with that at Canterbury Cathedral and York Minster. As well as being incomplete, fragmented and damaged, by restorers as well as iconoclasts, most of it is inaccessible, being at high level with little access without scaffolding. However, the quality of much of the glass, and the high status of the ancient cathedral and its powerful bishop patrons, mean that the glass is a valuable resource for cultural historians. Although the glass has received some attention from scholars,

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<sup>1</sup> References and conventions follow the University of York History of Art Essay Writing Guidelines, 2009, as research for this thesis began in 2009. Abbreviations used are listed before the Bibliography, at the end.

<sup>2</sup> See below on the History of the Glass from the Reformation, and Appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Mercurius*: 144-51.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter 3 argues that much of the Last Judgement (excluding Christ in Majesty) is original and in situ. Figures of saints and bishops are described in Hyde and Gale 1683-1715, as noted in Appendix 2, which summarises the main antiquarian accounts.

many fundamental questions remain unanswered about its date and iconography, and there has been no comprehensive contextual analysis. A full up-to-date evaluation of all the medieval glass in the cathedral is needed.

As a first step, this thesis concentrates on the late 15th/early 16th-century glass originating in the east end, which forms an important and relatively self-contained topic in its own right. This includes the Lady Chapel glass, probably planned in the 1490s, and the glass in the presbytery, installed under Bishop Richard Fox, between 1501 and 1528, but probably by 1515. It also discusses the late 14th/early 15th-century glass in the north and south presbytery clerestory, as Bishop Fox deliberately retained this glass. This study makes some progress in reconstructing the iconographic schemes in the late medieval glass, particularly the iconography of the east gable window, which has been the subject of scholarly debate since the mid-19th century.<sup>5</sup> It also interprets the imagery in the light of contemporary concerns.

The study proves the late 15th/ early 16th-century glazing from the east end of the cathedral to be of national, and arguably of international, historical significance. The glazing comprises two of the last large-scale monastic schemes undertaken before the Reformation, and the iconography gives a good indication of the spiritual concerns of the monks and bishops at one of England's most prestigious Benedictine foundations just before this turning point in European history. Evidence about the liturgy at St Swithun's at this time is sadly lacking because of the loss of contemporary service books. This thesis pulls together the available information, and argues that the glass effectively complemented the liturgy, and may in part have been planned with pilgrims in mind. The scheme included much Marian imagery, and a large scale series showing the prophets and probably the apostles with Creed scrolls. Both the east gable window, and the north window of the Lady Chapel, depicted God in glory, as envisioned at the culmination of the Mass.

Other key features include confirmation that some of the fragments now in the Abbey Museum, Caboolture, Queensland, Australia did indeed come from the Lady Chapel. The tradition that the Lady Chapel works commemorated the new Tudor dynasty is explored and broadly supported. For the first time, there is a full discussion of donors who may have contributed to the prior and convent's scheme in the Lady Chapel. A payment made by Henry VII to the prior in 1490 may have been used towards the building works, and there is evidence in Bishop Langton's will to show

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<sup>5</sup> Winston 1865: 67; Carter 1845; Le Couteur 1920: 35; Westlake Vol.IV 1894: 21-24;. Smith 2007: 35-52.

that he had made a large loan to the prior and convent, which was released on his death in 1501. There is no proof that this funded the Lady Chapel glass, but it may have done, and there are more general reasons for suggesting that Langton is likely to have been a significant influence on the Lady Chapel glass. Bishop Fox was Henry VII's Lord Privy Seal for twenty-two years, from 1487, and the thesis also links Fox's presbytery glass very firmly to commemoration of Henry VII and his family. It argues that Fox's glass provides clues to his wider intentions, at a time when he was a prime mover in politics, and increasingly conscious of his responsibilities for the cure of souls.

In addition, the thesis provides a much-needed art-historical analysis of the glass. The few fragments surviving from the main lights in the Lady Chapel, mainly now in Caboolture, are of exceptional quality. Much of Fox's glass in the east gable window has been seriously compromised by over-restoration, but some of the portraits reveal the original quality of the painting. Fox was a wealthy patron, close to the heart of the royal circle, at a time when some of the most important European artists ever were at work – Leonardo da Vinci, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Bellini, Dürer, David and Gossaert. The techniques used for the Lady Chapel and presbytery glass suggest the involvement of Netherlandish and German craftsmen, who worked together with English glaziers outside the control of the guilds in London.<sup>6</sup> These craftsmen are together referred to in this thesis as the "Anglo-Continental" glaziers, as explained in Chapter 1. Fox's association with these glaziers, led by Barnard Flower, who was Henry VII's glazier, "well experte and cun[n]ing in the craft of glasyng", is well documented.<sup>7</sup>

Fox's glass in the cathedral is now the only surviving elite glazing scheme of the first decade of the 16th century thought to have been undertaken by the Anglo-Continental glaziers which has not been the subject of a detailed study by modern scholars. This thesis confirms stylistic connections to other work attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers. Circumstantial evidence indicates that Flower could well have played a part in Fox's presbytery scheme, although the extent of his direct involvement is unknown.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Germany was not formally united until the 19th century, but in this thesis the term refers to the German-speaking provinces. Ransome 1960: 13.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted from Henry VII's licence to Flower to work as a glazier in Southwark. Smith 1988(c): 259-61.

<sup>8</sup> Marks 1993: 212-17.

## 0.1 The physical remains of the glass

The main source for this study is the surviving remains of the cathedral's glass. The late 15th and early 16th-century glass is described and illustrated in the catalogue in Appendix 1 (Volume 3) ('the Catalogue'). The Catalogue also illustrates the earlier in situ glass in the north and south presbytery clerestory, because Fox retained this as part of his scheme. As well as the fragments still in the east end of the cathedral, the Catalogue notes more briefly the late 15th and early 16th-century glass likely to have originated in the east end but which is now in the great west window of the cathedral, the north transept 'scrap' panel, the Deanery, and the Abbey Church and Museum of Art and Archaeology, Caboolture, Queensland, Australia.

The Catalogue is not a full catalogue, along the lines of those published by the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. Its purpose is to make available to the reader the main source material on which the conclusions in this thesis are based.

The remainder of this section introduces the glass which is the subject of this study, and gathers together some key images, which are referred to throughout the remainder of the thesis. There is some duplication between the images referred in this section (presented in Volume 2) and the Catalogue, both for ease of reference and to ensure that the Catalogue is comprehensive. A plan of the cathedral, showing the position, or likely position, of important medieval locations, is at Fig. 0.4. The windows are referred to using the notation scheme of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* illustrated in Fig. 0.5.

Only a small proportion of the late medieval glass from the three large Perpendicular windows at the east end of the Lady Chapel survives today. The windows were reglazed between 1897 and 1900 by Charles Eamer Kempe (Fig. 0.6).<sup>9</sup> He retained some fragments of the medieval glass in the traceries. Most of this is in the east window, where there are heavily-restored figures of saints, scroll work, and foliate decoration (Figs 0.7-0.8).

The original iconography of the main lights of the three Lady Chapel windows is known from an account dated 1635 and attributed to Lieutenant Hammond. He recorded a Jesse Tree in the east window (eI), the story of the Revelation, or Apocalypse, in the north window (nII), and Christ's

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<sup>9</sup> Walker 1990: 36-37; Callé 2008: 15-16.

Nativity in the south window (sII).<sup>10</sup> In 2002, Mary Callé rediscovered some fragments of glass in the Abbey Church, Caboolture, connecting them to the Lieutenant's description and to similar fragments now in the cathedral's west window (wI) (Figs. 0.9-0.13).<sup>11</sup> Callé's view that important glass now in Caboolture came from the Lady Chapel is confirmed in Chapter 2. This also identifies further fragments thought to come from the Lady Chapel in Caboolture, and in the cathedral's great west window.

The glass commissioned by Bishop Fox in the presbytery is easily identifiable by scrolls bearing his motto 'Est Deo Gracia' and his emblem, the Pelican Vulning, both of which he had used to mark his building work at Durham Castle when he was Bishop of Durham (1494-1501).<sup>12</sup> Fox's glass in the presbytery clerestory supplements an earlier scheme depicting seraphim on wheels and standing saints and prophets (Figs 0.14-0.19).

The most significant, baffling and heavily-restored remains of Fox's glass are in the east gable window, over the High Altar (EI). This now depicts a Last Judgement scene (with a Victorian Christ in Majesty in the centre), angels bearing the arms of Fox's Sees, and below, figures of standing saints and prophets (Figs 0.3 and 0.20-0.39). There are further remains of Fox's glass in the easternmost window of the north presbytery clerestory (NII), supplementing the earlier scheme which he retained. Fox's arms and motto appear in the tracery of window NII, as do some seraphim on wheels intended to match the earlier seraphim in the other traceries of this clerestory (Figs 0.14 and 0.40). Some early 16th-century glass remains in the heads of the main lights of window NII, but the four figures now in these main lights do not fit in this location (Figs 0.43-0.45). They are too narrow for the presbytery clerestory lights. They are thought to have originated in the nave, so they are not considered in this thesis as part of Fox's scheme.<sup>13</sup>

Additional glass attributed to Fox remains in the north and south presbytery aisle windows. In the traceries on the northern side the glass depicts the Adoration of the Magi (nX), the Presentation/Purification (nIX) and the Coronation of the Virgin (nVIII) (Figs 0.46-0.49). Below are standing figures of female saints (Figs 0.50-0.52). On the southern side, there is a Nativity

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<sup>10</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: 48; Appendix 2.

<sup>11</sup> Callé 2002: 68-74; Callé 2003: 26-29; Callé 2004: 13-16; Down (unpublished).

<sup>12</sup> Smith 1988(a): 362.

<sup>13</sup> The main lights of window NII are about 72cm wide (measured from scaffolding), whereas those in the nave clerestory are about 60cm wide (scaled from the ACAD plan provided by the Dean and Chapter). It has not been possible to measure the nave aisle windows but from ground level the main lights are estimated by the author to be around 60cm wide. See further 4.5.1.

scene and some standing figures of Old Testament kings (Figs 0.53-0.56). There is early 16th-century glass in the heads of some of the main lights. Finally, there are a few fragments of early 16th-century glazing in the west window of the cathedral (wI), the north transept scrap panel, the Long Gallery of the Deanery and in the Abbey Church and Museum of Art and Archaeology, Caboolture (Figs 0.57-0.63).

## 0.2 A note on the documentary sources

The documentary sources relied on are referred to in the Bibliography and in each chapter where relevant. Particularly helpful published primary sources include Kitchin's *Comptus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St Swithun's Priory* and Greatrex's *Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St Swithun, Winchester, 1345-1497*.<sup>14</sup> However, there still remains a large amount of untranscribed material which could cast light on the late medieval glazing of the cathedral. This section notes some of the difficulties with the documentary sources, and some of the compromises the author has made in dealing with the many untranscribed documents.

The installation of the late medieval glass at the east end of the cathedral would almost certainly have been referred to in the accounts of the clerk of the works, or *custos operum*, for St Swithun's. However, the 15th and early 16th-century *custos operum* rolls are largely missing – including those relating to the period when the glass was installed. The *custos operum* rolls that survive relate to the years 1408-1409, 1450-51, 1458-59 and 1532-33, and there is one undated 15th-century roll.<sup>15</sup> Although these accounts do refer to glazing in the cathedral, they do not provide clear evidence of the date of installation of any major glazing scheme in the east end.

With regard to financial contributions by the bishops of Winchester, their private accounts are lost.<sup>16</sup> So too are Cardinal Beaufort's registers for the period from 1419 to 1447. The bishops' registers from Beaufort through to Fox all as yet remain untranscribed, and a full study of all these registers

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<sup>14</sup> Kitchin 1892; Greatrex 1978. Dr Brian Collins has recently translated an account roll of the warden of the Lady Chapel not included by Kitchin (HRO DC/A5/11/1). Diana Coldicott has supplemented Greatrex's work with *Calendars of Ledger Books II-IV from the Priory of St Swithun Winchester 1497-1561* (HRO: DC/B5/3; DC/F6/1/6/2-3.).

<sup>15</sup> Kitchin 1892: 209-23 and HRO DC/A5/8/2-5. A translation of the 1532-33 roll has been supplied by Collins. Collins has also transcribed the three further 15th-century *custos operum* rolls which have emerged: for 1450-51, 1458-59 and one undated.

<sup>16</sup> Carpenter Turner 1979: 5; Smith 1988(a): 151-54.



by the present author has not been possible.<sup>17</sup> Research for this study has included examination of extracts from these registers transcribed by F. Baigent as well as W. Alchin's unpublished index to the registers.<sup>18</sup> The author has also been able to discuss the registers with other scholars who have examined them for their studies on Bishop Fox, notably Angela Smith and Clayton Drees.<sup>19</sup> It is helpful that for her PhD research on Bishop Fox's life and building work Smith also checked through relevant Pipe rolls.<sup>20</sup>

There could be further helpful information about the importation of glass in the late 15th and early 16th century in Customs Records. A number of Southampton Port Books and Brokage Books relate to the period 1490-1528.<sup>21</sup> The 1509-10 Port Book has been published and it records the importation of building materials, including glass, by the bishop of Winchester.<sup>22</sup> The other relevant Port and Brokage books remain untranscribed, and, although some of them have been scanned briefly without finding any obvious entries relating to the cathedral, a more thorough examination of these texts is proposed at a later date, and may uncover further clues.<sup>23</sup>

It is hoped that additional information relevant to the late medieval glass of the cathedral and its iconography may emerge when further work is done on transcribing/ translating the bishops' registers, the Pipe rolls, the customs records and the fragmentary documents relating to the liturgy discussed in Chapter 4.

### **0.3 Earlier scholarship**

The most helpful known antiquarian descriptions of the cathedral's glass are noted in Appendix 2, which summarises the history and scholarship relevant to the glass from the Reformation. Some of the difficulties with John Milner's important description from the 1790s are discussed in Chapter 3.

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<sup>17</sup> Anselm Gribbin is preparing a calendared edition of Beaufort's Register for 1405-18. This will also include an entry which Gribbin dates c1427-31 (Gribbin 2009: 74, 106).

<sup>18</sup> BL Add.MS 39975, 39982; HRO DC/K1/1-29; HRO 54019.

<sup>19</sup> Smith 1988(a) and 2007; Drees 2014 and personal communication.

<sup>20</sup> Smith 1988(a): 148 note 1. At *ibid*: 255 Smith identified in the Pipe Rolls a reference to the importation of glass for Wolvesey in 1505-1506. The author has discussed this further with Alison Deveson, who has kindly re-examined and transcribed the relevant entry.

<sup>21</sup> I am grateful to Martin Smith for drawing my attention to the Southampton Port Books.

<sup>22</sup> James 1990 vol.2: 191.

<sup>23</sup> The author has briefly examined the unpublished Port Books for 1494-95, 1503-1504, 1504-1505, and 1512-13 (SA SC5/4). The Brokage Books for 1493-94, 1495 and 1505 (SA SC5/5) were too difficult to read.

The following paragraphs give a brief overview of the scholarship on the glass from the 19th century onwards, extracts from which are noted in Appendix 2 and discussed elsewhere in the thesis where relevant.

Between 1844 and 1845, O.B. Carter, Winchester Cathedral's architect, recorded most of Fox's surviving glass in coloured drawings made from tracings, with an accompanying commentary.<sup>24</sup> Some of the analysis in the commentary is unconvincing, but the drawings generally provide a very accurate record, although a few discrepancies in detail are discussed in Chapter 3. Comparisons between the drawings and the glass today help to identify the original remains, as recorded in the Catalogue.

Around the same time, Charles Winston's paper to the Archaeological Institute at Winchester in 1845 set the remains of the medieval glass of the city broadly in chronological order.<sup>25</sup> Winston dated Fox's east gable window "perhaps a little earlier than 1525".<sup>26</sup> Winston recognised the quality of Fox's glass, and his analysis provided a critical foundation for subsequent scholars.

In the 1880s Nathaniel Westlake made a helpful record of the glass fragments then in the cathedral.<sup>27</sup> He also analysed the east gable window, noting changes made in the 1852 restoration by comparing the window as he saw it with Carter's drawings.<sup>28</sup> Chapter 3 of this thesis does not agree with Westlake's conclusions about the original subject matter and design of the east gable window, but it follows his forensic methodology.

The most complete and accessible guide to the glass of Winchester Cathedral, the College and the Close, is J.D. Le Couteur's thorough account from the 1920s.<sup>29</sup> In 1921 Le Couteur had the chance to examine the great west window and the nave glass from scaffolding and this allowed him to make some convincing suggestions about the iconography of the glass originally designed for the great west window.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Carter 1844-45 and 1845.

<sup>25</sup> Winston 1865.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid: 68.

<sup>27</sup> Westlake III 1886: 20.

<sup>28</sup> Westlake IV 1894: 21-24.

<sup>29</sup> Le Couteur 1920:

<sup>30</sup> Le Couteur 1921.

Richard Marks' monumental 1993 survey of stained glass in England in the Middle Ages compares the glass from the east end of Winchester Cathedral with the surviving evidence of other late 15th and early 16th century English glass in the Netherlandish style. Marks dates Fox's glass 1501-1515, which is the dating supported by this thesis.<sup>31</sup> Marks makes a huge contribution in setting the framework for comparison, although this thesis qualifies some of his conclusions about the craftsmen.

More recently, in 2002 Mary Callé brought to the public attention exquisite glass from the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral which is now in the Abbey Church and Museum of Art and Archaeology at Caboolture, Queensland.<sup>32</sup> The current author has been fortunate to follow in her footsteps and visit this glass.<sup>33</sup> In 2007, Angela Smith published an article on Fox's glass, including some speculation about the iconography of his glass in the presbytery. While this thesis does not support all of Smith's suggestions, it owes much to her documentary research.

This study considers the cathedral's glass in its architectural and cultural context, so the research has also covered a wide range of literature relating to the history of the cathedral, its building, decoration, the individuals involved and the liturgy. Particular reliance has been placed on authoritative studies by the following scholars: Martin Biddle; Joan Greatrex, who has written extensively about the monks of St Swithun's; John Crook, the Winchester Cathedral archaeologist; Nigel Morgan, especially on the liturgy, and Barry Collett on Bishop Fox.<sup>34</sup>

#### **0.4 The history of the glass from the Reformation**

The record of the destruction and attempted restoration of Winchester Cathedral's medieval glass is crucial to understanding the condition and significance of the glass that survives, but the facts are patchy.

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<sup>31</sup> Marks 1993: 213.

<sup>32</sup> Callé 2002: 68-74; Callé 2003: 26-29; Callé 2004: 13-16.

<sup>33</sup> Heilpern 2014, copied in Appendix 3.

<sup>34</sup> Note especially Biddle 1975, 1976, 1990, 1993 and 2000; Collett 1985, 2002(a) and (b) and unpublished; Crook 1989, 1993, 2003, 2008, 2011(b), 2012, 2015 and 2016; Greatrex 1978, 1993, 1997 and 2002; Morgan 1981, 1991, 2001, 2004 and 2012-13.

There may have been some damage to the glass by 1538, when Thomas Cromwell's commissioners destroyed St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir, although the prior and convent co-operated with the commissioners and no reference has been found to destruction of the glass at this time.<sup>35</sup> It is more likely that there was significant damage in 1547, when Edward VI required the removal of idolatrous and superstitious images, including those in glass windows, although again there is no specific record of this in the cathedral.<sup>36</sup> There must have been further damage during the reign of Elizabeth I, under the Protestant Bishop Horne, who ordered the removal of images of the Trinity from the glass.<sup>37</sup> The contemporary account of destruction of the cathedral's glass in 1642 during the Civil War does not specify the main targets in the windows, but it appears from the glass that survives that, although the damage was widespread and catastrophic, the clerestory glass, which was harder to reach, was least affected.<sup>38</sup> With regard to the Lady Chapel glass, the description of the subject matter from 1635 indicates that it must have survived broadly intact until 1642.<sup>39</sup>

Appendix 2 describes the historical background and sources relevant to the history of the glass from the Reformation onwards, including its restoration, in an attempt to paint a fuller picture. Some of the glass may have been restored under Queen Mary in the 1550s, or under Charles I in the 1630s. The glass as we see it today is likely to be broadly as it was reassembled following the Civil War damage, between 1642 and 1668. There may also have been some restoration work during the early 19th century, when the windows were repaired. Edward Baillie's restoration of the east gable window in 1852, which involved some repainting and refiring is at least well documented, and is helpful in interpreting the surviving glass.<sup>40</sup>

The recent history of the glass from Winchester Cathedral obtained by Father Ward in the 1930s, and now in Caboolture, is not explained in Appendix 2, as this was summarised by the current author in an article in the online journal *Vidimus* in February 2014, which is set out in Appendix 3 for ease of reference.

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<sup>35</sup> Cook 1965: 197-99.

<sup>36</sup> Aston 1988: 256-57; Marks 1993: 230; Carpenter Turner 1957: 11-18.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid; Lewin 1991: 24-41.

<sup>38</sup> *Mercurius*: 144-51

<sup>39</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: 48.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix 2 for sources for this paragraph.

## 0.5 The local historical background to themes in the glass

### 0.5.1 Anglo-Saxon saints

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis prove that the late medieval glass in the east end of the cathedral depicted universal Christian imagery which supported the liturgy. At the same time, the glass reflected Winchester's close association with Anglo-Saxon saints: the cathedral housed numerous relics. The chapels and altars identified in the current study are noted at 4.1.2 and the relics are listed in Appendix 4.

St Swithun, a 9th-century bishop of Winchester, was one of the most popular English saints.<sup>41</sup> Relatively recently, on 15th July 1476, his relics had been translated from a secluded position behind the high altar to a new silver reliquary, placed on a marble shrine in the retrochoir.<sup>42</sup> St Swithun's figure and inscription appear in the east gable window, above and in front of his new shrine. The east gable window also contains a fragment of an inscription "Ethel" which could have referred to Ethelwulf (king while Swithun was bishop) or the bishop St Ethelwold, who had promoted the cult of St Swithun in the 10th century. Both were also buried in the cathedral.

These figures were clearly still central to the community's identity in the early 16th century. Thomas Rudbourne was an important 15th-century chronicler, and a Winchester monk.<sup>43</sup> It appears from his writings that the monks in the period before the Reformation believed that Winchester Cathedral was the same church as the 10th-century Old Minster, as rebuilt by St Ethelwold.<sup>44</sup> Ethelwold's rebuilding of the cathedral, and promotion of St Swithun, had gone hand in hand with the crucially important reform of the monasteries under King Edgar. The *Regularis Concordia*, a customary based on the Rule of St Benedict, was drawn up by the Council of Winchester c973.<sup>45</sup> It aimed to secure uniformity in monastic practice in England. It substituted monks for secular canons and stressed the king's importance, requiring daily prayers for the monarchy and benefactors, and

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<sup>41</sup> Lapidge 2003: 47. For documentary evidence of St Swithun's life, *ibid*: 3-7. The priory church at Winchester was originally dedicated to saints Peter and Paul. In the pre-conquest period it acquired a further dedication, to the Holy Trinity. However, from the mid-12th century onwards, St Swithun is usually named as the sole patron (Lapidge 2003: 42-43; Goodman 1927: xliv-v; Brookes 1993: 7-8).

<sup>42</sup> For the detailed description of the translation in the register of Cardinal Morton, see Lapidge 2003: 35-37. For a discussion and reconstruction of the shrine, see Crook 2011: 282-88.

<sup>43</sup> For works to be attributed to Rudbourne see Crook 2003 and Crook in Lapidge 2003: 165-178. On Rudbourne generally see Gransden 1982: 394-98.

<sup>44</sup> Crook 2003: 229-30; Lapidge 2003: 165. Walkelin was remembered only for rebuilding the tower (see 0.5.2).

<sup>45</sup> Symons 1975: 37-59

the king's consent in appointing bishops and abbots.<sup>46</sup> Also dated c973, the *Benedictional of Ethelwold*, an illuminated book of Bishop's blessings for the Mass, includes a set of benedictions for St Swithun.<sup>47</sup> Chapter 4 of this thesis argues that the iconography of the late medieval glazing, centring on the images of God in glory, had parallels with the approach in Ethelwold's *Benedictional*. The *Benedictional* is thought to have been in the Winchester area in the 15th century, but the parallels may demonstrate a more general, long-standing, continuity of approach, rather than specific reference to the *Benedictional* itself.<sup>48</sup>

The combination of local and universal images in the glass, and their proximity to the relics of Anglo-Saxon saints and kings in the choir and retrochoir, suggests a carefully planned glazing scheme, referring to local saints and founders within the wider context of the core Christian imagery which served the liturgy.<sup>49</sup> Christopher Norton has found a similar approach in the east end of York Minster, where he argues that the emphasis is on the relationship between the local church and the church universal, so that salvation history unfolds within a particular context in the world which God has created.<sup>50</sup>

On a more pragmatic level, for the monastic community, as for royalty, "antiquity sanctioned authority".<sup>51</sup> Well before the Reformation, the Benedictines at Winchester, as elsewhere, had to defend themselves from a number of threats.<sup>52</sup> Most fundamentally, the order was criticised for laxity and for departing from the strict tenets of the Benedictine Rule.<sup>53</sup> The Lollards, their sternest critics, had had an early royal supporter in John of Gaunt. Henry V, too, had been a harsh critic. In 1410 proposals to disendow the bishoprics and religious houses had been presented in Parliament.<sup>54</sup> Henry V's assault on monastic exemptions and privileges was resumed by Henry VII between 1487-90.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid: 44-45.

<sup>47</sup> Deshman 1995: 152; Lapidge 2003: 87.

<sup>48</sup> See 4.1.1 and 4.2.2.5.

<sup>49</sup> The bishop saints recorded as buried in the cathedral were Birinus, Hedda, Swithun, Ethelwold, Frithestan, Alphege, and Birstan. Thomas 1974: 132 and Appendix 4. On royal burials in the cathedral see Biddle and Biddle 2015.

<sup>50</sup> Norton 2005: 170-73, 178.

<sup>51</sup> Luxford 2008: 145.

<sup>52</sup> Luxford 2008: Chapter 5; Gransden 1982: 343; Greatrex 1993: 144-45 and 157-59. Clark 2014: Chapter 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid: 282-84.

<sup>54</sup> Luxford 2008: 138; Clark 2014: 308. There is vivid evidence of the pressure the order was under in the Register of Cardinal Beaufort (Alchin Vol IV: 7-9 and 17).

<sup>55</sup> Clark 2014: 323; Harper-Bill 1978: 6-11.

Against this background, the importance to the monks of the cathedral's ancient past and royal connections cannot be over-estimated. Julian Luxford draws attention to the Rites of Durham, which state expressly that the Benedictines there emphasised their royal founders and patrons in the hope of attracting further patronage.<sup>56</sup> Antonia Gransden's comprehensive study of historical writing in England from 1307 until the early 16th-century has observed that, as a general trend, monks wrote chronicles to defend themselves against their critics.<sup>57</sup> There is evidence that the Winchester monks used chronicles of their illustrious past to argue for their continued existence at the time of the Reformation. Material from a 15th-century chronicle which has been attributed to Thomas Rudbourne, the *Liber Historialis*, is thought to have been submitted to Thomas Cromwell on the eve of the Dissolution.<sup>58</sup> It is clear that Bishop Fox's glass also reflected the cathedral's venerable past.

### **0.5.2 Winchester, city and cathedral: on-going royal connections**

The theory presented here that the late medieval glazing of the cathedral promoted Henry VII and the new Tudor dynasty is consistent with the cathedral's close relationship with monarchs, back to its earliest times.

Winchester had been a royal city before it was the seat of a bishop. The Old Minster was built by Cenwalh of Wessex in 648, and may have been founded as a palace church.<sup>59</sup> It did not become a cathedral until the transference of the See from Dorchester in the 660s, when St Hedda brought to Winchester the remains of St Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons.<sup>60</sup> From its foundation, the kings of Wessex were usually buried in the Old Minster, and some were crowned there.<sup>61</sup> King Alfred's achievements in the 9th century in uniting the Anglo Saxons against the Danes, and developing a legal system, have caused him to be remembered as the first king of a unified England, and Winchester was his capital.<sup>62</sup> In c901-903 his body was moved from the Old Minster to the

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<sup>56</sup> Luxford 2008: 149; Mickleton and Fowler 1903: 20.

<sup>57</sup> Gransden 1982: 343.

<sup>58</sup> Crook 2003: 229-31; Lapidge 2003: 173-76. The manuscript was transcribed in 1531 by another monk, John of Exeter.

<sup>59</sup> Biddle 1975: 125. Biddle 1976: 306-307.

<sup>60</sup> Farmer 1990: 153.

<sup>61</sup> Biddle 1975: 125.

<sup>62</sup> Wormald *ODNB*. Le Couteur 1921: 157 found an inscription in the great west window of the cathedral referring to King Alfred. He dated this to the mid-15th century. This has not been identified by the current author.

New Minster (built only four metres north of the Old Minster) but the Old Minster continued in use.<sup>63</sup>

The preceding section has noted how the later 10th-century reform of the monasteries, organised from Winchester, strengthened the position of the king. The close association between the monasteries of Winchester and royalty continued under King Canute, the prince of Denmark who took the throne of England in 1016. He and his Queen Emma, born in Winchester, were benefactors of the Old Minster, and both were buried there, along with Canute's son, King Harthacnut.<sup>64</sup> Emma's son, Edward the Confessor, was crowned in the cathedral, although when he died in 1066 he was buried in the church he had founded at Westminster Abbey.<sup>65</sup>

When William the Conqueror arrived in Winchester in November 1066, his principal residence was the royal palace just west of the Old Minster. The palace was enlarged c1070 over land taken from the New Minster, which in 1100 moved to a new site north of the city, and became known as Hyde Abbey.<sup>66</sup> Although the king was peripatetic, Winchester retained a strong claim to be called the capital, as the royal treasury and mint were here.<sup>67</sup> The last Saxon bishop of Winchester, Archbishop Stigand, was deposed in 1070 and replaced by Walkelin, previously a canon of Rouen Cathedral.<sup>68</sup> Walkelin began building the cathedral that still stands today in 1079, to replace the Old Minster. Biddle and Biddle argue that the "stupendous size" of the new cathedral was designed as visible proof of the dynastic claim and legitimacy of Norman rule, and that William planned to be buried there together with his forebears: Queen Emma was the central figure in his claim to the English throne.<sup>69</sup> In the event, William died near Rouen and was buried in Caen.<sup>70</sup>

Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester from 1129 until 1171, was brother of King Stephen, but Derek Keene has largely attributed the city's decline in size and prosperity from the 12th century to the city's progressively weaker relationship with the monarchy.<sup>71</sup> Further periods of rapid decline occurred in the late 13th, the 15th and early 16th centuries.<sup>72</sup> However, the wealth and prestige of

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<sup>63</sup> Biddle 1975: 127-31. Biddle and Biddle 2015: 213.

<sup>64</sup> Biddle and Biddle 2015: 212.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> *BOE 2010*: 560; Biddle 1976: 470-72.

<sup>67</sup> *BOE 2010*: 60.

<sup>68</sup> *BOE 2010*: 565.

<sup>69</sup> Biddle and Biddle 2015: 227.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid notes that his sons Richard and William Rufus were buried in Winchester Cathedral.

<sup>71</sup> Keene 1985 vol. 1: Chapter IV throughout and especially at 92 and 100; Biddle 1976: 296-97, 472-73.

<sup>72</sup> Keene 1985 vol. 1: Chapter IV.



the See of Winchester meant that it was given to the king's favoured loyal servants, and kings continued to use the city occasionally. Henry IV was married in the cathedral in 1403 by his half-brother and soon-to-be bishop of Winchester, Henry Beaufort. Henry V's Agincourt campaign was conducted from Winchester and Southampton. Henry VI visited Wykeham's Winchester College in 1441, when he was planning the foundation which became Eton College.<sup>73</sup>

Following the Wars of the Roses, in 1486, Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, was brought to Winchester for the birth of their first child, Prince Arthur, who was then baptised in the cathedral before a large royal party.<sup>74</sup> The late 15th and early 16th-century rebuilding and decoration of the Lady Chapel has long been thought to have been funded by the royal family out of gratitude for Arthur's safe delivery at St Swithun's. Chapter 5 notes documentary evidence which may support this tradition, although it does not prove it conclusively. It is however argued that both the Lady Chapel glass and Fox's glass in the presbytery commemorated the early Tudors.

The prince's birth and baptism at Winchester appears to have been a deliberate attempt by Henry to bolster his weak claim to the throne by associating his heir with the legendary King Arthur.<sup>75</sup> By the late 15th century, the romance tradition associated Winchester with Camelot, the city where Arthur had held court.<sup>76</sup> While many were cynical about the Arthurian myths, the Round Table hanging in the Great Hall at Winchester from the time of Edward I was taken as one of the proofs of Arthur's existence, for example by Caxton in his preface to Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.<sup>77</sup>

Henry VII's claim to the throne derived, remotely, through his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, from John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford. As daughter of Edward IV, his queen Elizabeth had a stronger claim. However, as a Welshman, Henry VII also fulfilled the prophecy to the last British King Cadwallader, recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth, that a Briton would once again rule the land.<sup>78</sup> Legend related that Arthur would return and the decision to bring Queen Elizabeth to Winchester for the birth of Henry's first son, the choice of the baby's name and his baptism in the cathedral, must have been an attempt to add authority to the Tudor claim. The birth of the new prince may even have been presented as Arthur's "second coming". Poems written a few years

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<sup>73</sup> Milner I: 228, 231; Davis 1993: 36.

<sup>74</sup> *Leland IV*: 204-15. Gunn and Monckton 2009: 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Cunningham 2016: 17-21.

<sup>76</sup> Biddle 2000: Chapter 1.

<sup>77</sup> Biddle 2000: 28-30.

<sup>78</sup> Kendrick 1950: 35; Cunningham 2016: 86.

later for the pageant to celebrate Arthur's betrothal to Katherine of Aragon combine astrology with scriptural exegesis, and make it clear that the early Tudors were not afraid to draw parallels between Christ and the prince, God and the king.<sup>79</sup>

Medieval thinking did not have to be cut and dried – it valued symbolism and different layers of meaning. It blurred history with legend, and pageantry with astrology and scriptural exegesis. Henry VII was superstitious, and he may genuinely have believed himself to be the Briton destined to fulfil the prophecy to Cadwallader.<sup>80</sup> This belief would have been consistent with Henry VI's prediction in 1470 that he would have a role in healing the divisions of war.<sup>81</sup> The level of contemporary cynicism about the Arthurian legends nevertheless suggests that there may have been a general awareness, at some level, that the legends were a courtly fantasy, which could be used to enchant and persuade, at a time when the union of Lancaster and York offered much needed peace. Lady Margaret Beaufort had already seen the potential use of romance for political purposes when in 1489 she commissioned Caxton to publish *Blanchard and Eglantine*, a romance that mirrored that of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York - a union which Lady Margaret had largely engineered with Queen Elizabeth Woodville in 1483.<sup>82</sup> Lady Margaret is described by Sean Cunningham as the architect of much of the ceremonial designed to elevate the status of the king's family.<sup>83</sup> She accompanied the royal party during the birth and baptism of Arthur. Her husband Lord Stanley was a godfather.<sup>84</sup> Her emblem, the daisy, survives in the glass in the Deanery gallery.

Chapter 5 observes that the choice of Nativity and Jesse windows in the Lady Chapel, where the walls are dominated by royal heraldry, is consistent with the idea that the Lady Chapel works commemorated Arthur's baptism. Chapters 3 and 5 argue that the east gable window probably included figures of Henry VII, and of either Elizabeth of York or Lady Margaret Beaufort. Royal figures in the glass could not survive the Civil War, but this thesis finds more subtle references to the union of Lancaster and York in the surviving glass. In the tracery of the south presbytery aisle, Elizabeth of York's beautifully preserved emblem, a white rose, crowned, sits near Fox's pelican (Fig.0.64, Cat.D.73).<sup>85</sup> In the north and south presbytery clerestory, Fox retained glass from an

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<sup>79</sup> Anglo1963: 53-89; Cunningham 2016: 19-20, 132-139.

<sup>80</sup> Cunningham 2007: 95; Bentley 1831: 123 notes in Henry's Privy Purse expenses for 1499 "To the Baylif of Winchester for taken of prophecys 13.?.4d."

<sup>81</sup> Jones and Underwood 1992: 52.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid: 181-82.

<sup>83</sup> Cunningham 2016: 49, 51.

<sup>84</sup> *Leland IV*: 206-207.

<sup>85</sup> See also 5.2.2.

earlier scheme, probably associated with Cardinal Beaufort, his illustrious predecessor from the House of Lancaster – like himself a powerful royal servant. The early 16th-century scheme embraced the houses of both Lancaster and York, in an ancient and royal setting.

## **0.6 Chapter outline**

Chapter 1 sets the glass in its broader artistic context and then in the context of the building. It looks at the style of the glass painting. This provides a basis for the grouping of the fragments and the attempted reconstruction in the following two chapters. It also enables a discussion about the craftsmen. The second part of the chapter describes the building schemes for which the glass was designed, in order to establish the ascertainable facts surrounding the installation of the glass. It looks at the earlier building schemes in the east end of the cathedral and their decoration, to try to work out what changes were made c1490-c1528, and what the thinking behind those changes may have been.

Chapters 2 and 3 ask how far it is possible to reconstruct the subject matter and design of the pre – Reformation imagery in the glass at the east end of the cathedral. The most important evidence is the physical remains of the glass itself, but regard is also paid to comparable late medieval iconography.

Chapter 4 interprets the iconography of the late medieval glass, so far as it can be established, in the light of the monastic liturgy in the cathedral, referring also to the other imagery in the building. It asks what access pilgrims and the lay community had to the glass, and how it, together with the other imagery, could have guided them around the building and supported their worship.

Chapter 5 discusses in more detail those likely to have planned and paid for the glass, the influences on them and their probable motivations.

## **Chapter 1: The glass and its broader context**

No documentary evidence has yet been found to prove who designed or made the late 15th/early 16th-century glass of Winchester Cathedral, or recording with certainty its installation. This chapter uses a contextual approach to try to answer some of these questions, and, perhaps more important, to provide a greater understanding of the glass both as an object in itself and as part of an architectural structure. The chapter looks first at the painting style of the Winchester glass and the wider artistic environment within which it was made. It then examines the building schemes in the cathedral of which the glazing formed part.

The examination of style and design motifs in this chapter does not provide a precise and definitive attribution for the Winchester Cathedral glass, but it is hoped that it helps the viewer to understand how it appealed to contemporaries, why it may look as it does and the range of craftsmen likely to have been involved in making it. The examination of style is also important for this project because it provides a sound basis for the reconstruction of the glazing schemes in the Lady Chapel and presbytery in Chapters 2 and 3. It enables the fragments to be grouped more reliably, and sets the broad frame of reference in looking for relevant comparators.

The chapter then turns to the original physical setting for the glass: its specific architectural and decorative context within the cathedral. This requires some consideration of the earlier building and decoration of the east end, as well as the changes that were made by the building schemes during which the late medieval glass was installed. The date of the Lady Chapel glass cannot be proved definitively, but the circumstantial evidence suggests a date of c1500-c1502, and in any event before 1510, for its installation. More concrete progress is made in relation to the presbytery glass. The presbytery aisle glass could have been installed as early as c1505, or around the same time as the presbytery clerestory glass, beginning c1510. The dating of the clerestory glass is strongly supported by the latest archaeological research, and a recently identified entry in the Southampton Port Book regarding Bishop Fox's importation of a large quantity of glass in 1510.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> James II 1990: 191 and 281.

## 1.1 The Winchester Cathedral glass and its stylistic context

Scholars have long acknowledged the continental characteristics of the late 15th/early 16th-century Winchester Cathedral glass. Westlake noted that certain details were “a little German, others French or Flemish”.<sup>2</sup> He queried whether the glass might be the early work of Barnard Flower, who was based in Southwark.<sup>3</sup> There has been some uncertainty about Flower’s nationality, but it now seems that he was born in the Burgundian Netherlands, and it is argued in this thesis that he may have trained in Germany.<sup>4</sup> Many documents prove that Flower and other “Doche” (Netherlandish and German) glaziers were working in and around Southwark in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, on the most prestigious projects.<sup>5</sup> Flower is recorded as the king’s glazier from 1505.<sup>6</sup>

Richard Marks’ 1993 survey provides the modern starting point for study of the Winchester Cathedral glass.<sup>7</sup> It argues that the glass surviving in the tracery of the east window of the Lady Chapel was the work of Netherlandish glaziers, but that these were different from the Netherlandish and Anglo-Netherlandish glaziers working in Southwark supervised by Flower - to whom he attributed Fox’s glass in the east end of the cathedral.<sup>8</sup> Marks’ 1993 survey also attributed to Flower’s workshop the early 16th-century glass at Fairford Parish Church, Gloucestershire, Henry VII’s glass for his Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, and glass from the earlier campaign at Kings’ College Chapel, Cambridge, under the contract dated 1515.<sup>9</sup> Marks has continued to develop his ideas since 1993. His research on the will of Robert Hunt and St Margaret’s Church Westminster demonstrates that before 1500 the continental mode of glass painting was already considered suitable for an important parish church, and that not all the work in this style can be attributed to Flower’s workshop.<sup>10</sup>

The current author has tested Marks’ conclusions, with the benefit of close examination of the Caboolture fragments, and of the presbytery clerestory glass from scaffolding, and having examined

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<sup>2</sup> Westlake IV 1894: 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid: 24.

<sup>4</sup> See 1.1.3.4.

<sup>5</sup> Oswald 1951-52.

<sup>6</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 13.

<sup>7</sup> Marks 1993: Chapter 10. Although Hilary Wayment wrote extensively about the work of the continental glaziers in England in the early 16th century, he did not write in any detail about the Winchester Cathedral glass.

<sup>8</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid: 216-17.

<sup>10</sup> Marks 2012(b): 382-83.

a range of comparative material, at site visits in England, France, Belgium, Germany and Spain. This thesis broadly supports Marks, but qualifies some of his conclusions, in particular emphasising the variety of different hands, and the mixture of European influences, especially from Germany. Although some of the very high quality glass for the main panels at Winchester Cathedral could have been imported ready painted, no documentary evidence has been found to suggest this. The stylistic and circumstantial evidence support the view that most, if not all, of the surviving Winchester glass was produced by the “Doche” and English glaziers working together outside the City of London, here referred to together as the “Anglo-Continental” glaziers. The repetition of designs and motifs at Fairford, Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, Christ’s and King’s Colleges Cambridge and in Winchester Cathedral’s presbytery could indicate oversight by Flower’s workshop. This argument may also apply to Winchester Cathedral’s Lady Chapel glass. However, as designs could be copied or shared this argument cannot be proved beyond doubt. There are some visual connections between the figures which indicate that some of the same painters may have worked at the different locations, although the glass is not signed and none of the figures can be securely linked to named painters.

In analysing stylistic connections between glazing schemes of this period, a key issue is the separation of the role of designer from that of the craftsmen who made the glass. It is clear from the 14th-century glazing accounts for St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster that the design was entrusted to the masters who were more highly paid than the glass painters.<sup>11</sup> John Thornton’s 1405 contract for glazing the great east window at York Minster also makes clear his importance as designer.<sup>12</sup> The separation of functions was accelerated by the new use of paper for designs, recorded in England at Westminster from 1443.<sup>13</sup> Paper designs were easily portable, unlike the earlier designs on whitewashed tables.<sup>14</sup> Vidimuses, which set out the overall layout, and even paper cartoons, prescribing individual elements of the design, were often supplied by artists who were not primarily glass painters. Whether the designer was a celebrity artist or a master in the workshop, his job was to set down the stylistic character and the design, but the painters translated this into the final product.<sup>15</sup> There could be many hands involved and, although the master may have painted some of

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<sup>11</sup> Brown (unpublished) 2017: 23; Marks 1993: 44.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Brown 2014(b): 24

<sup>13</sup> Marks 1993: 33-34; Brown (unpublished) 2017: 20-21.

<sup>14</sup> It is established that cartoons produced in Paris were exported to workshops in Rouen. Herold: 1993(a) and 1993(b).

<sup>15</sup> Butts and Hendrix 2000: 1, 4-8.

the most important figures, he did not always involve himself in the painting.<sup>16</sup> The same cartoon, implemented by painters from different backgrounds, could result in glass that looked quite different.

Migrant painters are much more likely to have absorbed a mixture of styles and influences than those who stayed at home. The glass considered in this section indicates that the mixed community of craftsman established in and around Southwark in the early 16th century interpreted the cartoons in a rapidly changing “melting pot” of styles. This makes purist analysis of the origins of the painters based on painting style and decorative motifs virtually impossible. It is difficult, if not impossible, to attribute particular features or figures to individual named artists with any degree of certainty where work is unsigned.

Another problem in identifying the origins of the painters is that it can be difficult to distinguish the work of some German and Netherlandish painters. The painter Hans Memling was born in Germany but settled in Bruges.<sup>17</sup> The influence of the Netherlandish panel painters was reflected in work produced in Germany too, such as the painting of Hans Holbein the Elder.<sup>18</sup> Politically, as well as artistically, Germany and the Netherlands were closely interlinked (Fig. 1.1). Maximilian, Holy Roman Emperor from 1486, was married to the heiress of Burgundy, Mary. Their son Philip the Fair was ruler of the Netherlands under Maximilian’s guardianship from 1482 until he obtained majority in 1494. Philip died in 1506, while his son Charles was an infant, and his sister Margaret of Savoy was Regent of the Low Countries from 1506. She governed the Netherlands for many years under Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, until her death in 1530.<sup>19</sup>

This section describes the continental characteristics of the surviving Winchester glass. It then briefly discusses the transmission of the continental style to Winchester. It considers the possibility that the glass was imported, but largely dismisses this in view of the clear evidence of extensive use of the Anglo-Continental glaziers in élite circles in the south of England at this time. The section illustrates the variety of the work thought to be attributable to the Anglo-Continental glaziers, drawing out common features with the Winchester Cathedral glass. It briefly discusses the possibility of Flower’s own involvement at Winchester.

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<sup>16</sup> Marks 1993: 44.

<sup>17</sup> Nash 2008(a): 72, 121.

<sup>18</sup> Nuechterlein 2011: 50.

<sup>19</sup> Husband 1995: 12-13.

### 1.1.1 The continental features of the glass

The glass from the east end of Winchester Cathedral demonstrates a number of continental characteristics, which are summarised here and explained in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The Winchester glass can be distinguished from earlier 15th-century English glass painting by its more sophisticated naturalism and sense of space, with figures set against three-dimensional, realistic backgrounds. Although little narrative glass survives intact in the cathedral, there is some evidence of unified compositions, which span the window lights. Looking at the figures, faces are depicted in grisaille, and modelled with stipple, hatching and fluent lines. Yellow-stain hair is often highlighted with scratching. Many of the faces are finely painted. Some are generic, and some individualised, displaying a range of expressions, from reverence to cruelty. The Winchester glass demonstrates a taste for rich decoration, especially fictive textiles, use of inserted jewels and monochrome glass painted in different tones. The craftsmen have used a wide range of coloured glass and demonstrated some of the techniques developed by Netherlandish glaziers, such as experiments with sanguine. Design motifs are mainly Netherlandish and German, with a few early indications of the Italian Renaissance.

The faces in the early 16th-century Winchester Cathedral glass contrast strikingly with much English work from the second half of the 15th century. English glass painting was generally flat and stylised, concentrating on pattern, colour, busy narrative, and the expression of emotion through posture and gesture, rather than individualised or realistic portraiture. Examples of prestigious projects include the west window of Peterborough Cathedral, probably commissioned in the 1470s, by Lady Margaret Beaufort and Sir Reginald Bray (Fig. 1.2) and work organised by Bishop Waynflete of Winchester at the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall in Lincolnshire between 1476 and 1482.<sup>20</sup> At Tattershall, Richard Twygge and Thomas Wodshawe worked with a number of other glass painters from across the Midlands.<sup>21</sup> In the 1470s and 1480s, the decorative, naïve style was all that was available. It continued to be chosen for some important schemes into the early 16th century: in the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern Priory, with which Bray was

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<sup>20</sup> See 5.4.2.

<sup>21</sup> Marks 1993: 201-204.



again involved in 1501-1502 (Fig. 1.3) and in the nave of Westminster Abbey, where Richard Twygge worked in 1507-10 (Fig. 1.4).<sup>22</sup>

The stark contrast between the painting styles of the immigrant and local provincial artists is clearly demonstrated by Marks, who compares the royal portraits at Great and Little Malvern, attributed to the Twygge and Wodeshawe workshop, with the naturalistic portraits in the Royal Window at Canterbury Cathedral, dated 1482-87 and showing clear Netherlandish influence (Figs 1.5-1.6).<sup>23</sup> Queen Elizabeth Woodville and Princess Cecily are drawn in fine controlled lines, hatching and stipple. The curling highlights in Cecily's yellow-stain hair are carefully scratched with a fine point. The light falls on the figures from a consistent light source, creating the impression of real rounded people.<sup>24</sup>

This contrast explains why, during the early 16th century, although the master craftsmen responsible for the design of royal buildings were all English, they generally employed the best foreign glaziers.<sup>25</sup> By about 1523, the Glazier's Company alleged that the foreigners had caused a decline in the number of glass painters within the City from twenty-two to seven.<sup>26</sup>

#### ***1.1.1.1 Naturalism and sense of space***

By the mid-15th century, English glass painting had generally lost the soft refinement of the International Gothic style, but single figures generally still stood against flat patterned backgrounds, in painted architectural frameworks, with canopy tops above (Fig. 1.7). The Northern Renaissance tradition of depicting figures set against realistic interiors originated with Netherlandish artists including Jan van Eyck, court painter to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, from c1425. His paintings revealed three layers of space – the figures in the foreground, the room they were in, and the natural world beyond the windows, sometimes including the horizon, as in Fig. 1.8. This new

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Caviness 1981: 257-61 is cautious; Marks 1993: 206 more confidently attributes the portraits to a Netherlandish artist.

<sup>24</sup> Caviness 1981: 257.

<sup>25</sup> Thurley 1993: 105-106.

<sup>26</sup> Marks 1993: 227 also explains that legislation was passed that year limiting alien craftsmen from employing more than two foreign-born servants, and ensuring that they could only have English apprentices.

sense of depth found its way into 15th-century church glazing schemes on the continent, for example in the Jacques Coeur window of Bourges Cathedral, c1450 (Fig. 1.9).<sup>27</sup>

The Winchester Cathedral glass follows this Netherlandish tradition. The imitation architectural settings for the standing figures in the Lady Chapel tracery, the east gable window, and the presbytery aisles, all create a sense of depth, space and light, by showing windows behind the figures, suggesting the recession of glimpsed space. In the Lady Chapel these are unglazed, tall windows, in what looks like a curved apse (Fig. 0.8). With their slim columns, these windows echo the early 13th-century lancets in the retrochoir, except that they are round headed, so Romanesque, or almost classical - perhaps as an appropriate setting for the apostles.<sup>28</sup> In the presbytery aisles, they are round headed quarry-glazed windows (Figs 0.50 and 0.52). These may have been similar to the Romanesque windows replaced in the presbytery aisles by Fox's scheme. In the background to the figures in the east gable window, there are barrel roofs above Gothic windows, each with three main lights, trefoil headed, and a simple tracery above (Fig. 0.29). This fictive architecture may broadly have represented the style of the east gable window and roof before Fox's alterations, although it is unlikely to have represented the earlier building precisely.<sup>29</sup> The parallels noted support the logical theory that the designers of the glass would have been involved from the beginning of the building project, and would have known the building before it was altered.

Later 15th-century Netherlandish glass often included naturalistic landscapes. Examples are found in the glass surviving at the Church of Miraflores, Burgos, Spain securely dated 1484, by the workshop of Nicolas Rombout, and the glass at Tournai Cathedral, generally dated c1500 and attributed to Arnoult de Nimègue (Figs. 1.10-1.11).<sup>30</sup> This differed from most English glass of the period, in which narrative backgrounds were usually indicated by flat, stylised buildings, trees and plants, with landscape suggested by horizontal "strips" (Fig. 1.12), although Netherlandish realism did have some limited influence on later 15th-century provincial English painters. David King detects "the contemporary current of realism", in terms of increased modelling and the background detail, in the St John the Evangelist window at the Church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich, c1480-

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<sup>27</sup> Grodecki et al 1981: 164.

<sup>28</sup> See Fig. 1.102.

<sup>29</sup> The quatrefoil design on the fictive masonry frame in Fig. 0.29 echoes the design of the 14th-century balustrade in the presbytery, although they are not identical (Fig. 1.56 and *BOE 2010*: 584). It also echoes the design on fragments thought to be from St Swithun's 15th-century shrine which was in the retrochoir (Crook 2011: 286). More generally see Oda 2015.

<sup>30</sup> On Miraflores, see Nash 2008: 94-95 and Pizano 2006. On Nimègue at Tournai see note 38 below.

c1500, although he comments that the Mancroft glazier “was not ready, or perhaps unable to embrace it fully” (Fig. 1.13).<sup>31</sup>

At Winchester, the presbytery aisles tracery narrative scenes show simple naturalistic settings (Fig. 0.53). Chapter 2 (at 2.4.2) notes fragments thought to be from the Lady Chapel Nativity window, which suggest naturalistic landscapes in the background.

### ***1.1.1.2 Design and composition***

From the late 15th century, framing devices were used in Netherlandish and German windows to unify the figures into a scene that could be read across the mullions (Figs 1.14-1.15). In contrast, English glaziers in the later 15th century still generally confined narrative themes to individual lights. This resulted in small scale scenes, requiring close attention, rather than large images which could be read from afar (Fig. 1.16).

Marks discusses the evidence of experimentation with space and depth in English glass from the mid-15th century, in the creed windows at Ludlow, and in the series of English kings at St Mary’s Hall Coventry.<sup>32</sup> He sees this as this as very much the exception rather than the norm in surviving glass, perhaps influenced by Flemish naturalism. Flemish influence has been noted in the design of the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern: in particular, the design of the Virgin in glory, which spans three lights, has been compared with the Coronation of the Virgin at the Church of St Gommaire, Lier, Belgium, from the 1470s (Figs 1.17-1.18).<sup>33</sup> By the 1470s, there was clearly some interchange between the English and the foreign craftsmen in London, even if it was not always friendly. The London Glaziers Company complained against foreigners in 1474, when more than twenty-eight “Foreyn persons as well etrangers as other” were recorded in and around the City, some of them “of grete untrueth and subtitle”.<sup>34</sup>

There is evidence that the narrative scenes in the east end of Winchester Cathedral spanned several lights. In the presbytery aisles, the top lights of the traceries show narrative scenes, and in each

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<sup>31</sup> King 2006: cliv.

<sup>32</sup> Marks 1993: 190-91. On the dating of the Coventry window, Rudebeck 2007 refers to Rackham’s dating of after 1485, but proposes a date of 1420-22.

<sup>33</sup> Dent 2012: 15 refers to Marks 1984.

<sup>34</sup> Ashdown 1919: 19-20 cites the complaint in full. There were further complaints in 1516-17 and in c1523 (Ransome 1960: 13-15).

case the central two lights clearly form one picture (Fig. 0.53). Chapter 3 explains that in the east gable window, the top of the tracery shows the remains of a Last Judgement scene, spanning the lights. At the sides are trumpeting angels. The lower part of the tracery is highly likely to have shown the saved and the damned, with or without St Michael.

### *1.1.1.3 The figures*

Turning to the figures in the Winchester glass, no specific comparisons have been identified which allow the designers or painters, or their origins, to be identified precisely. The figures vary greatly in quality, and demonstrate a mixture of influences. This section makes it clear that there are general parallels between the Winchester faces and Netherlandish glass painting, in terms of naturalism, and the use of grisaille and yellow-stain. However, it is argued that some of the best preserved Winchester faces appear to be closer to German work than to surviving Netherlandish examples. Netherlandish glass painting is generally thought of as softly modelled, like the late 15th-century glass from Lier at Fig. 1.19, and the glass dated c1496 from the Chapel of the Holy Blood, Bruges, at Figs 1.20-1.21. German work, inspired by engravings, is associated with harder lines, and known for its more intense realism and expressive force (Figs 1.22-1.24).<sup>35</sup>

Marks argued that the figures surviving in the tracery of the east window of the Lady Chapel indicate the hand of a Netherlandish glazier.<sup>36</sup> They are imposing and three dimensional, in richly coloured clothes, convincingly modelled in heavy folds. They fill their niches, and stand at a variety of angles, suggesting some experimentation with poses (Fig. 0.7). Unfortunately, only one face survives (Fig. 0.8). Its fineness, naturalism and economy of style fits with the drawing of some of the hands of the figures in the tracery. This may suggest Netherlandish influence, as Marks suggests, but the head is in poor condition, and there may have been repainting by restorers. The tracery figures demonstrate continental influence, but there is no clear proof of the specific origin of the painters.

The better preserved late 15th/early 16th-century Winchester glass combines some generic faces with others which appear to have been drawn from life, reflecting developments in Netherlandish

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<sup>35</sup> Brisac 1986: 120.

<sup>36</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

glass, influenced by the Northern European panel painters.<sup>37</sup> Netherlandish realism and individualisation is demonstrated especially in the glass of Arnoult de Nimègue, starting with the late 15th-century glass at Tournai Cathedral which is signed by him (Figs 1.11 and 1.25).<sup>38</sup> Idealisation of some holy and royal figures did however remain a deliberate choice, as at the Chapel of the Holy Blood, Bruges, where the glass represents Maximilian and his wife as in their youth (Fig. 1.20). A good surviving example combining some faces which look like portraits with some idealised figures is the Window of the Virgin at the Church of Saints Peter and Gudule, Anderlecht, dated to the late 15th or early 16th century (Figs 1.26-1.27).<sup>39</sup>

A significant number of the faces in the Winchester Cathedral east gable window are convincing as real people. Looking at Amos, the folds of flesh suggest a mature man, of gravitas and humanity (Fig. 0.28). The faces in Fig. 0.25 (prophet), Fig. 0.39 (unidentified bishop saint) and Cat.G.10 (perhaps a prophet), have the same solidity and individual quality. Other surviving faces from the Lady Chapel and presbytery glass at Winchester are idealised, like the earlier 15th-century work in the International Gothic style (Fig. 0.44). The face of the Virgin at the top of the east gable window in Fig. 0.20 has been repainted, perhaps entirely replaced, but the few main panel female faces that survive, such as those at Figs 0.9 and 0.59, suggest that they were generally less individualised than the male characters. This reflected trends in Netherlandish painting, such as Quenten Metsijs', *Altarpiece of the Cabinet Makers* (Figs 1.28-1.29). Jeanne Nuechterlein has also observed this approach in the paintings of Hans Holbein the Elder in Germany, who was influenced by Netherlandish painting, and whose gift for portraiture is clear from his drawing (Fig. 1.30).<sup>40</sup>

The best surviving Winchester glass suggests a more graphic style than much of the surviving glass from the Netherlands, such as that at Lier, and the Chapel of the Holy Blood. Photographs of the Holy Blood glass show some hatching, but much more use of stipple (Fig. 1.31). The Winchester

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<sup>37</sup> Vanden Bemden 2000: 104.

<sup>38</sup> Wayment 1967: 172-202 and 1969: 257-269 argued that Adrian van den Houste from Malines, not Arnoult, was the designer of the Tournai glass, although he thought that Adrian and Arnoult worked together. He dated the Tournai glass 1513-14, considerably later than other scholars. Lafond's view of Arnoult as the designer of the Tournai glass before 1500 is also found in Helbig 1961: 221 and Perrot 1972: 31-32. See also Husband 1995: 134, Callias Bey et al 2001: 43-44, Ayers 2004 Part 2: 599-602. More recently, Blondeau 2014: 31 thinks it likely that Adrian was the senior painter at Tournai, but accepts the late 15th-century date of the glass. The current author has not examined all the arguments in detail, but the late Gothic architectural forms of the Tournai glass support the earlier dating.

<sup>39</sup> Salomone 2002.

<sup>40</sup> Nuechterlein 2011: 50, 142-43.

faces at Figs 0.11- 0.13 and 0.28 use hatching and crisp fluent lines, combined with stipple to create faces that are convincingly modelled.

It is argued in this section that the graphic quality of some of the Winchester glass indicates a craftsman trained in Germany, but this is subject to two reservations. Firstly, in some cases the graphic quality may have been exaggerated by wear and tear or cleaning. The Lady Chapel face at Fig. 0.9 is the same type as that at Fig. 0.11 but looks different and it is unclear how far this is the result of wear. Until recently it was sitting inside-out in the chapel at Caboolture. M. Hör has emphasised the importance of cold paint for modelling the work at this period, and how cleaning over the centuries now means that in some cases we are left with the underdrawing, and hatching that would have been blended by unfired paint in the finished work.<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, the assumption that Netherlandish glass is more softly painted than German glass cannot be applied too rigidly. It cannot be assumed that all Netherlandish glass looked like the glass from the Chapel of the Holy Blood, particularly in view of the difficulties in obtaining consistent close-up pictures to show any hatching clearly. The Henry VII window in Antwerp Cathedral, dated 1503, appears to combine radically different styles.<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth of York is drawn with fine lines and soft stipple, while the painter of God the Father has conveyed expression with curved lines of varying weights (Figs 1.32-1.34).<sup>43</sup> Also in Antwerp, the painting of St Andrew from the Bourgogne Chapel, dated 1497, uses an exquisite combination of fines lines and hatching, with denser stipple and scratching (Fig. 1.35).<sup>44</sup>

Notwithstanding these qualifications, there are general affinities between much of the Winchester Cathedral glass and German examples. The Lady Chapel face at Fig. 0.11 brings to mind Martin Schongauer's engravings of the Virgin from the period c1470-91, with their bow shaped mouths

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<sup>41</sup> M. Hör 'Cold Paint on Stained Glass in Nuremburg around 1500', University of York Stained Glass Research School Master-Class, 9 Nov 2017; Hör 2017.

<sup>42</sup> The window of Henry VII, along with that of Philip the Fair, is thought to have been installed in Antwerp Cathedral to commemorate an important commercial and fishing treaty, the Intercursus, made in 1496 for five years and renewed in 1502 and 1506. The Henry VII window includes the arms of the Merchant Adventurers, who presumably contributed to the window. Helbig 1968: 24, Bromley and Child 1960: 138, 168. The figures in the window donated by Philip the Fair were replaced, and so are not discussed here (Helbig 1968: 23).

<sup>43</sup> Helbig 1968: 22-23 gives the restoration history.

<sup>44</sup> Neither the painters of the Holy Blood nor Antwerp windows have been identified (Nuttall 2013; Helbig 1961: 197 and Helbig 1968: 24). Further research would be needed to consider whether a German painter could have worked on St Andrew from the Bourgogne Chapel.

and downcast eyes (Fig. 1.36). Schongauer was from Colmar in Germany, on the Upper Rhine.<sup>45</sup> He was related to the school of Cologne, especially Stephan Lochner, but had studied Flemish painting closely; particularly the work of Hugo van der Goes, Rogier van der Weyden, and Dirk Bouts.<sup>46</sup> Strasbourg glass painters like Peter Hemmel were strongly influenced by Schongauer's engravings in the later 15th century (Fig. 1.37).<sup>47</sup> Albrecht Dürer too was heavily influenced by Schongauer in his early career. Dürer began designing stained glass from 1495. However, his freer, more vigorous graphic style gradually superseded the older style of the Strasbourg workshops (Figs 1.23-1.24).<sup>48</sup>

Looking at the Lady Chapel angels at Figs 0.9 and 0.11 (identified in Chapter 2 as probably the type for the Virgin) these have the traditional sweetness. Others are more individualised, and compare quite strikingly with the rather bland angels surviving from the Chapel of the Holy Blood (Fig. 1.31). The figure commonly referred to as "Angel Gabriel" in Fig. 0.13 has a distinctive character, with his untidily curly hair and large snub nose. Cat.G.31 makes it clear that the damaged angel opposite the lion beast in Cat.G.30 also had its own particular character, again with a snub nose, although neater and more feminine than "Gabriel".

The precise, but fluent drawing of some of the Lady Chapel faces suggests earlier German engravings. The individuality of some of the faces suggests the freedom and experimentation associated with Dürer's influence. This is consistent with the dating of the Lady Chapel glass to the very end of the 15th, or the opening years of the 16th century. In the east gable window, Amos in Fig. 0.28 is in a similar graphic style to the Lady Chapel faces at Figs 0.11 and 0.12. Some of the best painters, trained in south Germany, could have worked on the Lady Chapel glass and subsequently on Fox's glass.<sup>49</sup>

A number of the faces in the east gable window are difficult to assess, especially as we do not have an exact record of all the repainting that preceded the refiring in 1852.<sup>50</sup> The face of Jeremiah at Fig. 0.34 may have been repainted around the eyes, brows and nose. St Swithun's brows at Fig. 0.31 also look as if they may have been altered. However, St Andrew's face at Fig. 0.35 appears to

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<sup>45</sup> Müller 1999: 10.

<sup>46</sup> Shestack 1969: vi, ix.

<sup>47</sup> Butts and Hendrix 2000: 17.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid: 4-5, 28-29 and 126-27.

<sup>49</sup> Hartmut Scholz has tentatively supported this suggestion in personal communication.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 2.

be entirely original, and it is notable that it too has eyes with heavily outlined upper and lower lids. The original painting technique for these faces may have been similar to that used in Nuremberg in glass designed by Dürer dated 1502, which has recently been discussed because of its use of unfired or “cold” paint (Fig 1.38).<sup>51</sup> The Winchester faces are less boldly drawn, full and rounded than Dürer’s, but the original painting method, with hatched underdrawing blended with cold paint, may have been similar. The partial repainting and refiring of the east gable window in 1852 means that we cannot judge what cold paint may have been lost from the original surface.

There are other figures in the Winchester presbytery which suggests that painters trained in the Cologne area were involved. The angel’s face in the east gable window at Fig. 0.23 is close in painting style to the angels from the Abbey at Mariawald, thought to have been painted in Cologne around 1505-1506, and now in Hingham Church and at Kimberley, Norfolk (Fig. 1.39). The young king in the south presbytery aisle tracery in Fig. 0.55 is similarly painted.

Looking at a wider range of the figures in the Winchester glass, the quality varies and the precise origins of the painters remain obscure. Some of the figures in Fox’s glass use a combination of strong, economical lines and soft stipple for modelling (Figs 0.22 and 0.51-0.52) There are a number of early 16th-century faces in the great west window, with black upper eyelids, some of which are more finely modelled in stipple and so look more Netherlandish than others (Figs 0.57-0.59). Other heads in the great west window with dark eyelids vary (Fig. 0.60). Unfortunately, close examination from scaffolding of these faces in the Winchester Cathedral west window has not been possible for this research.

It is very likely that some of the painters were English, following and modifying the continental style. Foreign and English glaziers worked together for the king between 1500 and 1502, including in preparation for the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501.<sup>52</sup> Some of the glass may even have been painted by painters working in the English style. There is a scourger’s face in Twygge’s style amongst the Winchester fragments at Caboolture (Cat.G.32-G.33 and Fig. 1.4). However, this is grouped with what looks like an earlier 15th-century head of Christ and it may be from a previous life of Christ or Passion window in the cathedral.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Hör 2017.

<sup>52</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 10-12.

<sup>53</sup> Cat.G.32 also includes the base of a column from the flagellation, and the head of a lamb.



Finally, although no very clear connections with French work are found in the surviving remains at Winchester cathedral, it is quite probable that some of the painters involved knew Breton and French glass, given the continued English occupation of Calais, its proximity, and the importance of Calais for trade and diplomacy.<sup>54</sup> There were close cultural links between France and the Netherlands in the 15th century and French glass shows how the Netherlandish mode developed in varied ways, depending on individual artists and local traditions.

Bishop Fox may have visited Rouen Cathedral in 1492-93, en route from Calais to Amboise, and seen glass by the Barbe Family, who worked there from 1456 until 1533 (Fig. 1.40).<sup>55</sup> Later work at Rouen, by Cardin Jouyse, such as Fig. 1.41, shows a freer, more graphic style.<sup>56</sup> At Moulins, residence of Anne of France (who supplied Henry Tudor with troops in 1485), there is unique glass which has been associated with the work of the celebrated Netherlandish artist Jean Hey (Fig. 1.42).<sup>57</sup>

Craftsmen from Brittany or Normandy may have worked in the presbytery aisle traceries, alongside local English glaziers and experienced painters. Glass from Brittany has traditionally been characterised as rustic and brightly coloured.<sup>58</sup> Some of the figures in the scenes of the joys of Mary, and some of the Virgin saints, are naïvely painted (Cat.D.59, D.61, and D.35). Provincial glaziers may also have painted the less refined brownish glass, of which many fragments survive in the great west window and in the south presbytery clerestory (for example, see Cat.C.33, E.83 and E.84).

This section has identified some characteristics of the figure styles in the Winchester glass, and some loose groups of figures. It has explained that élite glass-painting across northern Europe was strongly influenced by the early 15th-century Netherlandish painters, but the lack of surviving Netherlandish glass and the lack of firm evidence about it hampers comparisons. The graphic style

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<sup>54</sup> Bishop Fox had been in France with Henry VII in the 1480s, and was made Keeper of the Exchange at Calais in 1485 (Smith 1988(a): 453). He was closely involved in the French wars in the 1490s and was sent by Henry on a number of diplomatic missions to France (ibid: 108-109). According to Smith's itinerary, Fox was in Calais from October to December 1507, soon after the king's visit to Winchester in September, and at a time when his presbytery works were underway (ibid: 459).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid: 108-109 notes that Fox was in Calais in 1490, and from October 1492 until February 1493 (when he also visited Amboise, Boulogne, Hammes and Guisnes). Blondeau 2014: 40-42, 189.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid: 210-12. Ibid: 31 and 206-208 also discusses Arnould de Nimègue's work at Rouen between 1503 and 1513 in the service of the Abbot of St-Ouen at Rouen.

<sup>57</sup> Gatouillat and Hérold 2011: 46-49.

<sup>58</sup> Gatouillat and Hérold 2005: 19 and 174-181.

of the best surviving Winchester glass appears closer to south German work, and craftsmen trained in the Cologne area are also likely to have painted some of the figures. English and perhaps French painters would also have been involved in some of the painting. The possible combinations of influence make firm conclusions about the origins of the painters of the figures very difficult.

#### ***1.1.1.4 The taste for rich decoration***

The Winchester cathedral glass reflects the elaborate detail characteristic of contemporary continental glass, for example at Tournai Cathedral and at the Chapel of the Holy Blood. In the east gable window, this is beautifully demonstrated in the soft gradations of the angels' wings, and in the painting of fictive jewels and textiles, such as the blue and red cloaks of the Virgin and John the Baptist (Figs 0.20-0.21), St Swithun's white tunic (Fig. 0.29) and Amos' blue velvet hat (Fig. 0.28). Especially remarkable is the use of small inserts, or "jewelling" in St Swithun's cope (Fig. 0.29). An important earlier example in English glass was John Prudde's glazing of the Beauchamp Chapel (1447-1464), where coloured glass "jewels" were used on an unprecedented scale.

The taste for luxury paralleled courtly fashions for jewels and textiles. On the south side of the presbytery aisle, the richness of the textile hangings fits with the royal imagery (Figs 0.54-0.56). Jones and Underwood emphasise the importance of textiles and jewels to Lady Margaret Beaufort, referring to her "gem-laden piety".<sup>59</sup> Recreating luxury textiles in paint was a reflection of fashions in élite circles, and it was also a feature of Northern Renaissance realism.<sup>60</sup>

#### ***1.1.1.5 Use of coloured glass and technical developments***

English glazing schemes of the 14th and earlier 15th centuries used white glass extensively, and the colour palette was limited – as in the great east window of Gloucester Cathedral. The glazing contract for the Beauchamp Chapel was unusual in spelling out that there should be a wide range of coloured glass and that all the glass should be of the finest from "beyond the Sea".<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Jones and Underwood 1992: 191.

<sup>60</sup> Nuechterlein 2013 discusses the importance of fictive textiles as a demonstration of the painter's skill in representation.

<sup>61</sup> Marks 2012: 708.

Bright colour is a feature of the surviving early 16th-century glass in Winchester Cathedral. As well as red and yellow, there are various shades of blue, green and murrey. The colours of the east gable window are surprisingly vivid viewed close-to from scaffolding. In the north presbytery aisles traceries, gold, blues, red, pink/purple and green delight (Fig. 0.49). The tracery glass from the east window in the Lady Chapel also uses emerald green and pink, as well as red, blue and yellow (Fig. 0.7).

The remains of the Winchester glass demonstrate techniques developed by the Netherlandish glaziers.<sup>62</sup> St Andrew's book in the east gable window uses abraded ruby. This technique had been used since the 13th century, but became much more common in the 15th and early 16th centuries.<sup>63</sup> The Caboolture fragments include the body of a creature, likely to be a dragon, in streaky flashed ruby glass (Cat.G.41), and blue glass painted with yellow-stain, probably to evoke a natural background (top of Cat.G.32). This technical virtuosity, combined with a wide range of coloured glass, characterised the work of Arnoult de Nimègue and his followers. Arnoult is known for his development of the use of sanguine for flesh tones.<sup>64</sup> In the Winchester presbytery there is experimentation with sanguine, but the use is not consistent, and some may be the work of restorers (see Figs 0.34, 0.39, and 0.54).

#### ***1.1.1.6 Decorative motifs***

The decorative motifs used in the Winchester glass place it firmly in the context of Netherlandish and German art from the 1490s to c1515. Both the Lady Chapel glass and the east gable window show a mixture of influences. The scrolls in the traceries throughout are characteristic of Netherlandish glass, as in the windows of Henry VII and Philip the Fair in Antwerp Cathedral window (Figs 1.32 and 1.43). The foliate design in the Winchester Lady Chapel tracery at Cat.A.22-23, and at the base of the east gable window at Cat.B.7 and B.14, brings to mind leaf ornaments in Schongauer's work, in the tradition of designs for goldsmiths (Fig. 1.44), and decoration in the glass at Cologne Cathedral (Fig. 1.45). This kind of foliage decoration is a dominant characteristic of the Strasbourg workshops of the 15th century, although golden foliage

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<sup>62</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: 99-109; Barley 2015: Part 1 on materials and techniques.

<sup>63</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: 101.

<sup>64</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 2: 600-602.

patterns were ubiquitous and also appear in Norfolk “rod and leaf” decoration, for example in the east window of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (Fig. 1.13).

The criss-cross and barley sugar striped columns framing the figures in the Winchester presbytery echo patterns in glass in both the Netherlands and Germany – for example, in the Bourgogne Chapel, Antwerp (Fig. 1.35) and in the glass from Cologne Cathedral (Fig. 1.46). In the east gable window of Winchester Cathedral, the canopy remains suggest that, as in Netherlandish and German windows of the period, the bottom row of lights was “framed” like a stage set with columns at the far sides and with a fictive roof (Figs. 1.14-1.15).<sup>65</sup> The canopy design constructed as a fictive tiled roof spanning the lights has parallels in glass from the Netherlands. In the now lost glass in the Verrière des Boulangers, from Diest, dated 1503, the canopies formed a roof, with tiles, and keyhole shaped windows in the masonry (Fig. 1.47).<sup>66</sup>

This thesis broadly supports Marks’ view that the general absence of Italian Renaissance motifs in Fox’s glass in Winchester Cathedral fits with a date before c1515.<sup>67</sup> However, while the architectural vocabulary is late Gothic, the naturalism, and approach to space are features of the “Northern Renaissance”, which in many respects anticipate the Italian Renaissance.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the glass does include a few Italianate elements. The following paragraphs suggest that Italian influence may have begun to infiltrate slightly earlier than previously argued, through a number of channels.

The early use in England of Italian Renaissance vocabulary in architecture was specifically linked by Antony Blunt to the close links between the dioceses of Winchester and Rouen. Blunt observed that Archbishops of Rouen, and especially the two Cardinals of Amboise, were great patrons of Renaissance art.<sup>69</sup> Martin Biddle has written in detail on the early Renaissance in Winchester Cathedral.<sup>70</sup> He argues that the earliest evidence surviving is from Langton’s chantry chapel: a cornice dated 1501-c1510, in an early Renaissance style like that adopted by Cardinal Georges

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<sup>65</sup> See examples in Butts and Hendrix 2000: 17-42.

<sup>66</sup> Helbig and Vanden Bemden 1974: 189.

<sup>67</sup> Marks 1993: 213.

<sup>68</sup> Nuttall 2004.

<sup>69</sup> Blunt 1969: 17. The French invasion of Italy in 1494 had helped to bring Italian Renaissance ideas to France, and it has long been argued that it was mainly from France that Renaissance ideas reached England in the early 16th century, but Italian ideas also spread to England in other ways. Thurley 1993: 85-86 has emphasised Henry VII’s direct links with the Court of Urbino. See recently Sicca and Waldman 2012; Cooper, Burnstock et al. 2015; Woolfson [www.academia.edu/31048794](http://www.academia.edu/31048794).

<sup>70</sup> Biddle 1993.

d'Amboise at Gaillon (Fig. 1.48).<sup>71</sup> He argues that Langton's cornice may be the earliest surviving evidence of the Italian Renaissance in England.<sup>72</sup> Apart from Langton's cornice (and possibly Prior Silkstede's wooden chest, with urn and horn like forms, which may have been dated 1512) the surviving evidence suggests that the Italian Renaissance vocabulary was not used in architecture in and around Winchester until after 1515.<sup>73</sup> Nicholas Riall has researched Bishop Fox's frieze at St Cross, which he argues closely parallels work at Gaillon, and is probably dated between 1515 and 1517 (Fig.1.49).<sup>74</sup>

It has been argued that the early use of the Italian Renaissance architectural vocabulary in Northern European stained glass stems from the time Arnoult de Nimègue spent in Rouen under the patronage of Antoine Bohier, Abbot of St-Ouen, from 1503.<sup>75</sup> Arnoult moved to Antwerp in 1513, and is credited with bringing the Italian Renaissance vocabulary with him.<sup>76</sup> The Winchester glass suggests that Italian and Franco-Italian influences began to creep in slightly before this.

While the Winchester glass is overall in the late Gothic style, several Italian motifs survive in Fox's presbytery glass. In the east gable window, which section 1.2 of this chapter indicates was designed by 1510, the form of the winged red cherubs suggests the works of Giovanni Bellini (Figs. 0.20-0.21 and 1.50).<sup>77</sup> Another distinctive feature of the Winchester glass is the repeated use of coloured domes in the canopy tops in the presbytery aisles, which section 1.2 indicates were designed by c1505-c1510 (Cat.D.8, D.10 and D.73). The domes suggest an eastern influence, perhaps transmitted to northern Europe via Venice. Similar domes are found in the work of Hans Memling from the 1480s (Fig. 1.51). They were a feature of Henry VII's palaces, including at Richmond, and are echoed in the forms on Bishop Fox's rebuilt east gable (Figs 1.52-1.53). A third motif is the "egg and dart" moulding in what appears to be early 16th-century glass in the north transept scrap panel (Cat.F3, viewer's bottom right). This could be from slightly later glazing, perhaps by Prior Silkstede in the south transept, but it is found together with fragments matching the fictive masonry, with keyhole shaped windows, which appears in Fox's glass in the presbytery clerestory and aisles.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid: 259.

<sup>72</sup> But Luxford 2008: 61-62 notes Abbot Bere's visit to Italy at Henry VII's request in 1503-1504, passing through Urbino en route for Rome. This is likely to explain the traces of Renaissance ornament found in excavations at Glastonbury.

<sup>73</sup> Smith 2002: 14-19 on Silkstede's chest in Shanklin Church.

<sup>74</sup> Riall 2008: 294; Riall 2007: 226; *BOE 2010*: 718.

<sup>75</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 2: 599. Blondeau 2014: 31, 254-55 notes that Bohier was close to the Cardinal of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen.

<sup>76</sup> Perrot 1972: 34; Ayers 2004 Part 2: 599.

<sup>77</sup> Smith 2007: 43 noted the cherubs as an early Renaissance feature.

If Fox had personally requested Italian Renaissance motifs in the glass, it is likely that they would have been much more dominant. This suggests that it was the “Doche” craftsmen who were responsible for introducing these early Renaissance elements. The “Doche”, especially the glaziers and joiners, many based in Westminster and Southwark, dominated the decorative arts in royal building projects, but there were also French and Italian craftsmen.<sup>78</sup> The glaziers may have picked these ideas up from Italians in London, or earlier in their training. Italian Renaissance motifs were known to some Netherlandish and German painters well before 1513. There was a Florentine community in Bruges, and Memling and Gerard David in Bruges both demonstrated knowledge of Italian Renaissance motifs from the late 15th century.<sup>79</sup> Dürer is renowned for bringing Italian Renaissance ideas to Germany from Venice, following his probable visit in 1494-95, and his documented stay in 1505-1506, and he adopted the motif of the winged cherub found in Bellini’s work.<sup>80</sup> Fox’s glass shows the glaziers experimenting with and combining a range of influences, on the cusp of the Renaissance.

Insufficient glass survives from the Lady Chapel to be sure, but parallels with Cologne glass suggest the possibility that its decoration included some Italian Renaissance motifs even earlier. The Cologne Cathedral nave aisle glass (1500-1509) is broadly in late Gothic style, but it combines all’antica style friezes with curling golden foliate patterns (Fig. 1.54). There are shell-like scroll forms in fragments of glass at Winchester Cathedral which resemble the pattern in the Cologne glass (Fig. 1.55 and Cat.E.9 and E.10). Again, the swirling shell shapes at Winchester could be from slightly later glass in the cathedral. They could perhaps be from the presbytery aisles, which may not have been finished until c1515 – the pattern is also found on the frieze at the top of Fox’s the south presbytery screen, dated 1525 (Fig. 1.56).<sup>81</sup> However, the scroll pattern in Fig. 1.55 is also found on the architectural fragments behind the angel from the Lady Chapel in Fig. 0.9 and matches the colours and exquisite quality of that glass. It may be that some transitional Franco-Italian Renaissance influences impacted on the Lady Chapel glass, or glass in Langton’s Chapel, even before Fox’s work. This is certainly conceivable, as Prior Silkstede was in Rome in 1499 and Bishop Langton and his nephew, his executor, had also been to Italy, as discussed in Chapter 5.

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<sup>78</sup> Thurley 1993: 102-111. Rosser 1989: 190-96 explores the cosmopolitan character of Westminster.

<sup>79</sup> Nuttall 2004: Chapters 3 and 4 and see for example David’s *The Judgement of Cambyses*, 1498.

<sup>80</sup> On the 1494-95 visit compare Buck and Porras 2014: 30-31 and Luber 2005: 40-41 and 62-67.

<sup>81</sup> See 1.2.8.

### ***1.1.1.7 Overview of the continental features of the Winchester Cathedral glass c1495-c1515***

Although the painting style and quality of the late medieval Winchester glass varies, it can generally be clearly distinguished from contemporary work by indigenous craftsmen. The provincial English glaziers adopted some aspects of continental design in the later 15th and early 16th century, but their work lacked the sophisticated realism of the continental craftsmen.

While many of the features of the glass are Netherlandish in origin, there are equally strong links with German work. The closest comparisons with the overall layout of the east gable window and style of its fictive architecture are the late 15th/early 16th-century Netherlandish windows. The finest surviving faces, in the refined graphic style, do not fit clearly into any category, but they could be by a very skilled painter from south Germany. Some of the painters of more minor figures in the tracery are likely to have been trained in the Cologne area; others could have been English or French painters working in the continental style. There are traces of exposure to Italian Renaissance motifs.

The Winchester Cathedral glass is in a mixed and hybrid style, and does not look quite like glass surviving anywhere else. This is consistent with most, if not all of it having been produced in England, by “Doche” glaziers working with English craftsmen.

### **1.1.2 The taste for the continental style in the English court and at Winchester**

The 15th and early 16th-century bishops of Winchester were closely involved in royal and diplomatic circles. This section notes briefly the developments in court circles which explain the style and taste to which the bishops were exposed. It shows how the continental courtly taste took hold at Winchester Cathedral from the 1470s.

Stephen Perkinson has traced the origins of the naturalistic painting style which became popular in the courts of France and the Netherlands in the 14th century.<sup>82</sup> He explains the taste for mimesis as part of Valois courtly culture, where loyalty and devotion were understood in terms of memory.<sup>83</sup> Naturalism was proof of the artist’s dedication to his subject and veracity became a measure of his

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<sup>82</sup> Perkinson 2009.

<sup>83</sup> The Valois were dukes of Burgundy from the mid-14th century up to the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. Mckendrick, Lowden and Doyle 2011: 12.

ingenuity and skill.<sup>84</sup> Perkinson's analysis convincingly shows van Eyck's naturalism as the development of strategies begun at the French court, with artists such as Jean Pucelle, André Beauneveu and the Limbourg brothers.<sup>85</sup>

Other scholars have explained how French and Netherlandish artistic taste also spread to England, in part through royal marriages and the transmission of manuscripts.<sup>86</sup> The marriage in 1468 of Edward IV's sister, Margaret of York, to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, attended by a large number of the English court, and Edward's own period of exile in Flanders in 1470, particularly influenced court tastes.<sup>87</sup> Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, would have been familiar with Netherlandish art. Margaret of York was her aunt. Her maternal grandmother was Jaquetta de Luxembourg, widow of John Duke of Bedford, who had acquired the French royal library as regent of France following the battle of Agincourt. Jaquetta is thought to have passed important manuscripts from Bedford's library to her children.<sup>88</sup> With these tastes in royal circles, it is not surprising that the Canterbury Royal window, dated 1482-87, and thought to be the earliest surviving clear example of foreign participation in an English glazing scheme, represents the family of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville (Figs 1.5-1.6).<sup>89</sup>

French influence also continued in royal circles into the 16th century. As Earl of Richmond, Henry VII had spent the years from 1471 to 1485 in exile in Brittany. In 1485, he was welcomed at the French court and followed its travels to Paris, Evreux and Rouen.<sup>90</sup> It was from the mouth of the Seine that he invaded England, assisted by Richard Fox. Henry VII subsequently patronised Netherlandish and Italian artists, but he learned his taste for magnificence at the French and Breton courts. He retained a taste for current French fashion and made major purchases of luxury books from the Parisian printer Antoine Vérard.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Perkinson 2009: 272. Ibid: 36-37 on the distinction between naturalism and "realism".

<sup>85</sup> Ibid: 277.

<sup>86</sup> Caviness 1981: 257-58; Backhouse 1987; Marks 1993: 205-207; Brown and MacDonald: 2007: 89-92, McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle 2011; Howe et al. 2012: Chapter 4.

<sup>87</sup> Both Edward and Margaret collected Flemish manuscripts (Backhouse 1987: 24-26). Thomas Campbell has discussed Edward's increased expenditure on tapestries from 1478, with the help of his great chamberlain and close friend William Lord Hastings, who spent much time at the Burgundian court (Campbell 2007: 54).

<sup>88</sup> McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle 2011: 150, 246.

<sup>89</sup> Marks 1993: 206.

<sup>90</sup> Gunn *ODNB*.

<sup>91</sup> Backhouse 1995: 179.



Turning specifically to Winchester Cathedral and its 15th-century ecclesiastical patrons, Cardinal Beaufort had close connections with the Netherlands. The Beauforts were of Flemish descent on their mother's side. Cardinal Beaufort spent much time in Ghent and Bruges in the 1430s, strengthening diplomatic links. Philip the Good had married Beaufort's niece, Isabella of Portugal in 1430. Beaufort must have known the work of Philip's court painter, van Eyck, and probably saw the Ghent altarpiece.<sup>92</sup> Philip was the most important ruler in Christendom and Beaufort would have recognised the high status of his painter throughout Europe.<sup>93</sup> He may have encouraged continental courtly taste at Winchester.

Beaufort's successor, Bishop Waynflete was not widely travelled, but he is thought to have employed some Flemish sculptors for the Great Screen, which sits above the High Altar (Fig. 1.57).<sup>94</sup> The screen may have been planned in the 1440s by Beaufort, but it was probably begun after that, under Waynflete's supervision.<sup>95</sup> The style of the figures from the screen in Figs 1.58-1.59, dated c1476, identifies them as Netherlandish work, or very probably the work of a Netherlandish sculptor living in England.<sup>96</sup> Also, of considerable significance, Waynflete is generally accepted as the patron of the Eton College Chapel wall paintings, executed between 1477 and 1488.<sup>97</sup> These follow the Flemish style, and may well have been designed and supervised by a Flemish artist, although only English artists' names are documented (Fig. 1.60).<sup>98</sup> The wall-paintings surviving in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral, commissioned in the early years of the 16th century, are largely grisaille and clearly based on the Eton paintings.<sup>99</sup>

The 15th and early 16th-century bishops of Winchester mixed in the highest social circles, where the taste for Netherlandish art predominated. Their adoption of the courtly taste can be simply explained by their desire to use the most highly regarded artists and craftsmen for their cathedral, and a style which pleased their king, whether or not they were connoisseurs of art themselves.

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<sup>92</sup> It has been argued that the altarpiece was unveiled in St John's Church Ghent on 6th May 1432, the day that Philip and Isabella's first child (to whom Beaufort was godfather) was baptised there (Vale 1990: 346; Van der Velden 2012).

<sup>93</sup> Nuttall 2004: Chapter 7.

<sup>94</sup> Lindley 1993(b): 806-807. See 1.2.4.

<sup>95</sup> Greatrex 1978: 103-104; Lindley 1989: 604 and 1993(b): 798-801; Wilson 2003: 348-49, 356; *BOE 2010*: 600.

<sup>96</sup> Lindley 1993(b): 806 suggests that some of the other figures may have been by an English imitator of the Netherlandish style.

<sup>97</sup> Howe et al. 2012: 24-25.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*: 47.

<sup>99</sup> See Chapter 4.

### **1.1.3 The wider case for production of the Winchester Cathedral glass by the Anglo-Continental glaziers**

As already noted, no documentary evidence has been found enabling a definitive identification of the craftsmen who worked on the Winchester glass. While the possibility that some of the main panels could have been imported ready-painted cannot be completely ruled out, there is no evidence to support this. The following paragraphs accumulate the circumstantial evidence, which, together with stylistic comparisons, strongly supports the view that the glass was produced by the Anglo-Continental glaziers.

#### ***1.1.3.1 The possibility of importation of the glass ready-painted***

The importation of glass ready-painted would have been possible but difficult. There is a record of the merchant Martin de Soria importing painted glass from the Netherlands for the Chapel at Miraflores in 1484, at the request of Queen Isabella of Spain.<sup>100</sup> Later, the London Glaziers' complaint against Peter Nicholson, thought to fall in the period 1536-1540, included the fact that "he settis more men aworke beyeonde the see and bryngithe his glasse reddy-wrought over in to Englande", thus preventing Englishmen working and defrauding the King's customs.<sup>101</sup>

However, the importation of painted glass ready-cut is only likely to have been exceptional, because of the clear practical difficulties. Not only does the glass need to be made to fit the often complex design of the masonry of the windows, but glass which has been cut and painted is a very fragile material for the purpose of transportation. Tracery glass, in particular, is very unlikely to have been imported, because of the intricate cutting needed for it to fit the masonry. The angels in the east gable window and the glass in the presbytery aisles traceries are generally painted in an economical style and are almost certainly the work of the Anglo-Continental glaziers.

Some of the surviving glass from the Lady Chapel and presbytery main lights in the fine graphic style is of exceptional quality. This high quality work must have been executed by an expert

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<sup>100</sup> Nash 2008: 94-95; Fundacion Iberdrola online. Scholars have argued that Lord Sandys' glass at The Vyne, for the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, Basingstoke, may have been imported in the 1520s, and that windows at Hengrave Hall in Suffolk may have been imported in 1527 (Marks 1993: 222; Wayment 1982; Wayment 1986-87).

<sup>101</sup> Ransome 1960: 16.

craftsman, perhaps associated with the Emperor Maximilian, Philip the Fair or Margaret of Austria. The possibility that some of the panels for the main lights were imported (perhaps in standard widths without the trefoil-shaped heads of lights) cannot be completely ruled out. However, it is more likely that the painter was a foreigner resident in England, or travelled to England to work - as in the case of the artist commissioned by Maximilian's agent Herman Rinck to paint Henry VII in 1505, as part of the negotiations for Henry's proposed marriage to Margaret of Austria.<sup>102</sup> We know that Lord Sandys' glass-painters from Antwerp travelled to England in the early 1520s.<sup>103</sup>

There is documentary proof that Bishop Fox imported a large quantity of glass in 1510, and this is likely to have been glass used in the presbytery, as discussed in 1.2.7 below. The glass was measured in "wey", like the sheets of glass supplied to glass-painting workshops, so was presumably the raw material.<sup>104</sup> This strongly supports the view that Fox's glass was painted in England. The portability of paper cartoons, noted in the introduction to this section, and the number of highly regarded foreign glaziers on hand in and around the bishop's own diocese of Southwark noted below, further reinforce this argument.

### *1.1.3.2 Evidence for the widespread use of the Anglo-Continental glaziers*

Henry VII's use of the Anglo-Continental glaziers from the late 1490s is well known. Documentary evidence shows that Barnard Flower, from the Burgundian Netherlands, was working for him in 1496, perhaps at Woodstock.<sup>105</sup> In 1497 Henry granted Flower a licence to work as a glazier in Southwark, with three or four assistants.<sup>106</sup> Between 1500 and 1502, Flower worked at the Bishop of London's Palace in preparation for the wedding of Arthur and Katherine, at the Tower of London, and at the palaces of Westminster, Greenwich and Eltham. Flower is also recorded at Richmond in 1503 and at King's College Cambridge in 1506.<sup>107</sup> Flower worked for Henry VII's executors at the Savoy Hospital 1513-1516; and at Kings College Cambridge 1515-17.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> 'NPG416; King Henry VII- Portrait- National Portrait Gallery' online; Cooper, Burnstock et al. 2015: 30-31.

<sup>103</sup> Wayment 1982: 148.

<sup>104</sup> Marks 1993: 31.

<sup>105</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 8-10; Smith 1988(c): 259-61.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 8-18. Ibid: 15 notes that Flower also worked on royal projects at Woking and Walsingham in 1511-12.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid; Oswald 1955: 224-32.

Many other glaziers, from England and the continent, are named in the documents. At the Bishop of London's Palace in 1501, William Neve, king's glazier under Edward IV and Richard III, glazed Katherine of Aragon's suite, and Flower, working with Adrian Andrew, supplied temporary glass for the windows of the hall where the banquet was held.<sup>109</sup> Of the seventeen different glaziers working at Westminster Hall between 1500 and 1502, Oswald, who lists the names, thought about half were foreigners.<sup>110</sup> Further research on the many named artists may cast further light on their origins. Given the variations in names at this period, it is often unclear which glaziers were born in England, and which were foreign, but records of denization are helpful.

There is proof that Lady Margaret Beaufort patronised the continental glaziers from the beginning of her son's reign. Following Henry's victory at Bosworth in 1485, he provided her with the house at Coldharbour, which was rapidly renovated and decorated.<sup>111</sup> Detailed accounts for 1485 show Lady Margaret's purchase of a range of glass. Nicholas Hawkin, a citizen and glazier of London, carried out some of the work. There are lengthy accounts of the work done by Herman Glasyer, of Southwark, making "Dusche" glass and installing quarries, "florysche" glass, and glass from England, Normandy, and Venice.<sup>112</sup> Herman's Glazier's presence in Southwark in 1485 suggests that Barnard Flower, documented there from the late 1490s, was part of an established community of immigrant glaziers. Flower is recorded as working for Lady Margaret Beaufort at Croydon in 1505 and at Christ's College Cambridge in 1507.<sup>113</sup> It is clear from the accounts of Lady Margaret's clerk of works for 1505-1507 that she continued to use a number of other glaziers as well as Flower. Further study of these accounts would be helpful.<sup>114</sup> "Symond Glasyer" is mentioned in Lady Margaret's executors' accounts for Christ's in 1509-10.<sup>115</sup> Christ's College accounts in 1510 refer to the glazier Thomas Peghe, thought by Hilary Wayment to be a local glazier, who also did repairs at Kings in 1509.<sup>116</sup>

In episcopal circles, it was not only the bishops of Winchester who adopted the continental style. There is documentary evidence that Flower worked for Wolsey at York Place in 1515.<sup>117</sup> Scholars have suggested that other bishops may have patronised the continental glaziers significantly earlier

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<sup>109</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 10-11.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid: 11-12.

<sup>111</sup> Kingsford 1920-21: 22-47.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid: 45-47.

<sup>113</sup> Salzman 1992: 185; SJC D/91/19; Jones and Underwood 1992: 224.

<sup>114</sup> SJC D91/22. Sue Powell is currently working on publishing Lady Margaret's household accounts.

<sup>115</sup> Willis and Clark 1886 ii: 195; Cooper 1874: 186.

<sup>116</sup> Rackham 1952: 132-142.

<sup>117</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 15-17.

than Fox. The Canterbury window, in the north west transept of the cathedral, was traditionally thought to have been a gift of Edward IV, who visited Canterbury regularly, but Madeleine Caviness's proposal that Archbishop Bouchier was the patron is convincing.<sup>118</sup> The glass in St Martin's Church, Stamford in the Netherlandish style includes an angel bearing the arms of Bishop Russell of Lincoln, who was a frequent visitor to the Netherlands and closely involved at court, including as executor to Edward IV (Fig. 1.61).<sup>119</sup> Russell died in 1494, and recent research indicates that the glass may have been commissioned by members of his household after his death.<sup>120</sup> Marks has also speculated that Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury until his death in 1500, may have commissioned glass from the immigrant glaziers for Lambeth Palace, although no evidence of this survives.<sup>121</sup>

Most of the glass commissioned in royal and episcopal circles in the first decade of the 16th century is lost. The Canterbury Royal window is dated 1482-87 and the glass attributed to Barnard Flower's workshop at King's College Chapel Cambridge is dated 1515-17. The main royal survival contemporary with the Winchester Cathedral glass is Lady Margaret's glass from Christ's College Cambridge (Figs 1.62-1.64). Recent research indicates that some of the glass now in All Saints Church, Landbeach may have originated in Christ's College (Fig. 1.65).<sup>122</sup> There are also some small fragments and some pre-World War II photographs of the glass from Henry VII's Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, dated c1509-11.<sup>123</sup> Henry VII planned the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel as a mausoleum for himself, Queen Elizabeth and Lady Margaret Beaufort, and as a shrine for Henry VI

It is helpful that there are significant remains of glass showing continental influence thought to have been commissioned by members of the wider court circle. Glass which has been attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers survives at St George's Chapel Windsor, funded under the will of Sir

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<sup>118</sup> Caviness 1981: 261. Dent 2012: 32 has recently proposed the involvement of Bouchier with a number of other donors, because of the presence in the window of the arms of Guildford and the rebus of Goldwell.

<sup>119</sup> Marks 1993: 206; Caviness 1981: 257-58; Thomson *ODNB*.

<sup>120</sup> Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 2017.

<sup>121</sup> Marks 2012(b): 382.

<sup>122</sup> Lady Margaret's parents were buried in Wimborne Minster in Dorset and the Landbeach fragments are traditionally thought to have been brought from Wimborne by Robert Masters, rector of Landbeach in the 18th century (Gambell 2009: 68-78). Recent research by David Thomson, Bishop of Huntingdon, has revealed that William Cole, a contemporary of Masters, recorded that the glazier who reorganised the glass in the chapel at Christ's, leaving only some detached pieces in the east window of the Chapel, had sold some of this glass to Masters (Thomson 2011 quotes BL Add MS 5834 fol 101r). Thomson's research is ongoing and I am very grateful to him for discussing it. Thanks to Sue Powell for putting me in touch with him.

<sup>123</sup> Marks 2012(a): 371-72 on the date of the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel glass.

Reginald Bray, who died in August 1503 (Fig. 1.66).<sup>124</sup> Bray is described by Steve Gunn as “the first and greatest” of Henry’s “new men”.<sup>125</sup> In addition, glass likely to have been commissioned by members of the court circle survives at a number of parish churches: All Saints, Hillesden, Buckinghamshire; St Michael and All Angels, Thornhill, Yorkshire; St Mary’s, Fairford in Gloucestershire; and at three churches in Kent - St John the Baptist, West Wickham, St Botolph’s, Lullingstone and St Dunstan’s, Cranbrook.<sup>126</sup> These remains allow for the Winchester Cathedral glass to be seen in the context of a wider glazed artistic environment.<sup>127</sup>

### ***1.1.3.3 The stylistic connections between the Winchester Cathedral glass and other work attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers***

This section shows how the Winchester Cathedral glass fits within a large and varied body of comparative material in England. It considers the significance of similarities in the fictive architecture in the glass at Hillesdon, Fairford, Christ’s College Cambridge, Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, and the Lady Chapel and presbytery of Winchester Cathedral. These similarities support the view that some of the same designers were involved at the different locations, although they cannot prove this definitively. The workshop of the king’s glazier, Barnard Flower, may have been responsible for the royal emblems at Winchester Cathedral, as well as those at Westminster Abbey, and Christ’s College, and in the traceries at King’s College. The caveat to any conclusion relying on similarity of design is that we do not know the extent to which designs were copied or shared between workshops. An overview of figures surviving at the different locations indicates

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<sup>124</sup> Condon *ODNB*: Saul and Tatton Brown 2010: 20, 67-68, 77.

<sup>125</sup> Gunn 2016: 7.

<sup>126</sup> On **Hillesdon**, Orme *ODNB* and Richard Marks personal communication suggest that Sir Hugh Conway commissioned the glass. Orme dates the rebuilding and glazing of the church to probably c1500; Marks now supports a date of c1493-c1517 for the glass. The Jesse window at **Thornhill** is dated 1499 by an inscription stating that the donor was Robert Frost, the rector, who became chancellor to Prince Arthur (Jones 1971: 95, 122, 123). On the dating and patronage of the **Fairford** glass, begun c1501, see Wayment 1984: 96, Brown 2014(a) and Barley 2015: 91. Wayment argued that the scheme was a royal gift but there is very strong documentary evidence from Leland recording that Fairford Church was begun by John Tame, the Lord of the Manor at Fairford, and completed by his son Edmund (Brown 2014(a)). On **West Wickham**, the estate accounts show that by 1493 Henry Heydon and his wife were living at least part of the year at West Wickham. Sir Henry died in 1504 and a date range of c1495-c1505 seems probable for the glass (Knowlden and Walker 1986: 34-35, Waller 1894; Councer 1949: 69, Marks 1993: 63, 206). The glass at **Lullingstone** associated with Sir John Peche may have been installed at different times between the very early years of the 16th century and around c1522, the year of Peche’s death (Councer 1971; Macknelly 2000: 11). The glass at **Cranbrook** is thought to have been commissioned by the family of Sir Richard Guildeford in the second decade of the 16th century (Councer 1971: 39).

<sup>127</sup> Marks 2012(a): 371-72 on the date of the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel glass.

that many artists drew the cartoons and that many different painters were involved. Some of them appear to have worked at a number of the locations. In the limited surviving evidence of the Winchester glass, a few similarities are found with faces at Fairford, but there are no very close proven parallels with the painting of the finest Winchester faces, in the more graphic style.

The painting attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers at the other locations examined broadly reflects the same continental characteristics as the Winchester Cathedral glass, described in section 1.1.1. The craftsmen were working in a style which can generally be distinguished from English work by earlier craftsmen (as at Fig. 1.2) and the work of contemporary English craftsmen continuing in the older tradition at this period (as at Figs 1.3-1.4). It is important to note at the outset, however, that the differences are not always clear cut. There were continental influences on English painting earlier in the 15th century.<sup>128</sup> More fundamentally, Marks has shown how the influx of foreign glaziers in the late 15th and early 16th centuries meant that their influence spread throughout the country in the 1520s and 1530s, and that it is not always easy to distinguish the work of foreign painters from that of foreign influenced craftsmen.<sup>129</sup>

A review of the surviving glass attributed to the Anglo-Continental glass painters at the locations noted above shows much diversity, indicating a wide range of craftsmen and a number of workshops. The Jesse Tree Window commissioned in 1499 at Thornhill in Yorkshire stands out as particularly distinctive, and its craftsmen have not been identified. There are rich colours, and finely drawn grisaille faces, some with scratched yellow-stain hair, but many of the faces are gently caricatured, and unlike those in the other surviving glass in England (Fig. 1.67). The range of work which has been attributed by scholars to the Anglo-Continental glaziers includes faces of varying quality, such as those at Hillesden and Fairford (Figs 1.68 and 1.69), and worn but sophisticated figures at West Wickham (Figs 1.70-1.71). The work at King's College Chapel Cambridge 1515-17 includes window 2, with delicate painting and colour, and Italian Renaissance motifs combined with Gothic forms (Figs 1.72-1.73). It also includes a very different window, with more drama and movement, which has the date 1517 inscribed (Fig. 1.74).

There was much activity over the period, and many projects overlapped. Significant numbers of glaziers and workshops must have collaborated to get the large projects finished, as documented at

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<sup>128</sup> See for example sections 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.2. See also 1.2.5.2 on the late 14th and early 15th-century International Gothic style.

<sup>129</sup> Marks 1993: 222-28.

Tattershall, and earlier for St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.<sup>130</sup> The craftsmen would have all worked in slightly different styles at the same time - some would have been more old-fashioned and some more innovative - and this does not help in trying to establish precise chronologies.

Compared with earlier 15th-century glass, the surviving remains show how, as the immigrant and English glaziers assimilated, they produced work that was vibrant and experimental, in a climate of rapid stylistic change, but no evidence has been found of Anglo-Continental developments in turn feeding back to the continent.

Despite the variety, this section finds specific similarities in the fictive architectural and natural backgrounds, the heraldry and the figures which suggest that some of the same designers and painters could have been involved at several of the different locations and at Winchester Cathedral. Similarities in design features may be evidence of connections to the same or related workshops, but they cannot in themselves provide definitive proof, because with portable cartoons designs could have been easily shared. They may also have been copied, or even simply common formulae. Similarities in drawing and painting style and technique, if they are close enough, are more likely to indicate involvement of the same craftsmen. However, the small proportion of glass that survives, its variable condition, and the differing quality of available photographs, makes these comparisons problematic as well. The interplay with these considerations of the "types" of characters depicted, and the subjectivity of some of the assessments involved, for example relating to the emotional impact of a figure, provides another level of complication.

There are some clear parallels in the fictive architectural forms in the glass in the Lady Chapel and presbytery of Winchester Cathedral, and at Hillesdon, Fairford, Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, and Christ's College Cambridge. At Christ's College and at Fairford there are yellow-stain, criss-cross columns which echo the richly painted columns at Winchester (Figs 0.27, 0.29, 1.64, and 1.75-1.76). In the glass at Landbeach, likely to be from Christ's, the capital in Fig. 1.77 resembles one found in the great west window at Winchester (Fig. 0.61). A further distinctive element in the main lights of the east gable window at Winchester is the fictive roof tiles (Cat.B.2 and B.33). These also appear in the west end window at Fairford in Fig. 1.78. The golden foliate decoration which predominates in the Lady Chapel traceries and the east gable window at Winchester can be compared with work from Norwich in Fig. 1.13, dated c1480-c1500, but has a closer parallel in window 2 at King's College Cambridge (Cat.A.23, Cat.B.7, Cat.B.14 and Fig. 1.79). The refined

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<sup>130</sup> Wayment 1989-90: 25-26.



painting and naturalism of these features distinguishes them from the work of other contemporary English glass painters.

Comparisons between surviving canopy tops at Winchester Cathedral and others of the period attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers are hampered by the lack of surviving material: the main examples are at Hillesdon and especially Fairford (Figs. 1.68 and 1.76). Two pre-World War II black and white photographs from the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey may indicate parallels with Fox's Winchester glass (Figs 1.80 and 1.81). The canopy tops associated with the Anglo-Continental glaziers are mainly composed of similar elements. Marks noted the use of the double-arched format in the glass from Westminster Abbey and Fairford, and this basic shape, with a split turret between the arches, is also found at Hillesdon and in the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel tracery (Figs 1.81, 1.68 and 0.8).<sup>131</sup> Other features which recur in canopy tops in glass attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers include round quatrefoil and keyhole style windows, and gold finials and turrets (Cat.D.3 and Cat.D.8, and Figs 0.29, 0.38, 1.68, 1.75 and 1.76). Many similar individual features are found in earlier English canopy tops, such as those from the lateral presbytery clerestory of Winchester Cathedral, and at Great Malvern Priory (Figs 0.17, 1.7 and 1.16). They also occur in early 16th-century windows attributed to provincial English craftsmen, such as those at St Neot, Cornwall, from the 1520s (Fig. 1.82). It is however often possible to distinguish in broader terms between the canopy tops created by the provincial English glaziers and the Anglo-Continental craftsmen. The canopies by English painters tend to be more flat and formulaic, creating repetitive patterns. The canopy tops attributed to the Anglo-Continental glaziers are generally closer in effect to examples from Lier from the late 15th century at Fig. 1.83, evoking varied, convincingly modelled built forms and layered space, and in keeping with the realistic interior backgrounds to the figures below.

The Winchester Cathedral east gable window and presbytery aisle fictive canopy tops in sections B and D of the Catalogue are of this type, but they stand out as particularly colourful and inventive, and no canopy tops following their specific overall designs have been identified in surviving glass. Fig. 1.80 indicates that there may have been comparable canopy tops in the west window of Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster. The patterns are not identical, but the photograph suggests that they included some distinctive elements which were similar to those found in Fox's presbytery aisle canopy tops. There were onion domes at the tops of the lights and narrow keyhole style fictive

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<sup>131</sup> Marks 1993: 217 and note 42.

windows (compare Fig. 1.80 with Cat.D.10, D.47, D.48, and D.52).<sup>132</sup> There is a repeated pattern in alternating lights as at Winchester, and Fig. 1.80 suggests rich three-dimensional painting. The backgrounds to the canopies are recorded as red and blue, but is unfortunate that we cannot tell whether the full range of colours was the same as in Fox's glass.<sup>133</sup> It is possible that the same team designed the fictive architectural frameworks at both locations, or perhaps the Winchester canopies were inspired by those at Westminster. This would be consistent with the architectural continuities between Fox's presbytery works and the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel, noted in 1.2.6 below.

Little narrative glass survives from Winchester Cathedral, but landscape backgrounds may have resembled those at Fairford. The buildings in the middle of Fig. 1.75 from Fairford echo the castle background now in the Deanery at Winchester, which could come from the east end of the cathedral (Cat.H.16). The landscape scenes on blue glass at the top of some of the main lights at Hillesden in Fig. 1.84 are comparable. These detailed miniature depictions contrast with vibrant but generally flat landscape scenes in the nave at Great Malvern from the 1480s (Figs.1.12 and 1.16) and narrative backgrounds in the *Magnificat* window dated 1501-1502 (Fig. 1.17). Even where later English glass painters include more landscape and narrative backgrounds, as at St Neot, this flatness predominates.<sup>134</sup>

Given that the Anglo-Continental glaziers were favoured by the court circle, it is not surprising that some of the closest similarities in the glass attributed to them are found in the early Tudor emblems. The royal emblems now placed above the smaller panels in Christ's College Chapel are high quality work (Figs 1.62 and 1.86). Photographs indicate that the Christ's emblems are very like those from Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster (Fig. 1.87).<sup>135</sup> At King's College, there are similar badges and angels holding emblems in the traceries (Fig. 1.88). These royal emblems could well all be from Barnard Flower's workshop. Flower is documented as working at King's in 1506 and then again between 1515 and 1517, and in the library at Christ's in 1507.<sup>136</sup> The Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel was the king's burial place and Oswald and Marks must be right to assume that the glazing was supervised by Flower as king's glazier.<sup>137</sup> The project at Westminster would fit with the relative sparsity of Flower's documented activity between 1505 and 1513. At Winchester

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<sup>132</sup> See 1.1.1.6.

<sup>133</sup> Marks 2012(a): 392.

<sup>134</sup> For further images from St Neot online see Matingly and Swift 2015-18.

<sup>135</sup> On the Westminster Abbey emblems and further comparators see Marks 2012(a): 373, 388, 398-99.

<sup>136</sup> See 1.1.3.2.

<sup>137</sup> Oswald:1951-52: 14; Marks 2012(a): 371-72.

Cathedral, the surviving emblem of Elizabeth of York in the south presbytery aisle is of comparable quality to the emblems at Christ's College, and appears to be in situ (Fig.0.64). In the cathedral's great west window, at Cat.E.73, there is a fragment of the crowned Beaufort portcullis, in the same form as that from Westminster Abbey at Fig. 1.87. The Winchester emblems could also have been produced by Flower's workshop.

Looking at the design and arrangement of the figures, similar types of patterns are found on the figures' garments at some of the different locations. The pattern on the Virgin's dress in window 2 at King's, in Fig.1.89, is similar to, but more elaborate than, the pattern on the Virgin's and St Swithun's garments in the east gable window and at West Wickham (Figs 0.20, 0.29 and 1.71). The segmented quatrefoil border in Fig. 1.89 is also like that on the Virgin's cloak in the east gable window. The pattern is also found in the Landbeach glass which may be from Christ's College in the northern lancet in Fig. 1.65 (viewer's left hand lancet, central panel).

Strong correspondences have been noted between the design of figures from Winchester Cathedral, Fairford and the west window of the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey. At all three locations, the prophets holding scrolls follow very similar formats, developing earlier 15th-century models, such as those from Hampton Court, Herefordshire at Fig.1.90, dated c1420-35.<sup>138</sup> They are framed by pillars, with comparable backgrounds and inscriptions, jewelled cloths of honour and windows behind (Figs 0.27, 1.81 and 1.91). Marks noted the similarities between the design of the tracery angels from the west window of the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel and those surviving in the east gable window of Winchester Cathedral: the tracery angels hold shields on long straps (Figs 1.92, 0.23 and Cat.B.90, B.80 and B.84).<sup>139</sup>

The photographs of the Westminster Abbey glass are in black and white and inadequate for a close assessment of the painting technique. It is not possible to tell whether the Westminster prophet in Fig. 1.81 was painted in the same graphic style as the Winchester Amos. The angels with shields suggest differences as well as similarities. As at Winchester, the background was blue, the angels had golden hair, and wore white albs.<sup>140</sup> The faces of the Winchester angels are asexual, like those from Westminster, and they have similar hairstyles, but they are not identical. The Westminster

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<sup>138</sup> The Westminster prophet was not in its original location in the pre World War II photographs. Marks 2012(a): 393 has demonstrated that when complete it would only have fitted into a main light in the west window.

<sup>139</sup> Marks 1993: 215-217.

<sup>140</sup> Eeles 1978: 29. Eeles 1978 is based on a manuscript dated 1938.

angels in Figs 1.92-1.93 share snub noses, similar mouths, and ringlets, and are more individualised than those in the Winchester east gable window. The depth of modelling and foreshortening of the hands in Fig. 1.92 suggests higher quality work than the angels in Fox's east gable window. Francis Eeles said that the quality of the remains of the glass in the west window was superb, the painting "most delicate" and the colour brilliant.<sup>141</sup> Comparison between the Winchester and Westminster Abbey glass supports the idea that Flower's workshop could have provided some designs for glass at Winchester, which may have been implemented by different painters.

The painting of the face of the Fairford prophet in Fig. 1.91 is exquisite, but less graphic than that of Amos at Winchester. However, in surviving glass, the closest affinities with the drawing and painting at Winchester are found at Fairford, suggesting that some of the same craftsmen were involved. The Winchester east gable trumpeting angel in Fig. 1.94 could well be by the same hand as the musical angels in the tracery lights at Fairford shown in Fig. 1.95. The angel in Cat.B.84 may be by the same painter, although there could be some Victorian over-painting. There are angels holding shields at Fairford at Figs 1.96-1.97 which look close to the head of a figure in an alb, likely to have been an angel holding a shield, in the north presbytery aisle of Winchester Cathedral window nIX, at Fig. 1.98. Both the design and painting look very similar to the angels from Fairford.

The face of St Margaret at Fairford in Fig. 1.99 echoes the drawing of the Winchester Lady Chapel face at Fig. 0.9, and the cartoons could perhaps have been by the same artist, although they do not appear to have been painted in the same very fine graphic style.<sup>142</sup> At Fairford, the lines depicting St Margaret's eyes, nostrils and mouth are heavier and distinctive, but still very fluent. The confident, economical drawing of St Margaret's features is in some ways closer to the drawing of St Barbara from the north presbytery aisle tracery at Winchester (Fig. 0.51) and the angel in Fig. 1.94. Further resonances with the faces at Winchester are found in the faces of Mary and Christ at Fairford in Fig. 1.100. They are painted in a style comparable to that used for the head now in the great west window at Winchester Cathedral in Fig. 0.58, although the lines in Fig. 0.58 appear heavier in places.

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<sup>141</sup> Eeles 1978: 22.

<sup>142</sup> Barley 2015: 89 and 105 for clearer photographs of St Margaret.

The glass at Fairford has fascinated scholars for generations. Keith Barley has recently argued that it may have inspired the subsequent projects at Westminster, Winchester and elsewhere.<sup>143</sup> The parallels in design noted in this section, and Elizabeth of York's recorded visits to Fairford in 1502, would fit with this, but the loss of so much other glass makes it difficult to assess Fairford's relative importance to contemporaries.<sup>144</sup> The intense interest in the Fairford glass has led scholars to speculate about its designer. However, despite the significant parallels between the design and painting of the glass at Fairford and at Winchester Cathedral, the suggestions made by other scholars about the designer of the Fairford scheme do not help to identify the creators of the Winchester glass.

The 19th-century suggestion that the Fairford scheme was designed by Dürer has long been discredited.<sup>145</sup> In the 20th century, Wayment's central idea was that Adrian van den Houte from Mechlin, who worked for Margaret of Savoy from 1509 until 1521, was the designer and master glazier at Fairford, as well as Tournai Cathedral, St George's Chapel Windsor and King's College Cambridge.<sup>146</sup> Wayment argued that Adrian van den Houte was the same person as Adrian Andru, documented as working with Flower and Neve on the glass for the royal pageant in 1501.<sup>147</sup> Adrian Andru could have been involved at Fairford.<sup>148</sup> There are some clear parallels between figures at Fairford and St George's Chapel.<sup>149</sup> However, Wayment's theory remains unproven, and many of the facial types he attributed to Adrian himself (such as St James, the third figure in Fig. 1.76) bear no similarity to those surviving in the Winchester glass.

Wayment attributed to Barnard Flower a wide range of faces at Fairford, including the messenger above the Judgement of Solomon in Fig. 1.78 and the standing magus in Fig. 1.101.<sup>150</sup> Wayment argued that Flower "builds up his heads not only with line and hatching but with scumbling and stipple. His eyes, if looking downwards, tend to be formed of long slits under pouch-like lids...but

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid: 30-31, 90, 92.

<sup>144</sup> Nicolas 1830: 46, 60

<sup>145</sup> Barley 2015: 55; Joyce 1872: 125-28 emphasised the English as well as the German and Flemish features of the composition, especially the English perpendicular features of the canopies. In addition, it is clear that the faces lack the strength of Dürer's drawing.

<sup>146</sup> Wayment 1984: 89 and 1989-90: 28-29.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid: 33.

<sup>148</sup> Marks 2012(b): 369-70 and 382 suggests that he may have been the Adrian responsible for the lost glass at St Margaret's Church Westminster, and perhaps for Cardinal Morton's glass at Lambeth Palace Chapel (although Marks also notes another glazier from Southwark called Adrian Joys /Joos).

<sup>149</sup> See Barley Fig. 26 for a clear illustration of parallel figures at Fairford and St George's.

<sup>150</sup> See Brown and McDonald 2007: Fig. 60 for a helpful close-up of the Fairford messenger.

if looking up they are rounded and open.”<sup>151</sup> There are resonances of such types at Winchester, but no comparisons are anything like close enough to argue that they are by the same painter.<sup>152</sup> In any event, Wayment’s attributions to Flower are in the current author’s view too wide-ranging to be linked with confidence to one painter.

More recently, Barley has suggested that the Fairford scheme may have been designed by Michael Sittow, known as Melchior Alemán, the court artist to Queen Isabella of Castille, while he was in England around 1502-1503.<sup>153</sup> He has suggested that the face of St Margaret at Fairford, in Fig. 1.99 may be based on a model by Sittow for portraits of Katherine of Aragon.<sup>154</sup> It is possible that the artist who drew the cartoon for St Margaret at Fairford also drew cartoons for Winchester. However, except for the face of St Margaret, Barley’s comparisons do not correspond to surviving glass at Winchester.

The work of Wayment and Barley is helpful in identifying possibilities, and trying to group the work of various painters, and neither theory about the Fairford designer can be dismissed. However, despite the significant parallels between the Fairford glass and the glass at Winchester explained above, the surviving visual evidence at Winchester generally does not support an argument that Adrian van den Houte or Michael Sittow designed the Winchester Cathedral glass and it does not prove that Barnard Flower personally painted any of the glass at Winchester.

#### ***1.1.3.4 The possibility of Barnard Flower’s involvement in the Winchester glass***

Barnard Flower’s established connections with Bishop Fox call for a closer consideration of his possible involvement in the Winchester glass. The stylistic comparisons discussed above suggest that his workshop may have provided some designs, and perhaps royal emblems, but there is no proof that he painted any of the figures. In the absence of further documentary evidence, we can only speculate about the possibility of his involvement, having regard to the circumstantial evidence. This evidence suggests that Flower may well have helped Fox with his glass in the presbytery, but the extent of his involvement, if any, remains unknown.

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<sup>151</sup> Wayment 1989-90: 29-30.

<sup>152</sup> Compare the messenger with Cat.C.24 and Fig. 1.101 with Fig. 0.52.

<sup>153</sup> Barley 2015: 59

<sup>154</sup> Ibid: 73.

This chapter has noted both Netherlandish and German influences in the Winchester glass, and this would fit with what is known of Flower's background. Flower's 1497 licence from Henry VII to work as a glazier says that he was a native of the lands of the Archduke of Burgundy.<sup>155</sup> Later, Flower's grant of denization (dated 6th May 1514) referred to him as "dilecto servienti nostro Barnardo Flowre in Almania oriundo".<sup>156</sup> By 1514 the lands of Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy, were governed by Margaret of Austria, as regent for Charles V. At that time, it would have made sense to say that Flower came from "Almania", which referred to the French-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>157</sup> This would have included the former lands of the Archduke of Burgundy (Fig. 1.1). Flower may have trained in the Upper Rhine area which adjoined Burgundy. As king's glazier from at least 1505, he would have had access to the royal works department in Westminster, and a wide network of contacts.<sup>158</sup> With his workshop in Southwark, and a foothold in Westminster, he would have mixed with other expert craftsmen from a variety of backgrounds. This fits with the range of influences in the glass.

Fox's documented working relationship with Flower supports the idea that he would have made use of him for his own glazing scheme. As an executor of the king, Bishop Fox was involved in completing the Westminster Abbey scheme, "perfiteley" as required by Henry's will.<sup>159</sup> It also fell to Fox as Henry's executor to complete the chapel at King's College Cambridge, and another great work of piety, the Savoy Hospital, near Charing Cross. Documents prove that Flower was commissioned for both these projects.<sup>160</sup> No early 16th-century glass from the Savoy is known to survive, but the building accounts of the works from 1512-1520 contain important information about the glazing scheme.<sup>161</sup> The accounts note that in 1514 Flower painted a Doom for the Savoy Hospital Chapel: it is particularly frustrating that nothing survives from this, to allow comparisons to be made with the Last Judgements at Fairford and Winchester Cathedral.

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<sup>155</sup> Smith 1988(c): 259-61.

<sup>156</sup> Wayment 1989: 24; Oswald 1951-52: 9.

<sup>157</sup> I was grateful for Richard Barber's advice on this at 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550', a conference at King's Manor, University of York, on 14th February 2015.

<sup>158</sup> Oswald 1951-52: 13. It would seem logical to assume that Flower had a workshop within the Palace of Westminster as the king's glazier had in the mid 15th century. But note that D. Ransome argued that all the glass made for the king, as well as private commissions, was made at Southwark (Colvin 1975: 36). This is despite the fact that Westminster had a very significant alien population (Rosser 1989: 190-96).

<sup>159</sup> Condon 2003(b): 115.

<sup>160</sup> See 1.1.3.2.

<sup>161</sup> Oswald 1955: 224-32

Given his involvement with these works, Fox must have known Flower by this time, if not much earlier. Smith suggests that Fox had connections with Flower from 1497, as Flower's licence from Henry VII to work as a glazier was found enrolled upon a document written in the episcopal chancery at Durham, where Fox was bishop in the 1490s.<sup>162</sup> Fox could have liaised with Flower from his London residence in Southwark. It is probable that he would want to commission him, as the most high status glazier in England, to advise on, design, or organise the glazing of the presbytery of his cathedral.

In view of Flower's commitments to the royal family, he may not have had time to be closely involved in Fox's work at Winchester, and a number of other workshops could have assisted. The fact that Fox himself imported glass in 1510 suggests that he could have played a large part in organising his own glazing scheme for the cathedral.<sup>163</sup> He may have assembled a team himself and brought them to a workshop in Winchester, with some limited input only from Flower.

Anglo-Continental glaziers are likely to have been responsible for some, if not all, of the Lady Chapel glass, and this may have been a team with which Flower was associated. It is possible that Flower was involved with the Lady Chapel main lights. The affinities between the painting of some of Fox's best glass from the presbytery and some of the Lady Chapel angels could suggest the same highly skilled but unidentified painter trained in south Germany, although we do not know who this was. The circumstantial evidence to prove Flower's involvement with the Lady Chapel glass is nothing like as compelling as the evidence which supports his involvement in Fox's glass. However, Flower is known to have been in England by 1496 and could perhaps have been involved in its production after this date.

## **1.2 The glass in its architectural and decorative context within the cathedral**

This section describes the built context for the glass within Winchester Cathedral. It looks at the changes made by late 15th/early 16th-century building schemes in the Lady Chapel and presbytery, of which the glass was an integral part. These schemes came towards the end of a series of building campaigns which had continued for over three hundred years, beginning c1204 with Early English

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<sup>162</sup> Smith1988(c): 259-61.

<sup>163</sup> See 1.2.7.



work in the retrochoir, and transforming the Norman building, except for the transepts, into the Gothic style.<sup>164</sup>

The discussion opens with a description of the retrochoir and Lady Chapel, where building began in the 1490s. The lack of documentary evidence relating to the installation of the Lady Chapel glass is noted. The circumstantial evidence suggests that the installation probably began c1500.

The section then recreates the presbytery and choir as Fox would have found them in 1501. It looks closely at the earlier glass which he retained in the north and south presbytery clerestory. It is argued that this earlier glass has been wrongly dated c1450-c1460 by previous scholars and that on stylistic grounds it can be relatively securely be dated c1390-1430, at least some of it probably between c1410-c1420, during the first half of Henry Beaufort's episcopacy. While this earlier glass sits chronologically outside the overall frame of reference of this thesis, it is essential to an understanding of Fox's work, since he retained and supplemented it and it formed a very significant part of his overall scheme. It is argued that Fox would have connected the earlier glass, along with the other 15th-century enhancements of the presbytery, with his predecessors as bishop, and especially with Cardinal Beaufort, from the House of Lancaster, Lady Margaret Beaufort's great uncle.<sup>165</sup>

The section next considers the changes Fox made to the building himself. The dating of these changes is key to establishing the date of his glass, and to any conclusions about the specific cultural context in which his glass was created. Charles Winston dated the glass in Fox's east gable window a little before 1525.<sup>166</sup> J.D. Le Couteur dated Fox's glass in the choir c1515-25.<sup>167</sup> Richard Marks has argued for a date between 1501 and 1515 for the original glass.<sup>168</sup> Most recently, Angela Smith has supported Marks's dating.<sup>169</sup> This chapter proposes a similar time frame for Fox's glass of c1505-c1515, with the painting of the clerestory glass most likely to have started in 1510, although it would have been designed before that.

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<sup>164</sup> The architectural history of the cathedral is a complex topic, on which the scholarship is still evolving: Willis 1845; Smith 1988(a); Draper and Morris 1993; Crook and Kusaba 1993; *BOE 2010*; Monckton 2011; Crook 2012(b), 2015, 2016(a) and 2016(b).

<sup>165</sup> Jones and Underwood 1992: 102.

<sup>166</sup> Winston 1865: 68.

<sup>167</sup> Le Couteur 1921: 39.

<sup>168</sup> Marks 1993: 213.

<sup>169</sup> Smith 2007: 43.

### 1.2.1 The retrochoir and Lady Chapel c1486

The contemporary account of Prince Arthur's baptism in the cathedral in 1486 tells us that, after the ceremony and gift giving, the royal party proceeded from the High Altar to St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir, where they made offerings, sung anthems, and drank sweet spiced wine.<sup>170</sup> This section asks what the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel to the east would have looked like at this time.

The Lady Chapel itself was rebuilt in the 1490s, but the main body of the retrochoir has not changed much since 1486. It survives broadly in its early 13th-century form, as a large, hall-like, three-aisled space, lower than the presbytery (Fig. 1.102).<sup>171</sup> The retrochoir is divided from the presbytery by a 14th-century screen, between two open arches supporting the east gable above (Figs 1.103-1.104). A low entrance in the screen leads to the 'Holy Hole' underneath the feretory platform, from which generations of pilgrims had approached the relics of saints.<sup>172</sup> By 1486, St Swithun's new shrine, just in front of the Holy Hole, was the focus (Fig. 1.102). In very close proximity to the shrine, and probably planned together with it, stood the cage chantry chapels of Bishop Waynflete and Cardinal Beaufort (Figs 1.102 and 1.105).<sup>173</sup>

The retrochoir terminates in three rectangular chapels, shown on Fig. 0.4, with the Lady Chapel in the centre. John Crook's recreation of the original early 13th-century design of the Lady Chapel, by reference to the surviving elements of the western bay, vividly evokes the elegant and unified chapel the royal party would have seen in 1486.<sup>174</sup> The blind arcading with quatrefoil frieze above continued the design of the retrochoir aisles (Fig. 1.106). Above this, trefoil headed arches, supported by purbeck shafts, stood in front of a wall passage, at the back of which a further row of simple pointed arches opened onto the adjoining north and south chapels (Fig. 1.107).

There are some outstanding questions about the condition in 1486 of the chapels to the north and south of the Lady Chapel. Their windows were also altered from 13th-century lancets to the Perpendicular style, but the exact date of the work is uncertain. John Crook dates the Perpendicular windows to c1500, when the south chapel was remodelled as a chantry chapel for Bishop

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<sup>170</sup> *Leland IV*: 206-207.

<sup>171</sup> Willis 1845: 37; Draper and Morris 1993: 178-79 and 190, note 8; *Crook 1993*: 57-68.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Crook 1993*: 64.

<sup>174</sup> *BOE 2010*: 583.

Langton.<sup>175</sup> David Park and Peter Welford date the Perpendicular windows in both chapels to the late 14th century.<sup>176</sup> The fragments of canopy tops, against red and blue backgrounds, in the tracery glass of the northern window of the Guardian Angels' Chapel suggest that the alterations could be late 14th or earlier 15th-century work. They are similar to the glass in the nave funded under Wyekham's will of 1403, discussed in 1.2.5.1 and 4.5.1 below (Figs 1.108-1.110). The remains of 15th-century ecclesiastical figures were found in the traceries of the chapel in 1920.<sup>177</sup>

The Guardian Angels' Chapel would always have been a focus of attention for those in the retrochoir. It was painted with twenty angel busts, and richly decorated with gold stars and rosettes, c1225-30, and partly repainted c1260-80 (Fig.1.108).<sup>178</sup> Park and Welford note that other painted decoration at the east end of the cathedral was generally restrained and included fictive marbling, painted voussoirs and black masonry pattern on the arches between the Lady Chapel and the adjoining Guardian Angels' and Langton Chapels.<sup>179</sup> Since Park and Welford's 1993 study, a 13th-century painted and gilded capital has been identified, which it has been suggested may have come from the eastern bay of the Lady Chapel.<sup>180</sup> A new tiled floor was laid in the retrochoir, c1260-80, much of which still survives.<sup>181</sup>

Except for the evidence already noted about surviving glass in the Guardian Angels' Chapel, nothing is known about the glazing of the retrochoir and its chapels before the installation of the new glass in the Lady Chapel c1500.<sup>182</sup> There was probably 13th-century grisaille glass, with ornamental borders, quite possibly combined with some figurative coloured glass – as at Lincoln Cathedral.<sup>183</sup> A few fragments of grisaille survive in the presbytery and the west window.<sup>184</sup> At nearby Salisbury, the 13th-century glazing was predominantly grisaille with figurative imagery

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<sup>175</sup> *BOE 2010*: 584.

<sup>176</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 134-35.

<sup>177</sup> Le Couteur 1921: 158. In the 1880s, Nathaniel Westlake recorded four early 16th-century lights in the north chapel, but we do not know whether this glass was in situ (Westlake III 1886: 20).

<sup>178</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 129-30.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> Bird *WCR* 2002: 7.

<sup>181</sup> Norton 1983: 80-84; Norton 1993: 167-70.

<sup>182</sup> Appendix 2 notes the removal of some glass from Langton's chapel in 1963 on the grounds that it was an eyesore but nothing more is known about this. The glass now in the scrap panel in the Guardian Angels' Chapel and the grisaille glass on the south side of the retrochoir did not originate in the cathedral (Callé 2008: 10).

<sup>183</sup> Morgan 1983: 27 and 37-41 compares glass at Canterbury Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Salisbury and York.

<sup>184</sup> See for example Cat.E.3, E.13, E.21 and E.48.

reserved for windows over altars.<sup>185</sup> The Salisbury scheme included a Jesse Tree, probably in the east window of the Trinity Chapel, which acted as the Lady Chapel.<sup>186</sup> The new Jesse Tree in the Lady Chapel at Winchester c1500 may have replaced a 13th-century Jesse. Having regard to the functions of the Winchester retrochoir, likely subjects for figurative glass there would have included the life and miracles of the Virgin, and of St Swithun.<sup>187</sup>

### **1.2.2 The late 15th and early 16th-century reconstruction of the Lady Chapel**

The eastern bay of the Lady Chapel was reconstructed above crypt level starting in the 1490s, although the decoration of the Lady Chapel may not have been completed until c1510-c1515. The decorative work in the Lady Chapel must have overlapped with the early 16th-century work in the Langton Chapel (Fig. 1.111).

The Early English style of the Lady Chapel would have seemed old-fashioned by 1486, and the chapel may have needed attention because of structural problems.<sup>188</sup> There was also a compelling liturgical reason for enhancing it. A new style of church music had developed from the 1460s: developments in polyphony now combined adult male and boys' voices. At monastic institutions, because boys could not join services in the monks' choir, the focus of these developments was the Lady Chapel, where boys could participate.<sup>189</sup> The Lady Chapel thus gained an increased liturgical significance.

The reconstruction of the eastern bay of the Lady Chapel involved the creation of three large new Perpendicular windows, which mark the Lady Chapel out as a particularly important space (Fig. 0.6). It is clear from the external heraldry that the walls up to at least window sill level were built under Bishop Courtenay (1487-1492) and Prior Hunton (1470-98). This dating is consistent with a little-known entry in the hordarian's roll of William Manwode for 1495-96, proving that he made a small contribution (thirteen shillings and four pence) to the Lady Chapel building works that year.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Brown 1999: 8, 80-86.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*: 82.

<sup>187</sup> Park 2011: 142 comments that by the late 12th-century there were probably St Swithun cycles in stained glass at Winchester Cathedral, similar to the Becket miracle windows at Canterbury. See Lapidge 2003: Part II for the hagiography of St Swithun.

<sup>188</sup> Presumably because of subsidence, there had been some building work in the Lady Chapel in the 14th century, but the extent of this is not entirely clear. Crook 1999: 29; 2002: 9-10; *BOE 2010*: 574.

<sup>189</sup> Bowers 1993: 252-53. See Chapter 4.

<sup>190</sup> Kitchen 1892: 300.

The alterations to the Lady Chapel were not completed until Prior Silkstede became prior (1498-1524). The names and rebuses of Priors Hunton and Silkstede are painted inside on the stellar lierne vault (Fig. 1.112).<sup>191</sup> Prior Silkstede's influence is broadcast elsewhere in the decoration of the chapel. Silkstede is depicted in prayer in the wall paintings of the miracles of the Virgin on the south side of the eastern bay (Fig.1.113).<sup>192</sup> An inscription within the painting declared that he also "caused these polished stones to be decorated at his expense".<sup>193</sup> Park and Welford date these wall paintings 1510-20 on the basis of the costumes.<sup>194</sup> Adjoining the western screen and loft of the chapel, the new choir stalls are thought to have been installed c1515.<sup>195</sup>

It is not known for certain when or by whom the glazing of the three large windows of the chapel was commissioned or installed. Le Couteur dated the glass surviving in the tracery of the eastern window perhaps c1510-15.<sup>196</sup> In his 1993 survey, Marks compared the tracery fragments in the east window to glass at Hillesden in Buckinghamshire, which he dated, probably, from before 1519.<sup>197</sup> Marks has recently dated the Hillesden glass c1493-c1517.<sup>198</sup> The comparison with Hillesdon is apposite, but the dating of the Hillesdon glass is currently too wide to help in dating the Lady Chapel glass.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, neither Le Couteur nor Marks had seen the fragments from the main lights of the Lady Chapel now in Australia.

It is not possible without further documentary evidence to date the Lady Chapel glass precisely. Based on the circumstantial evidence noted in the following paragraphs, it is proposed that the installation of the glass probably began c1500, before Fox was appointed bishop in 1501, and is likely to have been complete by 1510.

It is clear from the scale of the windows that they would have been the main focus of the reconstruction, and some consideration must have been given to the glazing from the beginning of

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<sup>191</sup> *Milner II*: 103-104; Tobit Curteis Associates 1995; *BOE 2010*: 583.

<sup>192</sup> Luxford 2008: 90-91.

<sup>193</sup> "Silkstede....iussit quoque sacra polita sumptibus ornati, Sancta Maria, suis" (*Milner II*: 104).

<sup>194</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 134.

<sup>195</sup> Bowers 1993: 253; Tracy 1993(b): 243.

<sup>196</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 47.

<sup>197</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

<sup>198</sup> See 1.1.3.2, note 126.

<sup>199</sup> Section 1.1.3.3 has noted that the form of the canopy tops in the east end window at Hillesden is similar to the form of those in the Winchester Lady Chapel east window tracery. In addition, the stocky standing figures in the east window at Hillesdon, in richly cloured glass, fill the lights in the same way as the figures in the tracery of the east window of the Winchester Lady Chapel. They too have arched windows in the background (Figs 0.7-0.8 and 1.68).

the project under Bishop Courtenay, c1490. Although it is possible that the windows were filled initially with plain glass, or covered with oiled paper or linen, it would have made sense to get the permanent glazing in as soon as possible, to make the building watertight and functional and to avoid further disruption.<sup>200</sup> We know the Lady Chapel was in use in 1499 for ordinations, and the possibility that the painted glass was installed before 1500 cannot be ruled out.<sup>201</sup>

However, Chapter 5 will explain that until summer 1499, the community was very preoccupied with the long running dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Morton, over property matters. Manufacture and installation of the glass seems most likely to have begun following resolution of the dispute, c1500. Bishop Fox's heraldry and motto dominate the glass he installed in the presbytery discussed below.<sup>202</sup> Their absence from the Lady Chapel tracery glass which survives in situ, and from the Lady Chapel overall, suggest that he was not involved in the work, so the glazing is likely to have been underway before he became bishop in 1501. The monks were used to living on a building site, but it would have made sense for the main structural work on the Lady Chapel to be completed before Fox began his major changes in the presbytery.

The decoration of the Lady Chapel probably took place in stages. The wall paintings have been dated to c1510-20, and this work would not have begun until the permanent glazing was in. It is probable that the glass was completed by 1510, when the Lady Chapel choir was enhanced.<sup>203</sup>

The patronage of the Lady Chapel glass is explored in Chapter 5, where it is argued that Bishop Langton is likely to have been an important influence, before his death in 1501, working with Prior Silkstede.

### **1.2.3 Relevance of the *custos operum* roll 1532-33**

The 1532-33 *custos operum* roll refers to William the glazier "Making and repairing the windows in the Chapels of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of Bishop Langton for 9 days – 4s 6d."<sup>204</sup> This cannot

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<sup>200</sup> Salzman 1992: 173.

<sup>201</sup> HRO DC/K1/19 refers to folio 31v Langton's Register (65021 /21M65 A1/16), which notes ordinations in the Lady Chapel on 21st December 1499 and 14th March 1499/1500.

<sup>202</sup> See 1.2.6.

<sup>203</sup> Silkstede granted a stipend and a corrody to Thomas Goodman on 20th March 1510 for instructing the choir boys of the Lady Chapel (HRO DC/F6/1/6/2 refers to folio 44r of the Register of the Common Seal 1497-1533).

be a reference to the installation of the Lady Chapel glass which Hammond described, because the payment involved is too small to cover the glazing with narrative painted glass of even one large window. Prices varied, but Barnard Flower's coloured roundels for Eltham Palace and the Tower of London depicting red roses and portcullises cost 1s each in 1500-1502.<sup>205</sup> His Last Judgement window for the Savoy Hospital containing 103 feet of glass cost £6 17s and 4d in 1514.<sup>206</sup> The size of the payment for the windows in the Lady Chapel and Langton's Chapel suggests maintenance work or plain glazing rather than a major new glazing scheme in coloured glass.

It is possible that the reference in the roll for 1532-33 to glazing in the Lady Chapel and Bishop Langton's Chapel referred to alterations to the glass in honour of the new queen, Anne Boleyn. Anne was crowned queen on 1st June 1533.<sup>207</sup> The bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner had worked to help Henry get his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, and between 1530 and 1551 the Archdeacon at Winchester was William Boleyn, Anne's uncle.<sup>208</sup> Following Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn, changes were made to the iconography of much important stained glass to acknowledge the new queen – for example, at Hampton Court, between 1535-36.<sup>209</sup>

#### 1.2.4 The presbytery and choir in 1501

By 1501, when Fox became bishop, the piers, arches, pierced balustrade and clerestory of the presbytery, apart from the east gable, were largely as we see them today (Fig. 1.114). The rebuilding of the Norman presbytery had begun c1310 with work on the eastern bay by Thomas of Witney.<sup>210</sup> Draper and Morris attribute the next stage of the work to William Joy, either in the early 1320s, or more likely in the early to mid-1330s, arguing that he was responsible for the presbytery arcades, and supervised the rebuilding to completion as a shell with a wooden roof.<sup>211</sup> The outer

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<sup>204</sup> "Et in solutis Willelmo vitriator facienti et reparanti fenestras in capellis Beatae Mariae et Episcopi Langton per novem dies iiijs vjd". Kitchin 1892: 217; Collins unpublished 2009.

<sup>205</sup> Marks 1993: 49.

<sup>206</sup> Oswald 1955: 227.

<sup>207</sup> Ives *ODNB*.

<sup>208</sup> Armstrong *ODNB*; Jones 1963; Cambridge Alumni Database. For Henry and Anne's three week visit in 1535, see Collins 2010: 24.

<sup>209</sup> Wayment 1991: 121 and 123.

<sup>210</sup> Goodman 1927: 242, notes a document in which the mason "T of W" undertook to work on the presbytery at the joint cost of the bishop and the priory. Draper and Morris 1993: 182-83.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*: 184-89. Money was raised for works to the church in 1318 (by indulgence: HRO DC/A2/18) and in 1338 (rent assigned to the *custos operum*: HRO DC/A2/24). On the roof: compare Rannie 1966: 17; Russell 1983: 94. Monckton 2011: 77 envisages the possibility that the main part of the presbytery was left open to

walls of the Norman aisles remained intact.<sup>212</sup>The monks' stalls, which largely survive, had been in place since the early 14th century (Fig. 1.115).<sup>213</sup> Behind the stalls, a carved and painted frieze told the history of salvation. Sixty-two panels were described by Lieutenant Hammond in 1635.<sup>214</sup> In 1647 Mercurius Rusticus lamented the destruction of "the stories of the Old and New Testament" carved and painted at the top of the choir stalls.<sup>215</sup> No fragments remain to allow these typological panels to be dated, but they are unlikely to have postdated the Reformation.<sup>216</sup>

The huge stone screen, which also still survives, would have dominated the space above the High Altar (Fig. 1.57).<sup>217</sup> The screen is now bare stone filled with Victorian sculpture. In 1501, as today, the central third held a crucifixion, but the figure of Christ was gilded and adorned with precious stones.<sup>218</sup> The outer sections of the screen, each subdivided vertically again into three, were peopled with high quality painted figures, set in Gothic tabernacles. Important fragments usually thought to come from the great screen remain today in the triforium gallery. The most notable are the delicate child-like figure of the Madonna and the compassionate head of God the Father (Figs 1.58-1.59).<sup>219</sup> Suspended from the spire at the head of the screen was a hanging pyx, displaying the host.<sup>220</sup>

Looking eastwards and upwards from the monks' stalls beneath the crossing tower, above the Great Screen, it is likely that the monks in 1501 would have seen a 14th-century gable similar in profile to that which survives today. The cut-down remains of the 14th-century rere-arch shafts of the earlier east window support the jambs of Fox's replacement window.<sup>221</sup> In his recent examination, Crook finds no obvious signs of subsidence in the 14th-century work, and argues that the gable was probably rebuilt for stylistic reasons, in order to provide a new east window.<sup>222</sup>

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the rafters, but in 1501 it presumably had a wooden ceiling, as it is unlikely to have remained open to the rafters for any length of time.

<sup>212</sup> Draper and Morris 1993: 189 argue that a temporary wooden roof must have been erected over the aisles. Compare Carpenter Turner 1950: 6. Monckton 2011: 73 argues that the aisles must have been covered by open timber roofs because of the misalignment of the new presbytery piers with the earlier aisle responds.

<sup>213</sup> The stalls are dated 1308, see Tracy 1993(a): 195; *BOE 2010*: 603. Lindley 1993: 106-107.

<sup>214</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: 44-46.

<sup>215</sup> *Mercurius*: 146.

<sup>216</sup> Lindley 1993: 106-107.

<sup>217</sup> See 1.1.2.

<sup>218</sup> DI; Lindley 1989: 604; *BOE 2010*: 600.

<sup>219</sup> Lindley 1989. Wilson 2003: 358.

<sup>220</sup> *BOE 2010*: 600.

<sup>221</sup> Crook 2016(a).

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*



### 1.2.5 The north and south presbytery clerestory windows

The dating of the four windows on both the north and south side of the clerestory has long puzzled scholars, but it is clear that by 1501 the form of these windows was broadly the same as it is today (Fig. 1.116).<sup>223</sup> The Catalogue explains that the earlier seraphim in the traceries of windows NIII-NV and SV and the standing figures of saints and prophets in the main lights of windows NIII, SII and SIII originated in these windows, despite some rearrangement (see for example Figs 0.14-0.19).<sup>224</sup> It follows that Fox retained them. It is important to ask why he retained this glass, instead of replacing it with glass more stylistically consistent with his modern glazing in the east gable window and the presbytery aisles and with the Lady Chapel glass.<sup>225</sup> His decision is unlikely to be explained by purely practical considerations, given his resources as bishop of Winchester, and the difficulties involved in retaining the glass when he was constructing a new vault above it. Fox's desire for continuity with the building work of his predecessors, Wykeham, Beaufort and Waynflete, clearly emerges from the discussion of his new work in 1.2.6 below.<sup>226</sup> It is argued in this chapter that he retained the earlier glass in the presbytery clerestory because he saw it as part of the scheme he was completing, not replacing. It is therefore relevant to consider when this earlier glass was installed, and with whom Fox may have associated it.

It has not been possible to date the in situ glass by reference to the date of the masonry, as the date of the window openings themselves has been a matter of controversy. Until recently, modern scholars have considered it probable that the 14th-century windows were rebuilt in the 15th century.<sup>227</sup> The current conservation project in the cathedral, which has involved fully scaffolding the presbytery, has given Crook an opportunity to revisit this question.<sup>228</sup> Crook now suggests that the north and south presbytery clerestory window openings, with preparation for the tracery, were probably completed in the 1360s under Bishop Edington, but the poor integration of the tracery lights and the outer "frame" of each window suggests that the tracery itself was not inserted until later - the end of the century. Crook suggests that temporary glazing may have been inserted,

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<sup>223</sup> Willis 1845: 48-49 and 63; Draper and Morris 1993: 189; *BOE 2010*: 584-85; Monckton 2011: 74-75 and 78-79; Crook 2016(a) and 2016(b): 12.

<sup>224</sup> Cat.C.37-52.

<sup>225</sup> For an earlier precedent for retaining and supplementing older glass, in the east window of Exeter Cathedral, see Brooks and Evans 1988: 87, 128, 145.

<sup>226</sup> Monckton 2011: 83-86 emphasises Fox's "understanding of decorum and appropriateness" and "his subtle interweaving of the contemporary with the past".

<sup>227</sup> *BOE 2010*: 584-85; Monckton 2011: 74-75 and 78-79.

<sup>228</sup> Crook 2016(a); Crook 2016(b): 12

pending insertion of the tracery and that the earliest painted glass may have been installed on completion of the tracery.

Crook's suggestion that the lateral clerestory windows were left unfinished for some time after their insertion c1360 is plausible. The work on the presbytery straddled the period of the Black Death and Edington's Registers for the period 1346-66 prove how hard the community of St Swithun's was hit, and mention the poor condition of the fabric at this time.<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, very little Decorated-style coloured glass survives in the cathedral.<sup>230</sup> If the Winchester presbytery clerestory had been glazed with painted glass c1330-60, it is likely that more Decorated glass would survive in the cathedral today, especially since Wykeham specifically requested the reuse of old glass.<sup>231</sup>

This section reconsiders Le Couteur's dating of the north and south presbytery clerestory glass to the mid-15th century.<sup>232</sup> It examines the sparse documentary evidence and the style of the glass painting and concludes that the glass can only be broadly dated c1390-c1430. The earliest glass in the traceries may have been installed following completion of the traceries in the 1390s, but at least some of the glass is likely to have followed under Beaufort.

#### ***1.2.5.1 Documents which may help in dating the north and south presbytery clerestory glass***

No documentary evidence has been found to suggest a significant glazing scheme in the presbytery clerestory in the mid-15th century. The surviving *custos operum* rolls which might have been relevant (one undated, the others for 1450-59) refer to expenditure on glass of a few shillings only, suggesting an ongoing programme of cleaning and repairing the windows by the middle of the century, rather than a substantial new glazing project.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> For example, Hockey 1987: 36.

<sup>230</sup> There are fragments of earlier 14th-century glass in the north transept, in window sXXVIII of the south nave aisle, and in the great west window. Biddle 1990: 392-93, 395 records a few fragments of 14th-century glass excavated from the site of the Old Minster.

<sup>231</sup> Willis 1845: 57-58.

<sup>232</sup> Winston 1865: 67 dated the glass to "the close of Henry VI's reign"; Le Couteur 1921: 31 dated it c1450-60. But Westlake III 1886: 16 dated both the presbytery clerestory glass and the nave clerestory glass c1425-50. Monckton 2011: 79 referred to Smith 2007: 36 and suggested that this glass could be earlier 15th-century work and favoured Beaufort as the patron.

<sup>233</sup> HRO DC/A5/8/2; DC/A5/8/3; DC/A5/8/4.

The *custos operum* roll for 1408-1409 is more illuminating, but still of limited help. It proves that there was significant building work in the cathedral and conventual buildings at this time.<sup>234</sup> It records a modest 2s 6d for red glass, and notes the wages of one glazier “repairing” the glass windows above the high altar, in the bell tower, the dormitory and the refectory for twelve weeks, earning 2s 6d per week, 30s in total. It notes the wages of one of his servants for twelve weeks, (12s) in addition to board.<sup>235</sup> The word “reparare” may encompass a renewal, not just repair and maintenance, but the costs and time spent support the view that this entry relates to repairs, not a major new scheme.<sup>236</sup>

The 1408-1409 roll proves that there was some glass in the clerestory by this time. There was presumably glass in the 14th-century east gable window, but we do not know when this was installed. If the lateral windows were not permanently glazed until the 1390s or very early 15th century, the reference may relate to the glass which survives there today. It is possible that the surviving glass could have been installed in the late 14th or very early 15th century and already needed repair in 1408.<sup>237</sup>

There may have been work on the presbytery clerestory windows under Wykeham in the late 14th century. This is not referred to in Wykeham’s will of 1403, which explicitly refers to the glazing of the nave, but there may have been work on the presbytery clerestory earlier in his episcopacy, funded by him or the monks.<sup>238</sup> It is clear from the Visitation Injunctions of August 1393 that Wykeham began a serious building campaign in the cathedral after 1393. The injunctions drew attention to the ruinous state of the church and ordered Prior Robert Rudbourne to pay £700 in seven annual instalments to the “Clerk of the New Works” towards repairs. The subprior and convent were to pay 700 marks in seven annual instalments. Old and new building works were accounted for separately.<sup>239</sup> No detail is given of the old or new works, and it is generally assumed that the 1393 injunctions mark the start of the main phase of rebuilding the nave.<sup>240</sup> However, there could also have been glazing in the presbytery around this time. If left unfinished by Edington, the

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<sup>234</sup> HRO DC/A5/8/1; Kitchen 1892: 209-215; note also Greatrex 1978: items 101 and 105.

<sup>235</sup> Kitchen 1892: 211-12.

<sup>236</sup> Marks 1993: 48-51 on costs generally. For costs at Exeter in the 1390s see Brooks and Evans 1988: 37-38.

<sup>237</sup> Compare Le Couteur 1921: 64-65 on repairs at Winchester College.

<sup>238</sup> Willis 1845: 57-58 for the will.

<sup>239</sup> BL Harley 328 folios 16-17. I am grateful to Alison Deveson for transcribing and examining this for me. Crook 1993: 226-28; Greatrex 1977.

<sup>240</sup> Lowth 1759: 192-99; Goodman 1934: 12-14; Davis 2007: 114-115.

completion of the presbytery would have been a priority for the monks: it was visually part of the same space as the choir, where they spent most of their day.

The current north and south presbytery clerestory traceries may have been inserted and the glazing at least begun under Wykeham c1390-c1400. The glazing may have progressed slowly and the 1408 reference could relate to a modest amount of new glass or to repairs to the relatively new glass. Alternatively, it could relate to repairs of older glass, including glass in the east gable window, of which no evidence survives.

#### ***1.2.5.2 Dating the style of the north and south presbytery clerestory glazing***

Stylistic analysis of the earlier glass thought to originate from the north and south clerestories, such as that at Figs 0.14-0.19, supports a date range of c1390-c1430. The painting is in the “soft” International Gothic style, the earliest surviving remains of which in England are from the main lights of the west window of the antechapel of New College, Oxford, where Thomas of Oxford worked in the late 1380s (Fig. 1.117).<sup>241</sup> Thomas also worked at Winchester College in the 1390s and in the early 15th century, and quite probably at Wolvesey Palace (Fig. 1.118).<sup>242</sup> By the late 1430s the International Gothic style was dying out. A useful example given by Marks of what he calls the “hardening and coarsening” of the tradition is the York Minster south transept Archangel Gabriel, c1440 (Fig. 1.119).<sup>243</sup> However, precise dating on purely stylistic grounds is not usually possible, because variations in style do not necessarily follow a simple chronology, as they also depend on the individual glazier, and the sum paid for the work. The soft style was more time consuming than a more linear technique.

The idealisation of the Winchester choir seraphim contrasts starkly with the harshness of the York Gabriel of c1440 (Figs 1.119 and 1.120). In the Winchester seraphim, the bird-like bones visible through the flesh express the fact that these are ethereal beings: like us, but not like us. Both the spiritual quality and the features of the seraphim in Fig. 1.120 are closer to the work of John

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<sup>241</sup> The glass is now in York Minster – Brighton and Sprakes 1990: 400-401; Marks 1993: 173-174.

<sup>242</sup> Le Couteur 1921: 63-64, 80; Harvey and King 1971: 149-53; Williamson 2003: 48-49 and 138; Biddle 1990: 398-400 notes a payment to Thomas Glasier in the Pipe Rolls for 1401-1402; Marks 1993 Chapter 8.

<sup>243</sup> Marks 1993: 184-87.

Thornton of Coventry in the east window of York Minster begun c1405, although the painting is less refined (Fig. 1.121).<sup>244</sup>

The drawing of the noses, mouths, eyes and curls of the Winchester choir seraphim in Fig. 1.120 also has affinities with the NII figures thought to be from the cathedral's nave (Figs 0.44 and 0.45). These are themselves similar to figures from Merton, associated with Thomas of Oxford's workshop and dated by Tim Ayers c1419-25.<sup>245</sup> The features of the seraphim in Fig. 1.120 are also similarly drawn to those of the saints from the Old Library at Trinity College Oxford, constructed 1417-21 (Fig. 1.122).<sup>246</sup>

Turning to the figures in the main lights of the Winchester presbytery clerestory, the faces in NIII and SII are worn, which makes it difficult to be confident about their original painting style, but like the best of the seraphim, they generally belie the usual dating of the presbytery clerestory glass to c1450 (Figs. 0.16-0.18).<sup>247</sup> As with the seraphim, comparisons with surviving glass support a date range of c1390-c1430 for these figures. In form the NIII figures from Winchester Cathedral resemble the figures thought to be the work of John Burgh in the 1390s at York Minster (Fig. 1.123).<sup>248</sup> In the freedom of the drawing, light modelling and warm, gentle expression of the eyes, some of the NIII figures are closer to glass from the Winchester College east window from the 1390s (Figs 1.124 -1.125). The Winchester Cathedral presbytery saints at Figs 0.17-0.18 are also very softly painted, and bring to mind the slightly later St Matthew from Trinity College Oxford, dated c 1420 (Fig. 1.126).<sup>249</sup>

Le Couteur's late dating of the presbytery clerestory glass to the mid-15th century appears to hang largely on comparisons with the glass in the ante-chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, which are securely dated to the early 1440s and attributed to John of Oxford.<sup>250</sup> There are several hands at work at All Souls, but many of the male faces are very strongly modelled, with prominent cheek

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<sup>244</sup> Marks 1993: 180. On connections between the York glazing and the work of the Oxford school see Knowles 1936: 101-112. For connections between Winchester and York under Beaufort see: Greatrex 1978: items 172 and 248 and item 320, note on page 228; Brown 2003: 222.

<sup>245</sup> The NII figures were dated to Wykeham's episcopacy (1367-1404) by Winston 1865: 66 and BL Add.MS 33846 folios 141-42 and to c1404-1420 by Le Couteur 1921: 29-31. They are now dated by comparison with Merton figures in Ayers 2013 Part 1: 112-13, 116-18; Part 2: 274-283.

<sup>246</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 2: 276-77.

<sup>247</sup> See Cat.C.39, C.40-42, C.47-48.

<sup>248</sup> Brown 2003: 166-67 and 258-59.

<sup>249</sup> Cat.C.41 and C.48.

<sup>250</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 33 quotes Westlake III 1886: 17. Hutchinson 1949: 17-18.

bones (Fig. 1.127).<sup>251</sup> The better preserved prophets and apostles in the north clerestory windows at Winchester are very softly modelled. Another characteristic of the All Souls figures which differs from those at Winchester, Merton and Trinity is their rich decorative textiles, which hang in generously modelled folds, draped across the middle of the body. The All Souls seraphim are more stylized than those from the Winchester Cathedral presbytery, and in that respect closer to some of the seraphim on wheels from the Beauchamp Chapel, dated 1447-64 (Figs 0.14 and 1.128-1.129).<sup>252</sup>

There are certainly formal similarities between the Winchester clerestory glass and the glass at All Souls. However, the common design features all have earlier precedents than All Souls. The daisy diaper is seen in the work at Merton and Trinity Colleges mentioned above. A variety of figures and animals, including lions, appear in the architectural frameworks of the east window at York Minster c1405 and in the glass framing the figures in the western choir at York Minster dated 1408-15 (Fig. 1.130).<sup>253</sup> The glass framing the prophets in NIII, SII and SIII of the Winchester Cathedral presbytery clerestory is very similar to that framing the figures from the nave now in window NII dated c 1419-25, apart from the fact that it includes lion motifs, not side shaft figures, and the fact that the frame is wider (Figs 0.16 and 0.44). The pinnacles are painted in just the same way, and the arched and circular windows within the architectural frame are cross-hatched to suggest depth. The recurring daisy motif occurs on the NII figures from the Winchester nave, and also on the canopy tops throughout the presbytery clerestory (Cat.C.37 and C.47).

Le Couteur's dating of the glass in the north and south clerestory windows of the Winchester Cathedral presbytery was based on too narrow a survey. The glass can only cautiously be dated c1390-c1430 on the basis of style and the scant documentary evidence does not prove a more precise date. There are close stylistic similarities with Thomas of Oxford's glass at Winchester College which is firmly dated from 1393 onwards and also with glass at Merton and Trinity Colleges Oxford c1420, which may also be associated with Thomas of Oxford's workshop.<sup>254</sup> The Winchester choir clerestory work may fall in date somewhere between the two; it shares characteristics with both but is less stiff and formulaic than the work at Merton and Trinity. The north and south presbytery glazing could have begun in the 1390s under Wykeham, and progressed slowly up to c1425, or it may have begun under Beaufort and quickly followed, or even overlapped with, the completion of the nave glass c1404-c1420.

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<sup>251</sup> Marks 1993: 188-89.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid for dating.

<sup>253</sup> Brown 2003: 208 dates the York Minster glass. Marks 1993: 58 on similar motifs in manuscripts.

<sup>254</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 2: 277-82.

Although it provides only a broad time frame, this analysis of the stylistic evidence is nevertheless significant. It identifies the glass as important work in the International Gothic style, contradicting Le Couteur's later dating to c1450-60. This has implications for architectural historians assessing the date of the window masonry, and it also sets the installation of the glass against a different cultural background.

### ***1.2.5.3 A suggested historical context for the north and south presbytery clerestory glass***

A key piece of evidence may be the coat of arms at the top of the tracery in window NIV (Fig. 1.131).<sup>255</sup> The painting style is similar to that used in the arms of the See incorporated in the shield of Henry Beaufort now in the east window of Merton College Chapel (Fig. 1.132). This is dated by Ayers after 1414 but before Beaufort's death in 1447, with a suggested date in the 1420s.<sup>256</sup> Both are in white glass and yellow-stain, with a daisy diaper pattern on the blue background. The stylistic similarities between the shield in NIV and the Merton shield support the view that this part of the tracery work dates from Beaufort's episcopacy.

The arms of the See in NIV are not combined with the personal arms of a bishop, which indicates that the glass may have been commissioned by the prior and convent. The priors of St Swithun's between 1390-1430 were Robert Rudbourne (1384-1395), Thomas Neville (1395-1415) and Thomas Shyrebourne (1415-1435).<sup>257</sup> Neville and Shyreborne had been at Oxford together in 1390.<sup>258</sup> Their links to Oxford could explain the connections between the Merton, Trinity and Winchester glass. Trinity College was the former Durham College, established for Benedictine monks.<sup>259</sup>

Neville appears to have been an ambitious character, and the arms of the See in NIV may mark his involvement: the monks had elected him bishop in 1404, but Beaufort was appointed by the king instead.<sup>260</sup> On 20th August 1415 Neville was arrested and he was taken to the Tower where he

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<sup>255</sup> This differs from the usual more modern arms of the See of Winchester. See Brooke-Little 1983: 96 and 224 and Blake 1958: 20. For an example of the earlier form at New College see Woodforde 1951: 93-94 and plate XIII. Bishop Waynflete also used the earlier form (Riland Bedford 1897: 120).

<sup>256</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 2: 378-79.

<sup>257</sup> Greatrex 1978: 255.

<sup>258</sup> Greatrex 1978: Item 17.

<sup>259</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 1: cxiii n.56; Kitchin 1892: 203.

<sup>260</sup> Greatrex 1978: items 68 and 69.

seems to have died shortly afterwards.<sup>261</sup> G. Harriss suggests this may have been for suspected involvement in a plot to murder Henry V at Southampton before his departure to France for the Agincourt campaign.<sup>262</sup> The arms of the See are perhaps more likely to represent Shyrebourn's involvement. On 26th August 1415 he is recorded as master of the works, and in September he was appointed prior.<sup>263</sup> He may have worked with Beaufort to enhance the presbytery in celebration of the Agincourt victory on 25th October 1415. Beaufort had moved to Winchester in 1415 to conduct the Agincourt campaign from Wolvesey Palace.

The iconography of the presbytery glass, with seraphim on wheels praising God, above the saints and prophets, was long-established in religious art, with well-known biblical authority, fully explained in Chapter 4. It followed Wykeham's scheme in Winchester College Chapel from the 1390s, and there were at least some seraphim above standing figures in the nave of the cathedral, quite probably planned by Wykeham too.<sup>264</sup> However, the seraphim would also have fitted well with the spirit of celebration following the Agincourt victory, which culminated in the pageant which welcomed Henry V on his return to London on 23rd November. In the sixth pageant, representing the entry to the New Jerusalem, the castle supported numerous boys, dressed as angels "in pure white raiment with gleaming wings".<sup>265</sup> The public presentation of the Agincourt victory is attributed to Beaufort.<sup>266</sup> The association of the glazing scheme with this period of Beaufort's career fits also with the stylistic links to the glass at Merton. Ayers explains that, of the patrons of the Merton glass, Thomas Rodbourne and Nicholas Colnot were veterans of Agincourt.<sup>267</sup>

Beaufort is remembered primarily for his interest in political and financial affairs, but his achievements as a builder were nevertheless significant.<sup>268</sup> However remotely, he oversaw the completion of the nave at Winchester Cathedral in the early 15th century, and he is likely to have planned the changes to the presbytery and retrochoir which culminated in the translation of St Swithun.<sup>269</sup> The presbytery glass fits within this programme of work. The glass could have been

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<sup>261</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 158 and note on p.214.

<sup>262</sup> Harriss 1988: 81.

<sup>263</sup> Greatrex 1978: items 158 and 164-69.

<sup>264</sup> See 4.5.1.

<sup>265</sup> Coldstream 2012: 161-62.

<sup>266</sup> Harriss 1986: 112.

<sup>267</sup> Ayers 2011: 250.

<sup>268</sup> On Beaufort's benefactions: Tindal Hart 1985: 140-141. On Beaufort's concerns: Harriss 1988: 395-97; Gribbin 2008: 75 and throughout. On Beaufort's building at Wolvesey, Bishops Waltham and Canterbury and his foundation at the Hospital of St Cross, Winchester: Harriss 1988: 366-375; Crook 2011: 47-63.

<sup>269</sup> Lindley 1993(b): 801; See also 1.1.2.



begun in the 1390s, but the similarities with work at Merton and Trinity support a date for at least some of the glass of c1415-20, around the period when he is known to have spent time in Winchester. By 1417, he had fallen from the king's favour. He retired to Winchester until 1420. Beaufort may have taken an interest in enhancing the presbytery in 1415 or slightly later, between 1417 and 1420.

Even if not planned by him, Beaufort is likely to have had some influence on the glass in the presbytery and the nave installed during his episcopacy. The seraphim on golden wheels in the presbytery clerestory could have had a special resonance for Beaufort, who had buried his mother, Katherine Swynford, in another Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral in 1403.<sup>270</sup> Katherine's arms depicted three golden Katherine wheels on a red background.<sup>271</sup>

Bishop Fox's decision in the early 16th century to preserve so much earlier glass in the north and south presbytery clerestory fits with the view that he saw his project as a continuation of the work of his recent predecessors in the nave and presbytery.<sup>272</sup> He may have recognized the quality of the glass in the north and south presbytery clerestory, and could well have associated it with Cardinal Beaufort, with whom Henry VII shared his royal ancestors, John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford. Fox worked closely with Lady Margaret Beaufort.<sup>273</sup> She was preoccupied with her family's genealogy, and she could have influenced his scheme.<sup>274</sup> The point remains speculative, but if the glass was a reminder of the glorious days of Agincourt, this would have made it all the more respected in the early 16th century.

### **1.2.6 The extent of Fox's work in the presbytery**

By 1501, St Swithun's shrine was in the retrochoir, and the Great Screen was in place, now partially obstructing the easternmost windows of the clerestory. The choir and presbytery still lacked a vault that was in keeping with that in the nave. This left open to Fox the opportunity to make further significant improvements, and to build his own chantry chapel in a part of the cathedral he had

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<sup>270</sup> Katherine died in 1403 and was buried in the Angel Choir in Lincoln Cathedral, where Beaufort was bishop from 1399-1404 (Walker *ODNB*).

<sup>271</sup> See Wordsworth 1892: 24 for the decoration with wheels of vestments she gave to Lincoln Cathedral.

<sup>272</sup> Compare Monckton 2011: 83-86.

<sup>273</sup> Chapter 5.

<sup>274</sup> Jones and Underwood 1992: 31-32. *Ibid*: 83-84 notes her glazing at Collyweston in 1502-1503, with the Beaufort arms.

enhanced – the sacred space just south of the high altar. The work attributed to Fox in the east end is extensive: rebuilding the presbytery aisles (with new windows, and stone vaults to match the nave); adding flying buttresses to the presbytery clerestory; rebuilding the east gable, including the east window; rebuilding the presbytery roof and inserting a vault for the choir and presbytery (a wooden version of that in the nave); erecting his chantry chapel, and finally creating stone screens to separate the aisles from the presbytery, and displaying the relics of the Anglo-Saxon bishops and kings in Renaissance style chests on top of these screens.<sup>275</sup>

There is no reason to doubt that Fox was responsible for the early 16th-century building work in the presbytery.<sup>276</sup> A reference in the *custos operum* roll for 1532-33 mentions Bishop Fox's new vault.<sup>277</sup> His heraldry, motto and emblem of the pelican in piety punctuate the interior.<sup>278</sup> Outside, the flying buttresses added to support the clerestory are decorated with his pelican. The gable is crowned by a statue of a bishop, which rests on a pelican (Fig. 1.53).<sup>279</sup>

The form of the east gable balances and is in sympathy with the west front, begun under Bishop Edington and completed in the early 15th century.<sup>280</sup> The bishop at the apex of the east gable, looking eastwards, mirrors the bishop over the west front, who surveys westwards (Figs 1.53 and 1.133).<sup>281</sup> Fox's bishop stands between two octagonal turrets, which again balance the towers at the west front. The east gable window is only seven lights wide and is much smaller than the west window, but the pattern of the tracery is broadly similar (Figs.0.1-0.3). Fox's work on the east gable, like his other work in the cathedral, is characterised by a sense of continuity with the earlier Perpendicular work in the building. Yet the exterior architecture of the east gable is in an up-to-date early 16th-century style. Le Couteur compared the panelling, turrets, and domes with the style of the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel (Fig. 1.134).<sup>282</sup> The foundation stone for the Westminster Lady Chapel was laid in 1503, and the building was substantially complete by 1509.<sup>283</sup> Smith

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<sup>275</sup> Willis 1845; Draper and Morris 1993; Biddle 1993; Lindley 1993; Smith 1988(a) and 1988(b); *BOE 2010* 585-86; Monckton 2011; Crook 2016(a) and 2016(b).

<sup>276</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>277</sup> "eidem Willelmo plumbario operanti super novam voltam Episcopi Fox per duos dies...". Kitchin 1892: 217 has identified this as the vaulting on the north and south chancel aisles, but the reference is to "novam voltam" singular, so this must be a reference to the main vault of the presbytery.

<sup>278</sup> Smith 1988(a): Appendix 3 on Fox's pelican. Chapter 5 below on his motto.

<sup>279</sup> Willis 1845: 49; Bird 2005: 3.

<sup>280</sup> *BOE 2010*: 575-76. Monckton 2011: 83.

<sup>281</sup> *BOE 2010*: 576 notes that the statue now at apex of the west front is dated 1908. *Milner II*: 72 refers to the earlier figure of St Swithun, or Wykeham.

<sup>282</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 28, is developed by Smith 1988(a): 156-59 and supported by Monckton 2011: 83.

<sup>283</sup> Tatton Brown 2003: 193 and 201.

suggests the possibility that the architects for the east gable works (as well as Fox's chantry) may have been William Vertue and Humphrey Coke, who worked on the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel. These were the craftsmen subsequently employed by Fox to design his Oxford College, Corpus Christi.<sup>284</sup>

### 1.2.7 The dating of Fox's main structural works in the presbytery and its glass

The precise date of most of Fox's work in the presbytery is not documented, and there has been speculation among scholars about the sequence of works.<sup>285</sup> Very important progress has recently been made by John Crook, who has confirmed through dendrochronology that the latest oak timbers used for the presbytery roof were felled in the winter of 1507-1508, and that they would have been used straight after felling.<sup>286</sup> The conclusion also fits with a reference in John Chase's catalogue to a book of repairs in the cathedral running for one year from Michaelmas 1507.<sup>287</sup> There is now no doubt that Fox built the new roof as well as the vault which bears his heraldry, consistent with Munby and Fletcher's earlier study of the carpentry which concluded that the roof was designed to accommodate the vault.<sup>288</sup>

With regard to the sequence of works, Crook argues logically that the main structural works to the presbytery aisles would have come first, including the buttresses from which Fox sprang the flying buttresses for the clerestory work. The reconstruction of the east gable and window followed, then the roof, vault and vault bosses.<sup>289</sup> Previous scholars have argued that the main vault bosses, which contain an important heraldic and iconographic scheme, may be later additions to the vault, because they are superimposed on foliate bosses.<sup>290</sup> However, it is now clear that superimposing picture/heraldic bosses on foliate bosses was a design conceit and that the bosses are part of the original design for the vault.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Smith 1988 (a): 154-59; Smith 1988(b): 30. Riall 2015: 216.

<sup>285</sup> Carpenter Turner 1950: 6-8; Smith 1988(a): Chapter 4; Lindley 1993(a): 114-18, Biddle 1993: 263 and note 41 and 298; Riall 2011: 33-42 and 2015: 216-17, 234-36.

<sup>286</sup> Crook 2015: 3; 2016: 11-12.

<sup>287</sup> Smith 1988(a): 154. HRO DC/F6/1/6/1 folio 74.

<sup>288</sup> Munby and Fletcher 1983: 105-107.

<sup>289</sup> Crook 2016(a).

<sup>290</sup> Carpenter Turner 1950: 7; Lindley 1993(a): 115; *BOE 2010*: 585.

<sup>291</sup> Crook 2015: 3 and 2016(b): 12.

There has been debate about the dating of the main high vault in the presbytery and the presbytery aisles vaults, and this has focussed on the presence of the Prince of Wales' feathers and heraldry on the vault bosses. The argument has been that the bosses must have been finished by 1509, because after Henry VIII's accession in that year there was no Prince of Wales until the birth of his son Edward.<sup>292</sup> However, a reference to the need to vault two aisles in stone in a 1513 indenture between Fox and the priory has cast doubt on the date of the presbytery aisle vaults. The date of the presbytery aisle vaults is relevant in dating the presbytery aisle glass, but not conclusive, as a later date for the vaults would not necessarily prove a later date for the glass. At York Minster the choir aisles vaults were built after the windows are thought to have been glazed.<sup>293</sup>

The 1513 indenture was made before Fox went to war in France. It required use of specified funds to complete the work at his Oxford foundation, Corpus Christi, and his chantry chapel in the cathedral. If there was money left over it was for

the makinge of a new vaulte of stone over St Swithune his shrine & of new makinge and vaultinge with stone of two Ilis upon the side of ye said Church & the vaultinge of the Cross Ile in ye sayd Cathedrall Church of Winchester with stone after the manner and forme of the vaultinge of ye sayd Cathedrall Church.<sup>294</sup>

This wording can be interpreted as proof that the presbytery aisle vaults were not yet constructed in 1513, but it has been argued by Phillip Lindley that the indenture could be referring to the aisles of the retrochoir rather than the presbytery.<sup>295</sup> Nicholas Riall still maintains that it is more likely to be a reference to the presbytery aisle vaults, which he argues may have been begun by 1513 but were probably not completed until after that date.<sup>296</sup> Riall also thinks that the prominence of the bosses relating to Prince Henry and Katherine on the presbytery vault compared to the king's bosses indicates that the scheme for the main high vault was not completed until Henry VIII was king.<sup>297</sup> Riall notes the marshalling of the royal arms within the Garter as an indication that the work was finished during Henry VIII's reign, as marshalling the royal arms like this was rare during the reign of Henry VII.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Lindley 1993(a): 115; Crook 2015: 4.

<sup>293</sup> The choir aisles windows at York Minster have been dated 1408-15 and the choir aisles vaults 1421-22 (Brown 2003: 208 and 210).

<sup>294</sup> Corpus Christi College Oxford MS 'Twyne Transcripts' Vol i: 25 quoted from Lindley 1993(a): 117.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid. Lindley's suggestion that the indenture refers to the aisles of the retrochoir rather than the choir is accepted by Biddle 1993: 263 and note 41 on 298.

<sup>296</sup> Riall 2011: 40-41 and 2015: 236.

<sup>297</sup> Riall 2011: 36. But note Biddle 1993: 263 and note 41.

<sup>298</sup> Riall 2011: 40. Begent and Chesshyre 1999: 193-96.

Crook is not persuaded and maintains that the Prince of Wales' heraldry and emblems would not have been installed once Henry VIII was king.<sup>299</sup> However, it seems quite possible to the current author that either or both sets of vault bosses may have been completed after Henry VII's death. Henry VII's glass for his Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, dated 1509-11, shows Prince of Wales' feathers in the tracery of the west window (Fig. 1.80).<sup>300</sup> On the basis of the information currently available we cannot know for sure the exact date of completion of the presbytery vaults, but it is clear that the bosses must have been planned before Henry's death, and commemorate the new Tudor dynasty. It is argued throughout this thesis, especially in Chapter 5, that the focus of Fox's works in the presbytery was commemoration of Henry VII. If Fox reconsidered the scheme for the bosses following Henry's death, he would hardly have wished to change it.

Assuming that Fox's presbytery aisles windows were installed at the beginning of his project, they could have been glazed immediately, c1505, before the aisle vaults were constructed, as explained above. Alternatively, there could have been a delay between constructing the presbytery aisle windows and glazing them.<sup>301</sup> A temporary covering could have been used to keep the worst of the weather out during the rest of the building works in the east end. However, the time delay cannot have been too great, since analysis of painting style and design in section 1.1 supports a date within the opening years of the 16th century, at least before 1515, for both Fox's surviving glass in the presbytery aisles and the east gable window. The fact that the 1513 indenture does not mention the need to finish any glazing supports the idea that Fox's glass was well-advanced, or broadly finished by this date, although arguments based on documentary silence do need to be approached with caution.

The east gable with its window opening would have been in place before the roof went on in 1508, but the glass would not have gone in before the roof was up. The glass may have gone in before the vault, or around the same time: certainly, while the scaffolding was still up. The iconographic scheme of the east gable window glass is shown in Chapter 3 to reflect the iconographic plan of the vault, which fits with the view that the vault and window were conceived as one scheme.

Two documentary references are relevant in dating the presbytery glass, although there are difficulties with their interpretation. The first reference, in the 1505-1506 Pipe roll, could support a

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<sup>299</sup> Crook 2015: 4; Crook 2016: 11

<sup>300</sup> Marks 1993: 213-15 and 2012: 371-72 and Fig.18.

<sup>301</sup> In the case of the east window at York Minster, there was a delay of over 30 years between construction of the window and its glazing (Brown 2014(b):11).

date of c1506 for the presbytery aisle glass.<sup>302</sup> In the accounts in the Pipe roll for Wolvesey Palace for 1505-1506, Smith noted that an unspecified sum was spent on glass imported from Southampton at a cost of between 15s and 45s the piece. Smith argued that this could refer to the glazing of Wolvesey Palace or Fox's work in Winchester Cathedral.<sup>303</sup>

Alison Deveson has helpfully re-examined the reference in the Pipe roll. Unfortunately, part of the relevant page is now missing. However, the roll does record a payment for the carriage of eighteen cartloads of glass and five fowders of lead and refers to a price of 6s-24s the ton. Deveson suggests that this is a unit price followed by a total, rather than a range of prices, so that would be 4 tons of lead.<sup>304</sup> If this interpretation is correct, the cost of the glass recorded by Smith of 15s-45s may mean a unit price of 15s, totalling 45s for 3 pieces. We do not know the weight of the pieces, and the fragmentary text means that it is not now possible to make sense of the prices, but it is clear that eighteen cartloads was a significant amount.<sup>305</sup> The glass may have all been for use at Wolvesey Palace. However, it is possible that there was a store and maybe a workshop at Wolvesey, and that this glass was used in the cathedral presbytery aisles c1506.

The second reference, in the published Port Book of Southampton 1509-1510, strongly supports a date of c1510 for the east gable window glazing – and could also give the date of importation of the glass used for the presbytery aisles, although there is some uncertainty about the quantity of glass involved. The Port Book refers to importation of Caen stone: by Bishop Fox's treasurer twenty "dol" or tons (in April 1510) and by Bishop Fox himself twenty-four "dol" and then twenty "dol" (May-June 1510).<sup>306</sup> Of even more importance for this thesis, there is a reference to Fox's importation of five fowders of lead and forty "wey" of glass in May-June 1510.<sup>307</sup>

From the accounts for St Stephen's Chapel in the 1350s, Salzman tells us that a "wey" was 5lb.<sup>308</sup> However, it is doubtful whether this is the correct interpretation of the measure of a "wey" as used

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<sup>302</sup> HRO 11M59/B1/219.

<sup>303</sup> Smith 1988(a): 255. It is clear from *ibid*: 144-47 that Fox carried out ongoing building works at Wolvesey in the first decade of the 16th century. Little is known about the nature of the work at Wolvesey, but the Pipe rolls refer to the purchase of stores of building material and by the 1520s the work appears to have been largely finished.

<sup>304</sup> A fother of lead fluctuated between 19 cwt and a ton (Salzman 1992: 263; James 1990 vol.1: xxvii states 19.5cwt).

<sup>305</sup> Salzman 1992: 182 -185 on prices of glass.

<sup>306</sup> James 1990 vol.2: 153, 187-88 and 281. On "dol" James 1990 vol.1: xxvi and Salzman 1992: 122

<sup>307</sup> James 1990 vol.2: 191 and 281.

<sup>308</sup> Salzman 1992: 182-84.

in the Port Book of 1509-1510. Ronald Zupko, a leading authority on metrology, emphasises the complexity and confusion caused by medieval weights and measures and explains that a “wey” varied according to both product and region.<sup>309</sup> Marks notes that with new terminology in the 15th and early 16th centuries, 5lb of glass became known as a “wisp”, rather than a “wey”.<sup>310</sup> The more common measure in the early 16th century seems to have been the “waw”. In the accounts for Collyweston, 30s was paid for a “waw” of glass containing sixty “sheffes”, and every “sheff” contained six feet.<sup>311</sup> Consistent with Zupko’s *Dictionary of Medieval Weights and Measures*, the glossary to the published Port Book defines a “wey” of glass as “a measure of glass containing 40-60 bunches of uncertain weight”.<sup>312</sup> If a bunch, like a sheffe at Collyweston, was equal to six feet, and a wey contained 40-60 bunches, then forty wey of glass was a very great deal.

These accounts do not give conclusive proof of the dating Fox’s glass in the cathedral, not only because of the uncertainty surrounding the quantities of glass, but also because the glass could have been for use elsewhere – possibly Wolvesey Palace. However, it is notable that Biddle’s survey of the later medieval window glass excavated from Wolvesey Palace does not refer to early 16th-century painted glass, but describes only 14th and 15th-century work.<sup>313</sup> Read together with Crook’s tree-ring dating and the absence of any reference to glazing in the 1513 Indenture, it is most likely that the 1510 shipment was for the cathedral. If Crook is right that the presbytery aisles were constructed first, Fox’s presbytery aisle glass could be that referred to in the 1505-06 Pipe roll and work on the aisle glass could have begun c1505. Alternatively, the 1510 shipment could have included glass for the presbytery aisles as well as the clerestory, and all the glass could have been installed around the same time, probably by 1513, and at least by 1515.

### **1.2.8 Fox’s later building works in the east end**

Fox’s chantry chapel is on the south side of the High Altar (Figs 1.135-1.136). An inventory of 1518 describes the chapel as “newly built”, although the cadaver effigy may not have been installed

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<sup>309</sup> Zupko 1990: 3-14, especially 13.

<sup>310</sup> Marks 1993: 31.

<sup>311</sup> Salzman 1992: 183. This price is consistent with accounts for the Savoy hospital, from 1513-16 (Oswald 1955: 226-27).

<sup>312</sup> James 1990 vol I: xxxvii; Zupko 1985: 435 records a wey as 60 bunches or cases of uncertain weight.

<sup>313</sup> Biddle 1990: 424-28.

until c1522.<sup>314</sup> Fox's cadaver effigy lies down low, a daily reminder to pray for him to the monks using the south presbytery aisle. Inside, over the altar, angels with shields hold Passion emblems, echoing the imagery of the vault. There is evidence from *Mercurius* that the chapel was glazed with coloured glass, although this was not figurative:

They begin with Bishop Fox, his chappel, which they utterly deface, they break all the glass windows of this chappel, not because they had any pictures in them, either of Patriarch, Prophet, Apostle or Saint, but because they were of painted coloured glass'.<sup>315</sup>

No physical evidence of the glass itself survives, and this glazing is not discussed further in this thesis. Fox spent much time in the chapel at prayer in his last years, when his sight was failing.<sup>316</sup> His Chantry Statutes show that the chapel was dedicated to the Trinity and that prayers were to be for himself, Henry VII, and Lady Margaret Beaufort.<sup>317</sup> The statutes of 1518, nine years after Henry VII's death, prove Fox's ongoing dedication to Henry VII.

Finally, Fox, together with his steward, William Frost, and Prior Henry Broke, built stone screens separating the presbytery from the aisles. The screens incorporate four light windows, set in square frames. They now have plain glazing, but before that were glazed with quarries: the original treatment is unknown (Figs 1.56 and 1.114).<sup>318</sup> The southern screen has Fox's emblems and is largely in a Gothic style. The northern has emblems of Frost and his wife, Juliana Hampton, and Prior Broke, and is in a more "modern" Renaissance style.<sup>319</sup> The screens are both dated 1525 by inscriptions. On top of both screens there are Renaissance style friezes, and the remains of the Anglo-Saxon kings and bishops were placed in ten Renaissance style chests, four of which survive. The friezes and chests may be slightly later than the screens: Biddle suggests 1525-30.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Smith 1988(b): 27 notes the inventory and 29 notes the bill for the iron grille to protect Fox's effigy dated 22nd March 1522.

<sup>315</sup> *Mercurius*: 147.

<sup>316</sup> Chisholm Batten 1889: 132 quotes a statement from the Venetian Ambassador saying that Fox was blind by June 1523.

<sup>317</sup> Smith 1988(a): 222, note 131.

<sup>318</sup> Biddle 1993: 268.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid*: 270-71.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid*: 271-75.



### 1.2.9 Overview of Fox's works in the presbytery

Fox's was the last great building campaign in the cathedral, and he took responsibility for completing the changes to the east end which had been on-going for almost two hundred years. It is clear from the 1513 Indenture that Fox wanted to ensure that the rest of the cathedral fitted with Wykeham's nave. His presbytery vaults are stylistically consistent with the nave vault. They would have brightened the space, making it more magnificent. Fox also intended to insert new vaults in the transepts, and examination of the transept roof proves that he began this task, although it was never completed.<sup>321</sup> Fox may have associated the older glass in the presbytery clerestory specifically with Beaufort. In any event, his retention of this glass, which was close in style and date to the nave glass, was consistent with his aim of ensuring continuity with the nave.

Fox must have wanted a new east gable window in the Perpendicular style, to balance the west window and the new Lady Chapel windows. Despite his desire for continuity with the work of his predecessors, Fox probably welcomed the opportunity to reglaze the east gable window in line with the contemporary taste of the European courts, as discussed in 1.1.2. Use of the continental painting style brought the presbytery in line with the Lady Chapel, and helped St Swithun's to keep up with developments at the other great religious foundations nearby, like Glastonbury and Bath Abbey – and not least Westminster Abbey. The later chapters of this thesis show that Fox was interested not just in style and creating a magnificent memorial for himself and his king, but also in teaching, and preservation and reform of the church from within. The new glazing scheme provided an opportunity to further those broader aims.

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<sup>321</sup> Crook 1989: 14 and note 43.

## **Chapter 2: The Lady Chapel glass: subject matter and design**

Most of Winchester Cathedral's medieval glass has been destroyed, and what remains is jumbled and dispersed throughout the building - and beyond. It is therefore hardly surprising that the original iconographic schemes are largely lost. This chapter asks how far it is possible to reconstruct the subject matter and design of the late 15th/early 16th-century Lady Chapel glass.

The broad subject matter of the Lady Chapel glass is known from the Lieutenant's 1635 description of the Jesse Tree, Revelation and Nativity windows, although the description (set out in full in Appendix 2) contains little detail. This chapter uses traditional art-historical methods to identify and group fragments likely to be from the Lady Chapel scheme, described in Parts A, E and G of the Catalogue. The conclusions about the stylistic context discussed in Chapter 1 underpin the identification of the glass. In view of the evidence of continental influence identified in Chapter 1, comparisons are made with English, Netherlandish and German painting, since the continental glass painters established in London by the 1490s must have brought ideas about design, as well as their painting style, with them. The fragments are also interpreted in the light of the textual sources and broad iconographic traditions of the period. A more specific interpretation of the Lady Chapel iconography, in its particular context, is developed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The tiny proportion of narrative glass that survives from the Lady Chapel, and brevity of the Lieutenant's description, mean that it is impossible to reconstruct the actual design of the main lights with any certainty. We can be most confident about the design of the Jesse window, based on traditional representations. The fragments allow us partial glimpses of the other scenes - most vividly of the Nativity.

### **2.1 The reliability of the Lieutenant's identification of the subjects**

The Lieutenant's description of the cathedral overall is thorough and careful. He described the decoration in Fox's chantry chapel in detail, and much of this can still be seen today, which

confirms the veracity of his account.<sup>1</sup> It follows that his summary of the subject matter of the Lady Chapel windows is likely to be reliable.

The Lieutenant's account is also supported by evidence of glass in the Lady Chapel in the 19th century, which fits with his description of the subject matter. Some of this glass has been identified in the Abbey Church at Caboolture, recorded as having been acquired from Winchester Cathedral by Father Ward for his social history museum.<sup>2</sup> These important Caboolture fragments have been dated c1500 in the first part of Chapter 1, which examines the style of the painting. This supports the link to the Lady Chapel works at around that date, and the view that the Lieutenant saw the remains of that scheme.

19th-century descriptions of the Lady Chapel and photographs taken before Kempe's reglazing confirm that there were fragments of angels and stars in the windows at that time, which would fit with the imagery noted by the Lieutenant. Winston observed "There is also some late glass, but much mutilated, in the East window of the Lady Chapel".<sup>3</sup> Westlake also recorded late medieval glass in the Lady Chapel: "The heads of lights contain portions of angels, of the early sixteenth century, very fine, somewhat like the Fairford work; the tracery has fragments of angels. The side windows have similar fragments remaining."<sup>4</sup>

In 2004 Callé published a 19th-century photograph of the east window before Kempe's work, with fragments in the lower row of lights, (Fig. 2.1).<sup>5</sup> The fragments include a star, and a number of heads. Another photograph of the Lady Chapel, found by the current author, shows similar fragments in the upper row of lights (Figs 2.2-2.5).<sup>6</sup>

Fragments of the glass now in the Abbey Church at Caboolture can be identified in the 19th-century photographs. Fig. 2.5 indicates that the star in light 2 is similar to the star above the lion in Fig. 2.6. Also in Fig. 2.5, the head in light 7 could be the head of the angel seen in the upper part of Fig. 2.7, set at an angle. Crucially, Fig. 2.4 allows two sets of fragments to be identified with certainty as

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<sup>1</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: 47.

<sup>2</sup> For Ward's acquisition of the glass, see: *Evening News* (September 26, 1934); *Daily Mail* (September 26, 1934); *Hampshire Observer* (October 6, 1934); *Daily Mail* (January 1935); *Daily Telegraph* (January 19, 1935); *Times* (August 10, 1935). Extracts are in *The Book of the Centuries*, vol.1 (Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology, Caboolture, Queensland). See also Ginn 2012; Heilpern 2014 (in Appendix 3); Strong 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Winston 1865: 69.

<sup>4</sup> Westlake III 1886: 20.

<sup>5</sup> Callé 2004: 15 notes that she found this in the Winchester City Museum archive.

<sup>6</sup> This was found in a file in the Winchester Cathedral Office in 2010.

having been in the upper row of main lights in the Lady Chapel east window: the female heads at the foot of Figs 2.6 and 2.7.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the fragments at Caboolture are from the late 15th/early 16th century and fit with the iconography which the Lieutenant described, supporting the view that his account describes the glass installed in the Lady Chapel c1500. The heads of angels and perhaps the Virgin, shown in Figs 2.6-2.7, are probably from the Nativity window. The lion with a halo in Fig. 2.6 is thought to be one of the four living creatures who praise God in the Book of Revelation, as explained in 2.3.3 below. The four living creatures occur in a number of scenes in the Book of Revelation. There are also branches and buds which are most likely to be from a Jesse Tree window, given the well-established tradition of Jesse Tree iconography in the east end of great churches explained in 2.2 below (Fig. 2.8). Jesse windows at nearby Winchester College, at Margaretting in Essex and at Thornhill in Yorkshire have comparable stems, leaves and buds in the heads of the lights (Figs 2.9-2.12).

## **2.2 The east window (eI): “the Genealogie from the Root of Jesse, 14 Generations”**

### **2.2.1 Textual sources and general significance**

The Jesse Tree was a common image at the east end of great churches, especially in Lady Chapels, from the 13th up to the early 16th century. It was used at both secular and monastic institutions, including Canterbury Cathedral, Salisbury Cathedral, Bristol Abbey, Selby Abbey and Wells Cathedral.<sup>8</sup>

The Jesse Tree illustrated Christ’s royal genealogy. In St Matthew’s list of the ancestors of Christ, Jesse is named as the father of King David, and Christ is seen to descend from a royal lineage.<sup>9</sup> Jesse is singled out by Isaiah’s prophecy predicting the coming of the Messiah: “And there shall

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<sup>7</sup> See Heilpern 2014 in Appendix 3.

<sup>8</sup> Michael 2004: 100-101; Brown1999 (a): 8, 80-86; Ayers 2004 Part 1: 300-317; Smith 1983: Ch.5. There is also a fragment of a Jesse window in York Minster, c1180 (Brown 1999(b): 9-10).

<sup>9</sup> Matthew 1: 2-16. See also Luke 3: 23-38, Romans 15: 12 and Revelation 22: 16.

come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root./And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: the spirit of wisdom and of understanding...”.<sup>10</sup>

At the start of the 3rd century, the early Christian writer Tertullian linked the root, or “radix” with Jesse, the father of King David, “virga” (rod) with “virgo” (virgin) and “flos” (flower) with Christ.<sup>11</sup> By the 12th century, the idea was commonly visualised in art as a tree, or vine, inhabited by the ancestors of Christ, with Jesse at the base, and images of the Virgin and Christ at the top, as in the Winchester Psalter of 1150 (Fig. 2.13).<sup>12</sup> The number and choice of ancestor figures in between varied, according to the space available for the design, but Solomon and David were usually included.<sup>13</sup> The Jesse Tree linked the New Testament to the Old, and often prophet figures appeared around the design, as reminders of the foretelling of Christ.

Joseph was not the father of Jesus, so if Jesus was of royal descent, this had to be through Mary. The gospel of Matthew, 1:16, in fact indicates that it was Joseph, not Mary, who was of royal descent, but Mary, crowned, is at the centre of the Jesse Tree image.<sup>14</sup> She is the instrument of Christ’s Incarnation; Christ is the instrument of man’s salvation. In the context of Wells Cathedral, Ayers discusses the association between the Jesse Tree and the Tree of Life, which is described in Genesis as being in the centre of Paradise. He notes the Tree’s association with Christ and his cross.<sup>15</sup> Ayers also discusses parallels between the Jesse Tree and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The Virgin is often shown breastfeeding Christ, and she may hold a fruit, alluding to her role as the New Eve. The food offered by the Virgin nourishes the body of Christ, the New Adam, and is thus the instrument of man’s redemption.<sup>16</sup>

The Jesse image spoke of Christ’s incarnation and body, and his sacrifice to give us life. It was an appropriate backdrop to the ritual of the Mass, performed at the altar in front of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The original reredos for the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel does not survive,

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<sup>10</sup> Isaiah 11: 1-3. Biblical quotations throughout this thesis are from *The Holy Bible, Douay-Rheims Version* (Saint Benedict Press 1899, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Schiller 1971: 15. See also 16-22 on the development of the iconography.

<sup>12</sup> See also Mâle 1961: 165-68.

<sup>13</sup> For David’s importance see Acts 13: 22-23.

<sup>14</sup> Green 2014: 32, 47 argues that the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* manuscripts originating in Germany in the 14th century, and the later *Speculum* block books, were very influential on Jesse Tree iconography in Germany, the Netherlands and Normandy. These place an image of the Jesse Tree next to the birth of the Virgin (Wilson and Wilson 1984: 148).

<sup>15</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 1: 304-309.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid: 310. See further Green 2014: 29.

but the Jesse window may have functioned in part as a reredos.<sup>17</sup> Jesse iconography was the subject of the reredos at nearby Christchurch Priory, Hampshire.<sup>18</sup>

### 2.2.2 Surviving fragments

As already noted above, there are fragments of branches and flowers thought to originate from the Lady Chapel Jesse Tree at Caboolture. They are shown in photographs from the 1930s at Cat.G.4 and G.24. The glass as displayed in the Abbey Church, Caboolture, in 2013 is at Fig. 2.8.

Some further probable Jesse Tree fragments can be identified in the c1945 photo at Cat.G.7, which shows the last ten panels of Winchester glass obtained by Father Ward. Cat.G.7 includes in the top central light a canopy top which looks identical to the style of the canopy tops surviving in the tracery of the east window of the Lady Chapel (Cat.A.4). This strongly supports the view that at least some of the fragments in Cat.G.7 came from the Lady Chapel. The most convincing Jesse Tree fragment is the red fruit shown close up at Fig. 2.14. It can be compared with fruit from the Jesse Tree at St Margaret's Church, Margaretting, Essex, most recently dated c1451-59 (Fig. 2.15).<sup>19</sup> Other fragments from the Caboolture glass in Cat.G.7 which could perhaps be from the Jesse window are the ermine and rich red drapery with inset/scratched flowers, shown in Fig. 2.16. The red drapery with flowers is similar to Jesse's garments in the Margaretting window.<sup>20</sup>

There are also a number of small scraps surviving in the cathedral itself which may come from the Lady Chapel Jesse. Fragments of Jesse tree branches may survive in the great west window, as shown in Cat.E.46-47 and E.67-68. These fragments could alternatively represent fictive architectural columns with foliate decoration. A handful of scraps in the cathedral's triforium store, not significant enough to be included in the Catalogue, include several which may match the painting of the glass surviving in the tracery of the Lady Chapel east window discussed below: that at Fig. 2.17 looks like a more conventional Jesse branch.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *BOE 2010*: 589 describes Kempe's 1905 reredos.

<sup>18</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 1: 311-315.

<sup>19</sup> Hall 1999: 23

<sup>20</sup> Westlake's drawing from 1869 suggests this is original (Hall 1999: 17).

<sup>21</sup> Other fragments in the store which may be from the Lady Chapel are a fragment of fictive architecture and a rustic-looking architectural background with a window, perhaps from a Nativity scene.

### 2.2.3. Comparisons with other Jesse windows

Little detailed evidence survives of the subject and design of the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel Jesse Tree - only the flowers, leaves, fruit and perhaps stems of the tree, and Hammond's information that the image showed "14 generations". No surviving fragments of figures can be linked to the Jesse Tree with certainty. This section first examines English Jesse windows, from the 1390s to c1500, to look for further clues in reconstructing the Lady Chapel Jesse Tree. It is argued that the late 14th-century Jesse Tree at nearby Winchester College is very likely to have influenced the design. The 15th-century English examples are however of limited help, as they are few, damaged and restored, and all themselves require further research. Recent wider research on the Jesse Tree in Northern Europe at this time suggests that the motif had declined in popularity in England in the 15th century - it is clear that the main survivals are not in England but in Germany, the Netherlands and parts of Northern France.<sup>22</sup> In the case of the two best surviving later 15th - century English Jesse windows, at Margaretting in Essex and Thornhill in Yorkshire, the influence of continental craftsmen has been suggested by scholars.<sup>23</sup> The section therefore asks how far the design of the main lights of the Lady Chapel Jesse may have reflected continental trends.

As visitors of both New College Oxford and Winchester College, the bishops of Winchester would have known Thomas of Oxford's late 14th-century Jesse Trees there. Judged against surviving fragments of the original, Betton and Evans' 1822 copy of the Winchester College Chapel window provides relatively reliable evidence of a complete English Jesse Tree (Figs. 2.9-2.10 and 2.18-2.22).<sup>24</sup> The surviving fragments of Thomas' slightly earlier Jesse Tree from New College Oxford, now at York Minster, suggest that this was similar to the Winchester College Jesse (Fig. 1.117).<sup>25</sup>

The Winchester College Jesse, being so close by, is likely to have been an important precedent for the design of the cathedral's new Jesse window. It may well have influenced the crucial design decision: to have a seven-light window divided by a transom, with a central axial light (Figs 2.9 and Cat.A.1). As already noted, there were rich flowers and stems in the heads of lights of the both the college Jesse and the Lady Chapel Jesse. Le Couteur's drawing of the college Jesse, labelling the

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<sup>22</sup> Green 2014. Green, personal communication, refers to S.Lepape, 'Représenter la parenté du Christ et de la Vierge: l'iconographie de l'Arbre de Jessé en France du Nord et en Angleterre, du XIIIe siècle au XVI siècle', l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociale, Paris, PhD thesis, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> Jones 1971: 98 on Thornhill. Hall 1999: 23 does not agree that the Margaretting Jesse is continental work.

<sup>24</sup> Kirby 1959-61: 316. For 14th-century Jesse trees see also Woodforde 1937: 184-90 and Brown 1995: 122-31.

<sup>25</sup> Brighton and Sprakes 1990: 390, 400-401.

identities of the various figures, is at Fig. 2.23. By analogy with the college Jesse, the main lights of the Lady Chapel east window would have included Jesse horizontal across the bottom three lights, above him David and Solomon, and above them an image of the Virgin and Christ Child. As in the college window, there may also have been an image of the crucifixion at the top of the three central lights, with Mary and John the Evangelist on either side.<sup>26</sup> There would also have been additional kings and prophets on either side of the central lights, the prophets probably in the outer lights.

Susan Green's recent study of Northern European Jesse Trees c1450-1550 notes that by the mid-15th century twelve kings were usually depicted, their names following the order of twelve of the fourteen kings described in Matthew 1: 6-11, starting with David, before the transmigration to Babylon.<sup>27</sup> According to Le Couteur's drawing, the Winchester College window included thirteen kings from this list (omitting Hezekiah). The college window also included another five kings, a total of eighteen. In the 17th century Lieutenant Hammond recorded fourteen generations in the cathedral Lady Chapel window, so it is likely that broadly the same kings were included as in the college window. The college window included twelve prophets, and many of the same prophets would also have been included in the Lady Chapel window.

We cannot be sure of the total number of figures in the cathedral window, but assuming there were fourteen kings and around the same ratio of kings to prophets as in the college (3:2) there may have been nine prophets. Allowing for two full-length figures arranged vertically in each main light, the layout of the Lady Chapel east window could have accommodated twenty-three figures, in addition to Jesse, across the bottom three lights and the Virgin and Child in two at the top. To allow for more figures, and a crucifixion scene in the top three lights, the main lights may have shown three figures vertically in some of the lights, as in Winchester College Chapel. The college chapel main lights are taller than those in the cathedral Lady Chapel windows, but the Lady Chapel figures may have been half-length, as discussed further below, or seated. Another alternative to fit in more figures would have been to include them in pairs, as in the 15th-century glass at Leverington (Fig. 2.24) or at Margaretting (Fig. 2.11).

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<sup>26</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 1: 313-14 notes that the Jesse windows at Selby Abbey, Bristol Abbey and Wells Cathedral included crucifixion scenes.

<sup>27</sup> Green 2014: 28.



As well as the Jesse Tree iconography, the Winchester College Chapel main lights had additional images in the bottom row of lights, including Kings Edward III and Richard II and also the college's patron, Wykeham, and his craftsmen. The Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel window may have included images of the donor bishops and/or the royal family in prayer, on either side of the sleeping Jesse, perhaps presented by saints. There is one difference from the Winchester College window we can be sure of. The college window included a Doom in the tracery.<sup>28</sup> The Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel arrangement did not include a Doom above the Jesse: as discussed in 2.2.5 below, it is clear that the tracery depicted standing figures.

While the central layout of the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel Jesse could well have resembled the college's, the window was installed over a century later, and the detailed design and overall effect would have been different. The other important English Jesse window to consider is the window in the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Thornhill (Fig. 2.12). The six-light Thornhill Jesse is securely dated 1499, and so was contemporary with the Winchester Lady Chapel windows.<sup>29</sup> It was commissioned by Robert Frost, who was Archdeacon of Winchester from 1487-1502.<sup>30</sup> At Thornhill the Virgin is not breast feeding, but holds a fruit, as the New Eve, with Christ the Judge above her (Fig. 2.25). The figures are wide for the lights, and in a semi-seated posture, but they are full length, varied and dynamic. The craftsmen have not been identified, but the window clearly shows the continental stylistic influences which were changing the appearance of the painted glass commissioned by elite patrons from the later 15th century, as discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>31</sup>

The Thornhill Jesse had leaves, buds and fruits in the heads of lights, as the Winchester Lady Chapel Jesse appears to have done, but the few surviving Lady Chapel fragments do not support the idea that the overall effect of these windows was the same. At Thornhill the white and gold background predominates, contrasting with the red, blue and green of the figures (Fig. 2.12). The Winchester Lady Chapel Jesse window appears to have had a deep blue background, which would have made it much darker (Fig. 2.8). In this respect it appears more like the Margaretting window

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<sup>28</sup> As at Selby Abbey and at Wells (Ayers 2004 Part 1: 302, 313), and certainly at New College (Brighton and Sprakes 1990: 390).

<sup>29</sup> Jones 1971: 95.

<sup>30</sup> Jones 1971: 123. See also Chapters 1 and 5.

<sup>31</sup> Jones 1971: 98.

in Fig. 2.11 and the Winchester College east window, surviving remains of which are at Fig.2.22. This, like the New College Jesse, had alternating red and blue backgrounds.<sup>32</sup>

By the mid-15th century, it was common in continental examples for Jesse to be seated, rather than lying down.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that the Winchester Lady Chapel Jesse may have been seated, as in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and *Biblia Pauperum* block books, first produced in the Netherlands from the 1460s, which were soon being used by glaziers in England (Fig. 2.26).<sup>34</sup> It was also common for the Virgin to stand on a crescent moon or be surrounded by golden rays like the Woman of the Apocalypse, as at Cologne Cathedral c1509.<sup>35</sup> This may have been the case in the Lady Chapel glass, as originally on its roof bosses of Christ and the Virgin in glory (Fig.2.27).

The deep colour of the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel flowers and leaves, set against blue, fits with most of the 15th and early 16th-century Northern European examples, such as Peter Hemmel's Jesse in the Kramer window at Ulm Minster of 1480-81 (Fig.2.28).<sup>36</sup> In the Ulm window, as in the *Speculum* block book, at Cologne Cathedral, and in many other continental examples, demi-figures sit on flower heads (Fig. 2.29). There are no fragments of figures proven to be from the Lady Chapel Jesse to indicate whether they were full length, or seated on flowers in the continental manner.

Kempe's replacement in the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel at Cat.A.2 shows figures seated on flowers, allowing two relatively large figures to be fitted into each of the main lights, but we do not know whether this reflected the layout of the original window. Although the technique of presenting only parts of figures on flowers would have been widely known from the *Speculum* block books, the known English windows up to c1500 do not follow this formula. The Leverington and Margaretting windows probably predate the *Speculum* block books. At Thornhill there are full-length figures, seated, but not on flowers. It is interesting that the later examples at Llanrhaeadr, Denbighshire and Dyserth, Flintshire, both dated 1533, do show some half figures on flower heads in the continental manner, yet they still retain the more orderly, linear effect of earlier English

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<sup>32</sup> Brighton and Sprakes 1990: 401.

<sup>33</sup> Green 2014: 28.

<sup>34</sup> Marks 1993: 68; Wilson and Wilson 1984: 112-16.

<sup>35</sup> Green 2014: 28-29. Rode 1974: 194.

<sup>36</sup> Butts and Hendrix 2000: 19 and 22, Fig. 6.

Jesses, with the branches forming mandorlas for figures in rows, rather than spread organically over the tree as in many continental examples (Fig. 2.30).<sup>37</sup>

Despite the clues in the surviving glass to indicate that continental glaziers influenced the Lady Chapel Jesse window, we cannot be sure how many continental features were imported into the design of the main lights.

#### **2.2.4 Jesse Tree design: summary**

There are too few fragments firmly linked to the Lady Chapel Jesse window to reconstruct its overall effect and detailed design with any certainty. It is clear that the image would have progressed from Jesse upwards, through Old Testament kings, to the Virgin and Child, and then perhaps to a crucifixion scene. There would have been further kings and prophets in the outer main lights. We do not know the size of the kings and prophets, but the layout could well have reflected that in the Winchester College window. The analogy of Thornhill suggests that the figures may have been full length, but seated, in a variety of lively poses. Even if they were seated on flowers, they may still have been in rows, in the older English tradition, as later at Llanrhaeadr. There may have been some praying royal or donor figures in the bottom row of lights on either side of Jesse, presented by saints. The fragments at Fig. 2.8 suggest vibrant colours, against a blue background, and refined painting. The branches may have been in pale fine brownish paint, some with yellow-stain foliage decoration, as at Cat.E.47, or more standard in form, like the fragment at Fig. 2.17.

#### **2.2.5 Tracery of the east window (eI) (Figs 0.7, 2.3; Cat.A.1-24)**

Fig. 2.3 shows fragments of late 15th/early 16th-century glass in the east window tracery in the 19th century: standing figures, a praying donor in the lower row of lights, scrolls against coloured glass, and foliate fillers. Kempe's rearrangement in the 1890s supplemented the medieval glass in the tracery, which now, as previously, shows standing figures of saints and a praying figure (Fig. 0.7, Cat.A.2-17). Above that, there are now five more standing figures of saints and angels holding shields bearing the letters 'ihc' and 'xps' (Cat.A.2 and Cat.A.18-24).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Crampin 2014: 43-44.

<sup>38</sup> Walker 1990: 39-40.

The Catalogue explains that the 19th-century photograph at Fig.2.3 supports a number of Kempe's identifications in the bottom row of the tracery: St Peter; St Andrew; a praying figure, who could represent Prior Hunton or Prior Silkstede; St Paul; St Philip; and St Jude. Kempe also included the apostles St Matthew, St Barnabas, St Thomas and St James. The Catalogue argues that it is unclear whether St Agatha was originally the saint venerated in light A7, and suggests that the figure could be a composite of saints Appollonia and St Sitha.

The bottom row of tracery lights in the east window referred to a number of saints, apart from Agatha and Appollonia, who were particularly venerated in the cathedral: Philip, whose foot relic was in the cathedral; Peter and Paul, to whom the cathedral was dedicated, and relics of whom were contained in Henry of Blois' gold shrine; and Andrew.<sup>39</sup> Andrew is named after Peter and Paul in the litany.<sup>40</sup> He was depicted in glass now in the east gable window and as a fisherman with St Peter in wall paintings in Prior Silkstede's Chapel in the south transept.<sup>41</sup> He was also portrayed in early 16th-century glass now in the Deanery, which may have come from Silkstede's south transept chapel (Cat.H.1 and H.6-H.7).<sup>42</sup>

The 19th-century photo is not clear enough to show whether there were originally male standing saints in the upper rows of lights and it does not provide any evidence to support the identifications of Kempe's five figures: St Benedict, St John the Evangelist, St Ethelwold, St Simon and St Bartholomew. Of these only St Benedict is composed of medieval glass, and his identification, although very credible in a Benedictine house, is not certain as the inscription is 19th-century work.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>40</sup> Morgan 2013: 113, discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>41</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 125-25.

<sup>42</sup> Winston 1865: 69 noted in one of the east windows of the south transept a few fragments of cinquecento glass.

<sup>43</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

## 2.3 The north window (nII) main lights: “the History of the Revelation, with the Saints praying, and glorifying God”

### 2.3.1 Textual sources

According to the Lieutenant’s description, in the 1630s the north window of the Lady Chapel illustrated the history of the Revelation, with the saints praising, and glorifying God. This must be a reference to the Revelation to St John, the last book of the New Testament, known in the Middle Ages as the Apocalypse. It is not clear from the account whether there was more than one scene in the window. The Lieutenant’s use of the word “History” suggests that he regarded the narrative as didactic, and having biblical authority, but it does not necessarily prove a series of images. However, it will be argued in this section that the surviving fragments suggest that the window included a number of scenes.

The “Saints praying, and glorifying God” is likely to have been the central scene, spanning several lights. The scene described by the Lieutenant does not mention the elders who first appear in the vision of God on his throne in Revelation 4. There are no scenes in Revelation referring only to the saints praising God. The Lieutenant’s description may fit better with the vision of the multitude of the blessed, wearing white and holding palm branches, standing before the throne and in front of the Lamb in Revelation 7: 9-17.

The monks would have known the full text of the Apocalypse from the *lectio continua* in which the entire Scripture was read in the course of a year.<sup>44</sup> The Rule of St Benedict, as translated by Bishop Fox for the nuns of his diocese, specified that on Sundays at matins or lauds a chapter of the Apocalypse should be recited “with out boke”.<sup>45</sup> The monks of St Swithuns would also have known the reference to the Apocalypse in *The Golden Legend*, as this was in their library in the 15th century.<sup>46</sup> In Chapter 162, the sacristan of St Peter’s in Rome has a dream vision of God on a high

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<sup>44</sup> Clifford Flanigan 1992: 333-37 also explains in general terms that there are echoes from the Apocalypse in the *Sanctus*, and direct references in liturgical texts for the dedication of new churches, for All Saints Day, and for the Feast of the Holy Innocents.

<sup>45</sup> Collett 2001: 114.

<sup>46</sup> *Cathedral Manuscripts*: 4.

throne surrounded by angels and multitudes, including Virgins and Elders.<sup>47</sup> This could be the source for the central scene noted by the Lieutenant.

However, these textual sources would not have contained enough iconographical material to act as a detailed model for a narrative window telling the story of the Apocalypse. It was Anglo-French Apocalypse manuscripts, very popular among the élite in England in the 13th and early 14th centuries, which provided a source of images for the monumental Apocalypse depictions of the 14th and early 15th centuries.<sup>48</sup> The manuscripts continued to be copied in the 15th century, and their adaptation into early printed books, produced in the Netherlands and Germany, meant that they were influential up until the early 16th century.<sup>49</sup> The designer of the Winchester Lady Chapel Apocalypse would almost certainly have had access to one or more of these manuscripts or printed books.

The 13th-century Anglo-French manuscripts have been divided by scholars into two categories.<sup>50</sup> There were manuscripts accompanied by extracts from the Latin gloss by Berengaudus, which offered a conservative Benedictine allegorical reading of the Apocalypse, as a history of the church from the Incarnation to the Second Coming.<sup>51</sup> The other type had a different anonymous commentary in French prose. It was more morally didactic and less complex and subtle than Berengaudus, expressing an outlook influenced by the mendicant orders.<sup>52</sup>

It is likely that a Berengaudus-type manuscript or block book relying on Berengaudus' commentary was an influence on the designer of the Lady Chapel Apocalypse window.<sup>53</sup> The Berengaudus manuscripts usually allow half a page for each tinted drawing, with regular spacing. This layout would be more easily translated into the regular design of a window than those in the French prose group, which have smaller, simpler images of different sizes, more heavily painted and irregularly

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<sup>47</sup> *Voragine* II: 279.

<sup>48</sup> Gay 1999: 10, 49-50.

<sup>49</sup> Wilson and Wilson 1984: 91 notes that the Apocalypse was the earliest block book but that views on the date of the first edition range from c1400 to 1450-52. See also Bing 1942: 146-47.

<sup>50</sup> Lewis 1992: 11. See also Morgan 2011: 9-13.

<sup>51</sup> Lewis 1992: 261. Gay 1999: 54 notes that Berengaudus may have been a late 11th-century Benedictine monk, in view of the frequent references in his work to the Rule.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis 1992: 263-64.

<sup>53</sup> Lewis 1992: 262 note 12 notes copies of the Berengaudus gloss at English monastic libraries (although not at St Swithun's). Bing 1942: 157 argues that the blockbook Apocalypses relied on Bergengaudus' commentary, elaborated also by the standard exegesis of the Middle Ages.

spaced throughout the text.<sup>54</sup> The block books allowed two scenes per page, with the text inserted into the pictures in blocks or on scrolls.<sup>55</sup> The soft colours in the block book dated c1470 now in the library of Congress link to the general type of the Berengaudus illustrations, and also to the soft colours of the surviving fragments identified from the Revelation window and described in the following section (Figs 2.31 and 2.32-36). However, the French prose gloss became more dominant after the 13th century.<sup>56</sup> A combination of sources is also a possibility, as for the great east window at York Minster.<sup>57</sup> Only very few fragments survive from the Winchester Lady Chapel Apocalypse window, and identification of specific sources is impossible.

### **2.3.2 Late medieval monumental representations of the Apocalypse which may have influenced the Lady Chapel Revelation window**

This section focuses on monumental Apocalypse imagery which may have influenced the ideas of the monks and bishops involved with commissioning the Lady Chapel window. Some of the imagery noted may also have been known, directly or indirectly, to the master glazier or other artist who carried out the detailed design.

The late 15th-century bishops of Winchester and monks of St Swithun's would have associated monumental Apocalypse schemes with elite and clerical circles, and with the assertion of orthodoxy. They may well have heard of, and perhaps seen, the Apocalypse wall paintings, comprising ninety-six scenes, in Westminster Abbey's Chapter House.<sup>58</sup> Parliament was held in the refectory at Westminster Abbey at this time, and Bishop Langton was summoned to every Parliament from 1487 until his death in 1501.<sup>59</sup> Priors Hunton and Silkstede may have visited the Westminster Abbey Chapter House. The priors did travel, to attend meetings of the Benedictine Chapter, and on other business.<sup>60</sup> If the designer was one of the Anglo-Continental glaziers based

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<sup>54</sup> Gay 1999: 151-52; Lewis 1992: 260.

<sup>55</sup> Bing 1942: 146.

<sup>56</sup> Lewis 1992: 259.

<sup>57</sup> Brown 2014(b): 36-43; Morgan 2007 unpublished; Rickers 1994-1995. More generally on sources for monumental schemes see Gay 1999: 143-52; Noppen 1932: 146-59; Rose 1999: 8, 10-11.

<sup>58</sup> Noppen 1932: 146, 151.

<sup>59</sup> [www.parliament.uk](http://www.parliament.uk): Meeting places of the medieval Parliament; Wright 2009.

<sup>60</sup> Greatrex 1997: 703 notes that Prior Hunton attended convocation in 1472 and 1473. HRO DC/K1/ 19: 56 (Baigent's Index of Langton's Register) records that Hunton was summoned to the convocation at St Paul's in 1495 with Robert Frost and others. Chapter 5 notes some of Silkstede's journeys.

outside the City in London, and he had access, the Westminster Abbey Apocalypse may have been a convenient source for ideas.

The York Minster east window, with eighty-one Apocalypse scenes, may also have been an influence (Fig. 2.37a-c).<sup>61</sup> There could have been some knowledge of the York window at Winchester dating back to Beaufort's time.<sup>62</sup> There are also more contemporary links to the York area which could be relevant. Robert Frost, Archdeacon of Winchester in the 1490s and patron of the Jesse window at Thornhill, was also a close associate of Sir John Savile, Steward of Wakefield and Sheriff of Yorkshire.<sup>63</sup> Saville had organised the installation of a window depicting the New Jerusalem in Thornhill Church in the earlier 1490s.<sup>64</sup> Both Frost and Savile probably knew of the York Minster Great East window.<sup>65</sup>

The Winchester Lady Chapel Revelation window was not on anything like the scale of the York Minster window, but the reappearance of the Apocalypse, also in the painted glass of the Lady Chapel, at the east end of a great church, around one hundred years later, is of considerable art-historical interest. Gay has argued very plausibly that the conservative Apocalypse imagery in clerical and especially Benedictine circles from the late 14th century was in part a corrective against the appropriation of apocalyptic imagery by the Lollards, who referred to the Pope as the Antichrist.<sup>66</sup> There is evidence of 14th or very early 15th-century schemes at three Benedictine monasteries: the carved vault bosses at Norwich, and wall paintings in the Chapter House at Coventry, as well as at Westminster Abbey.<sup>67</sup> Gay gives specific documented examples of Lollard activity or knowledge of Lollard doctrines at Westminster and Norwich. She also notes that Skirlaw, the donor of the York Minster east window, had been involved in investigating Lollards at Durham between 1402 and 1403. She draws particular attention to the sumptuousness of the York Minster east window in this regard, given the Lollard criticism of expensive decoration in churches.<sup>68</sup> In line with Gay's interpretation, the choice of an Apocalypse window at Winchester in the 1490s can be seen in part as an assertion of orthodoxy, and this would fit with the revival of

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<sup>61</sup> Brown 2014(b): 35.

<sup>62</sup> See 1.2.5.2, note 244.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapters 1 and 5.

<sup>64</sup> Saville's window was probably influenced by a 14th-century vernacular poem, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (Cooke 2012: 31; Jones 1971: 69).

<sup>65</sup> Note also the 15th-century window in All Saints, North Street, depicting the seven plagues from the Book of Revelation, and illustrating a poem called the *Pricke of Conscience* (Powell 2004: 292-316).

<sup>66</sup> Gay 1999: 132-35.

<sup>67</sup> On Coventry see also Gill and Morris 2001: 467-67. On Norwich see Rose 1999.

<sup>68</sup> Gay 1999: 132-33.



interest in fighting heresy under Bishop Langton and subsequently under Bishop Fox discussed in Chapter 5.

Bishops Courtenay and Langton, who had both travelled widely, and the designer of the Lady Chapel Apocalypse window, who could have been from the continent, may have known of wider European interpretations of the Apocalypse. The *Ghent Altarpiece* combined several chapters from the Book of Revelation, with the emphasis on the sacrifice of the Lamb, as a visual explication of the Eucharist (Fig. 2.38).<sup>69</sup> Bishop Courtenay had been in exile in Brittany and France with Henry VII between 1483-85, and could have known French court art.<sup>70</sup> The Angers Tapestry cycle, depicting ninety scenes from the Apocalypse, had been completed between 1380-82 in Paris, for Louis d'Anjou.<sup>71</sup> In 1480 it was bequeathed to Angers Cathedral, where it would presumably have reached a wider audience.<sup>72</sup> The Angers Tapestry would have provided a precedent for omitting the Elders from the scene in Revelation 7 where the throne is surrounded by the Elders, four living creatures and the angels. It substituted instead earthly representatives of secular and ecclesiastical power.<sup>73</sup> This may have been the approach in the Lady Chapel Revelation window, since the Lieutenant does not mention the Elders. Courtenay may also have known about the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse rose window in Paris, commissioned by the King Charles VIII (1483-1498), and perhaps begun as early as 1485.<sup>74</sup>

More popularly available images of the Apocalypse contemporary with the Lady Chapel glass were in Dürer's series in woodcuts, produced between 1496 and 1498. These may have been too late to influence the design of the Lady Chapel glass, but their vigour reveals much about the spirit of the times. The 1490's witnessed a high level of apocalyptic speculation, partly because of the constant threat to Christendom from the Turks: the interest was fuelled too by natural disasters, interest in unexpected astrological signs and "mutant births", and the spread of syphilis.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> O'Hear 2011: 86

<sup>70</sup> Chapter 5.

<sup>71</sup> Manion 2004: 221.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid: 235.

<sup>73</sup> Gay1999: 113.

<sup>74</sup> In a personal communication, Karine Boulanger of the Centre André Chastel, Paris, notes a documentary reference to a donation from the king in 1485 for the chapel, which was supposedly in ruins.

<sup>75</sup> O'Hear 2011: 146-47.

### 2.3.3 Surviving fragments

#### *The lion*

As already noted in 2.1 above, the nimbed lion of St Mark, one of the Evangelist symbols, survives in the glass from the Lady Chapel now in Caboolture, and this supports the Lieutenant's identification of the Revelation window (Fig. 2.32).<sup>76</sup> The fragment is around 30cm wide, too wide to be part of a self-contained Evangelist symbol from the Lady Chapel tracery, so it must be part of a main light image.<sup>77</sup> The lion appears in a number of scenes in the Book of Revelation where God, or the Lamb, is glorified: Revelation 4: 6-8, 5: 6, 7: 11, 14: 3, and 19: 4. The nimbed lion is most likely to have originated in one of these scenes. The Caboolture lion faces north, whereas in many depictions of the scenes, such as that in the Great East window at York Minster in Fig. 2.37(b), the lion is on God's right, facing south. However, there are other contemporary Apocalypse images where the lion faces north, and there is no other apparent explanation of the lion (Fig. 2.31).

#### *Golden hand*

The golden hand in Fig. 2.33 is likely to be the hand of God from the Revelation window.<sup>78</sup> In Revelation 1: 15-16, God's feet are "like unto fine brass, as in a burning furnace" and "his face was as the sun shineth in his power".

#### *Censer*

The golden censer at Fig. 2.34 suggests the opening of the seventh seal in Chapter 8 of the Book of Revelation.<sup>79</sup> The angel emptying the censer onto the earth appeared in the Berengaudus manuscripts and block books, but not in the French prose manuscripts.<sup>80</sup>

#### *Horned beasts*

There are fragments of what could be horned creatures at the top of Fig. 2.35 from Caboolture and in Cat.E.34 from the great west window.<sup>81</sup> In Chapter 5: 6 of the Book of Revelation the lamb has horns. In Chapter 13 the seven headed beast from the sea and the beast from the earth are horned.

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<sup>76</sup> See also Fig. 2.6 and Cat.G.30.

<sup>77</sup> The width of the lion has been estimated from scaling photographs. The width of the lower tracery lights from the east window of the Lady Chapel tracery is about 23cm (measured from the ACAD plan provided by the Dean and Chapter).

<sup>78</sup> See Cat.G.35.

<sup>79</sup> Cat.G.42.

<sup>80</sup> Gay 1999: 151.

<sup>81</sup> Fig. 2.35 is from Cat.G.35.

### ***Golden rays***

The fragments of rays and hair in Fig. 2.36 are most likely to be the remains of the Woman of the Apocalypse, “clothed with the sun, and a moon under her feet” (Revelation 12: 1).<sup>82</sup>

### ***Armour***

There are fragments of what look like blue and yellow chain mail in the great west window of Winchester Cathedral at Cat.E.45, E.69 and E.80 (Fig. 2.39). These could be from the Lady Chapel Apocalypse. In Revelation Chapter 9: 9, the locusts wear breastplates like breast plates of iron, as illustrated in the Norwich bosses (Fig. 2.40).<sup>83</sup> In Chapter 9: 17, the horsemen wear breastplates which are “of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone”.

### ***Open books***

The two open books in Cat.E.67 could be from the Revelation window. Revelation 20: 12 describes the opening of the books for the judgement of the dead, and the opening of the book of life.

### ***Stars and sky***

Stars recur in the imagery of the Apocalypse. In Revelation 1: 20, “The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches”. In Chapter 6: 12-13, “the whole moon became as blood:/And the stars from heaven fell upon the earth...”. Similar imagery occurs in Chapters 8: 10-12 and 12: 1-4.

The stars in Figs. 2.6 and 2.7 have tended to be associated with the Lady Chapel Nativity window, but there are further fragments at Caboolture which are likely to represent the sky and stars from the Revelation window, shown in Cat.G.35 and G.42. These are grouped with other fragments which would fit with this iconography (the golden hand, possibly horns and a censer). The Caboolture fragments in Cat.G.35 (also at Fig. 2.35) suggest pale rainbow colours for the sky and clouds, amethyst, gold and pinkish red, which would have warmed the light from the north window.

The great west window of Winchester Cathedral also contains fragments with stars just like those at Caboolture (Cat.E.3 and E.55) and fragments suggesting astrology (Fig. 2.41/Cat.E.14-15).

### ***Angels***

Angels play an important part throughout the text of Revelation. In addition, in the Westminster Apocalypse cycle, there are angels playing musical instruments in the top of the trefoil headed

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<sup>82</sup> Fig.2.36 is from Cat.G.37.

<sup>83</sup> Rose 1999: 10, 11 and 70-71.

arches (Fig. 2.42).<sup>84</sup> The face shown in the panel on the viewer's right at Fig. 2.5 is similar to, perhaps the same as, the face in Figs 0.13 and 2.7, usually thought to have come from the Nativity window, and now known as "Angel Gabriel". However, it could in fact have been an angel musician from the Revelation window. This face may have originated in a head of light, as the 19th-century photograph shows the figure leaning forwards over an edge, with a foreshortened arm, rather like the angel musicians in the south aisle tracery at Fairford Parish Church (Figs 2.5 and 2.43).

### **2.3.4 The number and arrangement of Apocalypse scenes**

The fragments most specific to the Book of Revelation and therefore most certain to derive from the Apocalypse window are the lion, the falling stars and reddish sky, the censer and the golden hand. The differing proportions of the fragments identified suggest that there were some large scale scenes and some smaller ones. The proportionately larger fragments are the lion (about 30cm wide, in a 60cm wide light), the golden rays (the length of the rays, extending outwards from the figure, appears to have been around 4.5cm), the censer (about 9cm wide), the armour/breastplate (the fragment in Fig. 2.39/Cat.E.45 is about 16cm wide), and the open books (about 8cm wide).<sup>85</sup> The scale of the lion suggests that the image of God in Heaven being praised occupied a number of lights. The small golden hand (about 4cm wide) suggests that it may come from a different scene. Other possible large scenes could have included Revelation 8: 1-5 (the opening of the seventh seal and the angel with censer); 9: 16-19 (the horsemen); 12: 1-5 (the woman clothed with the sun); and 20: 11-15 (the opening of the books and the judgment of the dead, with Christ the Judge on his throne in the centre). However, with only a handful of fragments surviving, we still have no complete images, and no real idea of the total number of scenes depicted.

It is possible that the Winchester Lady Chapel Revelation window presented one large composition, spreading across the lights and condensing different elements of the story into one image, like the Ghent Altarpiece or Hans Memling's St John Altarpiece of 1474-79. Memling incorporated Chapters 1-13 of the Book of Revelation in one image (Fig. 2.44).<sup>86</sup> The different scales of the fragments thought to be from the Winchester Revelation window described above could fit with either a series of separate images, some large and some smaller, or a large composite image.

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<sup>84</sup> Noppen 1932: 146 and Plates I and II.

<sup>85</sup> Approximate measurements based on scaling photographs.

<sup>86</sup> O'Hear 2011: 87, 94-102.

The masonry design of the main lights of the window at Cat.A.1 would have accommodated two large central three light scenes, one above the other. There could have been one scene in each of the four outer pairs of lights, or one, two or three smaller scenes in each of the eight individual outer lights. A uniform arrangement, like that in the lower central main lights of the *Magnificat* window of Great Malvern Priory, seems less likely (Fig. 1.17). This would not explain the differing scale of the fragments and would not have allowed the scene where God is praised by the multitude to be a focal point.

Given the sparsity of the evidence, it is impossible to recreate the design, detailed iconography, or emotional impact of the north window with any certainty, and the possibility of one overall image incorporating various elements of the story cannot be ruled out. However, the complexity of the Apocalypse narrative, the range of surviving fragments, and the probability of a Berengaudus type manuscript or block book source for the iconography support the argument that the Winchester Lady Chapel Revelation window probably depicted a number of separate scenes of different sizes, organized by the window panels and by fictive architectural frameworks.

### **2.3.5. Tracery of the north window (nII)**

The form of all three windows in the Lady Chapel is the same and fragments of scrolls and foliate design survive in the tracery of the north window of the Lady Chapel, as in the east window (Cat.A.25-28). Kempe is reported to have gathered together lights from various windows for use in the east window tracery, and it may be that some of the fragments of figures now in the east window of the Lady Chapel came from the north and south windows.<sup>87</sup> Westlake's report at 2.1 indicates that there may have been angels in the north and south window traceries and heads of lights as in the east window.

Kempe has filled the tracery lights of window nII with Old Testament figures. King David is the central figure and the bottom row includes the prophets Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Insufficient evidence from the north window tracery survives for us to know whether it originally included Old Testament figures or scenes prefiguring the life of Christ, as in the York Minster Apocalypse window.<sup>88</sup> However, Kempe's interpretation, including Old Testament prophets, would fit with

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<sup>87</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 47.

<sup>88</sup> Morgan 2008 unpublished.

Morgan's emphasis on the importance of the Apocalypse as a New Testament book of prophecy.<sup>89</sup> In his analysis of the York Minster window, Morgan draws attention to the preface to the Apocalypse in the Wycliffe Bible, to show that the Apocalypse was thought to surpass Old Testament prophecy. It encapsulated the past, present and future sufferings of the church.<sup>90</sup>

## **2.4 The south window (sII) main lights: “the History of the Natiuity of our Sauiuor”**

### **2.4.1 Textual sources**

The Nativity story was based on the accounts of the birth of Christ in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. It was elaborated, in particular, by the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo Matthew, which provided some of the legends in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, and by other legends recorded in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*.<sup>91</sup> Some elements derived from these sources include the ox and ass (from Pseudo Matthew) and the number of the wise men, their names and status as kings (the legends were grouped together in the *Golden Legend*).<sup>92</sup>

Contemporaries would have been very familiar with elements of the Nativity story from the liturgy and from devotional books. In Books of Hours, illustrations for the Hours of the Virgin generally included the Annunciation and Visitation, as well as the Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, and Coronation of the Virgin.<sup>93</sup>

All or any combination of these scenes could have been depicted in the Nativity window in the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel, of which only a few fragments survive. It is almost certain that a depiction of the Nativity story c1500 would have included an image of the Virgin adoring her Child immediately following his birth, as this was the key scene in the story. It is likely that there was also an Adoration of the Magi, which was the other scene most commonly depicted and which

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid: 2-3 and Brown 2014 (b): 35-36.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid: 36 and 66-67.

<sup>91</sup> Mâle 1961: 207-220.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid: 209 and 212-16.

<sup>93</sup> Backhouse 1988: 3, 15-16.

would have been a resonant theme in the east end of the cathedral where Prince Arthur had been baptised in 1486, amidst much ceremony and gift-giving. However, as in the case of the Revelation window, the evidence is too sparse to reach many firm conclusions about the total number of scenes included, or the design of the window overall.

We can at least make some assumptions about how the Adoration of the Child was depicted, based on the common iconographic traditions from the 13th and early 14th centuries, which have survived up to the present day. These representations were more tender and human, and less symbolic, than earlier images of the Nativity, in which the Virgin lay in bed, with the child on an altar.<sup>94</sup> The poverty and humility of the Holy Family had been emphasised by St Bernard and especially by St Francis of Assisi.<sup>95</sup> Schiller argues that one of the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, which described a vision by a Franciscan, was the inspiration for the new type for the birth and adoration of the Child, around 1300.<sup>96</sup> The vision sets the birth of Christ in a covered passageway, with Mary leaning against a column, in the presence of Joseph, the ox and ass. After the birth, Mary laid Christ in a manger and knelt down to worship him, with hosts of angels. From the second half of the 14th century, the Child sometimes lay on the ground, especially in Italian art, and this tradition was perpetuated by the influential vision of St Bridget of Sweden, later in the 14th century. In Bridget's vision, Mary is shown kneeling, her hands folded, often looking upwards, with her mantle and discarded shoes beside her. The child lies naked, surrounded by a golden radiance, and angels appear, singing. Bridget's account of the Nativity became influential in Northern Europe from about 1415, after the Council of Constance had confirmed her canonization.<sup>97</sup>

Some of the most famous Northern European panel paintings influenced by Bridget's vision include those by Rogier van der Weyden (the Bladelin Altarpiece and the Polyptych with the Nativity, at Figs 2.45-2.46) and Hugo van der Goes' Portinari Altarpiece (Fig. 2.47). These Netherlandish painters were much admired in England by the late 15th century.<sup>98</sup> That Bridget's vision was part of the familiar language of the Nativity in the later 15th century is clear from the block books *Biblia Pauperum* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Fig. 2.48). The Adoration of the Child in the Nativity window at St Mary's Church Fairford and in the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern Priory, and The Adoration of the Child/Shepherds in the tracery of Winchester Cathedral

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<sup>94</sup> Mâle 1961: 185; Schiller 1971: 76

<sup>95</sup> Ibid; Warner 1978: 179; Schiller 1971: 76-84.

<sup>96</sup> Schiller 1971: 76-77. Toth and Falvay 2014: 46-47 and 93 support the date for the *Meditationes* of c1300.

<sup>97</sup> Schiller 1971: 78; Warner 1978: 183.

<sup>98</sup> See 1.1.2.

presbytery, are all from the early 16th century and take this form (Figs. 2.49-2.50 and 0.53). By analogy with these other surviving windows, it is almost certain that the Lady Chapel Adoration of the Child reflected St Bridget's vision, with the Virgin kneeling before the naked glowing child, and with Joseph, and perhaps the ox and ass in the stable.

## **2.4.2 Surviving fragments**

### ***Canopy top***

Fig. 2.51 shows the only canopy top from the head of a main light which Father Ward grouped together with the glass thought to come from the Lady Chapel (Cat.G.21-G.22 and G.5, viewer's top right). Further fragments of similar canopy tops were grouped with Nativity fragments in Figs 2.6-2.7 (Cat.G.17 and G.25). The style of the fictive architecture from the main lights is similar to that surviving in the east window tracery today, although more elaborate (Cat. A2-A.17). However, the canopy top in Fig. 2.51 was not in the Lady Chapel east window in the late 19th-century (Figs 2.4-2.5). It may have been found in the north or south window. A scheme of canopy tops could have fitted with a Jesse window (see Fig. 2.28), but would have been more necessary for framing different scenes in the Revelation and Nativity windows. There may have been similar canopies in the north and south windows, perhaps even in all three windows.

### ***Angels***

The pairs of angels collected in the heads of lights of the Lady Chapel east window in the 19th century give a clear indication that the Lady Chapel Nativity was influenced by Netherlandish panel painting (Figs 2.4-2.5 and 2.45-47).

Four of the angels in Figs 2.6 and 2.7 appear to come from pairs drawn from the same cartoon, each pair consisting of one angel with straighter hair and one with curly hair. The angel on the viewer's upper left in Fig.2.6 follows the same cartoon as the angel on the lower left in Fig. 2.7. The angel from Fig.2.6 is shown intact at Cat.G.31. These angels probably originated in the Nativity window. They are all in the same refined painting style, and grouped with a dark blue glass background, peppered with small stars. Together with the luminosity and demure serenity of some of the faces, this indicates a night-time Nativity scene. Figs 2.4-2.5 show that these figures are a series repeated at least seven times. They may have originated all together in the heads of one row of main lights, or been dispersed across both rows of main lights, probably in the heads of lights. In contemporary



windows at Fairford, some heads of lights are filled with figures or landscapes, and others form canopy tops.<sup>99</sup>

The head in the upper panel at Fig.2.7 is known in Caboolture as “Angel Gabriel”, but this identification is uncertain. The face does stand out because of its character and quality (Fig. 0.13). It also wears a halo, which distinguishes it from the other angels. The figure’s child-like asexual appearance is consistent with him being an angel rather than a saint. As noted at 2.3.3, this angel could have originated in either the Revelation or Nativity window.

### *The type for the Virgin?*

The most tantalizing faces are those with curly hair from the pairs of angels in the lower lights at Figs 2.6 and 2.7 (see also Figs 0.9 and 0.11). There is a similar face in the great west window of Winchester Cathedral at Fig. 0.10. It is likely that the curly-haired angels were similar to the type for the Virgin. These faces are exquisitely finely painted, calm and pure. In the Portinari altarpiece, the types for the angels and Virgin are very similar, with the Virgin on a larger scale.

Another possibility is that some or all of these curly-haired faces are repositioned heads which originally did actually depict the Virgin. The golden hair and lack of headdress fit with St Bridget’s description of the Virgin. Unlike the Virgins in the Nativity window lights at Fairford, Great Malvern Priory, and the tracery of Winchester Cathedral presbytery at Figs. 2.49-2.50 and 0.53, the heads have no halos. However, in view of the continental painting style, it is worth noting that the absence of a halo is consistent with van der Weyden’s Nativity Polyptych, and the Portinari altarpiece and the more contemporary Nativity by Gerard David of 1490 (Fig. 2.52). In the van der Weyden polyptych, the Virgin’s robe is similar to that worn by the angels adoring God at the top of the polyptych. All we can see of the garments of the Lady Chapel paired angels is the simple neckline of a dress quite similar to that worn by van der Weyden’s Virgin. A simple white shift would again correspond with the Virgin of Bridget’s vision. The photograph at Cat.G.6 indicates that the figure in Fig. 0.9 may originally have leant against a column, as the Virgin does in the vision recorded in the *Meditationes*, reflected in Hans Holbein the Elder’s Kaisheim altarpiece of 1502 (Fig.2.53).

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<sup>99</sup> For Fairford, Brown 2007: Plates 4 - 7.

### ***Stars and night-time setting***

St Bridget's vision inspired artists such as Geertgen tot Sint Jans to depict the Nativity at night, strongly contrasting light and shade to emphasise the brightness of the Christ Child (Fig. 2.54). There appears to be a night time setting in the Nativity at Great Malvern and, as far as we can tell from the surviving glass, in the Adoration of the Magi and the Adoration of the Child in the presbytery aisle traceries of Winchester Cathedral (Figs 2.50, 0.46 and 0.53).

The Caboolture panels at Figs. 2.6-2.7 contain much deep blue glass, some of which is scattered with small stars, indicating that at least part of the Nativity story in the Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral was set at night. There are similar fragments in the great west window, at Cat.E.3, E.55 and E.67. The extremely refined painting of the star in Caboolture, like a diamond in the night, at Fig.2.55, suggests it had a special importance, and could be the star of Bethlehem.

The crucial scene of the Adoration of the Child in the Lady Chapel Nativity window may not have been set entirely against dark blue. There are fragments in the great west window of the cathedral showing a partly ruined building, with a framework of beams visible, which appear to be part of the stable (Cat.E.8, E.28 and E.82 and Fig.2.56). The background to the stable fragments is white, which would have let through more light than blue glass. The lighting could have been similar to that in van der Weyden's Polyptych with the Nativity and his St Columba altarpiece (Figs 2.46 and 2.57). In these works, the top of the sky is dark blue, but the area behind the stable, at the horizon, is white or very pale blue.

### ***Stable and narrative background***

In van der Weyden's Nativity Polyptych, the stable is supported by coloured marble columns, and in the Portinari Altarpiece, the stable structure is supported by a classical column. Ruined classical buildings represented the old order that was falling away with the coming of Christ, following the reference in Amos 9:11 to "the tabernacle of David, that is fallen". The fictive architectural fragment behind the head in Fig. 0.9 could be from a classically styled column supporting the architectural structure, which may have been a stable within a ruined classical building.

Also in the great west window, in Cat.E.84, there is part of an early 16th-century fictive brick wall which could have been the stable wall behind a figure of Joseph. The small gold ring attached to the brick work could be for tethering animals. A similar feature appears in Holbein's Kaisheim Nativity

scene. Joseph kneels in front of a wall like this in the Cologne Cathedral Adoration at Fig.2.58, as does Joseph/ the shepherd in the south presbytery aisle tracery Nativity in Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 0.53).

Schiller notes that north of the Alps, from 1420, shepherds were included in the image of the Adoration of the Child.<sup>100</sup> Initially they were outsiders, looking into the stable, but later they could be included with Mary, Joseph and the angels adoring the Child, as in the Portinari Altarpiece. The Lady Chapel Adoration of the Child probably included the shepherds. The pale grisaille face under the beams in Fig.2.56 may be the face of a shepherd in the background of the stable (compare Figs 2.49, 2.52, 2.58. and 2.59).

### *Magi's gold*

In the great west window, at Fig.2.56, there is a dish containing gold coins. This must be the Magi's gold, and may be from a scene depicting the Adoration of the Magi in the Lady Chapel Nativity window (Figs.2.59-2.60). The naturalistic, softly painted fingers of the hand holding the dish of gold suggests that this is late 15th or early 16th-century work. The gold is on quite a large scale. The surviving part of the dish measures about 10cm wide, suggesting that it could have been the focal point in the foreground of a scene in the main lights.<sup>101</sup> It is helpful for connecting the gold to the Lady Chapel Nativity that the gold sits close to a fragment from the stable, and beneath a fragment of latticed window, quite like that found close to what may be the Virgin's head now in Caboolture (Cat.E.28 and G.29).

### **2.4.3 The most likely scenes: probabilities and problems**

It is clear that the Nativity window must have included the Adoration of the Child in the stable, and it is possible to reconstruct the general effect of this with some confidence. The scene may have consisted only of the mother, leaning against a column, and the child, probably lying on the ground. However, it is likely that the ox and ass were nearby, with Joseph. The shepherds appear to have been in the background, rather than in the heart of the scene. There may have been groups of angels adoring the child at ground level, but there were almost certainly angels ascending, probably set

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<sup>100</sup> Schiller 1971: 87.

<sup>101</sup> Measurement estimated from scaling photograph.

against dark blue in the heads of the lights. Even if the face at Fig. 0.9 is not the Virgin, she is likely to have been of a similar type.

The other main scene in the Lady Chapel Nativity window may well have been the Adoration of the Magi, but too few fragments survive to establish which other scenes were included with any certainty. The wide dispersal of the fragments makes accurate comparisons between them problematic. It is difficult to make reliable comparisons between photographs of the Caboolture glass, taken from close-to, and photographs of the great west window, taken from ground level. The variations in the style of the fragments which could fit with the Nativity theme make the task of reconstruction harder. There are further fragments in the great west window which could be, but are not necessarily, part of an early 16th-century Adoration of the Magi. The head in Fig. 0.57 could represent one of the Magi. He is softly painted in grisaille and yellow-stain and has a beard, and the painting could fit with that of the dish of gold. The head fragment measures about 14cm at its widest point, roughly the same size as the head which could be the Virgin in Fig. 0.10.<sup>102</sup> However, the paint appears to be more brownish, and the painting style freer, so it is not clear that the two belong in the same scene.

A further difficulty in reconstructing the Lady Chapel glass is that, with a few exceptions, we do not know what other imagery was in Fox's glass in the presbytery, in Langton's Chapel or the Guardian Angels' Chapel.<sup>103</sup> It is possible that the dish of gold and /or the king's head noted above came from an Adoration of the Magi somewhere other than the south window of the Lady Chapel. We already know that there was a small Adoration of the Magi in the presbytery aisle tracery.

#### **2.4.4 The overall layout of the Nativity window**

The surviving Nativity scenes in English painted glass from the period do not help greatly in trying to reconstruct the overall design of the Lady Chapel Nativity window. The Nativity scenes in the cathedral's presbytery aisles at Figs. 0.46-0.47 and 0.53 are designed for two top central tracery lights, in a series of separate windows, not to fit one window. The Great Malvern *Magnificat* window contains intact scenes depicting the Visitation and the Adoration of the Child, but these are small and in a series, not the focal point of the window, as in the Lady Chapel (Fig. 1.17 and 2.50).

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<sup>102</sup> Measurements scaled from photographs.

<sup>103</sup> Westlake III 1886: 20 recorded four early 16th-century lights in the Guardian Angels' chapel.

The Nativity window at St Mary's Church Fairford cleverly compresses separate scenes from the Nativity story into one four light window making use of the full height of the main lights (Fig.2.49). This approach would not have worked in the Winchester Lady Chapel window, where the transom provides a natural horizontal division (Cat.A.1). The English example most compatible with the structure of the Lady Chapel window is King's College Chapel, where five light windows, divided by a transom, depicted four scenes, with messengers in the single central light.<sup>104</sup> However, although this form worked well with a typological arrangement, where scenes from the New Testament paralleled those in the Old, there is no indication from the Lieutenant's description that the Lady Chapel glass included Old Testament scenes or central messengers.

Chapter 1 has stressed the German influences on the style of the Lady Chapel glass. It has mentioned several surviving German windows which are more helpful in considering the layout of the Lady Chapel Nativity window.

The monumental window in the Church of Our Lady, Munich, probably finished in 1483, is attributed to the Strasbourg workshop co-operative (Fig. 1.14).<sup>105</sup> In the upper section, arranged one above the other, scenes depicting the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ and the Presentation in the Temple, spread horizontally across the lights. These are spacious scenes, beneath huge lavish architectural and branch canopies, enlivened by fictive statues. A parallel with the Lady Chapel window is suggested by the horizontal arrangement of the scenes, which would fit with the two-storey design of the Lady Chapel main lights. However, the surviving canopy work and foliate decoration from Winchester are much more restrained (Cat.A. and Cat.G.21-22).

The designs of Hans Holbein the Elder from Augsburg are closer in date to the Lady Chapel glass. They also use canopies to frame the individual scenes. In Holbein's Kaisheim Altarpiece of 1502, at Fig.2.53, the canopies are rich gold work, but much less dominant than in the Munich window. There is a similar canopy in his design for a stained glass Adoration of the Child c1495 (Fig. 2.61).<sup>106</sup> In the massive and glorious series of windows installed in the north nave aisle of Cologne Cathedral Cologne Cathedral in 1508, the canopies are similar to Holbein's, but further simplified and reduced, and used very flexibly to fit individual scenes (Fig. 2.62)<sup>107</sup> There are small angels in the heads of lights above the Cologne Adoration of the Child, as there probably were in the

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<sup>104</sup> Wayment 1972: 44.

<sup>105</sup> Butts and Hendrix 2000: 20-22.

<sup>106</sup> Butts and Hendrix 2000: 35 and 190.

<sup>107</sup> Rode 1974: 198 on the date.

Winchester Lady Chapel design. Chapter 1 has noted in the glass at Winchester Cathedral swirling rich gold and black shell shapes, similar to those in the Cologne canopy top, and these may come from the Lady Chapel canopies (Cat.E.9 and E.33).<sup>108</sup>

The German examples show scenes influenced by the Netherlandish painters, and elaborate canopies which reduce in dominance in the period c1480-c1508. The English and German examples both show variety and experimentation in design: they could straddle the lights, linked and/or divided by fictive architectural frameworks. This very variety adds to the difficulty in speculating about the design of the Winchester Lady Chapel window, although the Strasbourg workshop and Cologne models are likely to be the most helpful.

The Lady Chapel windows all have seven main lights, divided by the transom. This would have allowed for four scenes, three lights wide, divided by a central image (or two central images, one above the other) one light wide, as at King's College Cambridge. However, such an arrangement, with four equal sized scenes, would not have allowed special emphasis to be given to the Adoration of the Child, and the Adoration of the Magi. It is more likely that there were three scenes above and three below the transom, with central Adoration of the Child and Adoration of the Magi scenes three lights wide and the outer scenes (perhaps of the Annunciation and the Presentation, the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt) two lights wide. This is how Kempe has used the structure of the north and south windows for narrative purposes. Where the scenes run across two or more lights, they are defined by their different backgrounds (Fig.2.63). The original Nativity scenes would have been linked by the fictive architectural framework, but the angels apparently from the heads of lights indicate that canopy tops did not extend to all the main lights.

#### **2.4.5 Tracery of the south window (sII)**

With regard to the tracery of the south window of the Lady Chapel, as in the case of the east window, some foliate decoration and scrolls survive (Cat.A.29-A.30). The original wording of one scroll, reading "Laus Deo", remains legible and this has been copied in other scrolls by Kempe. Again, the masonry form strongly suggests a series of standing figures, although we have no evidence to identify the figures originally represented.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> See 1.1.1.6.

<sup>109</sup> See Cat.A.29 for Kempe's standing figures.

## 2.5 The Lady Chapel glass: overview

There are two main problems in reconstructing the Lady Chapel glass. Firstly, the tiny proportion of glass that survives. Secondly, the variations in the painting style of the fragments which seem to fit with the subjects described by the Lieutenant. These differences mean that identifications can often only be tentative, but they do not prove that the fragments are not connected. Chapter 1 has noted that several teams of painters could work on one large scheme. Different painting styles could have been combined not just in the Lady Chapel as a whole but within one window. It is likely to have been the formal architectural elements, and the backgrounds, which connected different images within the scheme.

Looking more thematically at the subject matter of the Lady Chapel windows, it is clear that, in the tradition of medieval great churches, this was carefully planned to tell of the beginning and the end of Christian history.<sup>110</sup> The Tree of Jesse marks the start, with the genealogy and foretelling of Christ, whose coming is in the Nativity window. The Tree of Jesse links to the Tree of Life, and to the cross and to salvation. This in turn leads to the vision of salvation in the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. In the final chapter of Revelation (22: 1-6) the angel shows John the river of life, flowing from the throne of God down the middle of the great street of the New Jerusalem. We are told that "...on both sides of the river *was* the tree of life, bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruit every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations".

The Revelation window would have contained frightening elements, but Meg Gay has discussed how centralised images of God in Glory in Apocalypse cycles reassured the viewer that the scenes of devastation elsewhere in the image are controlled by God.<sup>111</sup> The Virgin would have been at the centre of the Lady Chapel, but overall the theme was praise to God, and this is made explicit in the motto preserved in the tracery, "Laus Deo".

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<sup>110</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 1: 300.

<sup>111</sup> Gay 1999: 175.

### Chapter 3: The presbytery glass: subject matter and design

No documentary source has been found to explain the subject matter of the early 16th-century glazing scheme for the presbytery as it has for the Lady Chapel. It is therefore fortunate that rather more of the glass itself survives from this part of the cathedral – even if the proportion that survives is still frustratingly small. This chapter attempts to reconstruct the subject matter and layout of the presbytery glass, using the fragments described in the Catalogue and, as in Chapter 2, relying on comparisons with other contemporary work from England, the Netherlands and Germany.

The east gable window today is at Fig. 0.3. The tracery shows a Victorian Christ in Majesty in the top central light, installed during Baillie's 1852 restoration.<sup>1</sup> The figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist on either side, and the angels, are largely Fox's work from this location.<sup>2</sup> The three lower main panels in the tracery and the seven main panels in the bottom row currently show prophets, sainted ecclesiastics and apostles, as they appear to have done since at least 1683 when Henry Hyde mentioned the figures.<sup>3</sup> However, it is clear from Carter's 1844 drawings, made before Baillie's restoration, that most of these lights have been substantially reassembled and only some of the figures are likely to have been part of the design for the original window. Appendix 2 explains that the window could have been restored and altered under Queen Mary in the 1550s, Charles 1 in the 1630s, or when the windows were repaired between 1809 and 1815. However, it is most likely to have assumed the form described by Hyde and reflected in Carter's drawings between 1642 and 1668, following the Civil War damage.

There has been uncertainty among scholars about the original iconography and design of the east gable window.<sup>4</sup> Winston must have thought that Fox's upper lights depicted a Last Judgement, as his unpublished notes record his view that the three lower lights of the tracery originally contained the "general resurrection".<sup>5</sup> He did not suggest Fox's overall design for the window, although he thought that two of the standing figures in the bottom row of main lights were in situ. In 1886 Nathaniel Westlake departed from Winston's view, arguing that Fox's entire window depicted a

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<sup>1</sup> *HC* (June 5, 1852).

<sup>2</sup> Winston1865 supports this.

<sup>3</sup> Hyde and Gale in Appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 2 on Milner (1798-1801), Carter (1844-45), Winston (1845); Westlake (1879-94), Le Couteur (1920), Smith (2007).

<sup>5</sup> BL Add MS 33846 folios 141-42.



“Doom” or Last Judgement, like that surviving in the west window at Fairford Parish Church.<sup>6</sup> Most recently, Angela Smith has suggested half-length royal figures in the three lower main lights of the tracery.<sup>7</sup>

This chapter challenges and confirms the Last Judgement in the tracery of the east gable window. For the first time, it provides a convincing reconstruction of the east gable window overall, summarised at Fig. 3.1. It also argues that some of the standing figures now in the east gable window came from the lateral windows in the presbytery clerestory and were designed to fit with the earlier glass there, depicting saints and prophets below seraphim.

The eight presbytery aisle tracteries contain four surviving scenes from the life of the Virgin. This is likely to be the remains of a series of the “joys of Mary”, or perhaps of eight scenes related to the infancy of Christ familiar from Books of Hours. The chapter finds new evidence of a Creed series in the presbytery aisle main lights. A number of more conjectural proposals are made about some of the other imagery in the presbytery glass. Most significant, a Passion narrative seems probable in the south presbytery aisle. A possible reconstruction of the subject matter of the presbytery aisle glass is at Fig. 3.2.

### **3.1 The east gable window**

Part B of the Catalogue describes each panel of the east gable window in detail. It includes Carter’s 1844 drawings and the current author’s diagrams identifying the early 16th-century glass. Two summary diagrams consolidate these detailed diagrams. Fig. 3.3 shows (unshaded) the early 16th-century glass thought by the current author to be in situ. Fig. 3.4 indicates in dark grey the early 16th-century glass in the window thought to have been moved there from other windows in the presbytery.

Appendix 2 summarises the earlier descriptions of and scholarship on the east gable window. John Milner’s description from 1798 is the earliest relatively detailed description; it was followed by Carter’s 1844 drawings. This section begins by considering some inconsistencies between the two. It then explains the author’s interpretation of the subject matter and design of the glass.

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<sup>6</sup> Westlake III 1886: 20.

<sup>7</sup> Smith 2007: 39.

### 3.1.1 Uncertainties arising from Milner's description

The figures Milner described in the east gable window correspond reasonably well with those seen in Carter's drawings but there are some discrepancies.<sup>8</sup>

Most significantly, Milner's description casts some doubt on whether there was originally a Last Judgement in the tracery. Milner observed at the top of the tracery "certain traces of the usual emblems of the Blessed Trinity; the greater part of which being removed, their place is supplied by the figure of St Bartholomew...".<sup>9</sup> There are no traces of the emblems of the Trinity in the window today, or in Carter's drawing of the St Bartholomew panel, or in the St Bartholomew panel itself, which Baillie replaced with his Christ in Majesty (Cat.B.69-B.70 and Fig. 3.5). The top central light may have included fragments of a cross: images of the Trinity often depicted God the Father supporting the crucified Christ on the cross, but the cross, as the central emblem of the Passion, also appeared in Last Judgement scenes, as in Figs 3.6-3.8. Alternatively, Milner may simply have been mistaken about what he saw. In the upper tracery lights, he identified the Virgin and Christ, when the fur garment in Carter's drawing and the surviving glass clearly indicate John the Baptist.

In the lower main lights, Milner identified the figures of St Swithun and St Peter from their labels and St Paul from his sword, but he described the rest of the figures as prophets. He did not note the remnants of St Andrew's cross in the central figure, or that the figure in the southernmost light is a bishop. He said that one prophet had the name "Malachias", shown on the border of his mantle: the only prophet's name shown in full in Carter's drawings is "Jeremiah".

Milner was a Roman Catholic priest, and a notable antiquarian, but he was not an architect or art historian. There is a question as to whether these discrepancies result from mistakes on Milner's part, or whether the east gable window was altered between 1798 when Milner wrote his description and 1844 when Carter made his drawings. James Cave's 1801 watercolour indicates that the layout of the top lights was broadly as it is now, and that there was a figure in the southernmost light of the bottom row, but the window is depicted only from a distance and cannot be relied on for detail (Fig. 3.9).

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<sup>8</sup> *Milner II*: 87-88.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*: 87.

It is quite possible that some changes were made when the window was thoroughly repaired in 1813, with the insertion of new stone. The glass must have been removed at this time.<sup>10</sup> However, glass painting was then at a low ebb, and the detailed records of the 1813 restoration do not mention new glass painting, so it is unlikely that extensive changes, or changes requiring much technical skill, were made at that point.

### **3.1.2 The current author's interpretation of the subject matter of the east gable window tracery, its sources, and the iconographic tradition**

Given that, in the Winchester window, the figures of the Virgin, John the Baptist and the trumpeting angels are all original and in situ, it is most unlikely that the top central tracery light contained a Trinity rather than a figure of Christ from the Last Judgement.

The kneeling figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist both include a significant amount of original glass, even though the faces have been repainted/replaced (Figs 0.20-0.21, Cat.B.61-66 and B.71-74). At the time Carter made his drawings, the figure of St Bartholomew was in the top centre light of the tracery, but the original design must have included Christ the Judge in this light, because Carter's drawings of the Virgin and John include the lead lines from a rainbow (Cat. B.63 and B.73). Christ in Last Judgement iconography often sat above a rainbow, the sign of his forgiveness.<sup>11</sup> The lead lines of the rainbow, and the original remains of the trumpeting angels, leave little room for doubt about the Last Judgement iconography.

The form of Fox's Winchester Last Judgement was conventional for its time. It was based on the long-standing tradition derived from St Matthew's Gospel, which had replaced the earlier model based on the Apocalypse, showing God in Glory surrounded by the elders and the four living beasts.<sup>12</sup> In Matthew 24: 30-31, Christ foretells his second coming:

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all tribes of the earth mourn: and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty.

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<sup>10</sup> Appendix 2.

<sup>11</sup> Genesis 9: 13; Ezekiel 1: 28; Revelation 4: 3.

<sup>12</sup> Male 1961: 365-66.

And he shall send his angels with a trumpet, and a great voice: and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heaven to the utmost bounds of them.<sup>13</sup>

The division of the saved from the damned is found in Matthew 25: 31-34 and 41. Christ on his throne “shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats”, and those who are cursed are told to depart into “everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels”.

The monks of St Swithuns would have known their illuminated Bible, the Winchester Bible, made between 1160 and 1175 within the cathedral priory.<sup>14</sup> This contains an early example of the Last Judgement in which Christ is no longer crowned, as in the earlier Apocalyptic images, but shows his humanity, displaying the signs of his Passion (Fig. 3.10). The *Golden Legend* explains that the insignia of Christ’s Passion accompany the Judgement, as evidence of Christ’s victory, his mercy and his justice.<sup>15</sup> The Passion emblems surviving in the tracery of the east gable window, and above on the roof bosses, support these themes.

In Fox’s east gable Last Judgement, John the Baptist is on Christ’s left, reflecting the formula originating from Byzantine art, and common in most German art, with the Virgin and John the Baptist as intercessors. This contrasts with another type, which appeared in 12th and 13th century France, where John the Evangelist is shown in place of the Baptist.<sup>16</sup> Craig Harbison points out that the Byzantine type of image, with John the Baptist, tends to show a more hieratic image of God, while the images with John the Evangelist often show a more humane and suffering Christ, but he stresses the intermingling of these traditions in the 15th century.<sup>17</sup>

The Last Judgement continued to be an important subject in panel paintings and stained glass into the early 16th century, and this chapter relies on some other contemporary examples in trying to reconstruct the Winchester east gable tracery scene. Significant interpretations in Northern European panel painting include examples by van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and Hans Memling (Figs 3.6-3.8).

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<sup>13</sup> See also 1 Corinthians 15: 52 and Revelation 11: 15.

<sup>14</sup> Donovan 2008: 5.

<sup>15</sup> Voragine I: 10-11. Male 1961: 369. Luxford 2008: Plate 24 shows an illustration of the Last Judgement showing Christ’s wounds and the passion emblems in the manuscript of the *Golden Legend* held at St Swithun’s, dated c1300.

<sup>16</sup> Katzenellenbogen 1964: 84-85.

<sup>17</sup> Harbison 1976: 24-25.

Although it also shows John the Baptist rather than the Evangelist, the design of the surviving Last Judgement window at Fairford Parish Church, executed in the early 16th century, is less helpful as a comparison than might be hoped (Fig. 3.11). At Fairford, the Last Judgement filled a complete window in a relatively small building; at Winchester, it was a tracery image, part only of the window's design and to be viewed from afar. It therefore makes sense that the Fairford image is more complex than that surviving at Winchester. Ruby seraphim and the company of heaven around Christ are presented in concentric circles.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the surviving German examples are helpful in recreating the Winchester Last Judgement. The boldness and clarity of the Winchester image compares with Hans Holbein the Elder's design for Eichstatt Cathedral mortuary (Fig. 3.12). The Last Judgement in the tracery in the north aisle of Cologne Cathedral is on a smaller scale, crowded into half the tracery of one of the windows in the north nave aisle, but it is helpful because it retains all of its components (Fig.3.13(a)-(d)). The kneeling figure of John the Baptist at Winchester is reminiscent of the glass from Mariawald, by the Cologne workshop, now in St Stephen's Church, Norwich (Fig. 3.14).<sup>19</sup>

### **3.1.3 Unanswered questions about the east gable window tracery**

Nothing survives from the original figure of Christ at the top of the east gable window tracery, so we can only speculate about his appearance. The surviving remains of the figure of Christ from the north presbytery aisle scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, in Cat.D.23, suggest that the east gable Christ may have originally worn red, like the Victorian Christ in Majesty in Cat.B.67. However, the original Christ is likely to have been a more emotive figure than the Victorian one. The Passion emblems in the filler lights and in the vault bosses above support the view that he would have been displaying his wounds. His open cloak would have shown his bare wounded chest. One helpful example is the Last Judgement from the Lower Rhine c1500-1510, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 3.15). Christ in the Fairford Last Judgement window again takes this form, although here he is presented with the lily and the sword, representing the blessed and the damned (Fig. 3.11). The lily and the sword also appear in van der Weyden's Beaune altarpiece, Holbein's

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<sup>18</sup> The Last Judgement window executed by Barnard Flower in 1514 in the Chapel of St John the Baptist in the Savoy Hospital was a five light window, containing 103 feet of glass, in a relatively small building. It may have been more like the Fairford window. Oswald 1951-52: 224-32.

<sup>19</sup> Wolff-Wintrich 2008: 20.

Eichstatt window and the Cologne Cathedral Last Judgement. They may have featured in the east gable window too.

The original iconography of the glass in the central lower main lights of the tracery is unknown (lights 5c-6c, 4d-5d and 4e-5e, shown in Fig. 3.16). The canopies in the two outer of the three lights (6c and 5e) have been swapped since Carter's drawings, and the canopy in the central light (5d) appears to have been reconstructed. The canopies in Carter's drawings were not in situ either. They look like early 16th-century glass which has been cut down to fit the masonry.

It is probable that, as earlier scholars have argued, the figures now in these lights were all originally full-length figures from elsewhere in the cathedral which have been cut down to fit the space.<sup>20</sup> The width of the panels in the first two of the three lights (5c and 4d) seems to have been reduced, as the figures only just fit, and at the sides only the vestiges of capitals appear, and no part of the columns. There is no clear indication that the width of the third panel (4e) has been reduced: the full width of the columns is not shown but this was quite usual – see for example Cat.D.11 and D.33 and the Creed windows at Fairford.<sup>21</sup>

Winston suggested in his unpublished notes that the lower central lights of the tracery showed the general resurrection, and Westlake thought that they included St Michael and the angels, with figures from the grave in the three central main lights below.<sup>22</sup> It is argued here that the three lower main lights of the tracery (5c, 4d and 4e) completed the Doom. The image probably included St Michael separating the saved from the damned as well as the general resurrection. One possible surviving model is the lower half of the Fairford west window –which, unlike the top half, was fortunately not replaced by the Victorian restorers (Fig. 3.11). However, the Fairford window is a seven light window, and in the east gable window the scene would have been confined to three smaller lights. The main central panel of Memling's Last Judgement panel shows a composition which could have been simplified to fit the central lights of the east gable tracery (Fig. 3.8). The Cologne Cathedral Last Judgement tracery also shows minimal elements of the scene in a restricted space (Fig. 3.13).

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<sup>20</sup> Winston Add MS 33846: folios 141-42; Le Couteur 1920: 37.

<sup>21</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plates 10-12 and 18-20.

<sup>22</sup> Appendix 2.

If the lower central tracery lights of the east gable window contained the general resurrection and the separation of the saved from the damned, this would have completed the scene in terms of both traditional iconography, and the structure of the window. The surviving glass indicates that the window is intended to be simple in design, for clarity and legibility. It is viewed from a considerable distance, and it had an important and dramatic message to convey above the relics of the saints and the tombs of the bishops. A fragment - a head of one of the damned – may survive in the Long Gallery of the Deanery. This is on a small scale and grouped with fictive masonry that fits with Fox’s scheme (Figs 0.62-0.63).

### **3.1.4 The lower main lights in the east gable window: the current author’s interpretation of the original subject matter**

Winston thought that, of the figures in the bottom row of main lights, only the two southernmost were in situ.<sup>23</sup> Westlake did not think that any of the figures in the bottom row of main lights were in situ. He thought it was clear from the remains of the shaftings in Carter’s illustrations that the figures belonged in groups of three or more, and to wider and shorter lights.<sup>24</sup> Contrary to the views of these usually very reliable scholars, it will be argued in what follows that the outer figure of St Swithun on the north side (Fig. 0.29) is in situ and that the saint next to him was originally St Peter. St Peter today is a composite, with the head from another location, facing in the wrong direction (Fig. 0.30). On the north side, St Paul is mainly intact, although his face has been replaced (Fig. 0.37).<sup>25</sup> These are the three saints to whom the Priory Church of St Swithun was dedicated.<sup>26</sup> The final saint next to St Paul in lights 1g-4g is an unidentified episcopal saint, almost certainly one important to the history of Winchester, and probably St Ethelwold, or St Birinus.<sup>27</sup> He too is likely to be in situ, despite the damage to his base (Fig. 0.38).

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<sup>23</sup> Winston 1865: 68. Francis Baigent thought Winston meant that the “outermost” figures, rather than the “southernmost” were in situ, in other words that St Swithun was in situ (Le Couteur 1920: 35 note). Examination of Winston’s handwritten notes in Add MS 33846: folios 141-42 shows some changes in mind as to whether the two southernmost figures were in situ, but he clearly did not think St Swithun was in situ. Robert Deshman did not think that St Swithun is in situ (Lapidge 2003: 189).

<sup>24</sup> Westlake IV 1894: 21-24. See Appendix 2 and below.

<sup>25</sup> *HC* (June 5, 1852).

<sup>26</sup> Introduction: note 41. David King first suggested to me that these lights could represent the church’s dedications.

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 4.

Fig. 3.17 has roughly aligned Carter's drawings of the figures in the bottom row of lights to facilitate comparisons. Carter's drawings prove that it was the three central lights which were the most damaged. The figures in these central three lights are not thought to be in situ.

In the current author's conjectural reconstruction at Fig. 3.1, the lower central main lights contain royal figures praying to an image of the Holy Trinity. The reasoning behind this reconstruction, and any difficulties with it, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

#### ***3.1.4.1 In situ glass: the outer lights in the lower row of main lights, east gable window***

The condition of the glass, the design, and the painting all indicate that saints Swithun, Paul and the unidentified episcopal saint are early 16th-century work. The crucial question addressed here is whether they are in situ. This hangs on how the panels, with their painted backgrounds, fit in the window lights, and how they relate to each other.

As explained in Chapter 1, at 1.1.1.2 and 1.1.1.6, the canopy remains suggest that, as in Netherlandish and German windows of the period, the bottom row of lights was "framed" like a stage set with columns at the far sides and with a fictive roof (Figs. 1.14-1.15). Carter's drawings suggest that there were two distinct groups of saints at either side of the bottom row – either two and two, or three and three. The two groups are framed separately by their roof tiles: the tops of the three canopies on the viewer's left (4a-4c) have blue roof tiles on a red background whereas in the three canopies on the viewer's right (3e to 4g) the tiles are red and the background is blue.

Looking first at the group on the viewer's left, the fictive architectural background to St Swithun fits the light well. The composition is 300cm high, and has an additional strip of blue glass at the bottom measuring a further 10cm.<sup>28</sup> With regard to the blue strip at the bottom, the fact that the painted glass does not extend to the bottom of the window is consistent with the panels having been designed to stand behind the Great Screen. The St Swithun panel fits the space well, which strongly supports the view that it is in situ.

It seems unlikely that the St Swithun panel would have fitted anywhere else in Fox's windows. The panel would not have fitted in the north presbytery clerestory window NII glazed by Fox. The

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<sup>28</sup> Measured from scaffolding.



upper main lights of window NII are about 273 cm tall and the lower main lights about 253 cm tall. The height of the main lights of window SII, which may also have been glazed by Fox, is similar.<sup>29</sup> The heights of the upper main lights of the north presbytery aisle windows range from 276cm (nVIII) to 239 cm (nIX and nX). The lower main lights of these windows range from 245cm (nVIII) to 225cm (nX). It has unfortunately not been possible to measure the south presbytery aisle windows accurately, but estimated from ground level they look similar. It seems unlikely that the St Swithun panel originated in the presbytery aisle windows, although the south presbytery aisle windows should also be measured accurately to confirm this.

Next to St Swithun's light, St Peter's canopy is drawn so that it appears to project outwards. This could well have been the original design, to create a three dimensional effect.<sup>30</sup> The architectural background to St Peter's light, above the mitre, fits with St Swithun's: in particular, the blue roof tiles, the fictive masonry design with lancets and quatrefoils, the blue barrel vault, and the windows in the background. The bottom of St Peter's panel (lights 1b and 2b) also generally fits with St Swithun's. The pedestal projects, balancing the canopy, and the yellow-stain foliate border continues, as do the quatrefoils. The main doubt relates to the floor tiles. Carter's drawing shows these as the same design, but with Swithun's floor tiles as brown, while Peter's are blue. However, both sets of tiles now in the window are blue, and it is possible that the tiles may have been painted by Carter from ground level, or in a studio, in error.

Smith argues that, although the two outer figures in the bottom row of lights are in situ, all the pedestals in the east gable window lower lights have been introduced from elsewhere, probably the presbytery aisles.<sup>31</sup> This disregards the fact that St Swithun's and St Peter's pedestals look as if they belong together and fit this space (Cat.B.7 and B.14). Despite the difference in colour of the floor tiles in Carter's drawing, the continuities with the St Swithun panel noted above indicate that the top and bottom of St Peter's panel are in situ.

On the south side, the canopies and fictive architectural backgrounds in the last two panels clearly belong together. They have red roof tiles against blue backgrounds, red barrel vaults, similar fictive windows and blue cloths of honour. The canopy in the second light from the outside (St Paul's) again projects, although the design is different from the projecting canopy in St Peter's light. The

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<sup>29</sup> Measured from scaffolding.

<sup>30</sup> Smith 2007: 42.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid: 39, 42.

Victorian restorers inserted a pendant into the canopy over St Paul (in 4f) to balance with the pendant over St Peter (in 4b).<sup>32</sup>

The main difficulty with St Paul's panel is the base. It does not match St Peter's and the saint is not named. As the base for the southernmost light was lost, we cannot tell whether they originally matched in terms of design. The small fragment of fictive yellow-stain turrets at the bottom of Carter's drawing at Cat. B.42 (viewer's right) suggests that they may have done. Alternatively, St Paul's base may have come from another location.

The ecclesiastical saints on the outermost panels of the east gable window balance each other well and this adds overall coherence to the design. Rich purple dominates and Carter's drawing suggests that the haloes were originally painted in the same way. The jewelled border on the bottom of the garments of the bishop-saint at Fig. 0.38 fits with the luxurious taste of St Swithun's cope. The coloured border at the base of St Swithun's cloth of honour was probably balanced by a similar border behind the unnamed bishop saint (in light 2g-3g), as a red border appears in Carter's drawing at the base of St Paul's adjoining light.

It is arguable that the figures in the outer lights cannot be in situ, because their columns have different patterns. In order to accept that most of the glass in these four outer lights is in situ, it is necessary to abandon the expectation that all aspects of the architectural background in the north and south groups will be identical. Looking at the two groups as evidenced by Carter's drawings, there is a broad symmetry in the architectural forms (for example, the style of the fictive windows) even though the colours and patterns on the columns and the pedestals and cloths of honour vary. It is likely that the differences simply reflect a taste for variety, which was acknowledged in 15th-century writings to be an important element in beauty.<sup>33</sup> Constant variety in the forms is a characteristic of the early 16th-century work in the north nave aisle of Cologne Cathedral, and it is notable that the columns framing the Adoration of the Magi there have different patterns on either side (Figs 1.46 and 3.18).<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *HC* (June 5, 1852).

<sup>33</sup> Alberti 1988: 24

<sup>34</sup> The condition of this scene is described as good in Rode 1974: 203-204. Compare also the work of Hans Holbein the Younger, and Hans Baldung Grien in Butts and Hendrix 2000: 15 (Fig.15) and 244.

### ***3.1.4.2 Identifying original glass in situ in the three central lower main lights of the east gable window***

From Carter's drawings, it is clear that in the lower row the three central lights were the most damaged. The only in situ glass appears to be parts of the canopy tops.

The tiled roof appears to have continued to the third and fifth lights along (4c and 3e). It is likely that the orange colour of the roof in 3e, as compared to that in 4f and 4g, is another discrepancy with Carter's painting, since it looks as though the redder roof tiles in 3e today are original, and apart from the colour they exactly reflect Carter's drawing. The masonry design below the blue roof in 4c (above Jeremiah) indicates that this canopy matched St Swithun's. At the bottom of Carter's drawing of Jeremiah's light, there are also fragments of fictive keyhole shaped windows which would have fitted directly under the decorative strip of quatrefoils, as in St Swithun's canopy top. Similarly, the plain masonry strip immediately under the red roof in 3e matches that of the unidentified episcopal saint in the southernmost light. This supports the view that the composition consisted of two groups of three lights, separated by a single central light.

Carter's drawings indicate that the figure in lights 2c-3c (Jeremiah) and the figure in light 2e were derived from other windows. Jeremiah is wide for the light and faces north, which is unlikely in this position. In light 2e, the cloth of honour is upside down, and the fragments of the column capitals on either side are too incomplete to have originated in this location. Carter's drawings show broken remains of pedestals in lights 1c and 1e which are unlikely to be in situ. From the lead lines, both these pedestals look as if they may have been combined with a framework of columns. Overall the fragments suggest that they came from wider lights than those in the east gable window. The absence of in situ pedestals in lights 1c, 1d and 1e suggests that these central lights may not originally have contained standing figures.

In the central light, 2d, the figure of St Andrew with his saltire cross is unlikely to be in situ. The small part of the capital appears just above his cloth of honour, on the viewer's right, again suggesting that the figure came from a wider light. The canopy now in light 3d, at the top of the centre light, looks as though it has been constructed based on/incorporating some of the fragments shown in Carter's drawing. This light must have been the focal point and probably contained a different kind of image from those on either side, separating the two groups of three lights. The glass shown above the figure of St Andrew in Carter's drawing is scrambled and we do not know

whether it originated in this light, but it does suggest a different kind of canopy, of elaborate yellow-stain and grisaille, perhaps including miniature figures, as on the left side above Andrew's head. Miniature figures appear in the windows from the Chapel of Bourgogne, Antwerp, at Fig. 3.19. There are similar golden figures in some of the canopies at Fairford.<sup>35</sup>

#### ***3.1.4.3 How the design of other contemporary windows helps in reconstructing the lower row of main lights in the east gable window***

The following paragraphs note some contemporary windows in England and Northern Europe which help in interpreting the overall layout and design of the lower main lights of the east gable window.

It is possible that the lower row of lights in the east gable window could have contained a narrative scene (perhaps the crucifixion) spreading across three lights and framed by four standing saints – St Swithun, St Peter, St Paul and the unidentified ecclesiastical saint. A central narrative image framed by standing saints was the format used in the Jacques Coeur window of the Annunciation, where the scene is unified by a fictive roof structure (Fig. 1.9). Combinations of narrative scenes, standing figures, and royal figures, are found in windows in the Church of St Waudru, Mons, Hainaut, thought to have been installed under the instruction of Margaret of Austria, from 1510.<sup>36</sup> The format was popular into the 16th century in England: it was used for Henry VIII's window, now the east window of St Margaret's Church Westminster, and by Wolsey (Figs 3.20-3.21).

However, in the east gable window the canopies continued into the third lights in from the outside, forming two separate scenes separated by the central light. This argues against the view that the four outer saints framed a three-light narrative scene. The surviving elements in the lower main lights of the east gable window fit better with the design of the main lights in the Window of the Virgin, from the Church of Saints Peter and Guido, Anderlecht (Fig. 1.15). Here, local saints in the outer lights frame a scene in which a donor figure prays to the Virgin and Child in the central light. The donor figure is presented by two further standing saints. This was a formula well-established in 15th-century Netherlandish painting and known in England (see for example the Donne Triptych commissioned by Sir John Donne c1478 at Fig. 3.22).

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<sup>35</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plates 11 and 12.

<sup>36</sup> Vanden Bemden 2000: 49, 77. For example, *Vitrail de la Crucifixion* c1511 (Fig.23).

The east gable window would have differed from the Anderlecht window in that the background was divided into two scenes, one on each side of the central light, but which also read as a whole across the seven lights. The windows of Henry VII and Philip the Fair in Antwerp Cathedral, both dated c1503, illustrate how such scenes running across the lights could be both unified and divided at the same time (Figs 1.32 and 1.43). In these windows, the royal figures are not praying to a figure in a central light between them. However, above them are sacred images of the Trinity, and the Virgin and Child on a crescent moon (Henry VII window) and Christ and the Virgin and Child in Glory (Philip the Fair window).

The incomplete inscription at the base of St Peter's light in the east gable window "Scs petrus ora" supports the view that the image in the adjacent centre lights included praying figures (Cat.B.14).<sup>37</sup> Fox's loyalty to Henry VII has been noted at 1.2.8, and the prior and convent's commitment to pray for the royal family is fully explained in Chapter 5. These factors provide compelling historical reasons for arguing that the praying figures on either side of the central light in the east gable window main lights would have been royal figures.<sup>38</sup>

It is proposed in this thesis that Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth or Lady Margaret Beaufort were depicted in the lower row of main lights in the east gable window. Fig. 3.23 shows fragments of gold drapery, now in the presbytery clerestory, very similar to Queen Elizabeth's gold cloth in the Henry VII window, shown in Figs 1.32-1.33. Looking at the Winchester gold drapery fragments in Fig. 3.23, on the viewer's top right hand side there is the tip of a scabbard. This could well come from a praying figure of Henry VII. Henry VII, Prince Arthur, Sir Reginald Bray and Sir Thomas Lovell are all shown at prayer with sheathed swords at the bottom of the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern Priory (Figs. 1.3 and 1.17).<sup>39</sup> Henry VII is similarly presented partially armed in the window in Antwerp Cathedral in Fig. 1.32 (where he is in gold armour, with an ermine lined cloak, his helmet and gauntlets set aside) and at Christ's College Chapel, Cambridge in Fig. 1.63 (where he is again praying in gold armour, this time with his breast plate to one side).

Turning to the image in the central main light in the lower row between the two praying figures, the Virgin's sacred monogram (M above A) appears at the very top, in what appears to be in situ glass

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<sup>37</sup> This kind of bidding inscription ran across the lights depicting standing saints in Wykeham's glass in Winchester College Chapel, and in a window in York Minster beneath the figure of John Pety in prayer, c1508. Le Couteur 1920: 80, 90.

<sup>38</sup> See Appendix 2 on Smith's theory.

<sup>39</sup> Rushforth 1936: 398-404 and Figs 182-185.

(Cat.B.27). The central image beneath this may have represented the Virgin in glory, or the Virgin and Child, or the Virgin crowned by the Trinity. However, sacred monograms could stand in place of images, and it is more probable that the central image represented the Trinity. It may have shown God supporting Christ on the cross, with the dove above his head, as in the east window of Winchester College Chapel from the 1390s and at Lier (Figs 3.24-3.25). Winchester Cathedral was dedicated to the Trinity, as well as to Saints Swithun, Peter and Paul. If the lower lights were arranged as suggested at Fig.3.1, the east gable window, in the most prominent position above the high altar, depicted in full the church's dedications.

#### ***3.1.4.4 Review of the author's proposed reconstruction of the lower main lights in Fig. 3.1***

Westlake's study of the east gable window set the precedent for a close examination of the surviving glass, comparing Carter's drawings. The current thesis follows Westlake's broad method, but disputes his conclusion regarding the lower row of lights. Westlake thought that the St Swithun panel (like all the panels in the lower row) came from another group of three lights elsewhere in the presbytery. However, Westlake did not address the fact that, based on the measurements in 3.1.4.1, St Swithun's panel would not have fitted elsewhere in the presbytery windows which Fox is thought to have glazed.

Even assuming that the panel originally fitted in the north presbytery clerestory with no base and a reduced canopy top, for Westlake's argument to be convincing, the base/canopy top would need to have been adapted to make the panel fit the east gable window at some time before Carter's drawings in 1845, which shows St Swithun's and St Peter's bases as they are today. The east gable window may have been restored under Queen Mary or in the 1630s, when the choir was remodelled, but these bases do look like early 16th-century work, and it does not make sense that only two matching bases should have been added in such a restoration. If new bases were added all along the bottom row, it is reasonable to expect that some similar glass in the bases of the other lights would have survived too. It is even less likely that St Swithun's and St Peter's matching bases in the early 16th-century style were constructed when the glass was repaired after the Civil War. The jumbled condition of the panels in Carter's drawings and the insertion of the St Bartholomew panel indicate that the restoration work at this time was by unskilled workers. It is also inconceivable that the craftsmen in 1813 would have had the skills to paint these bases on glass that looks so convincingly 16th-century in colour and quality. Matching the glass would have been

even harder than matching the painting, as Betton & Evans work of almost the same date in Winchester College clearly shows (Figs 2.9-2.10 and 2.18-2.22).

The height of the St Swithun panel, its fit with the window masonry, the painting style, and the technical expertise required for cutting the decorative inserts in St Swithun's robe, all support the view that the panel is original in situ glass. The author's reconstruction of the lower row of lights at Fig.3.1 is based to a large extent on the glass which matches and balances that in St Swithun's panel. The reconstruction cannot, on the basis of the available evidence, be proved beyond all doubt, but it fits with contemporary models. It can also be explained in terms of the liturgical and patronage context – themes developed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Finally, the reconstruction is consistent with the history of iconoclasm in the cathedral, summarised in Appendix 2. The centre light is the worst damaged. If it contained the Trinity it would have been specifically targeted in the 1570s under Bishop Horne. If there were royal figures on either side of the Trinity, the Puritans may have attacked these. Although they often spared images of kings, for example at York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral, it is recorded that at Winchester they threw the bones of the ancient kings and bishops at the glass they could not reach, and attacked the statues of Charles I and James I which were then in the choir.<sup>40</sup> St Peter, associated with the Pope, may have been damaged at any time from the Reformation, or by the Puritans.

St Swithun's panel has survived well. As at York and Canterbury, there is no evidence that the 16th-century shrine destruction at Winchester Cathedral was accompanied by destruction of glass.<sup>41</sup> Appendix 2 indicates that, at the time of the destruction of St Swithun's shrine in 1538, the main interest of Thomas Cromwell's men was in salvaging valuable materials. Later on, St Swithun and the unnamed ecclesiastical saint may have been protected by the community because of their local significance. The local saints and prophets may have been less offensive to Protestant and Puritan iconoclasts than the royal figures and St Peter.

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<sup>40</sup> *Mercurius*: 149-50.

<sup>41</sup> On York Minster see Brown 2003: Appendix 3 and Appendix 5. On the Becket miracle windows Canterbury Cathedral see Michael 2004: 102-61.

### 3.2 Early 16th-century glass in the north and south presbytery clerestory

Chapter 1 has discussed the earlier 15th-century glazing scheme in the north and south presbytery clerestory. This contained seraphim in the tracery, and standing figures of apostles and prophets in at least some of the main lights.

The glass which has been attributed to Fox in the north and south presbytery is described in detail in the Catalogue (Cat.C.3-C.36). The Catalogue identifies the tracery angels in light NII as early 16th-century work, supporting the conclusions of Winston and Le Couteur that in window NII Fox tried to match the earlier 15th-century glass (Figs 0.15 and 0.41-0.42).<sup>42</sup> The following paragraphs argue that Fox followed the earlier iconography in the presbytery clerestory lateral windows more generally, by including standing figures of saints and prophets in the main lights beneath the seraphim in window NII. It is unclear how far his glazing in the lateral windows extended.

There are early 16th-century canopy tops in window NII, in the heads of main lights 2b and 2c, and also above the 15th-century standing figures in lights 4a-4d (thought to have originated in the nave) (Cat.C.2-C.8). The canopy tops are fragmented, but in 1845 Winston thought that the heads of some of the canopies were in situ, and was sure that window NII was once filled with Fox's glass.<sup>43</sup> Catalogue C concludes that these canopy tops are likely to be in situ.

The canopy tops suggest that Fox's scheme for window NII included early 16th-century standing figures in these lights. Examination of glass at Fairford shows that where similar canopy tops are found uniformly in all the main lights of a window, in a design contained within the individual light, this usually (although not inevitably) indicates a series of standing figures.<sup>44</sup> The canopy tops in window NII suggest that a series of figures probably stood in both the upper and lower main lights.

A number of the figures currently in the east gable window may have originated in the main lights of window NII, or possibly the main lights of some of the other windows on the north or south presbytery clerestory. The figures most likely to have come from the presbytery clerestory side windows are in Fig. 0.24 (prophet), Fig. 0.26 (episcopal saint), the king from Fig. 0.30 (composite,

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<sup>42</sup> Winston 1865: 69; Le Couteur 1920: 39-40.

<sup>43</sup> Winston 1865: 69.

<sup>44</sup> See Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plates 1, 7, 8, 9, 10-13, 16-28.



now St Peter), Fig. 0.32 (Jeremiah) and Fig. 0.33 (St Andrew) and the lower part of Fig. 0.36 (called Haggai). Where the backgrounds survive, these figures stand in front of curved cloths of honour, with fictive windows behind. Only vestiges of the capitals of the columns framing them at the side survive, indicating that these figures came from wider lights.

The main lights of the east gable window and the presbytery aisle windows are about 60 cm wide. The main lights of window NII measure about 72cm wide, NIII about 77cm wide, and SII about 79 cm wide.<sup>45</sup> This indicates that the panels in the east gable window which have been narrowed probably come from the presbytery clerestory side windows. Here, they would have been more likely to survive the Civil War damage than the aisle glass; and if they were in windows NII or SII they only needed to be moved a short distance to the east gable window, working from scaffolding. The height of the upper main lights in NII is about 273cm, and the lower main lights about 253cm, whereas lights 5c and 4d of the east gable window are 160 cm high. This would explain why the figures in Figs. 0.24 and 0.26 have been cut to three quarter length, and the awkward relationship between the backgrounds and the canopy tops.

Le Couteur also thought that the figure (known as Amos) in light 4e (Fig. 0.27) originated in window NII.<sup>46</sup> At first glance, this theory appears to be supported by the fact that Carter's drawing at Cat.B.58 shows the figure beneath a canopy that could have fitted with the design of the canopies now in window NII. However, the red at the base of the canopy fits awkwardly with the fictive wall and windows above the figure, and this is unlikely to have been the original arrangement of the panel.<sup>47</sup> It is argued below that Amos was designed for a narrower light than the other figures noted above, and is more likely to have been part of a prophet series in the north presbytery aisle.

If all the standing figures in the presbytery clerestory side windows faced east, only St Andrew and the prophet and the sainted bishop could have originated in a window on the north side (Figs 0.33, 0.24 and 0.26) and the rest must have originated in a window on the south side. Alternatively, some of the standing figures could have turned towards each other, as at Fairford. In that case, all the figures could come from window NII on the north side.

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<sup>45</sup> Measurements in this paragraph were taken from scaffolding.

<sup>46</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 37.

<sup>47</sup> Compare the way the canopies link to the fictive architecture backgrounds at Fairford in Brown and MacDonald: Plates 18-20.

We do not know how many of the north and south presbytery clerestory windows were filled with 15th-century glass, and whether any, apart from NII, included Fox's glass. However, the fragments of early 16th-century glass at the base of windows SII and SIII (Cat.C.30-C.35) suggest that Fox's glass may have extended to the south side of the presbytery clerestory. A relatively high proportion of the mixed fragments surviving from the cathedral are from seraphim wings in the early 16th-century style. There is also a consistent scattering of fragments of fictive roof tiles. Fox may have completed the seraphim scheme in the north and south presbytery clerestory tracery. He may have filled window SII with standing figures to match the early 16th-century figures in NII.

### **3.3 The presbytery aisles**

The best preserved early 16th-century glass now in the cathedral is in the traceries of windows nVIII, nIX, nX and sVIII of the north and south presbytery aisles (Fig. 0.5). The traceries contain narrative scenes from the life of the Virgin in the top two lights, and standing figures in the four lights below.

Beneath the traceries, the presbytery aisles windows have two rows of four main lights divided by a transom (Cat D.1 and D.63). There is unfortunately very little evidence of the iconography of the glass which was originally in the main lights. Canopy tops, and a few miscellaneous fragments now survive in the main lights of windows nVIII, nIX, nX and sXI. This section finds evidence of a series of apostles and prophets with Creed scrolls in some of the main lights.<sup>48</sup> Such a series would have filled a maximum of twenty-four out of sixty-four main lights. This section also supports Le Couteur's proposal about some other standing saints, and argues for some narrative glass – notably, a Passion or Life of Christ.

#### **3.3.1 Presbytery aisles tracery narrative glass: subject matter and sources**

The short descriptions of the tracery narrative glass in Part D of the Catalogue follow CVMA convention in beginning with the glass on the north side and reading this from east to west. They then examine the glass on the south side, again starting with the easternmost window. For the

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<sup>48</sup> In such a series, each apostle's inscription is the article of the Apostle's Creed which he is thought to have contributed, and the prophets hold inscriptions, which are their predictions of the corresponding articles of the Creed. See Marks 1993: 78-79; Rushforth 1936: 141, 337-43.

purposes of interpreting the scenes in the following paragraphs, it is more helpful to start at the eastern end of the south aisle of the presbytery, continue westwards down the south aisle, cross to the west end of the north aisle and continue eastwards from there. This allows the narrative scenes to be read in the following order:

sVIII (Fig. 0.53/Cat.D.69): Usually identified as the Adoration of the Child (referred to here as the Nativity to avoid confusion), but possibly Adoration of the Shepherds).<sup>49</sup>

sXI (Fig. 0.64, Cat.D.73 ): Formerly the Nativity/Adoration of the Shepherds, moved from this window to sVIII, in 1914. Carter did not mention the Nativity scene on the south side and we cannot be certain that sXI was the original position for this scene. However, it may well be, as the emblem of Elizabeth of York and Fox's pelican appear to be in situ.

nX (Figs. 0.46-0.47, Cat.D.59 and D.61 ): Adoration of the Magi.

nIX (Fig. 0.48, Cat.D.41): Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple/Purification of the Virgin.

nVIII (Fig. 0.49, Cat.D.21 and D.23): Coronation of the Virgin.

The sources for the imagery relating to the Nativity scenes have been discussed in relation to the Lady Chapel glass in Chapter 2. The Nativity in Fig. 0.53 clearly reflects the influence of St Bridget's vision. Looking at the Adoration of the Magi, the block book editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* may have been a source for the design of this image: the clumsy profile of the central king, the position of the Christ Child, with the Virgin's hand supporting him, are similar (Fig. 3.26).

The subject matter of windows nIX and nVIII, and its sources, requires some explanation.

***Presentation/Purification:***

In window nIX (Fig. 0.48, Cat.D.41) the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple is combined with the Purification of the Virgin, as in the New Testament (Luke 2: 22-40). According to the Old Testament, the first born child belonged to God, but the presentation of the child allowed him to be

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<sup>49</sup> See Le Couteur 1920: 45.

released from service in exchange for a sacrifice.<sup>50</sup> The purification of the mother was performed on the fortieth day after the birth.<sup>51</sup> It too required a sacrifice, often represented by the presence of doves. In Luke 2: 25, the Presentation of Christ and Purification of the Virgin are followed by the meeting of the Holy Family with Simeon, who recognises the child as the Saviour and sings a song of praise. This is witnessed by the aged prophetess Anna.<sup>52</sup>

From the 8th or 9th century, the Presentation was shown at an altar, across which Mary reached to hand the child to Simeon, in the role of a Priest.<sup>53</sup> The presence of the altar suggested Christ's death as a sacrifice for our sins. It is this ancient model which is followed in the Winchester Cathedral image. The Virgin kneels, with Joseph behind her holding a basket of doves. In the adjoining panel, the head of the Priest and some of the background survive. The focal point of the scene must have been the child on the altar. A contemporary image by Dürer is at Fig. 3.27. As in the case of the Adoration of the Magi, the Winchester image may have been based on the image in the block book *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, which has similar windows in the background (Fig. 3.28).

### ***Coronation of the Virgin***

The most easterly window of the presbytery, nVIII (Fig. 0.49, Cat.D.21-D.23), has a very traditional image of the Coronation of the Virgin. The Virgin, crowned, and the lower part of the figure of Christ in Majesty sit on a double golden throne.

The story of the death, resurrection and triumph of the Virgin was apocryphal. It was summarised by Gregory of Tours in the 6th century, reproduced in the 13th century by Vincent of Beauvais and then included in the *Golden Legend*.<sup>54</sup> In the story, after her death Mary was resurrected, as a beautiful young woman. The assumption followed, as her body, reunited with its soul, was borne to heaven by angels. Here, Christ sat her on the throne at his right hand and placed a crown on her head, saying "Come from Libanus, my spouse, come from Libanus, come: thou shalt be crowned...". Katzenellenbogen noted the source of these words in Canticles 4: 8. He explained that this passage, together with the words from Psalms 44: 10 "The queen stood on thy right hand,

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<sup>50</sup> Exodus 13: 2; Numbers 3: 40 and 18: 15-16.

<sup>51</sup> Leviticus 12.

<sup>52</sup> Schiller 1971: 90-94 throughout this paragraph. From the 10th century the Feast of the Presentation included a ceremony at which candles were blessed; from this it gradually took the name of Candlemas.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid: 92.

<sup>54</sup> Mâle 1961: 248-55.

in gilded clothing”, closed the gap in the apocryphal stories, and formed the basis of the liturgy for the Feast of the Assumption.<sup>55</sup>

By 1500, images of the Coronation of the Virgin often showed the Virgin Crowned by the Trinity and were combined with the Assumption.<sup>56</sup> There is an example by Michael Sittow in Fig. 3.29, and also in the painted glass at Fairford.<sup>57</sup> The Winchester Cathedral image is a tracery image, in a confined space. This may explain why it is closer to the more usual, simple and old fashioned design, like the 14th century-painting on Purbeck marble found in Fox’s tomb and the image in the 15th-century *Biblia Pauperum* (Figs 3.30-3.31).<sup>58</sup> The most notable features of the surviving Winchester Cathedral image are the Virgin’s demure reverence and the colours: gold predominates, splashed with red and blue. Reflecting Psalm 44, the Virgin’s golden hair merges into her “gilded clothing”.

### 3.3.2 Other possible narrative scenes included in the presbytery aisles traceries

There are eight of Fox’s windows in the north and south presbytery aisle, but only four scenes survive in the traceries. They all depict joyful events in Mary’s life. Le Couteur suggested that the traceries reflected a series of prayers known as the “Seven Joys of Mary”.<sup>59</sup> This series originated in monastic circles, but it was also familiar to lay people from 14th and 15th-century Books of Hours, in which the prayers were arranged in the manner of an office.<sup>60</sup> In the 13th century there were usually five joys, but the number varied to up to fifteen.<sup>61</sup> By the 15th century, the seven joys were popular: an indulgence of one hundred days had been granted for their recitation.<sup>62</sup> The seven joys were the central subject of the Canterbury Royal window c1485.<sup>63</sup> In the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern Priory eleven joys were depicted.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Katzenellenbogen 1964: 56-60.

<sup>56</sup> Rushforth 1936: notes to 390-91 cites examples in English and Northern European painted glass and other art; Morgan 1994: 223-41.

<sup>57</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plate 4.

<sup>58</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 132. Mâle 1961: 257-58 on the earlier images.

<sup>59</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 45.

<sup>60</sup> Morgan 1991: 74-75

<sup>61</sup> Morgan 1991: 75.

<sup>62</sup> Morgan 1994: 232-33.

<sup>63</sup> Rushforth 1936: 375; Culmer 1644; Dent 2012: 6.

<sup>64</sup> Rushforth 1936: 370-71. Note also joys of Mary in glass in the Savile Chapel at Thornhill c1493 (Jones 1971: 31-41).

The block book editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* did not include the sorrows and joys of the Virgin as a specific series. However the manuscript versions of the *Speculum*, originating in the early 14th century, did so.<sup>65</sup> Fox could have had access to the *Speculum* manuscript made for Henry VII c1500, which Marks suggests could have influenced the typological cycle in the glass for Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel.<sup>66</sup>

The seven joys as listed in the Pierpoint Morgan Library *Speculum* manuscript begin with a miracle in which the Virgin comforts a sick cleric. The joys that follow are the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation, the finding of Christ in the Temple, and the Coronation.<sup>67</sup> This series fits well with the surviving narratives, and the number of lights available for missing scenes in the presbytery aisles traceries. The sequence on the south side could have been (east to west): Miracle of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity. On the north side, the surviving scenes read (west to east): the Adoration of the Magi (nX), the Presentation (nIX), and then the Coronation (nVIII). The only discrepancy with the Pierpoint sequence is that, in the traceries, the Coronation immediately follows the Presentation. If the finding of Christ in the Temple was included between these two scenes, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation must both have been moved, although this is not clear from the condition of the glass described in the Catalogue.

The narrative series in the presbytery aisle traceries may well have been based on the joys of Mary. However, there is an alternative source, which would have provided a very similar series of eight scenes. Chapter 2 (at 2.4.1.) has already noted that in Books of Hours, the Hours of the Virgin were often introduced by the following illustrations from the Nativity story:

Matins – the Annunciation;

Lauds – the Visitation;

Prime – the Nativity;

Terce – the Shepherds;

Sext- the Magi;

None- the Presentation;

Vespers- the Flight into Egypt;

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<sup>65</sup> Wilson and Wilson 1984: 200-205.

<sup>66</sup> Marks 2012: 393-95 refers to BL Harley MS 2838. McKendrick et al. 2011: 174-75 on the manuscript.

<sup>67</sup> Pierpoint Morgan MS.766. See Wilson and Wilson 1984: 205.

Compline- the Coronation of the Virgin. <sup>68</sup>

This sequence could also fit with the surviving scenes in the presbytery aisle traceries. The “Nativity” scene could in fact be an Adoration of the Shepherds, originating as the fourth scene in sIX. The kneeling figure could be a shepherd rather than Joseph – this would fit with the angel above him singing “Gloria”. As in the case of the joys of Mary, for the sequence to fit, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple would need to have originated in nXI and nX, rather than their current positions, nx and nIX.

While it is possible that the four traceries with no surviving scenes originally contained some different scenes from the life of Christ or Mary, no fragments survive to suggest this.<sup>69</sup> The surviving scenes are most likely to come from a series of seven joys of Mary, or perhaps from the illustrations to the eight hours of the Virgin in a Book of Hours.

A serious problem in trying to reconstruct a series is that, as the masonry of the traceries is in a very similar form throughout, we cannot be certain how much glass is in situ (see Cat.D).<sup>70</sup> In the absence of any early descriptions, it is impossible to reach firm conclusions about all the lost scenes, but it is highly likely that they included the Annunciation and the Visitation. It is almost certain that an Annunciation was included, either in the traceries or the main lights, as this is the beginning of the New Testament narrative of Christ’s birth. The *Speculum* block book illustration of the Annunciation is at Fig.3.32.

### **3.3.3 The presbytery aisles tracery standing figures**

#### **3.3.3.1 Female saints**

In the north presbytery aisle traceries, beneath the joys of Mary, there are standing figures of female saints. The following paragraphs look for connections between the saints now grouped together, asking whether they are in situ and what their special significance may have been.

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<sup>68</sup> Backhouse 1988: 3, 15-16 and 36 notes that there could be slight variations in order. She also notes that scenes from Christ’s Passion were a popular alternative to a Nativity series.

<sup>69</sup> At the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in East Harling, Anne Harling installed fifteen scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin c1462-65, which include many of the “joys” (King CVMA( GB) Digital).

<sup>70</sup> It is hoped that examination of the glass from scaffolding in 2018 will help to clarify what glass has been moved.

In window nX, beneath the Adoration of the Magi, Mary Magdalene holds the jar of ointment with which she anointed Christ's feet, St Agatha holds her breast in pincers, and St Prisca holds a palm and sword. There was another figure, now mostly lost, identified by Carter as St Agnes. The three surviving figures may originally have stood beneath the Adoration: Mary Magdalene with her golden jar parallels the Magi with their gifts, and Agatha with her breast has a parallel with the nursing Virgin. St Prisca fits with the Adoration because she refused to sacrifice to idols.

Beneath the Presentation and Purification in nIX, St Lucy has her sword, St Faith her brazen bed, and St Ursula has her eleven thousand maidens. The fourth figure was identified by Le Couteur as St Petronilla. Virgin saints were the special attendants of the Virgin, as is clear from the account of the Assumption of the Virgin in the *Golden Legend*, which says "a virgin should carry the Virgin's palm".<sup>71</sup> The Virgin saints fit well with the theme of Purification, again suggesting that the figures belong beneath the narrative scene.

The female saints beneath the Coronation of the Virgin in nVIII are labelled St Sitha, who holds her keys (Fig. 0.50), St Barbara, in front of a building with three windows, symbolizing the Trinity (Fig. 0.51), St Katherine, with her sword and wheel, and St Margaret of Antioch, emerging from the dragon. Figures of Saints Barbara, Katherine and Margaret may have originally been placed beneath the Coronation scene, because of their royal popularity. St Barbara was one of Henry VII's special patrons, named in his will.<sup>72</sup> St Margaret and St Katherine, patron of scholars, were favourites of Lady Margaret Beaufort; they were included in the free standing sculptures overlooking her tomb in the Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel thought to have been planned by Bishop Fox.<sup>73</sup> St Sitha is also included to the north of Lady Margaret's chapel in Westminster Abbey.<sup>74</sup> Sitha was a widely popular saint in monastic communities. She was associated with charity and chastity and with housekeepers. She was associated with finding lost keys, so might also have fitted beneath an image of the Virgin Finding Christ in the Temple.<sup>75</sup>

St Sitha is very well preserved, and looks in situ but it is not certain that the current arrangement in nVIII reflects the original. St Sitha's frontal position in the outer light, and the positions of St Barbara and St Katherine in the inner lights, facing outwards, do not fit with the design in windows

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<sup>71</sup> *Voragine* II: 77-89 at 80.

<sup>72</sup> From female saints he also named St Anne and Mary Magdalen: Condon 2003: 113.

<sup>73</sup> Lindley 2003: 285-87.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*: 281.

<sup>75</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 43.



nX and nIX - in which the two outer saints face inwards and the two inner saints face straight ahead. The Catalogue notes the difficulty in proving which of the figures is in its exact original location, given that the lights are all the same width. However, even though some of the figures have clearly been rearranged, the fact that connections can be made between the choice of saints and each scene supports the view that most of them probably belong with their current narrative scenes.

If there was originally a series of four joys of the Virgin on the north side there would presumably have been four further female saints. We can only speculate as to which other saints might have been included.<sup>76</sup> Another popular saint included in St Swithun's litany of the saints discussed in Chapter 4 is St Cecilia. Appendix 4 shows that there were relics of St Cecilia in the cathedral. The diet rolls for St Swithuns for 1492-93 /?1514-15 may provide another clue, as they tell us that the feasts of saints Anne and Cecilia were celebrated at Winchester.<sup>77</sup> If there were additional female saints in the north presbytery aisle of Winchester Cathedral, likely candidates include St Anne and St Cecilia.

### **3.3.3.2 *Old Testament Figures***

Three figures survive beneath the Nativity scene in south presbytery aisle sVIII. They are labelled Ezechias, Achaz and Amon, ancestors of Christ.<sup>78</sup> The fourth figure is lost, although fragments of blue drapery survive. As noted above, none of these figures is in situ. The label Ezechias may belong with the figure in light A2, who has a serious strong face, as Ezechias was a pious king of Judah (Fig. 0.54). The name Ezechias must belong next to the name Achaz, as Achaz was Ezechias' predecessor. However, Achaz was a bad king of Judah, so the inscription probably does not belong with the figure of the innocent-looking young king in light A3 (Fig. 0.55). This young king is similar to that representing King Solomon at Fairford (Fig. 3.33). The third figure is labelled Amon, who was another bad king of Judah, who sacrificed to idols. This label appears to belong with the figure, who looks sinister and harsh (Fig. 0.56).

Because the glass is no longer in situ, and would probably have fitted any of Fox's presbytery aisle windows, we cannot be sure that these figures originated in sXI beneath the Nativity scene.

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<sup>76</sup> Note the similar female saints at Winchester College, in the window in Thurbern's chantry, c1502 (Chitty and Harvey 1962: 219); at Fairford (Brown and MacDonald 2007) and at Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel (Lindley 2003: 281).

<sup>77</sup> Kitchen 1892: 306-362.

<sup>78</sup> Matthew 1: 1-17.

However, they fit with the broad theme of the Incarnation, and it is likely that, as Le Couteur suggested, they were part of a longer series in the south presbytery aisle illustrating the royal genealogy of Christ, tying into the themes of the Jesse and Nativity windows in the Lady Chapel.<sup>79</sup>

### **3.3.4 The presbytery aisle main lights**

Part D of the Catalogue argues that a number of the canopies in the north presbytery aisle and in the most westerly window on the south side (sXI) are in situ. The large number of canopy tops surviving in situ, and the alternating pattern that emerges, indicate standing figures in both the upper and lower main lights of nVIII-nX.<sup>80</sup> Particularly strong evidence for an uninterrupted series of similar canopy tops survives in the upper rows of windows nIX and nX.

#### ***3.3.4.1 The probable Creed series in the presbytery aisles***

It has already been suggested in 3.2 that the figure of Amos may have originated in the presbytery aisles. Le Couteur identified Amos in the east gable window from the inscription on his scroll, which reads “Qui edificat ascensionem suam celo” (Fig. 0.28). These are the words associated with Amos in a Creed series.<sup>81</sup>

The dimensions of the Amos panel suggest that it came from the presbytery aisle. It is the same width as the presbytery aisle windows, around 60cm wide. The height of the figure has been reduced to fit the east gable window tracery light, which is 160cm tall. As noted in 3.1.4.1, the presbytery aisle lower main lights are between 225 and 245cm high, and the upper main lights between 239 and 276 cm high. Fig. 3.34 suggests how Amos could have fitted in the upper lights of nVIII. He could also have fitted in any of the other main lights with a reduced base.

The design of the Amos panel would have fitted with the surviving glass in the north presbytery aisle tracery. Amos’ cloth of honour, beneath fictive lattice windows, and the cross-hatched columns fit with the background to the tracery saints, although as a main light figure he is painted in a more refined technique. The richly coloured canopy tops in the presbytery aisle windows would

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<sup>79</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 46.

<sup>80</sup> See 3.2.

<sup>81</sup> Rushforth 1936: 337-43 at 341. Compare Le Couteur 1926: 43-46 on the wording of the inscriptions.

have harmonised with Amos' red damask cloth of honour, murrey halo and green collar. The neutral grey stone in the background to Amos in Fig. 0.27 and varied use of yellow-stain also match the canopy tops.<sup>82</sup>

Additional surviving fragments in the north presbytery aisle indicate that some Creed figures may have originated there. In the head of light 2c of window nIX, there is a fragment of a scroll, with a pearl-like border similar to the border of Amos' cloth of honour (Cat.D.27, top central cusp, on the viewer's right). There is a fragment of another scroll, in front of part of a latticed window and above a very finely painted pearl-like border, in tracery light A6 of window nX (Cat.D.56, bottom section of the light containing the outline of a figure). The quality of this painting, like the exquisite painting of Amos, would have been close enough in the presbytery aisle to be appreciated by viewers. Other fragments likely to be from the same series are in the great west window. The clearest evidence is the word "terram", in the same script, against the same background, as Amos' inscription (Cat.E.32). It is probable that this was part of Jeremiah's prophecy, "Patrem invocabit qui terram fecit et condidit celum" (Jeremiah, 3: 19, 32: 17).<sup>83</sup>

Finally, the joys of Mary/Nativity scenes in the tracery would have fitted iconographically with a Creed series in the main lights. Rushforth explains that the story of the Incarnation was an appropriate subject for the tracery of a Creed window.<sup>84</sup> Rushforth also notes that the Coronation of the Virgin is the usual final image concluding the story of redemption told in the Creed, so it is not surprising that it is the last image in the north presbytery aisle tracteries.<sup>85</sup>

Le Couteur thought there had been a series of Apostles and Prophets with Creed scrolls in the late 14th-century great west window of Winchester Cathedral.<sup>86</sup> Fox's inclusion of another Creed series, when there was already one in the great west window, would not be surprising. At Great Malvern, Rushforth noted a Creed series in the south choir clerestory, as well as the north choir

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<sup>82</sup> Affinities with the canopy tops and prophet figure from the west window of Henry VII's Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey, discussed fully in 1.1.3.3, further support the view that the figure of Amos originated with the presbytery aisle canopy tops.

<sup>83</sup> Rushforth 1936: 338-39. There may be other scroll fragments in Cat.E.7 and Cat.E.23 but these are too incomplete to decipher. In Cat.E.56, the illuminated "S" matches the elaborate "Q" with which Amos' inscription begins. The "S" may be the first letter of Zachariah's inscription ("Suscitabo filios tuos") or Matthew's "Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam". In Cat.E.74, the letters may read "rna" from Thomas' inscription "...inferna, tertia...".

<sup>84</sup> Rushforth 1936: 343-47.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid: 343.

<sup>86</sup> Le Couteur 1921. He also thought there had been such a scheme in the 15th-century nave glass, but no persuasive evidence of this has been found by the current author.

aisle.<sup>87</sup> The same subjects were repeated over and over again in medieval cathedrals, as is clear from the Rites of Durham.<sup>88</sup>

### *3.3.4.2 Le Couteur's theory about other standing figures*

During the releading of window sXI, Le Couteur found portions of inscriptions which he believed gave an indication of the iconography of some of the presbytery aisle windows.<sup>89</sup> These read “Kinnelm” and “Sancta”, in yellow-stain on black glass, and “bono” in black on a white ground (Cat.D.70 and D.72). He found another inscription of this type “man”, which he thought might come from “Germanus” in the scrap panel in the north transept.<sup>90</sup> He concluded that some of the presbytery aisle windows were filled with standing figures of saints beneath the canopies and on bases, with their names inscribed in gold lettering.

Additional evidence in the Catalogue supports Le Couteur's theory about this series of standing saints. There are a few similar fragments of inscriptions from bases – in yellow-stain script on a black background, set in a base of brownish stipple tinged with yellow-stain. In the great west window, these fragments appear to read “rus” and “MR” (Cat.E.3), “uit”? (Cat.E.45), “PRO nob(is)” (Cat.E.56) and “[O]RA P[RO] Nob(is)” (Cat.E.70).<sup>91</sup> There was an additional inscription in Father Ward's collection reading “Stephan”, which appears to have been in the same design and technique as “Kinnelm” (Cat.G.4 and Fig. 3.35).

A similar fragment, in yellow on black, reading “SACTA” survives in the glass now in the Deanery (Cat.H.14). This glass includes Prior Silkstede's name in white on a black ground, with a fine yellow-stain decoration, and other inscriptions in experimental styles, using yellow on black (Cat. H.6, H.8 and H.10). The “SACTA” inscription in the Deanery may come from Prior Silkstede's Chapel in the south transept, or from his Chapel in the Prior's Lodgings, rather than from the presbytery aisle. The Deanery glass is, however, helpful in linking the style and technique of the inscriptions in window sXI to Prior Silkstede's period in office.

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<sup>87</sup> Rushforth 1936: 139-41, 337-43.

<sup>88</sup> Mickleton and Fowler 1903: 109-122.

<sup>89</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 49-50.

<sup>90</sup> This could be the fragment surviving in the north transept scrap panel today, shown at Cat.F.2, but the first letter does not look like “m”.

<sup>91</sup> Note also Cat.E.52 which has an illegible yellow on black inscription.

St Kenelm and perhaps St Germanus were the only saints connected by Le Couteur to the scheme of standing saints for the presbytery aisles. The only other name from a pedestal which is legible is Stephen. In St Swithun's calendar as reconstructed by Nigel Morgan, Kenelm is a martyr and Germanus a confessor.<sup>92</sup> In the calendar and the litany, St Stephen is an important martyr.<sup>93</sup> There could well have been a series of confessors and a series of martyrs in the south presbytery aisle glass, with an emphasis on Anglo-Saxon saints. The most important Anglo-Saxon saints associated with cathedral were confessors in the litany, and their relics were in the presbytery and retrochoir. The "Ora pro nobis" inscriptions are consistent with the connection to the litany.<sup>94</sup>

### ***3.3.4.3 Narrative scenes proposed in the main lights of the presbytery aisles***

The great west window of the cathedral, and the Abbey Museum at Caboolture, contain fragments of early 16th-century narrative glass which may come from Fox's scheme. The most significant fragments are heads likely to be Christ and the Scourger. There are several other heads which are impossible to identify with confidence.

#### ***The Passion***

The head in Caboolture shown in Fig. 3.36, first identified by Callé as the Scourger from a Passion scene, is comparable in its cruelty to work at King's College Cambridge (see for example the caricatured faces in Fig. 3.37).<sup>95</sup> There is a head in the great west window of the cathedral which may represent Christ. It is reminiscent of images of Christ at Fairford and King's College Cambridge, although more freely drawn (Figs 0.61, and 3.38-3.39). The brown paint fits with other heads now in the great west window of Winchester Cathedral, such as the finely painted head in Fig. 0.58, the heads in Cat.E.83 and E.85, and the face with a down-turned mouth in Cat.E.32. Also in the great west window, the fragments of blue chain mail in Fig.2.39, identified in 2.3.3 as coming from the Apocalypse window, might alternatively come from a Passion window. They are very similar to the soldier's armour at King's College in Fig. 3.39.

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<sup>92</sup> Morgan 1981: 141 and see Chapter 4.

<sup>93</sup> Morgan 1981: 136; Morgan 2013: 113.

<sup>94</sup> See 4.2.2.3.

<sup>95</sup> Callé 2004: 14-15 first made this comparison.

The suggestion that there was originally a Passion series in the south presbytery aisle windows may be supported by the lion face surviving at the bottom of light A7 in the tracery of window sVIII (Cat.D.68). The roaring lion emblem is a symbol of Christ's resurrection.<sup>96</sup> The lion face looks as though it may be in situ, although examination from scaffolding would be helpful to confirm this.

### ***Magi and Virgin***

It has been suggested in 2.4.3 that the king's head in Fig. 0.57 could come from the Lady Chapel Nativity window. It could alternatively come from an Adoration of the Magi in the presbytery aisle main lights. The beautiful female face with downcast eyes and loose golden hair in Fig. 0.59 could have represented the Virgin in such a scene. Both are now in the great west window of the cathedral, and have elegant thickly outlined eyelids and fine eyebrows.

The female head in Fig. 0.59 sits near to part of a golden scroll, or possibly a halo, which reads "Ecce". Another possibility is that the female head and the scroll could come from an Annunciation scene in the presbytery aisle: the Virgin's words were "Ecce Ancilla Domini" (Luke 1: 38).<sup>97</sup>

### ***History of St Swithun's***

The substantial head of a bishop in the great west window could be the face of a standing saint, or evidence of a narrative relating to the history of St Swithun's (Fig. 0.60). There was a tonsured head in Father Ward's collection, at the top of the middle panel on the viewer's left in Cat.G.7, which is shown in more detail at Fig. 3.40. The angle and expression suggest that the head could be from a narrative scene, perhaps referring to the history of St Swithun's. Alternatively, this could have been a monastic "donor" figure, like Prior Silkstede praying in the Lady Chapel wall paintings. Numerous such figures are described in the glass in the Rites of Durham.<sup>98</sup>

It is impossible to be sure about the original location of these fragments. Some may come from the Lady Chapel, as already discussed. Some could come from Bishop Langton's Chapel, which was decorated in the early 16th century.<sup>99</sup> Apart from the east gable window Last Judgement, there is no evidence to suggest narrative glass in the presbytery clerestory, but this cannot be ruled out: Henry

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<sup>96</sup> Mâle 1961: 40-41.

<sup>97</sup> An alternative scene which could explain "Ecce" is the occasion when Pontius Pilate presented Christ to the crowd, with the words "Ecce homo" (John 19: 5).

<sup>98</sup> For example, Mickleton and Fowler 1903: 109, 113, 114.

<sup>99</sup> Chapters 1 and 5.

VII's typological glass at Westminster was in the clerestory.<sup>100</sup> A further location for narrative glass may have been the transepts. Prior Silkstede could well have included narrative glass in the south transept chapel which he appropriated.<sup>101</sup>

Callé's identification of the Scourger and the identification of Christ are convincing. It is almost certain that Fox would have wanted a Life of Christ in his glazing scheme. Fox was devoted to the Passion and his chapel is enriched with symbols of the Passion.<sup>102</sup> Notwithstanding all the various possible locations for early 16th-century narrative glass in the cathedral noted above, it is most likely that the important imagery telling the life of Christ would have been in the presbytery aisles. The presbytery aisles windows were Fox's only complete scheme of new windows in the cathedral and the vibrancy of the surviving tracery glass and canopy tops suggests lively and important work. This is the most obvious location for Fox's narrative glass, where the stories would have been most clearly visible.

### **3.3.5. The presbytery aisle glazing: overall arrangement**

#### ***3.3.5.1 The possible arrangement of the Creed series***

The apostles and prophets in a Creed series were generally in separate windows, or sets of windows as at Fairford - where there were prophets in three windows of the north presbytery aisle and apostles in the three south aisle windows opposite.<sup>103</sup> From the north side, Amos in Fig. 0.27 faces east, so it is possible that the prophets were on the north side of the presbytery aisle and the apostles on the south. However, most of the in situ canopy tops in the Winchester presbytery aisles are on the north side, and the fragments of scrolls and borders are also in windows nIX and nX. All of apostles and prophets may have been in three of the four windows of the north presbytery aisle (twenty-four lights).

#### ***3.3.5.2 The possible arrangement of the narrative windows***

There may have been narrative windows relating to the Life of Christ in the south presbytery aisle, in some or all of windows sVIII, sIX and sX, closest to Fox's Chantry. Only the window masonry

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<sup>100</sup> Marks 2012: 389-91.

<sup>101</sup> Chapter 5.

<sup>102</sup> Chapters 1 and 5.

<sup>103</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plates 10-12 and 18-20.

survives to give any clue as to how these could have been arranged. The four light windows are divided horizontally by a transom. Each window could have contained two main scenes spreading across the lights, one above the other, or eight individual scenes, or even two main scenes in the central two lights, with additional scenes in the four outer lights. The windows in the east end of Fairford Church show how flexibly narrative scenes could be combined in one window, sometimes including separate scenes in individual lights, sometimes spreading across more than one light, and sometimes with different elements of the story shown in the background.<sup>104</sup> In the Winchester presbytery aisles, because the windows are divided by a transom, a further possibility is that narrative scenes could have been combined in windows with standing figures. In some of the windows in the Chapel of Nine Altars at Durham Cathedral, the stories appeared below the saints depicted above.<sup>105</sup> However, no canopy tops survive in in the main lights of windows sVIII-sX to suggest standing figures.

There is no evidence to suggest that the narrative glass took the form of a typological scheme, contrasting New Testament stories with their Old Testament parallels, but this remains a real possibility. The four-light format of the Winchester presbytery aisle windows would not have accommodated a design like that at King's College Cambridge. At King's, the windows consist of five lights divided by a transom, and each contains two New Testament and two Old Testament scenes, divided horizontally by the transom and vertically by "Messenger" figures with scrolls.<sup>106</sup> Marks argues for a similar design in Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster.<sup>107</sup> The format in the presbytery aisles at Winchester would not have allowed for central dividing figures. However, again the windows at Fairford show how the typology in the *Biblia Pauperum* could be translated in different ways.<sup>108</sup> It is quite likely that the Winchester presbytery aisle narrative windows included typological parallels. These could have been based on the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* block book given the echoes of that work already detected in the presbytery aisle traceries, and the fact that its format of two pictures per page would have suited the regular four light windows.

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<sup>104</sup> For example, Brown and MacDonald 2007: Plates 3, 4 and 7.

<sup>105</sup> Mickleton and Fowler 1903: 118-19.

<sup>106</sup> Wayment 1972.

<sup>107</sup> Marks 2012: 391.

<sup>108</sup> Brown and MacDonald 2007: 52-55.



### 3.3.5.3 *The conjectural reconstruction in Fig. 3.2*

It is very likely that additional scenes from Mary's life were included in the presbytery aisles' traceries. It is almost certain that the Annunciation was included. If there were eight scenes to fit with the number of windows, there could have been either seven joys of Mary, with a miracle of Mary as in the *Speculum* manuscripts, or eight scenes related to the Nativity from a Book of Hours. The reconstruction in Fig.3.2 opts for the joys, since they were an established theme in the Royal Window at Canterbury Cathedral and the *Magnificat* window at Great Malvern Priory.

It is also probable that there was a Creed series in the presbytery aisle main lights. This seems likely to have paralleled the scheme at Great Malvern Priory in having the catechism in the north choir aisle.<sup>109</sup> The alternating canopy tops which appear to be in situ suggest three Creed windows with twenty four figures on the north side and standing saints in one window on the south side.

The other suggestions as to subject matter, including the possibility of four narrative windows, are more speculative, but they at least provide a starting point for further discussion by scholars.

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<sup>109</sup> Gilderdale Scott 2008: 42

## **Chapter 4: Liturgy and devotion: access to the glass and its audience**

This chapter connects the earlier discussions about the building and the iconography of the glass, relating them to what is known about the late medieval liturgy and devotional life in the cathedral. The main aim is to explain how the imagery that survives may have resonated with its audience performing the liturgy, by glimpsing the whole of the main spaces, rather than isolated components, and by asking what went on in the different spaces and how people moved between them. The descriptions attempt to recreate a snapshot of the various spaces as they were in around 1528, the year of Bishop Fox's death. The broad approach required for such a study runs the risk of superficiality, but piecing together the information we have about life in the building, however incomplete, gives a fuller picture of what the glass contributed to worship in the cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

The chapter begins by explaining how little is known about the late medieval liturgy of the Benedictine monks in the cathedral. Only fragments of a few of the main service books survive, and except for the work of Nigel Morgan, especially on the calendar and litany of the saints, this is an area which has so far been under-researched. Where existing scholarship does provide specific evidence of St Swithun's liturgy which is relevant to images in the glass, this is noted.

Given the dearth of liturgical texts specific to St Swithun's, it is helpful that close links can be identified between the imagery in the surviving glass and the standard, core parts of the liturgy which must have been performed by the monks in the choir and Lady Chapel - especially the liturgy of the Mass. In particular, the chapter finds an emphasis on the central aspiration, which went to the heart of long-standing Benedictine and wider Christian tradition, the vision of God in glory, adored by the saints and angels in heaven. To some the explanation may seem generic and unsurprising, but it has not previously been identified in the published literature on the Winchester Cathedral glass, and it is in the current author's view essential to its understanding. It is hoped that the interpretation will be of interest to the wider public visiting the cathedral, helping them to make sense of the remains that survive.

The chapter also argues that in the areas of the building to which lay people had access, there were representations in the glass of the liturgy which would be particularly relevant to them. It finds

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<sup>1</sup> Sauerländer 2000: 8-15.

evidence of painting and sculpture that fit together coherently with the glass. The iconography worked together to reiterate and elaborate on the liturgy. It connected to the pathways taken in and around the building, in so far as these can be ascertained, guiding visitors from west to east.

## **4.1 Introductory: liturgy, altars and processional routes**

In the 6th century, Benedict of Nursia had established a Rule for his monks at Montecassino in Italy, prescribing the principles of living in community, centred around a constant pattern of daily prayer. This Rule subsequently formed the basis for most of the monastic orders, but especially the Benedictines.<sup>2</sup> The Introduction has noted the reform of the monasteries centred on Winchester, where the *Regularis Concordia* was drawn up, c 973. Following the Norman Conquest, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, reformed English monasteries to bring them into line with those in Normandy. Dom David Knowles used Lanfranc's *Constitutions* to construct a timetable describing the monks' schedule, from the late 11th century up until the Reformation.<sup>3</sup>

### **4.1.1 Liturgy**

The core of the Daily Office in the choir prescribed by the Rule was the recitation of the Psalms; the monks were required to recite the entire psalter each week.<sup>4</sup> James Clark says that the Office occupied the Benedictines for fourteen of their nineteen daytime hours, although because of their other duties superiors were excused from the full burden of the timetable.<sup>5</sup> The daytime Offices (Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline) followed the night office of Matins. Other daily observances, which might be celebrated in the Lady Chapel, were the Marian antiphon (usually sung after Compline, a semi-private observance by the later middle ages) and the Little Office of the Virgin, which was integrated within the daily cycle of offices.<sup>6</sup> The Commemorative Office to the Virgin displaced the Office of the day once a week, usually on Saturday in the choir.

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<sup>2</sup> Harper 2001: 18.

<sup>3</sup> Knowles and Brooke 2002: xx-xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Harper 2001: 70. Ibid 76-77 summarises the general order of the medieval Daily Office.

<sup>5</sup> Clark 2011: 92-93 and 101.

<sup>6</sup> Harper 2001: 131-34.

The liturgy of the Mass co-existed alongside the Divine Office. John Harper explains the nature of medieval mass in cathedrals and monasteries as “‘private’ Masses at which the whole community was present”.<sup>7</sup> The texts for the celebrant and other ministers in the sanctuary ran in parallel to the texts sung in the choir, and did not always coincide.<sup>8</sup> Three daily Masses were regularly performed at monastic churches: the Mass of the day (for the Sunday or feast day); the Morrow Mass (for some kind of secondary observance); and the Lady Mass. The Lady Mass was a complete celebration of the Mass, dedicated to the Virgin by the inclusion of specific texts. It was sometimes celebrated privately and sometimes by part of the community or a special group of singers in the Lady Chapel.<sup>9</sup> In large institutions like St Swithun’s Priory Church, additional Masses, including the Requiem Mass, would have been said throughout the day at the numerous altars and chantries in the building.<sup>10</sup> Mass was said at the various altars by monks, according to a timetable or “Tabula Missae”.<sup>11</sup>

Looking for evidence of the specifics of the monastic liturgy at St Swithun’s in the early 16th century, the manuscripts surviving from the pre-conquest period at Winchester are of limited use, because of the major changes to the liturgy following the Norman Conquest.<sup>12</sup> It is not known whether the 10th-century Benedictional of Ethelwold was still present in the cathedral, but it may have been. Robert Deshman explains that the manuscript seems to have remained either in Winchester Cathedral or Hyde Abbey (the later name of the New Minster) until the 15th century and perhaps until the dissolution in 1539. Parchment from a 15th-century inventory of Hyde shrines was used to reinforce its binding.<sup>13</sup> The blessings in the benedictional were for use by the bishop conducting Mass. Michael Lapidge argues that these would no longer have been used after the Norman conquest, but this is inconsistent with J. Legg’s observation that many of the 14th-century benedictions for Westminster Abbey can be found in Ethelwold’s Benedictional.<sup>14</sup> Some or all of Ethelwold’s blessings may still have been incorporated in the late medieval liturgy for St Swithun’s.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid: 113.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid: 113-114 and 122-24.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid: 135-36.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid: 125.

<sup>11</sup> Kitchen 1892: 203.

<sup>12</sup> Morgan 1981:159.

<sup>13</sup> Deshman 1995: 261.

<sup>14</sup> Lapidge 2003: 89; Legg 1896-97: 1424.

Only fragments of a few of the main service books used in the choir of St Swithun's survive for the later medieval period. These are noted in the following paragraphs. For the most part, the arguments in this chapter about the connections between the monastic liturgy of St Swithun's and its glass are based on universal elements of the liturgy, and examples from the later medieval texts of other Benedictine monasteries, supplemented by elements from the fragmentary Winchester Cathedral texts highlighted by previous scholars.

Nigel Morgan has very helpfully reconstructed St Swithun's calendar in its 14th or early 15th-century form.<sup>15</sup> His three main sources are a late 11th-century calendar, corrected in the 13th century to reflect the cathedral's use (BL MS Cotton Vitell E XVIII), a fragmentary breviary from the cathedral written in 1424 (Bodleian MS Rawlinson C.489), and a mid-12th-century psalter with a calendar corrected in the 14th century to conform to that of the cathedral (Milan Biblioteca Braidense MS AF.XI.9). Other useful sources include a manuscript at Gloucester Cathedral Library, including early 16th-century texts of the proper prefaces for Mass for the major feast days; and the diet rolls of St Swithun's.<sup>16</sup> The diet rolls record the daily meals of the monks in the years 1492-93 and 1514-15: the days of importance are headed by the name of their festival with the grade for the day.<sup>17</sup> Morgan concludes that apart from the great festivals celebrated throughout the church, the honours of high grading were given to the saints whose relics were at Winchester Cathedral: Swithun, Birinus, Ethelwold, Hedda, Justus of Beauvais, Alphege of Winchester, Frithestan and Brinstan.<sup>18</sup>

Morgan's more recent work on reconstruction of the litanies of the saints after 1100 is of crucial importance to this thesis.<sup>19</sup> The most relevant of the Winchester texts is from a psalter dated c1410-25 now in the Cambridge University Library (Kk.6.39).<sup>20</sup> Morgan describes this as the standard form of St Swithun's litany by the later medieval period. It includes double invocations for Peter, Benedict, Nicholas, Birinus, Swithun and Ethelwold.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Morgan 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Gloucester Cathedral Library MS 23 and Kitchin 1892.

<sup>17</sup> Kitchin 1892: 306. The two rolls together give a full year's diet, except for the six weeks from September 20th to October 31st.

<sup>18</sup> Morgan 1981: 147.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan 2013: 31-35, 105-14.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid: 113-14; Hardwick and Luard 1856-67, III: 731; Binski, and Zutshi 2011: No. 207.

<sup>21</sup> Morgan 2013: 35.

A further Winchester Cathedral source on which this thesis relies is the remains of a 15th-century liturgical manuscript left to Downside Abbey by Francis Baigent. An article by Dom Aelred Watkin includes useful extracts.<sup>22</sup> Watkin suggests that the volume was intended for use by monks absent from the choir, perhaps in the infirmary. Although the contents are incomplete, the fragments provide helpful support for a number of the arguments which follow, many based on evidence derived from more general sources.

As well as the evidence from Winchester Cathedral, some reference is also made to the Sarum liturgy, which by the early 14th century prevailed with local variations for secular services throughout England, except in the diocese of Hereford and the province of York.<sup>23</sup> Bishop Fox revised the Sarum Processional for printing between 1501 and 1508, and he also required that the Sarum Use should be followed at his foundation at Corpus Christi College Oxford.<sup>24</sup> There is no doubt that the Sarum Use would have been used for secular services throughout his diocese.<sup>25</sup>

As Winchester Cathedral was a monastic cathedral, the main services in the choir were of Benedictine Use, to which the Sarum Use was irrelevant.<sup>26</sup> The extent to which the Sarum Use applied to services in Winchester Cathedral is unknown. We do not know whether the bishop followed the monastic missal or the Sarum one when he celebrated Mass for the monks in the choir. St Swithun's own liturgy may have made provision for when the bishop was present.<sup>27</sup> The Sarum Use was presumably used for services in the nave of the cathedral which did not form part of the Benedictine liturgy – for example if the bishop celebrated Mass at the main altar in the nave.<sup>28</sup> The monks may have followed the Sarum Use when they were required to serve in chantries (such as Wykeham's), since chantries were usually equipped with a missal and breviary.<sup>29</sup> Monks celebrating Mass at other altars are likely to have used their own missal.

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<sup>22</sup> Watkin 1951; Ker 1977: 445-47

<sup>23</sup> Morgan 2001: 183, 184, 199. There was however resistance in London to Sarum in the 15th century.

<sup>24</sup> Collett 2002(a): 12; Raub 2011: 216-225; Fowler 1893: 48.

<sup>25</sup> Morgan 1981: 160-61 notes that, in the Diocese of Winchester, Sarum texts have as supplements the feast of Birinus and sometimes the feast of Grimbald.

<sup>26</sup> Morgan 2001: 199.

<sup>27</sup> As at the Benedictine Cathedral Priory at Norwich (Tolhurst 1948: 124-25).

<sup>28</sup> Morgan 2001: 199. I am grateful to Nigel Morgan for discussing the contents of this paragraph with me in 2015.

<sup>29</sup> For Wykeham's chantry see 4.1.2.

### 4.1.2 Chapels and altars

The dedications and positions of chapels and altars in a cathedral form a crucial part of the liturgical landscape in any attempt to reconstruct and interpret its medieval glazing schemes. We do not have a complete record of the altars in Winchester Cathedral at the time of the Reformation.<sup>30</sup> Milner identified the sites of about twenty altars, although he thought there were probably far more than this.<sup>31</sup> The Dissolution Inventory at the time of the Reformation suggests a total of twenty-three to twenty-six altars.<sup>32</sup> This section gives an overview of the references to specific chapels and altars in the cathedral found by the author in the course of her research. This is both by way of background to the interpretations in the following sections, and to establish whether the dedications can cast further light on the location and purpose of any images in the glass.

In the east end, the high altar, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, and the main altar in the Lady Chapel were of principal liturgical significance (Fig. 0.4).<sup>33</sup> Sections 4.2 and 4.3 below discuss in detail the relevance of the late medieval glass to the liturgical functions in these locations. Less well-known, there was an altar to the Virgin outside the Lady Chapel, as noted in section 4.4.5. In addition, Crook has drawn attention to a “minor altar” in the area behind the Great Screen.<sup>34</sup> By 1528, this space no longer held St Swithun’s reliquary, which was in the retrochoir.

As explained in Chapter 1, at 1.2.1 and 1.2.8, little is known about the glass in the retrochoir, although there is some evidence of glass in the Guardian Angels’ and Langton’s Chapels, and in Fox’s chantry chapel. Masses would also have been said at the chantries of Beaufort and Waynflete and there may also have been other altars in the retrochoir, and in the presbytery aisles. Beneath the crossing, the Holy Sepulchre Chapel was a particularly sacred location for the Easter liturgy (Figs 4.1 and 4.2).

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<sup>30</sup> Milner I: 259-64 on the taking down of altars c1550. Keene 1985, i: 201 says that no chantry certificates under the Chantry Acts of 1545 and 1547 survive for Winchester.

<sup>31</sup> *Milner II*: 111.

<sup>32</sup> DI records in the sacrist’s section eight “divers hangings” for the high altar and twenty-one pairs of hangings for the altars of the church. It suggests for the Lady Chapel one main altar and three of silk.

<sup>33</sup> Goodman 1927: item 4; Crook 2011: 140. There was an office of custodian of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Kitchin 1892: 257).

<sup>34</sup> Crook 2003: 231.

There were chapels in the transepts, at least on the eastern walls.<sup>35</sup> Milner suggests five altars in all in the north transept.<sup>36</sup> Norton is clear that there were three altars in three bays on the east wall of the north transept from c1320.<sup>37</sup> Russell argues that the six windows containing Decorated tracery on the eastern walls of the north and south transepts were paid for by individual donors at different times, and that they would have been designed to take stained glass, although almost none of the original 14th-century glass now survives.<sup>38</sup> In the south transept, the second chapel to the south was refurbished in the early 16th century by Prior Silkstede, presumably as his chantry chapel.<sup>39</sup> This chapel may originally have been dedicated to St Peter and St Andrew, based on the evidence of wall paintings surviving there in the 19th century.<sup>40</sup> Some of the early 16th-century glass now in the Deanery depicting saints Peter and Andrew (together with an inscription relating to Prior Silkstede) could have originated here (Cat.H.6 and H.9).

Moving to the west end and nave, section 4.5 below argues that Fox's east gable window worked together with the glass here, supporting the liturgical and civic life in this part of the building. The register of the Common Seal refers to the Mass to Jesus in the nave every Friday by 1482.<sup>41</sup> This was probably at the main altar in the nave in front of the rood screen, traditionally described as the altar of the Holy Cross.<sup>42</sup> It seems likely that the "great altar" was another name for the Holy Cross altar. Rudbourne refers to the great altar ("majus altar") distinguishing it from the high altar in the choir.<sup>43</sup> He says that Henry of Blois gave a great cross with gold images for the great altar.<sup>44</sup> This may well have been the great jewelled cross containing a number of items associated with Christ and the Virgin, including two relics of the Holy Cross (see Appendix 4).<sup>45</sup>

There were other important chapels and altars in the nave. Mass would also have been said at Edington's and Wykeham's chantry chapels. Wykeham requested in his chantry the daily celebration by three monks of one mass dedicated to the Virgin and two further masses, as well as a Marian antiphon sung by the boys of the almonry school each evening (either *Salve Regina* or *Ave*

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<sup>35</sup> Norton 1983: 85; *BOE 2010*: 581.

<sup>36</sup> *Milner II*: 111.

<sup>37</sup> Norton 1983: 85; *BOE 2010*: 568.

<sup>38</sup> Russell 1983: 98-99.

<sup>39</sup> *BOE 2010*: 581.

<sup>40</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 124-25.

<sup>41</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 402.

<sup>42</sup> Goodman 1927: item 265; Carpenter Turner 1991.

<sup>43</sup> Carpenter Turner 1980: 26.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Bishop 1884: 41; Thomas 1974: 134.



*Regina*).<sup>46</sup> Additional altars in the nave may have included one dedicated to St Ethelwold, whose relics were in the cathedral.<sup>47</sup> Crook has also suggested that there may have been a chapel dedicated to St George on the south side of the rood screen.<sup>48</sup> There is evidence of chantries for Bishop Adam Orleton and John of Devon in the nave.<sup>49</sup> C. Brookes argues that there would have been many altars against the pillars in the nave, like those surviving at St Albans.<sup>50</sup> St Swithun's Chapel, over his empty grave, lay outside the north west corner (see Fig. 0.4 and section 4.4.1).<sup>51</sup>

There was space for more altars at triforium level in the cathedral, and a complete circuit of the church at gallery level had been prescribed by the *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>52</sup> However, continuity of the triforium had been broken by the 13th-century retrochoir, and it seems unlikely that there were altars in the triforium by the early 16th century, given the inconvenient access and given that the practice of accommodating altars at this level had generally died out.<sup>53</sup>

There are further documentary references to chapels and altars, although their locations are unknown:

- St Agatha's Chapel;<sup>54</sup>
- St Blaise's Chapel;<sup>55</sup>
- St John the Baptist's Chapel: It is possible that the Guardian Angels' Chapel was dedicated to the Baptist, as Lindley has identified a figure of St John the Baptist from the reredos of the Guardian Angels Chapel, dated to the 15th century;<sup>56</sup>
- St John the Evangelist's Chapel;<sup>57</sup>
- St Pantaleon's Altar;<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Lowth 1777: 254-59; Greatrex 1978: item 63; Eavis 2011: 186-88.

<sup>47</sup> There is evidence of an altar to St Ethelwold in the nave in the reign of Edward III (Stephens and Madge 1897: 68). Kitchin and Madge 1889: 28 refers to the Chapel of Ethelwold.

<sup>48</sup> Crook 1989: 35, note 102.

<sup>49</sup> *BOE 2010*: 581; Goodman 1927: item 265; Carpenter Turner 1991.

<sup>50</sup> Brookes 1993: 9.

<sup>51</sup> Crook 1993: 58-59. Crook in Lapidge 2003: 170.

<sup>52</sup> Crook 1989: 24-25 and note 121.

<sup>53</sup> Draper 2006: 215.

<sup>54</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 28. It is not clear whether this is a reference to a chapel in the cathedral, but there is evidence of Agatha's relics in the cathedral and she featured in St Swithun's litany of the saints (Appendix 4 and Morgan 2013: 113).

<sup>55</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 28; Goodman 1927: item 134, amended by addenda on p.250.

<sup>56</sup> HRO 54019 (Alchin's Index IV): 119 notes an ordination by Bishop Courtenay "in Cap S' Johannis Bapt infra Eccl' Cath Winton d.s.q.t. 19th Sept 1488"; Lindley 1993: 111.

<sup>57</sup> There was an injunction to the monks to celebrate mass to Bishop Pontissara "in capella sancti Johannis Evangelisti in ecclesia vestra conventuali" (Add MS 39975 (Baigent Papers)).

<sup>58</sup> Kitchin 1892: 215.

- St Swithun's Altar: Bishop Gifford dedicated an altar to St Swithun in the 1120's;<sup>59</sup>
- St Thomas' Chapel;<sup>60</sup>
- Chapel of the Martyrs?<sup>61</sup>
- Chapel of Sandene?<sup>62</sup>

The list of relics in Appendix 4 suggests the names of other possible dedications for altars.

With the possible exception of Prior Silkstede's glass in the Deanery, this review of the evidence relating to altars and chapels in the cathedral does not add to what is already known about the location of the surviving fragments of glass. However, it does suggest the names of other saints who may have featured in the cathedral's glass, near their altars. Above all, it helps to recreate the environment in the cathedral, where the repetition of the Mass at the numerous altars would have been accompanied by the busy and purposeful murmuring and chanting of prayer.

#### **4.1.3 Processions**

There is little textual evidence about processions in the cathedral in the late Middle Ages to help us trace the liturgical pathways which the glass may have enhanced. In his discussion of the religious life of the citizens of Winchester in the later Middle Ages, Derek Keene implies that the Sarum Use would have applied generally to processions in the cathedral.<sup>63</sup> However, the monks of St Swithun's would have had their own Processional following the Benedictine Use. Without further documentary evidence, it is not clear which processions would have been governed by the Sarum liturgy as opposed to the Benedictine texts.

While it is important to be aware of the difficulties of ascertaining the detail of the late medieval liturgy at St Swithun's, it is helpful to remember that, in the main, the Sarum liturgy reflected the common practices of the western church.<sup>64</sup> To some extent, it is possible to talk in general terms

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<sup>59</sup> Goodman 1927: item 32. Crook 2011: 140 speculates on the location.

<sup>60</sup> Goodman 1927: item 176.

<sup>61</sup> Goodman 1927: item 134, amended by addenda on p.250.

<sup>62</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 27 notes a wax payment to the sacrist by the Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr in Southwark for the Chapel of Sandene. Was this a chantry chapel in the cathedral?

<sup>63</sup> Keene 1985 i: 128-29.

<sup>64</sup> Bailey 1971: 93.

about liturgical processions, as John Harper and Terence Bailey do.<sup>65</sup> This section will show that the general evidence is supported by some scattered textual references relating to Winchester Cathedral, and the physical evidence of the building itself. The section provides a starting point for thinking about liturgical movement between the spaces, which is touched on throughout the rest of this chapter.

Harper explains that there were processions before High Mass every Sunday and on double feasts (about one hundred a year).<sup>66</sup> The Sunday procession often included the sprinkling of altars with holy water for purification.<sup>67</sup> There could be processions at Matins or Vespers to the rood or to saints' altars.<sup>68</sup> There were special forms of procession in Holy Week, processions with litanies on days of special prayer and petition, and processions for the reception of eminent visitors.<sup>69</sup>

During processions, the community would leave the choir and walk in a prescribed order, generally led by a processional cross, candlebearers and thurifer, to other parts of the church, and sometimes outside the church, before returning to the choir.<sup>70</sup> By the later Middle Ages, processions were generally confined to the church or cloisters, but under the Sarum Use, processions went out to a city church for Mass on Rogation Day (to pray for the next harvest) and went around the outside of the cathedral on Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Pentecost and the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>71</sup>

James Clark is helpful in focusing specifically on Benedictine observance, although he writes in broad terms about the liturgy. He emphasises that while for the secular church, Mass was the summit of the Office, in Benedictine observance it was an adjunct to the Office.<sup>72</sup> Looking back to the earlier Middle Ages, the *Regularis Concordia* and *Decreta Lanfranci* required formal processions to precede each of the daily offices; for Sunday observances the processions were lengthened.<sup>73</sup> At least at the principal monastic churches, Clark argues that the commitment to ceremonial remained undiminished. At Durham Priory a daily procession preceded High Mass, and

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<sup>65</sup> Harper 2001: 127-30; compare Clark 2011: 100

<sup>66</sup> Harper 2001: 128.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid: 128-29.

<sup>68</sup> Bailey 1971: 107-11. Ibid: 109 notes that, at the Abbey Church of St Mary's York, there were processions at Matins corresponding to the vesperal processions to saints' altars.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid: 109-11; Harper 2001: 128.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid: 127.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid: 128.

<sup>72</sup> Clark 2011: 98.

<sup>73</sup> Clark 2011: 99.

the Sunday processions passed all the altars on the way to the choir, and also each chamber of the monastic enclosure, including the dormitory.<sup>74</sup>

Biddle and Keene are both clear that at Winchester processions from the cathedral out into the city remained important in the late Middle Ages.<sup>75</sup> There would have been processions from the cathedral to the outlying churches on feast days.<sup>76</sup> We know that there were still processions around the city on great occasions, as there is documentary evidence of this during St Swithun's translation in 1476. Bishops, abbots, the prior and monks gathered in the choir, took the reliquary from the high altar, and processed around the greater part of the city praising God, followed by a huge crowd.<sup>77</sup> There is also documentary evidence of a procession for St Swithun involving the mayor and leading citizens immediately before the Reformation.<sup>78</sup>

Closely related to the liturgical processions, dramas were acted out by and for the community, usually sung in Latin. The Easter drama included the blessing of palms and the procession on Palm Sunday, the Mass of the Lord's Supper, the burial of the Host, the Stripping of the Altars on Maundy Thursday, the ceremony at the Cross on Good Friday, the kindling of new fire and the blessing of new water on Easter eve, and the arrival of the three Mary's at the tomb on Easter morning to find the angel. There were dramas also at Christmas. Under the Sarum Use, and in cathedrals throughout Europe, a boy acted as bishop, even preaching a sermon, between the feasts of St Nicholas on 6th December and Holy Innocents' Day on 28th December.<sup>79</sup> It is clear from the sacrist's roll for St Swithun's for 1536-37 that on the eve of the Reformation the great Easter taper was still raised, relics were still carried on Rogation Days, and wine was provided for the Boy Bishop on Holy Innocents' Day (28th December), 12d.<sup>80</sup>

In Winchester Cathedral a number of architectural features give clues to, or raise questions about, processional routes within the cathedral. Fig. 0.4 marks important medieval locations, including (east to west):

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Biddle 1976: 270. Keene 1985: 128.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid notes evidence of the routes. The 1536-37 Sacristan's Roll mentions a number of stations in the city (Kitchin and Madge 1889: 28).

<sup>77</sup> Lapidge 2003: 36.

<sup>78</sup> Keene 1985: 129.

<sup>79</sup> Harper 2001: 138.

<sup>80</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 27-31.

- the Lady Chapel;
- the high altar;
- the Holy Sepulchre Chapel beneath the north side of the choir, between the crossing pillars;
- the western entrance to the choir, through the pulpitum;
- the Holy Cross altar in the nave;
- the black Tournai marble font, then as now on the north side of the nave;<sup>81</sup>
- the west front ceremonial entrance (Fig. 1.133). The mezzanine room at the north-western end of the nave, designed by Wykeham, may originally have been a minstrel's gallery, for use during processions attending the reception of great dignitaries, and for the Palm Sunday procession re-entering the cathedral at the west end.<sup>82</sup>

On the south side of the nave, there was access to the cloisters from doors at the east and west ends.<sup>83</sup> Bussby interprets Bishop Edington's will as proof that in the 14th century the monks entered the cathedral to begin their processions through the door from the cloister at the south east end of the nave.<sup>84</sup> The will is far from clear on the point: it requests burial in the nave "where the monks are accustomed to stand in procession on Sundays and feast days, or elsewhere in the said church".<sup>85</sup> Bussby's interpretation nevertheless seems probable, since Edington's Chantry sits close to the south east entrance from the cloisters, and the entrance to the choir.

In the early 16th century, the processional path at Winchester presumably still included the circuit of the transept aisles, lined by the 14th-century chapels, although the path from the south transept into the choir was blocked by Henry of Blois' treasury on the west side of the south transept.<sup>86</sup> Fox cannot have regarded the circuit of the transept aisles as a priority, as there is evidence that he planned to reduce or remove the eastern aisles of the transepts.<sup>87</sup> He rebuilt the entrances to the crypt, but processions would not have entered the crypt in the early 16th century. This had flooded regularly for centuries, and was used for the storage of building materials.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> See description of Prince Arthur's baptism in *Leland IV*: 204; Crook 2012: 7-10.

<sup>82</sup> Altham 1962, 7-8. It was probably not until after the Reformation that the gallery came to be used as a consistory court (*BOE 2010*: 588).

<sup>83</sup> *BOE 2010*: 576-77.

<sup>84</sup> Bussby 1979: 38.

<sup>85</sup> Luxford 2011: 53.

<sup>86</sup> Crook 1989: 22 and note 107.

<sup>87</sup> Crook 1989: 14 and note 43. It is clear from the positioning of the windows in the presbytery aisle walls that Fox intended to reduce the eastern aisles of the transepts. Fox's westernmost windows in the presbytery aisles are blocked by the transepts (Riall 2015: 236 and Fig. 22).

<sup>88</sup> Crook 1989: 1, 18-20.

Despite the lack of precise information about the processional routes in Winchester Cathedral, it is clear that the liturgy involved much movement between spaces. The most important stations in the cathedral for which glazing still survives in situ are the high altar, the Lady Chapel, and the west front. This chapter concentrates primarily on the liturgical significance of the east gable window, above and behind the high altar, the glass in the presbytery aisle pathways and the Lady Chapel windows. The final section also notes briefly some of the other glass visible from the west end and nave, as processions moved from the west end to the east.

## **4.2 Fox's glass in the presbytery: the monastic audience**

### **4.2.1 The view from the choir and presbytery**

Facing eastwards in front of the high altar as they performed the Mass, the celebrant and his assistants were confronted by the rich colour, textiles, gold and jewels of the altar itself and its furnishings, all steeped in incense from the censers. Behind the altar, the Great Screen was peopled with naturalistic painted figures; the central third held a crucifixion, with the figure of Christ gilded and adorned with precious stones.<sup>89</sup> For the ministers standing close to the altar, the east gable window would have been difficult to see, but if they looked up to the hanging pyx which held the host at the top of the screen, or when they returned to their seats in the sanctuary, they might have glanced at the Last Judgement in the upper part of the window (Fig. 4.3).

The monks sitting further back in choir had a more complete view of the east gable window when they turned towards the high altar to observe the Mass (Fig. 1.57). The more senior members of the community sat at the back of the stalls (Fig. 1.115). The stalls of the prior and subprior, or bishop (as titular abbot) were on either side of the pulpitum entrance, on single seats.<sup>90</sup> From this position, the east gable window was directly in front of them above the screen. The clearest view of the presbytery glass, however, would have been from the elevated pulpitum above them at the western

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<sup>89</sup> See Chapter 1. Turner 2014: 128 discusses incorporation of high altar roods into monumental screens at Winchester and St Albans.

<sup>90</sup> *BOE 2010*: 605. Compare Tracy 1993: 199. Note also the long-established position of the bishop's throne in the sanctuary, in Biddle and Biddle 2015: Fig. 12.6.

end of the choir. This was the locus for much of the liturgy in monastic churches and according to the Sarum Use.<sup>91</sup>

For all the community, the vision of Christ at the top of the east gable window above the altar reflected the real presence at the Eucharist (Fig. 0.3). The Last Judgement was a reminder of the monks' personal need for salvation and of their special purpose as intercessors for the wider community. Fox's heraldry gave an assurance of his authority, patronage and care for them. For those leading the services, and any others with a complete view of the window, Saints Swithun, Peter and Paul were not only intercessors, but also a constant reminder of the community's corporate identity.<sup>92</sup> Chapter 3 has argued that praying figures of Henry VII and his queen Elizabeth or his mother probably appeared in the main central lights of the east gable window, placed between God, his angels and saints, and the monks below.

If they looked up to the vault above, the painted bosses paralleled and supplemented the iconography of the east gable window. Closest to the east end, over the high altar, the bosses include a series of thirty Passion emblems, including the scourge and hyssop, as at the top of the east gable window (Fig. 4.4). In the central part of the vault the bosses show early Tudor royal emblems – of Henry VII, Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry Prince of Wales and Katherine of Aragon. Further west, the vault bosses included Bishop Fox's heraldry, again referencing his four Sees as in the east gable window.<sup>93</sup>

Looking straight ahead from their seats in the choir, most of the monks faced north or south. They would have seen the painted carved frieze behind the stalls opposite, which told the stories of the Old and New Testament.<sup>94</sup> Looking slightly to the east, they could see the glass in the north or south presbytery clerestory (Figs 1.114 and 4.5). This showed standing figures of saints and prophets. Above them in the north presbytery clerestory traceried, and probably the south too, were angels on wheels, their hands raised (Fig. 0.15).

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<sup>91</sup> Huitson 2014: 74 cites examples from Norwich and Lincoln Cathedrals and Barking Abbey of liturgical use of the pulpitum on feast days. Harper 2001: 122-24 explains that under the Sarum Use, for Sunday Mass, the reading of the Epistle by the subdeacon, the singing of the Gradual and Alleluia by the soloists, and the singing of the Gospel, by the deacon, facing north, all took place on the pulpitum.

<sup>92</sup> Introduction at 0.5.1.

<sup>93</sup> Smith 1996: 18-25; Cave 1927.

<sup>94</sup> Chapter 1 at 1.2.4; *BOE 2010*: 604.

The traceries in the presbytery aisles, showing the scenes from Mary's life, were also visible above Fox's screens on the north and south sides of the choir (Fig. 4.5). It is not clear whether Fox's side screens were originally glazed, so we do not know whether the figurative glass in the main lights of north and south choir aisles was visible to the monks in choir. The screens could have been glazed with quarries or coloured glass, but this seems unlikely as there do not appear to be spaces in the masonry for holding glass. The outside of the screens may permanently or temporarily have been hung with tapestries or fabric, to give the monks privacy from the pilgrims in the choir aisles. In any event, the monks would have seen the glass in the main lights of the presbytery aisles when they left the choir in procession and as they went about their business in the church.

The choir and presbytery formed a massive, elegant layered light box, rich with painted sculpture and carving. When the sun shone the creamy stone would have been lit by pools of Fox's bright colours: in the early morning from the east window and in the afternoon from the south presbytery aisle. The fact that the imagery in the glass was only clearly visible from the choir indicates that the scheme was designed primarily for the community, to aid their meditation, inspiring and comforting them in their work of daily prayer and praise. The scheme would have been most clearly visible to any ministers who led worship from the pulpitum and to those leading the community more generally, especially the prior and the bishop, when they were present in the choir.<sup>95</sup> It was most visible to those likely to have been involved in commissioning it.

#### **4.2.2 A liturgical interpretation**

The iconography of the different groups of windows in the choir and presbytery can be looked at as depicting individual elements of the Christian story, and there would almost inevitably have been numerous parallels between the imagery and the liturgical texts, as in the case of any large figural glazing scheme in a church. How the monks as individuals thought about the images in the glass, if at all, would have varied according to their own interests, and from time to time.

Based on the glass that survives and the evidence of the liturgy available, the following paragraphs concentrate on two key aspects. Firstly, it is argued that the images in the presbytery glass, read together, expressed the main goal and vision at the heart of monastic life, closely echoing familiar, central elements of the liturgy. In support of this argument, the section concentrates on the broad

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<sup>95</sup> See note 91.



resonances in the glass with the great hymn of praise, the *Te Deum*, and the standard parts of the liturgy of the Mass, which both evoke the Heavenly Jerusalem known from the Book of Revelation. The fact that the imagery would have had different resonances in other liturgical contexts does not detract from its relevance to the core aspirations expressed in these texts. Secondly, in looking at the saints represented in the surviving glass, the section draws attention to the more specific local parallels with the proper prefaces to the Mass, the litany of the saints, and with suffrages at Vespers, Matins and Lauds. The final part of this section considers how far these connections with the liturgy may have been deliberately planned by those who commissioned the glass.

#### 4.2.2.1 *The Te Deum*

The *Te Deum* is a hymn of praise to the triune God, attributed to St Ambrose and St Augustine in the 4th century.<sup>96</sup> It was sung towards the end matins, the night office, before the gospel of the day, on Sundays, double feasts and simple Feasts of twelve lessons.<sup>97</sup> It was also used as a celebration on great occasions, such as the birth of Prince Arthur at Winchester.<sup>98</sup> The verses were illustrated in a window which Fox would have known in his previous role as bishop of Durham - in the south transept of Durham Cathedral dated c1430-40.<sup>99</sup> This was on a larger scale than, but may have been similar to, the roughly contemporary window from St Martin's Church, Coney Street York, now in York Minster.<sup>100</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the Winchester Cathedral presbytery glazing included the text of the *Te Deum*, but looked at as a whole the Winchester presbytery scheme can be interpreted as a hymn of praise, encompassing the themes which it expressed.

The *Te Deum* begins by praising God the Father, echoing the praise of all the angels: "To thee cherubin and seraphin continually do cry; Holy, holy, holy..."<sup>101</sup>

In the east gable window, it was Christ the Judge, rather than God the Father, in the top central light, but the sculpted image of God the Father was in the Great Screen below (Figs 1.57 and 1.59).

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<sup>96</sup> Sheingorn 1989: 174.

<sup>97</sup> Harper 2001: 93-95; Collett 2002(a): 113. Harper 2001: 53-55 and 299 explains that most days were feast days. The more important feasts were "double" as opposed to "simple" and great feasts were celebrated not only on the day but in the following week.

<sup>98</sup> *Leland IV*: 204.

<sup>99</sup> Mickleton and Fowler 1903: 32; Haselock and O'Connor 1980: 114.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*; Harrison 2015. For other examples in glass see Mezey 1979 and Marks 2012: 342-43.

<sup>101</sup> Quotations throughout from the text of the *Te Deum* are from Harper 2001: 271.

Christ in the glass was adored by the Virgin and John the Baptist kneeling before him, with angels hovering around their heads. The monks may have identified with these angels, who look so much like men and boys with contemporary hairstyles, and individual personalities (Figs 0.20-0.21). Monks aspired to be like the angels in their purity.<sup>102</sup>

The *Te Deum* distinguishes angels, cherubim and seraphim, reflecting the hierarchy of the nine orders of angels systemised by the Pseudo-Dionysius in the 4th or 5th century, and St Gregory in the 6th century.<sup>103</sup> The Pseudo-Dionysius' system was translated from Greek into Latin in the 9th century by John Scotus Eriugena, and it subsequently became the dominant system as a result of the work of Peter Lombard in the 12th century and Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century. These ideas were still current at the time the glass was commissioned. In the early 16th century, John Colet, Dean of St Pauls, wrote a commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysius text.<sup>104</sup> It is clear from the *Golden Legend* (which was in St Swithun's library) that there was a popular awareness of both Dionysius and John Scotus, although Nigel Morgan argues that the *Golden Legend* took most of its ideas from St Gregory.<sup>105</sup> The common knowledge of the nine orders is demonstrated also in the Chester Corpus Christi play, in which the nine orders of angels "walk about with the Trinity".<sup>106</sup> It was also a familiar subject in painted glass in the later Middle Ages.<sup>107</sup>

For his scheme in the presbytery, Fox deliberately retained the 15th-century angels in the main tracery lights of the north and south clerestories. All these angels have their open hands raised to their shoulders, in the traditional gesture of praise, as instructed in the Psalms: "...lift up your hands to the holy places, and bless ye the Lord" (Psalm 133: 2).<sup>108</sup>

It is not clear whether these angels are cherubim or seraphim, although it is usually cherubim which are shown on wheels, reflecting Ezekiel Chapter 10, where the cherubim are associated with another class of celestial being, appearing as wheels within wheels. The Winchester presbytery figures could equally be seraphim, the highest angelic class. Seraphim are described in Isaiah 6: 1-7, above the Lord on his throne, flying and calling to one another "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of hosts,

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<sup>102</sup> Vauchez 1997: 323

<sup>103</sup> Rorem 1993: 74-77.

<sup>104</sup> Morgan 2004: 212.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. *Voragine* II: 236-41.

<sup>106</sup> Mezey 1979: 17.

<sup>107</sup> See for example: New College Oxford (1380s); All Saints North Street York (c1420); Great Malvern Priory (c1480-90). Mezey 1979 and Morgan 2004: 215-16 note further examples.

<sup>108</sup> See also Psalms 62: 5 and 140: 2; Timothy 2: 8.

all the earth is full of his glory”. Seraphim were associated with fire, because of their burning love for God, and often depicted red.<sup>109</sup> An inscription at All Saints North Street explains that they express their passionate love for God by their constant movement around him: “Seraphyn amore ardentis et deum circumambulantes”.<sup>110</sup> The wheels may suggest their perpetual motion gravitating around the Lord. Morgan shows that it is not easy to distinguish depictions of cherubim from seraphim in later medieval art. From the examples he quotes the presbytery angels could be either.<sup>111</sup> The remainder of this thesis refers to the presbytery clerestory angels as seraphim, in the interests of simplicity.

In window NII of the north presbytery clerestory, Fox copied the form of the 15th-century seraphim on wheels in the other north clerestory windows (Fig. 0.40). Fox’s scheme also presents different kinds of angels in the form more commonly used in later 15th and early 16th-century art. These are in white albs, often holding shields or scrolls. These may represent the lowest rank of the nine orders, “plain” angels, the most concerned with the affairs of humans, often acting as messengers.<sup>112</sup> The rank above the angels was the archangels. These were foremost among the angels concerned with human governance.<sup>113</sup> It has been argued in Chapter 3 that the Archangel Michael may have appeared in the lower main tracery lights of the east gable window. The winged heads at the top of the east gable window take the form of cherubs used in Italian Renaissance art, as discussed in Chapter 1. Their red colour and proximity to God suggest that they could be seraphim. Fox’s scheme combines angels in old and new forms, and there is no indication in the surviving glass that it illustrated the nine orders in a systematic or uniform way. As in the *Te Deum*, however, the angels played a crucial part.

The hymn continues with praise for God from the apostles, the prophets, the martyrs and “The holy church throughout the world”. The large standing figures of saints and prophets surviving in the presbytery together form part of the “Holy Company of Heaven” who praise God. The “holy church” was represented in the east gable window by Saints Peter and Paul, and by Winchester’s bishops: St Swithun and one other, probably Birinus or Ethelwold. Christopher Norton has discussed the figures of local saints in the Great East window of York Minster, showing Salvation

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<sup>109</sup> Morgan 2004: 220; Rorem 1993: 72.

<sup>110</sup> Mezey 1979: 18.

<sup>111</sup> Morgan 2004: 219-20.

<sup>112</sup> Morgan 2004: 212-13. Ibid: 218-20 describes how each of the nine orders is represented in medieval art.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid: 213.

actualised through the local church, which carries out the work of Christ.<sup>114</sup> So too at St Swithun's the local saints connected the community more closely to Salvation History, of which they longed to be part.

The *Te Deum* continues addressing the Trinity. It has been argued in Chapter 3 that there are compelling reasons for thinking that the Trinity was represented in the central lower main light of the east gable window. The next verses praise the Son, the king of glory, and his birth from woman. Christ and the Virgin are in the tracery of the east gable window. Christ's Nativity was depicted in the presbytery aisles tracery, which could be glimpsed from the choir and sanctuary; it has been argued in Chapter 3 that this scheme would also have included the Annunciation.

The hymn continues: "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." This is the crucial declaration of Jesus as Saviour, making the kingdom of heaven available to all the faithful. Christ's victory over death was clear, as his image in the east gable window sat above the large crucifix in the Great Screen. He also appeared in his place in Heaven, beside the Virgin, in the presbytery aisle tracery, on a brilliant golden throne.

The final verses of the hymn fit more closely with Fox's Last Judgement scene. They acknowledge God as judge, praying "to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting", for purity, for mercy, and declaring faith in the Lord: "O lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded".

The Holy Company praising God in Heaven in the presbytery glass evoked the beatific vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which the monks in their choir strove to recreate on earth, and which they aspired to after death. The *Te Deum* was sung at the end of Matins, not long before dawn. Lauds followed almost immediately afterwards. In the summer months, as they welcomed the dawn and the end of the long night office, the monks may have welcomed the images in the glass as they came to life in the light. Their central meaning, derived from the Book of Revelation and epitomised in the *Te Deum*, could not have been clearer.

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<sup>114</sup> Norton 2005: 178; Introduction at 0.5.1.

#### 4.2.2.2 *The liturgy of the Mass*

The sun would be in the east for Morrow Mass, which followed Prime at around 7am or Terce at around 9am, but it is not clear where this was celebrated at St Swithun's in the early 16th century.<sup>115</sup> The images in the glass would certainly have been visible by the time High Mass was performed in the presbytery. High Mass was celebrated in daylight hours after Terce and before Vespers (which was at about 5pm).<sup>116</sup> The themes in the glass would have resonated throughout the liturgy of the Mass. The image of the wounded Christ in the east gable window, victorious in heaven, and probably of the Trinity too, represented the ultimate vision of Christ's real presence at the Eucharist.

The central part of the Mass, the "Ordinary", was fixed, so we can be confident about the texts and their associations with the glass. The seraphim praising God in the north and south clerestory echoed the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Alleluia*, and the *Sanctus*, which precede the consecration of the Host.<sup>117</sup> The *Sanctus* in particular is a direct quotation of the seraphims' song "Holy, holy, holy..." from Isaiah. John Tyes' new polyphonic settings of the *Gloria* (with isorhythmic setting for three voices), and his four voice setting of the *Sanctus* preserved in a manuscript compiled c1419 may well have tied in with the original installation of the seraphim in the north presbytery tracery.<sup>118</sup> As already noted, the seraphims' hands are raised to their shoulders, in a traditional devotional gesture. This echoes the gesture of the celebrant in the Canon of the Mass. Susie Nash has quoted an evocative description of this gesture from a Dominican text: "At times he raised his hands to his shoulders, in the manner of a priest saying Mass, as if he wanted to fix his ears more attentively on something that was being said to him by somebody else."<sup>119</sup> With regard to the Use of Sarum, Nick Sandon's edition, which includes the rubric, notes that the celebrant raises his hands as he chants the Paternoster.<sup>120</sup> The seraphim, at the top of the hierarchy, parallel a gesture used by the priest

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<sup>115</sup> *Milner II*: 98 assumes from Rudbourne's *Hist. Maj.* that Morrow Mass was held in the chapel behind the high altar, which housed the shrine of St Swithun until its translation in 1476. Section 4.1.2 explains that in the early 16th century, this chapel housed the "minor altar" but we do not know whether this was still the setting for the Morrow Mass. Much of the glass would have been difficult or impossible to see from this position.

<sup>116</sup> Harper 2001: 45-47.

<sup>117</sup> The Latin and English text is in Harper 2001: 266-69.

<sup>118</sup> Tyes was cantor at St Swithuns. Bowers 1993: 249-50.

<sup>119</sup> Nash 2008(b): 733.

<sup>120</sup> Sandon 1990: 31.

during Mass. The work of the community in the choir and presbytery echoed the work of the angels in heaven.<sup>121</sup>

It may be unsurprising for a large scheme in a cathedral church, but the iconography of the glass fitted too with the Nicene Creed, which set out the basic tenets of the Christian faith. This was a fixed element of the Mass, after the Gospel reading and before the Offertory. Christ on the rainbow (and probably in an image of the Trinity below too) was “One God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth...” and also “one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God...God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father...”.<sup>122</sup> He will come again “to judge both the quick and the dead”. Christ the judge is shown with the Virgin and John the Baptist in his heavenly kingdom, which “shall have no end”. The Creed affirms belief in “the Holy Ghost..... who spake by the prophets.” If, as is probable, the Trinity was illustrated in the lower central light, the Holy Ghost would have been represented by a dove. The figure of John the Baptist in the glass would have represented the prophets, as in the texts of the litany of the saints.<sup>123</sup> The Creed next affirms belief in the Holy Catholic and apostolic church, represented by the bishops and apostles, and one baptism for the remission of sins, personified again by John the Baptist. It looks for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. If the argument in Chapter 3 of this thesis is right, the resurrection of the dead was illustrated in the lower tracery lights of the east gable window.

The most important references in the Creed which are missing in the presbytery glazing scheme are those relating to the Passion of Christ. It is clear from the Dissolution Inventory that the crucifixion dominated the Great Screen. As noted above, the roof bosses above the altar also included an elaborate series of images relating to the Passion. Passion emblems, the scourge and the hyssop, survive in the east gable window, and Chapter 3 has argued that there was probably a Passion series in the main lights of the south presbytery aisle.

The presbytery scheme looked at as a whole reflected the elements of the Nicene Creed. The Creed was so important that it appears to have been inscribed in an apostles/ prophet series in the cathedral glass in at least two locations: in the great west window, noted in 4.5.1 below, and in the

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<sup>121</sup> Clifford Flanigan 1992: 347-48 notes one of the 11th-century tropes of the *Sanctus* in the *Winchester Troper* to demonstrate how the community, performing the Mass, may at times have felt they were themselves in heaven, participating, here and now, in the heavenly liturgy.

<sup>122</sup> Quotations from the Nicene Creed are from Harper 2001: 267-69.

<sup>123</sup> Morgan 2013: 113.

early 16th-century main lights of the presbytery aisles, as discussed in Chapter 3. The latter scheme would have been visible to the monks as they processed out of the choir, even if they could not see it clearly from their choir stalls.

The Ordinary of the Mass was combined with prayers which varied according to the institution's liturgical calendar. There were special forms of preface to the Eucharistic Prayer for certain seasons and feasts. The preface came after the Creed and the Offertory, but before the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*. The only substantial survival of the post-conquest missal of St Swithun's Priory, Gloucester Cathedral MS 23, contains prefaces to the later medieval Mass.<sup>124</sup> An overview of these shows that the glass also provided an appropriate backdrop to the local elements of the Mass, which were related to St Swithun's calendar.

The feasts of sufficiently high rank to have proper prefaces included numerous individual saints' days, in addition to those related to Christ and the Virgin. Evidence survives in the glass of at least twenty-one of the forty-six saints whose feasts had proper prefaces.<sup>125</sup> Among them, St Swithun, St Peter and St Paul, to whom the church was dedicated, are each referred to in three prayers. St John the Baptist is referred to in two prayers. There were large scale images of all these saints in the east gable window, above the high altar. The feast days of St Birinus and St Ethelwold both have two prayers each and St Hedda has one. The east gable window also contains probable evidence of Ethelwold, as discussed in Chapter 3. It is highly likely that Birinus and Hedda were also represented somewhere in the presbytery glass.

Further work on the texts of the prayers is needed, but in the three relatively short prayers so far translated, there is wording that resonates with the themes of angels, heaven and light. In one preface for St Swithun's feast "Eternal God through Christ" is "lord both of angels and men".<sup>126</sup> In another for Ethelwold, the monks pray to God "to release us from the bonds of our sins and to lead

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<sup>124</sup> Gloucester Cathedral MS 23; Ker 1977: 956-58; Morgan 1981: 135. I am grateful to the Gloucester Cathedral archivist Rebecca Phillips for forwarding me copies of MS 23 folios 156-182 and especially to Alison Deveson for transcribing and translating some parts for me.

<sup>125</sup> *St Stephen* (2), *St John*, *St Silvester*, *Sts Hilary and Remigius*, *St Maurus*, *Sts Fabian and Sebastian*, *St Agnes* (2), *St Vincent*, *St Paul* (3), *St Agatha*, *St Scholastica*, *St Valentine*, *St Peter* (3), *St Matthias*, *St Gregory*, *St Cuthbert*, *St Benedict* (2), *St Ambrose*, *St George*, *St Mark*, *St Philip* and *St James*, *St Anne*, *John the Baptist* (2), *St Swithun* (3), *St Hedda*, *St Mary Magdalene*, *St James*, *St Ethelwold?* (2), *St Lawrence*, *St Bartholomew*, *St Jude*, *St Birinus* (2), *St Matthew*, *St Michael*, *St Faith*, *Sts Simon and Judas*, *St Martin*, *St Katherine*, *St Andrew*, *St Nicholas*, *St Thomas the Apostle*. Note: Where there is more than one prayer to the saint the number of prayers is shown in brackets. Where the name is in italics, evidence of the saint survives in the glass.

<sup>126</sup> Gloucester Cathedral MS 23: folio 175.

us happily to the celestial kingdoms through Christ”.<sup>127</sup> The prayer to St Birinus refers to the saint as the teacher through whom “freed from the darkness of ignorance, we have deserved to be adopted into the sons of eternal light...”.<sup>128</sup> This kind of wording is hardly surprising in view of the preceding discussion in this section and the fact that the preface always ended in the same way: “Therefore with angels and archangels ...evermore praising thee and saying...”.<sup>129</sup>

#### ***4.2.2.3 The calendar and litany of the saints***

This section develops the suggestion in 3.3.4.2 that the standing figures in the presbytery glazing scheme at Winchester Cathedral reflected St Swithun’s 15th-century calendar as reconstructed by Morgan and the litany of the saints as contained in Morgan’s texts (see 4.1.1 above).

The litany of the saints is thought to have been in everyday use.<sup>130</sup> It was a prayer to the Trinity, individually and collectively, invoking intercession through the Virgin, the angels and archangels, the patriarchs and prophets (represented by St John the Baptist), the apostles, confessors, martyrs and virgins, priests and religious and finally the laity. The Minister recited each petition to the named saint, and the choir or people responded, usually with “Ora pro nobis”.

The images of God, the Virgin, John the Baptist, and the angels and prophets in the glass in the presbytery clerestory and aisles have already been noted, and it has been argued the Trinity probably featured in the central lower main light of the east gable window. Most convincing, Chapter 3 has shown that the figure of St Peter in the east gable window has inscribed at the base “Scs petrus ora”, and this inscription must have continued in the next light, probably under the image of a praying figure of Henry VII. Chapter 3 has also discussed the fragmentary evidence of the names of saints and “ora pro nobis” inscriptions in a distinctive early 16th-century style. Morgan’s textual evidence, read together with these fragments, suggests that some of the figures were the focus for prayers in processions invoking/commemorating the litany of the saints.

In a similar way, nine of the virgins in Morgan’s litany texts appear in the surviving tracery glass in the north presbytery aisle described in Chapter 3: Mary Magdalene, Lucy, Agatha, Agnes (if

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid: folio 176.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid: folio 180.

<sup>129</sup> Harper 2001: 119.

<sup>130</sup> Morgan 2012: vii; Knowles and Brooke 2002: xxiv; Harper 2001: 136.



correctly identified by Carter) Faith, Petronilla, Margaret and Barbara. Only two of the surviving identifiable figures, Prisca and Sitha, do not feature in Morgan's litany – but they could perhaps have been added to the litany by the early 16th century. Prisca is included in Morgan's 15th-century calendar and we know that St Sitha's feast was celebrated at St Swithun's by the early 16th century.<sup>131</sup> St Sitha is also referred to at the end of a series of prayers to the angels and saints in the psalter from St Swithun's dated c1410-25 in Cambridge; this is the psalter which also contains the standard later medieval text of St Swithun's litany of the saints.<sup>132</sup>

Insufficient evidence survives to establish how comprehensively the calendar and litany were represented in the glass, how any such scheme was organised, or exactly how it may have been used to support the liturgy. However, the overlap between the figures identifiable in the glass and Morgan's textual evidence of the calendar and litany is likely to help explain the choice of the surviving saints.

#### ***4.2.2.4 Lections and suffrages for Matins, Lauds and Vespers***

During the night office of Matins, saints' days were celebrated by readings ("lections") from the relevant hagiographical texts.<sup>133</sup> Lapidge discusses in some detail the lections in the surviving part of the 1424 breviary from Winchester Cathedral already mentioned in 4.1.1.<sup>134</sup> He stresses the omission of the deposition of St Swithun, and the fact that the sole focus in the eight lections for St Swithun's translation is on the miraculous healing power of his relics.<sup>135</sup> This indicates St Swithun's primary importance in the later Middle Ages for healing, like St Thomas at Canterbury. As suggested in 1.2.1, it is probable that there was a narrative series relating to Swithun's miracles in the east end, perhaps in earlier glass.<sup>136</sup>

Harper describes suffrages as "a standard series of memorials (consisting of antiphon, versicle and collect) used as an appendage to an Office (especially Lauds and Vespers) in honour of a regular

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<sup>131</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 29-30.

<sup>132</sup> Hardwick and Luard 1856: 731; Morgan 2013: 113-14.

<sup>133</sup> Lapidge 2003: 104-105.

<sup>134</sup> Bodleian MS Rawlinson C.489.

<sup>135</sup> Lapidge 2003: 110-12.

<sup>136</sup> See also 3.3.4.3.

group of saints, or for peace...".<sup>137</sup> The Downside Manuscript provides important evidence of the daily suffrages at Lauds and Vespers at Swithun's.<sup>138</sup> The prayers are to the Trinity, the Cross, the Virgin, saints Peter, Paul, Thomas the Martyr, Birinus, Swithun, Ethelwold, Benedict and Katherine, and also for the relics, for peace, and for All Saints. All of the saints mentioned in the suffrages are included in Morgan's litany texts.<sup>139</sup>

Most of the saints and subjects specified in the suffrages are included, or thought by the current author to have been included, in Fox's glass: the Trinity (probably incorporating the Cross), the Virgin, and Saints Peter, Paul, Swithun, Ethelwold and perhaps Birinus, and also, in the north presbytery aisle tracery, St Katherine. As Benedict was the founder of the Order there is likely to have been at least one image of him somewhere in the cathedral's glass. Marks argues that the figure of St Benedict in the tracery of the Lady Chapel east window is original.<sup>140</sup> The images of the saints would have emerged at dawn, around the time that the suffrages were recited during Matins or Lauds. The monks were reminded of the saints in the glass again in the suffrages at Vespers, before the images disappeared from view as evening fell.

The suffrages and the glass appear to have reflected the same interests. The suffrages may therefore give clues to images which are now missing. St Thomas the Martyr was important at Winchester as elsewhere. As there was a relic of his blood in the cathedral, it is probable that the Chapel to St Thomas was dedicated to him, and there could well have been an image of him in the glass here. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show where the chapel was (see 4.1.2). Evidence of St Thomas Becket was specifically removed at the suppression of his cult by Henry VIII, in 1538.<sup>141</sup> St Katherine was also venerated at Winchester.<sup>142</sup> As well as the presbytery tracery image, St Katherine may have featured in one of the main panels in Fox's presbytery scheme – particularly as the scheme was installed around the time of Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon in 1509.

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<sup>137</sup> Harper 2001: 316 and 130-31.

<sup>138</sup> Ker 1977: 445-47; Watkin 1951: 471-76.

<sup>139</sup> Morgan 2013: 113

<sup>140</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

<sup>141</sup> Roberts 2010: 200-201.

<sup>142</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 128.

#### 4.2.2.5 *Connections between the presbytery glass and the liturgy: overview*

The imagery at an orthodox institution like St Swithun's would inevitably have reflected the basic tenets of the Christian faith, and the local traditions of the institution, so the parallels with the liturgy noted above do not prove that the glazing was deliberately planned to illustrate and amplify the liturgical texts. Only fragments survive of both St Swithun's late medieval liturgical texts and its painted glass, and this makes it impossible to prove the order of images.

However, there is no evidence that the 15th and early 16th-century medieval glass at St Swithun's was installed piecemeal, with isolated windows chosen by individual donors. The bishops and monks who paid for and organised it must have thought about the images they were including, and, to some extent at least, about how they worked together. The evidence which survives shows that the glazing installed in the presbytery, however it was planned, resulted in a comprehensive scheme, which in effect reinforced the main elements of the liturgy. Even if it was planned by reference to standard traditions, rather than by direct reference to the liturgical texts, those texts would have been deeply absorbed into the consciousness of all concerned. The liturgical texts are likely to have affected how the monks perceived the glass.

It is reasonable to assume from the prevalence of seraphim and standing figures in the north and south presbytery clerestory that this part of the scheme, at least, was planned as a whole. As discussed in Chapter 1, at 1.2.5, and at 4.5.1 below, it continued the scheme in the nave, which had been funded by Wykeham as a new project.<sup>143</sup> It also followed Wykeham's iconography on the north and south sides in Winchester College Chapel. Every medieval church was an evocation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as is clear from the service for their consecration, which frequently alludes to the Book of Revelation.<sup>144</sup> The seraphim and standing figures represent the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation. They make complete sense in the choir and presbytery when we look at the words of the *Te Deum*, sung by the community at the end of Matins, the long night time service, and the sacred hymns accompanying the elevation of the host. P. Sheingorn's discussion of works of art that represent the eternal praise of the Lord enacted on earth through the *Te Deum* demonstrates that this was the underlying theme of much later medieval art - from 15th and early 16th-century English alabaster panels, angel roofs and mystery plays, imagery in the

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<sup>143</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 2: 421 points out that Wykeham's patronage of the nave glass strongly suggests that this would have been a more organised, co-ordinated scheme than in cases where the nave was glazed by a variety of donors – for example at York Minster, Wells, Durham and perhaps Canterbury.

<sup>144</sup> Wilson 1990: 8.

*Biblia Pauperum* and the text of the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* to other east-end stained glass, for example in the mid 15th-century Beauchamp Chapel.<sup>145</sup>

We do not know what imagery was in the east gable window at the time when the lateral clerestory windows were installed, as Fox replaced this window. There may have been an earlier Last Judgement scene. However, Fox must have known that the Last Judgement in his new window depicted God in heaven. The fact that he preserved and continued the iconography in the lateral windows of seraphim and standing figures suggests that he knew that his east gable window fitted in this context.

Fox's glass in the presbytery aisles may have been planned separately, perhaps with more regard for connections with the iconography in the Lady Chapel, and the fact that this was the route to the shrine in the retrochoir, than to the imagery in the clerestory. However, if the reconstruction in Chapter 3 is broadly correct, the aisles windows would have completed a series of images in the presbytery glass which effectively summarised the universal elements of the faith, as set out in the Nicene Creed. This could well be simply a testament to the comprehensiveness of the iconography designed for this part of the church, rather than evidence of a plan derived specifically from the liturgy. The completeness of the iconography parallels that of the 15th-century Benedictine glazing scheme at Great Malvern Priory, which Gilderdale Scott regards as coherent overall.<sup>146</sup>

Since initially formulating the interpretation of the east end glazing scheme at Winchester Cathedral, in part inspired by Sheingorn, there has come to the author's attention a much older parallel. This is found in the 10th-century *Benedictional of Ethelwold*, which may still have been in the cathedral, or nearby at Hyde Abbey at this time.<sup>147</sup> Robert Deshman explains that the illustrations included choirs of saints, and apostles, probably with an image of the Trinity and the Virgin. They represented the Last Judgement, the litany of the saints, and the celestial church and Jerusalem: the final reward to members of the church on earth: union with Christ, the angels and the saints. Deshman picks up the resonance with the *Te Deum*, pointing out that this was sung, led by

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<sup>145</sup> Sheingorn 1989: 178-181. See also King 2008(a): 194.

<sup>146</sup> Gilderdale 2008: 37, 42 suggests that the windows at Great Malvern were designed to help form an angel choir and finds clear evidence of the Orders of the Angels, the litany of the saints and the Creed. The west window was similar in form to the Winchester Cathedral east gable window. It contained a Last Judgement in the tracery, and figures of the Virgin and saints holding palms in the main lights below (Rushforth 1936: 262-69). Gilderdale 2008: 180-81 dates the choir glass at Great Malvern from the 1430s to the mid-1450s and the nave glass 1483-1486.

<sup>147</sup> See 4.1.1.

Ethelwold, at St Swithun's translation, and the crowd responded with the *Sanctus*.<sup>148</sup> He explains too that the focus for the monks was their role of singing praise to God, like the angels, in the hope that they would see God face to face, with the help of the saints, their intercessors.<sup>149</sup>

Deshman shows how this imagery was related to hagiographic feast portraits and scenes of Christ's early life and passion, and apocryphal scenes of the life of the Virgin, noting the scope and complexity of the imagery, within a structure which emphasised the essential programme. The themes in the Benedictional, as interpreted by Deshman, very clearly parallel the themes in the late medieval glass, as interpreted in this chapter. There are also some formal similarities: the use of architectural frameworks for the upright saints, pillars of the church, the backgrounds of clouds, and not least the rich hieratic image of St Swithun. The Benedictional includes the first known image of St Swithun; that in the east gable window is his last known image (Figs 4.6 and 0.29).<sup>150</sup>

These connections do not prove that the Benedictional was in the cathedral in the early 16th century, or that it was a direct influence. However, they demonstrate a continuity of approach in expressing the purpose of the Christian, and especially the monastic life, and a tradition of comprehensive iconography.

With regard to the wider tradition of depicting the Heavenly Jerusalem, Deshman suggests that Byzantine sources might explain the Last Judgement scene with choirs of the saints in Ethelwold's Benedictional.<sup>151</sup> T.A. Heslop suggests that similar *Te Deum* iconography, with a community of saints and angels musicians providing an image of the heavenly court, may have decorated the 11th-century wooden ceiling of Anselm's choir at Canterbury Cathedral. In this context, he draws attention to a full page illuminated frontispiece from a copy of St Augustine's *City of God* from Anselm's time, still preserved from Canterbury.<sup>152</sup> Given the prevalence of angels above standing saints and prophets in surviving glazing schemes, further research into the origins of this kind of iconography and its development is called for. Its adoption by Ethelwold at Winchester is likely to have been very influential.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Deshman 1995: 188.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid: 170.

<sup>150</sup> Deshman 1995: 138.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid: 159-162, 170. Deshman also traces influences on Ethelwold's Benedictional back to Carolingian sources and Smaragdus' 9th-century Carolingian monastic treatise, *Diadema Monachorum*.

<sup>152</sup> Heslop 2013: 69-72 and Fig.7.

<sup>153</sup> I am grateful to Sandy Heslop for discussing this.

The ancient origins of the theme, and its ubiquity, may affect our view of the originality of the late medieval glazing scheme in the east end of Winchester Cathedral. However, they do not detract from its appropriateness. They also reinforce the validity of the interpretation of its core meaning in this section.

### 4.2.3 Meditation and memory

The surviving remains of the Winchester Cathedral presbytery glass suggest that the scheme broadly fitted with M. Lillich's assessment of monastic stained glass: "tightly organised and extensive in scale" reflecting life under the Rule; "as idiosyncratically tailored to their monastic communities as were the abbey's customaries" and "often tenaciously pursued to their completion over many generations".<sup>154</sup> The saints originally in the east gable window clearly represented the priory's institutional identity. The remains of the two Creed/prophet series in the cathedral support Lillich's argument that typology flourished in monastic establishments. Lillich points out that the emphasis on the Psalms in the Daily Office implied a continuum of the Old and New Testaments and "encouraged a habit of mind accustomed to typological subtlety and richness... thinking in symbolic analogies and simultaneously at several levels of meaning".<sup>155</sup> For Lillich, the function of such schemes was not primarily to instruct, as the monastic audience was already well instructed, but to encourage meditation, including mystical participation in divine events.<sup>156</sup>

Mary Carruthers' analysis of medieval attitudes to memory provides a more nuanced distinction between learning, memorisation and contemplation. She has discussed how looking at pictures in books helped the faithful to learn texts inwardly, and on an on-going basis would have acted as "gateways" to memory and meditation.<sup>157</sup> There is proof of this theory in the treatise *De memoria artificiali*, written for students at Oxford c1333 and attributed to Thomas Bradwardine. Ayers has discussed the applicability of these ideas to the glazing at Merton College Oxford, where Bradwardine was a fellow between 1323-35.<sup>158</sup> The painted glass in an organised scheme such as that in the Winchester Cathedral presbytery can be interpreted as a tool in the same way. Only

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<sup>154</sup> Lillich 2001: 308.

<sup>155</sup> Lillich 2001: 308. On typology see Hamburger 2006: 23.

<sup>156</sup> Lillich 2001: 310. Note that Gilderdale Scott 2008: 81 rightly disputes some of Lillich's generalisations about the distinctiveness of monastic patronage, and criticises Lillich's failure to consider provision for the laity in schemes such as that at Great Malvern Priory.

<sup>157</sup> Carruthers 2008: Ch. 7 at 314.

<sup>158</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 1: xcvi-cii.

when the text or story is internalised, and codified, can the material be manipulated in creative thought.<sup>159</sup> In a monastic institution like St Swithun's, where the monks lived an enclosed life, and sat in choir for many hours of the day and night, the opportunity for absorbing and meditating on the liturgy was even greater than in collegiate institutions and at secular cathedrals - where the scholars and canons had more active and varied lives and the core liturgy could be performed by the chaplains and choristers, or vicars choral.<sup>160</sup>

Consistent with Bradwardine's memory system, Carruthers stresses that:

The one thing that a manuscript image must produce in order to stimulate memory is an emotion. It must be aesthetic in this sense of the word. It must create a strong response - of what sort is less important - in order to impress the user's memory and start off a recollective chain.<sup>161</sup>

The next section first asks how Fox's glass might have produced an emotional response. It then widens the investigation of its meaning by considering whether its aesthetic reflected any more specific theological or intellectual viewpoint.

#### **4.2.4 The aesthetic of the presbytery glass**

Both the early 15th and the early 16th-century presbytery clerestory glass represented seraphim and standing figures, and both demonstrate some fine, sophisticated painting. However, there is a distinct contrast between the aesthetic of the early 15th-century glass which Fox retained in the presbytery and the new glass which he installed there.

The intense new realism brought to Fox's scheme by the Anglo-Continental glaziers must have helped the images to catch the viewers' attention. The surviving remains show emotive images: the sweet and beautiful faces likely to be the type for the Virgin, the reassuring face of the Prophet Amos, and the severe and calculating ancestor of Christ in the south presbytery aisle tracery (at Figs 0.9, 0.28 and 0.56). There would inevitably have been pathos too in the lost Passion scenes. The intricate jewellery of St Swithun's vestments and the luxurious gold of the Coronation of the Virgin

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<sup>159</sup> Carruthers 2008: especially 8 and 336-37.

<sup>160</sup> For Merton see Ayers 2013 Part 2: 264. For the Canons of York Minster see Dobson 1996: 198-201.

<sup>161</sup> Carruthers 2008: 336-37. She explains Bradwardine's system at 163-72.

in the north presbytery aisle tracery would have reinforced the holiness of the images (Figs. 0.29 and 0.49).<sup>162</sup>

Fox's glass differs from the earlier glass in the presbytery in its use of colour, as well as style and technique. The earlier glass contains a significant proportion of white glass, decorated with soft yellow-stain, especially in the wide fictive architectural frameworks and canopy tops (Figs 0.16-0.19). Before the red glass corroded to brown, the strongest colour would have been the blue and red at the centre of the lights.<sup>163</sup> The colour in the traceries was similar: the white and yellow-stain seraphim stand on golden wheels, against red and blue backgrounds (Fig. 0.15). In Fox's new glass, white is again used for the architectural frameworks and the fictive windows in the background, and for the garments of some of the figures. However, there are more extensive areas of coloured glass, and a wider range of colours, now including green and murrey. The deep blue background is a dominant theme in the east gable window and presbytery aisle traceries. Overall, Fox's glass is darker, but richer, splashed with more varied colours.

We do not know how far Fox or the monks of St Swithun's made deliberate choices about the use of colour, but whoever commissioned the glass would have had some involvement in these questions, if only because of the higher cost of coloured glass.<sup>164</sup> The use of colour in Fox's glass can be explained by the continental tastes of the élite, and also the tradition of providing rich work at the eastern end, the most sacred space.<sup>165</sup> The richness and fineness of much of the work can also be seen as a confident assertion of orthodox ideas, as discussed in Chapter 5.

In view of the special relationship between colour and light in stained glass studies, some consideration needs to be given to the more specific theological influences which may have played a role in the aesthetic as well as the iconographic choices.<sup>166</sup> Modern art historians have moved away from the approach of earlier scholars like von Simson who tried to find theological

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<sup>162</sup> Turner 2014: 222 refers to Bynum's discussion of how the holy body was expressed in terms of the glittering Heavenly Jerusalem.

<sup>163</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 2: 266-68 discusses the predominance of this aesthetic from the second half of the 14th century.

<sup>164</sup> Marks 1993: 31.

<sup>165</sup> Ayers 2004 Part 1: 158.

<sup>166</sup> Ayers 2013 Part 1: 27-28 and Woolgar 2006: Chapter 8 discuss colour symbolism, including liturgical colours.



explanations which give a single explanation of medieval art works, but it remains the case that theology can inform our readings of medieval art.<sup>167</sup>

In its use of dark blue combined with jewel-like colour, Fox's glass is more like that of the earlier medieval period, at St Denis, Canterbury and Chartres, than much of the glass from the late 13th century up to the 15th, which relied on a higher proportion of white glass. John Gage has discussed the theological and scientific influences in the medieval period which may explain these changes in taste for glazing schemes.<sup>168</sup> He has further elaborated Panofsky's explanation of Abbot's Suger's new Gothic style by suggesting that Suger chose sapphire glass, the closest to darkness, so that the windows of St Denis created a luminous darkness, which was the perfect analogue of the divine presence in his church, in accordance with the negative theology of the Pseudo Dionysius.<sup>169</sup> Gage notes a revival of interest in Dionysian theology in the Italian Renaissance, with new translations in the 1430s and in 1490 by Marsilio Ficino.<sup>170</sup> He argues that after 1500 the mystical elements of Pseudo-Dionysius' theology reasserted themselves, connecting these to Savonarola's thinking. Fox had contacts with several Italian merchants and diplomats in London who inclined towards Savonarola's thinking.<sup>171</sup> This raises the question of whether Fox's retention of the 15th-century seraphim, and the use of deep blue glass as a background, could have been influenced by the theology of the Pseudo-Dionysius. The theological starting point in the Benedictine community would have been St Augustine, but Fox gave texts of the Pseudo Dionysius, and of Ficino and Savonarola, to his foundation at Corpus Christi College Oxford.<sup>172</sup>

For the Pseudo Dionysius, God is beyond us and our understanding, but light is a manifestation of God.<sup>173</sup> The theme of knowing and unknowing is expressed in terms of light and darkness: darkness is beyond light, and superior to it, as when a light blinds us.<sup>174</sup> God has revealed the angelic hierarchy to us through the scriptures "so that he might lift us in spirit up through the perceptual to the conceptual...".<sup>175</sup> We can be enlightened through material symbols, like "the beautiful sights, odors, lights, examples and Communion itself in the Eucharist".<sup>176</sup> The symbols are themselves a

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<sup>167</sup> Von Simson 1956; Crossley 1988; McGinn 2000; Hamburger 2006: 21.

<sup>168</sup> Gage 1993: Chapter 4; Lillich 2001: 316-38.

<sup>169</sup> Gage 1993: 71.

<sup>170</sup> Gage 1993: 135.

<sup>171</sup> Barry Collett, personal communication.

<sup>172</sup> Emden Vol II 1958: 717-18.

<sup>173</sup> Rorem 1993: 8 and 148.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid: 8.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid: 53.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

manifestation of divine reality.<sup>177</sup> The created world thus partakes of God's divinity: God is immanent. In Augustinian theology, the sign merely points to a concept beyond itself – the sign and the signified are different, not part of the same thing.

The analysis of Fox's intellectual and spiritual concerns in Chapter 5 argues against the idea that he had any particular interest in mysticism. There is no clear evidence that the monks of St Swithun's had either, although further research into the scholarly John Avington might prove otherwise (see section 5.3.2.). They would all have been well aware of the angelic hierarchy, but the seraphim in the Winchester Cathedral presbytery clerestory were planned by others almost a century previously. The use of blue glass in the east gable window may simply reflect the subject matter, as blue was traditional for representing heaven.<sup>178</sup> If a deliberate decision was made to use dark, glowing colours for the east gable window, this is perhaps more likely to reflect the idea that darkness was conducive to worship, referred to by More in *Utopia*, than to speak about the unknowability of God.<sup>179</sup> A decision to light the presbytery aisles more brightly, with the large figures from the Creed series in white clothing, could reflect the fact that more light was helpful in the aisles, where people were regularly passing to and fro. The varying uses of colour in Fox's Winchester glass can be seen to have functional explanations.

It remains possible that use of dark colour in the east gable window was influenced by negative theology indirectly, through the designer or craftsmen. Gage explains the very conscious use of darkness in painterly circles in Italy after 1500 by reference to the revival of interest in the negative and mystical elements of the Pseudo-Dionysius' thinking.<sup>180</sup> Gage discusses Leonardo da Vinci's emphasis on shadow, and positive use of darkness. He also notes that Fra Bartolommeo, a close follower of Savonarola, adopted Leonardo's principle of the use of chiaroscuro. Fra Bartolommeo's fresco of the Last Judgement in Florence includes some similar elements to those in the east gable window, in particular red and blue winged cherub heads (Fig. 4.7). It has been explained in Chapter 1 that the red winged cherub heads were used earlier by Bellini. If this motif had reached Winchester, Italian painters' ideas about darkness may have too.

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid: 50-53.

<sup>178</sup> Biddle 1990 i: 386 shows that there was a very long tradition of using blue glass at Winchester. Biddle notes as remarkable at many of his excavated Winchester sites the presence of highly durable blue soda-lime glass, recovered from contexts dating from the tenth century onwards.

<sup>179</sup> Gage 1993: 69.

<sup>180</sup> Gage 1993: 134-35.

### 4.3 The Lady Chapel windows: the monastic audience

The following paragraphs look at the community's use of the Lady Chapel. It is argued that the iconography of the glass fitted with the liturgy of the Lady Mass, and with other aspects of Marian devotion. The meaning of the painted decoration in the Lady Chapel is then examined, to establish its relationship to the iconography in the glass. Finally, there is a discussion of the multisensory richness of the Lady Chapel, touching on some of the more general scholarship relating to medieval ideas about beauty.

#### 4.3.1 Use of the Lady Chapel

In the absence of the main service books for the later medieval period, we do not have definitive proof of all elements of the Marian liturgy performed in the Lady Chapel. Roger Bowers' analysis of the contracts for the masters of the Lady Chapel choir in the period 1402-1539 is however helpful.<sup>181</sup> The contracts expressly refer only to the performance of the Lady Mass by the choir in the Lady Chapel. Bowers suggests that the Marian Votive antiphon continued to be performed by the boys from the almonry school alone in Wykeham's chantry in the nave, in accordance with Wykeham's wishes, rather than the Lady Chapel Choir.<sup>182</sup> The Commemorative Office of the Virgin displaced the Office of the Day once a week.<sup>183</sup> Presumably most of the Community were expected to be present, and it had to be in the main choir, where there was a full complement of at least sixty-six choir stalls.<sup>184</sup> The Lady Chapel stalls, dated c1515, include twenty-eight seats.<sup>185</sup>

However it seems likely that the Little Office of the Virgin (which was said daily in addition to the main Office of the Day) was performed in the Lady Chapel at Winchester as elsewhere.<sup>186</sup> The Sarum regulations for the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin require the Hours of the Virgin of

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<sup>181</sup> Bowers 1999: 210-237. See also Bowers 1993.

<sup>182</sup> Bowers 1999: 234. Greatrex 1978: item 63.

<sup>183</sup> Harper 1991: 134-35. As at Salisbury, the Lady Mass is likely to have been celebrated in the Lady Chapel on Saturdays in addition to the Commemorative Mass of the Virgin in the choir: Morgan 2003: 97. More generally, Lefferts 1990: 253.

<sup>184</sup> Compare Morgan 2003: 102 and note 62. *BOE 2010*: 603.

<sup>185</sup> Tracy 1993: 237, 243. Bowers 1999: 227 note 50 says that for the singing boys a bench would have been placed on the floor to the north and south of the stalls. The number of monks at St Swithun's varied. *Ibid*: 231 notes that in 1495-96 the community consisted of the prior, thirty monks and four novices.

<sup>186</sup> Harper 1991: 134-35.

Prime, Terce, Sext and None to be recited in the Lady Chapel before Lady Mass.<sup>187</sup> Looking for evidence from the Benedictine institutions, the service books for Westminster Abbey's Lady Chapel indicate that the daily office for the Virgin was observed in the Lady Chapel, like Lady Mass.<sup>188</sup> The silence in the contracts for the Lady Chapel choir master at Winchester could be explained by the fact that the Little Office was not sung but spoken, as is thought to have been the case at Westminster Abbey and at St Mary's York.<sup>189</sup>

Bowers has based his broad reconstruction of the Lady Mass at Winchester Cathedral on comparison with other Benedictine sources, notably from St Mary's York and Westminster Abbey, both dating from the late 14th century. He notes that the Benedictine sources all agree in presenting four sets of ritual for the Lady Mass, changing with the seasons of the year. Bowers observes that many of the verbal texts for the Lady Mass were drawn from the five festal masses for the Virgin (the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption, the Nativity and the Conception).<sup>190</sup>

From 1402, the monks of St Swithun's followed the new practice in Westminster Abbey, using boys in the Lady Chapel choir. John Tyes was appointed as singing teacher to up to four boys, and was required to attend Lady Mass in the Lady Chapel every day.<sup>191</sup> The boys in the Lady Chapel choir were not at this stage singing polyphony, although the monks in the choir had been developing polyphonic music since late Saxon times.<sup>192</sup>

A crucial change occurred from the 1460s, as polyphony spread to the choirs which included boys. Composers expanded their music from the range of solo alto and two tenors to choruses including trebles, altos, tenors and basses, creating the sound of cathedral music we are familiar with today, sung by the combined voices of men and boys.<sup>193</sup> In monasteries, these developments had to be limited to the Lady Chapel choir, and other services held outside the main choir, as the boys could not be used in the choir of professed monks. The Lady Chapel thus became the setting for the most sophisticated music in the cathedral.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Warren 1913 Part II: 75. Morgan 2003: 103-104 describes the interpolation of the Hours of the Virgin with the Office of the Day and discusses the location of services at Salisbury.

<sup>188</sup> Bowers 2003: 35.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid and Roper 1993: 86-87.

<sup>190</sup> Bowers 1999: 213

<sup>191</sup> Ibid: 218; Greatrex 1978: item 53.

<sup>192</sup> Bowers 1999: 219.

<sup>193</sup> Bowers 1999: 224.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

Winchester Cathedral was at the cutting edge of these developments. Prior Hunton's contract with Edmund Pynbrygge in 1482 required him to attend and sing at daily Lady Mass in the Lady Chapel and also at the votive Mass for Jesus in the nave on Fridays.<sup>195</sup> There were now eight boys, and Pynbrygge had to teach them polyphony as well as plain song.<sup>196</sup> The increasing specialisation of functions within the Lady Chapel choir is shown by the subsequent contracts. In 1510, Pynbrygge's duties were reduced to those of a singing man and organ player, and Thomas Goodman was appointed as the new Master of the Lady Chapel choir. The number of boys was increased to up to ten, and by 1529 there were four professional lay singing men.<sup>197</sup>

The choir masters' favourable terms and status, and the developments in the choir from 1482, do indicate that the daily Lady Mass had become a central focus in the life of the cathedral. While there may have been additional reasons for the architectural and decorative enhancements in the Lady Chapel from this time, they must certainly be seen in this context. The subdeacon and deacon could chant parts of the liturgy from the elevated loft of the new oak screen installed c1475, facing east, as in the choir itself.<sup>198</sup> It is from this view point that the new east window, installed and glazed between c1495 and c1510, can most clearly be seen (Fig. 0.6).

#### **4.3.2 A liturgical interpretation of the Lady Chapel windows**

The imagery in the Lady Chapel glass supported the liturgy of the Lady Mass - both the Sequences which had become its most elaborate liturgical embellishment, and the Ordinary, at its core.

##### ***4.3.2.1 Correspondences between the Sequences for Lady Mass and the Lady Chapel glass***

Sequences were non-scriptural texts, rich with literary imagery, sung after the Alleluia at Mass, relating the Alleluia more closely to the feast in question.<sup>199</sup> P. Lefferts' detailed study of music for

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<sup>195</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 402.

<sup>196</sup> Bowers 1999: 225.

<sup>197</sup> Bowers 1999: 228-29.

<sup>198</sup> Bowers 2003: 35 note 15 records that at Westminster Abbey the Breviary was fixed to the pulpitem of the Lady Chapel, so this appears to be the location from which the lessons were read.

<sup>199</sup> Harper 2001: 117-18.

late medieval Marian services argues that it was for the Lady Mass that the largest collections of votive Marian Sequences were assembled.<sup>200</sup>

No known documentary evidence proves the specific Sequences used in Winchester Cathedral at this time. However, we can get a good indication of their character from the material surviving from other institutions - most notably the Sarum liturgy and the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's York.<sup>201</sup> Lefferts notes that the Sarum Sequences for Advent (*Missus Gabriel de celis*, *Mittit ad Virginem*, and *Verbum bonum et suave*) are among the most common in a sample from eighteen major sources.<sup>202</sup> We do not know for sure that these Sequences were used in Winchester Cathedral, but they may have been. A brief overview of these Sequences at least illustrates the type of correspondences there are likely to have been between the Winchester Sequences and the Lady Chapel windows. For comparison with the iconography of the Lady Chapel glass, the following paragraphs examine texts from a 1526 edition of the Sarum Missal, which was translated into English by F. E. Warren.<sup>203</sup>

*Missus Gabriel de celis* tells in detail of the Annunciation and Virgin birth, illustrated in the south window of the Lady Chapel. Like the east window, it refers to Isaiah's prophecy of the flowering shoot from the stump of Jesse.<sup>204</sup> The Nativity scene in the south window was opposite the image of God, glorified by the saints, enthroned in heaven, in the north. This arrangement would fit with the final verse:

Jesus our saviour, Lord alone,  
a holy mother's holy son,  
who hath in highest heaven his throne,  
is in a manger laid.<sup>205</sup>

*Mittit ad Virginem* tells again of Gabriel's message to the Virgin, and the victories of the "glorious king" over the old law, and over the proud.<sup>206</sup> Again, the text would fit with the images of the Virgin, and perhaps of Gabriel, in the Nativity window, and of the Lord enthroned in the Revelation

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<sup>200</sup> Lefferts 1990: 253.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid: 256.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid: 259 note 28.

<sup>203</sup> Warren 1913. The folio printed edition of the 1526 Missal is at the Bodleian, Oxford, Gough Missals, 23 and Cambridge University Library, Vel. A. 52.3.

<sup>204</sup> Isaiah: 11.

<sup>205</sup> Warren 1913 Part II: 79.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid: 79-81.

window. If Chapter 2 is right in suggesting that the Revelation window included the horsemen of the Apocalypse, slaying one third of mankind, this would have echoed a similar spirit.

*Verbum bonum et suave* returns to the Virgin's genealogy, depicted in the Jesse Tree, describing her as "of David's stock decreed".<sup>207</sup> She is also "mother of true Solomon". Solomon would have been depicted as a royal ancestor of Christ in the Jesse Tree, but Christ the Judge, shown in the north window, is the true Solomon under the New Law. The Sequence continues the royal theme, referring to the three magi, who may well have been depicted in the Nativity window. In the last verse Mary is "mistress of angel bands", as in the Nativity window, where she was accompanied by angels.

Under the Sarum Use, these three Sequences for Lady Mass were also used for High Masses dedicated to the Virgin in the main choir (notably on Saturdays) throughout Advent. The Sarum Missal provided different services for the period from Christmas Day to the Purification, and from the Purification to Advent, and a further seven Sequences. These additional Sarum Sequences are a further rich source of imagery, and again there are resonances with the imagery in the Lady Chapel glass. Mary is frequently compared to the stars, which predominated in the Lady Chapel glass. She is also "Of the sun dawning ray...", suggesting an image of the Woman of the Apocalypse, with whom she was associated from early times.<sup>208</sup> Chapter 2 notes fragments which may come from an image of the Woman of the Apocalypse. In the second Sarum Sequence, Mary is "of all Virgins Queen" (evoking the virgins in the north presbytery aisle glass) and the "rose without thorn".<sup>209</sup> Fragments of brilliant red and green roses survive in the Australian glass which could be from the late 15th/early 16th century scheme (Cat.G.32-33). Mary is our access to salvation: the "portal of Paradise" and the New Eve.<sup>210</sup> The references to Paradise bring to mind the imagery of the Jesse Tree. The association between the Jesse Tree and the Tree of Life in the centre of Paradise has been noted in Chapter 2.

With regard to the late medieval Benedictine sources, J. Wickham Legg's *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis* is the only edited text we have of an English Benedictine Missal.<sup>211</sup> The Sequences of Westminster Abbey are all transcribed, and many are the same as the Sarum

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid: 81.

<sup>208</sup> Morgan 1991: 87.

<sup>209</sup> Warren 1913 Part II: 86.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid: 86, 87.

<sup>211</sup> Wickham Legg 1891: 97.

Sequences, but unfortunately the Lady Mass section does not include Sequences.<sup>212</sup> We know from a 1304 inventory that the singers from the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey had nine small books “of the sequences and other chants”.<sup>213</sup> The fullest evidence of the Sequences at a late medieval Benedictine church is from the Abbey of St Mary’s, York.<sup>214</sup> This supports the view that imagery comparable to that in the Sarum Sequences would have been familiar in Benedictine Lady Chapels like that at St Swithun’s. Lefferts concludes that the Sequences at St Mary’s were “extraordinarily numerous and diverse”. The titles included *Missus Gabriel*, *Verbum bonum et suave*, *Sancte Dei genetrix*, *Benedicta es celorum regina* and *Ad rose titulum*, to name but a few.<sup>215</sup> Given the importance of the music in the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel, it is almost certain the Lady Mass would have been embellished with an elaborate series of Sequences with similar imagery.

#### 4.3.2.2 *The Ordinary of the Lady Mass*

The central fixed element of the Lady Mass was the same as that for the Mass in the choir. The same theme emerges and this was reflected in the Lady Chapel windows: salvation through the coming of Christ. The Creed linked the incarnation to the resurrection, and so again to the glorified Christ in the north window, and, perhaps, the crucified Christ in the Jesse window.

The preface to the Lady Mass was followed by the *Sanctus*, which echoed the heavenly liturgy described in the Apocalypse - especially the liturgical song of the Four Living Creatures in Revelation 4: 8, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come.”<sup>216</sup> The Revelation window evoked this heavenly liturgy. As the Lieutenant tells us, it showed God being praised by the saints, and the Lion of St Mark that survives indicates that it depicted the Four Living Creatures.

Just as Fox’s presbytery glass reflected the central liturgy of the Mass, and elements of the Daily Office, the iconography of the Lady Chapel windows paralleled the imagery of the Lady Mass, and High Masses in the choir to the Virgin. We do not know all the details of the liturgy for the Lady Mass at St Swithun’s, but from what can be deduced from the general sources, it explained the

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<sup>212</sup> I am grateful to Nigel Morgan for advice on this. See also Bowers 2003: 34 note 5.

<sup>213</sup> Bowers 2003: 35 and note 14.

<sup>214</sup> Bowers 2003: 34 note 5.

<sup>215</sup> Lefferts 1990: 256-57.

<sup>216</sup> Clifford Flanigan 1992: especially 345.



combination of subject matter in the Lady Chapel windows, which together encapsulated Salvation History.

#### ***4.3.2.3 Further correspondences between the iconography of the Lady Chapel glass and the Marian liturgy***

The themes from the Lady Mass picked up in the glass recur throughout all the Marian liturgy, wherever celebrated. The following paragraphs give an overview of some further relevant texts which we know applied at Winchester Cathedral. These extracts support the view that the monks of St Swithun's would have been very familiar with imagery along the lines of that in the Sarum Sequences.

With regard to Marian devotion within the Daily Office, the themes of the Annunciation, and humbling of the proud in *Mittit ad Virginem*, discussed above, echo Mary's song, the *Magnificat*, from Luke 1: 46-56, sung as part of the Daily Office at Vespers. Imagery comparable to that in the Sequences for the Mass would have recurred in the Commemorative and Little Office to the Virgin. The beginning of *Quem Terra*, the hymn from the Little Office for Matins, is included in the Downside Manuscript for St Swithun's.<sup>217</sup> We can get an idea of the wording, beautifully evoked in the vernacular, by reading Morgan's reproduction from the *Prymer* or *Lay Folks' Prayer book*, which was derived from the monastic office.<sup>218</sup> *Quem terra* begins "The cloister of marie berith him whom the erthe, watris and hevenes worschipen.../Blessid modir, bi goddis gifte! in whos wombe was closid, he that is highest in alle craftis, and holdith the world in his fist...".

The themes in the Sarum Sequences emerge again in the Downside Manuscript in the suffrages for Our Lady, explicitly for intercession: Mary is "egredietur virga de radice Iesse / shoot from the stump of Jesse"; and "Paradisi porta / gateway to Paradise".<sup>219</sup> The Downside Manuscript also includes an antiphon to the Virgin at grace after dinner, in which Mary is "flos virginum, velut rosa vel lilium / the flower of virgins, like the rose, the lily".<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Watkin 1951: 469.

<sup>218</sup> Morgan 1991: 75 and Appendix.

<sup>219</sup> Watkin 1951: 472-73.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid: 477.

The metaphors are reflected yet again in the antiphons *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Regina*, sung by the boys in the evenings in Wykeham's Chantry Chapel. They are perhaps most succinctly put in *Ave Regina*:

Hail, O Queen of heaven,  
hail, O lady of the angels:  
hail o root, hail O gateway,  
out of whom came forth  
the light of the world...<sup>221</sup>

The Marian Sequences, antiphons and hymns, with their elaboration, repetitions and brilliant metaphors are helpful in recreating in more detail, and bringing to life, the Lady Chapel glazing scheme, of which so few fragments survive.

### 4.3.3 The Lady Chapel wall paintings

The following paragraphs ask how the Lady Chapel wall paintings commissioned by Prior Silkstede depicting the Miracles of the Virgin fit with the liturgical themes discussed above in relation to the glass.<sup>222</sup> It is argued that the iconography of the largely grisaille painted miracles was subsidiary to the main biblical themes, which were in full colour in the windows. The paintings have not been studied in detail since M. R. James and E. W. Tristram's work in the 1920's.<sup>223</sup> This section relies on James' interpretations of the stories, summarised at Fig. 4.8. The Lady Chapel walls as they are today are shown at Figs 4.9 - 4.11; Tristram's copies of the paintings are set over the fragile remains of the originals. A fragment of the original paintings is at Fig. 4.12.

A number of the legends tell of the salvation of monks through their faith. Image IX tells of the sacristan of a monastery who lives a loose life, but is devoted to the Virgin: he drowns and the Virgin delivers his soul from the devil. The Virgin's protective power fell on the just and unjust alike, provided they were devoted to her and repentant.<sup>224</sup> Image VIII (south wall) is about the need for confession, which was of particular importance to monk priests, who had to make their confession before they could celebrate Mass. Image II (south wall) highlights the special importance of the Lady Mass. A priest who knew only one Mass, the Mass of the Virgin, was

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<sup>221</sup> Harper 2001: 275.

<sup>222</sup> See 1.2.2.

<sup>223</sup> James and Tristram 1928-29.

<sup>224</sup> Ward 1987: 163.

criticised and suspended. The Virgin appeared to the bishop and made him reinstate the priest. A number of other legends refer to specific aspects of the Marian liturgy. Image III (north wall) tells of the monk who constantly recited psalms of which the initials spelt *Ave Maria*. In Image IV (south wall), St Gregory has a vision of St Michael and hears angels singing *Regina caeli*. Image XII (south wall) refers to the feast of the purification of the Virgin/Candlemas.

As well as referencing the monastic vocation, the importance of the Virgin as intercessor and the liturgy, the wall paintings indicate another preoccupation: church building, and the validity of religious imagery. In Image VII (south wall), three boys raised heavy columns to adorn a basilica being built in the Virgin's name at Constantinople.<sup>225</sup> In Image X (south wall), a soldier was deriding a woman praying to a statue of the Virgin and Child, and threw a stone that struck the child. It bled and the soldier died.<sup>226</sup> Image IV (north wall) tells of the pious painter, saved by the Virgin from the Devil who tried to upset his scaffold. These legends emphasise the Virgin's support for the creators of buildings and art works in her honour. Prior Silkstede chose a number of legends which justified his glorification of the building. He may have hoped that this would counter any criticism for its richness.

The miracle paintings reflected the central purpose of the Lady Chapel - Marian devotion and the liturgy of the Lady Mass. They brought to a more human level the elevated biblical and liturgical themes illustrated in the windows, relating them to people's earthly problems and giving them hope of salvation despite their fallibility. They were also good stories, which would have entertained the community and educated the choir boys.

However, the three huge new windows at the east end of the Lady Chapel must always have been the main focus in this part of the cathedral. Except for the painted Annunciation in Fig. 4.10, the biblical subjects were in the glass. The fragments surviving from the windows (especially the Jesse and Nativity windows) are in vibrant colours, while the painted miracles of the Virgin are mainly grisaille, reflecting the hierarchy of importance of the images. This was consistent with the use of grisaille that had developed in 15th-century altar panels, which often had outer wings depicting only grisaille, or largely grisaille, images.<sup>227</sup> In altarpieces, like van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, and van

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<sup>225</sup> James and Tristram 1928-29: 21.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*: 30.

<sup>227</sup> Howe 2012: 51.

der Goes' *Portinari Triptych*, the grisaille outer images often included standing figures, usually subsidiary to the main coloured narrative biblical images within.

#### **4.3.4 The Lady Chapel as a multisensory experience: heaven on earth**

The Lady Chapel was a jewelled light box, like Fox's choir and presbytery, but on a much more intimate scale. The light was carefully regulated during the day by the glazing of the windows. The dark blue glass, which formed the background to the east and south windows, would have softened any glare from the sun. The fragments surviving from the Revelation window on the north side seem to have been in paler colours, to allow an even light as the sun turned west in the afternoon (Figs 2.32-2.36). There was borrowed light too, from the arched and layered openings into the Langton Chapel on the south side (Figs. 1.107 and 1.111).

For the priest and chaplains officiating at Lady Mass in the Lady Chapel at mid-morning time, and the boys and men who formed the choir, the reds, greens and bright yellows which survive in fragments from the main lights of the south and east windows would have cast pools of coloured light on the soft greyish-brown painted stories of the Miracles of the Virgin beneath the north and south windows. Further lights danced on the altar, where candles flickered, and the liturgical vessels shone.<sup>228</sup> The room was unified by the cornice above the wall paintings and the architrave around the door: glittering coloured framing bands, punctuated with heraldry and emblems of the royal family and the bishops and priors who had worked for decades to beautify the space. Looking up, the heraldry was continued in webs on the vault (Figs 1.111-1.112). The main Christological and Marian imagery in the windows was surmounted on the central boss of the eastern bay by Christ in Majesty surrounded by feathered seraphim, and golden rays (Fig. 2.27). At the centre of the western bay, the crowned Virgin stood, in the midst of angels in albs – again probably surrounded by golden rays, now lost (Fig. 4.13).

The performance of the liturgy in the Lady Chapel was an intense, multisensory experience. The community was bathed in carefully filtered light, further softened by the haze of the incense, which swirled upwards, like their prayers. They were uplifted by the exquisite colour of the glass and its delicate, emotive painting, of which memories survive in the beautiful faces now in Caboolture. Above all, the community would have been stirred by the glory of the new polyphony.

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<sup>228</sup> DI: 202-203.

Modern scholars such as Chris Woolgar and Caroline Bynum have written about the physicality of medieval art, and about the transfer of moral and spiritual qualities through the senses.<sup>229</sup> The liturgy and prayer in the cathedral created what Woolgar describes as “a continuous aura of sound”<sup>230</sup> If the monks could absorb this, it became part of them. From the 4th century, theologians accepted that the Incarnation had legitimised sensory experience as a way of knowing God.<sup>231</sup> In this context, Bynum points us back to the arguments about negative theology and mysticism touched on above in relation to Fox’s presbytery glass. She argues that while some contemporary theory reduced the role of devotional objects to signs - pointing beyond the material - other theology conferred on the objects a power in themselves. Bynum emphasises “the insistent materiality” of medieval images, which

reveal God through matter.....they call attention to the material though which they achieve their effects rather than merely using it to create the illusion of something else..... they disclose, not merely signify, a power that lies beyond.<sup>232</sup>

Bynum sees medieval art as at the opposite pole from the art of the Italian and Northern Renaissance, with its emphasis on mimesis, a tricking of the senses, and the “nonobjectness of art”.<sup>233</sup> However, the surviving evidence from the east end of Winchester Cathedral shows this last statement to be an oversimplification. In the Lady Chapel, the new continental realism is used to create affective imagery, in a medieval context, of rich decoration and variety. The realism does not detract from the fact that the Lady Chapel was in the long-standing tradition of Benedictine church decoration, advocated by Theophilus, as long ago as 1120: “... you have embellished the ceilings or walls with varied work in different colours and have in some measure, shown to beholders the paradise of God, glowing with various flowers...”.<sup>234</sup> In the old tradition, but using new the painting style and the new polyphony for choir boys, the Lady Chapel, even more intensely than the presbytery, evoked paradise.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Woolgar 2006; Bynum 2011.

<sup>230</sup> Woolgar 2006: 87-88.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid: 17; Bynum 2011: 33.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid: 34- 35.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid: 53-58.

<sup>234</sup> Carruthers 2013: 193.

<sup>235</sup> For a wider architectural context, see Coldstream 1987; Hearn and Willis 1996: 40-45.

#### 4.4 Access to the east end glass by lay pilgrims

Derek Keene paints a vivid portrait of the decline of the city of Winchester in the 15th and early 16th centuries, and we do not know how great the volume of pilgrimage traffic was by this time.<sup>236</sup> However, it is clear that the cult of St Swithun was still active locally. Evidence has been noted in 4.1.3 of a procession for St Swithun involving the mayor and leading citizens immediately before the Reformation. In 1536 the sacristan was still paying the keeper of St Swithun's shrine the annual sum of 26s 8d.<sup>237</sup> The same account records no offerings at St Swithun's shrine that year, but this is not entirely surprising, as by this time the tide had already turned against the cult of the saints.<sup>238</sup> It is unfortunate that no sacristan's accounts from St Swithun's for earlier years survive to allow comparisons of offerings over a longer period.

This section asks what glass in the east end of the cathedral would have been seen by pilgrims, and considers its relevance to them. Pilgrims would have included the religious as well as lay people, but this section concentrates on lay pilgrims, as a broad contrast to the monastic community. Pilgrims might come from afar or be locals. There is evidence from Wykeham's time that local people were encouraged by the grant of indulgences to visit the cathedral and make gifts for the veneration of relics or the maintenance of lights or the fabric.<sup>239</sup> Because most pilgrims would have had St Swithun's shrine as a focus, the section provides an opportunity to recreate their pathways, and envisage how they may have experienced the glass as they moved through the building. It is argued that the late 15th/early 16th-century glazing in the east end of the cathedral, especially Fox's glass, may well have been planned not only for the community, but also to encourage pilgrims.

##### 4.4.1 Entrances and pathways to the east end

Although the Benedictine tradition of hospitality meant that visitors were generally welcomed, access to the monastic precincts was carefully controlled.<sup>240</sup> There were doorkeepers, or porters, at

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<sup>236</sup> Keene 1985 i: Chapter IV especially page 86. Significantly, Bagnoli et al. 2011: xvi includes a map of shrines in medieval western European pilgrimage itineraries, but this does not mark Winchester.

<sup>237</sup> Kitchin and Madge.1889: 31.

<sup>238</sup> Duffy 2005: 381 ff.; Turner 2015: Appendix 1, Table A, notes offerings of only a few pence from the sacrist's roll at Durham for 1535-36.

<sup>239</sup> HRO DC/A2/31.

<sup>240</sup> HRO DC/A1/19 contains a confirmation by Richard II in 1387 of a charter by Edward III prohibiting a public right of way though the cathedral church close and court by inhabitants and strangers (excepting the

the cloister gate and at the entrance to the precincts, and the porter's lodge was on Kingsgate Street.<sup>241</sup> There was probably also an officer called a "circa", whose job was to patrol the precincts.<sup>242</sup>

The different entrances to monastic churches were determined by the layout of the monastic precinct as a whole, and its position in relation to the city. At Winchester, the precinct extended south of the cathedral (Fig. 0.4).<sup>243</sup> The entrances from the south nave aisle were presumably for the community and their servants, and perhaps privileged guests.<sup>244</sup> The precinct was bounded by the cathedral church itself on the north and west side, beyond which lay the town cemetery.<sup>245</sup> There was no north porch at Winchester to provide the main public entrance, so the lateral doors at the west end must have been used by the laity. The entrances on these sides must have been patrolled, or at least controlled by locking the doors.

The south transept was the monks' space, and there was presumably no access to it from the south nave aisle, so the pilgrims must have entered the east end of the cathedral from the north nave aisle or the north transept (Fig. 0.4).<sup>246</sup> It has generally been assumed that pilgrims accessed St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir from the outside via a door in the west wall of the north transept, but there is no hard evidence of this.<sup>247</sup> The pilgrims may have first entered the cathedral through the lateral doors at the west end, and congregated in the nave, where they could observe Mass.<sup>248</sup> Section 4.1.2 has discussed the probable altars in the nave.

St Swithun's Chapel, over his empty grave, lay outside the north west corner of the cathedral. This chapel, as well as the reliquary in the retrochoir, was a major focus for pilgrims up until the Reformation.<sup>249</sup> Pilgrims may have been able to enter St Swithun's Chapel directly from the graveyard outside. Alternatively, they could have waited inside at the west end of the cathedral

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bishop and his familiars) and ordering that gates and doors should be closed at certain times. Kitchin 1892: 80-81 on the guest master. Pantin 1931-37 vol. 2: 208 on restrictions in the 1444 Benedictine Chapter Statutes. See generally Draper 2003.

<sup>241</sup> Greatrex 1993: 142, Fig. 11.1; *BOE 2010* : 618, 622, 630-31; Kitchin 1892: 33, 48 and 80.

<sup>242</sup> Kitchin 1892: 51.

<sup>243</sup> Greatrex 1993: 142, Fig. 11.1.

<sup>244</sup> *BOE 2010*: 576-77.

<sup>245</sup> Keene 1985: 108-109; *BOE 2010*: 625.

<sup>246</sup> Crook 1989: 14.

<sup>247</sup> *BOE 2010*: 578; Nilson 2001: 93-94.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>249</sup> *Crook 1993*: 58-59; Lapidge 2003: 170.

before entering the chapel through the door on the northwest side of the nave. The chapel has long been demolished, but the door into it from the cathedral survives (Fig. 4.14).

Leaving St Swithun's Chapel, the pilgrims may have walked eastwards to the door in the north transept down a pathway through the graveyard along the outside of the north nave aisle. Another route to St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir, perhaps in bad weather, could have been inside the cathedral from the west end eastwards down the north aisle of the nave. The pilgrims must however have walked through the north transept, and along the north presbytery aisle to the shrine in the retrochoir.

#### **4.4.2 Fox's east gable window viewed by the pilgrims from the west end of the cathedral**

Having now entered the awful pile...the impatient eye shoots through the long-drawn nave to the eastern window, glowing with the richest colours of enameling...<sup>250</sup>

Architecturally, the main structures of the west end and nave of the cathedral in 1528 were much as they are today (Figs 0.1 and 0.2). They had been remodelled in the 14th and early 15th centuries by Bishops Edington, Wykeham and Beaufort.<sup>251</sup> However, before the Reformation, the nave contained screens and altars and it is clear that the east gable window would not have been visible from every position. This section asks how far it might have been visible from the west end looking east, as the window is today a focal point from this standpoint.

The nave was separated from the choir by a large screen known as the pulpitum, in the second bay west of the crossing tower (Fig. 0.4).<sup>252</sup> In the fourth bay west of the crossing, the rood loft supported the great cross.<sup>253</sup> This would have been the second great cross noted in the Dissolution Inventory: "Item, In the body of the church a great cross, and an image of Christ, and Mary and John, being of plate silver, and partly gilt."<sup>254</sup> Barbara Carpenter Turner suggests that this may have been the rood given by Bishop Stigand.<sup>255</sup> Luxford argues that this was almost certainly the case.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> *Milner II*: 72.

<sup>251</sup> On the sequence and date of the rebuilding of the west front of the cathedral, see *BOE 2010*: 575.

<sup>252</sup> Crook 1989: 21 and note 102.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> *DI*: 202.

<sup>255</sup> Carpenter Turner 1957: 16 and 1980: 26.



The amount of the east gable window visible from the west end of the cathedral would have depended upon the height and design of the pulpitum, rood and rood screen. Looking at the current layout in Figs.0.2 and 0.4, Gilbert Scott's 19th-century choir screen is roughly situated where the pulpitum is thought to have been.<sup>257</sup> As the pulpitum provided a platform for the liturgy, and so had to be climbed regularly, it is unlikely to have been much higher than Scott's screen. Ben Nilson's helpful discussion of vistas in English cathedrals (in the context of shrine visibility) is consistent with this conclusion. Nilson notes that surviving pulpita are invariably near or over fourteen feet high.<sup>258</sup>

17th-century records indicate that the rood loft was a very large stone structure, which was removed in the 1630s when Inigo Jones' choir screen was built, but it is unlikely that the rood loft was a higher obstruction than the pulpitum when viewed from the west end.<sup>259</sup> The floor of the choir is 1.45m above the floor of the nave, so the pulpitum sat at a higher level than the rood screen.<sup>260</sup> Evidence from Canterbury Cathedral suggests that the rood loft would also have been accessed regularly to light the candles illuminating the rood.<sup>261</sup> It would have been the rood itself, with images of Christ on the Cross, Mary and John, which stood highest in front of the east gable window viewed from the west end. If the rood was comparable to the rood donated by Stigand at Ely, it would have had life-sized figures.<sup>262</sup> The figures may have partially obstructed the lower main lights of the east gable window. However, the tracery, depicting the Last Judgement, and probably most of the main lights, would have been visible behind the rood from the west end, especially given the exceptional length of the nave at Winchester.

The Last Judgement was the longstanding iconography at the entrance to a church, looking back to Apocalypse scenes in the tympanums of Romanesque churches, reminding viewers of the reason for their visit. The pilgrims may have wondered at the large bold figure of St Swithun on the northern side of the main lights – a signpost to his shrine, hidden in the retrochoir beyond. As they moved into the north nave aisle, the window would have disappeared from view, because of the immense size of Wykeham's nave pillars.

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<sup>256</sup> Luxford 2008: 69; see also Turner 2014: 150-51.

<sup>257</sup> Crook 89: 21 and note 102.

<sup>258</sup> Nilson 2001: 86.

<sup>259</sup> Crook 1989: 21 and 35, notes 102 and 104; Blakiston 1976.

<sup>260</sup> Crook 1989: 20.

<sup>261</sup> Huitson 2014: 71-72.

<sup>262</sup> Dodwell 1982: 211-13.

#### 4.4.3 Pilgrims in the north transept

Fox's was the last great building campaign in the cathedral, and, except for the early 19th-century flat painted ceilings, the north transept today is much as he left it – grandly Romanesque, with some alterations from the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries (Fig. 4.15).<sup>263</sup>

As the pilgrims entered the north transept, this was clearly a holy place. Opposite the entrance on the west side, three decorated windows had been inserted in the Norman east wall and another in the eastern bay of the north wall, when the aisle was altered c1320 to erect three altars in three bays.<sup>264</sup> In the northernmost window on the east side of the north transept, there are still a few pieces of original glass in situ - white flowers on ruby fields c1330.<sup>265</sup>

There were imposing wall paintings in the north transept, which had been redecorated in the 13th century.<sup>266</sup> The piers were horizontally banded, and foliate patterns and roundels added – one enclosed a bust of a male figure holding a scroll, suggesting a series of prophets. This would have fitted with the life-sized Romanesque prophets uncovered in the 18th century. Milner saw remains of the painted decoration, which at that time included on the west wall the traces of a colossal figure of St Christopher carrying Christ. Above that, he saw remains of an Adoration of the Magi.<sup>267</sup> These images of holy travellers would have fitted with the north transept door being the pilgrims' entrance.

As the pilgrims left the north transept, they passed the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, beneath the north tower arch. This was the site of the dramatic reconstructions of the scenes at Christ's tomb which formed part of the Easter liturgy. The 12th-century painted scheme in this chapel had been replaced in the 13th century with broadly similar iconography, including the Deposition, Entombment, Marys at the Sepulchre and the Harrowing of Hell (Fig. 4.1).<sup>268</sup> The 13th-century scheme also included other scenes from the life of Christ and St Katherine, and on the vault, an infancy series,

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<sup>263</sup> For Fox's plans to remodel the transepts, see 1.2.9. For the rose window in the north transept see Bennett 1983: 19-22.

<sup>264</sup> Norton 1983: 85. See 4.1.2.

<sup>265</sup> The 14th-century north transept glass is outside the scope of this thesis. For the north transept scrap panel see Cat.F.

<sup>266</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 125.

<sup>267</sup> *Milner II*: 111.

<sup>268</sup> Park and Welford 1993: 126-28.

prophets in roundels and a half-length Christ blessing (Fig. 4.2).<sup>269</sup> Passing the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, the pilgrims headed up the steps towards the north presbytery aisle, and the shrine in the retrochoir beyond.

#### 4.4.4 Pilgrims in the north presbytery aisle

The earlier part of this chapter has suggested some of the ways in which the identifiable iconography of the presbytery aisles windows (the scenes from Mary's life, the Creed series and the standing figures) fitted with the monks' liturgy. This section argues that the iconography was also appropriate for the lay pilgrims who passed down the north presbytery aisle, and may have been planned with them in mind, as well as the monastic community.

The Marian iconography in the traceries, whether based on the joys of Mary or the Hours of the Virgin, as discussed in 3.3.2, would have been almost as familiar to lay pilgrims as to the monks. The forms of Marian devotion which had begun in monastic circles in the 11th and 12th centuries had become established practice among the laity, as well as the secular church.<sup>270</sup> The Little Office of the Virgin formed the core of a Book of Hours and her joys and sorrows were also included.<sup>271</sup> From the late 14th century, the Marian antiphons, hymns and prayers of the Sarum hours had been available in middle English - *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* has already been noted in 4.3.2.3.<sup>272</sup>

It has been argued in Chapter 3 that the main panels of Fox's presbytery aisles windows contained a Creed series, and that both prophets and apostles could have been on the north side. The Creed series could have been targeted especially at the lay pilgrims. It formed a central part of the catechism which priests taught to the laity, along with the Ten Commandments, the Works of Mercy, the Seven Deadly Sins and prayers such as the Pater Noster and Ave Maria.<sup>273</sup> If the prophets only were in the north presbytery aisle windows, this iconography would equally well have made sense at the start of the pathway which led the pilgrims from the north transept to the Lady Chapel. The prophets would have continued the theme of the wall paintings in the north

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Morgan 1991: 75-77.

<sup>271</sup> Morgan 1999: 310

<sup>272</sup> Morgan 1991: 80-81, 98-103.

<sup>273</sup> Episcopal Statutes from 1281 required the clergy to instruct the faithful in the essentials of their faith (Powicke and Cheney 1964 Part 2: 900-905, cited in Horner 1998: 282-83).

transept, and then linked into the prophet imagery in the Jesse window in the Lady Chapel. The prophets foretold the coming of Christ; they gave the Christian story a long-respected history.

Chapter 3 and 4.2.2.3 have concluded that most of the female saints in the north presbytery aisle traceries feature in Morgan's litany texts, and that some of the main lights in the presbytery aisles probably also contained standing figures of saints from the litany. In his study of glass at the Church of St Mary Magdalen at Wiggenhall, David King links the tracery programme depicting saints and the Orders of the Angels with the litanies of the saints in the Sarum breviary.<sup>274</sup> He observes that the subject of the litany in the glass was appropriate in the part of the church devoted to the laity, as the laity took an active part in the litany.<sup>275</sup> A scheme supporting the litany at Winchester Cathedral in the presbytery aisles, an area to which the laity had some access, fits with King's interpretation.

A number of saints from the litany and calendar in the lost presbytery aisle glass may have been local Anglo-Saxon saints. This would be consistent with Morgan's conclusion that there was a special emphasis in St Swithun's Calendar on the saints whose relics were in the cathedral.<sup>276</sup> It would also fit with Fox's presentation of the cathedral's sacred history in the east end. On the inner side of the choir aisles, from the 1520s, bones of the Anglo-Saxon bishops and founder kings sat on the stone screens in the Renaissance style chests above the pilgrims' heads (see 1.2.8 and Figs 1.114 and 4.5).

The surviving tracery glass from the presbytery aisles suggests that this was planned to be read together with the Lady Chapel glass. The joyful scenes from the Virgin's life lead the viewer along the path to the retrochoir, St Swithun's shrine, and the Lady Chapel. The rows of female saints in the north presbytery aisle traceries were the Virgin's companions, framing the miracles of the Virgin in the Eton wall paintings.<sup>277</sup> It has been suggested in Chapter 3 that the series of the joys of the Virgin in the presbytery aisle traceries may have begun with a miracle of the Virgin (3.3.2 and Fig. 3.2).<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> King 2008(a): 194.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid*: 195.

<sup>276</sup> Morgan 1981: 147.

<sup>277</sup> James and Tristram 1928-29: 18-19.

<sup>278</sup> There may have been an earlier series of miracles of the Virgin in the glass of the cathedral. See Howe et al. 2012: 41 on such schemes elsewhere.

The small amount of glass which survives supports the view that the north presbytery aisle scheme was designed with the lay pilgrims, as well as the community, in mind. It indicates themes that would have been familiar to and beneficial for lay people: Marian devotions, the Creed, and the litany of the saints. This is consistent with the catechism in the north choir aisle glass at Great Malvern Priory, which Gilderdale Scott suggests may also have been for pilgrims.<sup>279</sup> Nilson has discussed the possible use of the north aisle by pilgrims at Canterbury, St Albans, Norwich and Ely.<sup>280</sup>

Fox's work was in the wake of the relatively recent relocation of St Swithun's shrine to the retrochoir, in 1476, which had paralleled the promotion of relics at other Benedictine and secular cathedrals around this time.<sup>281</sup> At both Benedictine and secular cathedrals, the promotion of ancient relics would have been expected to increase the prestige of the institution and the income from pilgrims as well as to reinforce belief in traditional religious ideas. If the tracery glass series began on the north side with the Adoration of the Magi, this would have been appropriate for the pilgrims, travellers who would hopefully make donations. The vivid colour and charm of the Marian scenes and the female saints in the north presbytery traceries, and the refinement and dignity of Amos, the surviving prophet from the Creed series, may have moved and impressed them.

#### **4.4.5 Pilgrim access to other glass in the east end**

Peter Draper cites evidence from Ely Cathedral to show that the laity, including women, were allowed controlled access to the altars and relics in the restricted parts of the east end of churches, although it is not clear how often or under what conditions.<sup>282</sup> He draws attention also to the early 15th-century Canterbury Customary, which makes it clear that pilgrims were admitted to attend Mass at St Thomas' shrine.<sup>283</sup> Documentary evidence from Winchester Cathedral revealed by Brian Collins' recent transcriptions supports this conclusion. The 1529 account roll for the warden of the altar of Blessed Virgin Mary notes:

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<sup>279</sup> Gilderdale Scott 2008: 131.

<sup>280</sup> Nilson 2001: 97-98.

<sup>281</sup> For example, at Salisbury following the canonisation of Osmund in 1457 (Brown 1999(a): 21-22) and at Glastonbury where Abbot Beere (1493-1524) relocated the shrine of St Dunstan (Luxford 2008: 76-78).

<sup>282</sup> Draper 2006: 212.

<sup>283</sup> Draper 2003: 76.

20d received from the oblations at the altar and in the pix of the Blessed Mary outside the door of the said Chapel and at the relics in the same Chapel and in the pix before the image of the Blessed Apollonia this year.<sup>284</sup>

This indicates that there was an altar to the Virgin just outside the Lady Chapel and that offerings were made at this altar, and also at the relics and pyx within the chapel itself.

Observation of the Lady Mass, with the polyphonic choir of boys and men, would have been especially prized. The laity may have glimpsed the services through the Lady Chapel screen, as well as being allowed access inside the chapel at other times. There is no reason to think that the Lady Chapel glass was specifically aimed at the pilgrims, but the images of God in Heaven and the Virgin and Child seen by pilgrims for the first time, or rarely, must have inspired them with awe.

There is more reason to think that the wall paintings of the Miracles of the Virgin were designed with lay folk in mind. These address female, as well as monastic, concerns: children rescued from danger, childbirth and healing miracles. Education of ordinary people was a stated aim of the early English collectors of miracle stories: William of Malmesbury wrote in the 12th century not just to glorify the Virgin, but also in the hope of “kindling simple souls to the love of the Lord”.<sup>285</sup> The huge and spectacular 14th-century Lady Chapel at Ely, which seems to have been built partly so that the women would be kept well apart from the monks’ space, contained an elaborate scheme depicting the life and miracles of the Virgin in relief sculpture.<sup>286</sup> Andrew Martindale has shown that the Eton paintings were actually in a space designated for the laity, as the parish church.<sup>287</sup>

The evidence in the Ordinal of c1400 of the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary at York refers to people standing outside the north door of the presbytery hoping to be asperged during High Mass.<sup>288</sup> This suggests that the laity at Winchester Cathedral may have also been allowed in the east end while the community were performing their daily offices in the choir and presbytery. By 1528, Fox’s screens clearly delineated the monks’ space in the choir, but the standing figures and seraphim in the south presbytery clerestory above would have been partially visible to pilgrims in the north presbytery aisle (Fig. 1.114).

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<sup>284</sup> HRO DC/ A5/ 11/1; translation from CD 270.

<sup>285</sup> Ward 1987: 164.

<sup>286</sup> Maddison 2000: 62, 75.

<sup>287</sup> Martindale 1971: 179-98 and 1995: 133-52.

<sup>288</sup> Nilson 2001: 94.

Pilgrims may also have been allowed some access to the south presbytery aisle, so that they could pray at the chantries of the founders of the presbytery scheme, Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Fox (Figs 1.105 and 1.135-1.136). If they were allowed as far as the south presbytery aisle steps, they could have enjoyed the full series of scenes related to the Virgin in the tracery. However, given that the south transept was the monks' space, and the proximity of Fox's chantry, it is likely that the south presbytery aisle glass (which depicted Christ's royal ancestors, and perhaps his Passion) was intended primarily for the benefit of the community and their privileged visitors, which at times included royalty.

Looking at the east end glass which survives, this is nothing like as explicitly connected to pilgrimage as that in Canterbury Cathedral, where Becket's miracles lined the pilgrims' path around his shrine in the Trinity Chapel. Nevertheless, the local saints in the east gable window, the joyous scenes from Mary's life, and the large scale Creed series, together support the view that it may in part have been planned to signpost and enhance the pilgrims' pathway to the retrochoir.

#### **4.5 The relevance of the east gable window to the parochial community in the nave**

St Swithun's was the mother church over most of the many parish churches in the city and suburbs, and played a major part in controlling people's lives.<sup>289</sup> As noted in 4.4, local people were encouraged to visit and make donations. The nave was the part of the cathedral which was most freely accessible to the parish community, and analogy with Canterbury Cathedral suggests that the laity would have been able to observe Mass here when the east end was closed off.<sup>290</sup>

Fox's east gable window was a long way from the west end and nave of the cathedral, but it was still a focal point. Section 4.4.2 has concluded that the tracery, depicting the Last Judgement, and probably most of the main lights, would have been visible from the west end. A brief overview of what is currently known about the probable iconography of the late 14th and early 15th-century

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<sup>289</sup> Greatrex 1993: 140, 150-58; Keene 1985 i: Ch.5 especially 108-110.

<sup>290</sup> In 1408, Archbishop Arundel arranged for his chantry to be in the nave of Canterbury Cathedral, so that the laity could hear Mass whenever the eastern parts of the church were closed (Hussey 1936: 32-33).

glass in the west end and nave suggests that, read together with the east gable window, it would have supported the range of liturgical and civic functions in the nave.<sup>291</sup>

#### 4.5.1 The iconography of the glass in the west end and nave

The earliest glass to survive in situ in the cathedral in any significant quantity are the angels playing musical instruments in the tracery of window sXXVIII, at the west end of the south aisle of the nave, probably dated around the time of Edington's death in 1366 (Figs 0.5 and 4.16-4.17).<sup>292</sup> The canopy tops at the heads of the main lights would be consistent with standing figures below, but there is no other indication of the iconography of the main panels.

The main focus at the west end of the cathedral was the great west window, dated c1375-80 (Fig. 0.1).<sup>293</sup> It now contains a mosaic of fragments from all over the cathedral, salvaged and reled together after the Civil War.<sup>294</sup> Some of the fragments are thought to be from the original glazing scheme for the west window itself. In 1921, Le Couteur concluded that the window was originally arranged in the form of a triptych, with scenes from the life of Christ in the centre and figures of apostles and prophets with Creed scrolls in the side lights.<sup>295</sup> The current author's preliminary examination of the fragments in the window today broadly supports Le Couteur's interpretation, although no clear evidence of the prophets has yet been identified (Figs 4.18-4.20).

Wykeham's will left money for completing the glazing of the nave, which has twenty-two aisle and twenty-four clerestory windows (Figs. 4.21-4.22).<sup>296</sup> Only a small proportion of the early 15th-century glass from the nave survives, and almost all of it has been rearranged. Le Couteur's theory that there were cherubim throughout the nave clerestory is plausible but unproven.<sup>297</sup> Few fragments have been found in the cathedral matching those found by him in the most easterly window of the north nave clerestory (Fig. 4.23). Another possibility is that there was a series of

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<sup>291</sup> A detailed consideration of the late 14th and early 15th-century glass in the west end and nave is outside the scope of this study.

<sup>292</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 16-17.

<sup>293</sup> Winston 1865: 65; Le Couteur 1920: 18 and 1921; Marks 1993: 169; *BOE 2010*: 613.

<sup>294</sup> Appendix 2.

<sup>295</sup> Le Couteur 1921.

<sup>296</sup> See 1.2.5.1.

<sup>297</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 25-26 and 1921. Compare the seraphim in the traceries in the chapels of New College and Winchester College and the traceries of the Beauchamp Chapel (see 1.2.5.2). Ayers 2004 Part 2: 420 notes a series of seraphim in the tracery of the south nave clerestory of Wells Cathedral.



cherubim or seraphim at the eastern end of the nave, between the rood screen and the pulpitum, where the surviving figure was found. If the cherubim/seraphim were at the east end of the nave only, these would have marked the nave rood, and the entry to the most sacred part of the church beyond.

Le Couteur's assumption that there were standing figures in the main lights of the presbytery clerestory makes sense. It is supported by the survival in the main lights of the nave of numerous canopy tops, with red or blue backgrounds, as in the main lights of Wykeham's schemes at New College and Winchester College. Features of canopy tops identified by the current author as in situ suggest that the figures known as St Genevieve (Figs 1.110 and 4.21) and St Bartholomew (Fig. 3.5) originated in the nave clerestory. Both figures are composites: St Bartholomew appears to be a composite of saints Bartholomew and John the Baptist.

Le Couteur implied that the figures of standing saints now in the north clerestory of the presbytery, window NII, and the lower half of NIII 2d, probably came from the nave clerestory (Figs 0.43-0.45).<sup>298</sup> They are more likely to have originated in the main lights of the nave aisles.<sup>299</sup> The nave aisle canopies use a daisy motif, and include miniature figures, with curly golden hair and daisy patterned dresses, which fits well with the miniature figures in the canopy pedestals around the NII figures (Figs 0.44 and 4.24).<sup>300</sup> The painting style of the nave aisle canopy figures is variable, but the consistency in the motifs suggests that the NII figures were part of a co-ordinated scheme in the nave aisles. The saints from this scheme in the nave aisles so far identified are Simon the Zealot, Katherine, Lawrence, Vincent and James.<sup>301</sup>

#### **4.5.2. The liturgical, pastoral and civic functions in the nave**

It is unlikely that, from the west end and nave, much of what went on in the choir and presbytery was visible to the laity.<sup>302</sup> However, they could at least have followed the stages of the Mass which

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<sup>298</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 30-31; Ayers 2004 Part 2: 277 follows Le Couteur on this.

<sup>299</sup> Callé 2007 supports this view (HRO DC/K9/34).

<sup>300</sup> See 1.2.5.2 on the daisy motif.

<sup>301</sup> Fig. 0.44 shows the saw of Simon the Zealot and a fragment of the wheel of St Katherine. St Lawrence is in NII and St Vincent in NIII (Le Couteur 1920: 31). In sXXV of the nave aisle, "St Jacob[us]" appears at the top of the canopy.

<sup>302</sup> See 4.4.2 on the screens.

were marked by the ringing of bells.<sup>303</sup> Those watching from afar may have seen the seraphim and standing saints, the Holy Company of Heaven, in the nave clerestory around the rood. Behind that, the image of the Last Judgement in the east gable window, with Christ at the summit, was a traditional backdrop to the Mass. Altogether, this imagery paralleled that visible to the monks in the choir, supporting the liturgy of the Mass in broadly the same way. The imagery in the east gable window would have been less important as a focus, and often not visible at all, when the laity were able to observe Mass more closely at the different altars and chapels in the nave noted in 4.1.2.

Watching liturgical processions in the nave, the laity may have joined in the responses in the litany, supported by the images of the saints in the glass. The saints identified above in the nave glass feature in Morgan's Winchester litany texts: Simon the Zealot and James were apostles, Katherine was a virgin, and Lawrence and Vincent were martyrs.<sup>304</sup> There was a series of apostles in the great west window, and Peter and Paul were repeated in the east gable window. Also in the east gable window, St Swithun was grouped in the litany with the confessors, which included Birinus, Hedda and Ethelwold - one of which is likely to have been the figure balancing St Swithun on the south side of the main lights.

For those in the nave, the glass in the east gable window would have also fitted with liturgy of both baptism and funerals. Although baptism appears to have become common in the parish churches in Winchester by the early 16th century, some baptisms would have continued in the cathedral at the font on the north side of the nave.<sup>305</sup> The imagery in the east gable window reminded viewers approaching the font of the need for salvation through Christ, with the Virgin and John the Baptist as principal intercessors. The Last Judgement imagery would also have resonated at funerals, although it is not clear how frequently funerals were held in the cathedral in the early 16th century. Most burials of citizens took place in the cathedral cemetery, but Keene has suggested that many of the services may have been held in the parish churches.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Draper 2006: 198-200 on the Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council and other relevant statutes.

<sup>304</sup> Morgan 2013: 113-14.

<sup>305</sup> Keene 1985 i: 109 argues that most of the parish churches had fonts by the early 13th century. See 4.1.3 on the position of the nave font.

<sup>306</sup> Keene 1985 i: 108-109. It seems likely that the monks' funerals were usually in the infirmary chapel (see Sparks 2007: 39-41 on the position at Canterbury and under Lanfranc's Constitutions). But note that the Church of St Michael off Kingsgate Street was mentioned at an early date as one of the churches employed for funerals of monks (*BOE 2010*: 635). Further research is needed on this question.

There is evidence that the nave was a venue for public announcements, and it was presumably also a venue for some of the public preaching recorded in the cathedral.<sup>307</sup> At Christ Church Canterbury in the 1460s the Benedictine monks preached in the nave, as well as the Chapter House.<sup>308</sup> The glass visible from the nave would have supported public preaching. The west window illustrated the Creed, and the Life of Christ. Behind the rood, the Last Judgement completed the core Christian iconography. The public processions against heresy, with prayers and speeches, may well have gathered in the nave.<sup>309</sup> In times of national hardship, the images of the saints of the church militant in the nave may have fortified the faithful. In the distance, the east gable window would have been a secure statement of orthodoxy and the authority of the church.

In the later middle ages the two religious festivals of the year which the citizens of Winchester were directly involved with were those of Corpus Christi and the Nativity of St John the Baptist.<sup>310</sup> The initiative behind the great later medieval procession of Corpus Christi was primarily civic rather than ecclesiastical, and it is not clear whether it entered the cathedral in the early 16th century.<sup>311</sup> Whether or not it did, the iconography of the east gable window, with the image of the wounded Christ, and instruments of the Passion next to John the Baptist, may have had a particular resonance for members of the city's leading fraternity, the fraternity of St John the Baptist, who took pride of place in the Corpus Christi procession.<sup>312</sup>

This thesis has emphasized the cathedral's ongoing importance for royal ceremonies. There is documentary evidence of the presence of the wider public in the nave to celebrate the wedding of Mary Tudor to Philip II of Spain in 1554: the people in the aisles saluted the climax of the ceremony with a great shout.<sup>313</sup> If this thesis is right about the imagery in the east gable window, as she entered for her wedding from the west end, Mary may have glimpsed her ancestors, Henry VII, and either Elizabeth of York or Lady Margaret Beaufort. The window was a clear statement of hierarchy, reflecting the authority of God, the church, and the king.

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<sup>307</sup> Baigent Papers, BL Add MS 39982: 162. There is evidence in an early 14th-century bishop's register of both the monks and the friars preaching in the cathedral (Baigent 1897: 32-33, 411, 423). William Manydowne gave a sermon in public before the election of a new prior on Prior Silkstede's death in 1524 (Greatrex 1998: 261-62).

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> For example: Baigent 1897: 418 (Register of Rigaud de Asserio); HRO 54019, Alchin's Index Vol. IV (Register of Cardinal Beaufort): 17-18 and DC/K1/19, Baigent Research notes on Register of Bishop Langton folio 79b.

<sup>310</sup> Keene 1985 i: 129.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid* and Keene 1985 ii: 813-822 on St John's hospital and the fraternity of John the Baptist.

<sup>313</sup> Hilton 1938: 48 quotes the English Herald's Account.

In 1504 Fox confirmed Wykeham's Letters Patent ordering the inhabitants of Winchester not to make a thoroughfare through the cathedral or close.<sup>314</sup> This suggests that, from an early date, he was concerned about decorum in the cathedral, including the nave, to which the citizens had the most regular access. Fox's general concern for decorum and to preserve an overall sense of continuity in the building suggests that he, or his designer, would have thought about how the new east gable window, visible in the nave, fitted with the earlier glass there. It is possible that Fox's new east gable window replicated some of the iconography of the window it replaced. There is however no doubt that the window very effectively supported the various parochial and civic functions in the nave.

#### **4.6 Liturgy and devotion: conclusions**

Two main themes emerge from the wide-ranging discussion in this chapter. The first is the "cleverness" of the early 16th-century glazing scheme.<sup>315</sup> Its cleverness lies in its comprehensiveness, and its applicability to the liturgy and devotional life in the cathedral viewed from different positions in the east and west ends – serving the monastic community, pilgrims and the parish. The second feature, continuity, is connected to the first. The early 16th-century scheme fits together with the other imagery which can be reconstructed from the east end, and the earlier glazing, begun by Wykeham in the nave.

The scheme for the east end of Winchester Cathedral may have evolved piecemeal, but it could not have been achieved without careful and informed thought. It is clear that those responsible were always mindful of what had gone before, and it emerges as a connected integrated scheme. Carruthers talks about "ductus", the various elements in a building which lead the viewer, and the "intention" within the work itself, coloured by the mind perceiving it, rather than attributing its entire effect to the original designer.<sup>316</sup> The coherence within the scheme for the east end of Winchester Cathedral was not dependant on style and design. The viewer could choose which element of the imagery to focus on, but, in St Augustine's words, "Whatever the variety of tongues may be, one 'gold' is preached...all tongues preach one wisdom, one doctrine and discipline".<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> CPR Henry VII Vol.II 1916: 344.

<sup>315</sup> Luxford 2008: 208 describes the Benedictines "as clever negotiators of the world and their place in it".

<sup>316</sup> Carruthers 2013: 137, 167.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid: 158.

This thesis supports many of the general conclusions about the nature of late medieval Benedictine art in Julian Luxford's ground-breaking study: the emphasis on renewal and continuity of construction; an awareness of stylistic consistency, combined with a willingness to combine ancient and modern work; an appreciation of splendour and magnificence, colour and precious metals; an aspiration towards high quality, but an acceptance of some work that we might regard as relatively low quality, even in a prestigious context, perhaps for pragmatic reasons.<sup>318</sup>

Luxford looks for general characteristics in the art of the late medieval Benedictines that are distinctive and specific to the order. When he does not find any, he reluctantly concludes that "there is nothing Benedictine by nature about Benedictine art in general".<sup>319</sup> However, his book paints a rich picture of the art of an order whose influence was so widespread that their tastes could not remain unique to them. Their use of typology and symbolism, derived from their familiarity with the psalms, may have been adopted elsewhere, but it was nonetheless still a characteristic of their art. The bishops of Benedictine institutions like St Swithuns were massively influential politically, and it was their job to uphold the status quo, so it is not surprising that orthodoxy was a defining characteristic, even if not exclusive to them. Their attachment to their sacred history, and local saints, again was not unique, but their engagement with their history reflected their corporate spirit.

This study also shows the use of some less common iconography which originally developed in Benedictine circles. The Apocalypse window may well have been based on a Berengaudus type manuscript or book, as discussed in Chapter 2. The popularity of large scale depictions of the Apocalypse in Benedictine institutions has also been noted in Chapter 2. The early collections of Legends of the Virgin in England were made by 12th-century Benedictine monks: by Anselm, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bury St Edmunds, Dominic, prior of the Benedictine Abbey at Evesham, and William, monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Malmesbury.<sup>320</sup> The Benedictines continued to innovate. Their role in the development of polyphony in the late 15th and early 16th century, including at Winchester Cathedral, can be used as evidence of the dynamism of the order in the period immediately preceding the Reformation.<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Luxford 2008: 204-206.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid: 206.

<sup>320</sup> Ward 1987: 155. For literature on English collections of Miracles of the Virgin see Morgan 1991: 71 note 7.

<sup>321</sup> Bowers 1999: 235; Clark 2014: 104-105.

The affinity between the glazing schemes for the east end of Winchester Cathedral and the themes and iconography in the Benedictional of Ethewold suggests an enduring continuity of purpose. The glass in the presbytery and Lady Chapel were expressions of the monks' longing to join with the saints and angels in praising Christ in heaven, for the blessings that can be achieved through his incarnation. Deshman draws attention to the play on the name Benedict, with "benedictus", meaning "blessed" in the accounts of Benedict's translation at Fleury in the 10th century.<sup>322</sup> He quotes from early texts to show how Benedict's presence at Fleury "...causes the monastery to become a terrestrial heaven where the monks blossom like him and the sick of body and soul are restored, like monks in their consecration, to a paradisiacal state of baptismal purity".<sup>323</sup>

Deshman shows how these ideas about St Benedict's translation were paralleled in accounts of St Swithun's translations. He argues that the translation ceremonies echoed Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, and also symbolised the basic concept of the life of a monk, as a spiritual journey through the world, following Christ and the saints to the heavenly Jerusalem after the Last Judgement.

These ideas were fundamental Christian ideas, not unique to Benedictine Monasticism, but they remained at its core - at the heart of the monks' purpose and identity. Most important for the later medieval period, Thomas Rudbourne was familiar with them in the mid 15th-century. Rudbourne wrote that "...Blessed Benedict, as if succeeding the first act of *Blessing*..., gave to the monastic life the everlasting name of benediction, so that the religion of eternal benediction might be named truly".<sup>324</sup> Viewed from this perspective, in its evocations of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the late medieval glazing of Winchester Cathedral was "Benedictine" at the most profound level.

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<sup>322</sup> Deshman 1995: 185.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid: 185-91.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid: 190.

## **Chapter 5: Patronage: payment and implementation; planning, ideas and influences**

This chapter considers the people who are likely to have been involved in the late medieval glazing of the east end of Winchester Cathedral. Under the umbrella of patronage, it looks at the individuals who could have planned, paid for and organised the glazing, and the cultural, intellectual and theological ideas that may have inspired them.

We do not have complete records to prove the contributions of the bishops, the prior and convent, or external donors to the glazing schemes.<sup>1</sup> As a supplement to the scarce hard evidence, this section uses a biographical approach to build up a picture of the individuals likely to have been involved in planning or organising the glazing, highlighting those who displayed a particular interest in architecture and the decorative arts and their relevant connections. Until further documentary proof emerges, this may be the closest we can get to understanding what was going on in the cathedral at this period. It also makes a broader contribution, in painting a fuller picture of the interests and concerns of those involved in the cathedral, at different levels of society.

This chapter provides a detailed case study of an important late medieval Benedictine church, which tests some of Luxford's more general arguments about the role of kings and bishops as patrons of late medieval Benedictine art and architecture. Luxford has argued that royal patronage in the construction or decoration of monasteries was rare, unless it related to dynastic burial or promotion.<sup>2</sup> However, he has not discussed the extreme lengths that Henry VII went to in order to secure his commemoration throughout the land, and how far this was reflected in church buildings. This thesis argues that both the Lady Chapel glass and the presbytery glass must be interpreted against this background, and are likely to have commemorated the royal family.

Both Luxford and Draper have argued that the importance of patronage by bishops at late medieval Benedictine monasteries tends to be exaggerated, because contemporaries attributed the work of their community to their titular head, to stress his importance, and hence the prestige of their

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<sup>1</sup> Introduction at 0.2.

<sup>2</sup> Luxford 2008: 151-66 at 152.

institution.<sup>3</sup> Luxford concludes that most Benedictine art is the result of official patronage by the obedientiaries below the level of prior, who paid for work to the building out of their separately administered incomes.<sup>4</sup> This chapter shows this argument to be only partially true in relation to the late medieval architectural and glazing schemes at Winchester Cathedral. It is clear that any substantial project in the east end of the cathedral must have been managed with the co-operation of the monks, and it appears that the Lady Chapel project was led by the community. However, the circumstantial evidence indicates that the Bishops of Winchester, Courtenay and Langton, may well have been crucial influences on the Lady Chapel project, as Bishop Fox was for the presbytery scheme.

The patronage of the Lady Chapel scheme has never until now been analysed in detail. The tradition that Queen Elizabeth rebuilt the chapel in memory of Prince Arthur's baptism in the cathedral has been accepted by much secondary literature, without any convincing primary evidence.<sup>5</sup> This chapter points out that the tradition may well have some basis in fact. It notes Angela Smith's suggestion that Henry VII's payment of £100 to Prior Hunton in 1490 may have been intended to fund the building work in the chapel.<sup>6</sup> It also suggests the involvement in the building works of some other donors associated with Prince Arthur. These have been identified by exploring fully Smith's suggestion that the roof bosses in the Lady Chapel may be representative of the benefactors.<sup>7</sup> With regard to the later stages of the Lady Chapel works, Luxford supports Prior Silkstede's involvement, while acknowledging that other members of the community would also have been involved.<sup>8</sup> While Silkstede must have been a crucial figure, this chapter draws attention for the first time to evidence suggesting that Bishop Langton may have helped to fund the glazing.

In contrast to the dearth of earlier scholarship on the patronage of the Lady Chapel, Bishop Fox's work in the presbytery has been discussed quite extensively in recent years. Linda Monckton's thoughtful interpretation of Fox's motivations for building, and his importance as a bridge between the old world and the new, provide a starting point for some of the more detailed discussion in this chapter.<sup>9</sup> Both Clayton Drees' and Barry Collett's recent works on Fox provide very helpful

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid: Chapter 3; Luxford 2013; Draper 2006: 41-42.

<sup>4</sup> Luxford 2008: 31-32, 94.

<sup>5</sup> *Leland IV*: 204-207 does not refer to a contribution. For secondary literature, see Vaughan 1919: 87-88; 268; Crawford 1985: 52-53; Laynesmith 2004: 119.

<sup>6</sup> Smith 1988(a): 186 note 7.

<sup>7</sup> Smith 1996: 15 and note 19.

<sup>8</sup> Luxford 2008: 91 and note 57.

<sup>9</sup> Monckton 2011.



background to a discussion of his patronage and enable this chapter to focus on specific questions about Fox's involvement: how interested he is likely to have been in the cathedral's glazing in the period when he was politically very active up to 1516 and how far the glazing scheme reflected his intellectual and spiritual ideas.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter is structured under four broad headings: commemoration of Prince Arthur in the Lady Chapel; wider themes of royal commemoration, the role and concerns of priors and obedientiaries and last, but not least, episcopal involvement.

## **5.1 Prince Arthur and the Lady Chapel**

### **5.1.1 Elizabeth of York's donation for the Lady Chapel works – real or imagined?**

Prince Arthur was born in Prior Hunton's lodgings at St Swithun's on 20th September 1486. Henry and Elizabeth had moved to Winchester three weeks before, and it is thought that his birth and christening at Winchester were carefully planned, probably because of the links to King Arthur discussed in the Introduction.<sup>11</sup>

The Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York for the final year of her life, from 25th March 1502 to 11th February 1503, were published by Nicolas in 1830, with a memoir of Elizabeth's life. The memoir relies on a manuscript by Bishop Kennett (1660-1728) as authority for the claim that Elizabeth founded the Lady Chapel in gratitude for her safe delivery of Arthur.<sup>12</sup> However, the only proof Kennett himself cites is the heraldry on the walls of the Lady Chapel.<sup>13</sup> The series of large shields representing the arms of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and Prince Arthur (along with the arms of the See of Winchester, Bishop Courtenay, and Prior Hunton) is not enough in itself to prove that Elizabeth made a significant financial contribution to the work (Fig. 4.10). Royal heraldry is often indicative of an individual or institution's allegiance and aspiration rather than of royal funding.<sup>14</sup> The Privy Purse Expenses themselves show the queen making many small donations and

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<sup>10</sup> Drees 2014; Collett 2002(a) and (b) and unpublished 2017.

<sup>11</sup> See also Gunn and Monckton 2009: 1; Cunningham 2016: 19.

<sup>12</sup> Nicolas 1830: lxi.

<sup>13</sup> BL Lansdowne 978 folios 25b and 26.

<sup>14</sup> Marks 1993: 10.

gifts, but make no reference to a donation to St Swithun's. It appears that Elizabeth was generally short of money: in 1496 Henry VII lent her £2000 to pay her debts.<sup>15</sup>

However, Smith's archival research proves that Henry VII paid Prior Hunton of St Swithun's, Winchester, £100 in 1490. This was four years after the baptism, and the reason for the large payment is not stated, so it is not certain that the sum was a contribution to the building works. However, on balance it seems likely to have been connected. The building works may not have started until around 1490. The fact that the payment is found in conjunction with payments to the clerks of works at Windsor and at the Tower of London adds to the likelihood that it relates to building expenses.<sup>16</sup> No other explanation of the payment has so far been suggested, and the explanation fits with the bold royal heraldry and the fact that the building works in the Lady Chapel were clearly a priority for Prior Hunton, who was later buried there.<sup>17</sup> The payment could have been made, perhaps at Queen Elizabeth's suggestion, from gratitude for Arthur's safe delivery in the prior's lodgings and baptism in the cathedral, and to enable the monks to commemorate the new Tudor dynasty. There is evidence that Henry's decisions could be influenced by Elizabeth, as he made it clear in correspondence that her wishes might affect his choice of bishops.<sup>18</sup>

### **5.1.2 Further evidence suggesting that the Lady Chapel commemorated Prince Arthur**

Whether or not the king or queen contributed financially, the cumulative circumstantial evidence supports the view that the Lady Chapel works commemorated Prince Arthur. This section briefly notes how the iconography of the windows would have supported this theme. It also looks at individuals who had connections with both the cathedral and the royal family, and who may have been involved in the building or glazing work.

The Jesse window, although common at the east end of a great church, was consistent with the theme of royal genealogy.<sup>19</sup> The Nativity window, opposite the large-scale royal heraldry on the walls below, would have been a reminder of Arthur's baptism. Between 1486 and her death in 1503 Elizabeth produced seven children: Arthur in 1486; Margaret in 1489; Henry in 1491;

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<sup>15</sup> Nicolas 1830: lxxxv.

<sup>16</sup> Smith 1988(a): 186 cites PRO E405/77, one of the documents in the collection of Teller's Rolls, dated 5 Henry VII (1490). I am grateful to Smith for elaborating on her findings in personal communication.

<sup>17</sup> See 5.3.1.

<sup>18</sup> Underwood 1995: 73.

<sup>19</sup> See 2.2.1.

Elizabeth in 1492 (died 1495); Mary in 1496; Edmund in 1499 (died 1500); and Katherine in 1503 (died at birth). Despite the high mortality rate, there were four healthy children in the 1490s.

Elizabeth not only had the only valid claim to the throne: she was also successfully producing the new dynasty. However, it was only Prince Arthur who was baptised at Winchester, and as the heir he would have been the main focus of attention.<sup>20</sup> If, as suggested in Chapter 1, the installation of the glass began around 1500-1502, this would have coincided with preparations for his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, which was the high point of Henry VII's reign, and a time when many royal glazing projects are documented.<sup>21</sup> The betrothal was in 1497 and the ceremony took place in St Paul's in November 1501.

There were two administrators involved at Winchester Cathedral who were both themselves patrons of painted glass, and who would have provided close links to the royal family around this time.

Both figures have already been mentioned in Chapter 1 at section 1.1.3.

Sir Reginald Bray was one of Henry VII's closest advisers, skilled in administration and finance.<sup>22</sup> Bray had participated in the ceremony for Arthur's baptism and was also involved in the preparations for his wedding ceremony at St Paul's.<sup>23</sup> He must have been involved at Winchester, because in 1487 he was granted an annuity of £20 in return for "past and future good services" and, on the death of the current incumbent he was promised the stewardship of the See, for a salary of £40 per year.<sup>24</sup> He must also have had contact from 1501 as one of Bishop Langton's executors.<sup>25</sup> He may have helped organise the Lady Chapel glazing, as well as Langton's adjoining chantry.

Robert Frost, the patron of the Thornhill Jesse window in 1499, provides a clear and strong link between Prince Arthur and the cathedral around the time of the royal wedding.<sup>26</sup> He was king's councillor in 1495, Prince Arthur's almoner in 1495 and subsequently chancellor to Prince Arthur and then Prince Henry.<sup>27</sup> As Arthur's chancellor from 1499, Robert would have been involved in the arrangements for his marriage. He was also archdeacon of Winchester between 1487 and 1502.

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<sup>20</sup> The new royal chapel at Greenwich became the future venue for early Tudor baptisms and weddings. Prince Henry was baptised there by Bishop Fox in 1491 and Fox attended Prince Edmund's baptism there as godfather in 1499 (Smith 1988(a): 71; Drees 2014: 72; Bentley 1831: 120 - expenses for 1499).

<sup>21</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>22</sup> Gunn 2016: 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Leland IV*: 207; Cunningham 2016: 146.

<sup>24</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 442.

<sup>25</sup> Woodruff 1914: 111.

<sup>26</sup> Jones 1971: 124 notes other donations of glass by Robert Frost.

<sup>27</sup> Emden 1957-59: 731-32; Gunn and Monckton 2009: 13-15.

He must have been active at Winchester in the 1490s because he was nominated to attend convocation at St Paul's in 1495, along with Prior Hunton, and he gained a pension from St Swithun's in 1497.<sup>28</sup> If, as seems likely, the Lady Chapel glazing was installed around the time of the wedding, Robert's involvement in a prestigious scheme commemorating Arthur's baptism in the cathedral would have been appropriate.

Although the royal heraldry in the Lady Chapel is not in itself sufficient to prove that the king or queen contributed to the rebuilding, the other heraldry and emblems are more likely to represent individuals who were directly involved. On the walls and vault of the Lady Chapel, the heraldry and rebuses of Bishops Courtenay and Langton, and Priors Hunton and Silkstede must indicate their direct involvement, as they were in charge at the cathedral at the time the building works were carried out. Both Courtenay and Langton had been present at Arthur's baptism in 1486.<sup>29</sup> Priors Hunton and Silkstede were leading figures at St Swithun's in 1486, and so are very likely to have been involved in the baptism too.<sup>30</sup>

The heraldry of the vault also includes the arms of other figures associated with Prince Arthur, who may have made contributions to the building works or the glazing:

*Thomas Fitzalan, 17th Earl of Arundel, also called Lord Mautravers*: his heraldry includes gules a lion rampant or (Fitzalan) quartering sable a fret or (Mautravers) (Fig. 5.1).<sup>31</sup> Leland tells us that Lord Mautravers was a godfather to Prince Arthur, and played a leading part in the baptism.<sup>32</sup> He was involved in founding a chantry for the royal family at St Andrew's Church Farnham, near Arthur's nursery at Farnham Castle between 1486 and 1488, and may well also have made a contribution to the Lady Chapel works.<sup>33</sup>

*Sir William Uvedale* was descended from John Uvedale and Sybil Scures of Wickham, and the arms on the vault of Uvedale quartering Scures must be his (Fig. 5.2).<sup>34</sup> He was made a knight of the Bath when Prince Arthur was created Prince of Wales in 1489. He was sheriff of Hampshire in

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<sup>28</sup> HRO DC/K1/ 19 (Baigent's Index of Langton's Register); Emden 1957-59: 731-32 notes that Frost was also a canon at York, Lichfield and St Paul's.

<sup>29</sup> *Leland IV*: 206.

<sup>30</sup> See 5.3.1.

<sup>31</sup> I am grateful to Philip Lankester for advice on the arms.

<sup>32</sup> *Leland IV*: 206.

<sup>33</sup> Cunningham 2016: 35.

<sup>34</sup> HRO DC/K8 (Jewers Notes on Winchester Cathedral heraldry 1910); Page 1908: 234.

1480, 1487 and 1493.<sup>35</sup> As controller of Arthur's household at Ludlow, Uvedale has been described as one of the most important people in the prince's life.<sup>36</sup> As a local man, close to Arthur, he is highly likely to have made a contribution to the Lady Chapel works.

Finally, there are figures of golden cockatrices and owls tucked away on the Lady Chapel vault which are likely to be significant (Figs 5.3-5.4). The cockatrice parallels the cockatrice on a tun which recurs on the vault of Bishop Langton's adjoining chantry chapel, and on the early Renaissance style cornice installed there. As noted in 1.2.2, the decoration of Langton's Chapel was contemporary with the decoration of the Lady Chapel. The cockatrice and tun emblem was previously thought to be associated with Prior Hunton ('hen on a tun') but Biddle argues convincingly that it was the rebus of the diocese of Winchester.<sup>37</sup>

The owls could suggest a link to Sir John Savile, whose heraldry also included owls (Fig. 5.5).<sup>38</sup> Savile was a patron of painted glass.<sup>39</sup> He was involved in the royal circle, and accompanied Prince Henry to meet Katherine of Aragon on 10th November 1501.<sup>40</sup> He worked closely with both Reginald Bray and Robert Frost, who may have encouraged him to make a contribution.<sup>41</sup> However, it is more likely that, as Smith has suggested, the owls represent another administrator, William Frost of Avington, known to have been closely involved at the cathedral. His arms at Fig.5.6 also included owls.<sup>42</sup>

William Frost spent most of his working life in Hampshire, working for successive bishops of Winchester, from the time of Courtenay in the early 1490s.<sup>43</sup> His appointment as bailiff of Twyford under Courtenay in 1492 "for past and continuing good service" indicates that he was already very

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<sup>35</sup> Lock *ODNB*.

<sup>36</sup> Cunningham 2016: 50, 111.

<sup>37</sup> Biddle 1993: 257-58 refers to Proverbs 23: 31-32. He argues that the cockatrice on a tun indicates "wine-tun", a rebus for Winton.

<sup>38</sup> Jones 1971: 16 and 84.

<sup>39</sup> See 2.3.2 and Cooke 2012 on his window at Thornhill Church. Wayment 1984: 96 and 1996: 182, 186, found convincing evidence that Savile was also involved in the glazing at Fairford, although his argument that Savile supervised the east end glass at Fairford, on behalf of the Council of Wales as a royal gift, is unconvincing.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* Woodland (unpublished): 17-18 notes that Savile's second wife Elizabeth Paston, was a second cousin of Lady Margaret Beaufort.

<sup>41</sup> Clay 1920 online edition sets out Savile's will of 1503, which named Lady Margaret as a protector for his son, and Bray as a feoffe (trustee).

<sup>42</sup> Smith 1996: 15 and note 19. For William Frost's arms, see Nisbett 1905. The recurrence of the name Frost at Winchester at this period is confusing, but there is no indication that Robert, the son of Thomas Frost of Ackton, was related to William Frost of Avington.

<sup>43</sup> Smith 2010: 136-37 on Frost's career.

valuable by this stage.<sup>44</sup> He became Fox's chief Steward after 1501. Frost was himself a significant patron of building works in the early 16th century.<sup>45</sup> He was a joint patron of Fox's foundation at Oxford, Corpus Christi College, and in the 1520s contributed to Fox's new choir screens in the presbytery.<sup>46</sup> Biddle notes the elegance of Frost's screen separating the presbytery from the north presbytery aisle (Fig.5.6).<sup>47</sup>

As well as the owl bosses, there is a further physical clue in the Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel to suggest that William Frost may have been involved in the work there. In the small fragments of original glass surviving in the Lady Chapel traceries, the motto "Laus Deo" is the only one that survives, in several locations.<sup>48</sup> This is even closer to the motto on Frost's screen ("Sit Laus Deo") than to the motto found in Langton's Chapel, "Laus tibi Christi".<sup>49</sup> William Frost may have been echoing the motto from the Lady Chapel in his new choir screen, rather than being the originator of the motto in the Lady Chapel glass. However, his earlier involvement in the Lady Chapel works certainly cannot be ruled out.

## **5.2. Royal commemoration: wider themes**

### **5.2.1 Henry VII's requirements for commemoration throughout the realm**

Royal commemoration went deeper and wider than remembering the baptism - both historically at Winchester, and increasingly throughout the realm as Henry VII's reign progressed. The Introduction has discussed the long-standing association between the royal family and Winchester Cathedral.<sup>50</sup> From the time of Ethelwold at Winchester, and the *Regularis Concordia*, one of the distinctive features of English origin in the Benedictine liturgy was the requirement to recite groups of psalms and collects for the royal family after High Mass and each of the regular hours (except prime) and to say Morrow Mass for the King.<sup>51</sup> Generally speaking, the emphasis on the liturgical obligation to the monarch declined after the Norman Conquest, but the king still had a claim on all

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<sup>44</sup> Greatrex 1979: Item 494.

<sup>45</sup> Smith 2010 on Frost's work at Netley Abbey. Ibid: 149 note 20 notes building at Lincoln's Inn.

<sup>46</sup> Fowler 1893: 32-34; Biddle 1993 on the screens.

<sup>47</sup> Biddle 1993: 271-74.

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Milner II*: 103.

<sup>50</sup> Note also earlier tensions caused by royal interference, discussed in Greatrex 1993: 142-43.

<sup>51</sup> Roper 1993: 35-39 explains in detail the areas in the *Regularis Concordia* where the monks were instructed to pray for the royal family.

collective monastic prayers.<sup>52</sup> This section notes Henry VII's increased demands for commemoration throughout the country, by way of background to his specific requirements in relation to Winchester Cathedral.

There is clear documentary evidence in the Close Rolls that from the 1490s Henry VII made a very concerted effort to ensure that he and his family were widely commemorated in churches throughout the realm.<sup>53</sup> Over and over again, in exchange for some favour or financial benefit, he imposed obligations for prayer, and often penalties for non-compliance: at Bourchier's Chantry in Canterbury Cathedral, from 1492; at the Abbey of St Mary's York from 1493 and at Westminster Abbey from 1493; at the Congregation of the Friars Minors at Lichfield in 1495; at the Carthusian Priory of the Grande Chartreuse and in every house of the order from 1496; at the priory of Little Malvern from 1496; at Jesus College Cambridge from 1498; at King's College Cambridge from 1499; at the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary's Flexely, Herefordshire, and the Abbey of Welhawe from 1502; and the list goes on.<sup>54</sup>

The 1493 Westminster Abbey agreement purported to extend to all Benedictine monasteries, requiring a daily Mass of the Virgin to be said for the king, queen and the king's mother.<sup>55</sup> If this requirement was observed at St Swithun's from the 1490s, it would provide a further explanation of the royal emphasis in the Winchester Lady Chapel works.

The level of Henry's interference in the spiritual life of religious houses of all orders, including cathedrals and many collegiate churches, was extraordinary.<sup>56</sup> Condon demonstrates the breadth of the duties imposed throughout churches in the realm for prayers for the royal family, encouraged by constitutions of the synods of both Canterbury and York.<sup>57</sup> The collect for the living king prescribed by Henry for the monks of Westminster in his 1504 memorial foundation (discussed below) was widely observed, and printed at Henry's command. Henry also requested Richard

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid: 34 comments that no customary compiled after the Conquest retains the same degree of emphasis on the royal household as the *Regularis Concordia*. See also Luxford 2008: 151; Wood 1955: 134.

<sup>53</sup> Condon 2003(a): 81.

<sup>54</sup> CCR 1500-1509: 197 consolidates a number of the agreements. Ibid: 647 for period from 1503-1506.

<sup>55</sup> CCR 1500-1509: 197.

<sup>56</sup> Wood 1955: 132-34 discusses arrangements made by earlier kings.

<sup>57</sup> Condon 2003(a): 81, 86. CCR 1500-1509: 647 records that the Synod of Canterbury in 1503/4 provided for the king's participation in Masses at all sacred houses, cathedrals and collegiate churches having as many as thirteen clerks, except the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

Pynson to publish a Sarum Missal before the end of 1504, including a Mass for the king, in which the proper included the Westminster prayers.<sup>58</sup>

This background of royal commemoration from the 1490's provides the general context for royal imagery and emblems in surviving glass from the period at institutions which were not royal foundations: Little Malvern, Great Malvern, Fairford Parish Church, and perhaps also the Henry VII window in Antwerp Cathedral.<sup>59</sup> It cannot be assumed from the obligation to pray for the king that he had funded any glass commemorating the royal family. Even where he provided a financial benefit, this is much more likely to have been a reward for ongoing chantry services. In each case, close examination of the documents and circumstances is needed in considering who funded the glass.

### **5.2.2. Henry VII's Westminster foundation and Fox's presbytery works**

The justified sense of repeated danger, of intercession for, and divine intervention in, the king's preservation and good estate, is one of the repeated undercurrents of the reign.<sup>60</sup>

The year 1501, when Fox became bishop of Winchester, was the high point of Henry VII's reign. His hard-won diplomatic victory culminated in November in the elaborate, grandiose pageantry of the wedding of Arthur and Katherine. The joy was short-lived. Arthur's death in 1502 was soon followed by Elizabeth's death in early 1503. Henry VII, himself in failing health, lost his faith in divine providence. He struggled still with threats to his throne, now from the Earl of Suffolk in Burgundy.<sup>61</sup> With all his other sons dead, the only hope for the future of the dynasty was Prince Henry. The king's reaction was to seek security through money. With his advisers Empson and Dudley he controlled his realm through threats of financial penalties, even extortion.<sup>62</sup>

Against this background, the profound significance of Henry's foundation based at Westminster becomes clear. He knew he was deeply unpopular, and he knew his end was coming. The intensity

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<sup>58</sup> Condon 2003(a): 86.

<sup>59</sup> At Fairford the only royal emblems are the Prince of Wales feathers and 'Ich Dien' motto, but it is possible that there were also hidden royal portraits. Barley 2015: 85-86 notes an inscription on the Queen of Sheba's headdress ("Roy" and perhaps "Liz") supporting the view of some scholars that this figure represented Elizabeth of York.

<sup>60</sup> Condon 2003(a): 86.

<sup>61</sup> Chrimes 1999: 93-94.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid: 133; Gunn 2016: Chapter 5, especially 78-79.



of his need for prayer and support throughout the whole land has more than a tinge of desperation. The lofty, lacy grandeur of his new Lady Chapel at Westminster expressed his pious hope, nonetheless, for salvation, and for an enduring legacy on this earth too.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth in February 1503, Henry's emphasis on commemoration intensified dramatically. The agreement with St Swithun's to perform the king's suffrages was dated 12th June 1503; in return the priory were to receive limited freedom from mortmain laws, and greater freedoms to acquire land not held by the king.<sup>63</sup> It is unclear whether the agreement for property privileges was ever finalized. Although it takes the form of an illuminated manuscript (now in Bremen), the text is incomplete and undated.<sup>64</sup>

Margaret Condon has written in detail about Henry's Westminster foundation. A series of indentures, between July and December 1504, founded the chantry in the new Lady Chapel to be built at Westminster Abbey, and an almshouse at Westminster, and made provision for other prayers, suffrages and endowments at Westminster and in other religious institutions in the realm.<sup>65</sup> Bishop Fox and the prior and convent of St Swithun's were one of five guarantors in a seven-part agreement to ensure that the abbot and convent of Westminster carried out its obligations.<sup>66</sup> In parallel to the main foundation at Westminster, a series of twenty four-part indentures required other major institutions to mirror the Westminster chantry ("foreign obits"), in return for an annual payment.<sup>67</sup> From the Close Rolls, St Swithun's does not appear to have been a party to a four-part indenture; Condon suggests the omission of Winchester may have been because they had already committed to suffrages in 1503.<sup>68</sup>

Although St Swithun's appears to have received some financial benefits in return for on-going prayers for the royal family, no evidence has been found to suggest that the king made a direct

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<sup>63</sup> HRO DC /F6/1/6/2 records the agreement to perform the king's suffrages in St Swithun's register of the Common Seal ii, folio 15r. See further Condon 2003(a): 80-81 note 114 and the text of the agreement for property privileges in Maas 1914: 72-75.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Condon 2003(a): 59.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid: 66. Ibid: 80 on the date of sealing by the prior of St Swithun's.

<sup>67</sup> Condon 2003(a): 81-82, 95-97 lists these institutions. They included the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the deans and chapters of St Stephens Westminster, and St George's Windsor, the houses of each order of Friars, the monks of St Augustines Canterbury, and St Albans, the Carthusians of the London Charterhouse and the Brigettines at Syon.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid: 80 note 114.

contribution to the building works in the presbytery.<sup>69</sup> However, it is clear that the presbytery scheme can only be fully understood against the background of the royal insistence on commemoration.<sup>70</sup> That Fox was immersed in this climate, and remained dedicated to the salvation of King Henry his “maker”, is proved by the regulations for his chantry chapel (built by 1518).<sup>71</sup> Prayers here were to be for Fox, Henry VII and Lady Margaret Beaufort.<sup>72</sup>

In the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral royal heraldry dominates, second only to the Passion emblems. Fox’s royal bosses, surviving on the main vault of the presbytery and the vaults of the presbytery aisles, were an affirmation of the Tudor dynasty, planned at a time when his king was struggling, perhaps more than ever. Royal emblems occupy the central third of the main presbytery vault, and represent not just the early Tudors, but also the ancient kings they had succeeded.<sup>73</sup> Later, Fox’s rearrangement and display of the bones of ancient kings and queens, like Canute and Emma, along the presbytery screens, again emphasised that this space, where the Tudor king was prayed for daily, was the long standing burial place of English kings, as well as saints and bishops. The early Tudor use of Winchester’s history to add authority to its dynastic claim was not a new idea. The recent work of Biddle and Biddle suggests that it parallels a tactic used by William the Conqueror – and arguably even earlier by Canute himself.<sup>74</sup>

It is unfortunate that insufficient glass survives to prove beyond doubt the extent of the royal emphasis in Fox’s glazing scheme. The traces are sparse. Elizabeth of York’s white rose, close to Fox’s own pelican, and the figures of the ancestors of Christ, all in the south presbytery aisle indicate that this pathway to the Lady Chapel, with its Jesse window, had a royal theme (Fig.0.4). A fragment of what may be the red dragon of Cadwallader survives in Caboolture (Fig. 5.7). It looks closer in form to the dragon of Cadwallader on the presbytery vault roof bosses than to the cockatrice hybrids in the Lady Chapel vault and in Langton’s Chapel (Figs 5.8, 5.3 and Cat.E.41). Chapter 3 has argued that the lower main lights of the east gable window, above Fox’s chantry, included royal figures, noting fragments of a golden royal costume. In the great west window, a

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<sup>69</sup> No reference has been found in the extracts from Henry VII’s Privy Purse Expenses for December 1491 to March 1505 in Bentley 1831: 85-133. The five original payment books surviving from 1495-1509 remain to be checked to confirm these conclusions (see Chrimes 1999: Appendix E).

<sup>70</sup> Smith 2007: 39 tentatively made a similar suggestion.

<sup>71</sup> Allen 1929: 83 and 94 (Fox refers to Henry as his maker.)

<sup>72</sup> See 1.2.8.

<sup>73</sup> Smith 1996: 22 suggests King Edgar, Cadwallader and either King Arthur or King Edmund.

<sup>74</sup> Biddle and Biddle 2015: 212-13.

fragment of the crowned Beaufort portcullis survives (Cat.E.73). In the Deanery, there are quarries depicting Lady Margaret's daisy (Cat.H.17).

Chapter 1 has argued that the east gable window glass was installed c1510, and that the presbytery aisle glass was installed c1505-c1515. Steve Gunn records that Henry VII was in Winchester in 1504.<sup>75</sup> He was there for at least four or five days in 1507, when, as noted in 1.2.7, building works were underway.<sup>76</sup> The timing of Henry VII's visits to Winchester suggests he is likely to have known about plans for the glass.

### 5.3 The role and concerns of the priors and obedientiaries

The settlement at St Swithun's under Bishop Pontissara of 1284 had concluded that the bishop (not the king) was patron, but the prior had full control over the convent's property and the appointment of obedientiaries.<sup>77</sup> It follows that the priors and subpriors were primarily responsible for the building work in their church. However, Winchester was the wealthiest See in England, and in practice, the bishops did contribute funds.<sup>78</sup> Many projects were jointly undertaken between the priory and the bishop.<sup>79</sup>

It is likely that the Lady Chapel project was organised by the prior and convent, funded from various sources. The small contribution from the hordarian's roll for 1495-96 has been noted in 1.2.2. Henry VII's payment of £100 to Prior Hunton in 1490 may have been for the Lady Chapel, and possible contributions by other external donors from the court circle have been discussed in 5.1.2 above. It will be argued in 5.4.3 that Bishop Langton may have contributed significant funds.

Fox's heraldry and mottos dominate the main structural work and the glass in the presbytery and it is reasonable to assume that he contributed most of the money for these works. The prior and convent must have cooperated, and may have contributed modest sums, building materials or labour. The arms of the See are on the presbytery vault bosses, one of which discreetly includes

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<sup>75</sup> Gunn *ODNB*.

<sup>76</sup> CSPA 1507: 552 (Letter from the Ambassador De Puebla to King Ferdinand of 7th September).

<sup>77</sup> The prior was elected by the monks on receipt of a licence from the bishop. The bishop retained the profession of monks (Greatrex 1993: 143; Wood 1955: 52).

<sup>78</sup> See 5.4.1.

<sup>79</sup> Under Wykeham's will, the bishop provided funds but the priory had to supply scaffolding and some of the materials for the nave works (Willis 2005: 57-58).

Prior Silkstede's initials.<sup>80</sup> The almoner's accounts for 1516-17, when Prior Silkstede was also acting almoner, show a contribution of 40 shillings towards church building.<sup>81</sup> Looking at Fox's final works in the presbytery, the heraldry and initials on the 1525 north presbytery screen indicate a contribution by Prior Henry Broke.<sup>82</sup>

The following paragraphs look more closely at the concerns of the priors, and their possible influence on the glazing. Reference is also made to some of the other leading obedientiaries who may have been involved. The *custos operum* (clerk of works) would have taken a leading role, but unfortunately his accounts for the period between 1486 and 1528 do not survive.<sup>83</sup> The sacrist, who was responsible for altars and chapels in the cathedral, is also likely to have been involved, although again no accounts for the relevant period are known to survive.

### 5.3.1 The priors

John Crook argues convincingly that both Prior Hunton (1470-1498) and Prior Silkstede (1498-1524) were buried in the Lady Chapel - with Prior Hunton's tomb in pride of place in front of the altar, and Prior Silkstede's to the west of his predecessor.<sup>84</sup> These men's influence on the Lady Chapel is proudly marked by their emblems and inscriptions on the walls and vault.<sup>85</sup> This section argues that both men played an important part in the works for the east end of the cathedral, but that by the time the Lady Chapel and presbytery glass was installed in the late 1490s/early 1500s, Silkstede was probably actively in charge, first as subprior, and then as prior from 1498.

Prior Hunton had made his profession of obedience in April 1447, and was ordained as a priest in Winchester Cathedral in 1448.<sup>86</sup> His appointment as prior was confirmed by Bishop Waynflete in 1470, so he would have understood the general plan for the east end as it had evolved under Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete. The crucial developments in the Lady Chapel choir also took place on his watch.<sup>87</sup> As Hunton was prior throughout the final quarter of the 15th century, it

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<sup>80</sup> Cave 1927: 175.

<sup>81</sup> Kitchin 1892: 464. Under expenses etc, "et solutis ad usum Operum ecclesiae hoc anno, xls".

<sup>82</sup> Biddle 1993: 269.

<sup>83</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>84</sup> Crook 2008: 33-34.

<sup>85</sup> See 1.2.2.

<sup>86</sup> Greatrex 1997: 703-704 throughout this section unless otherwise stated.

<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 4.

is reasonable to give him the lion's share of the credit for the continuity in the east end building works during that period.

However, by the time of the Visitation in 1492, Hunton was quite severely criticised by a number of the monks – for example, by Thomas Gardiner, for keeping in his own hands the offices of almoner, anniversarian and third prior, and by Thomas Knyght, for his behaviour towards his brethren.<sup>88</sup>

Hunton would have been getting old by the 1490s, and he pleads ill health in a number of the documents, sending proctors to deal with the dispute with Archbishop Morton of Canterbury over receipts from the parish churches of East Meon and Hambledon during the vacancy of the See.<sup>89</sup> The documents suggest that this dispute dominated the priory during the 1490s, the period when the Lady Chapel building works were underway.

Hunton's ill health, his bold heraldry on the walls, and the prime position of his tomb support the view that by the 1490s his focus was on the building work in the Lady Chapel, as his legacy and memorial. If the glass was in place by 1499, as is possible, the figure at the centre of the east window tracery, in a rich cope but without a mitre, could represent him rather than, as suggested by Marks, Prior Silkstede.<sup>90</sup> However, although Hunton must have been a key player in terms of organising the Lady Chapel works, and prioritising them, there is no indication that he would have had the knowledge or contacts to plan the ambitious and high quality glazing scheme on his own.

Hunton's successor Prior Silkstede must have been involved in organising both the Lady Chapel glass and Fox's glass in the presbytery. Silkstede was a dynamic individual, who played a very active role in St Swithun's affairs. He was a long-standing member of the community, having been ordained a sub-deacon in 1468 and a deacon in 1469.<sup>91</sup> He was hordarian in 1486 and subprior in 1492 and in 1498, before he became prior.<sup>92</sup> He was sent to get royal licences to elect a new bishop in 1486 (to Henry VII with William Langley) and in 1492 (to Prince Arthur with Richard Lacy).<sup>93</sup> Between 1516 and 1517, he was acting as both prior and almoner.

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<sup>88</sup> Greatrex 1997: 694-95, 707.

<sup>89</sup> Greatrex 1979: item 508 and note; Harper-Bill 1991: 68-100; Harper-Bill 1978: 15-17.

<sup>90</sup> Marks 1993: 212.

<sup>91</sup> Kitchin 1892: 477.

<sup>92</sup> Greatrex 1997: 735.

<sup>93</sup> Greatrex 1979: items 433 and 502.

By January 1499, the protracted legal dispute with Canterbury over rights to income during the vacancy of the See had resulted in Prior Silkstede's excommunication by an ecclesiastical judge, the Abbot of Bermondsey.<sup>94</sup> In July, the case, now a "cause célèbre", came before the Pope himself and Silkstede was in Rome. The excommunication was lifted but Silkstede lost and was faced with a large bill for costs. If he failed to secure payment, he was threatened with an even greater fine and renewed excommunication.<sup>95</sup> It is suggested in 5.4.3.2 below that it may have been Bishop Langton who helped the prior and convent with a large loan at this time.<sup>96</sup> There must have been a huge sense of relief that the dispute and excommunication were over, and this would fit with a determination from this time to finish the glazing.

Silkstede was an enthusiastic patron of art. On the south wall of the Lady Chapel, his painted image and inscription proudly announce that he commissioned the wall paintings (see 1.2.2 and Figs 1.113 and 4.12). He converted the central south transept chapel to make it his own space (Cat.E.42). This may have included the Renaissance style canopied woodwork which survives in the south transept, bearing his initials and device, and perhaps also the painted glass of which fragments now remain in the Deanery, including his name (see Cat.H).<sup>97</sup> The Deanery glass, whether it originated in the south transept chapel or in the chapel attached to the prior's dwelling, proves that Silkstede commissioned high quality glass in the Anglo-Continental style.

However, the figurative art which Silkstede is known to have commissioned himself (the wall paintings and the Deanery glass), although high quality, is arguably not of the exceptional quality of the best of the Lady Chapel fragments now in Australia. The Deanery glass is very accomplished, but it is generally stiff and inexpressive compared with the best of the Lady Chapel fragments.<sup>98</sup> In line with this argument, Biddle describes the Renaissance frieze on Silkstede's canopied woodwork as "competent" but "no match for the presbytery screens" installed shortly after Silkstede's death in 1524 by Bishop Fox and his steward William Frost.<sup>99</sup> Riall supports this assessment, comparing Silkstede's frieze with Fox's St Cross frieze, and suggesting that the former was executed by

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<sup>94</sup> Harper Bill 1978: 17.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> See also notes 166 and 167.

<sup>97</sup> On the canopied woodwork, Jervis 1976: 35; Biddle 1993: 260-63 and Riall 2003. On Silkstede's chest in now in Shanklin Church, Isle of Wight, see Smith 2002: 14-19.

<sup>98</sup> The exception is the suffering head in Cat.H.19/Figs. 0.62-0.63 which may come from the presbytery.

<sup>99</sup> Biddle 1993: 263.

English craftsmen and the latter by craftsmen from France.<sup>100</sup> It is argued below that the standard for the exquisite Lady Chapel glass was set by Bishop Langton.

### 5.3.2 Other obedientiaries

The 1501 Visitation record paints a portrait of an institution which, though in debt, was broadly flourishing.<sup>101</sup> Greatrex's biographical register suggests that there were a number of forceful individuals among the obedientiaries working with Silkstede in the 1490s.

The only *custos operum* recorded during the period of the Lady Chapel works is Richard Lacy. He was *custos* in 1492 and so must have been involved in the early stages of the building works.<sup>102</sup> He was clearly a significant figure, with high standards. He had preached a sermon in Latin on the election of the new bishop, Courtenay, in 1486. At the Visitation in 1492, he requested that a monk be sent to study at university, and was critical of the lack of discipline at the convent and of the lack of an inventory of church goods.<sup>103</sup> Another obedientiary who may have played a part in the Lady Chapel works was Thomas Knyght, who was sacrist in 1498.<sup>104</sup> Francis Baigent records that he died in Rome in 1499.<sup>105</sup> He had acted as proctor in the dispute with Canterbury, so it seems logical to assume that he went to Rome with Prior Silkstede in connection with the legal case, although further research would be needed to confirm this.<sup>106</sup> Knyght would have worked with John Pury who was keeper of the Lady Chapel at this time.<sup>107</sup> Finally, William Manwode too was an important figure, as he was subprior in 1501.<sup>108</sup> Like Lacy and Knyght, he had acted in the 1490s as proctor for the prior and convent in the dispute with Canterbury. He was the hordarian who contributed to the Lady Chapel works in 1495/96.<sup>109</sup> Manwode was criticised at the 1501 Visitation for the lack of provision of food and medicine in the infirmary, but this may have been because of the priority that was being given to building works. He was clearly an educated man. His name has been found in a manuscript at Oxford including two treatises, one of which was a medical treatise *De regimine*

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<sup>100</sup> Riall 2003: 224.

<sup>101</sup> Doubleday and Page 1903: 108-115.

<sup>102</sup> Greatrex 1997: 707. The master mason William Grave was awarded a pension and corrody for past and continuing good service in April 1493 (Greatrex 1979: item 507).

<sup>103</sup> Greatrex 1997: 707-708.

<sup>104</sup> Greatrex 1993: 147-48 on the role of the sacrist.

<sup>105</sup> BL Add MS 39975 notes an inscription at the English College in Rome.

<sup>106</sup> Harper Bill 1991: 83, 87

<sup>107</sup> Greatrex 1997: 726.

<sup>108</sup> Greatrex 1997: 712-13.

<sup>109</sup> Kitchin 1892: 300 calls him Maywode.

*sanitatis of Bartholomew*.<sup>110</sup> The manuscript also includes a list of about thirteen books at New College Oxford in 1489, with his name opposite the list.<sup>111</sup>

These biographical details suggest that the group of men running the monastery in the 1490s, under Prior Hunton and Subprior Silkested, were men of energy and ideas. A less clear picture emerges for the period from 1502-1515. This is probably because there are no Visitation records for the period, although Silkested's dynamism suggests that he may have been doing a lot of the work himself rather than delegating decisions.

One figure who emerges in the later period is John Avington.<sup>112</sup> He was a student at Oxford from 1501 until 1519, when he became a Doctor of Theology.<sup>113</sup> In 1524 Avington was *magister operum*, so he must have been involved with the presbytery screens. In 1528 Avington was subprior and he was still in that post in 1539. Avington's will indicates a close bond with Prior Silkested, near whom he wished to be buried.<sup>114</sup> Avington was too young to have played a role in the glazing of the Lady Chapel, but he may have communicated with Prior Silkested in the early years of the 16th century, while he was at Oxford. There is documentary proof that Silkested visited Canterbury College Oxford in 1510-11.<sup>115</sup>

Avington's interests are themselves revealing. In 1525, he commissioned the triptych now at Knole in Kent, depicting the Betrayal, Resurrection and Ascension (Fig. 5.9).<sup>116</sup> The triptych suggests emulation of Fox's glass, although Avington's painting contains more Italian Renaissance motifs, and provides a more mystical and mysterious evocation than Fox's east gable window appears to have done. The Resurrection and Ascension scenes in the Knole triptych combine red and black winged cherub heads with barely visible ascending angels, their faces in blue grisaille. Avington left the monks of St Swithun's two printed volumes of Duns Scotus' *Commentary on Peter Lombard's Sentences*, dated 1506. Scotus' *Commentary* discusses (among many topics) whether, given their immaterial nature, angels can be individuals.<sup>117</sup> The volumes are annotated in manuscript and in a more detailed study it would be worth checking the handwriting against

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<sup>110</sup> Greatrex 1997: 712-13.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Greatrex 1997: 667-68 and Emden 1974: 18.

<sup>113</sup> He and William Manydown received scholarships from St Swithun's at Oxford between 1514 and 1517 (Kitchen 1892: 460, 464).

<sup>114</sup> Braddock 2015.

<sup>115</sup> Greatrex 1997: 735.

<sup>116</sup> Collins 2015.

<sup>117</sup> Wolter 1990: 69-71.



Avington's signature in John Lathbury's *Book of Lamentations of Jeremiah* (now in the Library of Westminster Abbey) to see if this is the same hand.<sup>118</sup> Study of Avington's books and the annotations, and other texts read by the monks of St Swithun's, would be helpful in attempting to reconstruct the cultural environment there in the early 16th century.

## 5.4 Episcopal involvement

### 5.4.1 Responsibility for the fabric at monastic cathedrals

In his study of patronage at late medieval Benedictine monasteries, Luxford finds no evidence to support the arguments of some scholars that bishops had predetermined patronage responsibilities. He argues that patronage by the bishops was "purely voluntary".<sup>119</sup> He cites Bishop Fox's 1513 Indenture, which made it clear that the further works to the presbytery of the cathedral would only be paid for if there was enough money left after the establishment of Corpus Christi College Oxford.<sup>120</sup> Luxford's reasoning fits with other evidence from Winchester Cathedral, where, although the bishop was patron, the prior had full control over the convent's property.<sup>121</sup> The agreement of 1404 between Wykeham and the prior and convent regarding the building work in the nave states that Wykeham has funded this "moved by no obligation but solely by the proven zeal of devotion which he hath in his heart toward God and the beauty of his house".<sup>122</sup>

The situation was however more complicated than this. Luxford himself acknowledges the superior's duty under the Rule of St Benedict to care for the physical needs of the brethren, which inevitably entailed some duties in relation to building.<sup>123</sup> Draper helpfully looks to general principles.<sup>124</sup> He discusses the key importance of building led by the officials of the institution, with their successors carrying through their projects over time. In the case of Christ Church Canterbury, he stresses that it was usually the prior who made the crucial building decisions. However, he also notes the importance of custom, pointing to 12th-century charter evidence to suggest that at Canterbury there was an expectation that the archbishop would make financial contributions to

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<sup>118</sup> Braddock 2015 on the signature.

<sup>119</sup> Luxford 2008: 60.

<sup>120</sup> See 1.2.7.

<sup>121</sup> See 5.3.

<sup>122</sup> Goodman 1934: 13.

<sup>123</sup> Luxford 2008: 61.

<sup>124</sup> Draper 2006: 41.

building work.<sup>125</sup> Draper also explains that the reforms following the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 imposed responsibilities on bishops to ensure that all churches were properly furnished, and the fabric in good repair as appropriate to the liturgy and the solemnity of the Mass.<sup>126</sup> Even though the bishop's obligations lacked clarity, viewed against this background of custom, expectation and broad duty, it is overstating the case to say that their contributions were "purely voluntary".

At Winchester Cathedral, notwithstanding the prior's responsibility for the convent's property, the venerable tradition of building by bishops must have affected on-going expectations. It is significant that a number of the bishops had risen to power with important building responsibilities for the king: Wykeham at Windsor Castle for Edward III, Waynflete as Provost of Eton for Henry VI and Fox, with his responsibilities under Henry VII for defences at Calais and on the Scottish borders.<sup>127</sup> It is frustrating that there are no accounts surviving to prove the exact extent of contributions to building works in the cathedral by bishops Waynflete, Courtenay, Langton and Fox.<sup>128</sup>

#### **5.4.2 The significance of Beaufort's and Waynflete's heraldry on the Lady Chapel vault**

The heraldry of both Beaufort and Waynflete appears in the early 16th-century Lady Chapel vault bosses. This begs the question of whether Beaufort or Waynflete planned or funded changes to the Lady Chapel, as part of an overall scheme for the east end.

Chapter 1 has shown that the prior and convent probably conceived an overall plan for the glazing of the presbytery clerestory in the very late 14th or early 15th century. This may have been planned with Wykeham, but section 1.2.5 has argued that it is likely to have been continued under Beaufort. Beaufort is thought to have initiated the Great Screen and the translation of St Swithun, in association with the plan for his own chantry. However, it is unlikely that before his death in 1447 he had also planned the rebuilding of the east end of the Lady Chapel and the presbytery aisles, executed fifty or sixty years later.<sup>129</sup> It is even less likely that he had planned the detailed iconography of the glass for these parts of the east end. Beaufort's biographer, G. L. Harriss,

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid: 50.

<sup>127</sup> Davis 2007: Chapter 3; Davis 1993: Chapter 2; Smith 1988(a): Chapter 2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid: 151-52.

<sup>129</sup> Lindley 1993(b): 801.

explains that despite his great wealth, Beaufort's interest in building was limited.<sup>130</sup> Beaufort's heraldry on the Lady Chapel vault is more likely to be a reminder of his importance as a patron to St Swithun's generally than of his direct involvement in the Lady Chapel works.<sup>131</sup>

No documentary evidence has been found to indicate that Waynflete funded the Lady Chapel scheme, despite his heraldry on the Lady Chapel vault.<sup>132</sup> The heraldry may simply reflect the prior and convent's respect for him, and pay tribute to the important work he oversaw elsewhere in the east end. However, Waynflete was a prolific builder from the beginning of his time as bishop, involved with numerous projects and important glazing schemes.<sup>133</sup> Surviving documents demonstrate that he was personally involved in specifying features of design, and making contracts with masons.<sup>134</sup> His interest in the east end generally, the proximity of his chantry, his promotion of polyphony, and the later wall paintings, similar to those he commissioned for Eton College Chapel, suggest that he could have planned the Lady Chapel changes.<sup>135</sup> It is also possible that Waynflete planned some of the changes to the presbytery aisles: there are some similarities between the iconography here and that planned by him elsewhere.

Marks has reconstructed Waynflete's comprehensive iconographic scheme for Tattershall Church, installed between c1469 and c1480. His reconstruction includes a typological scheme of the life of Christ paralleled in Old Testament scenes, based on the *Biblia Pauperum*; a Creed series; a Holy Cross window, the Seven Sacraments, Seven Works of Mercy, and the *Magnificat* as well as angels and standing saints and prophets.<sup>136</sup> Biddle's excavations appear to have identified fragments of Waynflete's glass at Wolvesey Palace from the 1450s-70s.<sup>137</sup> Keene argues that this was "large-scale and relatively crude work", but does not comment on the iconography.<sup>138</sup> Frustratingly little is known about Waynflete's glazing at Magdalen College and Eton College, although we do know that the great east window at Eton College depicted a large-scale Annunciation.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Harriss 1988: 374-75. But see 1.2.5.3.

<sup>131</sup> For his importance as a benefactor, see Greatrex 1978: items 320-323 and 342 and notes.

<sup>132</sup> Waynflete's Latin will is in Chandler 1811: 379-388, summarised at 218-222.

<sup>133</sup> He extended the bishops' palaces at Esher and Farnham, completed Eton and Tattershall Colleges, and founded Magdalen College Oxford and a school at Wainfleet (Davis 1993: 99-116).

<sup>134</sup> Ibid: 99-100.

<sup>135</sup> On polyphony see Davies 1993: 98-99.

<sup>136</sup> Marks 1984; Marks 1993: 68 on the use of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

<sup>137</sup> Biddle 1990: 424-28.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. The current author has not examined the fragments.

<sup>139</sup> Archer, Crewe and Cormack 1988: 71; Willis and Clark 1886 i: 409.

R. Chandler records that at Waynflete's school at Wainfleet the glass contained Waynflete's arms, his emblem the lily, his portrait and the remains of an inscription referring to the five wounds of Christ. He suggests that the inscription may originally also have referred to the five joys of the Virgin.<sup>140</sup> The importance of the five joys to Waynflete is indicated by his will. He requested that his executors cause five thousand masses, in honour of the five wounds of Christ and the five joys of the Virgin, to be celebrated on the day of his burial and the trental of his obit.<sup>141</sup>

Waynflete's scheme at Tattershall demonstrates his comprehensive approach to Christian iconography. He could have proposed a broad scheme for the glazing of the east end of Winchester Cathedral which supplemented the earlier 15th-century glass. Waynflete's plan for relocating St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir is likely to have considered the pilgrims' pathway to the shrine and to his own chantry next to it. The joyous scenes from Mary's life in the traceries of the north presbytery aisle and the Creed series, believed by the current author to have been in the main lights below, led to the retrochoir. This iconography could be a clue to Waynflete's involvement.

Even if Waynflete did not plan the glazing for the east end implemented by his successors, those successors may have used his previous schemes as a reference point for the iconography. Prior Silkstede very clearly followed the Eton wall paintings in the Lady Chapel. The *Biblia Pauperum*, used by Waynflete for his typological scheme at Tattershall, later influenced the typological schemes at Great Malvern Priory (1480-90), at Fairford Parish Church (c1500), at King's College Cambridge from c1515 (which followed the lost scheme from Westminster Abbey Lady Chapel c1509), and quite possibly at Lambeth Palace Chapel 1486-1500.<sup>142</sup> There is no evidence to prove such a scheme at Winchester Cathedral, but given the extent of lost glass this cannot be ruled out.

Waynflete was an innovator, and clearly a very important influence on the east end of the cathedral. He died on 11th August 1486, about six weeks before Arthur's baptism in the cathedral, so it is unlikely that any plan he may have made for the glass anticipated the importance of the new Tudor dynasty to the cathedral. If Waynflete did devise an overall plan for the east end, it must have developed flexibly under his successors.

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<sup>140</sup> Chandler 1811: 173-74.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid: 221.

<sup>142</sup> Marks 1993: 67-68.

### 5.4.3 Henry VII's bishops: the case for their direct involvement in the glazing schemes

It is argued in this section that all of Henry VII's bishops of Winchester are likely to have played a part in the glazing of their cathedral. The presbytery glazing has long been attributed to Fox.<sup>143</sup> The roles of Bishop Courtenay and Langton have not been examined carefully before: as noted in the introduction to this chapter, the general assumption has been that the Lady Chapel scheme is attributable to Prior Silkstede. It is argued below that Courtenay and Prior Hunton must have made some initial plans for the Lady Chapel glass, but that Bishop Langton worked with Prior Silkstede to commission it. Fox's glazing project emerges as a continuation of the work of these men, and as part of his very particular commitment to the king and to reform of the church.

The close allegiance, or special debt, owed by these bishops to Henry VII, together with his insistent requirements for commemoration, create a strong presumption that they would all have been involved in the glazing schemes at the east end of the cathedral, likely to have commemorated the Tudor dynasty. Courtenay and Fox had been in exile in Brittany and France with Henry, and after Bosworth in 1485 were promoted to high office, becoming Keeper of the Privy Seal in turn.<sup>144</sup> Langton had supported Richard III at Bosworth, for which he forfeited his temporalities as Bishop of Salisbury in October 1485. However, by 6th November he had received a full pardon and was acting again as bishop of Salisbury unimpeded. He was summoned to Parliament in November 1487 and was translated to the see of Winchester in 1493. His promotion to Archbishop of Canterbury, just before his sudden death in 1501, shows that he had been spectacularly successful in winning Henry VII's favour.<sup>145</sup>

#### 5.4.3.1 *Bishop Courtenay (1487-92)*

The Lady Chapel project must have begun under Courtenay. His arms sit not just on the Lady Chapel vault, but much more boldly with those of the royal family, and Prior Hunton's rebus, on the

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<sup>143</sup> Godwin 1616: 295-97.

<sup>144</sup> Emden 1957-59: 499-500; 715-19.

<sup>145</sup> Wright *ODNB*; Emden 1957-59: 1101-02.

exterior of the eastern wall of the Lady Chapel, and inside on the walls of the eastern end (Fig. 4.11).<sup>146</sup>

It is not known whether Courtenay made a financial contribution towards the cost of the Lady Chapel building works during his lifetime, and no evidence of his will survives.<sup>147</sup> However, he may not have needed to contribute funds personally. Cunningham has recently pointed out that before he became bishop of Winchester, Courtenay appears to have promised to surrender the bishop's palace at Farnham so that it could be used as Prince Arthur's nursery.<sup>148</sup> This, together with Hunton's hospitality at the time of Arthur's birth, could explain Henry VII's donation of £100 to Prior Hunton in 1490, which may have been used to fund the initial building works in the Lady Chapel.

As bishop of Winchester, Courtenay rarely travelled, and Francis Baigent argues that Courtenay was probably suffering from ill-health by this stage.<sup>149</sup> When he died in 1492, he was buried in the Lady Chapel crypt, probably because building works were in progress or about to start at the main level.<sup>150</sup> Courtenay's probable ill-health, and his burial in the Lady Chapel, all suggest that the project would have been important to him. Courtenay had previously undertaken building as bishop of Exeter, where he is thought to have finished the north tower and installed an astronomical clock.<sup>151</sup> His exquisite mantelpiece surviving at the bishop's palace at Exeter shows that he commissioned work to the highest standard (Fig. 5.10). However, he has not elsewhere been associated with glazing schemes, and the question here is what role he had in planning the Lady Chapel glass, which was probably not begun until after his death.

Since the main feature of the new eastern bay is the three large windows, the glass must have been a crucial element of the scheme, probably the most important, from the beginning. Courtenay had the education, experience and contacts which would have enabled him to plan a sophisticated glazing scheme. He had studied at Oxford, at Cologne, and at Padua.<sup>152</sup> He had travelled as a diplomat for Edward IV, acting as his proctor at the Papal Curia in 1463. He was a contemporary in royal

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<sup>146</sup> Baigent n.d.: 18 suggests that "In gloriam Dei" included above most of the shields (including the queen's), and above the vestry door, was Courtenay's personal motto. However, this is doubtful. The motto used by Courtenay on his Exeter mantelpiece is "Honor Deo et Regi". See Halliday 1884: 10.

<sup>147</sup> Emden 1957-59: 499-500; Horrox *ODNB*.

<sup>148</sup> Cunningham 2016: 34.

<sup>149</sup> Baigent n.d.: 20.

<sup>150</sup> Crook 2008: 26-33.

<sup>151</sup> Horrocks *ODNB*.

<sup>152</sup> Horrocks *ODNB* throughout this paragraph.

service with Bishops Russell and Langton, and these men could well have exchanged artistic ideas and contacts.

There are some indications in the subject matter and design of the glass itself, albeit very tentative, which would be consistent with the idea that Courtenay was involved in the initial plans for the glass. He had spent time with Henry Tudor in exile in Brittany and France between 1483-85, and the decision to include an Apocalypse window may have been inspired by talk of the new St Chapelle Apocalypse window. Like the St Chapelle panel in Fig. 5.11, the fragments from the Lady Chapel glass include many small stars from the background. This background motif also appears behind the figure of the praying bishop on Courtenay's seal as bishop of Winchester (Fig. 5.12).<sup>153</sup> Finally, as discussed in Chapter 1 (at 1.1.3.3 and 1.2.2.) formal elements in the surviving Lady Chapel glass show similarities with glass at Hillesdon, which may have been commissioned by another member of the Courtenay family, Elizabeth, or her husband Sir Hugh Conway.

Courtenay appointed two administrators at Winchester, Reginald Bray, and William Frost, who could have helped to organize the glazing, as suggested in 5.1.2. Another figure who was close to Courtenay and who could have provided ideas for the Lady Chapel glazing was Michael Cleve, a professor of canon law, on whom Waynflete had previously relied, who was elected warden of Winchester College in 1487-88. Courtenay appointed Cleve as his chancellor, to carry out many of his duties at Winchester.<sup>154</sup> In 1491-92, shortly before his death, Courtenay lived for over six months in Cleve's chamber at Winchester College.<sup>155</sup> Cleve continued to be involved at Winchester Cathedral under Langton and was warden of Winchester College until his death in 1501.<sup>156</sup> His association with three bishops of Winchester, Waynflete, Courtenay and Langton suggests that he could have provided a point of continuity in discussions about the glazing scheme.

Cleve may have been involved with the west window of Thurbern's Chantry in Winchester College Chapel, which has been dated 1501-1503.<sup>157</sup> The iconography of the window contained some significant overlaps with the iconography likely to have been installed in Fox's presbytery: an Annunciation, a Trinity, and perhaps most notably virgins from the litany of the saints who appear

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<sup>153</sup> Baigent n.d.: 22.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid: 23.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid: 20.

<sup>156</sup> Emden 1957-59: 439.

<sup>157</sup> Chitty and Harvey 1962: 218-19. On his death in 1501, Cleve left 100 marks to decorate the chapel of Winchester College (Emden 1957-59: 439).

in the north presbytery aisle tracery at Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 5.13).<sup>158</sup> Further research into the Winchester College windows is needed, but it is possible that Cleve could have had some involvement in planning schemes at the college and at the cathedral.

Courtenay must have thought about the glass that would fill the new windows of the cathedral's Lady Chapel, where he presumably planned to be buried. His presence in Winchester, his familiarity with the glorious glass of Winchester College, and his close association with the capable Cleve suggest that he could well have worked with the prior and convent to make the initial plans for the Lady Chapel glass. He probably died too soon to have had much involvement in the detailed design of the glazing scheme, but he set in place a number of personnel who may have carried his ideas forward.

#### **5.4.3.2 Bishop Langton (1493-1501)**

Turning now to Courtenay's successor as bishop of Winchester, Thomas Langton emerges as an under-researched figure. He was bishop of Winchester between 1493 and his death in 1501, throughout the period when the eastern arm of the Lady Chapel was being rebuilt and the Lady Chapel glass is most likely to have been planned in detail, and executed. His probable involvement in the Lady Chapel glazing is indicated by his interest in education, his appreciation of music and imagery, his earlier travels, his international and royal contacts, and his importance as a benefactor to St Swithun's, previously overlooked in this context.

Langton is generally only mentioned in passing in relation to the Lady Chapel. This is probably because he is so clearly associated with his own adjoining chantry chapel, boldly adorned with his heraldry and rebus (Fig. 1. 111). Within the Lady Chapel, Langton's heraldry does not appear on the walls, although it does sit, very discreetly, opposite Courtenay's on the vault. In fact, Langton is much more likely to have been involved in the building and glazing of the Lady Chapel than in planning his own chantry. He died very suddenly from plague in 1501, and it was his executors (supervised by Bishop Fox and Reginald Bray) who planned his chantry. His will of 25th January 1501, written two days before his death, simply requests burial in Winchester Cathedral near St Swithun's reliquary.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Chitty and Harvey 1962: 223-24. See Chapter 3.

<sup>159</sup> Woodruff 1914: 105.



Langton's university contacts, his training in theology, and his interest in education would explain the complex, but appropriate iconographical scheme in the Lady Chapel. He had studied at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and at Padua and Bologna. He became a Doctor of both Canon Law and Theology.<sup>160</sup> It was for his learning that Langton was promoted to the rank of bishop, first at St David's (1483) and then at Salisbury (1485).<sup>161</sup> His keen interest in fighting heresy is documented.<sup>162</sup> As bishop of Winchester from 1493, he taught the literary humanities to boys and youths in his own private school, probably at Wolvesey Palace, where he was known as an encouraging teacher.<sup>163</sup> His will provides evidence of his interest in religious imagery. He left three silver-gilt statues among his numerous legacies - one of St Swithun to the priory of St Swithun's, one of St John the Evangelist to the College of St Elizabeth at Winchester, and one of St Clement to Queen's College Oxford.<sup>164</sup>

Langton had travelled widely, and must have encountered both Northern European and Italian Renaissance art. As Edward IV's chaplain, he was sent on diplomatic missions to Castile and France in the 1470s and to Maximilian, then duke of Austria, in 1480-81. During his studies in Italy, he had made friends with the humanist scholar William Selling, later prior of Christchurch Canterbury.<sup>165</sup> He was close to his nephew, Christopher Bainbridge, who had also studied at Bologna and lived in Rome between 1492 and 1494.

When he died, Langton left the first and largest gifts in his will to St Swithun's. He released the prior and convent from a debt of £364, and in addition left them £100 for his own tomb. This was on condition that one Mass was celebrated every day by one brother from the monastery for his soul and those of his parents and friends.<sup>166</sup> The will does not say why Langton had lent the monks £364.<sup>167</sup> Whatever its purpose, the loan, and the subsequent release of the debt, must have helped

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<sup>160</sup> Emden 1957-59: 1101-1102; Wright *ODNB*; Wright 1985: viii.

<sup>161</sup> Wright *ODNB*.

<sup>162</sup> Wright 1985: xii, xviii.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*: xiv-xv.

<sup>164</sup> Woodruff 1914: 110.

<sup>165</sup> Wright 1985: viii, xv.

<sup>166</sup> Woodruff 1914: 105.

<sup>167</sup> The point is speculative, but this may have been in part to relieve them from their debt to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which arose as a result of the dispute over the receipts from the parish churches of East Meon and Hambledon. In 1499 the Pope had found in favour of the Archbishop of Canterbury and costs were awarded against the prior and convent: they were ordered to pay 400 marks (£266), in three instalments by Easter 1501 (Harper Bill 1978: 17. One mark = 13s 4d (Kenneth Hodges [medieval.ucdavis.edu/120D/money.html](http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/120D/money.html))). This would have left about £100 unaccounted for, which could perhaps have been used for the Lady Chapel glazing, although there is no proof of this.

the priory financially around the time the Lady Chapel glass is likely to have been commissioned. If some of the money lent by Langton was used for the Lady Chapel glazing, the fact that this took the form of a loan would be consistent with the Lady Chapel works being a conventual project, rather than Langton's personal project, but this does not mean that he was not an important influence.

Langton's presence in Winchester, his theological qualifications and reputation as an educator, and the interest in imagery displayed in his will, suggest that he would have taken an interest in the Lady Chapel glazing, and he may have helped to both plan and pay for it. The low key reference to him in the vault heraldry may have been supplemented by imagery or heraldry in the glass. Fragments of a barrel or "tun", part of Langton's and Hunton's rebus (and the other rebus, thought to be "Winton"), and the letters ".cton" survive in panel 1g of the great west window (Cat.E.7).<sup>168</sup> These could come from the Lady Chapel glass, or from Langton's Chapel.

Langton had been on the losing side at Bosworth. He had even more reason to be grateful to Henry VII and the new Tudor dynasty than Bishop Courtenay. Throughout the 1490s, he maintained some important connections with the court, which would have helped him to know how to please the king. He may have known Elizabeth of York personally, as he had been her father's chaplain. His will refers to a gift received from the queen.<sup>169</sup> As Arthur's chancellor, Robert Frost provided a close contact with the royal circle, as did Langton's nephew Bainbridge, who was Henry VII's chaplain from 1497.<sup>170</sup> Henry VII may have been told of plans for, or even seen some or all of the Lady Chapel glass when he visited Winchester in the summer and autumn of 1499.<sup>171</sup>

#### **5.4.3.3 Bishop Fox (1501-28)**

Chapter 1 has noted the proof of Fox's patronage of the presbytery works and it is reasonable to assume that he contributed most of the funds (see 5.3). Fox could have raised money from various sources: for example, there is evidence that he resumed the practice initiated by Henry of Blois of dedicating profits from the annual fair at St Giles to the building works.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> See 5.1.2.

<sup>169</sup> Woodruffe 1914: 110.

<sup>170</sup> Chambers *ODNB*.

<sup>171</sup> Bentley 1831: 122 show visits on 31st July/2nd August and 3rd September.

<sup>172</sup> Stephens and Madge 1897: 69; Greatrex 1993: 141.

The fragmentary documentary evidence and the heraldry in the glass do not prove beyond doubt that Fox personally planned the presbytery glazing. This could have been devised by the prior and convent, perhaps following an earlier plan, with some modifications only to reflect Fox's involvement and honour the Tudors. Alternatively, Fox could have asked a trusted personal adviser to plan the building and glazing work: it is recorded that as Bishop of Winchester he acquired a household staff of 220 men.<sup>173</sup> However, this section argues that Fox may have been closely involved in planning the presbytery glazing himself, even though this took place during the period up to 1515, while he was still politically very active and not often in Winchester.<sup>174</sup> It is not known for sure who would have liaised with the prior and convent on his behalf regarding the glazing. The most likely candidate is William Frost, Fox's chief Steward after 1501. The involvement of both Silkstede and William Frost in the cathedral's building and glazing works from the 1490s to the 1520s provided continuity in personnel.

Fox clearly had an aptitude for and an interest in planning imagery. The idea that he devised the pageantry for the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501 has now been challenged, but there is plenty of other evidence.<sup>175</sup> He edited and sponsored the first printed edition of the Sarum Processional, published by Richard Pynson in 1501, with a second edition in 1502.<sup>176</sup> In these editions, the processions were illustrated by a series of very clear woodcut illustrations (Fig. 5.14). As Henry VII's executor, he was trusted to plan or complete the most important royal glazing schemes.<sup>177</sup> Fox's interest in iconography is also supported by his will, which makes it clear that his most prized possessions were his tapestries, bequeathed to his dearest friends. His tapestry schemes, like his glass, indicate a taste for continental art in a monumental medium.<sup>178</sup>

An interest in glazing in the period c1505- c1515 fits with Fox's international diplomacy during this period. By 1505, the *Intercursus Magnus*, the trade treaty with the Netherlands which he had negotiated in 1496, was frequently violated and causing tension.<sup>179</sup> The shipwreck of Philip the Fair in 1506 enabled Fox and Henry to force Philip's hand, requiring more favourable terms for England under the Treaty of Windsor. This also provided for the marriage of Henry VII to Maximilian's

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<sup>173</sup> Drees 2014: 105.

<sup>174</sup> In 1516 Fox retired from political life and dedicated himself to caring for his diocese. Drees 2014: 120. Smith 1988(a): Appendix 9 shows Fox's itinerary.

<sup>175</sup> Anglo 1963: 54-55.

<sup>176</sup> Raub 2011: 216-25.

<sup>177</sup> See 1.1.3.4.

<sup>178</sup> Smith 1988(a): Appendix 10 observes that Fox's tapestry schemes – "le Hercules", "Les Vineyards" and "Le Grisell" – were also popular subjects with Henry VIII and Wolsey and notes surviving examples.

<sup>179</sup> Drees 2014: 62-63 and 86- 89 throughout this paragraph.

widowed daughter (Philip's sister) Margaret of Savoy, which had been under discussion since 1505.<sup>180</sup> The renewed treaty was not in fact ratified, as Philip died on his return to Spain, and in 1507 Margaret of Savoy announced her intention to remain a widow. Fox travelled to Calais and then to the Netherlands to try to negotiate another royal marriage: this time between Henry VII's youngest daughter Mary and Charles, grandson of Maximilian, who would soon inherit both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. The close interchange between Fox and Maximilian at this time is indicated by the fact that in 1507 the archdeacon of Surrey, one of Fox's officials, whose jurisdiction included Southwark, was Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurck, Maximilian's secretary.<sup>181</sup>

Margaret of Savoy and her father Maximilian were renowned patrons of art, and commissioned much painted glass. Biddle has quoted direct evidence of Henry VII's use of Arthur's Round Table in cultural exchange to help diplomatic negotiations around the time of the Treaty of Windsor.<sup>182</sup> Painted glass may also have formed part of the courtly interchange in these diplomatic negotiations. It is interesting to speculate whether the presbytery glazing provided a talking point in 1506, when Fox entertained the shipwrecked Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castile, together with Prince Henry, magnificently at Wolvesey Palace.<sup>183</sup> The contemporary account makes no reference to a visit to the cathedral, but the account is fairly brief and it cannot be assumed that the royal party did not visit.<sup>184</sup>

Fox's glazing scheme in the presbytery also fitted with his growing concern for education and internal church reform ("reformacion"), in parallel with wider developments among his episcopal contemporaries and at the universities from the 1490s.<sup>185</sup> Collett argues that, after the deaths of Arthur in 1502 and Elizabeth in 1503, when Henry was pursuing his unpopular financial policies, his closest advisers, Lady Margaret and Bishop Fox, working with Bishop Fisher, distanced themselves, turning their attention to building and educational foundations, and to minor church reform.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Fox had met Margaret of Austria in 1497, when she was forced by the weather to dock at Southampton (Gunn and Monckton 2009: 27).

<sup>181</sup> Chisholm Batten 1889: 93. Further research would be helpful in attempt to establish whether Lang was ever in England. He had many ecclesiastical benefices and did not even visit his own diocese of Gurk as bishop (Ott 1910).

<sup>182</sup> Biddle 2000: 422-24.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* Chapter 1 at 1.2.7 notes Fox's importation of glass to Wolvesey in 1505 and suggests there could have been new glazing at his palace, or in the presbytery aisles of the cathedral around this time.

<sup>184</sup> Gachard 1876: 389-480.

<sup>185</sup> Collett unpublished 2017 Chapter 4: 14.

<sup>186</sup> Collett unpublished 2015 Introduction: 9.

From 1502, as bishop of Winchester, visitation records show Fox's increasing concern about dilapidations in church fabric, monastic laxity, and heresy.<sup>187</sup> Fox relied heavily on his vicar-general and chancellor, John Dowman, to take action on his behalf. Between 1507 and 1508, there were visitations of Hyde and Romsey, where the nuns in particular were found wanting. A number of heretics were tried. Thomas Denys, a Lollard itinerant preacher, who denied transubstantiation, the veneration of images, and the need for priestly intercession, was burned at the stake in March 1513.<sup>188</sup>

In terms of encouraging better education for the clergy, during the first decade of the 16th century, Fox supported existing educational institutions, and the new foundations of others. In particular, he worked together with Lady Margaret Beaufort and Bishop Fisher to establish new colleges in Cambridge – Christ's and then St John's.<sup>189</sup> It was not until about 1510 that Fox was acquiring land for his own educational foundation at Oxford, Corpus Christi College.<sup>190</sup> This timetable fits with Fox's project in the east end of Winchester Cathedral being a priority for him up until about 1511-12. After that, he increasingly turned his attention to his own new college, as evidenced by the 1513 indenture quoted in Chapter 1.

#### ***5.4.3.4 Henry VII's bishops of Winchester: overview***

The early Tudor bishops of Winchester were not themselves Benedictines. They had their own agenda, separate from the monks, but this section shows important continuities in the bishops' concerns too. They all needed to please the king, and they all intended to be buried in the east end of the cathedral, near St Swithun's shrine. They all showed some degree of interest in fighting heresy.<sup>191</sup> However, a comparison between the visitation records for 1492 and those of 1501 suggests that Langton was a stronger and more effective leader of the community than Courtenay.<sup>192</sup> Courtenay probably made some initial plans for the Lady Chapel glass, but the dates of Langton's

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<sup>187</sup> Drees 2014: 77-80.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*: 110-15.

<sup>189</sup> Fox was involved with reform of the Greyfriars at Greenwich in 1502 (Collett unpublished 2016 Chapter 4: 22). At Cambridge, Fox was elected chancellor of the university in 1498 and also master of Pembroke for ten years from 1507 (Emden1957-59: 715). At Oxford, Fox revised the statutes for Balliol in 1504, and carried out a visitation and reform at Magdalen in 1507 (Drees 2014: 89- 93, 122-23).

<sup>190</sup> Smith 1988(a): 320.

<sup>191</sup> Horrocks *ODNB* notes that Courtenay co-operated with Langton in his pursuit of Lollards.

<sup>192</sup> For the 1492 visitation see Harper Bill 1987: 32-33. The record of the visitation in February 1501 is in Canterbury Cathedral Archives Register R: folios 114 -15. See also Greatrex 1997, which notes comments of the monks in their biographies, and Doubleday and Page 1903(*VCH*): 108-115.

episcopacy, his interest in education, and the terms of his will indicate that he is likely to have been an important influence on the Lady Chapel glass, working with Prior Silkstede. Fox's glazing in the presbytery continued his predecessors' work, as a comprehensive figurative scheme in the continental style. His reform agenda, which included education, maintenance of church buildings, and fighting heresy, was even more deliberate. His devotion to the king was deeper too.

#### **5.4.4 Fox's glass and his wider ideas**

The more substantial survivals of glass from the presbytery, compared with the Lady Chapel, and the wealth of scholarship about Fox, allow for some explicit connections to be made between Fox's glass and his theological and political ideas. This discussion also touches more generally on some ideas in the period immediately before the Reformation, to set Fox's thinking in context.

##### **5.4.4.1 *An orthodox scheme***

Fox's glass was an affirmation of orthodoxy, as is clear from Chapter 4. The east gable window, in particular, addressed the main issues addressed by heretics like Thomas Denys: transubstantiation and the importance of the priesthood – as well as (implicitly) the value of religious imagery.<sup>193</sup>

Fox's personal devotion to the Eucharist and the Feast of Corpus Christi are clear from the Passion emblems decorating his chantry chapel, and the name of his college at Oxford, Corpus Christi College.<sup>194</sup> His emblem, the pelican pecking her breast, is a symbol of the Eucharist, which recurs in his heraldry in the tracery of the east gable window, and in the surviving presbytery aisle traceries.<sup>195</sup> In the east gable window, the image of Christ, wounded but victorious above the High Altar, supported the doctrine of transubstantiation. At Mass, Christ's physical body was literally present, as envisioned, albeit high above, in the glass. An image of the wounded Christ above the altar occurs also in the woodcut in Fox's edition of the Sarum Processional (Fig. 5.14).

The east gable window, with its images of St Peter, Paul and Swithun, also emphasised the importance of the priesthood, at a time when heretics challenged the idea that the absolution of a

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<sup>193</sup> Drees 2014: 79, 111, 114.

<sup>194</sup> Smith 1988(a): 360.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid: 359-63 on Fox's adoption of this emblem.

priest was needed for the forgiveness of sins.<sup>196</sup> The window was an affirmation of orthodox belief in the face of these threats.

#### 5.4.4.2 *Fox and authority*

The east gable window, as reconstructed in Fig. 3.1, was an ordered, hierarchical statement, emphasising the authority of God, the Church and the king. The format follows the continental royal windows of the period, but it is very deliberate and specifically designed for this space.

Collett has written extensively about Fox's ideas on governance and authority, expressed in his *Contemplacion of Sinners* of 1499, and his translation of the *Benedictine Rule for Women* published in 1516.<sup>197</sup> Collett explains that, for Fox, those in authority needed to exercise self-discipline before they could run an ordered community. In any institution, the goal was an efficient, co-operative community, run responsibly with skill and respect for talent at all levels.<sup>198</sup> Fox shared these humanist ideals with Thomas More, whose *Utopia* was written between 1515-16. Similar ideas were held by Fox's chaplain Richard Whytforde, a friend of Erasmus. Whytforde's ideas are reflected in a book he wrote for the Bridgettine foundation at Syon House, which he joined in 1507.<sup>199</sup> The discussion at this time about authority appears to have been in part at least a reaction against Henry VII's authoritarianism and abuse of power, against which More had protested in 1504. In 1506 Erasmus sent Whytforde a declamation against the abuse of political authority, although on the surface this was diplomatically directed away from the Crown.

Woolfson stresses Fox's harsh insistence on obedience to superiors, including corporal punishment, in his statutes for Corpus Christi College of 1517.<sup>200</sup> In contrast, Collett's study of Fox's Benedictine Rule stresses that authority must be exercised with respect, graciousness and justice. The Abbess "muste shewe the sharpe mynde and auctorite of a maystress, and the louing affeccion and tendrenes of a moder".<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Collett 2002(a): 8-9.

<sup>197</sup> Collett 2002(a) and 2002(b).

<sup>198</sup> Collett 2002(a): 1, 8, 53-57; Collett 2002(b): 145-47.

<sup>199</sup> Collett 2002(a): 10-14 throughout this paragraph.

<sup>200</sup> Woolfson 2003: 19-21.

<sup>201</sup> Collett 2002(a): 92.

Fox's glass incorporates both elements: rigidity and order in the east gable window, and, in the north presbytery aisle traceries, the charming humanity of the girlish female saints (Fig. 0.51). The extremes of human character are demonstrated in the glass in south presbytery aisle tracery. Here, the contrast between the good and bad rulers would have resonated with contemporaries, at a time when themes of good and bad government were a central focus for discussion in Fox's humanist circle (Figs 0.54-0.56).

#### 5.4.4.3 *Fox and humanism*

Fox was a humanist. Although there is no record of him visiting Rome, he mixed with Italians in London.<sup>202</sup> He also promoted those who had studied in Italy. At Exeter and Wells he delegated to Richard Nykke who had studied at Ferrara and Bologna.<sup>203</sup> As Bishop of Wells he nominated Richard Bere, a classical scholar, as Abbot of Glastonbury.<sup>204</sup> At Durham he purchased classical texts from the estate of his predecessor as Bishop of Durham, John Shirwood.<sup>205</sup> As Bishop of Winchester, he founded the first college providing for a public lecturer in Greek, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.<sup>206</sup>

Fox wanted to improve understanding within, and the good administration of, existing institutions. Modern scholars like Collett and Woolfson show how he used humanist ideas to try to fight monastic laxity, and reform the medieval church from within, rather than reject its structure.<sup>207</sup> He used the new ideas about study of Latin and Greek to try to get closer to authentic Christian ideals. The emphasis on rhetoric in his statutes for Corpus would have helped the communication skills of the clergy.<sup>208</sup>

Fox's limited adoption of humanist ideas has a parallel in the approach to Italian Renaissance motifs in his work at Winchester in the period up to about 1515, before these became more generally widespread, as discussed section 1.1.1.6.<sup>209</sup> He must have known about Renaissance

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<sup>202</sup> See 4.2.4.

<sup>203</sup> Collett unpublished 2016 Chapter 4: 5, 8.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid: 10.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid: 14-15.

<sup>206</sup> Fowler 1893: 38; Woolfson 2003: 10.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid: 25.

<sup>208</sup> Thomson 2011: xviii.

<sup>209</sup> By the later 1510s Fox was commissioning sophisticated work in the Renaissance idiom, for the screen at St Cross, where the Corpus Statutes were read in 1517. Wolfson 2003: 17; Riall 2007: 226; Riall 2008: 294.



decoration in the early 16th century, when, working with Bainbridge as executor, and Prior Silkstede, who had also been to Rome, he was presumably involved in commissioning the cornice which originated in Langton's Chantry.<sup>210</sup> However, compared with his protégé Abbot Bere at Glastonbury, Fox was not a very early trailblazer for Italian Renaissance motifs in art.<sup>211</sup> In the opening years of the 16th century, when the cathedral's presbytery glass was designed, the motifs were just beginning to creep in. Fox's concern in the east end of Winchester Cathedral, as discussed by Monckton, was primarily continuity and decorum, albeit combined with some innovation.<sup>212</sup>

#### **5.4.4.4 Fox's ideas about salvation: "Est Deo Gracia"**

Fox's concern in his later years for his own salvation at the Last Judgement is abundantly clear from his correspondence and from his will. St Benedict had made it clear that superiors must take responsibility at the day of judgement for the sins of their flock.<sup>213</sup> That Fox was painfully aware of his spiritual liability for the sins of others is clear from his letters. On 23rd April 1516, he wrote to Wolsey that his mind was "trowled nyght and daye with other mens enormites and vices mor then I dar write".<sup>214</sup> On 30th April 1517 he explained further to Wolsey his neglect of his flock over the last thirty years. He wrote that no amount of penance could make sufficient recompense for the "intollerable enormytes" resulting from the wars with which he had been involved.<sup>215</sup>

In the early 16th century, the weight may have seemed less pressing, but like all his Christian contemporaries, Fox would have lived in constant awareness of death and the Last Judgement. The new glazing, and other enhancements of the east end, would have helped to ease Fox's concern for his own soul. His will shows how seriously he took the duty to maintain church buildings and that this was a fundamental part of his preparation for his own end.<sup>216</sup> Fox's will, aptly quoted by Monckton, tells us that he was following the advice of the prophet Hezekiah to "Set thine own house in order, for thou shalt die".<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Biddle 1993: 257-59.

<sup>211</sup> See Chapter 1, note 72.

<sup>212</sup> Monckton 2011: 85-87.

<sup>213</sup> See Collett 2002(a): 90.

<sup>214</sup> Allen and Allen 1929: 82-83.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid: 92-93.

<sup>216</sup> Smith 1988(a): Appendix 10.

<sup>217</sup> Monckton 2011: 67.

In the presbytery works, Fox was also preparing his own burial place. Like his contemporaries, Fox would have believed that burial close to the remains of local saints had spiritual benefits.<sup>218</sup> The figure of St Swithun in the east gable window, above and in front of his shrine, and close to Fox's own chantry and tomb, would have reinforced Fox's hope that at the Last Judgement, when the trumpets sounded, St Swithun and the other local saints would rise up and intercede for him.<sup>219</sup> Fox's glazing, and other enhancements to the pilgrims' pathway to St Swithun's shrine in the retrochoir, would also bring him the spiritual benefits of the pilgrims' prayers, as they passed close to his own chantry chapel, to the south of the High Altar. The stark image of his naked shrunken corpse would have reminded both them and the monks of his human vulnerability and his need for their prayers.

The remainder of this section investigates Fox's ideas about salvation theology, and is largely informed by the research of Barry Collett. The presbytery building and glazing must clearly be seen as part of Fox's wide-ranging good works, but Fox's motto "Est Deo Gracia", literally "God is Grace", recurs throughout the traceries of his glass in the east end of Winchester Cathedral, together with his emblem the pelican pecking her breast, the symbol of Christ's sacrifice for man (Fig. 5.15).<sup>220</sup> Read together, the motto and emblem could imply that salvation through Christ's sacrifice is a gift freely given by God's grace. This message, broadcast in the glass on the eve of the Reformation, makes some discussion of salvation theology essential to a cultural historical study of the glass.

Collett's 2002 study of Fox's views on the use of time, expounded in his 1499 edition of the *Contemplacion of Sinners* and his 1517 *Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women*, discuss the difficulties in reconciling Fox's emphasis on grace with his thinking on good works. It argues that, on the surface, Fox's view reflected thinking subsequently attacked by the Protestant Reformers - that the sinner merits salvation through good works made in co-operation with divine grace. Yet Collett also recognises that Fox grappled with the difficulties we have in behaving well given our social conditioning, with the only antidote being recognition and acceptance of God's grace.<sup>221</sup> He draws attention to the level of conviction in passages in Fox's translation of the Benedictine Rule emphasising that good acts do not merit salvation but are a response to the gift of salvation through

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<sup>218</sup> Michael 1997.

<sup>219</sup> Binski 2001: 199-200 on bodily resurrection.

<sup>220</sup> See 1.2.6.

<sup>221</sup> Collett 2002(b): 152-53.

grace.<sup>222</sup> Collett concludes that “Fox was not advancing a doctrine of salvation through merit but an affirmation that God’s work must be well done”, emphasising the paradox of an apparently traditional pre-Reformation prelate thinking in similar terms to the reformers and the need for “polarities to be set aside” by historians.<sup>223</sup>

In considering how Fox’s thinking may have fitted with that of his contemporaries, Collett’s first Chapter in his *Italian Benedictine Scholars of the Reformation* is helpful in giving an overview of the salvation theology of the time.<sup>224</sup> Collett describes the predominant view of salvation as a spiritual ascent, a *scala perfectionis*, through which men progressed, with the aid of grace, to ultimate union with God. In ascent theology, good works were necessary for salvation; man progressively achieved perfection through his efforts in co-operation with grace.<sup>225</sup>

Fox’s use of the language of ascent in the opening lines of his foundation statutes for Corpus Christi College reflects the broad tradition of ascent theology. Fox explained that the road to heaven is like a ladder – the right side of the ladder is virtue and the left side is learning. Fox said that he had established his college, which he compared to a beehive, in order to ascend this ladder and help others to do so too.<sup>226</sup> The concept of ascent chimes fittingly with the conventional words on Amos’ scroll, thought by the current author to come from the presbytery aisle, “He builds his ascent to heaven” (Fig. 0.28). This is the best preserved panel from Fox’s scheme and the author has considered whether the image of Amos could be a hidden portrait of Fox.<sup>227</sup> However, the physical likeness with Corvus’ portrait of Fox at Corpus Christi College is not strong enough to prove this (Fig. 5.16).

Fox would have been familiar with all three of the contemporary approaches to ascent theology. The first was that of the late Platonist mystics. As noted in Chapter 4, Fox’s library for Corpus included works by the Pseudo Dionysius. However, there is no evidence to indicate that Fox himself had a particular interest in Platonist mystical ideas or negative theology. Collett notes only occasional glimpses of Fox’s mysticism, such as the image of the resurrected Christ over the altar in his woodcut illustration, although he observes that it is clear from Fox’s letters that he had a very

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid: 159.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid: 160.

<sup>224</sup> Collett 1985: 15-27.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid: 15.

<sup>226</sup> Fowler 1893: 37-38; Woolfson 2003: 11

<sup>227</sup> Note also Fig. 0.25 which might be compared to Wolsey. See also Smith 2007: 42. Note the evidence for hidden portraits in the Fairford glass in Barley 2015.

sincere belief in Christ's real presence at the Eucharist.<sup>228</sup> The second, most popular strain of ascent theology was the ascetic way of the *devotio moderna*. Ascent to a higher reality could be achieved through meditations on the biblical descriptions of Christ's life and death. This approach was set out in Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. Lady Margaret Beaufort herself translated the fourth book of Kempis' work from French to English in 1503.<sup>229</sup> The third type of ascent theology was that of union with God through affective experience, or divine love. In the scholastic teachings of Duns Scotus, moral law was imposed on man. The emphasis was not on understanding, but on obeying the declared laws of God.<sup>230</sup> Man's ultimate relationship with God was not reached through the intellect, but infused with grace, through love, which was an action of the will.<sup>231</sup> Fox's library for Corpus also included works by Duns Scotus.<sup>232</sup>

Fox spoke in the language of this time. Despite his use of ascent metaphors, there is no reason to conclude that he adhered closely to any of the three approaches to ascent theology. Fox's devotion to the Passion may suggest another model for salvation, the "theology of the Cross". This model, developed by St Augustine, does not concentrate on ascent, but on the idea of the restoration of man through Christ's Passion.<sup>233</sup> Collett explains that this was the model adopted by the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua, who, led by Ludovico Barbo, came to dominate the Benedictines in Italy in the 15th and early 16th century.<sup>234</sup> In 1505, Montecassino, the mother house of Benedictine Monasticism, joined the Congregation - which then came to be called the "Cassinense" Congregation.<sup>235</sup> For these monks, salvation was a restoration expressed in Pauline terms of sin, the cross, grace and faith, relying on St Augustine and the Greek Father John Chrysostom, who emphasized the grace and "*benignitas*" of Christ.<sup>236</sup> They thought not in terms of ascent, as much as in terms of restoration and healing: human nature broken by mortality and suffering, restored to life and health. Free will and works were necessary not for merit but as part of the restoration process, so there was no conflict between grace and works.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Personal communication.

<sup>229</sup> Jones and Underhill 1992: 184.

<sup>230</sup> Collett 1985: 21-22.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid: 280.

<sup>232</sup> Emden 1957-59: 717.

<sup>233</sup> Collett 1985: 15-16.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid: 9.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid: 26, 38.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid: 26-27; 49-51.

Fox's foundation at Corpus Christi College aligned him at the heart of the Christian humanists of his day. Consistent with the reading of the Italian Congregation and its associated scholars, his library at Corpus was based on the study of Latin and Greek, the Bible and Patristic writers, especially John Chrysostom. There was a much reduced emphasis on the medieval scholastics, and a desire to go direct to original sources.<sup>238</sup> As already noted, in 1516 Fox translated the Benedictine Rule from Latin to English for the Benedictine Nuns of his diocese, who did not all speak Latin as the monks did.<sup>239</sup> Fox's interest in the provision of direct access to sources is demonstrated too by his appreciation of Erasmus' translation of the New Testament from Greek to Latin.<sup>240</sup> However, Fox's choice of texts for Corpus Christi College also included some of the medieval works most despised by humanists, which continued to form a central part of the Oxford Curriculum, such as Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the works of Duns Scotus.<sup>241</sup>

The books Fox bought prove that he was aware of many strands of thought. It would be an error in this brief look at Fox's thinking to try to align him rigidly with one group. However, in a recent personal communication with the current author, Collett has supported the possibility that Fox could have been influenced by the Congregation's thinking. He has confirmed that Italian influence upon Fox was substantial. James Clark has demonstrated the importance of the Benedictine Congregation within the overall movement in Europe for reform of the monastic orders from the earlier 15th century.<sup>242</sup> Given the congruence between their thinking and Fox's, Fox's work of reform at Winchester has to be seen in this wider European context. Clark notes that, in England, Glastonbury, Durham and Winchester led the monastic mission for renewal of the monasteries before the Reformation.<sup>243</sup>

## 5.5 Patronage: overview

*Royal commemoration:* Looked at overall, the circumstantial evidence set out in this chapter supports the tradition that the Lady Chapel works commemorated the royal family, and particularly Prince Arthur. The king and a number of courtiers could well have contributed financially to the

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<sup>238</sup> Thomson 2011: xvii-xix.

<sup>239</sup> Collett 2002(b): 148 notes that Fox's *Contemplacion of Sinners* supplemented the Latin writings used by the Franciscans with English text for the laity.

<sup>240</sup> Allen and Allen 1929: 33.

<sup>241</sup> Wolfson 2003: 18; Thomson 2011: xix; Emden 1957-59: 717-19.

<sup>242</sup> Clark 2007: 299.

<sup>243</sup> Clark 2007: 314.

Lady Chapel works. In relation to the presbytery glass, this chapter supports Smith's suggestion that there is a clear connection between Fox's presbytery works and Henry VII's Westminster foundation.

*The bishops, priors and their advisers:* It is argued that all three of Henry VII's bishops of Winchester played a part in the building and glazing works in the cathedral, working with the prior and convent. This chapter finds new evidence from Bishop Langton's will to show that he made a very substantial financial contribution to St Swithun's around the time that the Lady Chapel glass is likely to have been commissioned, assuming a probable date for the installation of the glass beginning c1500-1502. The late medieval Benedictine communities are famed for their corporate efficiency, and it is clear that the monks co-operated with the bishops to create in the east end of the cathedral the bishops' magnificent mausoleum. The priors' co-operation with the bishops in their building projects paid spiritual dividends, as they were also buried in the very sacred space at the eastern end of the Lady Chapel, so they too would have the best chance of salvation at the Last Judgement.

The thematic and iconographic continuity and coherence of the late medieval glazing at Winchester Cathedral makes sense when we consider how long the bishops, priors and obedientiaries were in post. Once the bishops were promoted to the See of Winchester, they stayed there until they died: in the case of Beaufort and Waynflete, for around forty years – in Fox's case, twenty seven. The priors, too, served for many decades – Hunton for over forty years; Silkstede for twenty six years. Further continuity is seen in the external advisers they relied on – such as Michael Cleve, Reginald Bray and William Frost. This consistency of personnel meant that ideas and knowledge would have passed easily from one generation to the next.

*Overall planning and agents of change:* Waynflete oversaw the huge changes to the east end initiated by Beaufort, and it is possible that he conceived an even more extensive plan for the building and glazing works in the east end, including the Lady Chapel and presbytery aisle works. However, he could not have foreseen the huge new impetus from the time of Courtenay to celebrate the Tudor regime and he died before the continental glaziers became so dominant in England.

*Renewal and reform:* The fashionable continental glazing style fitted the agenda of the reforming bishops of Winchester. For Fox especially, just as the new humanist ideas were a tool to improve medieval institutions, so promotion of the new glass painting style can be seen as a way of

reinvigorating old ideas, and as part of his dedication to church renewal. Looking beyond style to the substance of Fox's iconography, the east gable window encapsulates well Fox's thinking, which may seem dichotomous to us looking back many generations after the Reformation. The main lights depicted the ancient themes of the final judgement, the hierarchy of the church, and the monarchy. However, at the edges, in the tracery, the text and images suggest a simple hope for salvation through God's grace and Christ's passion.

## Conclusion

This is the first study to attempt a full reconstruction of the late medieval glass from the Lady Chapel and presbytery of Winchester Cathedral. Complete recreations are impossible, given the sparsity of the fragments, but some progress is achieved. Chapter 2 puts together probable fragments to evoke a general impression of the Lady Chapel glass. Chapter 3 proposes a very feasible reconstruction of the east gable window, and places a dominant Creed series in the main lights of the presbytery aisles.

The main area of doubt in the author's reconstruction of the east gable window relates to the lack of symmetry in the detail of the architectural framework of the lower main lights. However, this has been explained in terms of a broad overall symmetry, and an aesthetic which valued variety. In design terms, the reconstruction is strongly supported by comparison with contemporary royal windows from the Netherlands. In terms of subject matter, the inclusion of the royal figures is very probable in view of the dominant royal emblems on the vault bosses above and the cultural and patronage context discussed in Chapter 5: the priory's connections to Henry VII's Westminster foundation, and Fox's devotion to the king who was his maker.

The reconstruction is prefaced by a discussion in Chapter 1 of the glass as an object in its broader context. The analysis of the style of the glass painting helps the fragments to be identified and grouped to enable the reconstruction in the following chapters. Chapter 1 also describes the wider artistic context in which the glass was produced, highlighting relevant comparative material. It broadly supports earlier scholarship on style and craftsmen, but emphasises German influence and the large number of craftsmen who must have been involved. It stresses the importance of being able to compare high resolution photographs to group painting styles, the difficulties in trying to attribute particular figures to named painters, and the limitations of stylistic analysis, unsupported by sufficient documentary evidence. The conclusions in this section are not radical, and merely qualify the work of earlier scholars, but it was important for the current author to test that work against the available evidence. It is hoped that the analysis will be of use to others seeking to understand the Winchester Cathedral glass, and the work of the Anglo-Continental glaziers more generally.



Chapter 1 also looks at the glass in the context of the building of which it formed part. The examination of the building programmes for which the glass was designed notes new evidence which allows for firmer dating of the presbytery glass. The analysis of the decorative context also makes a contribution to the wider field of stained glass studies in identifying the north and south presbytery clerestory glass as important work in the highly prized International Gothic style. Its dating should be of interest to architectural historians who have puzzled for generations over the dating of the presbytery clerestory windows.

The most satisfying chapter for the author has been Chapter 4, on the life and liturgy in the cathedral. However it was planned, the glazing comprehensively supported the main elements of the liturgy. The vision of Christ in the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the links to the *Te Deum*, the Mass, and the litany of the saints, prove the late medieval glazing schemes to be part of a long tradition at St Swithun's, back to the time of Ethelwold. Both the Lady Chapel and presbytery schemes provided a vision of the saints and angels praising God: giving the community a foretaste of heaven, where they hoped to see God face to face, the blessing of the monastic life.

This interpretation of the Winchester Cathedral glass has wider implications in considering the many other glazing schemes where seraphim and standing saints and prophets survive. The link between such figures and the vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem is already well-established among some scholars, but needs to be more widely understood. One aspect requiring further research is the adoption and development of this kind of iconography through time. Another is the more detailed analysis of iconographic programmes of this type at different institutions, looking for any specific correspondences with individual aspects of their liturgy.

Chapter 5 argues that the schemes demonstrated support for King Henry VII, who was struggling constantly to hold on to power, and preserve the peace achieved after the Wars of the Roses. The chapter broadens this discussion, demonstrating the lengths the king went to secure his family's commemoration throughout the land, from the 1490's. The Calendar of Close Rolls has emerged as an unmined source in this regard. It could helpfully be consulted in future analyses of artistic patronage in churches during Henry VII's reign.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide glimpses of daily life in the cathedral from close-to: the people who used it and the people who ran it. Stepping back, this study casts light on the forces driving the church in England at this crucial period, just before the Reformation. It shows the sense of continuity and

purpose which connected generations of monks and bishops, allowing a coherent decorative scheme to develop in the cathedral from the late 14th to the early 16th century. It explains Fox's awareness of the need for reform, and his use of the new continental painting style, like his use of humanist learning, to communicate orthodox ideas in the fight against heresy.

The ultimate conclusion of this study of the glass in its cultural context is in fact the predictability of the schemes - almost their inevitability, emerging from this very specific élite context. The glazing schemes can nevertheless be seen as a testament to some of the highest aspirations of their time. They gave praise to God, for salvation through Christ. They brought to life the old stories in painting which must have seemed startlingly true to life to many people of the time. They glorified the ancient and venerable church with vibrant colour and light. The monks, and especially Bishop Fox, were well aware that monasticism was under attack and needed to be strengthened. They could not know how soon it would be shattered.

## Appendix 2: History and scholarship relevant to Winchester Cathedral's late medieval glass from the Reformation

| Date | Event  | Contemporary comment   | Significance for the glass  |
|------|--|--|---|
|      | <b>Dissolution of the Monasteries</b>  |  |   |
| 1538 | Destruction of St Swithun's shrine by Thomas Cromwell's commissioners.   | The commissioners described Prior Basyng and all the convent as "very conformable". <sup>1</sup> | The community at Winchester co-operated with the commissioners. <sup>2</sup> No reference to destruction of the glass. <sup>3</sup>   |
| 1541 | Henry VIII's Letters Patent established the new body of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral, dedicated to the Holy Trinity <sup>4</sup>                     |  | If Chapter 3 is correct, the east gable window depicted the Trinity and Henry VIII's father and mother/grandmother, and it would have made sense to preserve it.  |
|      | <b>Edward VI</b>   |  |   |
| 1547 | Injunction 28 required removal of all images of "feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition", expressly including those in glass-windows. <sup>5</sup> |  | The requirement to remove painted images from windows is regarded as radical, as painted windows were not generally objects of veneration. Only the most extreme reformers objected to window imagery. <sup>6</sup> |
| 1550 | However, Edward's statute of 1550 did not include painted windows  |  |   |

<sup>1</sup> Cook 1965: 197-99; Lindley 1989: 604-605. On Prior Basyng/Dean Kingsmill's and Bishop Gardiner's grants/bribes to Cromwell and the commissioners, see Carpenter Turner 1973: 12-14 and 1986: 35-39; HRO DC/B5/3: 54; HRO DC/F6/1/6/3: 12, 13,16.

<sup>2</sup> Cook 1965: 197-99.

<sup>3</sup> Aston 1988: 222-28 traces the various laws against images between 1536-39, describing some as "hopelessly ambiguous".

<sup>4</sup> Kitchin and Madge 1889: 37-46 at 44.

<sup>5</sup> Aston 1988: 256-57.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid: 257 note 10; 338-40.

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|         | in his list of imagery that was to be destroyed or defaced. <sup>7</sup>  |  |   |
| 1551    | Bishop Gardiner, an upholder of church tradition, was replaced as bishop of Winchester by the reforming John Ponet. <sup>8</sup>  |  | Iconoclasm under Edward was in practice scattered rather than general. There may well have been significant damage to the Winchester Cathedral cathedral glass at this time, but we do not know for certain. <sup>9</sup>                               |
|         | <b>Queen Mary</b>   |  |   |
| 1553    | Government policy towards images was reversed again. <sup>10</sup>  |  |   |
| 1554    | Winchester Cathedral was decorated for the wedding of Mary and Philip II of Spain. <sup>11</sup><br><br>Some repairs were carried out around this time but the document describing these is now lost. <sup>12</sup> |  | The Winchester Cathedral glass may have been repaired at this time.   |
|         | <b>Elizabeth I</b>  |  |   |
| 1559    | Amendment to Injunction 28 adding: “preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows”. <sup>13</sup>   |  | Church buildings needed to be maintained and replacing all painted glass at once was costly. There is evidence that painted glass was maintained in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I in both the royal chapels and cathedral churches. <sup>14</sup> |
| 1560-79 | Protestant Bishop Horne at Winchester is reputed  |  | More recent scholars find in the documents much   |

<sup>7</sup> Ibid: 267, 338.

<sup>8</sup> Dauncey 1995: 12-15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid: 13.

<sup>10</sup> Aston 1988: 277-94, especially 280.

<sup>11</sup> Hilton 1938: 47-48; Himsworth 1962: 84, 86, 92, 98.

<sup>12</sup> Stephens and Madge 1897: 70; Carpenter Turner, 1957: 12.

<sup>13</sup> Aston 1988: 300.

<sup>14</sup> Aston 1988: 340-41.

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|         | to have destroyed the cloisters and chapter house and stripped lead roofs. <sup>15</sup>   |  | more evidence of repair under Horne than of destruction. <sup>16</sup>   |
| 1571    | Horne's injunctions required widespread removal of imagery at Winchester: the Rood in the nave, the tabernacle of images, now void (probably the Great Screen) and:<br><br>...Item, that all images of the Trynitye, in the glasse windowes or other places or the churche be put owte and extinguished together with the stone crosse in the churchyarde. <sup>17</sup> |  | The wording of Horne's injunction suggests that there may have been several images of the Trinity in the glass, which would have been removed at this time. It does not require the removal of any other glass.  |
|         | <b>Charles I</b>   |  |  |
| 1635    | A lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich, identified as Lieutenant Hammond, described the glass in the Lady Chapel windows. <sup>18</sup>   | In this Chappell are 3.fayre Windowes, one at the East end thereof, in which is painted the Genealogie from the Root of Jesse, 14 Generations, another on the North side, contayning the History of the Reuelation, with the Saints praying, and glorifying God. In the South window which is the third, is the History of the Natiuty of our Sauiuor..... <sup>19</sup> | The Lieutenant did not mention any other glass in the cathedral, but it cannot be inferred from this that other important remains were not then surviving. The Lieutenant also visited Winchester College Chapel, but did not mention its glass, although we know that the original glass survived at that time. <sup>20</sup> |
| 1636-40 | Enhancement of choir, erection of Inigo Jones' screen and restoration of the cathedral under Charles I. <sup>21</sup>  |  | There could have been repairs to the east gable window at this time.   |

<sup>15</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 14; *Milner* I: 283-84.

<sup>16</sup> Goodman 1941: 9-13 and Carpenter Turner 1957: 12-16; Lewin 1991: 27-28.

<sup>17</sup> Lewin 1991: 41.

<sup>18</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: iii and 48.

<sup>19</sup> Wickham Legg 1936: 48.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*: 49-50; Le Couteur 1920: 65-68.

<sup>21</sup> Blakiston 1976: 10-12; Stephens and Madge 1897: 28-29.

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| 1637  | Richard Butler at work in the cathedral. <sup>22</sup>  |  | Richard Butler could have restored some of the glass. He did restore old glass: in Whitehall Palace (between 1621-22), at Westminster Abbey (in 1633) and at Lambeth Palace (1635-36). <sup>23</sup><br><br>Butler's surviving figures at the Red House, Moor Monckton and at the Chapel at Lincoln's Inn indicate emulation of early 16th-century glass like the Winchester presbytery clerestory saints and prophets, which he translated into very skillful enamel painting. <sup>24</sup> |
| 1640? | Unnamed glazier paid nearly £23 for "for 551 foote of glasse, new leades in ye west window at 10d ye foote". <sup>25</sup>  |  | It cannot be assumed that all the new glass was for the west window. There could have been repairs to other windows at this time too.   |
|       | <b>Civil War</b>  |  |   |
| 1642  | On 14th December 1642, Oliver Cromwell's troops, led by Sir William Waller, entered Winchester Cathedral, some on horseback, and began their work of destruction. <sup>26</sup><br><br>Accounts of the devastation in the cathedrals were collected by Bruno Ryves, and published | In the Lady Chapel they broke the communion table and Queen Mary's velvet chair. In the choir they | As a royal chaplain, Ryves was presumably biased, but the account of the damage at Winchester   |

<sup>22</sup> Goodman 1928: 138; Lane 2012: 34-41.

<sup>23</sup> Lane 2005: 53, 56-57; Archer 1990: 313-14. For 20th-century alterations to figures Butler worked on at Westminster Abbey, see Woolfrey 2015: 19-20.

<sup>24</sup> Archer 1990: 310-313.

<sup>25</sup> Goodman 1928: 25. Ibid: Appendix IV: 175 states that the item occurs in the account for 1637-38.

<sup>26</sup> *Mercurius*: 145-46.

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|      | anonymously in 1647 in <i>Mercurius Rusticus</i> . <sup>27</sup>  | <p>threw down the chests containing the ancient bones arranged on top of the screens.</p> <p>Mercurius specifically describes the choir and presbytery as having been glazed by Bishop Fox.</p> <p>He tells us that the troops did more than £1000 worth of damage to the windows with their swords and muskets, and by throwing the bones at the windows which their weapons could not reach.<sup>28</sup></p> | <p>is consistent with Richard Culmer's own account of his destruction of the Royal Window at Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>From the glass that survives, it is clear that the worst damage was to the lower level glass. The only medieval glass now surviving in the presbytery aisles and Lady Chapel is in the traceries and the heads of main lights.</p> |
|      | <b>Commonwealth</b>   |   |   |
| 1648 | The Dean and Chapter had fled the Close, but Ministers Leonard Cooke and Humphrey Ellis were appointed in 1648 to take services in the cathedral. <sup>30</sup> |   | The glass scattered around the building and left hanging in the leads must have been tidied and made safe at an early stage. The Puritans saw broken iconography as fulfilling an admonitory function, so they would not necessarily have insisted on all evidence of the iconography being removed. <sup>31</sup>  |
|      | <b>Restoration of the monarchy</b>  |   |   |
| 1660 | A thanksgiving service was held in the nave on 19th August. <sup>32</sup>   |   | This indicates that the building was regarded as safe for a large congregation.   |

<sup>27</sup> Aston 1988: 71 and note 26.

<sup>28</sup> *Mercurius*: 147-49.

<sup>29</sup> Aston 1988: 71. Culmer 1644: 21-22.

<sup>30</sup> Carpenter Turner 1960: 16.

<sup>31</sup> Aston 2003: 17 quotes W Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646).

<sup>32</sup> Carpenter Turner 1960: 18.

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|         | Dean Alexander Hyde and the Chapter petitioned for a grant towards the rebuilding and repairing of the cathedral and of the Dean and Prebendaries' houses. <sup>33</sup> Extra funds became available at this time because of the expiry of existing leases. <sup>34</sup> | A narrative of the proceedings of the Dean and Chapters records that in 1660 "the fabrick of ye Church was vastly ruinous". The first priority was to rebuild the house of God, which was done "with all possible expedition to a very great expense of money". <sup>35</sup> | Carpenter Turner's study of the cathedral accounts between 1661 and 1662 shows that the restoration of the cathedral at this time was supervised by the clerk of works. About a dozen men were fairly constantly employed, most of whom were clearly unskilled labourers. <sup>36</sup> |
| 1663    | In answer to Articles of Enquiry following Archbishop Juxon's Visitation, the Dean and Chapter replied "that the Cathedrall Church is well repayed". <sup>37</sup>   |   |   |
| 1660-67 | The general account for this period notes the sum of £17275 and 5s for repairs. <sup>38</sup>  | The money was spent:<br><br>In reparations of or Cathedral and Close and beautifying and Furnishing or Quire and library and building and Repaying The Deane and Prebend-Houses. <sup>39</sup>  |   |
| 1666-67 | The Treasurer's Account records that £3 9s 10d was spent on repairing windows. <sup>40</sup>   |   |   |

<sup>33</sup> Stephens and Madge 1897: 104

<sup>34</sup> Ibid: 158-170 at 160. Carpenter Turner 1960: 19.

<sup>35</sup> Stephens and Madge 1897: 160.

<sup>36</sup> Carpenter Turner 1960: 20-21.

<sup>37</sup> Stephens and Madge 1897: 114.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid: 121-22.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid: 132.



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| 1667-68   | The narrative of the proceedings of the Dean and Chapter notes “generall reparacon of ye windows about 80 l”. <sup>41</sup> |  | A considerable amount of work could have been done between 1660 and 1668. Some of Fox’s glass from the main lights in window NII of the presbytery clerestory, and from the presbytery aisles, may have been moved into the east gable window. The carelessness of some of the restoration in the presbytery clerestory would fit with work done in haste, by unskilled men, between 1642 and 1668. |
|           | <b>Early antiquarian accounts of the glass</b>  |  |   |
| 1683-1715 | Henry Hyde and Samuel Gale <i>The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester</i> (London 1715).          | The Great East Window is very remarkable for the Antiquity and Fineness of its painted Glass, which contains the Portraits of several Saints and Bishops of this Church, and is very entire, as well as that at the West Front, being in like manner curiously painted; which Art is now almost extinguished. <sup>42</sup><br><br>It is clear from the key in the index that the description of the windows derives from Hyde’s earlier text. <sup>43</sup> | This description fits broadly with the east gable window we see today. It is unlikely that the reference to the glass being “entire” means that it had survived the Civil War undamaged, in view of <i>Mercurius’</i> account of the widespread destruction. Hyde may have known that the windows had been restored under Dean Alexander Hyde, a cousin of his father. <sup>44</sup>                |
| 1760      | T.Warton’s <i>A Description of the City, College and Cathedral of Winchester</i> .  | This explains that, in the Civil War, Waller’s soldiers threw the bones of the Saxon kings against the painted glass:<br><br>which they thus destroyed through out the Church. But   |   |

<sup>41</sup> Ibid: 164.

<sup>42</sup> Hyde and Gale 1715: 32.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid: Index under “Glass, painted”.

<sup>44</sup> Carpenter Turner 1960: 18.

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|           |  | <p>the beautiful Window over the Altar, exhibiting the pourtraits of several Saints and Bishops of this Church, being more out of their Reach, and less exposed than the rest, is still preserved entire, together with a few figures on the windows contiguous. The grand West Window seems to be made up of the dispersed Fragments, which, imperfect as it is, has a fine Effect....<sup>45</sup></p>  | <p>Hyde's account may have been the source for the tradition that the east gable window had survived the 1642 wrecking intact, reflected in Warton's 1760 text.</p>   |
| 1798-1801 | <p>Publication of John Milner's account of the history and antiquities of Winchester.<sup>46</sup></p> | <p>...the eastern window, and other windows round the choir, have been mutilated and arranged in an improper manner, by the persons who replaced them, after they had been taken down in the great Rebellion. This will appear from a careful examination of them, either by means of a glass or from the organ loft. Thus viewed, we discover in them great merit, particularly in the expression marked on the countenances of the figures; but at the same time, we observe, that prophets, bishops and apostles are mingled together without any order, and that their legends are frequently misapplied and confused.<sup>47</sup></p> <p>Milner observed at the top of the tracery of the east gable window traces of the emblems of the Trinity.</p> <p>Milner described the Lady Chapel windows as "no less rich" than Fox's, but not "so well imagined" and "too much crowded with mullions".<sup>48</sup></p> | <p>Milner's statement that the east gable window he saw was as assembled after the Civil War is likely to be correct. No record has been found to suggest that the east gable window had been altered significantly between the 1680s and 1798. If there had been any great changes in this period, Milner, as a historian of the city and cathedral, is likely to have known of them.</p> <p>See Chapter 3 for comments on Milner's description.</p> |

<sup>45</sup> Warton 1760: 94-95. On Warton's work and related accounts see Blakiston 1979 and Crook 2003: 232-35.

<sup>46</sup> On Milner's work see generally Crook 2003: 235-37.

<sup>47</sup> *Milner II*: 87.

<sup>48</sup> *Milner II*: 70

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|         | <b>19th-century surveys and repairs</b>  |   |   |
| 1809-16 | The prebendary George Nott encouraged surveyors' reports and repairs. <sup>49</sup>  |   |   |
| 1811    |  | .... the glazing of all windows throughout the church where any particular defects were discoverable have been repaired.. <sup>50</sup>   | The record suggests that only necessary and ad hoc repairs to the glass were undertaken, but there may have been some repainting or even new painting at this time. Note that this was a period when glazing skills were at a low ebb.  |
| 1813    |  | ....the great East window has also been thoroughly repaired by the insertion of new stone in various parts of the mullions and Transomes on the outside and within. <sup>51</sup> | The glass must have been removed to carry out this work.  |
| 1844-45 | O.B. Carter published coloured drawings of Fox's presbytery glass, based on tracings, with an accompanying commentary. <sup>52</sup> |   | Comparisons between the drawings and the surviving glass help to identify the original remains, as recorded in the Catalogue. Carter's drawings on the whole provide a very accurate record, although his lack of artistic skill is reflected in the faces. A few discrepancies in detail are discussed in Chapter 3. |
|         |  | Carter assumed that the top centre light of the east  | Carter's picture title shows that he mistook  |

<sup>49</sup> Surveyors' Reports; Barrett 1993: 317.

<sup>50</sup> Surveyors' Reports : Garbett 1811.

<sup>51</sup> Surveyors' Reports: Garbett 1813.

<sup>52</sup> Carter 1844-45 and 1845.

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|      |   | gable window included a crucifixion. <sup>53</sup>   | John the Baptist on the southside for John the Evangelist, although his drawing clearly shows the Baptist's fur. Carter's identifications of the standing figures in his commentary are also unconvincing. <sup>54</sup> |
| 1845 | Charles Winston's 'A Short Notice of the painted glass in Winchester and its neighbourhood' read 13th December 1845, published in 1865. <sup>55</sup> | <p>Winston set the remains of the medieval glass of the city broadly in chronological order.</p> <p>He dated Fox's east gable window "perhaps a little earlier than 1525".<sup>56</sup></p> <p>He recorded that the glass in the tracery of the east gable window was in situ, except for St Bartholomew in the top central light, and the figures in the three tracery lights below. He also thought the two southernmost figures in the bottom row of main lights were in situ.</p> <p>Apart from St Bartholomew, which he noted was from Wykeham's time, Winston thought all the other glass in the window was from Fox's time but removed from other windows.</p> <p>Winston thought that Fox's glass was "as nearly perfect as painted glass can be...".<sup>57</sup></p> | Chapter 3 challenges Winston's identification of the in situ figures in the east gable window.   |

<sup>53</sup> Carter 1845: 6.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid: 6-7. See Westlake IV 1894: 21-22.

<sup>55</sup> Winston 1865: 68.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid: 68.

|             |  |  |   |
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|             |  | Winston's unpublished notes say of the lower main tracery lights of the east gable window "I think this was the general resurrection". <sup>58</sup> | Chapter 3 supports this.  |
| 1852        | Workshop of Edward Baillie restored Fox's east gable window. The new figure of Christ was inserted in the top central light, in place of the early 15th-century St Bartholomew. The restoration included some repainting and reheating in the kiln. <sup>59</sup>  |  |   |
| 1870s-1880s | New windows were added in the nave aisles in the 1870s and 1880s. Windows, by Clayton and Bell incorporated some of the figures peering from balconies which had formed part of the fictive architecture in the early 15th-century nave aisle glass. <sup>60</sup> |  |   |
| 1879-94     | Nathaniel Westlake <i>History of Design in Painted Glass</i> . <sup>61</sup>   | Westlake provided a detailed record of the glass then in the cathedral. <sup>62</sup>  | Westlake helpfully recorded remains in the Lady Chapel which were removed shortly afterwards. He also recorded four lights from Fox's period in the chapel to the north, presumably the Guardian Angels' Chapel, although nothing |

<sup>58</sup> BL Add.MS 33846 folios 141-42.

<sup>59</sup> HC June 5 1852; *The Builder* February 28, 1852: 141 and July 17, 1852: 455.

<sup>60</sup> Callé 2008: 12-22 describes the Victorian and later glass in the cathedral.

<sup>61</sup> Westlake III, 1886 and IV, 1894.

<sup>62</sup> Westlake III, 1886: 20.

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|--|--|--|--|
|  |  | <p>He analysed the east gable window, noting changes made in the 1852 restoration by comparing the window as he saw it with Carter's drawings.</p> <p>He could see that the Virgin and John the Baptist and the tracery angels were in situ. He thought that the standing figures in the lower tracery lights and the bottom row were from the late 15th or early 16th centuries, but that they all came from other locations. In Westlake's view it was clear from the remains of the shaftings in Carter's illustrations that the figures belonged in groups of three or more, and to wider and shorter lights. He argued that a line of figures with canopies and bases that do not match would not have been designed for this situation.</p> <p>Westlake thought it probable that the entire east gable window depicted a "Doom". He suggested that the lower main lights of the tracery contained Michael and the angels from the Last Judgement scene. He proposed that there were figures from the grave in the three centre lights below.<sup>63</sup></p> <p>Westlake did not appreciate</p> | <p>more is known of this glass.<sup>65</sup></p> <p>Chapter 3 of this thesis does not agree with Westlake's conclusions about the original subject matter and design of the east gable window lower main lights.</p> <p>Westlake's disapproval</p> |
|--|--|--|--|

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<sup>63</sup> Westlake IV, 1894: 21-24.

<sup>65</sup> Westlake III, 1886: 20.

|           |   |  |   |
|-----------|---|--|---|
|           |   | the Renaissance naturalism of Fox's glass. To him the style represented aesthetic decadence, and a loss of the inner life. <sup>64</sup>   | did not prevent him making some astute observations on the style of the glass. He thought Fox's windows showed a mixture of continental influences and shared similarities with the glass at St Mary's Church Fairford, Gloucestershire. <sup>66</sup> See Chapter 1. |
| 1897-1900 | C. E. Kempe's new windows in the Lady Chapel incorporated some of the medieval fragments in the traceries. <sup>67</sup>                                |  | See Chapter 2 and Part A of the Catalogue.  |
|           | <b>20th-21st-century records and repairs</b>  |  |   |
| 1920      | J.D. Le Couteur published <i>Ancient Glass in Winchester</i> . <sup>68</sup>  | Le Couteur described the glass, its iconography, and the careers of the bishop patrons. He included helpful documentary sources relating to the late 14th-century glass at Winchester College.<br><br>Le Couteur dated Fox's glass in the presbytery clerestory 1515-1525. <sup>69</sup> | The most complete and accessible guide to the glass of Winchester Cathedral, the College and the Close  |
| 1921      | Le Couteur described the recent re-reading of the great west window, and of some of the glass in the nave clerestories, around this time. <sup>70</sup> |  | Le Couteur developed helpful ideas about the original iconography of the great west window. See Chapter 4.  |
|           |   |  |   |
| 1934-35   | Father Ward reported his acquisition of glass from the cathedral for his social   |  |   |

<sup>64</sup> Westlake IV 1894: 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid: 23.

<sup>67</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 47; Walker 1990.

<sup>68</sup> Le Couteur 1920.

<sup>69</sup> Le Couteur 1920: 39.

<sup>70</sup> Le Couteur 1921.

|           |  |  |                |
|-----------|--|--|----------------|
|           | history museum at the Abbey Folk Park Hertfordshire. <sup>71</sup>   |  |                |
| 1937-2008 | Repairs to nave glass. <sup>72</sup>   |  |                |
| 1939-45   | There is no mention of glass having been removed during World War II for safe keeping.<br><br>In 1940 cathedral glass was treated with “anti-blast preparation”. <sup>73</sup> | It is with much thankfulness... are able to record another year during which the cathedral has been unharmed by enemy action. <sup>74</sup>  |                |
| 1963      | Some unspecified stained glass, regarded as an eyesore, was removed from the Langton Chapel. <sup>75</sup>   |  |                |
| 1975      | Repairs to the south east window of the Lady Chapel. <sup>76</sup>   |  |                |
| 1992      | Installation of the Chamberlayne-MacDonald window in the nave aisle in 1992, using medieval glass from the nave clerestory (Fig.4.21) <sup>77</sup>                            |  |                |
| 1993      | Richard Marks published <i>Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages</i> . <sup>78</sup>   | Marks compared the glass from the east end of Winchester Cathedral with the surviving evidence of other late 15th and early 16th century English glass in the Netherlandish style. <sup>79</sup> | See Chapter 1. |

<sup>71</sup> See full references in Chapter 2 at 2.1 and see Appendix 3.

<sup>72</sup> Recorded periodically in *WCR* from 1937 onwards.

<sup>73</sup> HRO DC/N1/1/7.

<sup>74</sup> *WCR* 1944.

<sup>75</sup> *WCR* 1963: 2.

<sup>76</sup> *WCR* 1975: 11 and 1976: 3.

<sup>77</sup> *WCR* 1993: 12. Callé 2008: 22.

<sup>78</sup> Marks 1993.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*: Chapter 10.



|         |   |  |   |
|---------|---|--|---|
|         |   | Partly because of the general absence of Italian Renaissance style motifs, Marks dated Fox's glass 1501-1515. <sup>80</sup>  | This is the broad dating supported by this thesis.  |
| 1993-96 | Chapel Studios cleaned and resealed the great west window. <sup>81</sup>  |  |   |
| 2002    | Mary Callé, working with Geoff Down, rediscovered glass from the Lady Chapel which is now in the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology at Caboolture, Queensland. <sup>82</sup> |  |   |
| 2007    | Angela Smith published an article on Bishop Fox's glass. <sup>83</sup>  | Smith proposed that the lower lights of the tracery may have contained half-length royal portraits, perhaps including Henry VI, Henry VII and either Elizabeth of York, or Lady Margaret Beaufort. <sup>84</sup> | Smith was the first scholar to suggest royal portraits in the window: Chapter 3 of this thesis argues for royal figures in the lower main lights. |
| 2006-11 | Restoration of the stone work of the east gable window and the north and south presbytery clerestory. <sup>85</sup>   |  |   |

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid: 213.

<sup>81</sup> *WCR* 1994: 16-17, *WCR* 1996: 11-12; Callé 2008: 4.

<sup>82</sup> Callé 2002.

<sup>83</sup> Smith 2007: 36-40.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid: 39.

<sup>85</sup> *WCR* 2006-11.

|         |  |  |  |
|---------|--|--|--|
| 2012-17 | <p>A major campaign began in 2012 to raise funds for conservation work in the cathedral, including the presbytery clerestory glass, which is currently being undertaken by Holywell Glass.<sup>86</sup></p> <p>In 2014, Jill and Gerry Cummins restored and rearranged much of the glass thought to come from the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral which is now in the Abbey Church, Caboolture, combining some of it with new glass. (Cat.G.1 and G.2).</p> <p>In June 2017 the north presbytery aisles windows were scaffolded to allow for proposed conservation work.</p> |  |  |
|---------|--|--|--|

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<sup>86</sup> Clare 2012.

**Appendix 3: Article by Anya Heilpern about the Winchester Cathedral glass now in Australia, from *Vidimus* 77 (February 2014), <http://vidimus.org/issues/>**

**“LOST PANELS FOUND”, Evening News, 26 September 1934**

*Events have come full circle, and this 1934 Evening News headline about fragments of glass from Winchester Cathedral is topical again. A key figure in this remarkable story is John Ward (1885–1949), who was the son and grandson of Anglican clergymen, a collector, and an author with interests in history, freemasonry and spiritualism. Ward founded a religious community called the Confraternity of the Kingdom of Christ. At New Barnet (Hertfordshire) he had several historic buildings re-erected, as well as having replicas of ancient buildings constructed; these he filled with antiquities he had collected. A reconstructed medieval tithe barn served as a church for the community from 1930, and the ‘Abbey Folk Park’ became a tourist attraction. Ward subsequently became a bishop of the ‘Orthodox Catholic Church’ in England. Anya Heilpern, who is currently researching the glass at the cathedral for her doctoral thesis, takes up the story.*

During a visit to the Abbey Museum (Queensland, Australia) in August 2013, with the help of Michael Strong (emeritus director and senior curator at the museum), I was able to identify many fragments of Winchester Cathedral’s medieval painted glass. Some of the glass was in panels previously thought to be lost, but which were in fact in store, though with a number of important pieces missing. Other glass had been rearranged, and the original Winchester connection had been lost, or was confused and doubtful. There were also a few well-preserved 14th-century pieces, which had not previously been associated with the cathedral.[1]

**The Abbey Museum Collection**

In 1934–35, newspapers reported how a Fr John Ward, founder of the Confraternity of the Kingdom of Christ, had acquired twenty-six panels of late medieval glass from Winchester Cathedral for his new social history museum, the Abbey Folk Park, at New Barnet (Hertfordshire). This was in the grounds of the abbey Ward had just established for his community,[2] and featured a number of reconstructed prehistoric and historical buildings, including a late medieval tithe barn that served as the abbey’s church. There was also a smaller chapel, known as the Oratory of the Angels, where the Winchester glass was displayed.



Fig. 1. Father Ward in the Oratory of the Angels, Abbey Folk Park (Hertfordshire), looking at the Winchester Cathedral stained-glass panels, in 1935. (Reproduced with permission of



Fig. 2. Interior of the Oratory of the Angels, Abbey Folk Park, showing in the window to the right of the altar the final ten panels acquired by Ward from Winchester Cathedral. To the right

the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

of this are six of the Winchester panels from the earlier acquisitions. (Photograph: Michael Scott; reproduced with permission of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 3. Photograph of the final ten panels (nine panels plus one light head) acquired by Ward, from *A Mirror of the Passing World*. (Reproduced with permission of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

Ward's acquisition of four panels from Winchester Cathedral (including a puzzling 'demon beast') was reported in September 1934.[3] The acquisition of twelve more panels, including a dove and seraphim, was reported in January 1935.[4] Ward had apparently acquired these from an old man who had worked on C. E. Kempe's 1898 reglazing of the cathedral's Lady Chapel.[5] According to Ward, the old man had wanted the fragments so that he could study medieval glass painting, and had glazed them into panels, but was now happy to part with them. Part of a photograph of Ward with some of the glass installed in the Oratory of the Angels was published in *The Times* on 25 January 1935; the full photograph is at Fig. 1. The acquisition of a further ten smaller panels 'of the same glass', including some notable faces, was recorded that August (Figs 2 and 3).[6]

The Folk Park was very popular with the public for some years, but Fr Ward's fortunes declined dramatically from 1945, after a sensational court case involving a young girl who had joined his community against her parents' wishes.[7] The community left Hertfordshire in 1946, taking part of the collection with them (the rest having been sold), initially to Cyprus, where Ward died in 1949. In 1955, the community emigrated to Australia, and in 1965 they purchased land outside the town of Caboolture, in Queensland. The new Abbey Church was

built there and consecrated in 1967; it displayed some of the stained glass from Ward's collection. The small community continues there to this day in the Christian tradition. Michael Strong, a member of the community, was appointed director and raised funds to build the [Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology](#) in the community's grounds. This opened in 1986, and houses most of the items remaining in Ward's collection, which ranges from prehistoric artefacts to illuminated manuscripts and Old Masters.[8] The museum is now mainly run by Edith Cuffe, the current director, also originally from the community, and a team of volunteers. Cataloguing and researching the impressive and valuable collection is a slow process because of lack of funds.

### Rediscovery of the Angels and the 'Demon Beast'

Between 2002 and 2003, Mary Callé, a friend and guide at Winchester Cathedral, and Dr Geoff Down of the University of Melbourne, engaged to catalogue the remaining glass in the collection, recognized the Winchester origin of the most stunning fragments (Figs 4 and 5).[9] Mary wrote a number of articles drawing attention to this glass, particularly the fragments from the Lady Chapel, where documentary evidence predating the Civil War described a Jesse Tree, a Nativity, and a Revelation window.[10] Geoff and Mary believed however that four of the panels shown in the photograph published in *The Times* in 1935 had disappeared; these included a dove and a seraph head (Fig. 1, panels on the upper right).[11] It was thought that these panels had been sold before Ward left England.

### Completing the Jigsaw Puzzle

I have spent the last few years researching Winchester Cathedral's late medieval glass. I



Fig. 4. Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel glass in window NI of the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 6. Photograph by Salmon, probably c.1880, showing the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral. (Published with the permission of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral)

was fortunate in 2010 to find a 19th-century photograph in the cathedral's records which showed almost the whole of the east window of the Lady Chapel containing fragments of medieval glass taken before Kempe installed the new glass in 1898 [Fig. 6]. It was clear from the photograph that there were also fragments in the north and south windows, although these were shown at an angle and impossible to identify. The image supplemented a Victorian photograph that Mary had found previously showing the lower half of the same window. Although neither of the photographs is of a sufficiently high resolution to be clear, and much of the glass has been rearranged, the photograph found in 2010 does allow some of the fragments, located at the top of the main lights, to be identified with certainty at Caboolture.



Fig. 5. Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel glass in window SI of the Abbey Church, Caboolture. The beast is the lion of St Mark. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 7. Detail from fig. 6, heads of the lights 3-6 above the transom.

Looking at Fig. 7 (the heads of lights 3-6 above the transom), the head of light 3 shows the two female heads now displayed in the Abbey Church (see the foot of Fig. 4), and the head of light 6 shows the female head now displayed (reversed) in the Abbey Church (see the foot of Fig. 5). This identification is supported by a photograph of the same head in the Oratory of the Angels in the 1930s [Fig. 8].<sup>[12]</sup> This head is generally identified as that of an angel, but may in fact be the type for the Virgin. Fig. 8 shows the head against a pillar or some kind of architectural support, and, with its downcast eyes and gentle expression, it could be from a Nativity scene. The identifications of glass from heads of the main lights below the transom shown in Figs 9 and 10 are less certain but also convincing. The star in light 2 is similar to, but may not be the same as, the star now above the lion beast in Fig. 5. Finally, the head in the head of light 7 could well be the head of the 'angel Gabriel' seen in Fig. 4, but set at an angle, the head bent down but with the original garment, an alb with neck tie. For me, the 19th-century photograph including the heads of the main lights above the transom removed any residual doubt there may have been about the Winchester origin of the Caboolture glass. The photograph is also helpful in showing the medieval fragments in the tracery of the window before they were reordered and supplemented by Kempe.



AN ANGEL HEAD FROM ANOTHER  
 PANEL OF WINDOW NO.4

Fig. 8. Photograph from *A Mirror of the Passing World*.  
 (Reproduced with permission of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 9. Detail from fig. 6, heads of main lights 2-4 below the transom.



Fig. 10. Detail from fig. 6, heads of main lights 5-7 below the transom.



Fig. 11. Panel W01492 in store at the Abbey Museum, Caboolture.  
 (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

I was finally able to visit the Abbey Museum in August 2013. Michael Strong and Edith Cuffe greeted me warmly: Edith produced an irresistible chocolate peppermint cake and Michael produced boxes of unidentified fragments of glass. Geoff Down had previously suggested in his catalogue that these came from the Lady Chapel, but he had not identified them with any certainty.[13]

It was immediately apparent that we were looking at the very seraph head that Mary had noted in the 1935 photograph showing the 'lost' four panels [Fig. 1, panel on the top right, and Fig. 11]. This is crudely drawn and could be an early 19th-century copy of one of the 15th-century seraphim still in the presbytery clerestory of Winchester Cathedral (some of which are very fine work in the International Gothic style). An almost identical face survives in window NIV of the

north presbytery clerestory [Fig. 12]. We were able to examine the rest of the fragments in storage on a light box, and Michael photographed them. Much of the glass, including the dove, has now been removed from the leadwork and is lost, but a few further fragments of interest survive in the panels. The wounded hand of Christ from a crucifixion, recognisable in Fig. 1 above the dove, has survived [Fig. 13]. In the same panel, there are pieces of imitation architecture, in a style similar to that still in the tracery of the east window of the Lady Chapel. Another panel [Fig. 14] contains a fragment of a 'criss-cross' column, reminiscent of those in Winchester Cathedral's east gable window. These fragments, while much less exciting than those already identified by Mary and Geoff, provided the first step in solving the mystery of what had happened to the remainder of the original twenty-six panels acquired by Fr Ward.



Fig. 12. Winchester Cathedral, north presbytery clerestory, window NIV, detail of tracery light A6. (Photograph: the author)



Fig. 13. Detail from panel W01481 in store at the Abbey Museum, Caboolture, thought to originate from Winchester Cathedral Lady Chapel, showing fictive tower, crucified hand, and leadline of dove. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 14. Panel W01493 in store at the Abbey Museum, Caboolture, with some glass likely to originate from the early 16th-century scheme in the east end of Winchester Cathedral. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 15. Detail from window SI in

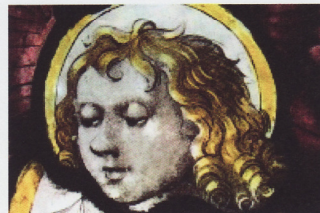


Fig. 16. Detail from window NI in the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

I spent the next few days in the museum, reading the archive of newspaper cuttings and Fr Ward's catalogues. With Michael I examined all the glass now displayed in the Abbey Church, and Michael took comprehensive photographs. We observed details that had not previously been noticed; for example, Michael pointed out part of the head of an ass, probably from the Nativity in the south window of the Lady Chapel [Figs 5 and 15]. Although I already knew from photographs that the glass previously identified by Mary and Geoff was exquisite, I was nonetheless taken aback when I saw it. The demure sweetness of the faces, finely hatched and scratched (reminiscent of Martin Schongauer's engravings) was brought to life in a mystical world by brilliant blues and yellows [Figs 4, 5, 16 and 17]. Light and shade evoked texture, in the rich velvety red and green buds of the Jesse fruit, and the large star, hard like a multifaceted cut diamond [Figs 18 and 19].

It became clear that additional fragments from Winchester Cathedral were distributed throughout the

the Abbey Church, Caboolture.  
(Photograph: Michael Strong,  
Abbey Museum of Art and  
Archaeology)



Fig. 17. Detail from window NI in the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 18. Detail from window EI in the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 19. Detail from window SI in the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong: Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

panels in the Abbey Church, including those in the porch. Some of these fragments had been removed from the panels now in store. In Michael's words, these panels had been 'cannibalized', partly to supplement the panels displayed in the church.[14] Most significantly, we recognized that most of the glass now in the mullion window at the west end of the Abbey Church is the final instalment of glass that Ward said originated from Winchester Cathedral [Fig. 3].

The original newspaper reports counted a total of twenty-six panels from Winchester Cathedral. Ward's 1946 packing list also noted twenty-six panels

(or groups of unleaded fragments) of ecclesiastical glass from Winchester.[15] Some of these are clearly

identifiable from their descriptions, but some of the references are too vague to be very helpful. It is confusing that Ward's c.1945 catalogue only mentions seventeen panels (including the nine seen in Fig. 3) and four heads of lights.[16] Some of these numerical discrepancies may be explained by differences in how the panels were counted: perhaps the heads of lights were sometimes counted as part of the main panel and sometimes counted separately, or there were possibly careless approximations. From reading the contemporary descriptions and looking at the related photographs and the surviving glass however, it is now clear that we have photographs from Ward's time of all the glass he thought came from Winchester Cathedral – twenty-six panels, including heads of lights. As noted above, Fig. 2 shows not just the final ten panels found (now mostly in the mullion window) but also six of the original sixteen panels, on the right-hand side. Read together with Fig. 2, which shows Ward standing in front of the main Winchester panels and effectively overlaps with Fig. 1, we can see all the glass Ward attributed to Winchester displayed in the Oratory of the Angels, even though some of it is unfortunately at an angle and so difficult to interpret.

### The Best Finds

Among the most interesting fragments surviving in the mullion window is the cold aggressive head of the scourger [Fig. 20]. Mary Callé had previously identified this, and supported Ward's attribution to Winchester. The photographs at Figs 2 and 3, considered together with the newspaper accounts and Ward's catalogue descriptions, prove beyond doubt that this was among the glass reported to have come from Winchester Cathedral. This conclusion is of considerable significance in reconstructing the early 16th-century glazing scheme at the east end of the cathedral, as it suggests a Passion series. From the research I have done so far, I suspect that Christ's Passion was depicted in the south presbytery aisle, near Bishop Fox's chantry chapel. Fox was devoted to the Passion, and Passion emblems adorn his chantry chapel and the roof of the presbytery above. Fox's surviving glass at the



east end of the cathedral is now generally dated before 1515, partly because of the absence of Renaissance motifs.[17] However, the style of the scourger has affinities with work by the Anglo-Flemish glaziers at King's College Cambridge, some of it dated between 1515 and 1517, but most of it later than 1526 [Figs 21 and 22].[18]



Fig. 20. Head of the scourger from window SIX in the Abbey Church, Caboolture. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

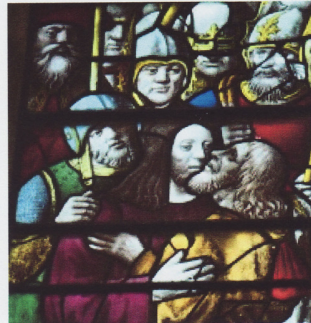


Fig. 21. Detail from the Passion windows in the chapel of King's College Cambridge. (Photograph: the author)



Fig. 22. Detail from the Passion windows in the chapel of King's College Cambridge. (Photograph: the author)

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 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....

The central panel of light a in Fig. 3 shows two fine heads that are now missing. One is tonsured; the other, at the bottom of the panel, is another early 16th-century head, which Ward's catalogue notes as part of the Winchester Cathedral glass. Although most of this head is now missing, a fragment of the actual glass remains in store [Fig. 23]. It is not known whether this head was damaged by accident, or whether a clumsy attempt was made



Fig. 23. Detail from panel W01491 in store at the Abbey Museum, Caboolture, showing fragment of the neck from the face in Fig. 24. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 24. Head from Ward's Catalogue Mirror of the Passing World. (Reproduced with permission of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 25. Detail of a prophet from the east gable window, Winchester Cathedral. (Photograph: the author, copyright Dean and Chapter Winchester Cathedral)

could equally have been a prophet or ecclesiastic.



Fig. 26. Detail of St Swithun from the east gable window,



Fig. 27. Fragment of ruby dragon from window SIX C2 of the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

to remove it from its panel. Fortunately, Ward's catalogue includes a high-quality photo, describing this as 'the head of a citizen' [Fig. 24]. Its quality can be compared with that of the early 16th-century head still in the east gable window of Winchester Cathedral at Fig. 25. Both show real faces, with fleshy folds, although the head of the citizen, with its direct gaze, is colder and more severe than that in the east window of the cathedral. The 'citizen' uses some cross-hatched scratching, which creates a harder effect than stipple alone. Ward's identification as 'a citizen' is not convincing. Comparing the outline of the headdress with that of the prophet in Fig. 25 or St Swithun in Fig. 26 (also in the east gable window of Winchester Cathedral) suggests that 'the citizen'

Winchester Cathedral.  
(Photograph: Gordon Plumb)



Fig. 28. Detail from the porch window of the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

Another beautiful piece in the mullion window of the Abbey Church, which may fit with the early 16th-century scheme in the east end of Winchester Cathedral, is the flashed-ruby dragon [Fig. 27]. This was an emblem of Henry VII, linking him to Cadwallader, the ancient king of the Britons. A similarly shaped red dragon supports the arms of Henry VII on a boss decorating the presbytery vault installed under Bishop Fox.[19] Other early 16th-century fragments in the Abbey Church suggest detailed naturalistic backgrounds. They include a blue grisaille tower, a fragment of a background possibly showing a picket fence in a night-time scene, and blue and green glass made by using yellow stain on blue glass [Figs 28–30].

Other faces recorded as coming from Winchester Cathedral may be representative of earlier glazing schemes in the cathedral. Fig. 31 shows high-quality early 15th-century glass (the monk) as well as an early 16th-century prince. The window in Fig. 32 (which largely derives from the third instalment of glass in Fig. 3) contains interesting mid-15th-century glass, including flashed ruby decorated with a white scratched pattern. The strange animal-like head

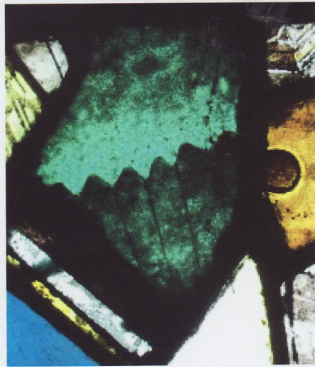


Fig. 29. Detail from window NI in the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 30. Detail from window SIII in the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)



Fig. 31. Early 15th-century monk's head (top) and early 16th-century prince from SIX C1 in the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology)

could be a scourger, and the small lamb's head and pillar with ropes around it also suggest a series showing the life of Christ.[20] Scattered throughout the Abbey Church there are a few scraps of grisaille, which could be from the 13th-century retrochoir of the cathedral.



Fig. 32. Window SIII in the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong, Abbey)



Fig. 33. Detail from SVIII B2 in the Abbey Church. (Photograph: Michael Strong,

Finally, there are two heads in the Abbey Church, not identified by Ward as coming from Winchester Cathedral, but which are likely to have been part of Wykeham's c.1380 glazing at the west end of the cathedral. The bearded head at Fig. 33 is very similar to a number of heads that survive in the patchwork of fragments in the colossal west window [Fig. 34]. The unbearded head in Fig. 33 is probably from the same scheme, although no similar heads remain in the west window of the cathedral. It could be a female head, or a young male head, perhaps

Museum of Art and  
Archaeology)

Abbey Museum of Art and  
Archaeology)

of St John the Evangelist. J.  
D. Le Couteur thought that  
the original west window  
included a series of Apostles

and Prophets with creed scrolls and a life of Christ.[21]  
It may also have included a series of kings.



Fig. 34. Face of a king from the  
great west window of Winchester  
Cathedral. (Photograph: Gordon  
Plumb)

mercifully, some early 16th-century tracery glass in the  
presbytery aisles, which survives relatively intact  
showing the Joys of Mary [Fig. 35]. The presbytery  
aisles led to the Lady Chapel, and the Joys of Mary must  
have been part of the same iconographic scheme as the  
Lady Chapel glass, although perhaps installed slightly  
later. The issue of whether all this early 16th-century  
glass in the east end of the cathedral was the work of  
the Anglo-Netherlandish Southwark glaziers is  
unresolved. The mystery for me remains the exquisite  
and consistent quality of the original Lady Chapel  
fragments in Caboolture, shown in Figs 4 and 5, given  
the variations in style and quality of glass attributed to  
these glaziers elsewhere.

The glass Ward acquired from Winchester Cathedral  
included pieces that originated from all over the  
building. The Victorian photos of the Lady Chapel are  
not clear enough or comprehensive enough to prove  
whether all Ward's glass was in the Lady Chapel at that  
time; it is hoped that further early photographs will be  
found. It would not be surprising if all this assorted  
glass was found in the Lady Chapel – the devastation to  
the cathedral's medieval glass caused during the Civil  
War was so extensive that most of the glass that was  
saved was reassembled fairly randomly in jumbled  
panels, as in the great west window.

The main exception  
is the 15th- and  
early 16th-century  
presbytery  
clerestory glass,  
which was generally  
out of reach, and,



Fig. 35. Winchester Cathedral,  
south presbytery aisle, SVIII E1  
and E2. (Photograph: Gordon  
Plumb)

#### THANKS

Thanks to Michael Strong for working with me to piece together the information and to both Michael and Edith for their hospitality. Thanks also to Mary Callé and my PhD supervisor Sarah Brown for their ever-generous support.

#### NOTES

1. The identifications prior to my visit were reflected in Geoff Down's draft Catalogue of *Stained Glass at the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology, Caboolture, Queensland* (unpublished) and in Mary Callé's 'Winchester Cathedral Medieval Glass in Australia', *The Journal of Stained Glass*, xxvi, 2002, pp. 68-74; 'More light on the Great West Window (Fragments of the Lady Chapel Medieval Glass Revealed?)', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, lxxii, 2003, pp. 26-29; 'Discovering Winchester Cathedral Medieval Glass', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, lxxiii, 2004, pp. 13-16.

2. Fr Ward was a collector of antiquities and a spiritualist. Ward's faith combined ideas about reincarnation and karmic justice with Christian theology, predicting the end of Western civilization and the return of Christ the King. His passion for collecting antiquities fitted with his mission to preserve evidence of the civilization that he thought would soon collapse, for the benefit of those who survived. Ward was ordained in 1935 by Archbishop Sibley of the Orthodox Catholic Church in England, an irregular bishop without an established see or ordinary diocesan responsibilities. Ward succeeded Sibley as archbishop in 1938. See Geoffrey Ginn, *Archangels & Archaeology: J. S. M. Ward's Kingdom of the Wise*, Toronto,

2012.

3. *Evening News*, 26 September 1934; *Daily Mail*, 26 September 1934; *Hampshire Observer*, 6 October 1934. Extracts may be found in *The Book of the Centuries*, 2 vols, I (unpublished, at the Abbey Museum).
4. *Daily Mail*, 17 January 1935.
5. *Daily Telegraph*, 19 January 1935
6. *The Times*, 10 August 1935.
7. Ginn, *Archangels & Archaeology*.
8. Ward's collection constitutes about two thirds of the museum's contents. The museum also holds a growing number of new donations and purchases.
9. See n. 1.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Callé, 'Winchester Cathedral Medieval Glass in Australia', pp. 72–73. Down, *Catalogue*, p. 17.
12. *A Mirror of the Passing World* (Ward's catalogue, c.1945, unpublished, in the archive of The Abbey Museum).
13. Down, *Catalogue*, p. 16.
14. It is likely that the panels were separated when the windows were installed in the Abbey Church in 1964 and in 1978.
15. J. S. M. Ward's Packing List – Barnet to Cyprus, 1946 (unpublished, The Abbey Museum).
16. *Mirror of the Passing World*, p. 223.
17. R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*, London, 1993, p. 213.
18. Callé, 'Winchester Cathedral Medieval glass in Australia', p. 72; H. Wayment, *Kings College Chapel Cambridge: The Great Windows: Introduction and Guide*, Cambridge, 1982.
19. A. Smith, *Roof Bosses of Winchester Cathedral, Winchester*, 1996, p. 20.
20. I have not been able however to identify the pillar in Ward's photographs.
21. J. D. Le Couteur, *The Hampshire Observer*, 3 September 1921.

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## Appendix 4: Relics at Winchester Cathedral before the Reformation

| Relic                                     | Information   |
|---|---|
| 1. St Agatha                              | The foot of St Agatha was given at the time of Henry of Blois. <sup>1</sup>   |
| 2. St Alphege<br>(Aelfheah)               | His relics were recorded in the cathedral. <sup>2</sup>   |
| 3. St Bartholomew                         | Henry of Blois' great cross contained a relic of St Bartholomew. <sup>3</sup>   |
| 4. St Birinus                             | Bede records that his relics were translated from Dorchester, but in the 13th century the canons at Dorchester claimed that they still had his body. <sup>4</sup><br>King Canute gave a shrine for his relics. <sup>5</sup> |
| 5. St Birstan<br>(Beornstan) <sup>6</sup> | His relics were recorded in the cathedral. <sup>7</sup>   |
| 6. St Cecilia                             | A 14th -century martyrology refers to the relics. <sup>8</sup>  |
| 7. St Ethelwold                           | He died in 984 and was buried in the cathedral. He was translated in 996. <sup>9</sup><br>His relics were placed in a new feretory in 1111. <sup>10</sup>   |
| 8. St Frithestan                          | His relics were recorded in the cathedral. <sup>11</sup>  |
| 9. St George                              | Henry of Blois' great cross contained a relic. <sup>12</sup>  |
| 10. St Hedda                              | Hedda brought Birinus' relics to Winchester and was buried in the cathedral. <sup>13</sup>  |
| 11. Holy Innocents                        | The head reliquary of St Justus given by Henry of Blois held relics of one of the Holy Innocents. <sup>14</sup>   |

<sup>1</sup> Bishop 1884: 44 note 7; Thomas 1974: 136.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas 1974: 132; Crook: 1989: 19 and note 82; Crook 2011(b): 174.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop 1884: 41

<sup>4</sup> Thomas 1974: 132. Crook 2011(b): 86, 174, 227-28; Adams 2011: 16-18.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop 1884: 35.

<sup>6</sup> Crook 1989: 19.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas 1974: 132.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas 1974: 134-35.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas 1974: 132-33.

<sup>10</sup> Morgan 1981: 168.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas 1974: 132.

<sup>12</sup> Bishop 1884: 41.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas 1974: 132. Crook 2011(b): 86, 174.

<sup>14</sup> Bishop 1884: 42; Thomas 1974: 136.

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 12. Holy Rood                        | Wykeham bequeathed a relic. <sup>15</sup><br><br>Much earlier, Henry of Blois' gifts included several relics of the Holy Cross. <sup>16</sup>   |
| 13. Jesus                            | Henry of Blois' great cross also included other relics associated with Jesus: his tomb, place of nativity and ascension, his manger, the Mount of Calvary, his cradle, and part of the holy winding sheet. <sup>17</sup> One of Henry of Blois' gifts included a large precious stone, thought to have been from Jesus' crown and Mary's sceptre. <sup>18</sup> |
| 14. St Justus of Beauvais            | Athelstan gave his head. <sup>19</sup>  |
| 15. St Laurence                      | His relics were in Henry of Blois' gold shrine. <sup>20</sup>   |
| 16. Mary                             | Henry of Blois' great cross included relics of the Virgin's hair and her tomb. <sup>21</sup>  |
| 17. St Matthew                       | Henry of Blois' great cross contained a relic. <sup>22</sup>  |
| 18. St Pantaleon                     | Henry of Blois' great cross contained a relic. <sup>23</sup>  |
| 19. Patriarchs                       | Henry of Blois' great cross included relics of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. It included a relic of the stone on which Jacob rested his head. <sup>24</sup>   |
| 20. Saints Peter, Paul and Silvester | In Henry of Blois' gold shrine:<br>et duo anuli aurei, unus qui fuit sancti Silvestri et sunt in eo reliquie de capillis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, alius anulus qui fuit cuiusdam magne auctoritatis apostolici. <sup>25</sup>  |
| 21. St Philip's foot                 | Given by Peter des Roches 1205-38. <sup>26</sup>  |
| 22. Saints Sergius and Bacchus       | Henry of Blois' great cross contained relics. <sup>27</sup>   |
| 23. St Stephen                       | Henry of Blois' great cross contained relics. <sup>28</sup>   |

<sup>15</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 71.

<sup>16</sup> Bishop 1884: 41-42.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid: 41.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid: 42.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid: 34; Thomas 1974: 135-36.

<sup>20</sup> Bishop 1884: 42

<sup>21</sup> Ibid: 41

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid; Thomas 1974: 134.

<sup>25</sup> Bishop 1884: 42.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas 1974: 137; DI; Bogan 1992; Crook 2011(b): 306.

<sup>27</sup> Bishop 1884: 41.



|   |  |
|---|--|
|   |  |
| 24. St Swithun                                  | By the late 15th century, his relics were in the retrochoir. <sup>29</sup>   |
| 25. St Thomas the Martyr's blood. <sup>30</sup> |  |
| 26. St Urban <sup>31</sup>                      |  |
| 27. Unidentified relics                         | <p>Henry of Blois' gifts also included unspecified relics.<sup>32</sup></p> <p>The descriptions of the relics in the Dissolution Inventory are mainly too general to match them to Henry's gifts. The Inventory lists:</p> <p>Sexton's Inventory: two unidentified saints' arms of plate of gold garnished with stones; twenty-one shrines of precious metals; seven tables with relics in them; five saints' heads, four of them of plate of silver and gilt, and the first painted; a further three saints' arms, two covered with silver and gilt plate, the third painted.</p> <p>Lady Chapel Inventory: five little shrines of copper and gilt.</p> |

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<sup>28</sup> Bishop 1884: 41.

<sup>29</sup> Lapidge 2003: 35-37.

<sup>30</sup> Greatrex 1978: item 14.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas 1974: 134-35.

<sup>32</sup> Bishop 1884: 42.

## List of abbreviations

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>AJ</i>                    | Antiquaries Journal   |
| BAA                          | British Archaeological Association  |
| <i>BAA 1983</i>              | T. Heslop and V. Sekules (eds) <i>Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1980</i> (Leeds, 1983)   |
| <i>BOE 2010</i>              | M. Bullen, J. Crook, R. Hubbuck and N. Pevsner <i>The Buildings of England: Hampshire: Winchester and the North</i> (New Haven and London, 2010)  |
| BL                           | British Library   |
| <i>Cathedral Manuscripts</i> | B. Carpenter Turner <i>The Winchester Bible and the Winchester Cathedral Manuscripts Collection: Catalogue of Manuscripts with an Introduction</i> (Winchester, 1984) World Microfilms Publications, 4  |
| <i>CCR 1485-1500</i>         | K. Ledward (ed.) <i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry VII: Volume 1, 1485-1500</i> (London, 1955)  |
| <i>CCR 1500-1509</i>         | R. Latham (ed.) <i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry VII: Volume 2, 1500-1509</i> (London, 1963)   |
| <i>CPR</i>                   | H. Maxwell Lyte, J. Black, R. Brodie <i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry VII, 1485-1509</i> , 2 vols, (London, 1914-1916)  |
| <i>CSPS</i>                  | G. Bergenroth (ed.) <i>Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1, 1485-1509</i> , (London, 1862)  |
| <i>Crook 1993</i>            | J. Crook (ed.) <i>Winchester Cathedral Nine Hundred Years (1093-1993)</i> (Chichester, 1993)  |
| CVMA                         | Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi   |
| DI                           | Dissolution Inventory, published in J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (eds), Sir William Dugdale's <i>Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales</i> , vol. 1 (London, 1817-30), 202-203 |
| <i>HC</i>                    | <i>Hampshire Chronicle</i>  |
| HRO                          | Hampshire Record Office   |
| <i>JBAA</i>                  | <i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>  |

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>JBSMGP</i>                 | <i>Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters</i>   |
| <i>JWCI</i>                   | <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>   |
| <i>Leland IV</i>              | T. Hearne (ed.) <i>Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea</i> in 6 volumes, vol. 4 (London, 1770)   |
| <i>Mercurius</i>              | <i>Mercurius Rusticus: Or, The Countries Complaint of the barbarous outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing kingdom</i> (1647, London, 1685) <sup>1</sup>   |
| <i>Milner</i>                 | J. Milner <i>History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester</i> in 2 vols, 3rd ed. (1798-1801; Winchester, 1839)                                 |
| <i>ODNB</i>                   | H. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds) <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford, 2004) online edition at <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com">http://www.oxforddnb.com</a> |
| <i>Proc. Hants Field Club</i> | <i>Proceedings of Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society</i>  |
| RCHME                         | Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England  |
| SA                            | Southampton Archives, Civic Centre, Southampton  |
| Surveyors' Reports            | HRO DC/E6/1 Reports on the State of the Fabrick of the Cathedral [sic] of [Winchester] by James Essex, James Wyatt and William Garbett, 1775-1816                                |
| TNA                           | The National Archives, Kew, London   |
| <i>VCH</i>                    | <i>Victoria County History</i>   |
| <i>Voragine</i>               | W. Ryan (trans.) Voragine J.de, <i>The Golden Legend Readings on the Saints</i> vols 1 and 2 (Princeton, NJ, 1993)   |
| <i>WCR</i>                    | <i>Winchester Cathedral Record</i>   |

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<sup>1</sup> Pages misnumbered in the 1685 edition.

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