“Casting a dim religious light”: the stained and painted glass of York Minster, c.1450-1802

Volume Two

(two volumes)

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Figure 1: The Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of St Peter in York, otherwise known as York Minster.

The south façade of York Minster. The south transept was built in the mid-thirteenth-century by Archbishop Walter Grey and functioned as the principle city entrance via the gate at the end of Stonegate. It was also the ceremonial civic entrance, facing directly down Stonegate towards the Guildhall and later Mansion House.

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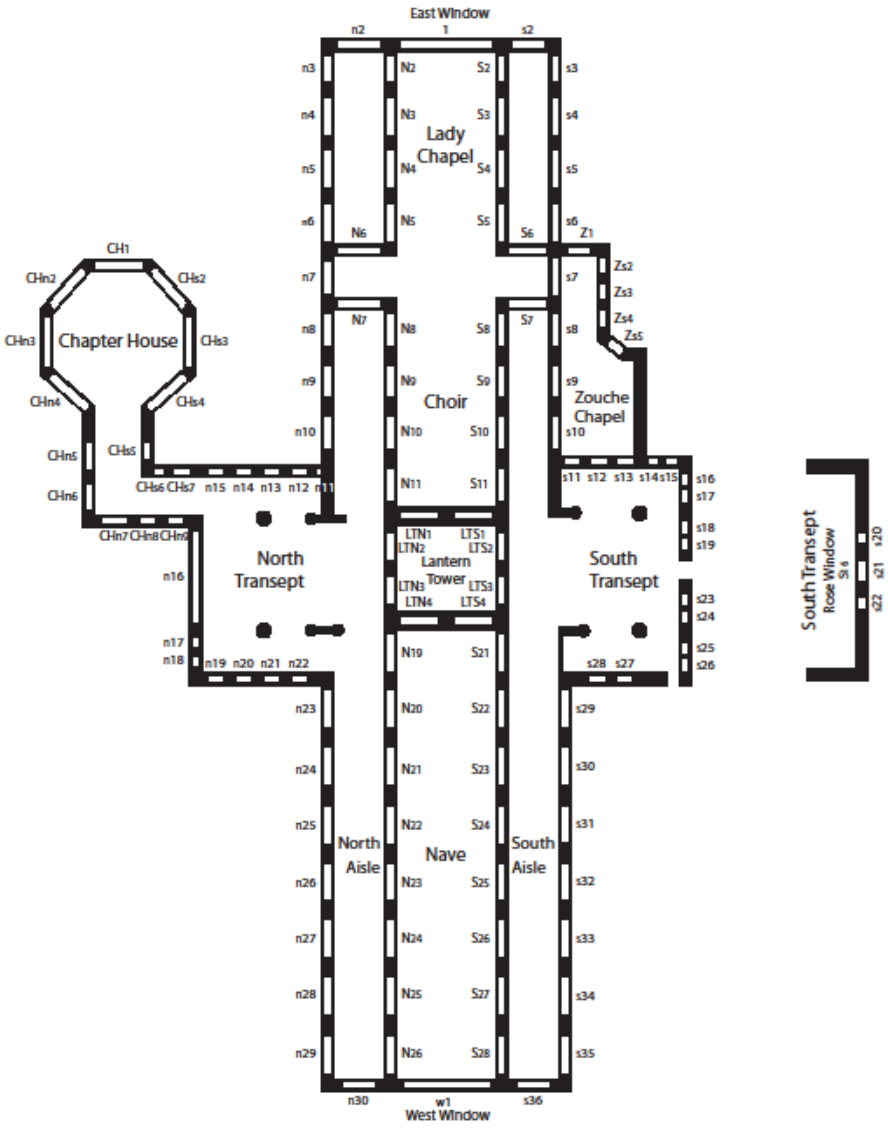

Figure 2: Plan of York Minster with CVMA window numbering. Lower case letters indicate ground level windows; upper case indicates clerestory or other high-level windows.

© York Glaziers Trust.

Figure 3: The Great East window of York Minster (1) created between 1405 and 1408 by John Thornton of Coventry. The window principally depicts the Apocalypse as foretold in Revelation, the final book of the Bible. The lower rows depict historical and mythical kings of England as well as the donor and guiding influence, Richard Skirlaw Bishop of Durham. The tracery contains the company of heaven with God, the Alpha and Omega, at the pinnacle. The arrangement of the glass is a complex and sophisticated expression of the religious significance of numbers.

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Figure 4: The St William window (n7 panel 10b), created c.1414 by John Thornton of Coventry.

The St William window forms one element of an iconographic scheme with the Great East Window (1) and the St Cuthbert window (s7). Detail showing an Annunciation in a book held by an archbishop (his pallium is just visible on the left of the image), demonstrating the exceptional skill and level of detail applied.

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Figure 5: St Cuthbert window (s7) c.1440. Occupying the south quire transept, the St Cuthbert window forms the third element in an iconographic scheme situating the northern saints (William and Cuthbert) with the Apocalypse in the Great East window (1) and flanking the original position of the high altar. Robert Thompson worked on the window in 1580/81, inserting panels from St Michael le Belfry.

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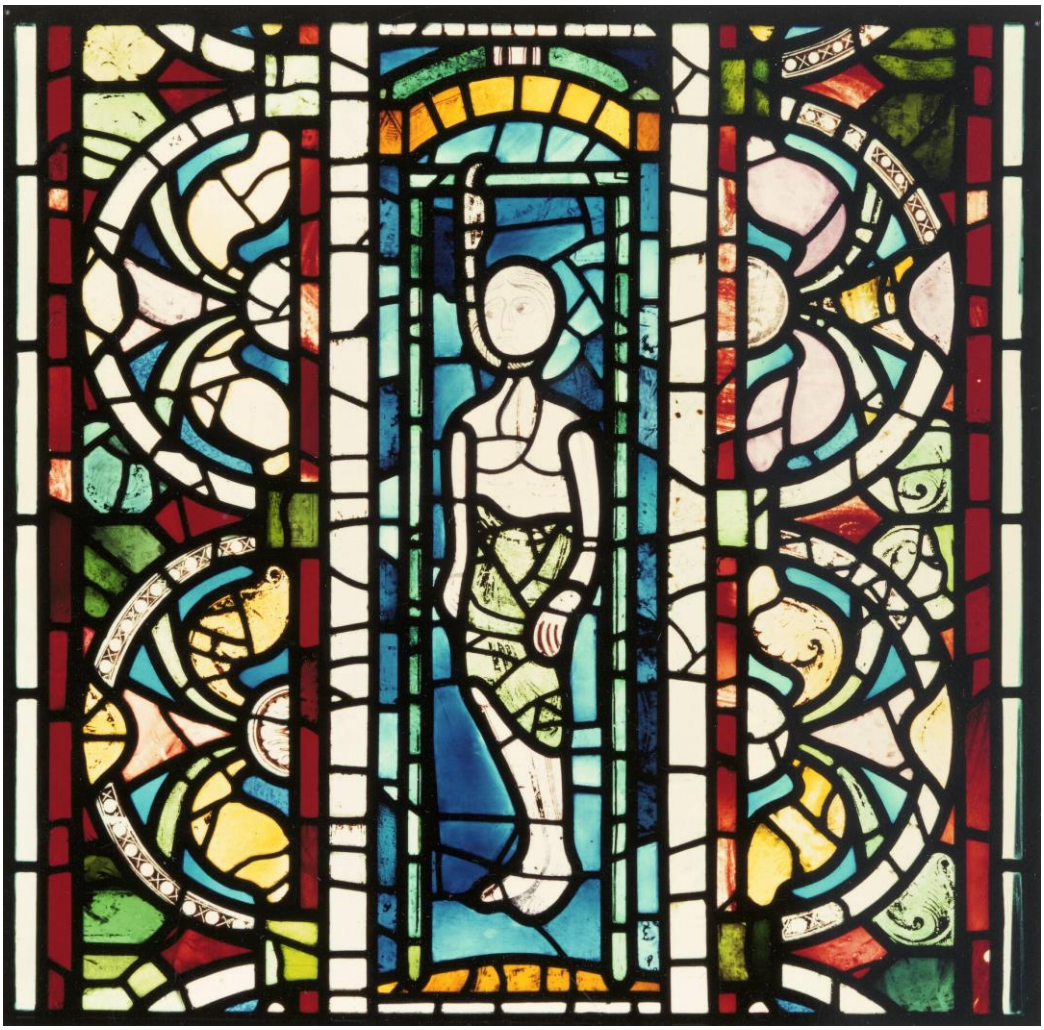

Figure 6: North nave clerestory (N25, panel 4e). The central figure panel and parts of the borders are dated to the 12th century and probably formed part of the scheme originally in Roger Pont L'Eveque's early Gothic quire. Some of the glass of this quire was relocated to the nave clerestory in the fourteenth century when the east end was remodelled.

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Figure 7: Fragment of fifteenth-century figurative glass excavated from the site of the Cistercian house of Furness Abbey, Cumbria.

This fragment is attributed to the York school and may be the work of Sir John Petty (d.1508). The panel is discussed in Issue 31 of *Vidimus* (http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-31/panel-of-the-month/).

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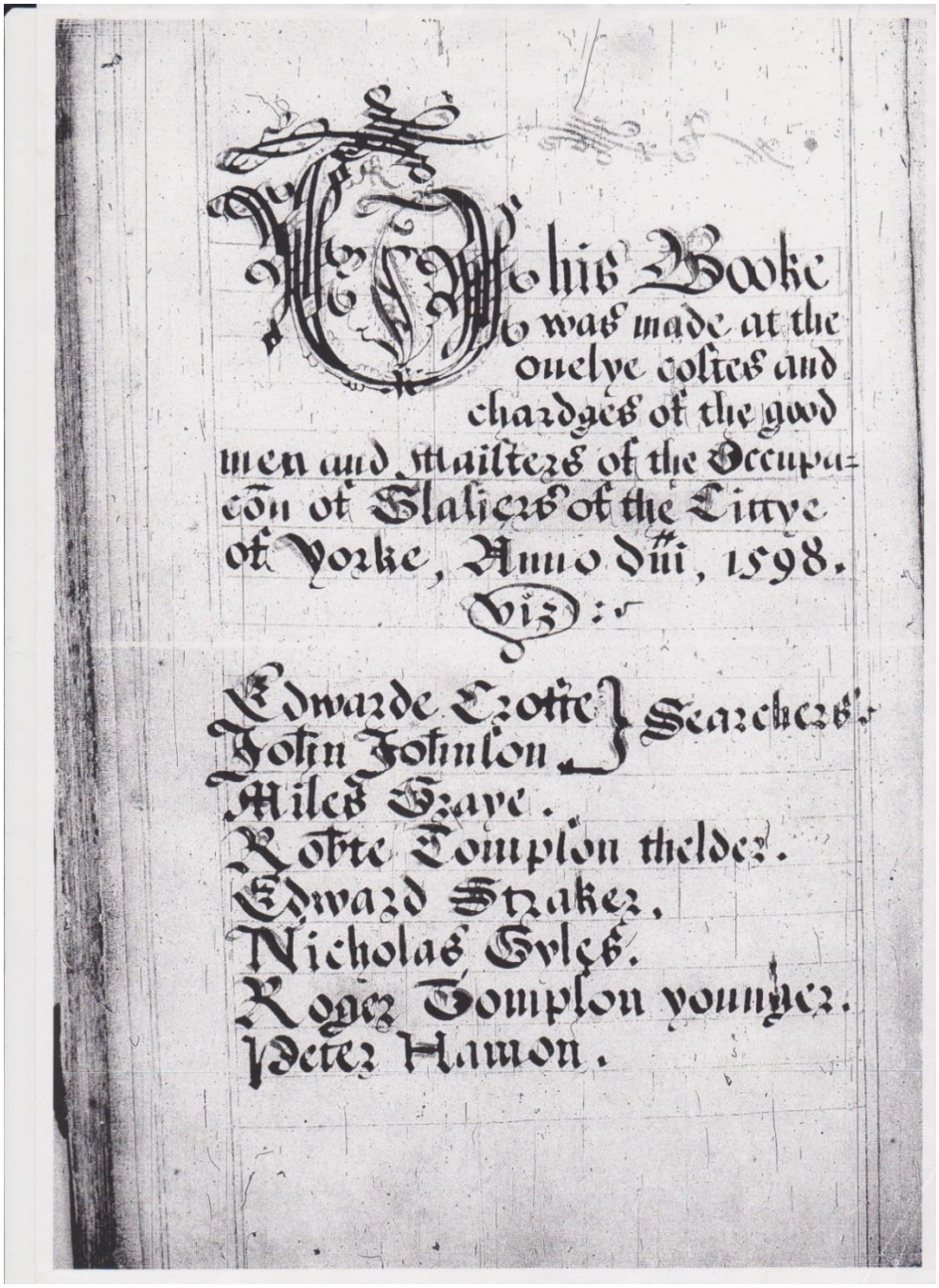

Figure 8: The first page of the register of the Guild of Glaziers, 1598-1742.

The earliest record of a glaziers' guild in York is 1464, but this is the earliest extant register. Now housed in the Rakow Library in the Corning Museum of Glass, New York, the manuscript suffered serious damage from flooding and is now most legible through a microfilm made before the event.

Borthwick Microfilm MFE246

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Figure 9a: The ruins of the north nave aisle of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary in York, now Museum Gardens. The abbey was dissolved in November 1539 and the buildings seized by the crown. The glass was removed from the windows and the lead, with that of the roofs, melted down.

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Figure 9b: Fragments of glass, such as this angel image, survive and are housed in the Yorkshire Museum, which incorporates part of the ruins of the abbey buildings.

© York Museums Trust .

Figure 10: The interior of the lantern of the central tower, glazed by the Petty family in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries.

The combination of clear glazing with a band of armorials was probably dictated in part by the practicality of having to admit as much light as possible into the area immediately eastwards of the tomb shrine of St. William.

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Figure 11: Cross keys emblem from the glazing of the lantern of the central tower (LTN1-4, LTS1-4).

Painted by the Petty family c.1471, the same device is repeated against varied coloured backgrounds.

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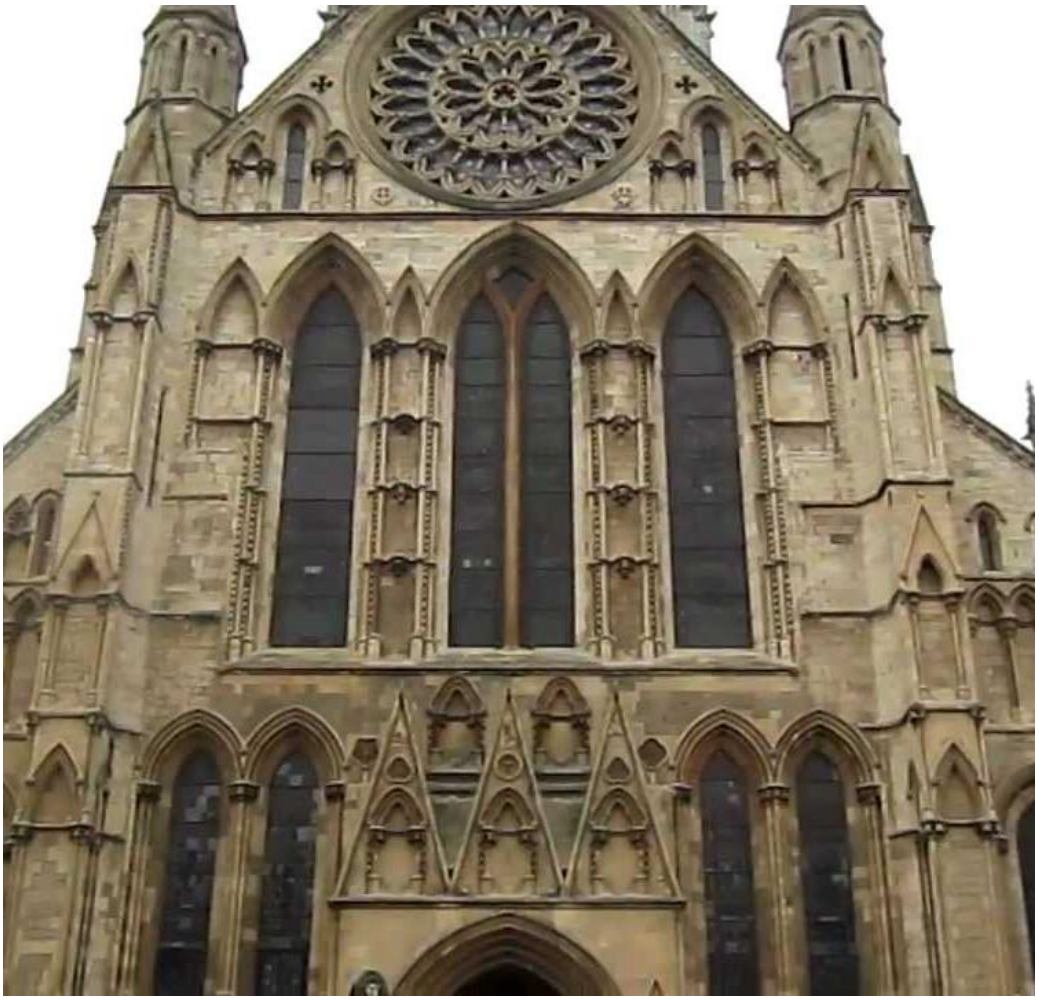

Figure 12: The central section of the southern façade.

The windows of the thirteenth-century south front of the Minster were re-glazed by the Petty workshop in the early sixteenth century. This included the insertion of a panel depicting John Petty, glazier and Mayor.

The iconographic content of the glass and its arrangement was an opportunity to send a message about the relationship between church and civic authority, reinforcing both the Minster's ecclesiastical authority and its status as a separate administrative entity, the Liberty of St. Peter.

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Figures 13: Two tracery panels from s9, repaired by William Peckitt in 1794.

Peckitt's insertion of the date and repairs with clear glass are set against his preservation of the fragments of original glass which could be recovered. It is not possible to tell if they are in their original positions, but the scattered nature of the arrangement suggests this may be the case.

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Figure 14: Panel of St George from the nave of St Michael le Belfry church, York, south aisle south window (St Michael le Belfry, sV, 3b and 4b). Sixteenth century.

The rendering of the figure of St George, probably by John Alman, shows a willingness to embrace new styles, techniques and ideas with a strongly Continental influence.

© Gordon Plumb.

Figure 15: Panel of Earl Leofric from the historical scheme at Brereton Hall, Cheshire. Sixteenth century.

The rendering of the figure shows new techniques and styles being embraced by northern glass-painters in this period.

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My thanks also to Dr Penny Hebgin Barnes, who commissioned the photo, for permission to use this image and for a discussion of it in relation to the glass of St Michael le Belfry.

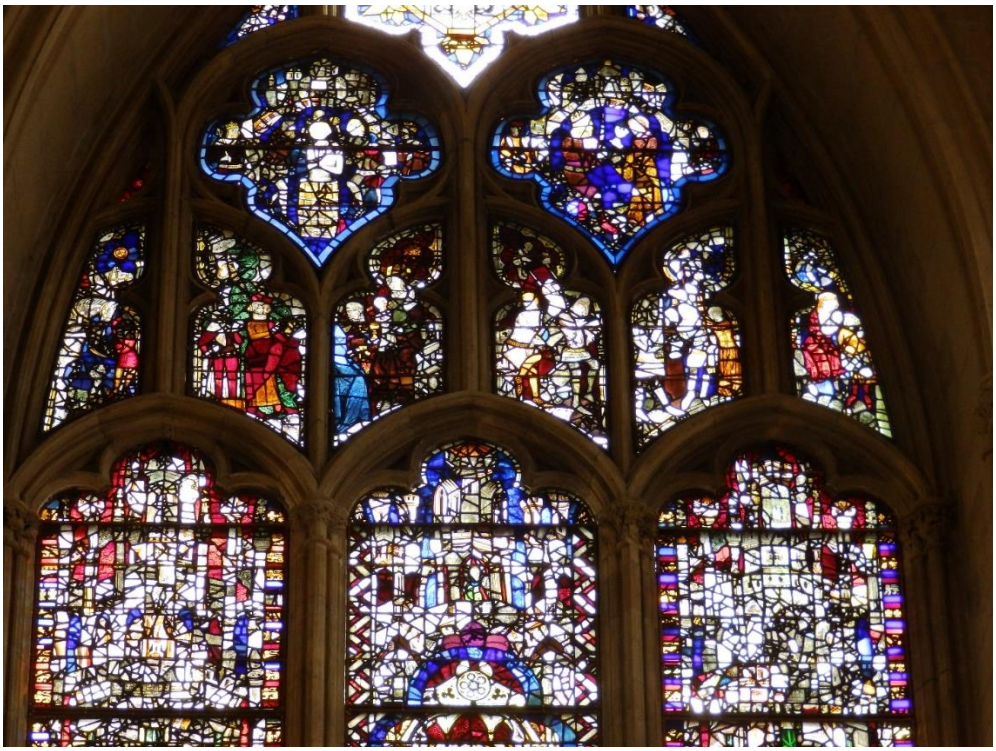

Figure 16: The east window of the south aisle (s2) including scenes from the life of St John the Divine. Late fourteenth century.

This window was repaired by Thompson in the late sixteenth century, but, given the extent of later repair, it has not been possible to date to identify any of his work.

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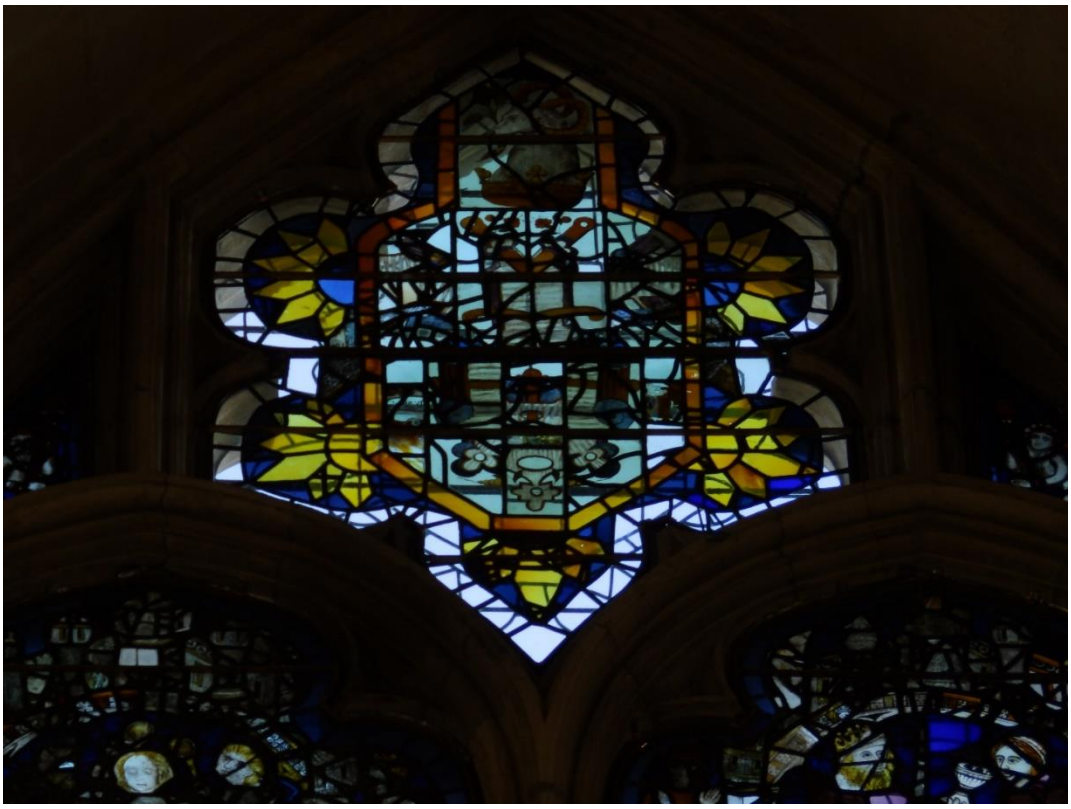

Figure 17: Tracery panel in the east window of the south aisle (s2). Seventeenth century.

The topmost tracery panel contains the (now fragmentary) arms of Holloway, attributed to Henry Gyles.

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Figure 18: Panels depicting scenes from the life of St Thomas Becket, St Michael le Belfry church, York. Sixteenth century.

These four panels are the only ones to remain in the church, although they have been reset, probably in 1586 when the Minster glaziers undertook to refurbish the windows. The choice of panels of this otherwise prohibited glass to remain in the church were probably those whose iconography (baptism, marriage and so on) could be recast as being suitable for a parish and whose original identity as Becket glass could escape detection. Other panels were removed and used for repairs in the Minster.

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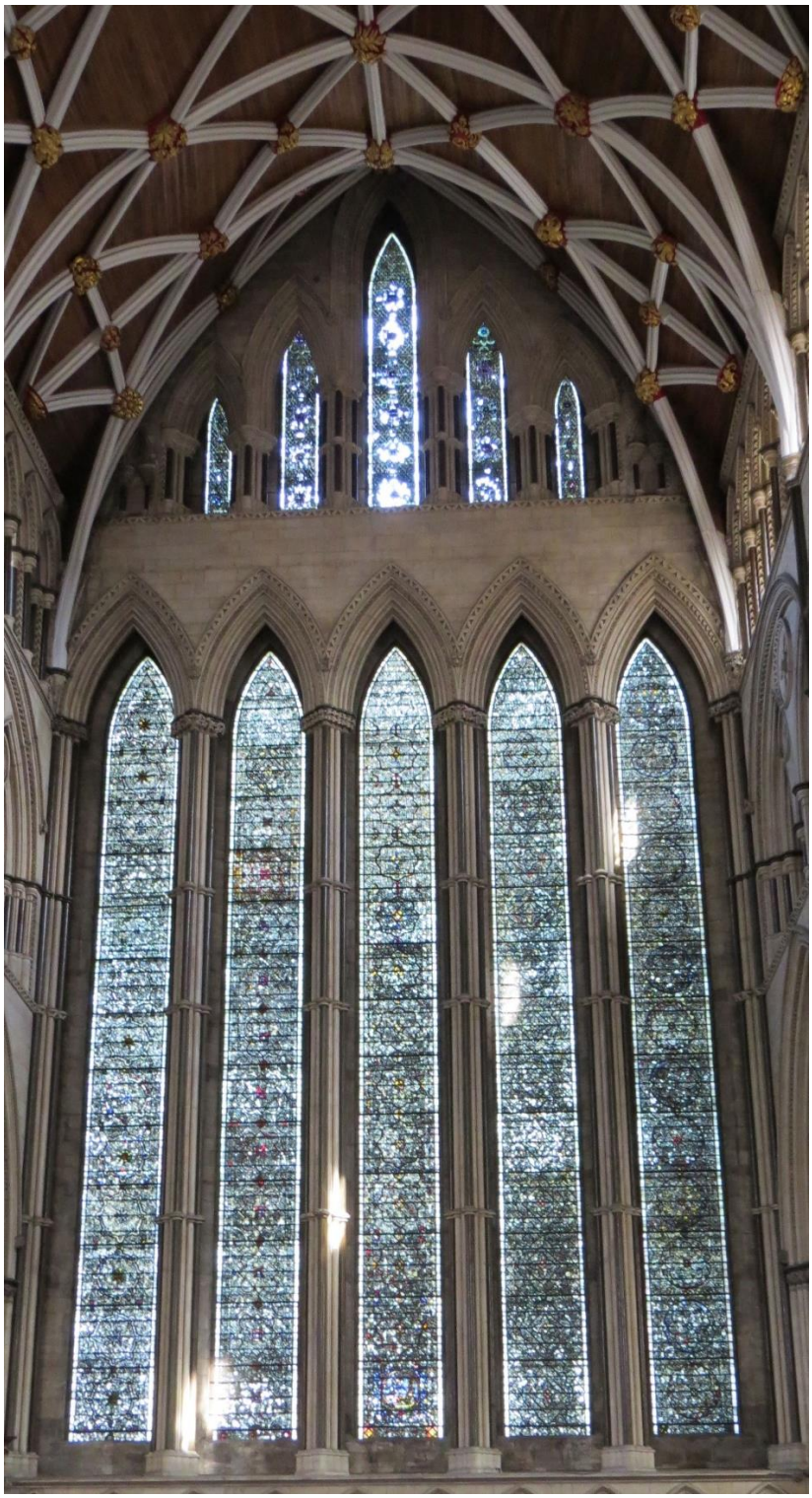

Figure 19: The Five Sisters window (n16), c.1250.

The glass of these '*long slittes'* was the focus of 11 days glazing work in May 1611.

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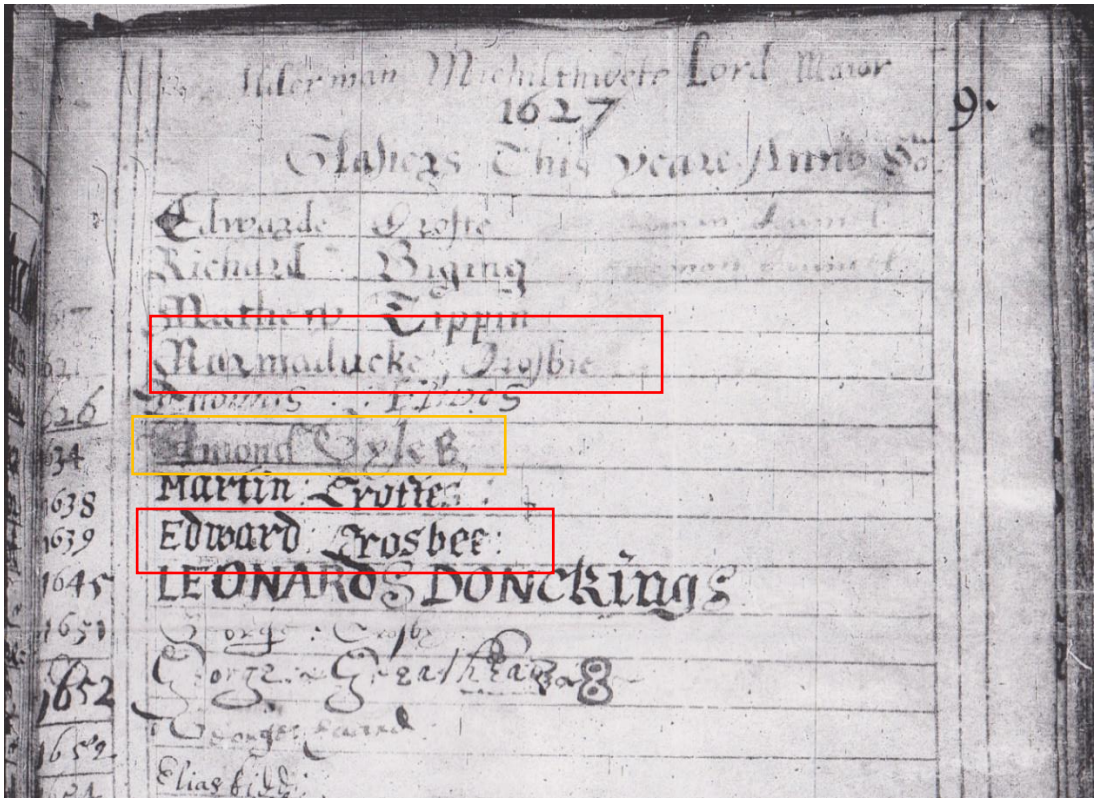

Figure 20: The signature page for 1627 of the register of the Guild of Glaziers, (1598-1742).

Marmaduke Crosby's name is fourth from the top, followed four entries later by his son, Edward (outlined red). In between is the name Edmond Gyles (outlined gold), employed on the Minster glass by the city during the Commonwealth period. The style of script and formation of the letters by both Marmaduke and Edward Crosby may be compared with the inscriptions painted at Temple Newsam (see Figure 36).

Borthwick Microfilm MFE246 of original in the Rakow Library, Corning Museum of Glass, New York

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Figure 21: The Ingram arms in the north nave aisle (n28).

The date ‘1623’ ties these to the period when Marmaduke Crosby was working in this area of the Minster and possibly on Ingram’s York mansion, so these arms may be his work.

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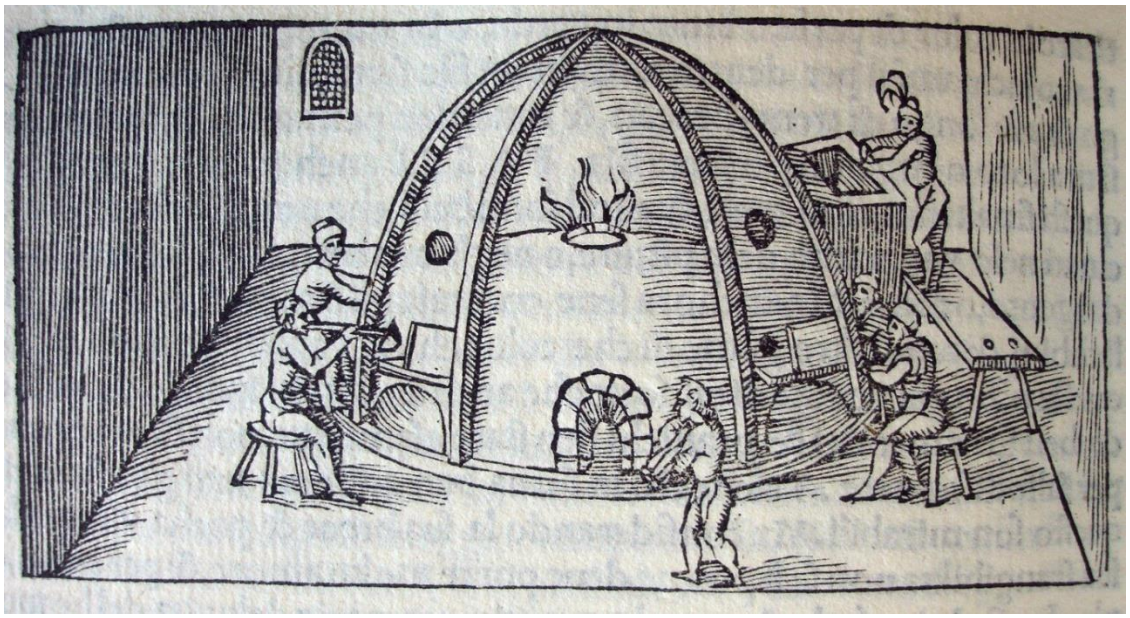

Figure 22: Woodcut of a glass furnace from Vannoccio Biringuccio '*De la pirotechnica*' published in Venice by Venturino Roffinello, 1540.

© The Corning Museum of Glass, 2002 http://www.CMoG.org.

Figure 23: The date '1768' in the tracery of CHn4 inserted by Peckitt during his restoration of this window depicting the life of St Katherine.

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Figure 24: Henry Johnson's sketch c.1669 of the memorial glass to Mayor John Petty, formerly in s23. The sketch is annotated with the relevant colours denoted with heraldic tincture abbreviations. The text of the accompany inscription is also preserved, as is a rough sketch of the glaziers' arms installed by Henry Gyles in 1662.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Top C14 f.94r.

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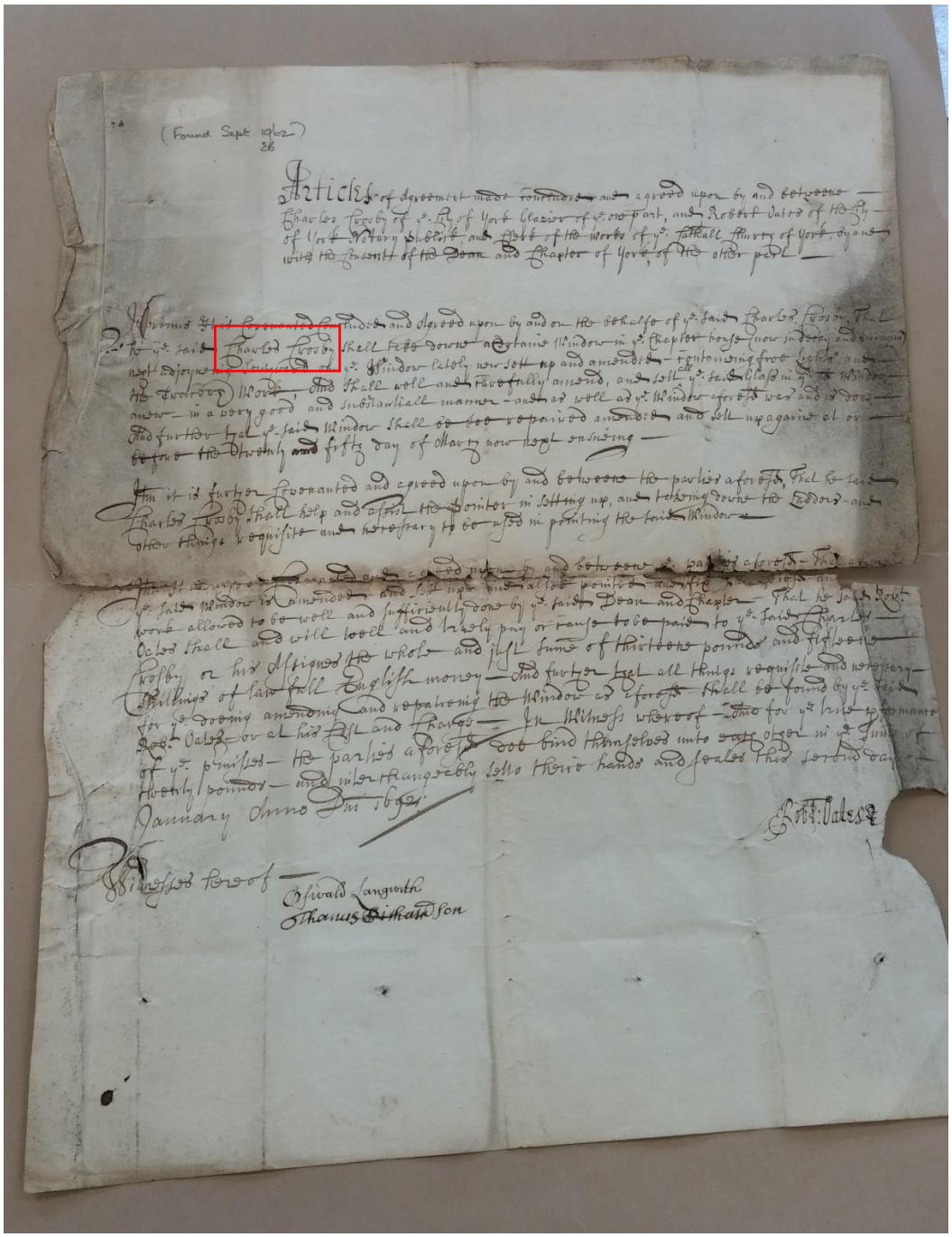

Figure 25: Agreement between the Dean and Chapter and Charles Crosby, 1692.

This is a rare survival of what must have been common documents, detailing the work to be undertaken which was beyond the routine maintenance covered by the annual fee and piece work payments. This agreement pertains to the work to be done to the Chapter House windows, identifying the window in question by reference to an earlier (lost agreement) for work on the east window.

York Minster Archives B3/1/1.

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Figure 26: Window at the west end, immediately above the west doors (w2). Fifteenth century.

This may be the '*Litle window at the West end*' referred to in Crosby's bill, although the glass appears to be predominantly fifteenth-century with some repairs by Peckitt.

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Figure 27: Edward the Confessor, from Chapter House vestibule window (CHn9, panel 2a). Thirteenth century.

This smaller, two-light window at the south west end of the vestibule is another possible candidate for the '*Litle window'* worked on by Crosby. The figure has been heavily repaired with some inserted glass.

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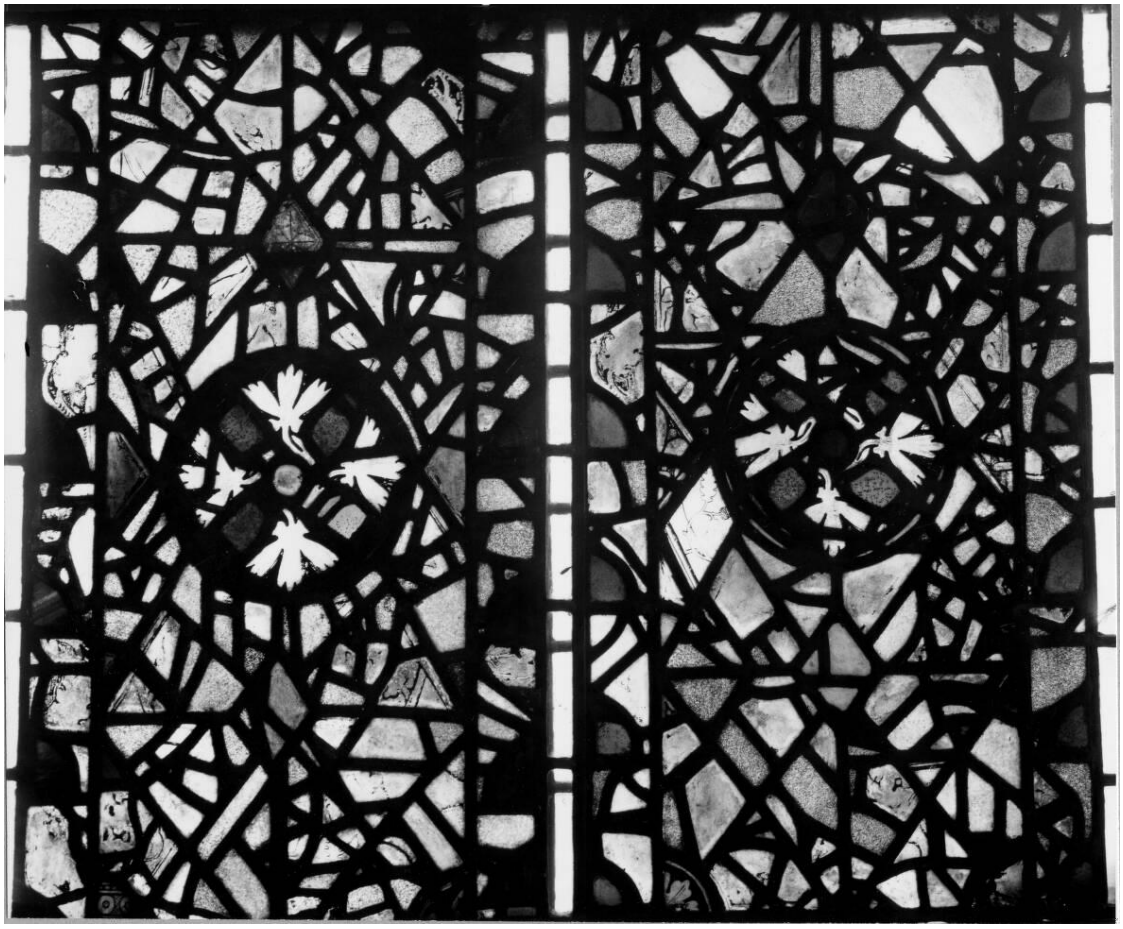

Figure 28: Detail from the smaller window in the Chapter House vestibule (CHn9, panels 4a, 4b). Photo c.1958.

These panels show evidence of extensive repair and the insertion of alien painted fragments, although the overall pattern of the leadwork, circles intersecting two diamond lozenges, has been respected.

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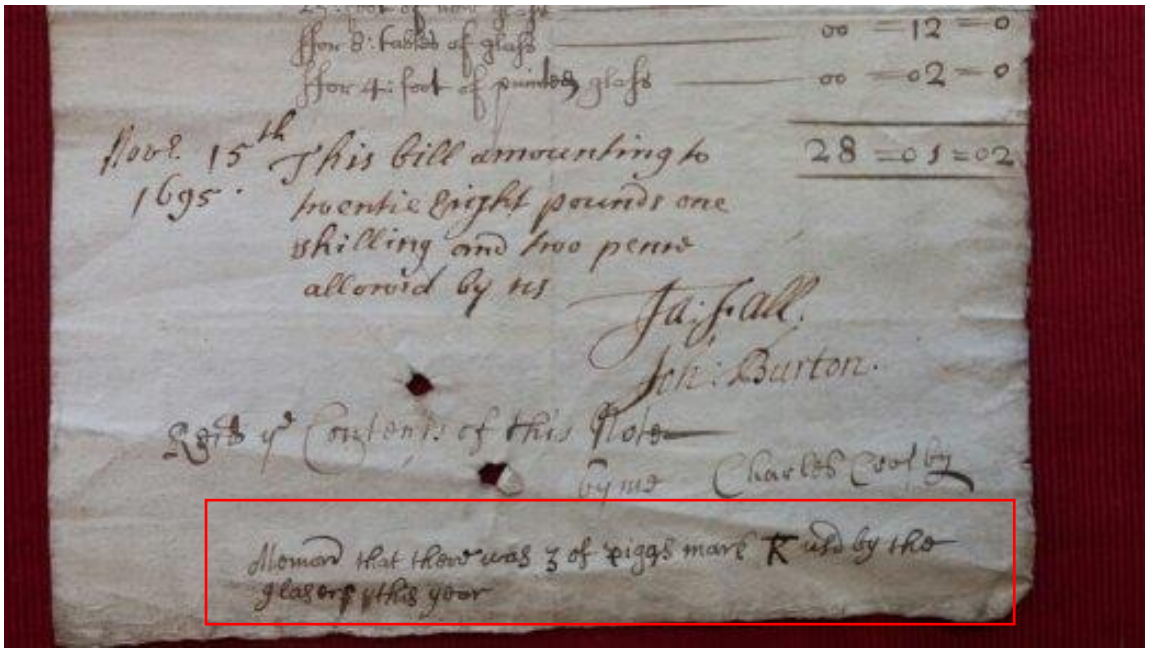

Figure 29: Reference to marked lead in the bill presented by Charles Crosby, 1693.

York Minster Archives B3/1/2.

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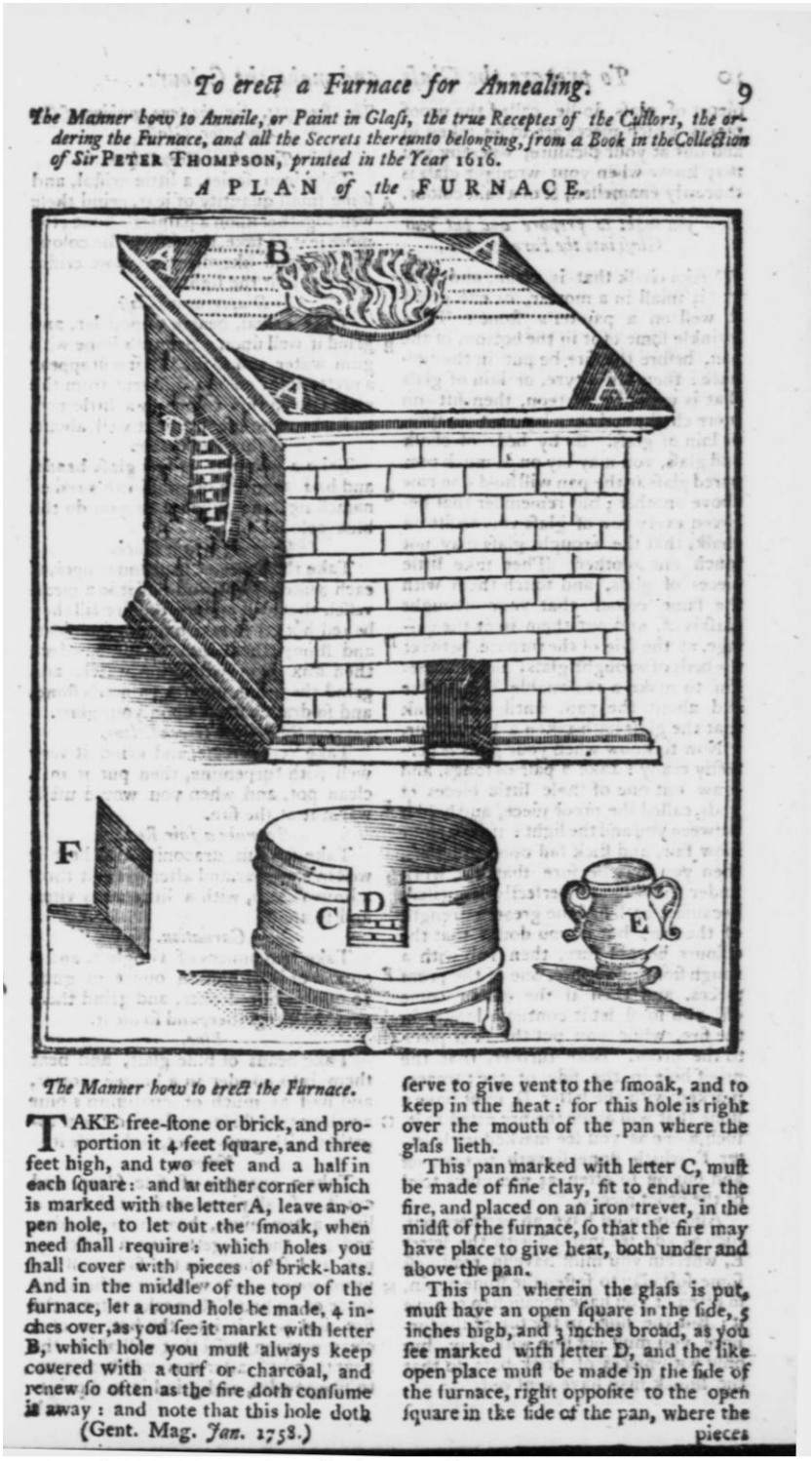

To erect a Furnace for Annealing. 9

The Manner how to Anneile, or Paint in Glaſs, the true Receptes of the Cullors, the ordering the Furnace, and all the Secrets thereunto belonging, from a Book in the Collection of Sir PETER THOMPSON, *printed in the Year* 1616.

A PLAN of the FURNACE.

The Manner how to erect the Furnace.

TAKE free-ſtone or brick, and proportion it 4 feet ſquare, and three feet high, and two feet and a half in each ſquare: and at either corner which is marked with the letter A, leave an open hole, to let out the ſmoak, when need ſhall require: which holes you ſhall cover with pieces of brick-bats. And in the middle of the top of the furnace, let a round hole be made, 4 inches over, as you ſee it markt with letter B, which hole you muſt always keep covered with a turf or charcoal, and renew ſo often as the fire doth conſume it away: and note that this hole doth ſerve to give vent to the ſmoak, and to keep in the heat: for this hole is right over the mouth of the pan where the glaſs lieth.

This pan marked with letter C, muſt be made of fine clay, fit to endure the fire, and placed on an iron trevet, in the midſt of the furnace, ſo that the fire may have place to give heat, both under and above the pan.

This pan wherein the glaſs is put, muſt have an open ſquare in the ſide, 5 inches high, and 3 inches broad, as you ſee marked with letter D, and the like open place muſt be made in the ſide of the furnace, right oppoſite to the open ſquare in the ſide of the pan, where the pieces

(Gent. Mag. *Jan.* 1758.)

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Figure 30: *The Manner how to Anneile, or Paint in Glass, the true Receptes of the Cullors, the or-...* The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle, Jan. 1736-Dec. 1833; Jan 1758; 28, British Periodicals pg. 9.

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Figure 31: Tracery of the east window of St Michael le Belfry church.

The glass includes a painted date panel by Jeffrey Linton dated 1746. This presumably records some repair work he undertook, but significantly it is a painted panel created only some five years before Peckitt started his career, suggesting that glass-painting had not died out with the death of Henry Gyles in 1709.

© Gordon Plumb.

Figure 32: The re-glazing of the south front was undertaken by the Petty workshop in the early sixteenth century.

The surviving part of the scheme consists of the sainted northern bishops, William and Wilfrid, either side of the Minster's patronal saint, Peter, and St Paul. This upper row of windows, s20-s22, also now containing eighteenth-century restoration work and new glass by William Peckitt, notably the head of St William in s20 (far left) and borders throughout, but the principal figures and canopies are by the Pettys.

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Figure 33: St Thomas Becket depicted as Archbishop of Canterbury in the Parker window (n9, panel 5b) dated to c.1423. Canon Parker died in 1423, but the date of the installation of the glass is uncertain.

Portrayals of Becket of any kind and in any medium were explicitly prohibited by an edict of 1536 (27 Henry VIII), so the continued existence of several such images in the Minster's glass is a measure of the generally conservative stance of the Chapter.

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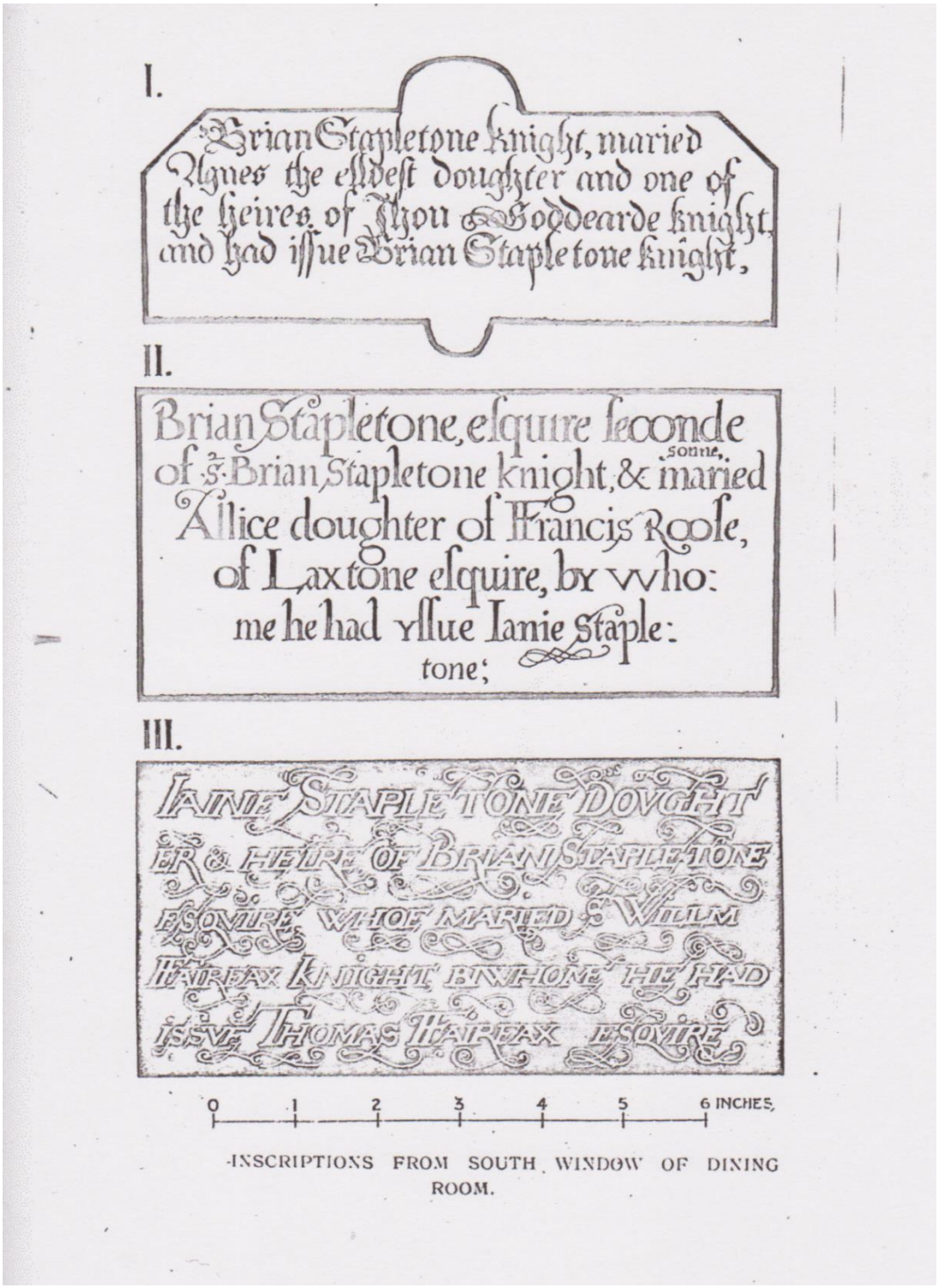
Figure 34: Glass sundial by Bernard Dininckhof in Gilling Castle, 1585.

This exceptionally finely painted glass is signed by Dininckhof and it has long been assumed that the small figure above the inscription is a self-portrait, but it is not. The fourteenth-century manor house was remodelled by Sir William Fairfax who inherited the castle in 1571, building a great chamber in which this glass is situated.

© Photo C StJ H D Christopher Daniel, reproduced with kind permission.

Figure 35: Armorial of Ingram and Slingsby painted in York 1635-37 in the windows of Temple Newsam. The painting, especially the lettering, is not in the style of Dininckhof, suggesting that it may be the work of Marmaduke or Edward Crosby.

© Brian Sprakes.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM SOUTH WINDOW OF DINING ROOM.

Figure 36: Inscriptions in the glass of the dining room at Temple Newsam. Inscription III is the work of Bernard Dininckhoff and is in his distinctive cursive script. The painter of I and II is unidentified, but may be Marmaduke Crosby and his workshop. The script may be compared to the inscription in Figure 35 and Crosby's entry in the guild register of the glaziers in Figure 20.

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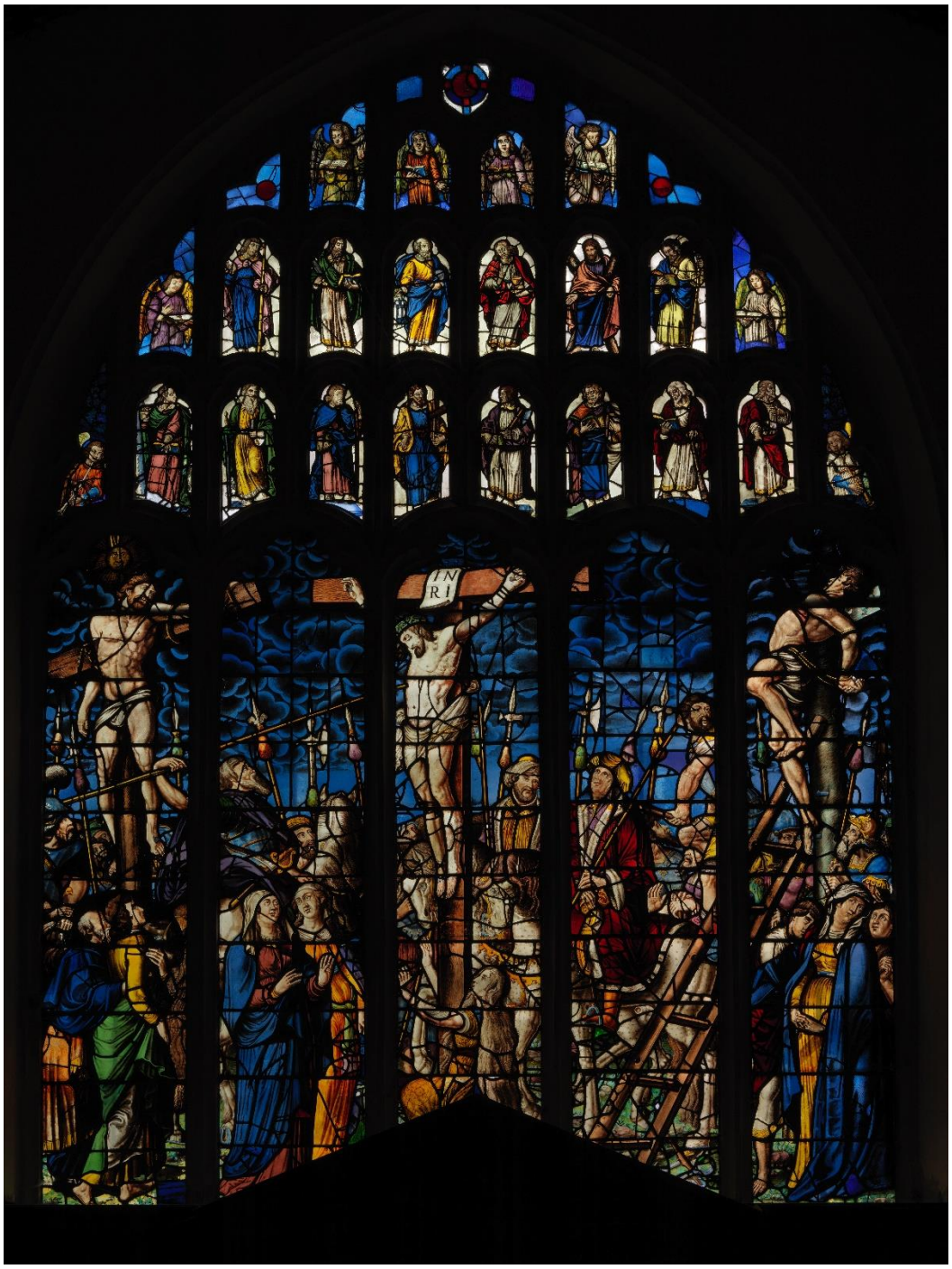

Figure 37: The east window at Peterhouse College Cambridge. The centrality of crucifixion scene in this five-light window, and the piercing of Christ's side with the spear, make an implicit connection with the Eucharist which would have been celebrated directly below it on the altar. Bernard van Linge, 1620s.

© York Glaziers' Trust.

Figure 38: Detail of Longinus' spear piercing Christ's side: although no blood or water is shown streaming from the wound, this imagery (and the drops of blood on Christs' nailed feet) made a clear associated with the Eucharist performed below the window.

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Figure 39: East window of the chapel of Wadham College, Oxford. Seventeenth century.

This stained glass by Bernard van Linge depicting the Passion shows the skill in glass-painting extant in the later seventeenth-century. Unlike the Peterhouse glass, stylistically van Linge's imagery confines each scene within the architecture of the main lights. In the tracery, however, the scenes break the bounds of the stonework. The inclusion of Old Testament antetypes in the tracery (the staff of Moses with the brazen serpent above the cross of Christ, for example), made this glass somewhat more doctrinally acceptable than the Peterhouse glass, although it was still controversial.

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Figure 40: Two scenes, The creation of Eve and the Nativity, in the east window of Lincoln College Chapel, Oxford. Bernard van Linge, 1621.

The addition of text naming the scene and giving its Biblical authority, make the didactic nature of the imagery clear.

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Figure 41: The arms of Archbishop Williams, as Bishop of Lincoln, south quire aisle (s6, panel 1c).

These arms (with later inscription) are dated to 1626, predating Williams' elevation to archbishop. They have been attributed to the glass-painter, Bernard Dininckhof, but they may be the work of the Crosby family.

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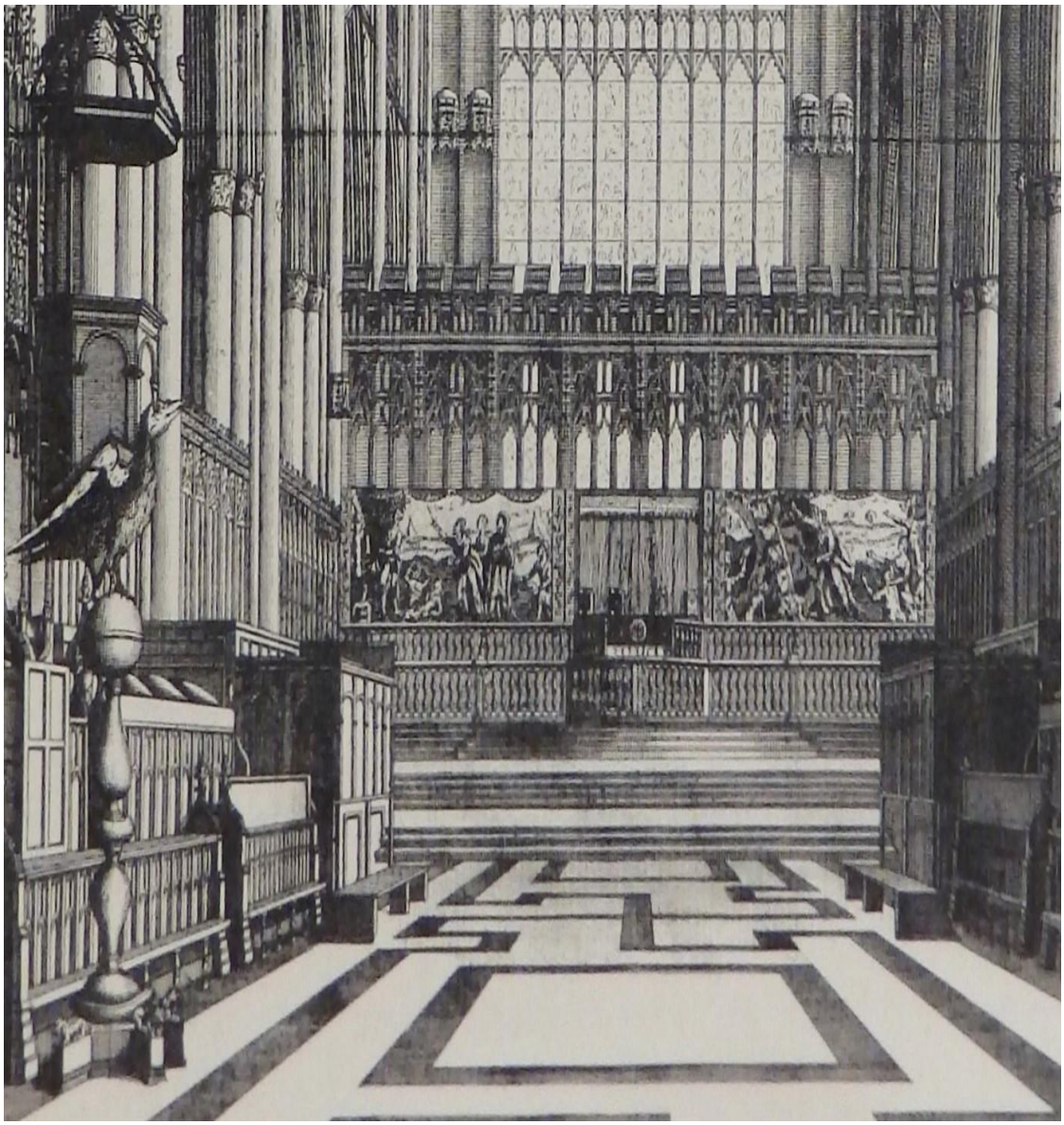

Figure 42: Close up of the sanctuary arrangement with the Lamplugh tapestries and altar rails depicted in a plate in facing p.522, in Drake's *Eboracum*, 1736.

Dean Finch instigated a programme of Classicising the Minster, cut short by his death in 1728. His successor, Dean Osbaldston did not continue his reform of the sanctuary area, so the tapestries and rails of Archbishop Lamplugh (1688-1691) remained in place.

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Figure 43: Glass painted for Denton-in-Wharfedale church by Henry Gyles.

The central figure is King David playing a harp, with God represented as the tetragrammaton in the golden sky-burst above.

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Figure 44: Painted glass sundial by Henry Gyles, installed in Tong Hall, Bradford 1702 x 1709.

The Hall was rebuilt in 1702 and Gyles was dead by 1709, so this provides a relatively close date for this dial.

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Figure 45: Armorial of Archbishop Lamplugh (1688-1691) in the south quire aisle (s6), c.1696.

This glass was painted by Henry Gyles, possibly as a memorial paid for by the Dean and Chapter ahead of the erection of the Grinling Gibbons memorial erected by Lamplugh's son.

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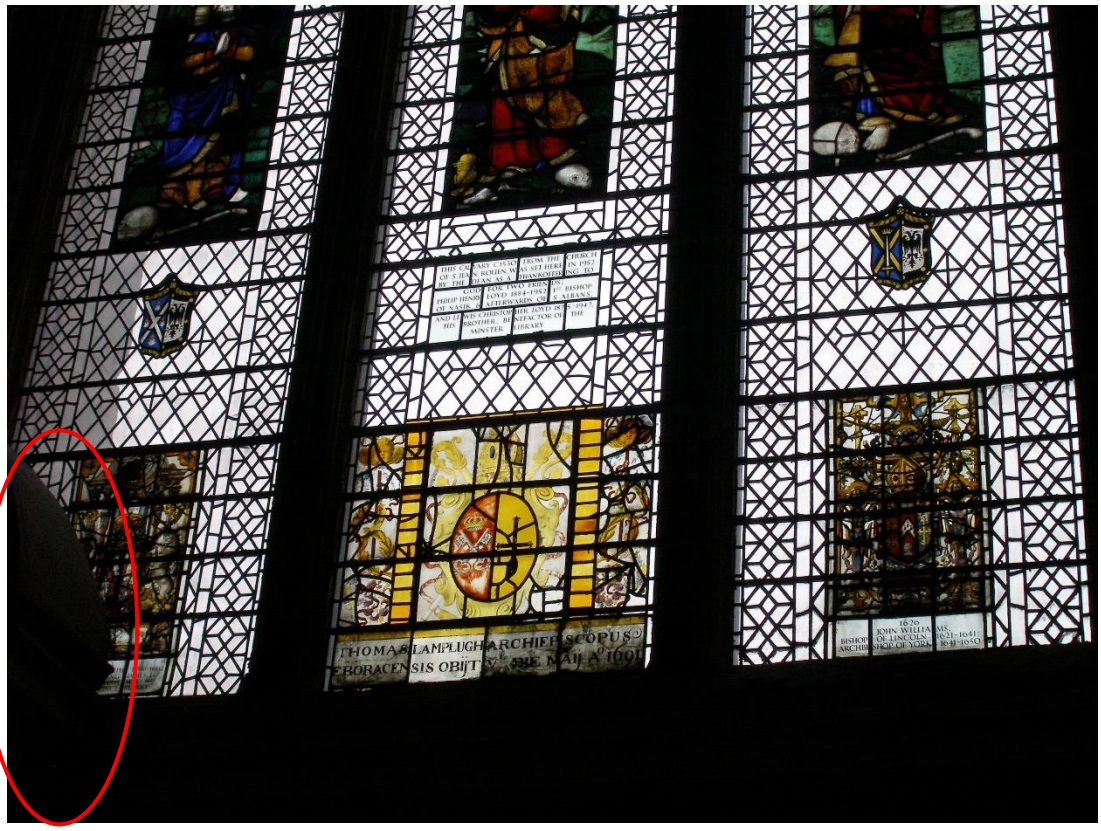

Figure 46: The armorial glass of Archbishop Lamplugh (1686-1691) in the context of the rest of the window (s6).

The curving pediment of the Grinling Gibbons monument can just be glimpsed to the left (outlined in red).

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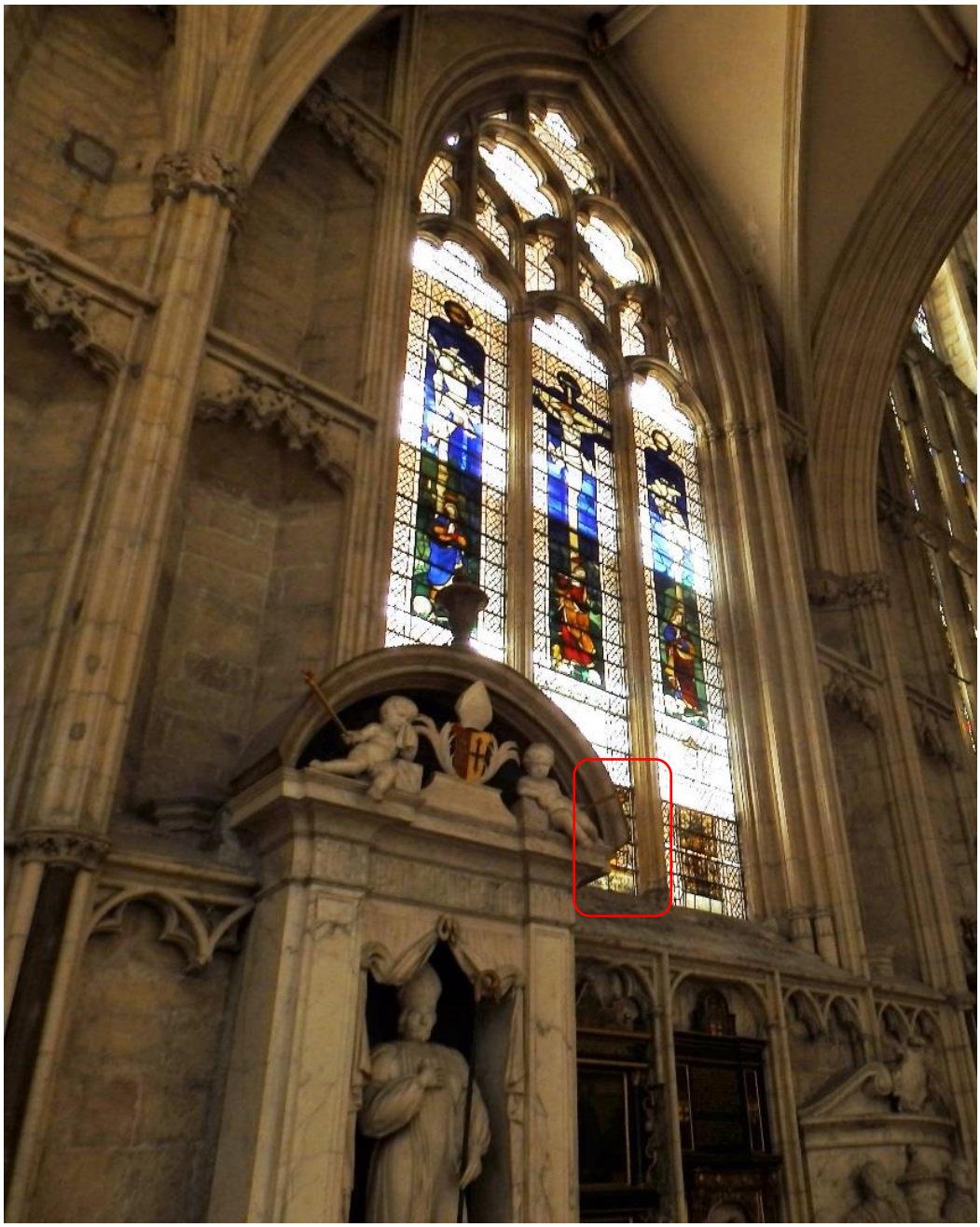

Figure 47: Monument to Archbishop Lamplugh by Grinling Gibbons, south quire aisle.

The monument sits awkwardly with the window, protruding above the sill and obscuring some of the glass, (highlighted), suggesting the glass and stone memorials were not conceived together.

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Figure 48: Bottom half of a figure of St Christopher now in the north nave aisle (window n29 panel 5b). Fifteenth century.

This figure was formerly part of a disparate assemblage of glass in s6, recorded by Torre and seen by Harrison in 1927. Harrison's assertion this figure had originally come from a York church suggests a post-Reformation insertion into the Minster. It was relocated to n29 by Dean Milner-White when he installed sixteenth-century French glass from St Mary's Rickmansworth into s6 in 1952.

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Figure 49: Monochrome portrait of Archbishop Lamplugh by an unknown artist. Currently hanging in York Minster Library Reading room. This may be compared with the portrait painted on glass by Peckitt Figure 50.

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Figure 50: Oval Panel. Three-quarter length portrait of Edward Willes, Bishop of Bath and Wells, from an engraving by J. Faber, after Thomas Hudson. Signed: W. Peckitt, pinx. 1786 (V&A Ref: C140-1929).

This may be compared to Figure 49, a panel by an unknown artist. The style of presentation is very different, but this may reflect the original rather than be indicative of different authorship.

© Victoria & Albert Museum.

Figure 51: Plate by J. Haynes in Drake's Eboracum, 1736, facing page 522.

The plate shows the quire as re-ordered by Dean Finch, but with the later Greek Key pavement designed by Lord Burlington and installed in 1730, after Finch's death.

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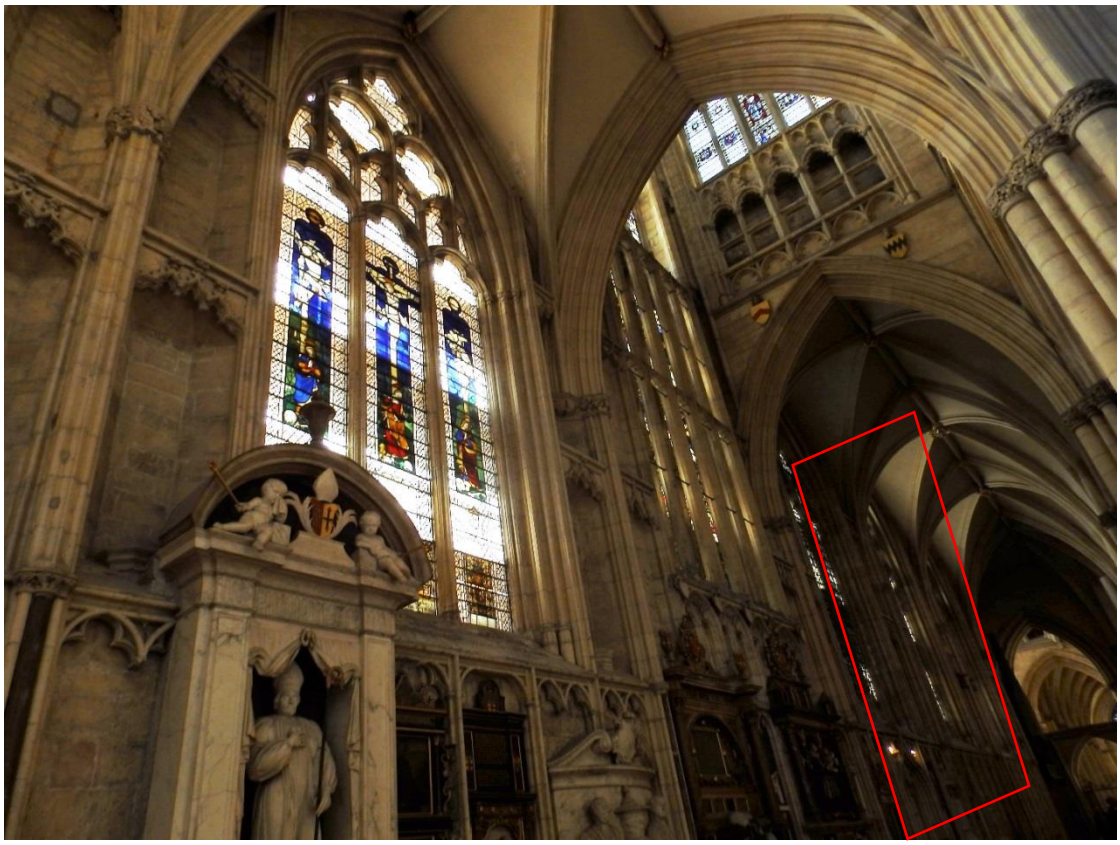

Figure 52: The south quire aisle looking west.

The relative darkness of the area immediately around window s8 (highlighted) may have influenced Dean Finch's desire to insert clear glass into it.

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Figure 53: One of the fifteenth-century panels from the Te Deum window, formerly in St Martin Coney Street church, now s27.

The majority of the panels from this window, traded with the Minster in return for stone for the porch in 1722/3, were installed in s27 and s28 in 1724. This panel depicts God as architect of the universe with architect's dividers, a controversial iconography.

These windows were more prominent in the south transept than they appear today, the construction of St George's chapel making them appear more discreet.

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Figure 54: Panel from the fifteenth-century Te Deum window, formerly in St Martin Coney Street church.

This panel is now in the south quire aisle of York Minster (window s10 panel 1a).

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Figure 55: Te Deum panel in St Michael Spurriergate (St Michael s3 panel 1c). Fifteenth century.

The Te Deum was not an uncommon subject in York glass, as this panel (still in situ) shows. The decision to acquire the St Martin Coney Street glass cannot, therefore, have been motivated by a desire to preserve a unique example of this imagery.

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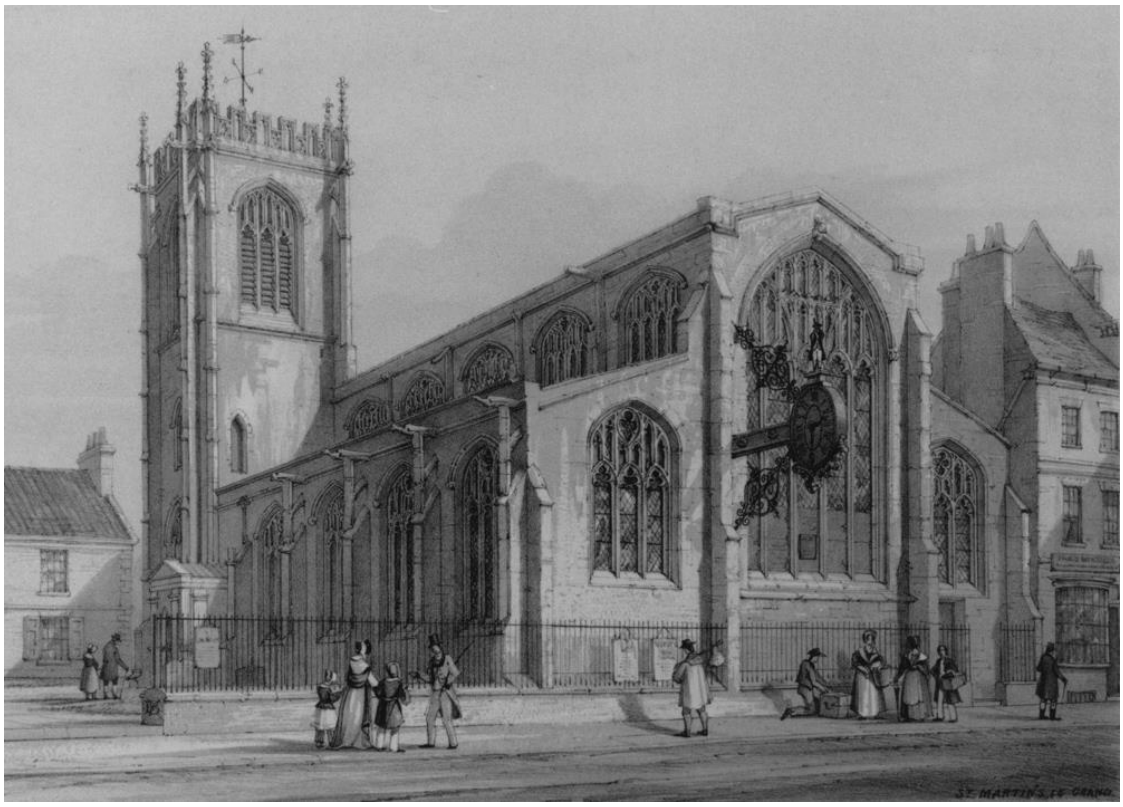

Figure 56: Print of St Martin's, Coney Street with its Classical porch.

Print by Francis Bedford, 1843.

The porch at St Martin's was built using stone from the Minster floor, accepted in part exchange for the Te Deum glass in 1722/3. The choice of a Classical style was in line with the 'improvements' being made to Coney Street and the surrounding area.

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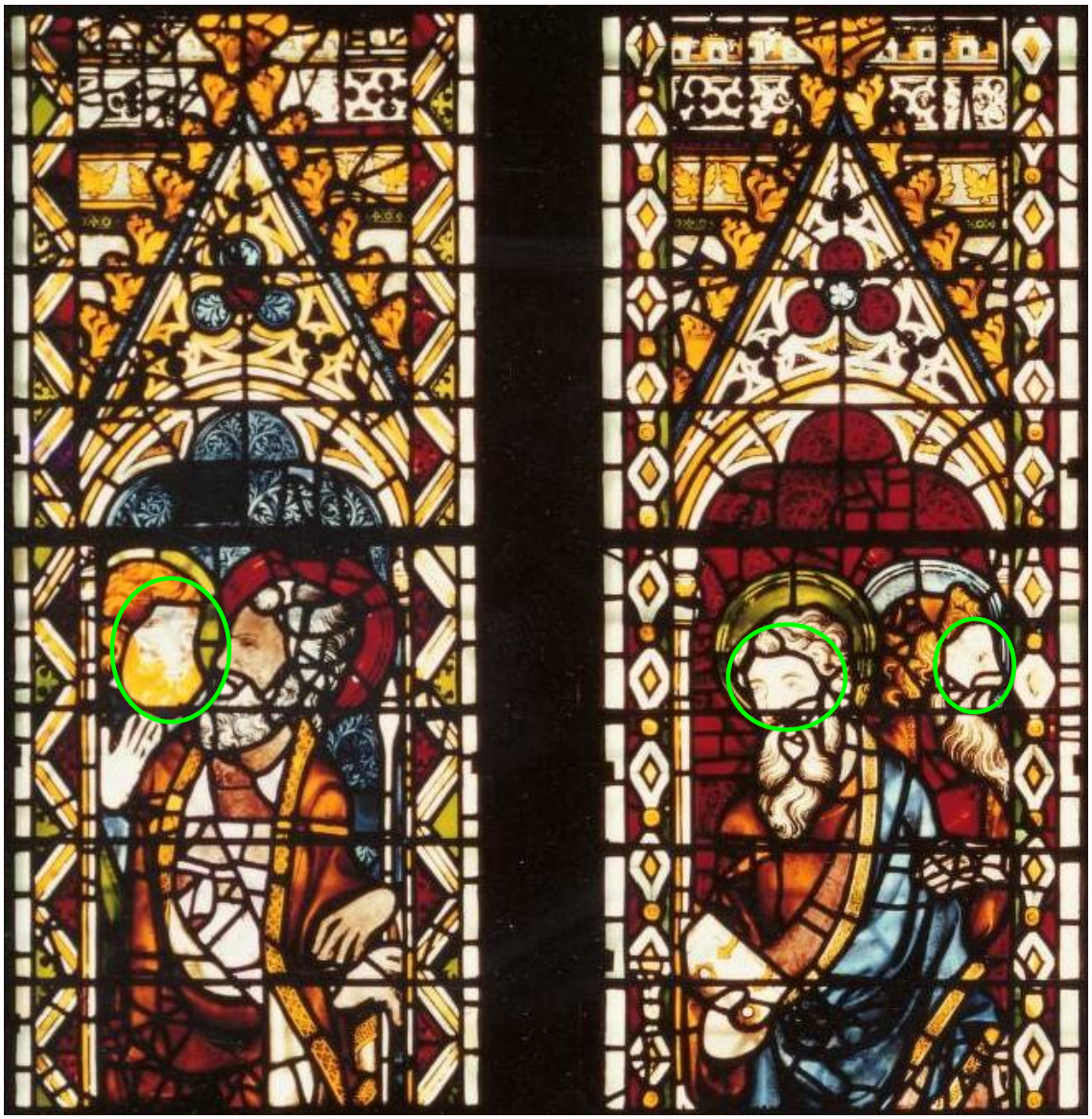

Figure 57: Detail of apostles Bartholomew (left) and Thomas (right) with partial replacement faces highlighted (w1, panels 5a and 6a).

William Peckitt undertook restoration work on the figures of the Great West window in 1757/8, his first such commission for Dean Fountayne. Highlighted here are the areas which he replaced, sensitively retaining as much as possible of the medieval glass. Although his replacements were not entirely successful either technically or artistically, his techniques ensured minimal loss of original glass.

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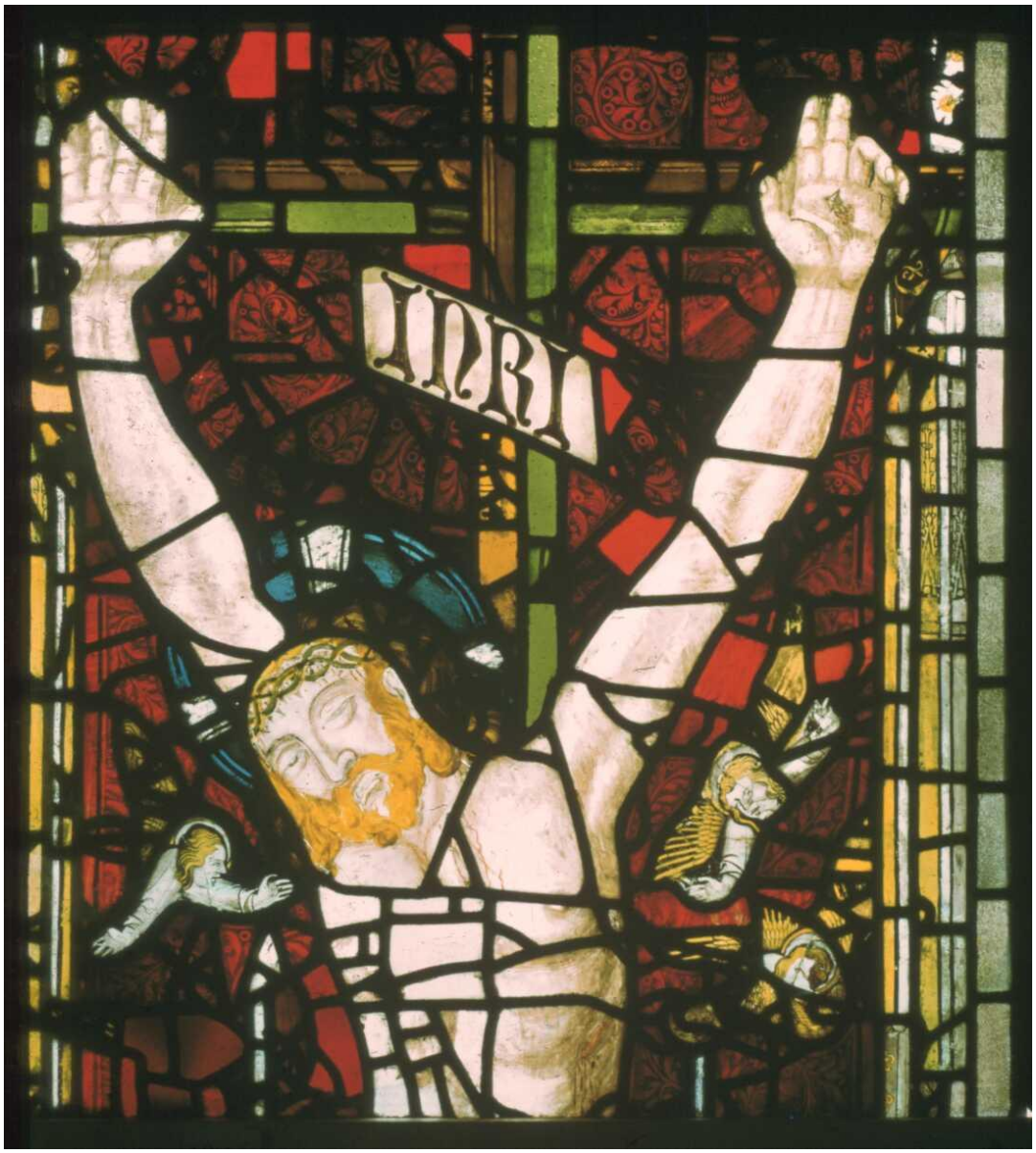

Figure 58: Detail of south nave aisle window (s36, panel 4b).
Fourteenth century with eighteenth-century insertions.

This was one of the earliest pieces of restoration work to be undertaken on the Minster glass by William Peckitt. The odd proportions of the replacement head and arms and the somewhat clumsy execution of the hands suggest the work was created with little reference to the window whilst in progress and the leading was not Peckitt's work.

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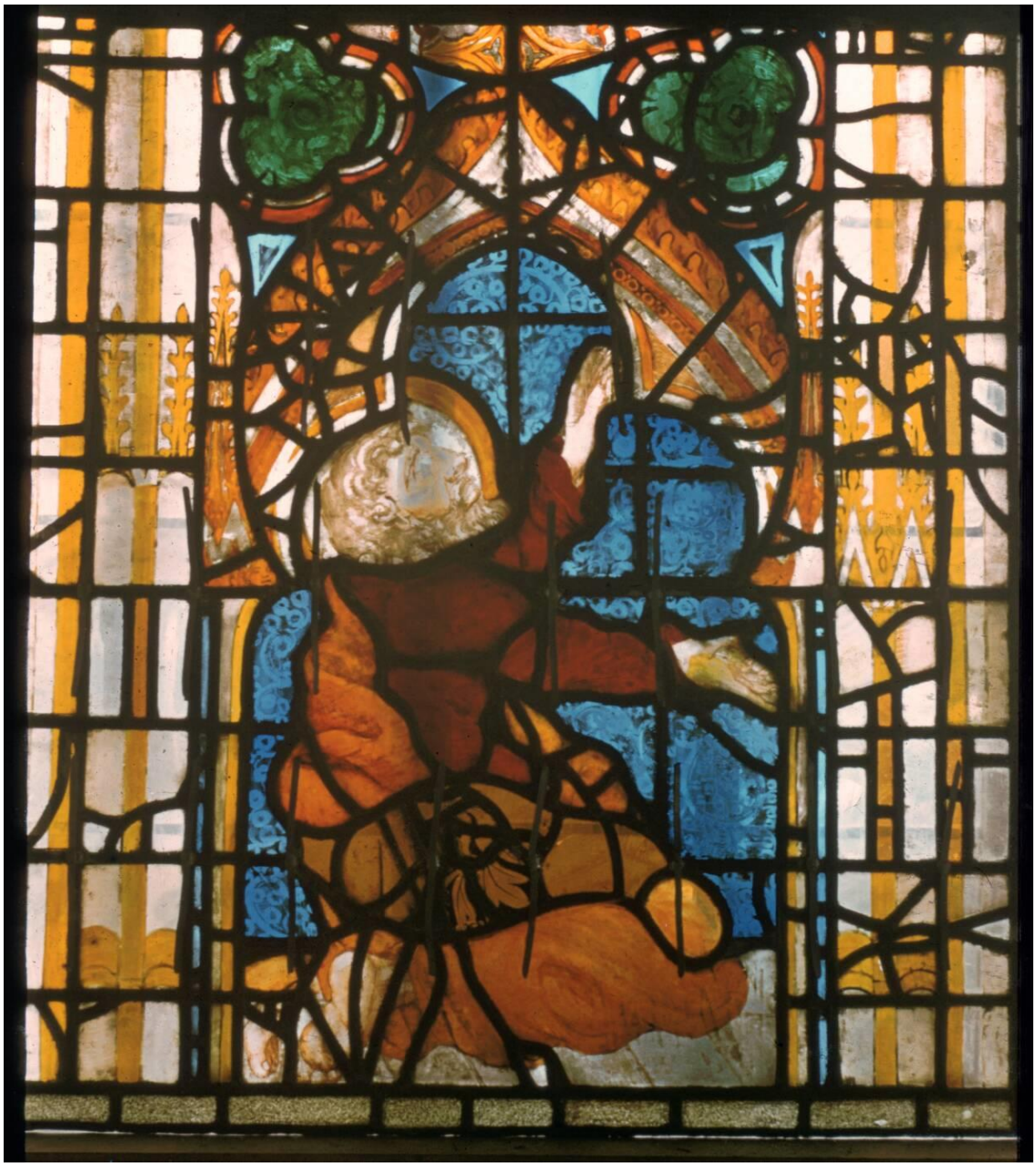

Figure 59: Panel depicting a donor figure, possibly Thomas de Bouesden, from the window in at the west end of the south nave aisle (s36, panel 1b). Fourteenth century.

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Figure 60: Figure of Manassah in the Jesse window in the south quire aisle (s8, panel 2a). Formerly in New College, Oxford, c.1384.

This partial Jesse window was accepted by William Peckitt in part payment for work at New College and inserted in s8 in 1765. Note the scraped ruby areas, possibly an attempt by Peckitt to remove corrosion.

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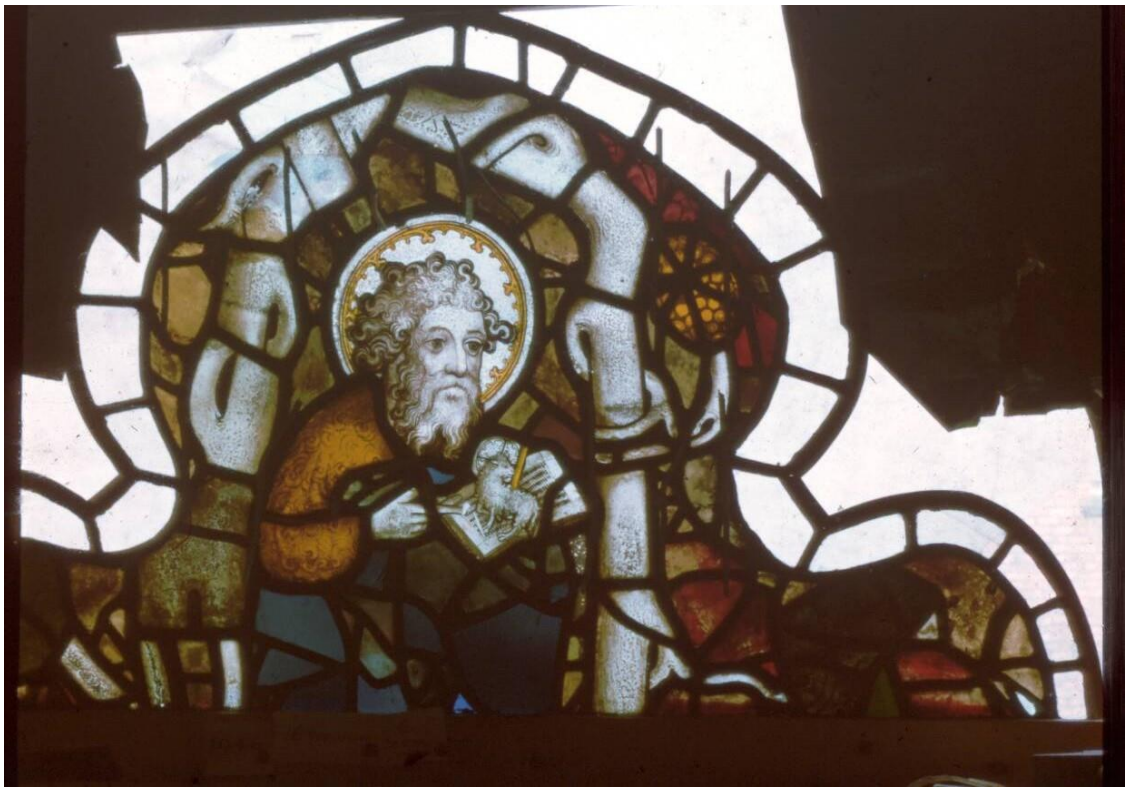

Figure 61: John the Baptist with Agnus Dei within the Jesse Tree, formerly in the chapel of New College, Oxford, now s8 tracery.

This can be contrasted stylistically with Figure 62, also in the tracery.

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Figure 62: Detail of fourteenth-century painted figures including a bishop within an architectural frame, formerly in the chapel of New College, Oxford, now in in the tracery (s8, panel A3).

This fragment, re-used here in s8 is not from the Jesse window and may be compared with Figure 61.

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Figure 63: Stained and painted glass of the Virgin and Child in High Melton church, formerly in New College, Oxford, c.1384.

This panel was installed in High Melton church for Dean Fountayne by William Peckitt. Stylistically it may be contrasted with group in Figure 62 and the Jesse panels in figures 60 and 61 indicating that Peckitt as installing glass obtained from a number of New College windows as part of two separate contracts.

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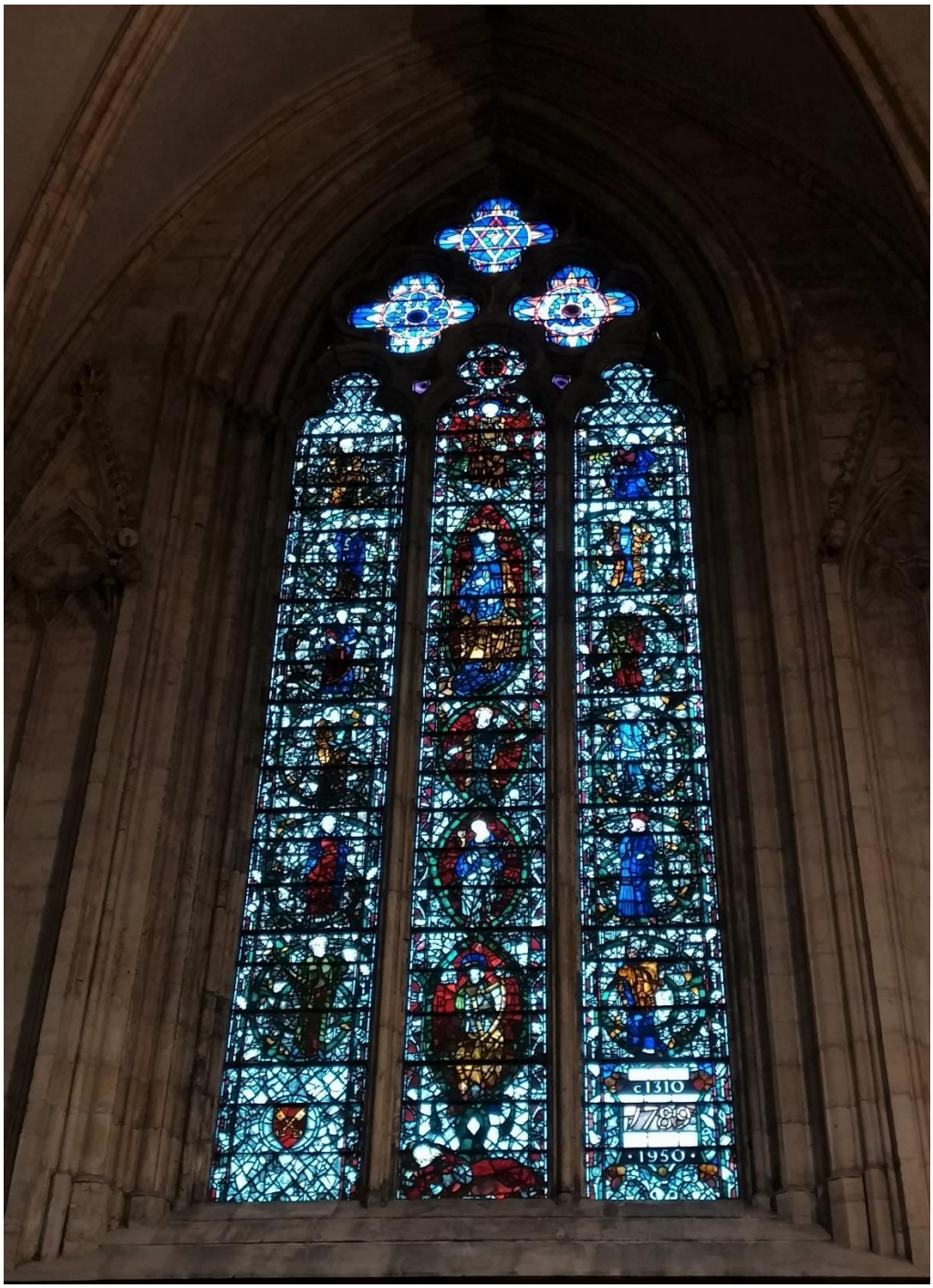

Figure 64: The 1310 Jesse window (s33), restored by William Peckitt, 1789.

The date 1789 can be seen bottom right and is surrounded by fragments from the New College Jesse. The tracery lights, which were Peckitt's main insertions into this window, draw on the colours in the medieval glass, but the dominance of the blue and the angularity of the shapes are at odds with the sinuous branches of the Tree.

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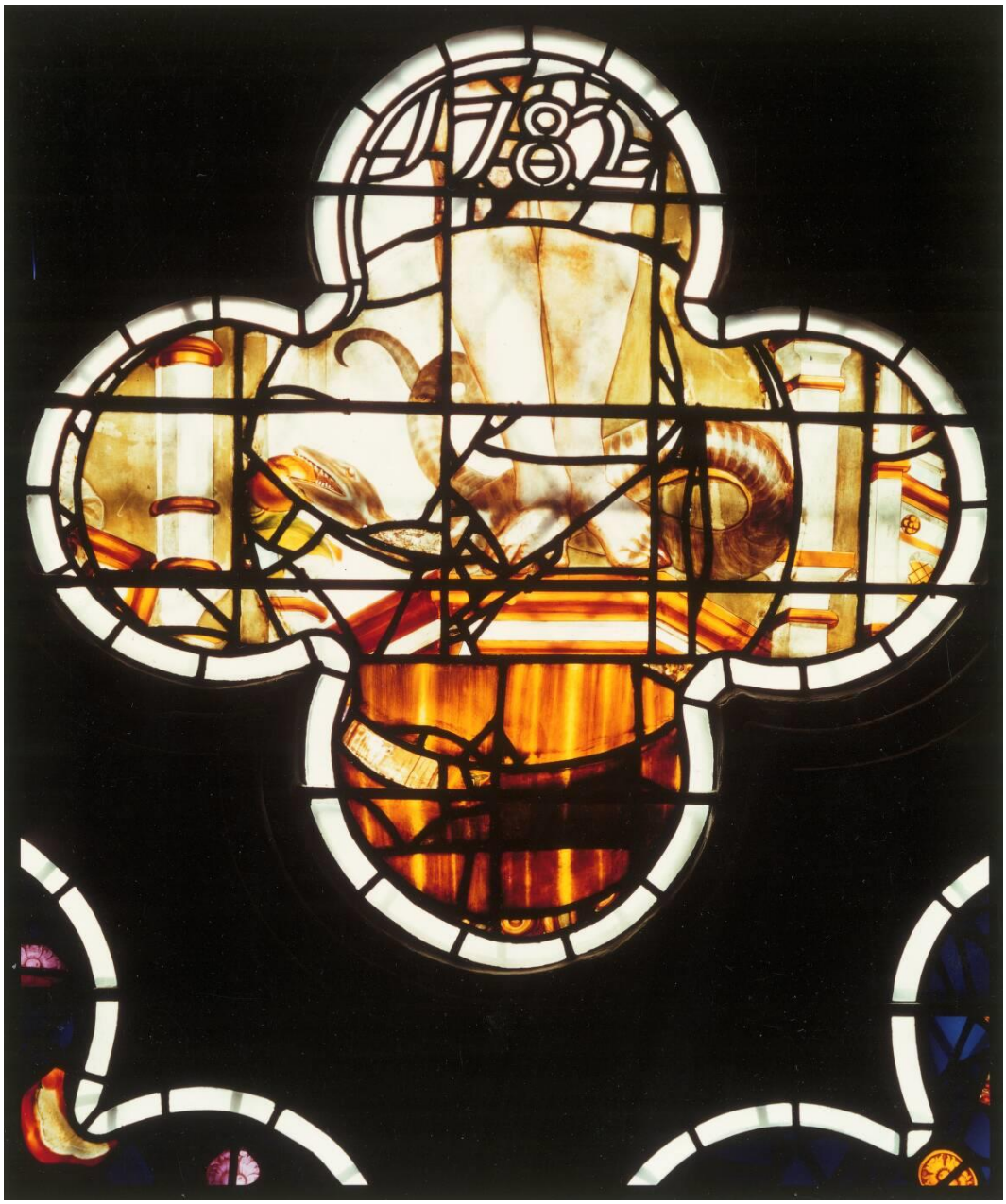

Figure 65: Tracery light of window s30, panel C1, by William Peckitt, 1782.

The tracery features the legs of Eve standing on the serpent, which has the apple in its mouth. She is flanked by Classical columns and the date '1782' is set at the top of her legs. The glass has the 'strong yellows' for which Peckitt was paid and appears to be composed of the fragments from another scheme purchased 'for repairs'.

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Figure 66: The figure of St William in window s20, panel 4a.

The head and borders are by Peckitt, 1793.

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Figure 67: Tracery light of north nave aisle window (n27, panel D1), William Peckitt, 1779.

New painted glass was installed by Peckitt, who based his designs on the tracery of the Rose window (S16) and incorporated Tudor roses and tiny sunflowers into his work.

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Figure 68: Figure of Solomon in the south transept (s19), installed 1798.

This figure of Solomon was one of the panels gifted to the Minster by William Peckitt, but not installed until after his death in 1796. Technically it is very accomplished, but the style is dissimilar to the sixteenth-century glass above it in s20-21.

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Figure 69: Figure of St Peter on the right by William Peckitt (s24), 1768.

Peckitt replaced an earlier failed version of this glass at his own expense with this significantly more accomplished figure of Peter.

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Figure 70: The Rose window (S16), also known as the Marigold window, in the south transept. Sixteenth century with later restorations.

The rose window was restored by William Peckitt in 1793.

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Figure 71: Centre of the Rose window (S16).

The flower, inserted by Peckitt in 1793, is often described as a sunflower, but in fact a marigold (*calendula officinalis).* Peckitt used this as his motif. There is no record of the earlier design for the centre, but as the window was known as the 'marygold window' it is likely it was a similar design.

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Figure 72: Trinity image from the south aisle of St Martin's, Coney Street (St Martin s4, panel 1c), c.1450.

The Trinity image has a Victorian replacement head dated to 1855 when the glass was reordered. The window was restored by Knowles in 1871-73 and again in 1965 under George Pace when the head of the second figure was replaced (see CVMA inventory record 018200).

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Figure 73: Detail of a bishop from the lower row of the Great West window (w1, panel 3b). 1338 with eighteenth-century head.

Peckitt was employed to restore the figures of the Great West window in 1757/8. The failure of the heads of the bishops is attributed by Brown to the inherent instability of the original pink glass. Peckitt's replacements share many of the same proportion issues of his work in s36 and do not make any real attempt to capture the style of the original glass.

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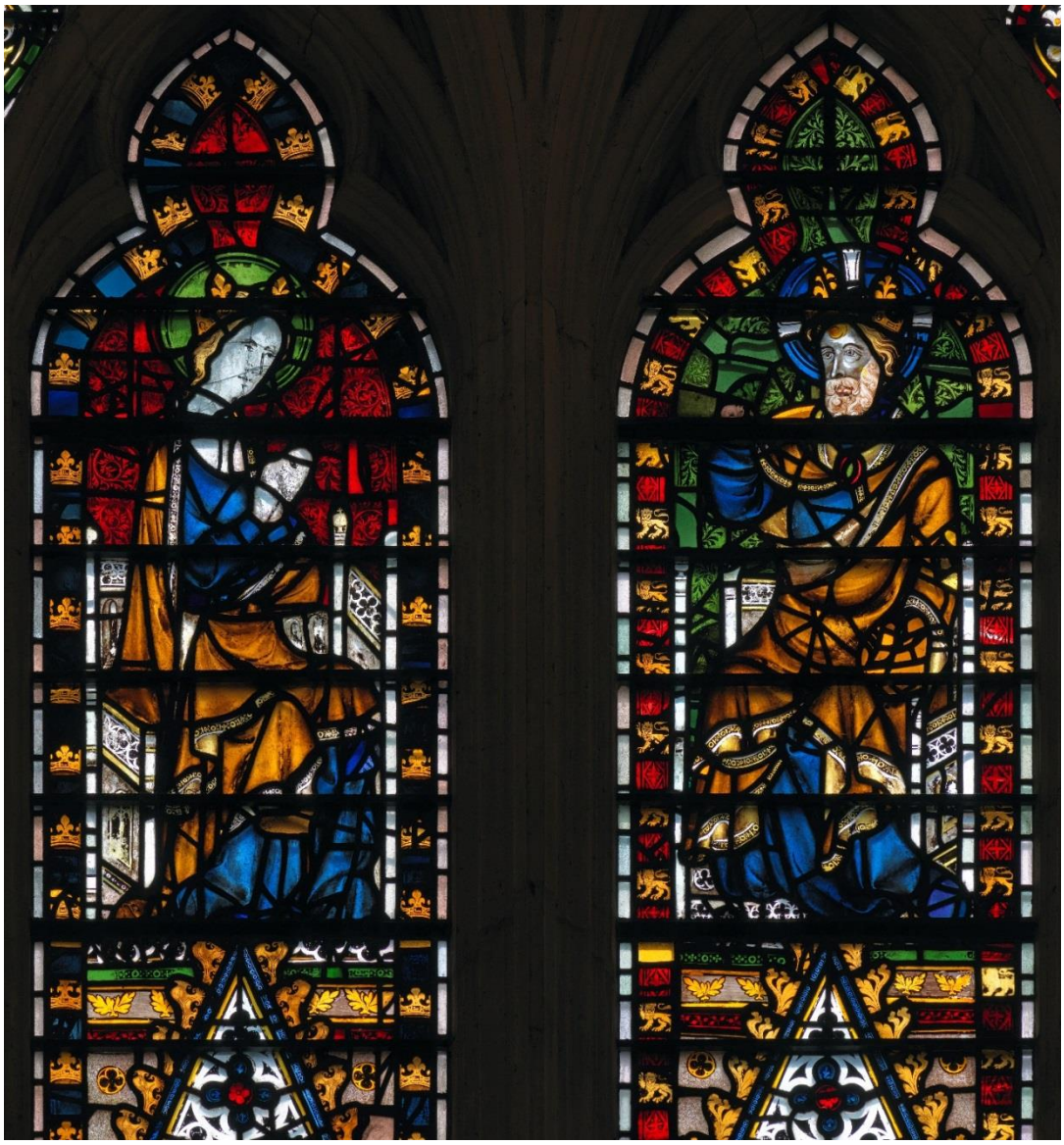

Figure 74: Detail of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Great West window (w1, panels 10d, 11d, 10e, 11e), 1338.

This iconography would have been a prime target for iconoclasts, but the glass has survived almost complete. The head of Christ has been restored, but the head of the Virgin is original.

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Figure 75: The Bell-founder's window (n24, showing panel 1b), early fourteenth century.

This window, the donation of Richard Tunnoc, bell-founder of York is in the north nave aisle. As well as panels depicting aspects of his craft and borders rich in bell imagery, this central panel shows Tunnoc kneeling before St William, a bell-shaped purse at his belt, presenting his gift to the saint. An escarole issues from Tunnoc's mouth, invoking the saint's blessing on his soul and his gift, but the size of the donor figure is on a par with that of the saint.

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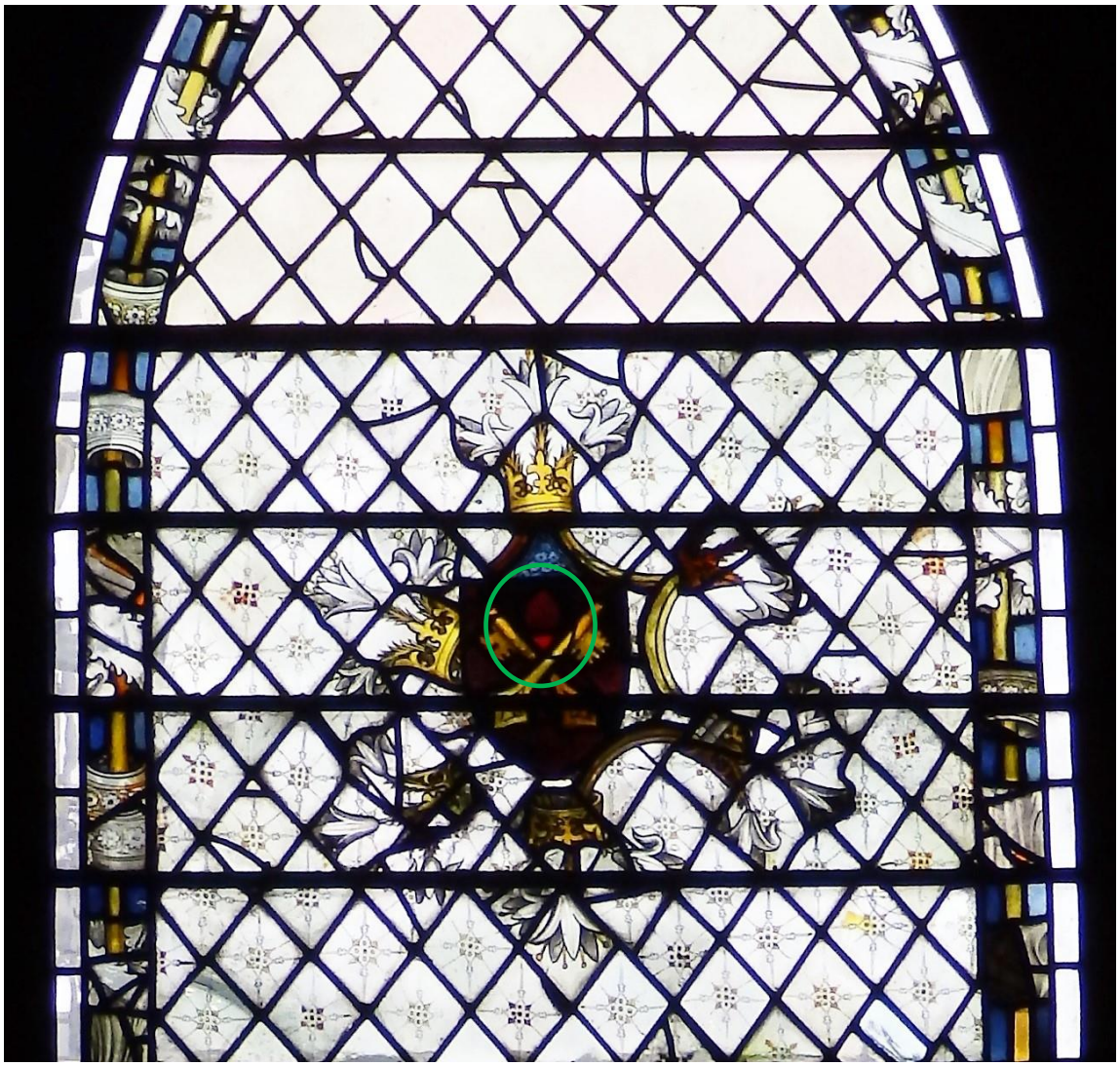

Figure 76: Detail of the arms of the See of York above St Michael in the window (s12) of St. Michael's Chapel, south transept, mid-fifteenth century.

The papal tiara in the arms has been removed, although faint traces can be seen (outlined in green). The image of the saint below in the window is intact.

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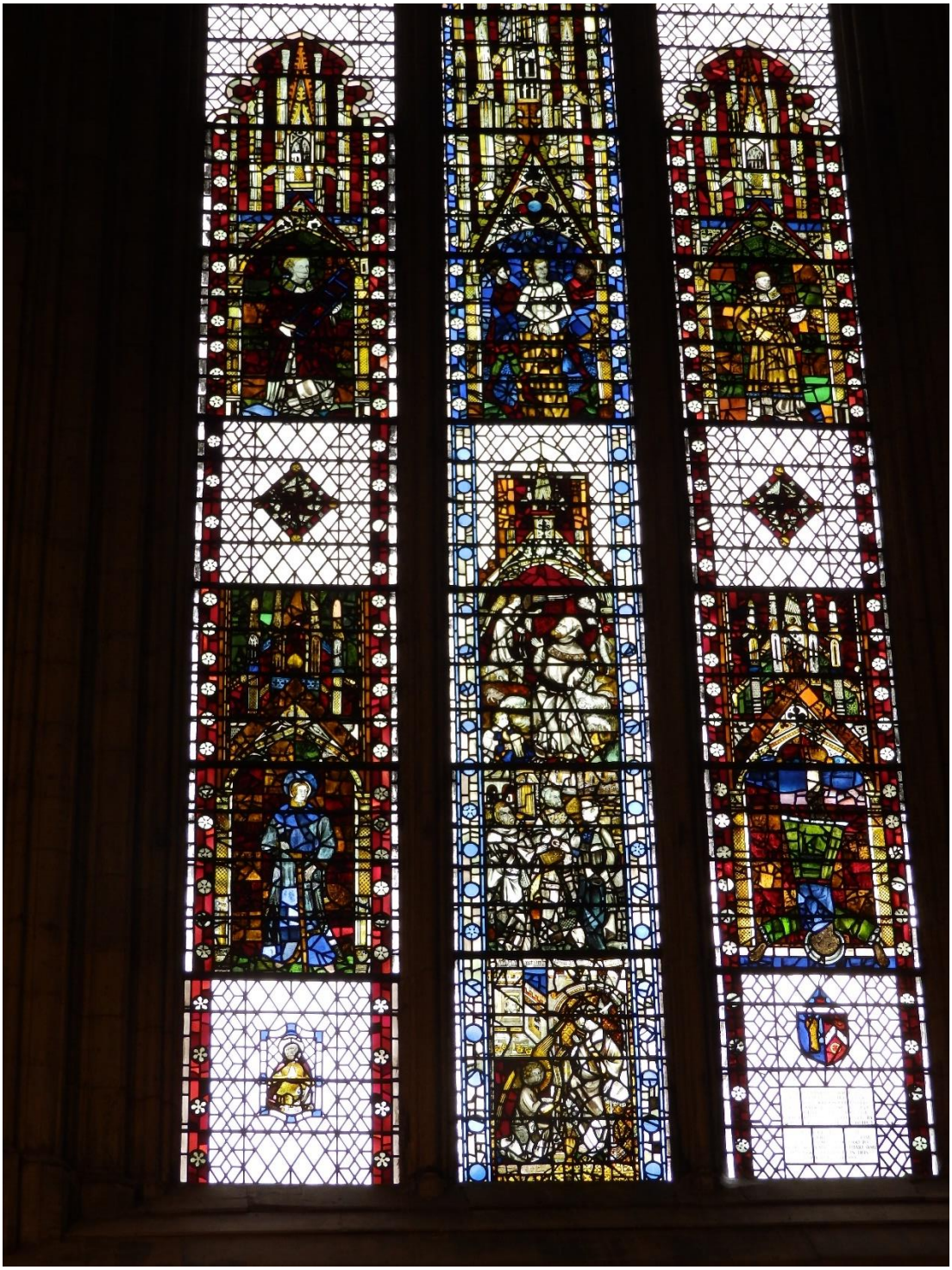

Figure 77: Reconstructed window in the south nave aisle (s35) composed of fourteenth-century glass.

The panels in this window were removed from CHn3 and placed here in 1959. The saints depicted under pinnacled canopies were formerly in the bottom row of CHn3.

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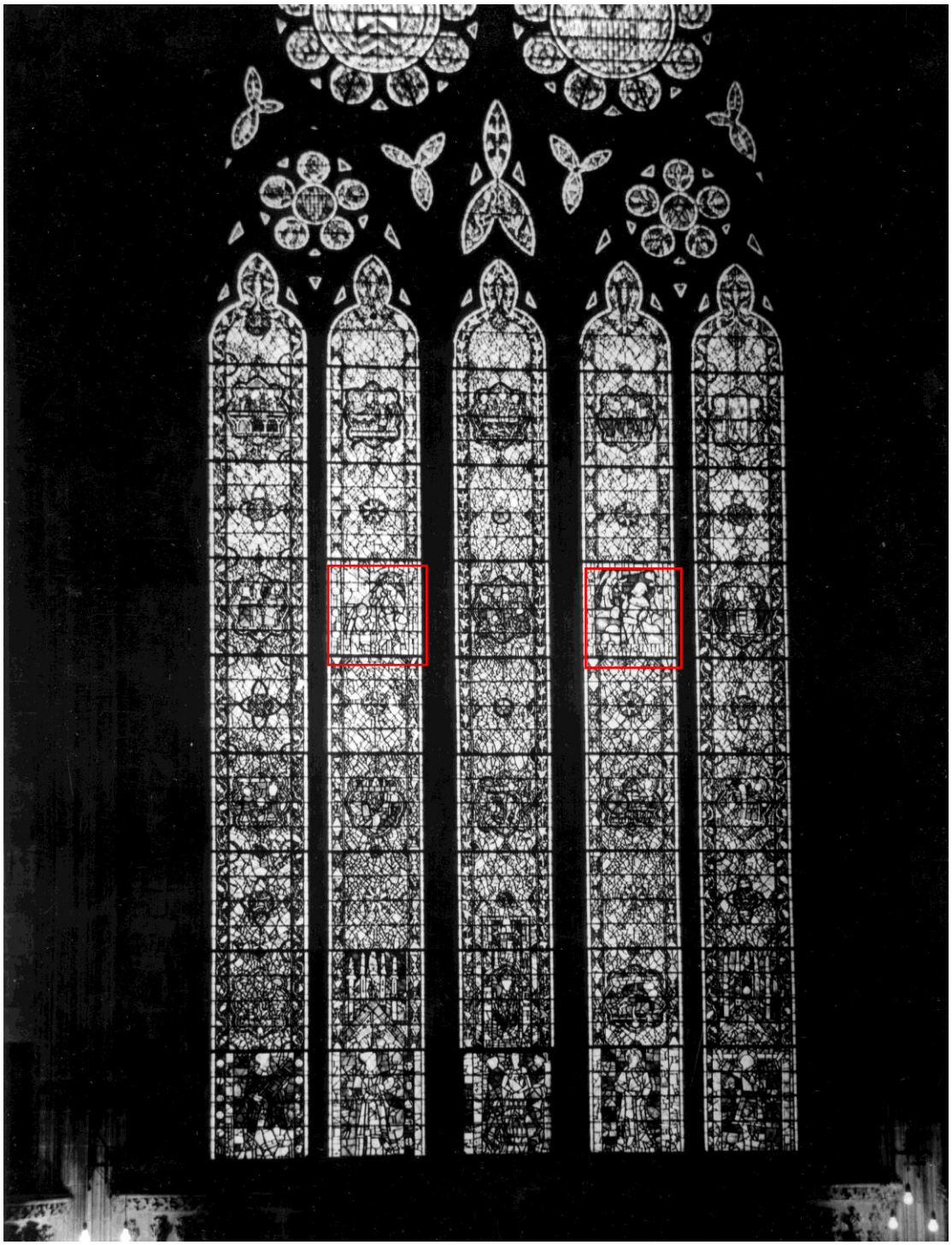

Figure 78: St William window in the Chapter House (CHn3) prior to the restoration in 1958/9. Photo c.1948.

The saint panels now in s35 can be seen clearly in the bottom row. The two annunciation scenes are in the second row from the top, highlighted in red.

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Figure 79: Annunciation to Mary, (s35, panel 1b). Fourteenth century.

One of the panels intruded into CHn3 in the 1660s by the Crosbys. It is possible this glass originally came from the abandoned chapel of St Sepulchre's, also known as St Mary and All Angels, which was formerly off the north nave aisle.

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Figure 80: Detail of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, (s35, panel 3b, 4b). Fourteenth century.
It is possible this panel was also part of a Marian scheme formerly in the chapel of St Mary and All Angels. Sold in 1567, the final date of demolition of the chapel is unknown, but may be associated with the construction of Ingram's mansion.

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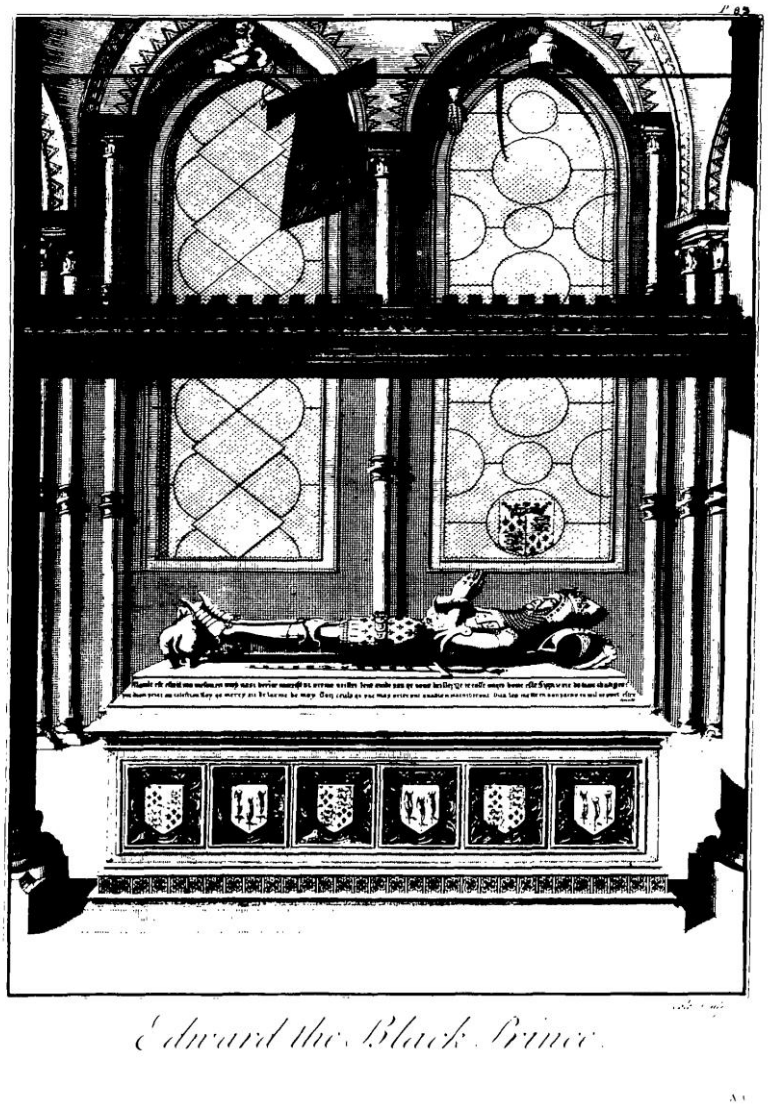

Figure 81: Plate from John Dart's "*History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury"*, 1726.

Dart depicted only one armorial in the window behind the tomb of the Black Prince, but rendered the armatures accurately.

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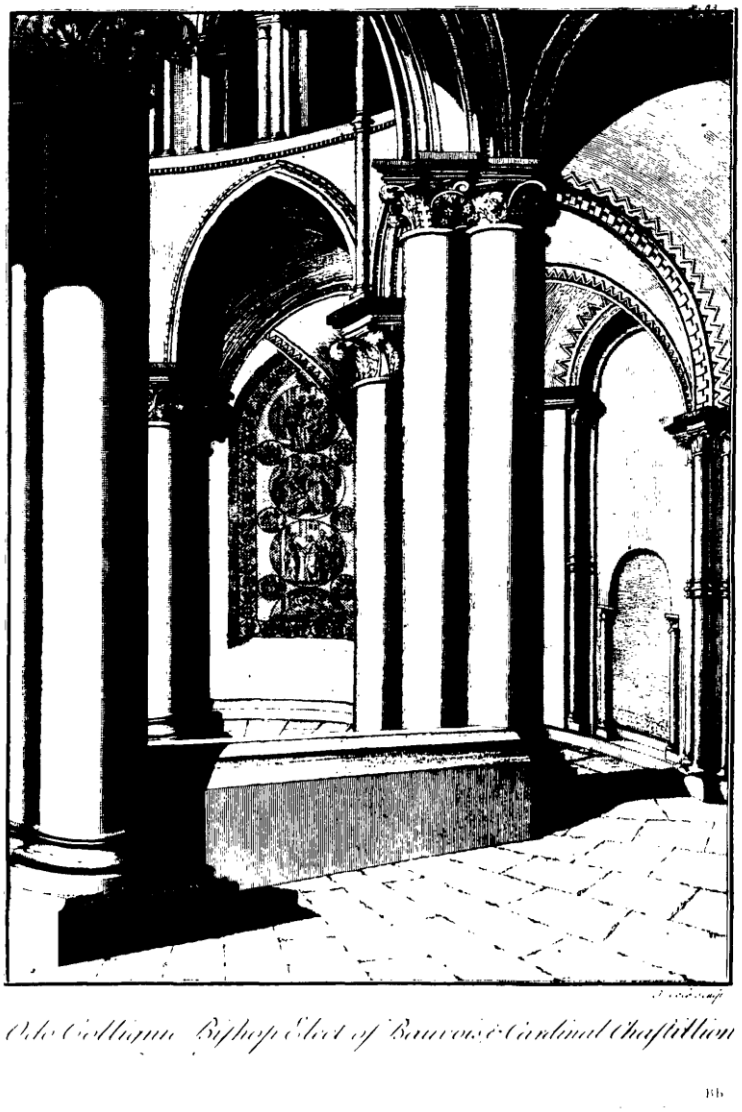

Figure 82: Plate from John Dart's "*History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury"*, 1726.

Dart depicted only one window in the Trinity Chapel behind the tomb of Odo Collinge, which can be identified as n2, but in a curious style more akin to a painting than stained glass.

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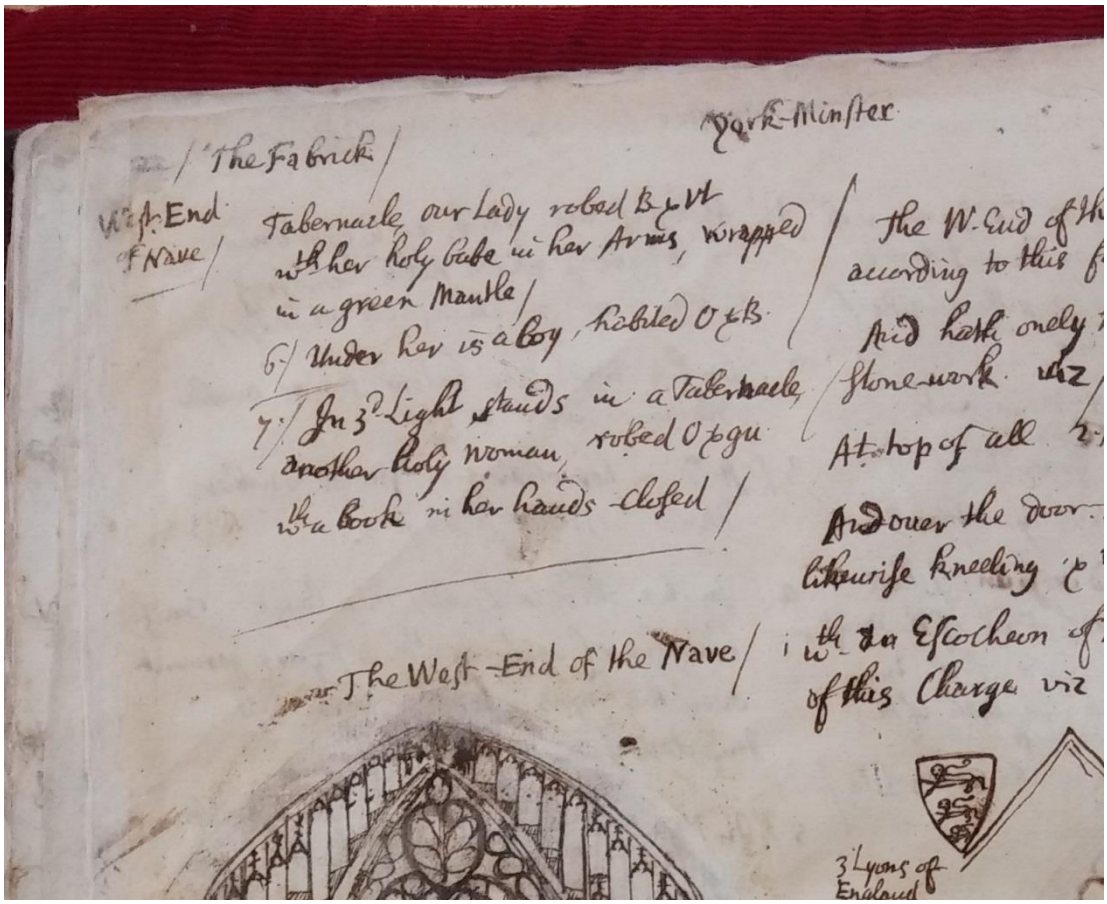

Figure 83: Page from James Torre's manuscript on the fabric of the Minster. L1/7 f.18v.

This is the end of the description of panels in window s36, showing Torre's unwillingness or inability to identify saints at this time, although Mary is identified as 'our Lady'.

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Figure 84: Figure of John the Baptist in the tracery of window s36, panel D1. Fourteenth century.

This figure is mis-identified by Torre as *"an holy woman in Azure & golden robes carrying in one hand something like (a Charger)".* The 'charger' is the Agnus Dei.

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Figure 85: Panel depicting St Clare in the tracery of window s36, panel C2. Fourteenth century.

Torre failed to identify St Clare, or to mention the monstrance. He may have been unable to name the object, or unwilling to as it was an explicitly Catholic item. Looking from the ground with unaided eyes, however, he may also have simply mistaken it for an architectural detail like a pinnacle.

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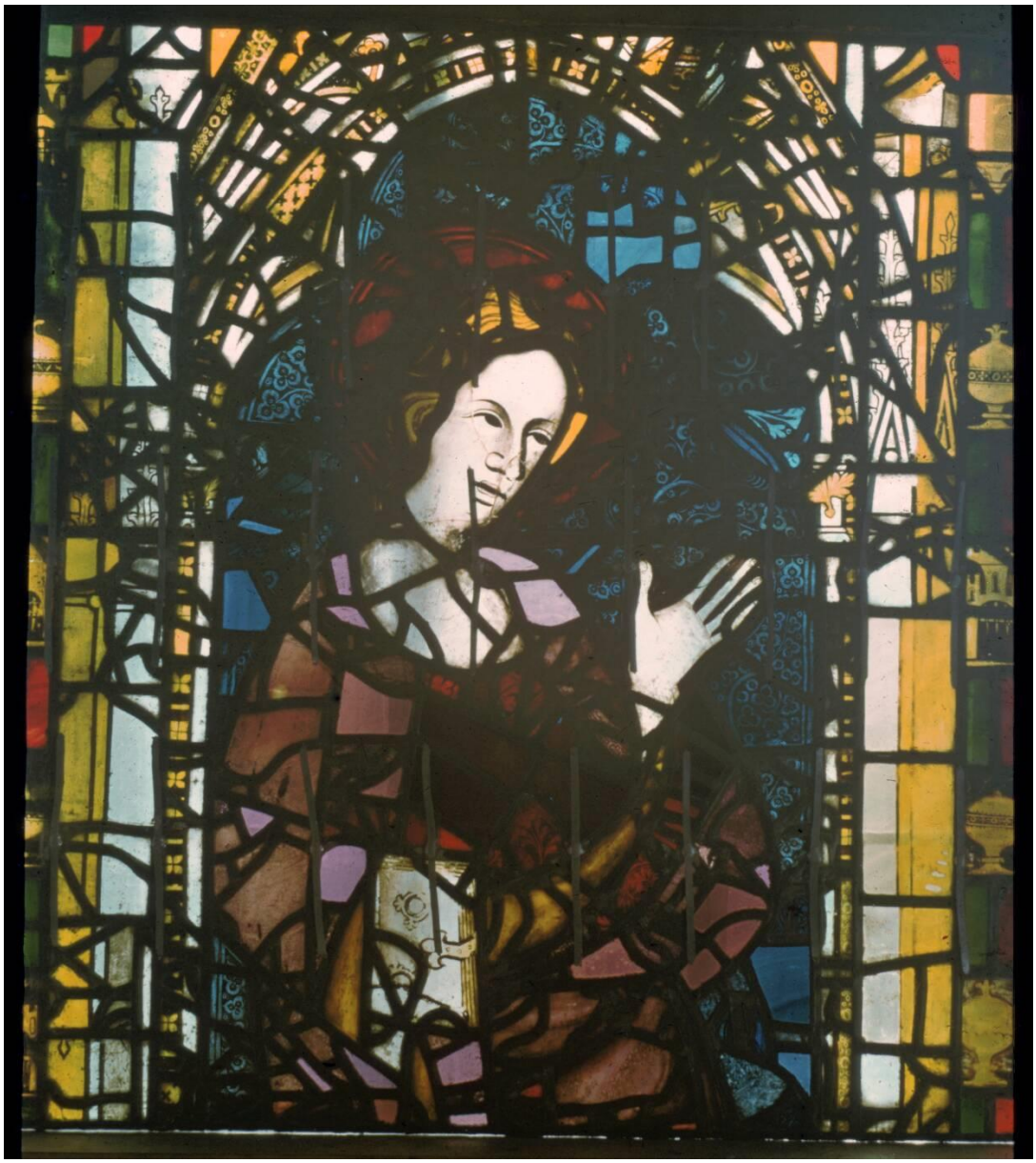

Figure 86: Panel depicting the Virgin Mary from window s36 panel 2a. Fourteenth century.

The unfamiliar iconography of Mary, with a book and without her characteristic blue robe, appears to have defeated Torre: despite her position at the foot of the cross, Torre described her only as '*an holy woman robed O & Gu Girded O her right hand elevated'.*

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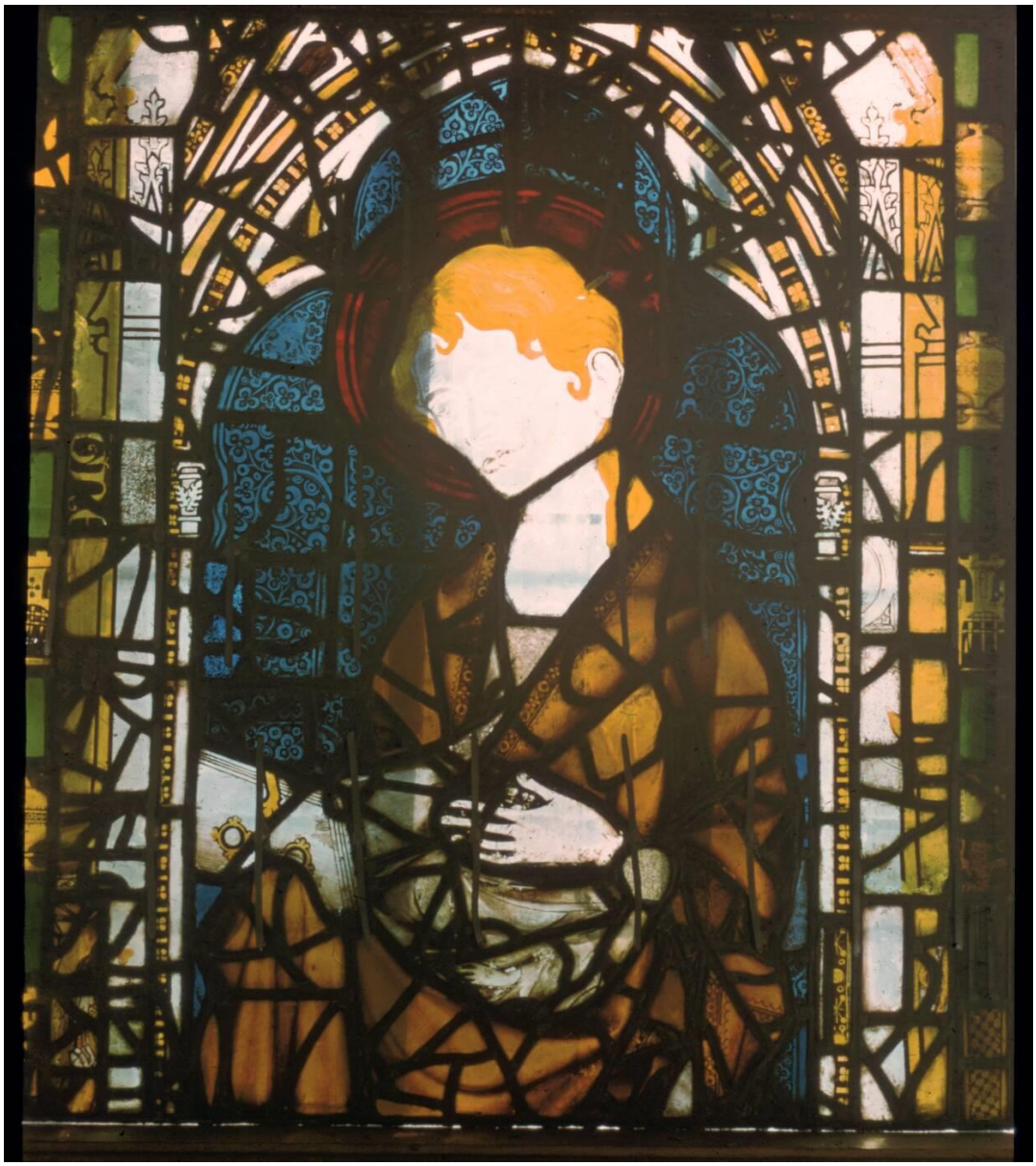

Figure 87: Panel depicting St John from window s36 panel 2c. Fourteenth century.

The image of the youthful John with a book appears to have defeated Torre: despite his position opposite Mary at the foot of the cross, Torre described him as *"In the 3rd light stand opposite to her another holy woman (in a Tabernacle) robed O[r] & V[er]t".*

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Figure 88: Detail of St Katherine from the north nave aisle (window n30 panel 2a), 1338. Replacement head.

The distinctive iconography of St Katherine with her wheel made identification easy for Torre, demonstrating a continued familiarity with her legend.

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Figure 89: Annunciation to Mary (window n28, panel 5a), c.1335.

Despite Mary's unfamiliar colouration, Torre correctly identified this scene, although he omitted details such as the lily.

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Figure 90: Visit of the Three Kings (window n28, panel 5c), c.1335.

Torre correctly identified this scene, describing the kings being led "*by a starr to our Ladys Inn two of which are crowned & the other on his knees with a golden cup in his hands making his offerings to her.*"

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Figure 91: A scene from the legend of St John appearing as a pilgrim to Edward I, depicted in a main light in the window at the east end of the south quire aisle (s2, panels 1c and 1d. Late fourteenth century.

Torre recorded this legend in its entirety, including many details which are not depicted in the glass, demonstrating his familiarity with this national legend relating to the coronation ring of England (seen here in the hand of the king on the right).

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Figure 92: Detail of the monkeys' funeral in the bottom border of the north nave aisle window n25. Fourteenth century.

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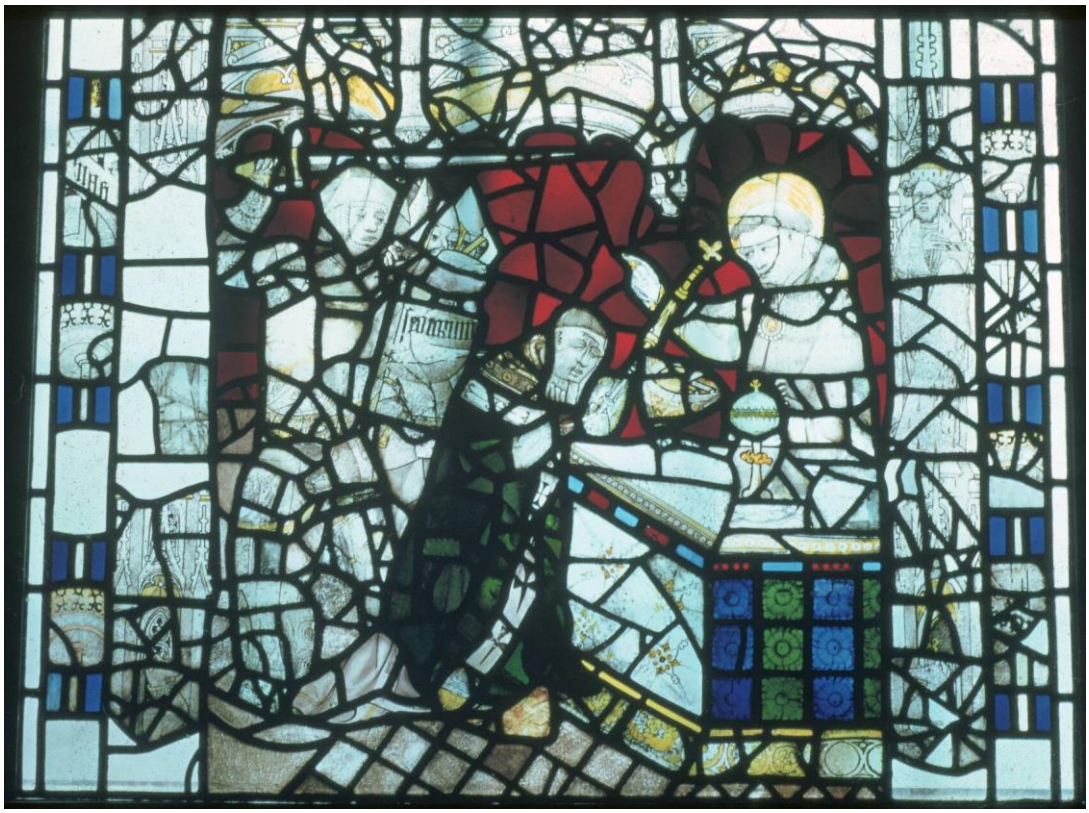

Figure 93: Detail of the murder of St Thomas Becket in the north quire aisle (window n9, panel 1b). Early fifteenth century.

Despite earlier incidents in which Torre seemed unwilling to show he could identify Becket's iconography, in describing this panel he made it clear that he knew the story.

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Figure 94: Detail of the 'Doctor priest' from the Penancer window (n27, panel 2a). Fourteenth century.

Torre's description of holy men and, in this scene, an accurate description of the activity, absolution, hints at his conservative religious beliefs.

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Figure 95: Plate by J. Haynes between p.524-525 of Drake's *Eboracum*, 1736.

This plate shows the Greek Key design pavement installed by Lord Burlington, c.1730, explicitly to facilitate the use of the nave as a place of for promenading.

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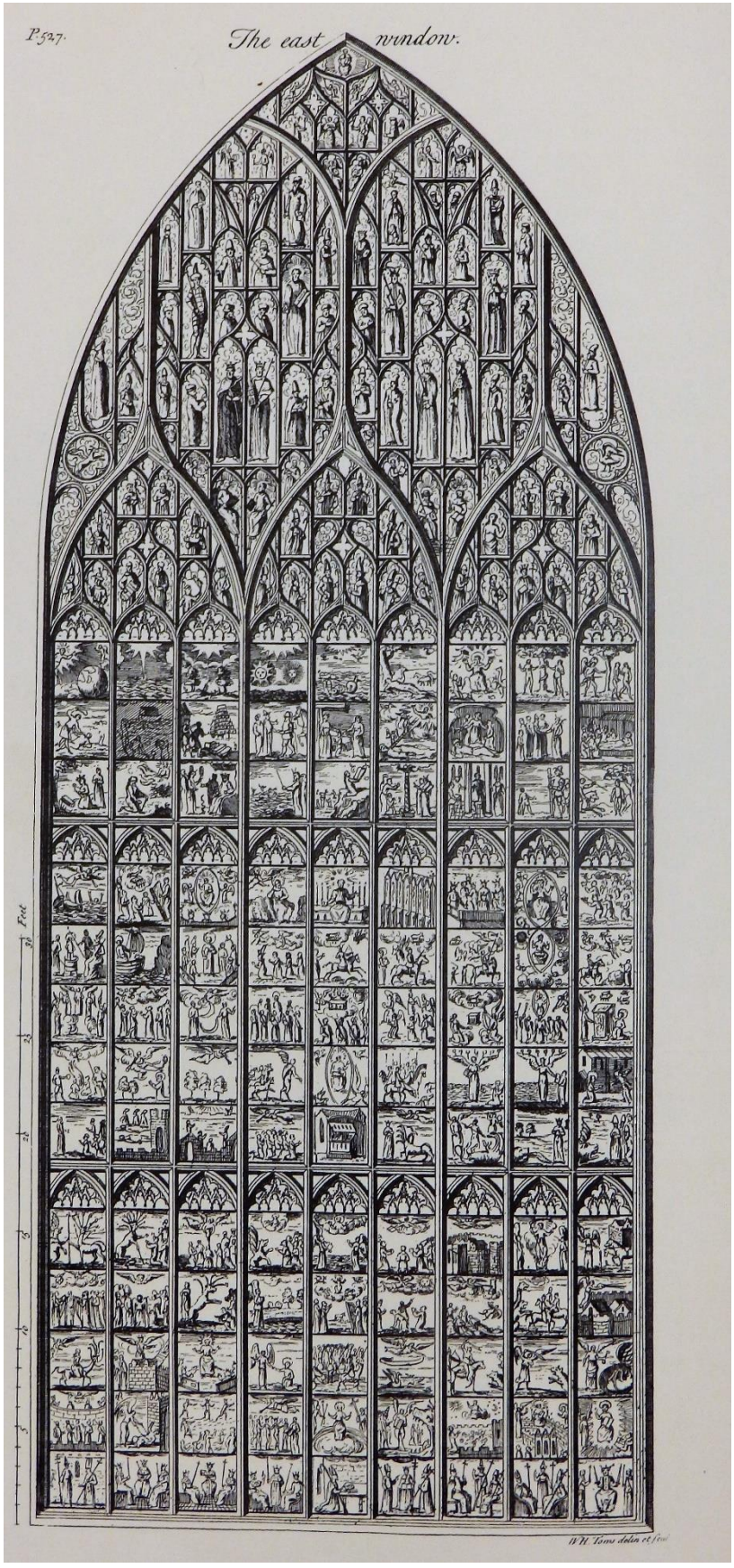

Figure 96:

Plate 527, depicting the Great East window from Francis Drake's "*Eboracum*", 1736.

Drake faithfully captured the stonework and the order of the panels, but did not think it necessary to attempt to capture the style of the glass-painting or the lead armature.

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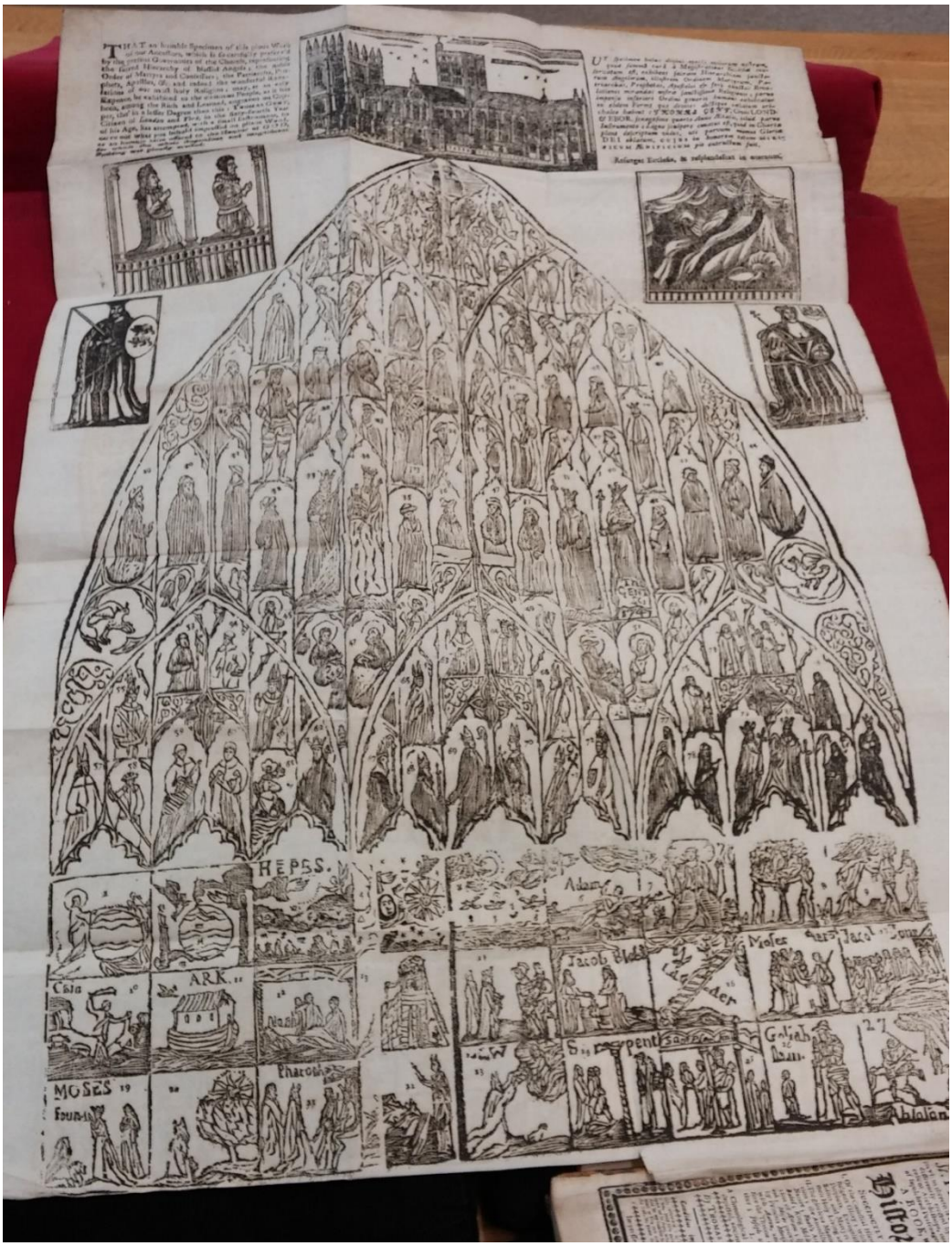

Figure 97: Fold-out wood-cut illustration of the Great East window, attached to the front of Thomas Gent's "*Pious and Scriptural History…"*, 1762.

The individual panels bear little stylistic resemblance to the original glass, but are sufficiently close compositionally to be able to identify scenes and relate them to the text written as a poem. Key figures or objects are named (Moses, Ark, Adam). The mage has been composed of woodcuts, in comparison with Drake's fine-quality print (see Figure 94).

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Figure 98: Detail taken from the fold-out wood-cut illustration of the Great East window, attached to the front of Thomas Gent's "*Pious and Scriptural History…"*, 1762.

Detail of the Brazen Serpent image, not picked out in Gent's introductory list of panels, and the Jacob Blessing panel, which is, despite being harder to discern from ground level.

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