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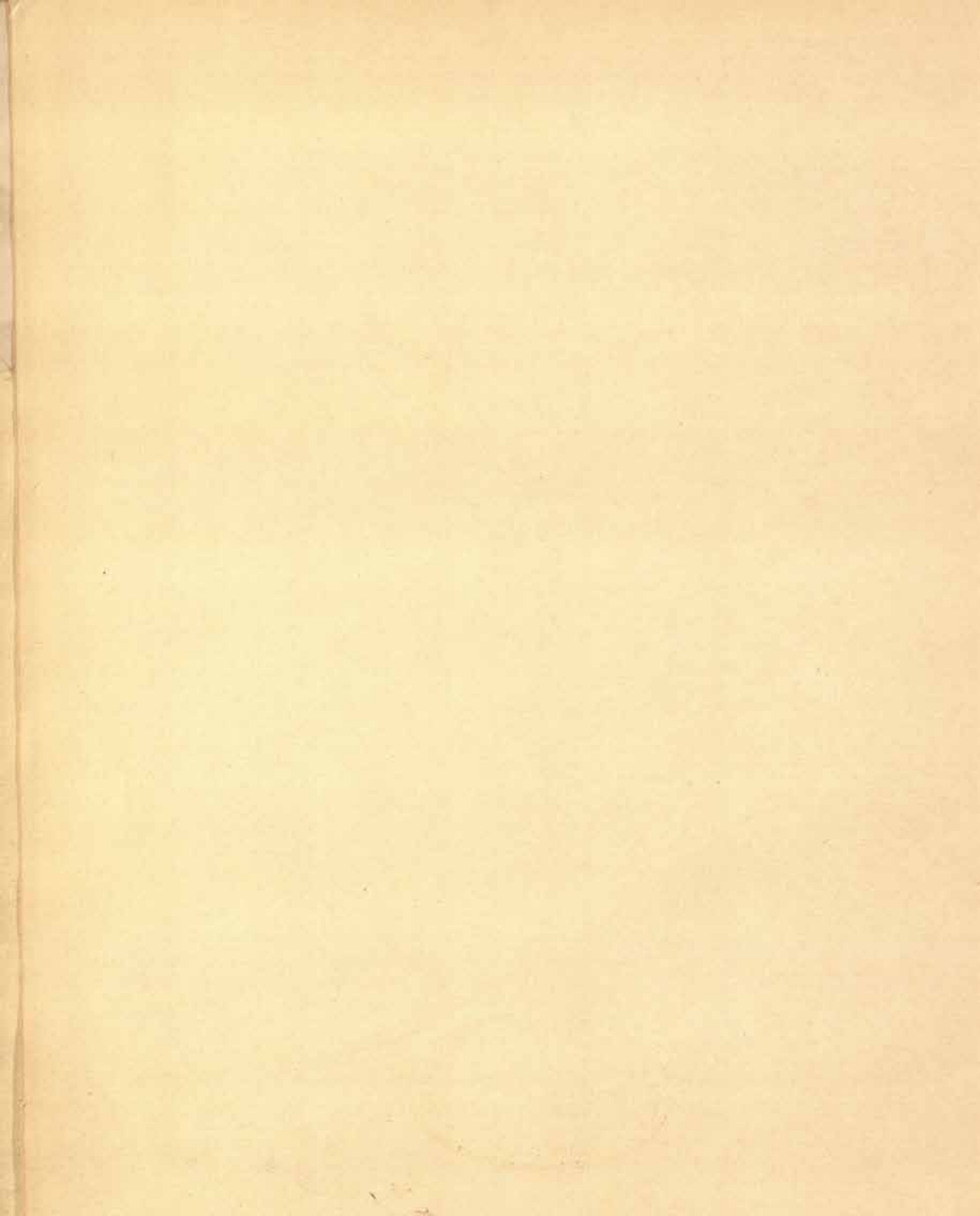
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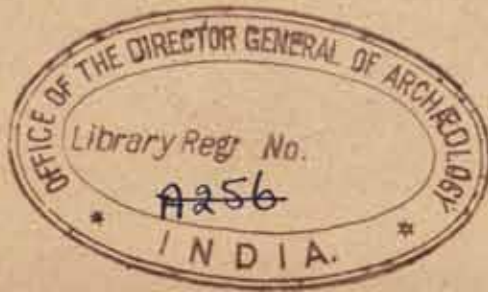
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I.—*A West Country School of Masons.*
By Sir HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, K.C.V.O., F.S.A.

Read 12th February 1931

THE object of this paper is to endeavour to show that there was in the West of England an important school of craftsmen responsible for a number of buildings of the first magnitude as well as for others of a smaller size. This supposed school flourished at that period when the round arch was logically giving way to the pointed one ; so that to understand the importance of its position in this development a few words on the reason of the adoption of the pointed arch are necessary.

After the Conquest a great wave of building activity swept over this country, large churches were erected for bishops' sees, old monastic foundations followed the same example, reformed monastic orders arose, and countless new religious houses came into being. The religious fervour of the first hundred years after 1066 created such a demand for new building that it is little wonder that the advances in reasoned construction led to the perfecting of the use of the pointed arch. The adoption of the pointed arch was one of reason and not a change of ornament ; it was the necessary sequence to the development of stone vaulting, and stone vaulting was an essential fire insurance of the middle ages.

The history of many churches erected immediately following the Conquest shows that there was a constant recurrence of fires whereby the buildings are recorded to have been consumed. From the first, large churches had the side aisles ceiled with vaulting in order to give rigidity to the higher walls of the main spans. This vaulting was made with cross barrels without any supporting ribs at the intersections. When fires occurred it was found that no injury took place in the vaulted aisles ; therefore if only the main spans could be similarly treated the damage from fire would be overcome. In consequence the energies of the designers, not only here but in France, were turned to this important problem of trying to cover the main spans with stone vaults.

It had been a comparatively easy matter to treat the square bays of the aisles with a vault constructed with circular arches, but where it was necessary to cover rectangular bays, twice as long as their width, it was a different matter. It could have been accomplished by covering the main span with a barrel having cross barrels over each bay, but the pressure of such a ceiling

would have been too great for the high walls to maintain by themselves. Barrel vaults were used over lower buildings such as chapter-houses, and in two cases were actually attempted over transepts.

The whole of this problem—first, the introduction of ribbed vaults and then the vaulting of the main spans—has been so ably dealt with by our Fellow Dr. John Bilson¹ that there is no occasion to repeat his deductions; suffice it to say that it was the necessity for vaulting the main spans in stone that led first to the introduction of the ribbed vault and secondly to that of the pointed arch. The earliest use of the pointed arch is always found in connexion with vaulting and never as a decoration.

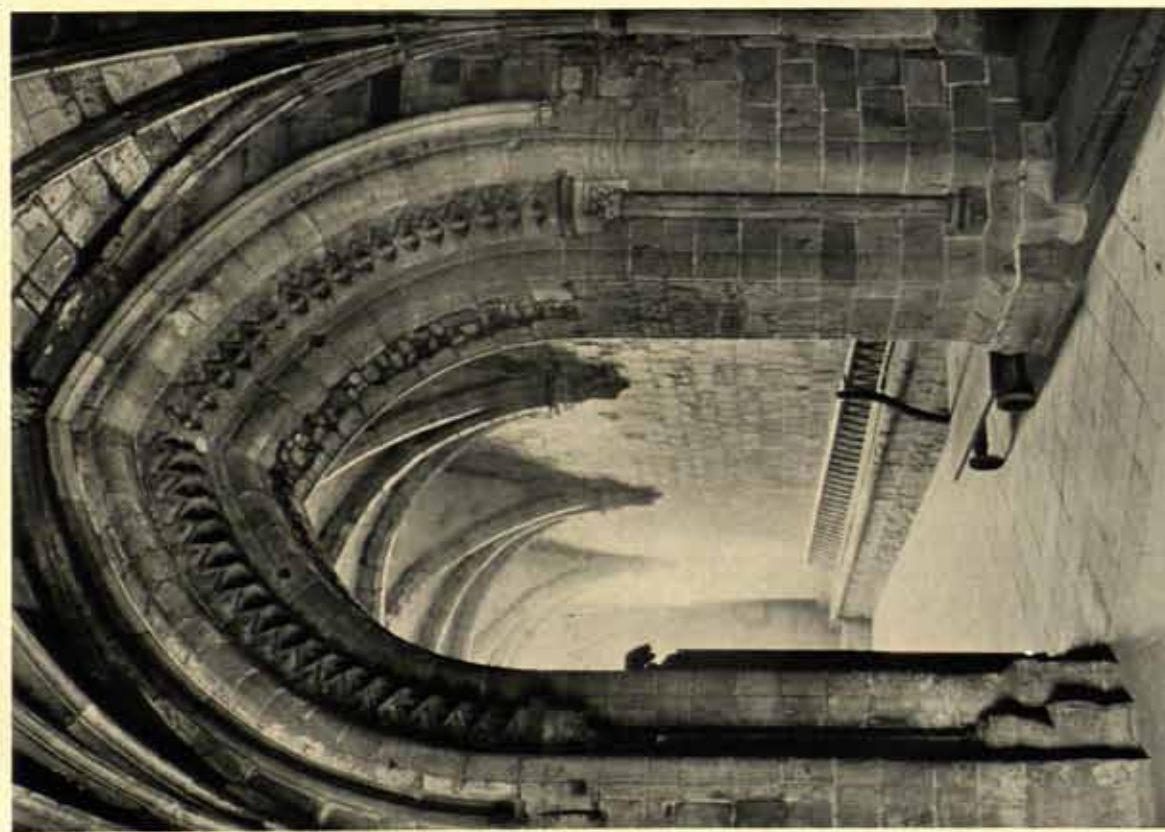
Further, two other cognate matters must be mentioned: local types of building, and guilds of operatives.

Gothic architecture, in spite of the nicknames which were given to its so-called styles in the last century, was a logical advance in building science and art from its inception in the eleventh century to its extinction, through the fall of the monasteries, in 1539. Though this gradual march of development was maintained generally throughout the land, local influences of mind and matter changed the details to a marked extent. For instance, the Cistercians introduced with their rigid rule simple forms of building, which from their severity led to an advance of scientific development, and Cistercian influence led to the use of some of its details in other buildings not belonging to the Order. Again, the vast areas of chalk lands in various parts of the country, where stone was scarce, led to the fashion of round towers so as to eliminate the use of quoins. Further, the fine building-stone of Somerset may be claimed as the cause of the richly decorated towers of that county. The granite of Devon and Cornwall led to simplification of mouldings, and the same may be said to a less extent of the hard gritstone of Yorkshire. But in no case is it known that local influences created any special individualities of detail or design.

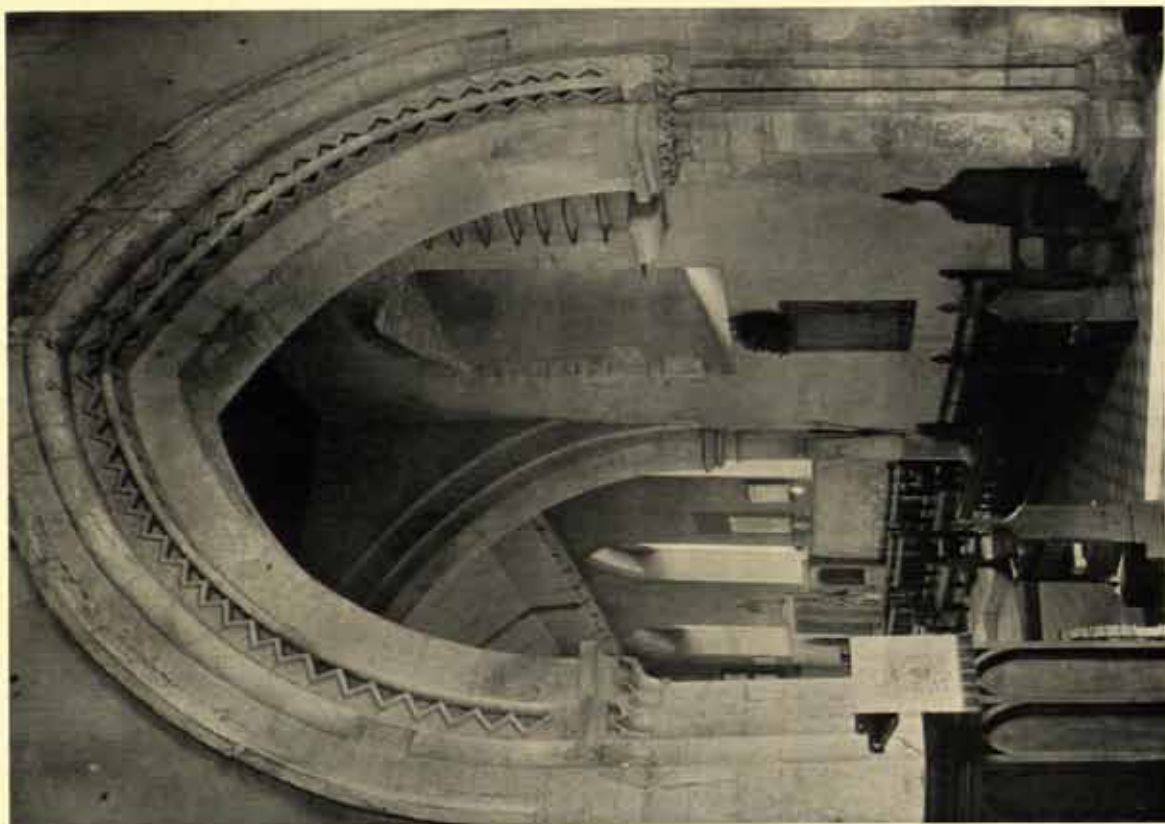
It is generally accepted that building-works in the middle ages were carried out by guilds or lodges of masons and other artisans under the direction of a master. How these guilds originated, how they were ruled, and how the patron, wanting work done, employed them is not known. It has been claimed that the master-mason was also the designer of the works carried out by the lodge, in which case he must also have been an architect, as it is obvious that there was one guiding hand responsible for the design, and that the complete design was set out upon the tracing board before the actual building operations were begun.

It is probable that the guild existed independently of any work it undertook, and it or its master was called in to execute the work in the same way

¹ 'Beginnings of Gothic Architecture', *R.I.B.A. Journal*, 3rd Ser., vi, 259.

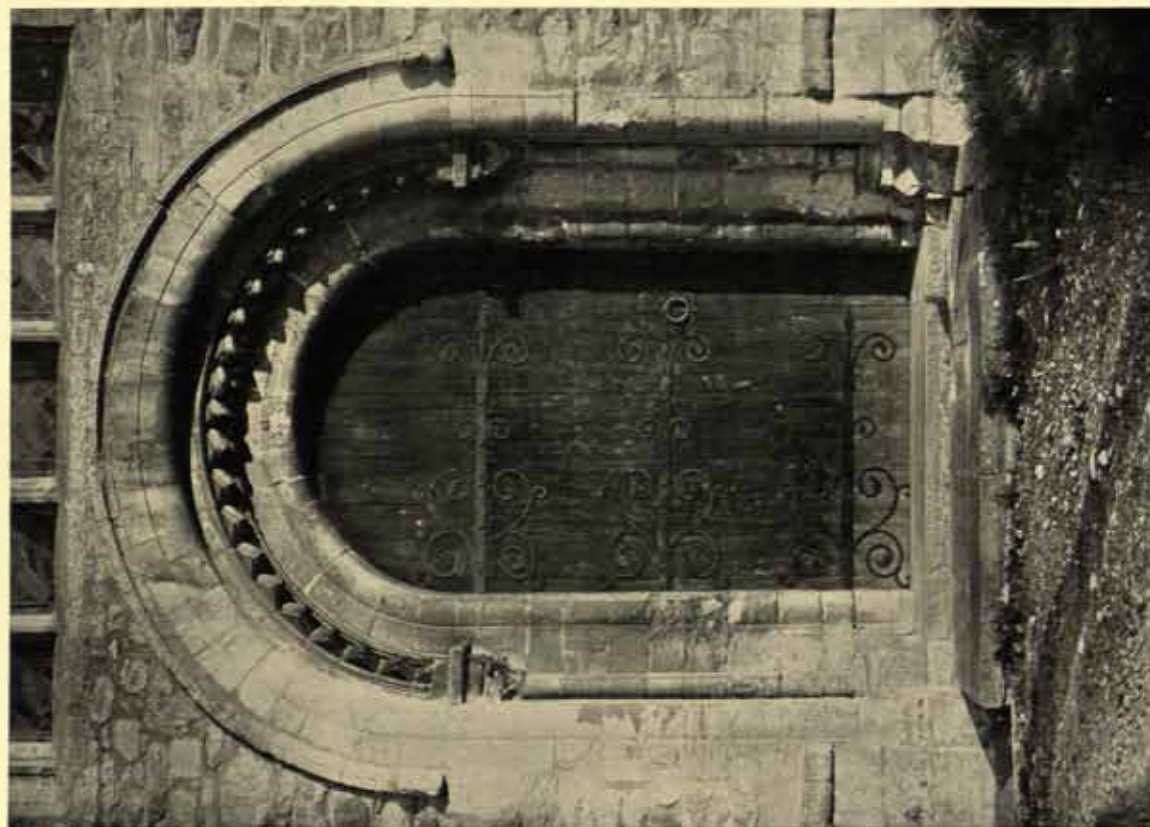


A. Worcester, arch to infirmary passage

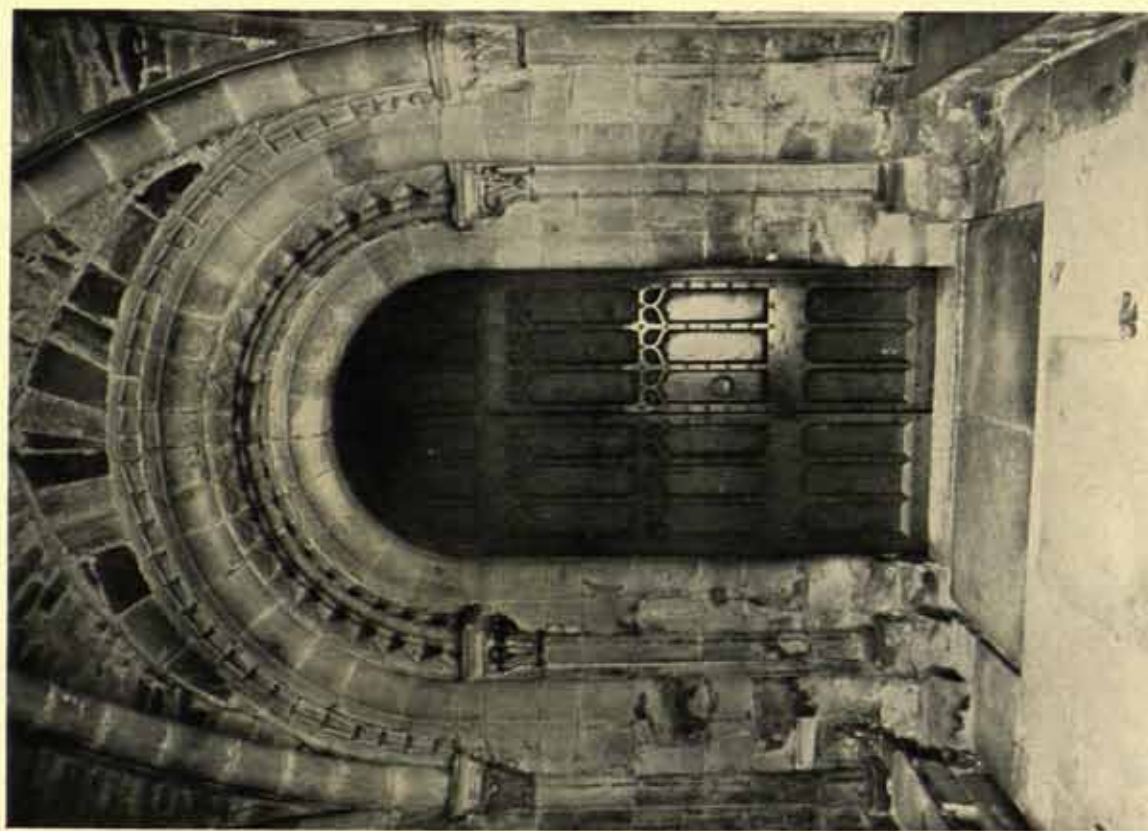


B. Bredon, chancel arch

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B. Bredon, western doorway



A. St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, inner south doorway

as a modern architect is consulted, but differing insomuch that he and his workmen were bound together in a guild, and were not independent the one from the other. It is incredible to suppose that when a building was required a master was chosen without any previous knowledge of his work, that he collected any one who came along, and formed a lodge of such material, which existed only so long as the work lasted.

Another point that has not been settled is whether a guild or lodge was a small body of craftsmen, working independently of other similar lodges, or whether such lodges were bound together with a common head and so constituted a school or union, each actuated by common principles emanating from a common source.

There is no question that lodges or guilds travelled from place to place as their services were required, as is proved by the use of the same template for mouldings at St. Mary's Abbey in York and at the Canon's house at Watton. Again, half of the great north window at Exeter is exactly the same as the eastern windows in the clerestory at Malmesbury, and the later clerestory windows there are exactly like a window in Corsham church.

Scarcely ever is the guiding hand of any of our great masterpieces recorded, a position due to the favour-to-come policy of the historian, who invariably credits a bishop or abbot with the honour of paying for, if not designing, the church. In the case of Glastonbury the honour of building the great church is given by the monkish historian to King Henry II, whereas by research it has been found that not one penny was contributed by him,¹ and sacrist rolls generally show that the money was found by the convent or chapter and not by the ruler. With this distorted idea of the authorship of a building the actual designer has been passed over, and we still speak of St. Hugh's church at Lincoln or Conrad's quire at Canterbury, whereas neither St. Hugh nor prior Conrad designed or paid for either of the works. One exception is that of Elias de Dyrham, who is credited with the design of the King's Hall at Winchester, the cathedral at Salisbury, and the nine altars at Durham, and here it would seem that, though he was a canon of Salisbury, he was a noted designer, and possibly the head of a prosperous school.

The existence of the particular school of designers with which this paper is intended to treat is demonstrated by distinct characteristics or tricks of construction and ornament that occur in a number of buildings in the West of England. These characteristics are so distinctive that they cannot be accidental, and their occurrence can only have been due to the existence of some common teaching with a common centre. For if there was no such centre or school it is inexplicable that buildings with these characteristics could be built side by

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, lxi, 187.

side, and at the same time, with others in which they do not appear, for if these features were merely part of the general progression of the art they could not have occurred in one building and have been kept out of the others.

Mr. Prior first drew attention to this school in 1900 when he wrote:

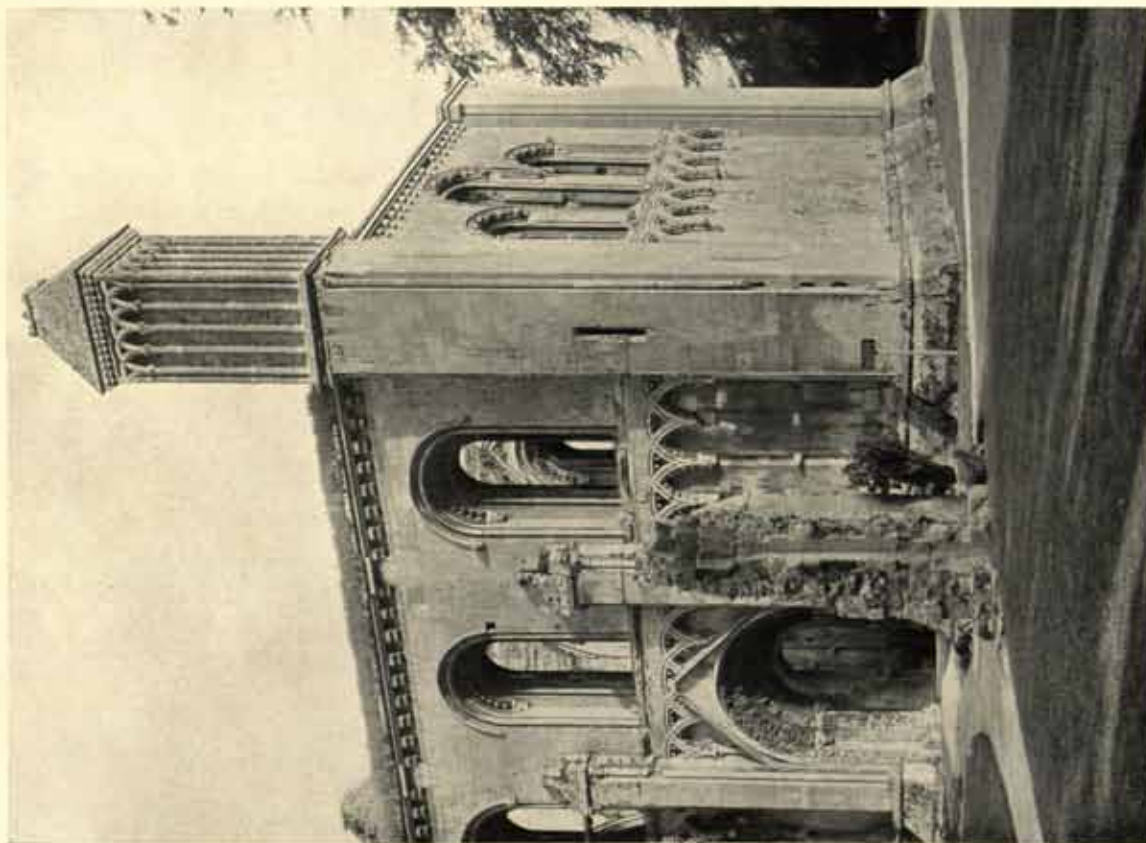
In the west country the delicacy and grace attached to the massive simplicity of the archings of Buildwas are an earnest of the Cistercian style as it showed itself at Strata Florida, Dore, and Cwmhyr. But the flavour of the same art was in the conspicuous example of the western bays of Worcester of *c.* 1160 and in the plain arcading of Augustinian Llanthony which was but little after. Its style passed on to Llandaff and Hereford, and following Henry II's conquest of Ireland became the heritage of the Irish Gothic. The sculpturesque verve of its treatment of roll and splay carried unbroken from floor round archway and window-head the simplicity of its details, and especially in the Welsh and Irish examples a peculiar fire and exquisiteness of ornament mark a distinct school of early Gothic design which has not had the attention it deserves. Closely allied to and mixed with this development, but showing a coarser fibre and a great employment of the chevron ornament, is the south-western use of the pointed arch at Wells and Glastonbury.¹

The late Mr. Francis Bond also enlarges frequently upon the western school, but both he and Mr. Prior include, as examples of that school, buildings in which the characteristics of that producing Worcester, Wells, and Glastonbury do not occur, though Mr. Prior recognizes the continuous order in jambs and arches.

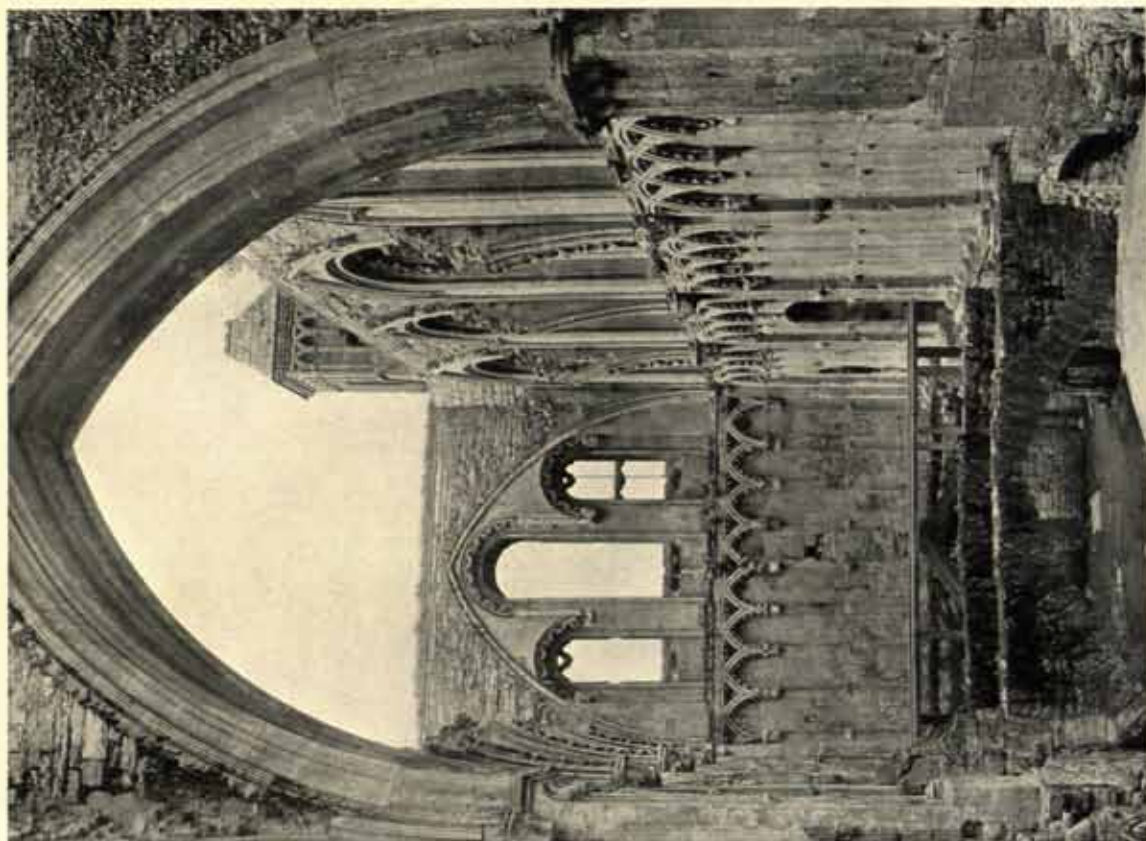
The suggested school flourished for a short time during the energetic building years in the last half of the twelfth century. Its characteristic features do not occur much before 1160 and disappear about 1200, though there are a few instances of its influence lingering on for another twenty years. It is responsible for works in the old dioceses of Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, Wells, and Salisbury, as well as at the cathedrals of Llandaff and St. Davids. It is not restricted to any one class of church or order of religious; but is found in cathedral and parish church, Benedictine abbey, and Augustine priory, and in one case in a private house. It therefore cannot be called local, or a style due to the influence of local material or of any individual religious order. It is entirely distinct by itself and does not embrace, by any means, all the buildings of the general western type. So to call it by the loose name of 'the Western School' would be misleading.

In the remains of the abbey church at Malmesbury occur the earliest examples of a number of the distinctive features which afterwards became characteristic of the works claimed for the school. It is, therefore, of the first importance to settle the date of this building and to specify the features alluded to.

¹ E. S. Prior, *History of Gothic Art in England* (London, 1900), 86.

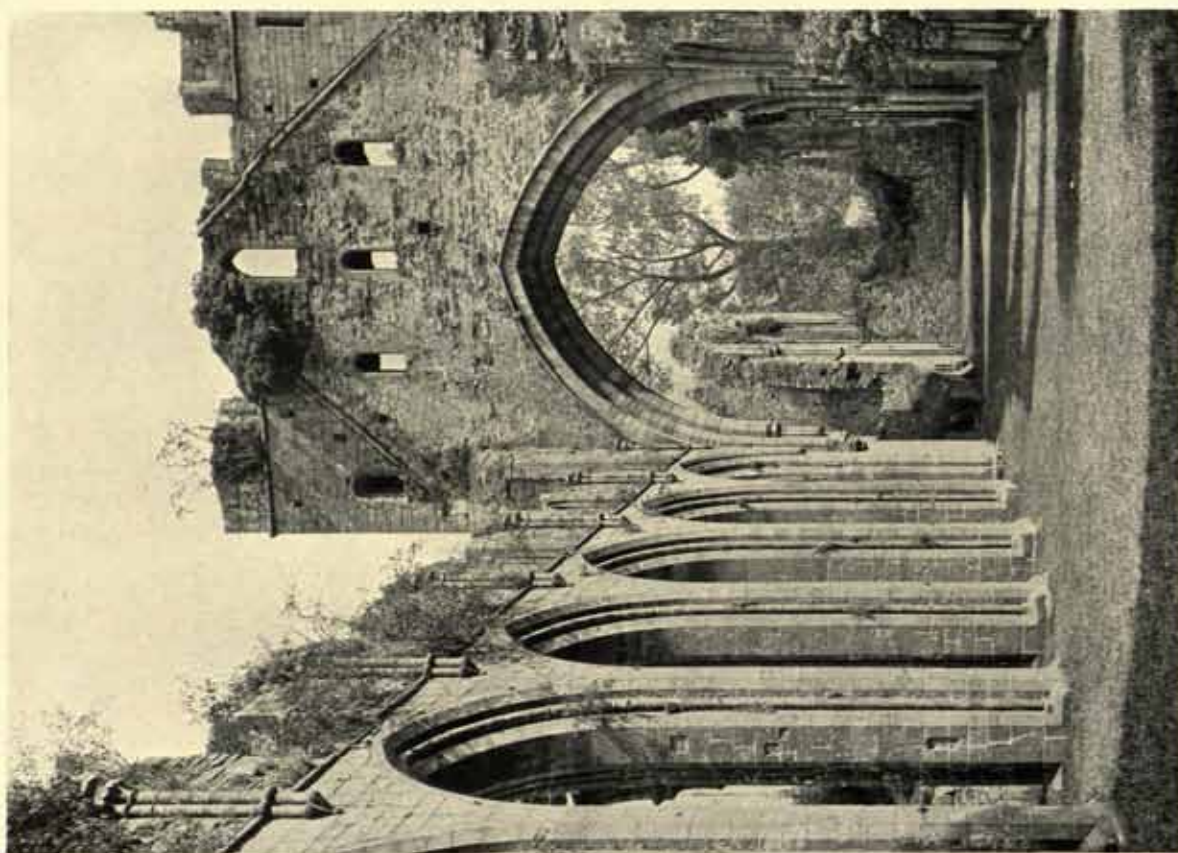


A. Glastonbury, Lady Chapel, from north-west

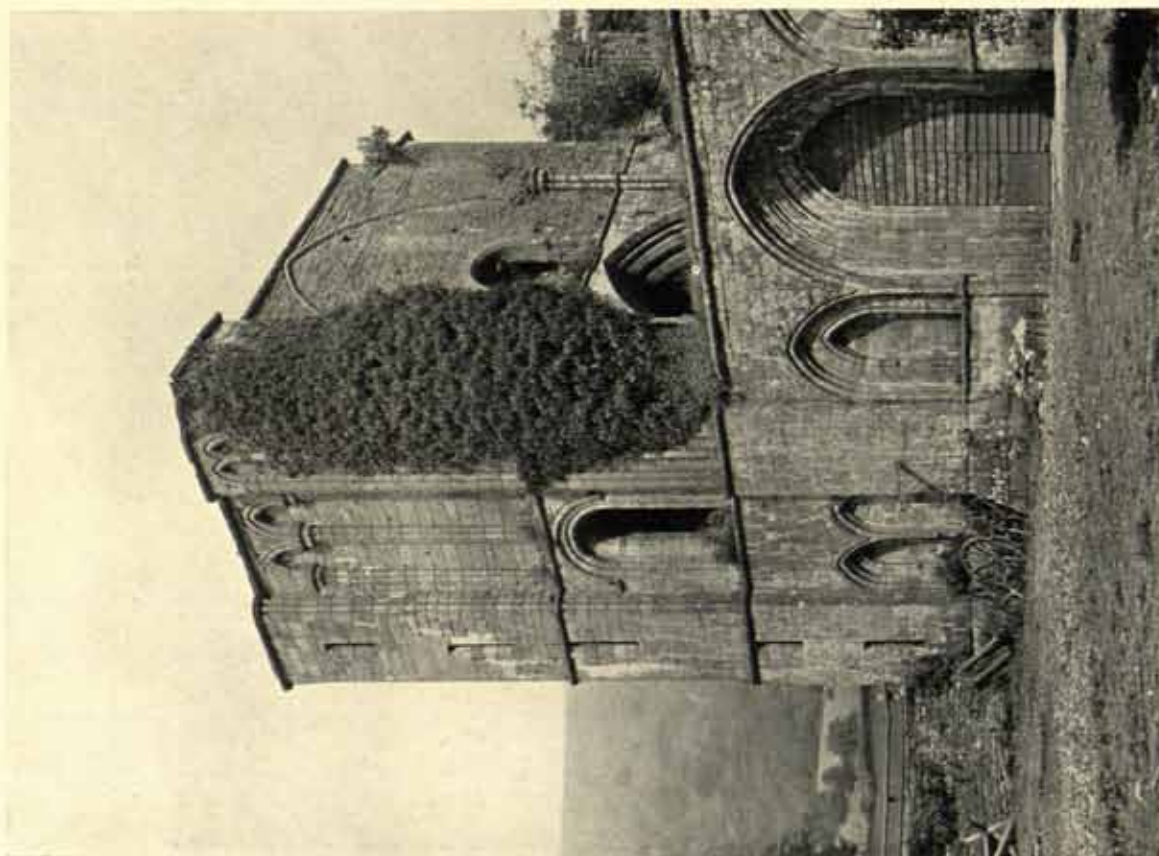


B. Glastonbury, Lady Chapel, interior

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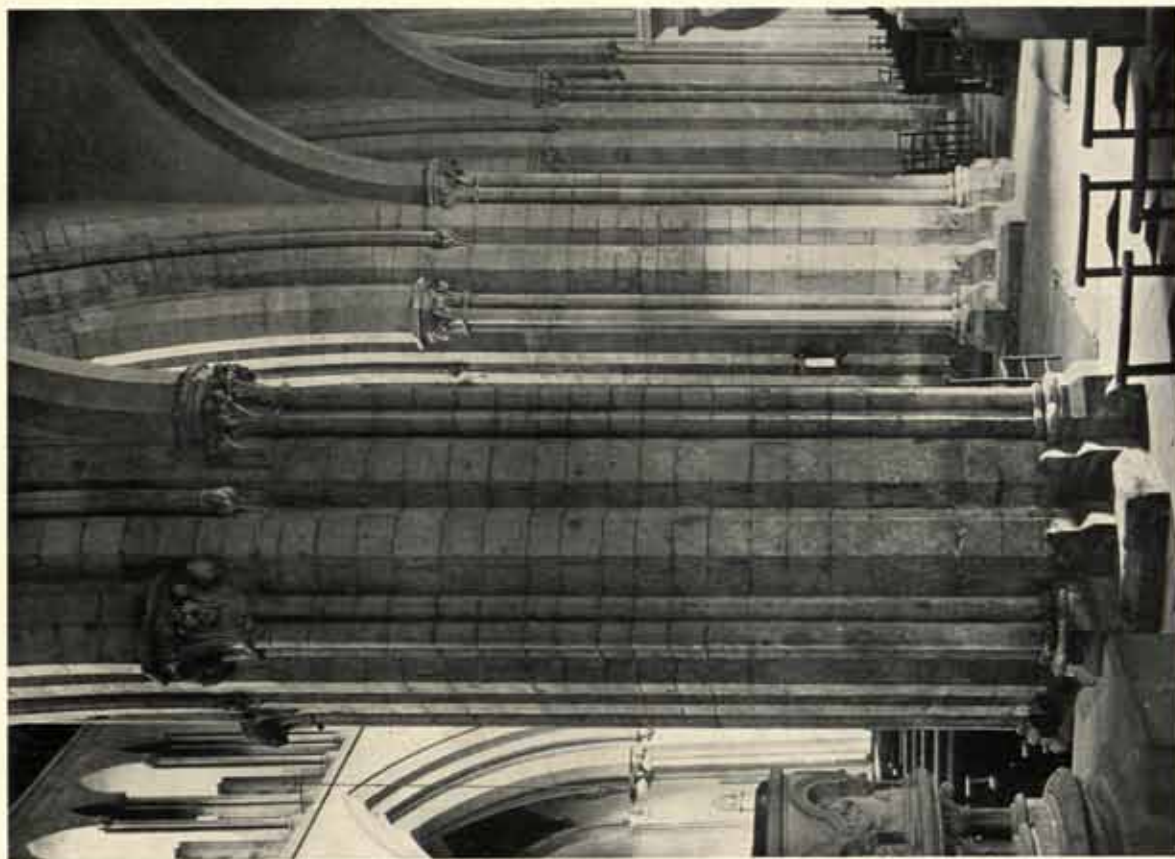


B. Llanthony, nave looking east

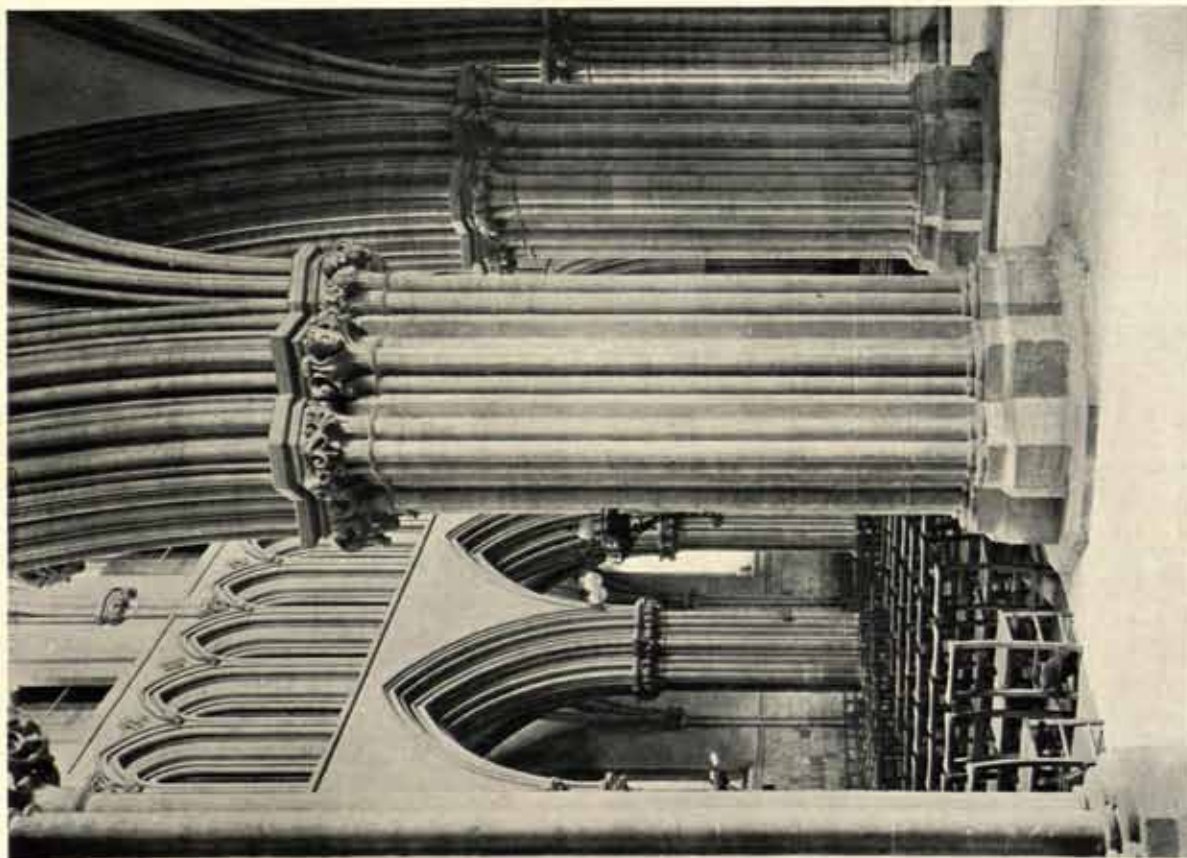


A. Llanthony, north-west tower

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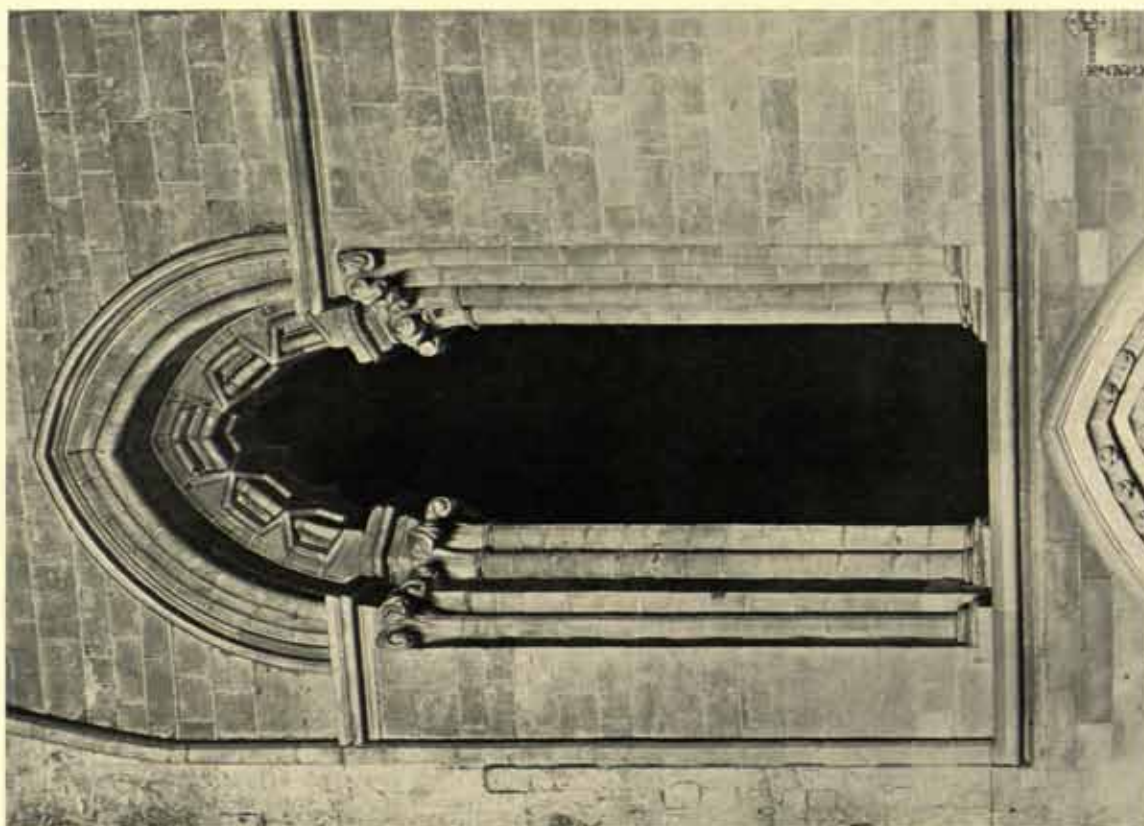


B. Llandaff, view across nave

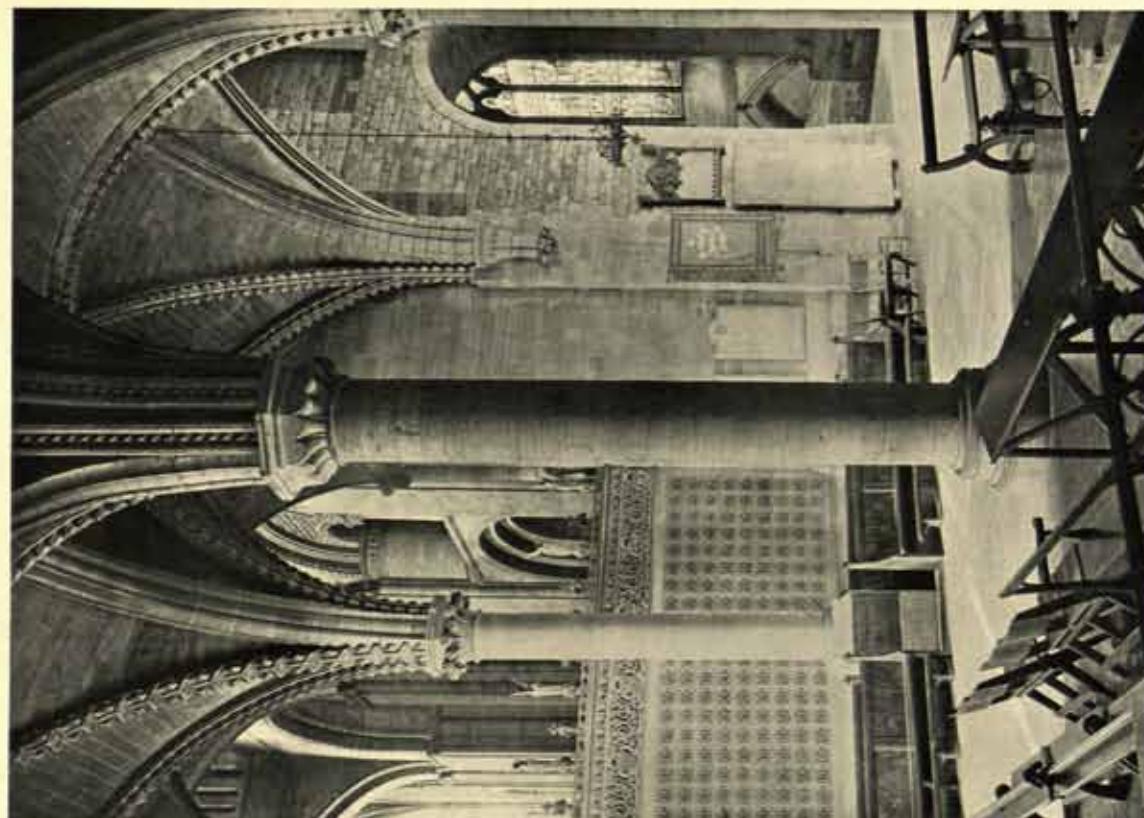


A. Wells, view across nave

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a. Hereford, arch in Lady Chapel



b. Hereford, behind high altar

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The date of the present church of Malmesbury has been the subject of controversy. There is no direct documentary evidence as to when it was begun or finished, but from recorded events it can be surmised within a few years.

In 1118 Roger, the bishop of Salisbury and chancellor of England, seized the abbey and its revenues and retained them until his disgrace and death in 1139, after which the convent regained its rights and they were confirmed to them by the Pope in 1142. It is obvious that the new church could not have been started during the lifetime of the bishop, which is confirmed by the fact that no mention of any new church is made by the historian William, a monk in the abbey, who died in 1143.

It would take some years for the convent to recover itself after the restitution of its property, so it is reasonable to suppose that the church would not have been begun much before 1145. The eastern arm and crossing would have presumably taken ten years to complete, and the nave, which was never hurried over, would not have been finished before 1165. Thus the approximate date of the transept, where the first features, afterwards used by the school, appear, would be about 1150, and the west end, where most of the characteristics are in evidence, would be about 1160.

To corroborate the date of completion there is a letter from the Pope, about 1163, to the bishops of London and Worcester, asking them to urge the bishop of Salisbury to respect the rights of the convent of Malmesbury and to perform any dedications that may be necessary there, free of charge and without any proviso, and if he will not do so then they are to perform the dedications themselves. The letter obviously refers to the hallowing of the complete church and not merely of the eastern part, as is evidenced by the character of the work.¹

These characteristic features are found: (a) In the wall passage in the west wall of the transept, where there are, on either side of the window arches, narrow openings having continuous rolls in the jambs and arches, while beneath the arch is a second arch of the same width (fig. 1).

(b) On the second stage of the south-west turret of the nave, where there are coupled panels with continuous rolls in the jambs and arches, and those on the west face have lower arches of nearly the same width (fig. 2).

(c) On the west end of the south aisle, where is a wall arcade composed of a series of arches, with continuous rolls to the jambs and arches, without any capitals (fig. 3).

(d) In the western doorway, of which only a portion remains, is the continuous order alternating with columns. It has six orders—the outermost, the

¹ *Reg. Malm.* (Rolls Series, 1881), i, 352.

third and the fifth are continuous in jamb and arch and decorated with leaf-work; the second and fourth have jamb shafts with capitals and bases and were intended to be carved with figure subjects in medallions (fig. 4).

(e) In none of these places is a single detached column used.

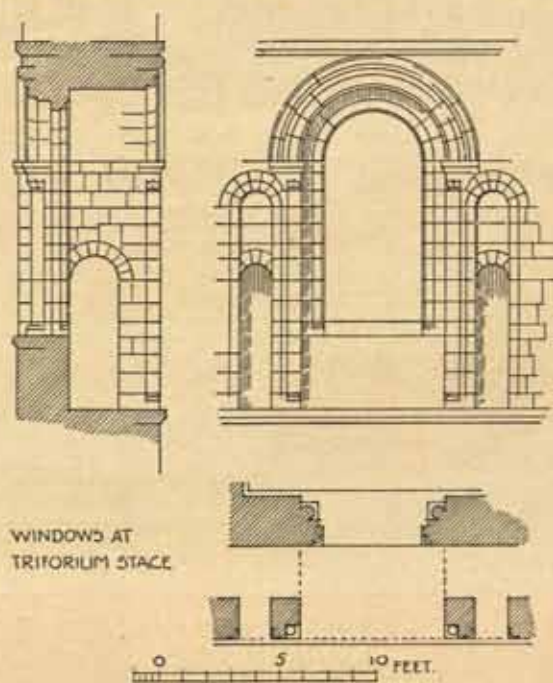


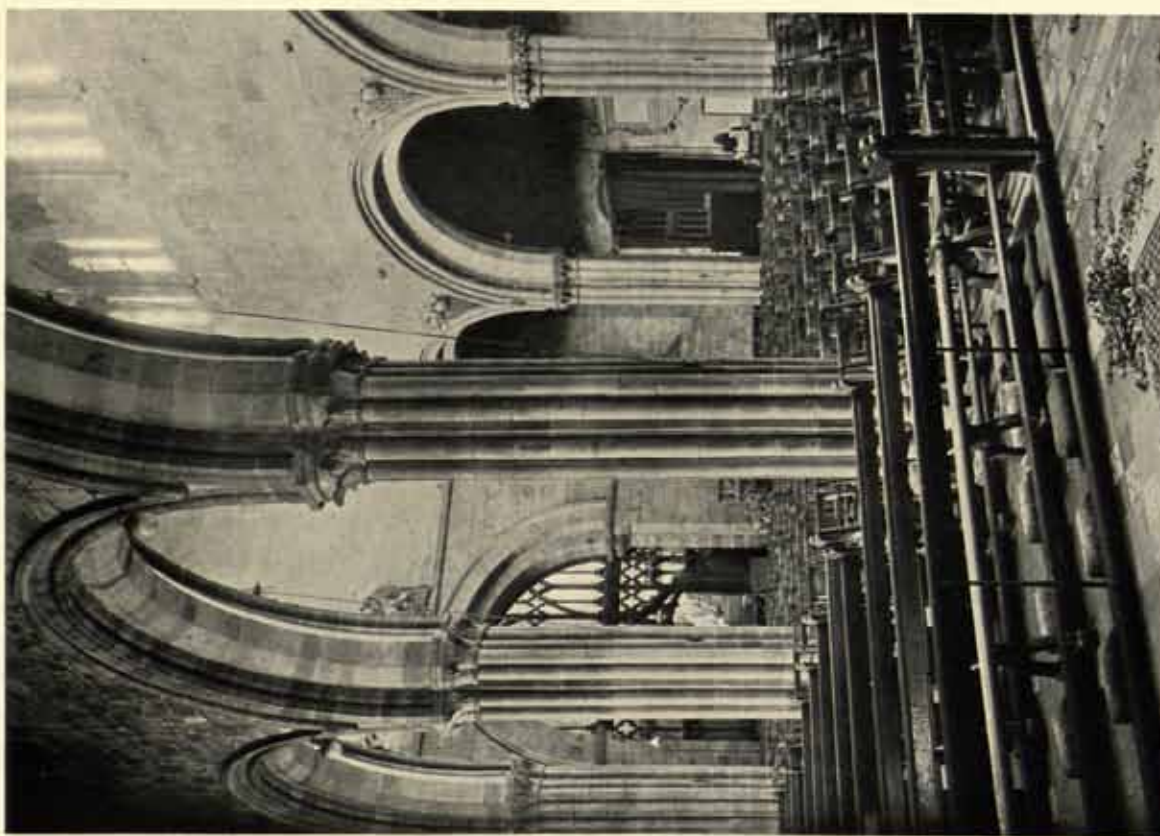
Fig. 1. Malmesbury, windows in south transept.

These features, surrounded by perfectly normal forms, have up to the present passed unnoticed, but are of the greatest importance as they later became some of the most marked characteristics of the school. It is not claimed that the great church of Malmesbury was the work of the school, but that the masons there employed were undoubtedly the pioneers of the distinctive peculiarities and so may have been the actual founders of the school.

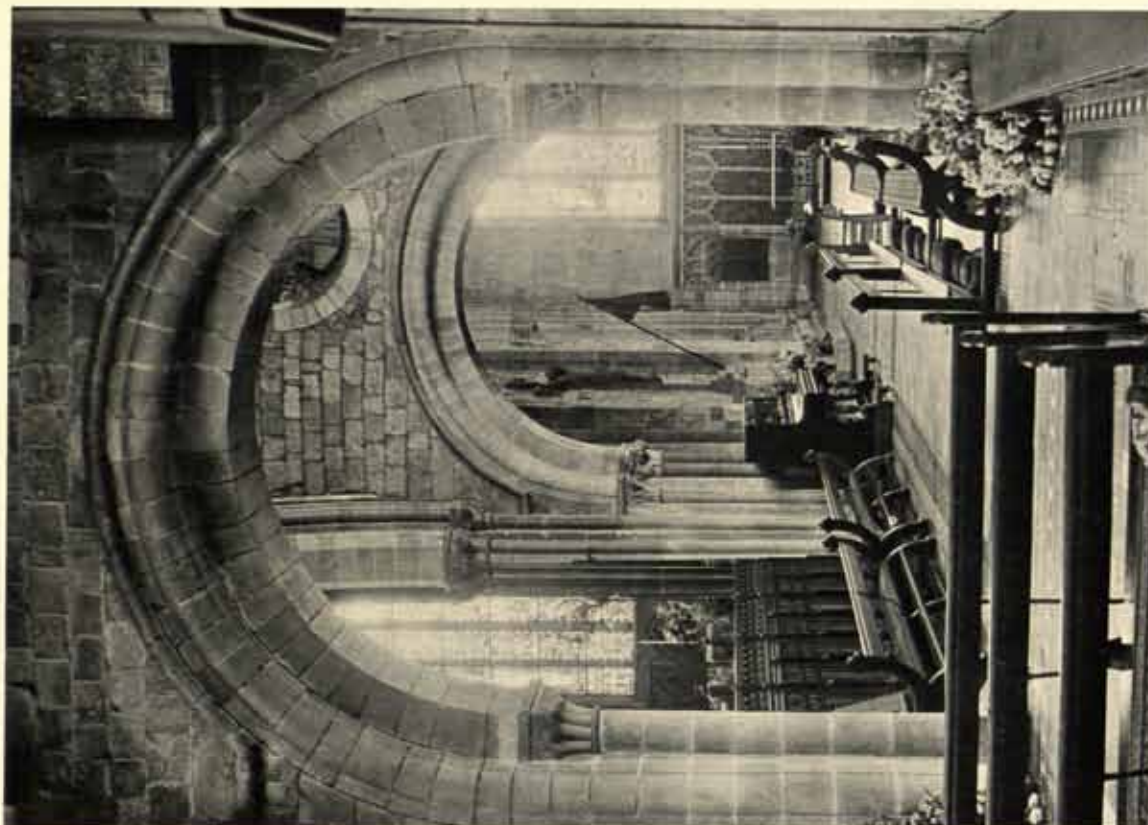
Whether the school had a fixed centre it is, at present, impossible to say. Its influence upon local work is most marked in the old diocese of Worcester, though there is a number of instances where it was employed in small churches in Wiltshire. In Somerset, however, where the two great churches of Wells and Glastonbury were being erected under its guidance, there are only a few instances of its general employment.

The particular characteristics claimed for the school are principally:

1. Continuous orders in jambs and arches, interspersed with orders having capitals and bases. This feature occurs in doorways at Glastonbury, Worcester, St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and Bredon (pl. II); in the main arcades of Worcester, Glastonbury, and Llandaff (pl. x); in the triforia of Worcester and,

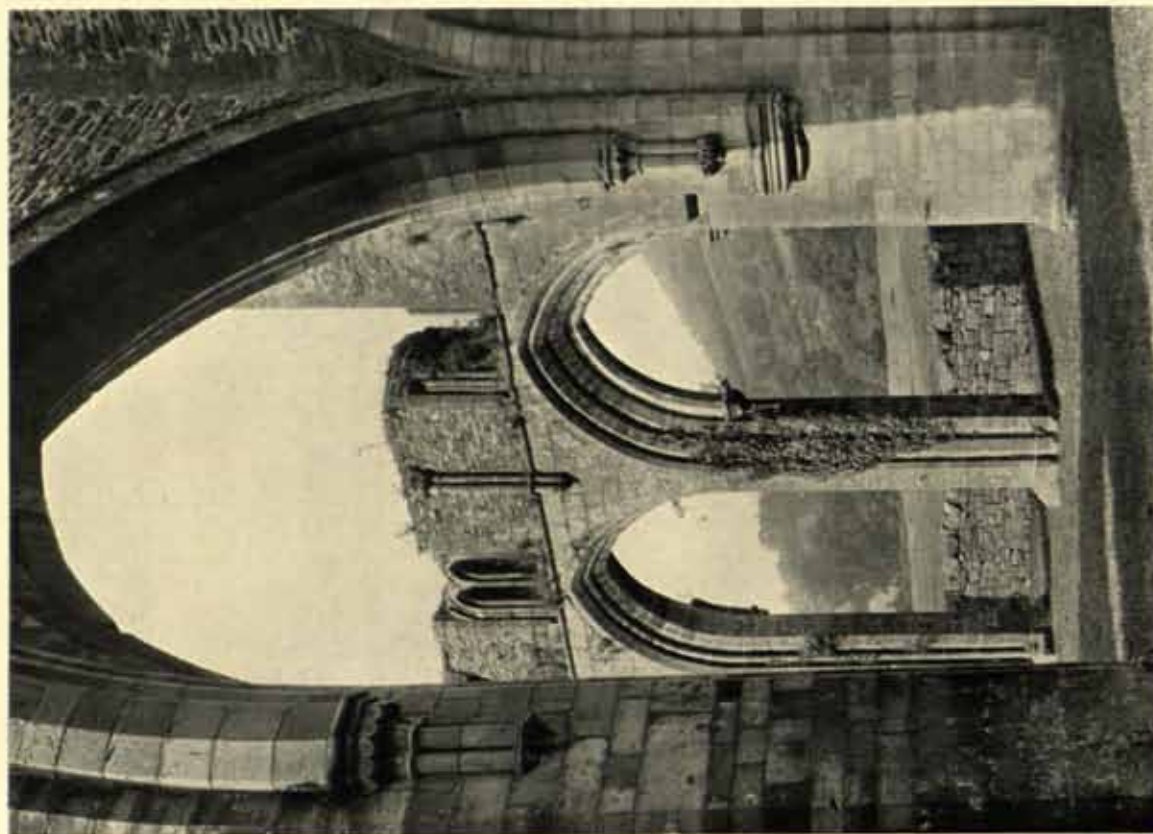


A. St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, view across nave

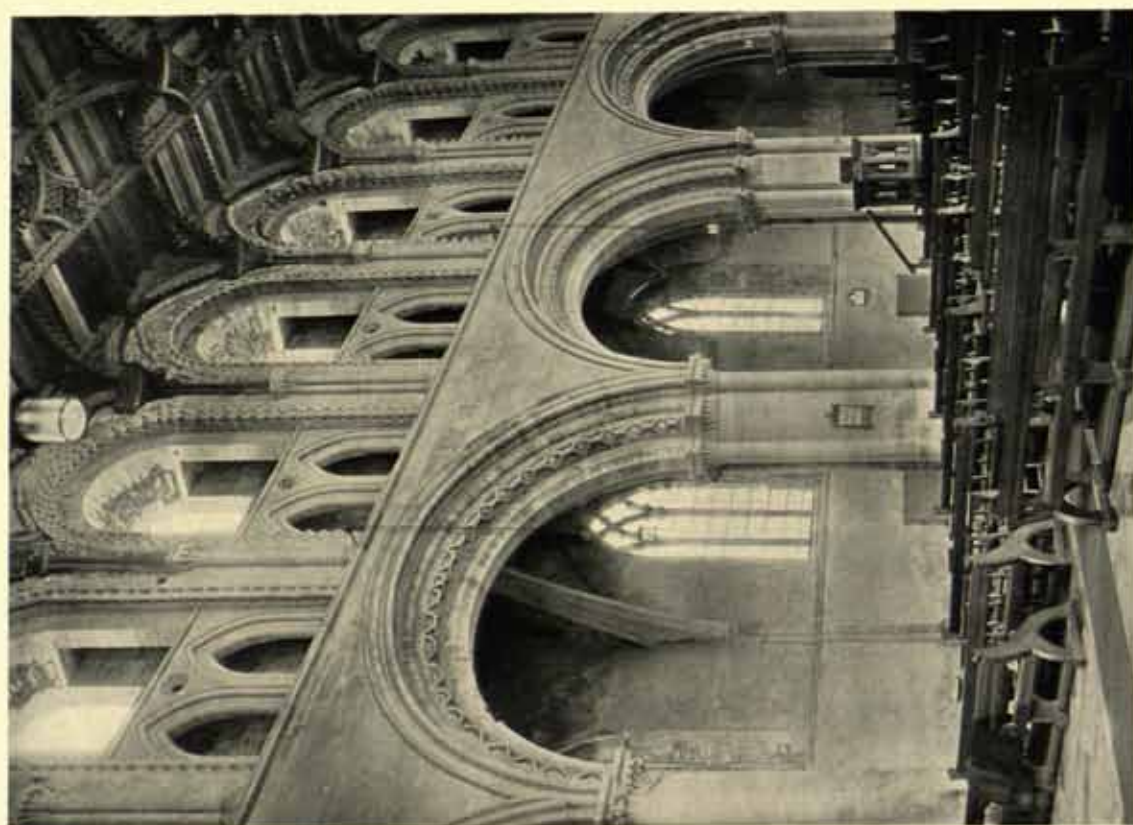


B. St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, arches in south transept

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b. Llanthony, north side of nave



a. St. Davids, north side of nave

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in a modified manner, of Llanthony, Wells, and St. Davids (pl. viii); in the clerestories of Worcester and Glastonbury; in the aisle windows of Glastonbury and in the windows of Glastonbury Lady chapel (pl. iii).

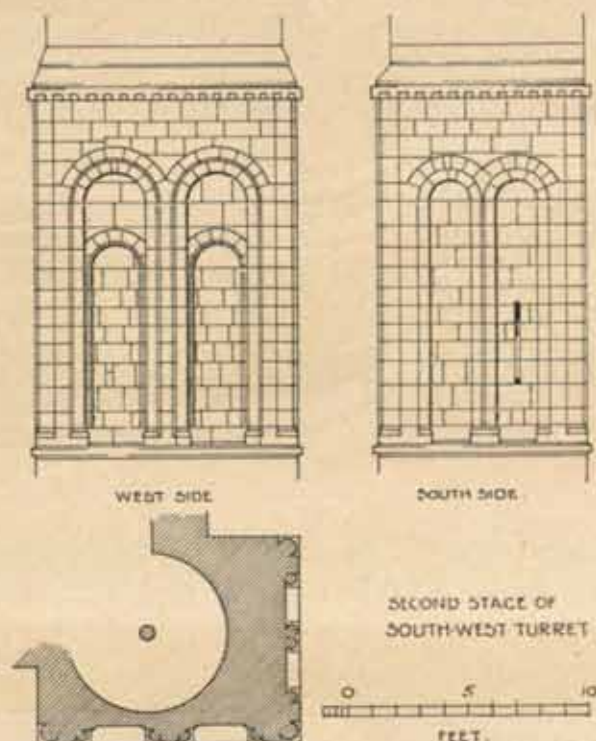


Fig. 2. Malmesbury, south-west turret.

2. The absence of detached columns. Throughout the whole of the work at Worcester, in the great churches at Glastonbury and Wells, there is not a single detached column used, nor is it found in lesser works. Only in the work of presumably one master does it occur, namely, in Glastonbury Lady chapel and the porches of Wells and Bishop's Cleeve.

3. Nibs on attached columns. Nibs are used generally on the columns at Worcester, Glastonbury, and Wells, and in lesser works (pl. x). Fillets only occur in two instances, at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and the quire of Lichfield.

4. Triple columns to take the inmost order of arcades. In the work at Worcester there is an exception, the inmost order being carried by a couple of half columns, which feature also occurs in the crossing piers of Glastonbury, Wells, and Farley (pl. x). In some of the smaller and later examples of the school, however, a single column is used.

5. Triple columns for vaulting shafts, of which the middle one is generally nibbed. This feature (pl. v) is universal, except in Glastonbury Lady chapel

and Wells porch. The angle vaulting shafts where carrying only one rib are single columns, generally nibbed.

6. Semi-octagonal capitals over triple columns are used in all examples except the quire of Lichfield, where the capitals are round but embrace the triple column.

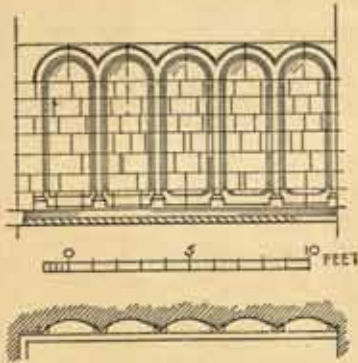


Fig. 3. Malmesbury, panels, west end of south aisle.

7. A lower arch in openings of approximately the same width as the main upper arch. This distinctive feature is difficult to understand. It occurs in the first place at Malmesbury, in the triforium and clerestory at Worcester, and in the triforium of the nave at Wells, while in the great church at Glastonbury the idea has been carried to the greatest length possible by adapting it to the main arcades¹ (pl. XII).

8. Wall panelling without capitals occurs generally in the ends of the transepts at Wells, outside the central tower and in the pinnacles, in the west front of Llanthony, and in Wells porch.

9. No wall panelling under aisle windows. In Norman work, wall panelling was used in most important buildings, inside and out, but there is no instance of this in the work of this school, except the Lady chapel at Glastonbury and in the late quire of Lichfield.

10. Carved bosses on flat wall surfaces. These are used throughout the triforium at Worcester, in the Lady chapel at Glastonbury, in the triforium of the nave and north porch at Wells, in St. Davids nave, and the late front of Llandaff (pls. XIII, III *b*, VIII *a*).

11. Continuous turrets. Turrets were used at the angles of main gables, and these were generally in a continuous line from plinth to eaves, unbroken even by a string course, as at Worcester,² Glastonbury Lady chapel (pl. III *a*), Wells porch (pl. XIV), St. Davids, and Ledbury.

Buttresses were probably similar, as at Pershore, but few remain; those to the Lady chapel at Glastonbury are continuous, but stop at some distance below the parapet (pl. III *a*).

12. Nibbed columns at angles of buttresses. The fashion of putting rolls at the angles of buttresses was general in late Norman work, but the way it was used by the school is distinctive: the roll is generally nibbed, the top

¹ The feature of the arcade being an arch below a higher one first showed itself at Romsey but was given up; it occurs, however, throughout the Augustinian church of St. Frideswide at Oxford and at Jedburgh.

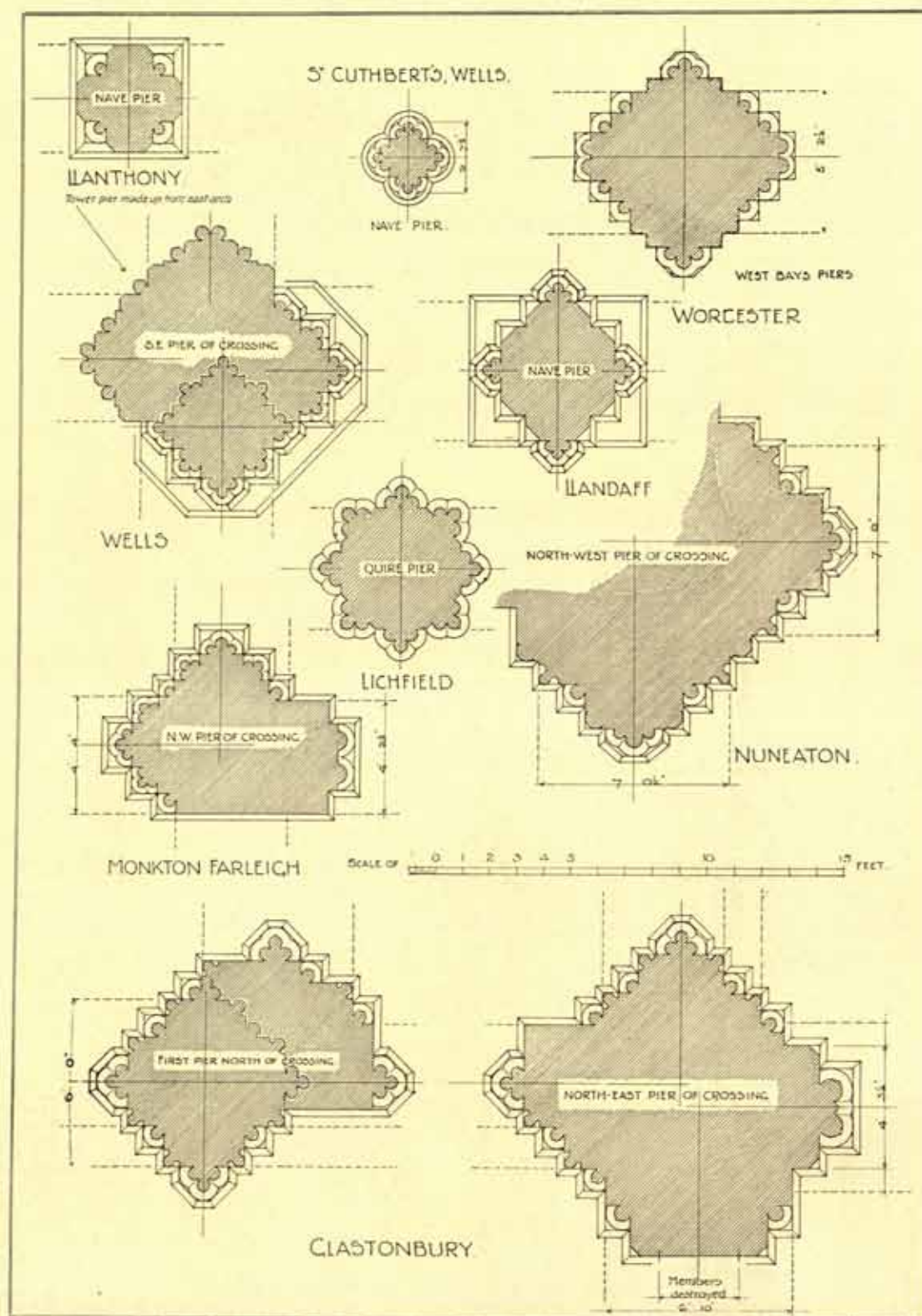
² The turrets on either side the west gable remained until the works of 1865, and those at the angles of the aisles and north transept still remain though of new material.



a. Wells, capitals in north transept



b. Bishop's Cleeve, wall panelling in porch



Plans of arcade and crossing piers

carved into a fully developed capital, of simple Norman form in the earlier work, and projecting leaf-work in the later examples. This feature occurs throughout the Lady chapel at Glastonbury and in the great church there,

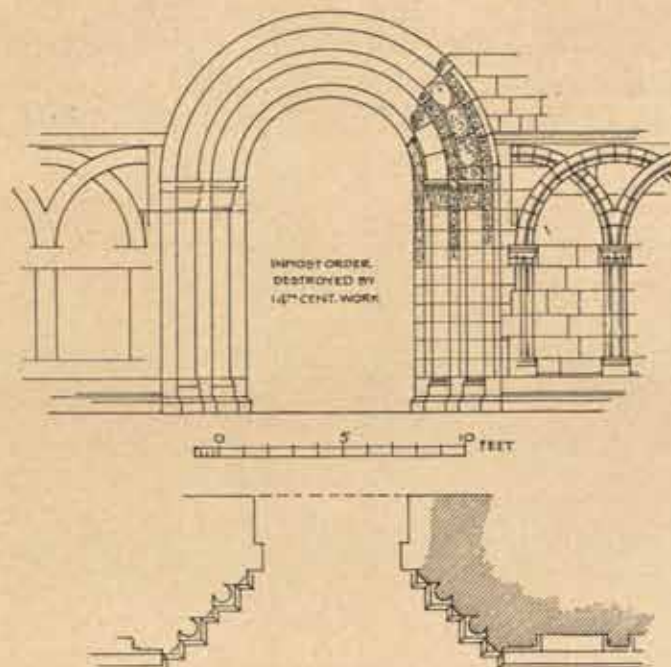


Fig. 4. Malmesbury, remains of west doorway.

in Wells porch (pl. xiv), at Pershore, and the west ends of Llandaff and Ledbury.

13. Playful treatment of Norman ornament in arches and capitals is a distinctive feature of the school, and is often found in small country churches where all other characteristics have been destroyed.

14. Square or semi-octagonal abaci. The capitals have always, except in the latest examples, square or semi-octagonal abaci. The top edge is square in section (pl. ix *a*), except where the abacus is a continuation of a string course. In very late examples the square top edge is omitted and the abacus is formed with two rolls and a hollow (pl. viii *b*).

15. Capitals without necking (pl. vi *a*). This peculiar feature occurs in quite early forms of capital, as at Hilmarton and Compton Bassett in Wiltshire. It occurs occasionally at Wells, but is carried to an extreme at Slymbridge, St. Davids transepts, and Llandaff.

16. Capitals without abaci. The omission of abaci is found in some cases where the jamb moulding is continued in the arch, as on the panelling of the turrets of Glastonbury Lady chapel, in the presbytery of the great church there, and later on the vaulting shafts at Llandaff.

There were other peculiarities which were not always generally used but may be considered peculiar to the Malmesbury school:

(a) In interlacing arches the mouldings interpenetrate and do not stop abruptly in the Norman manner¹ (pl. ix *b*). This idea is carried to the label moulds in the main panels of the Wells porch, which continue across the arches above the capitals (pl. xv).

(b) The use of chevrons and their variants on vaulting ribs,² as in the Lady chapel at Glastonbury, Hereford (pl. vi *b*), the porch of Bishop's Cleeve, and in the west gatehouse at Gloucester.

(c) Excessively tall capitals in proportion to the size of the columns, as in Wells porch, Hereford chapels, and Llandaff nave (pls. xv, vi *a*, v *b*).

(d) The projecting column in a main arcade had sometimes three nibs worked upon it, on the cardinal faces, as at Slymbridge, St. Davids transepts, and Llandaff.

(e) Wall panels have their backs concave, similar to those of the chapter-house at Bristol; but this feature occurs first at Malmesbury, high up over the south aisle, in Wells porch (pl. xv), and the west end of Llanthony (pl. iv *a*).

It is not to be supposed that all the characteristics are to be found in any one building, nor that where some occur a normal type may not be adopted in some other feature that may show a peculiar form elsewhere. Thus at Wells all the buttresses, except to the porch, have sets off in their height, and also the continuous roll is omitted from the main arcade.

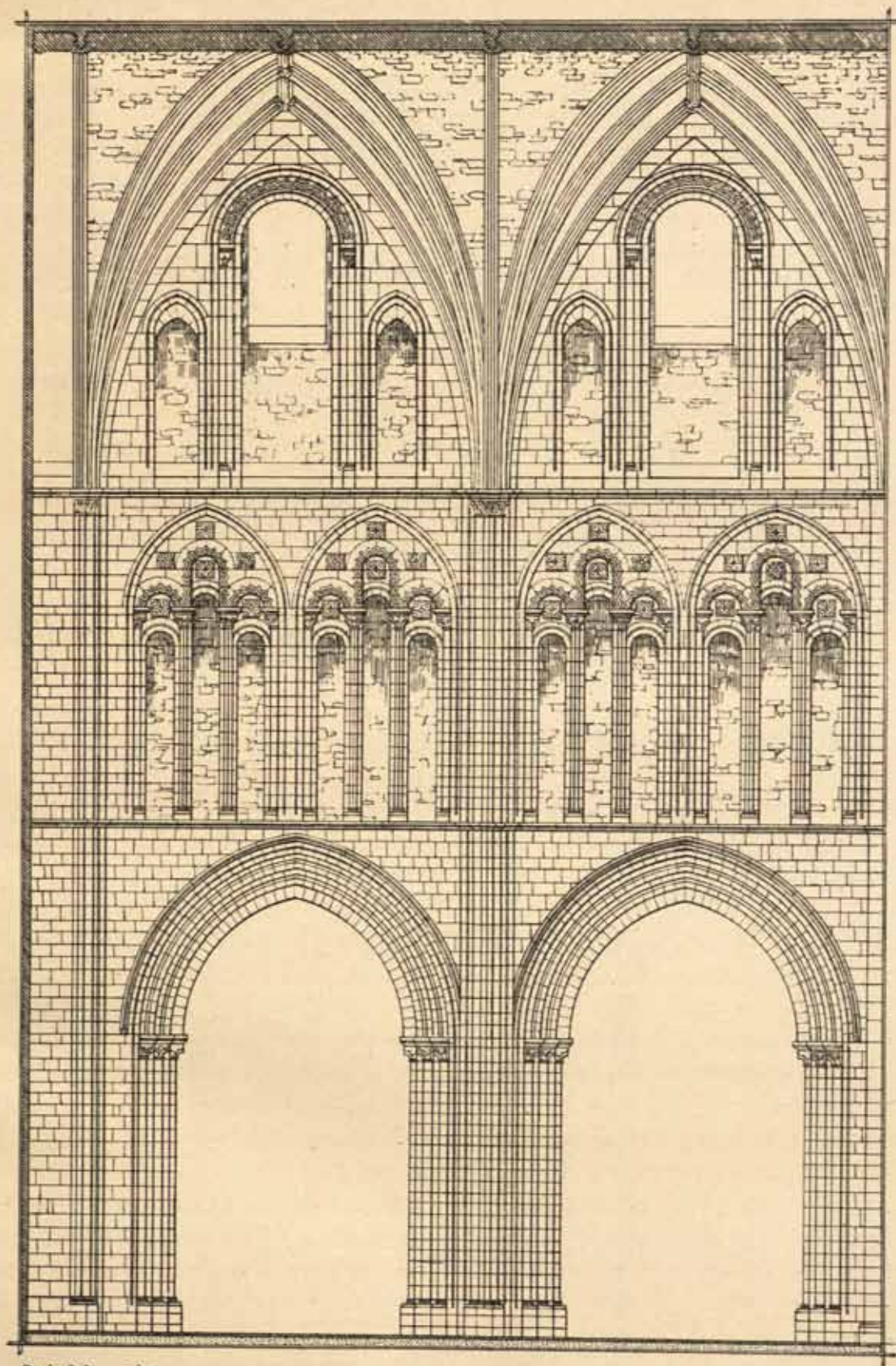
When the distinctive peculiarities of the work of the school are recognized, the buildings erected under its influence are unmistakable; and so intimate are these details that it is impossible for them not to have been erected by the same band of men. To cite one instance. The continuous roll moulding between the jamb shafts at Nuneaton and at Glastonbury (pl. x) is started directly off the plinth course without a stop of any kind, which is a trick of workmanship that must have been due to the same hand, as there is no logical reason why it should have been so treated. Again, surely the capitals at Llandaff and Glastonbury, without abaci, are without a parallel. These are small details, but it is in the tricks of detail that the same hand shows itself.

Besides the characteristics of the school, by which its work can be readily identified, the work generally is distinctive by itself.

Simplicity in general proportions with a logical balance of voids and solids seem to be the key-notes of each design. Excellency of masoncraft is another marked feature, and all the greater buildings are faced inside and out

¹ This feature also occurs at Bolton Priory, but the other details are quite different.

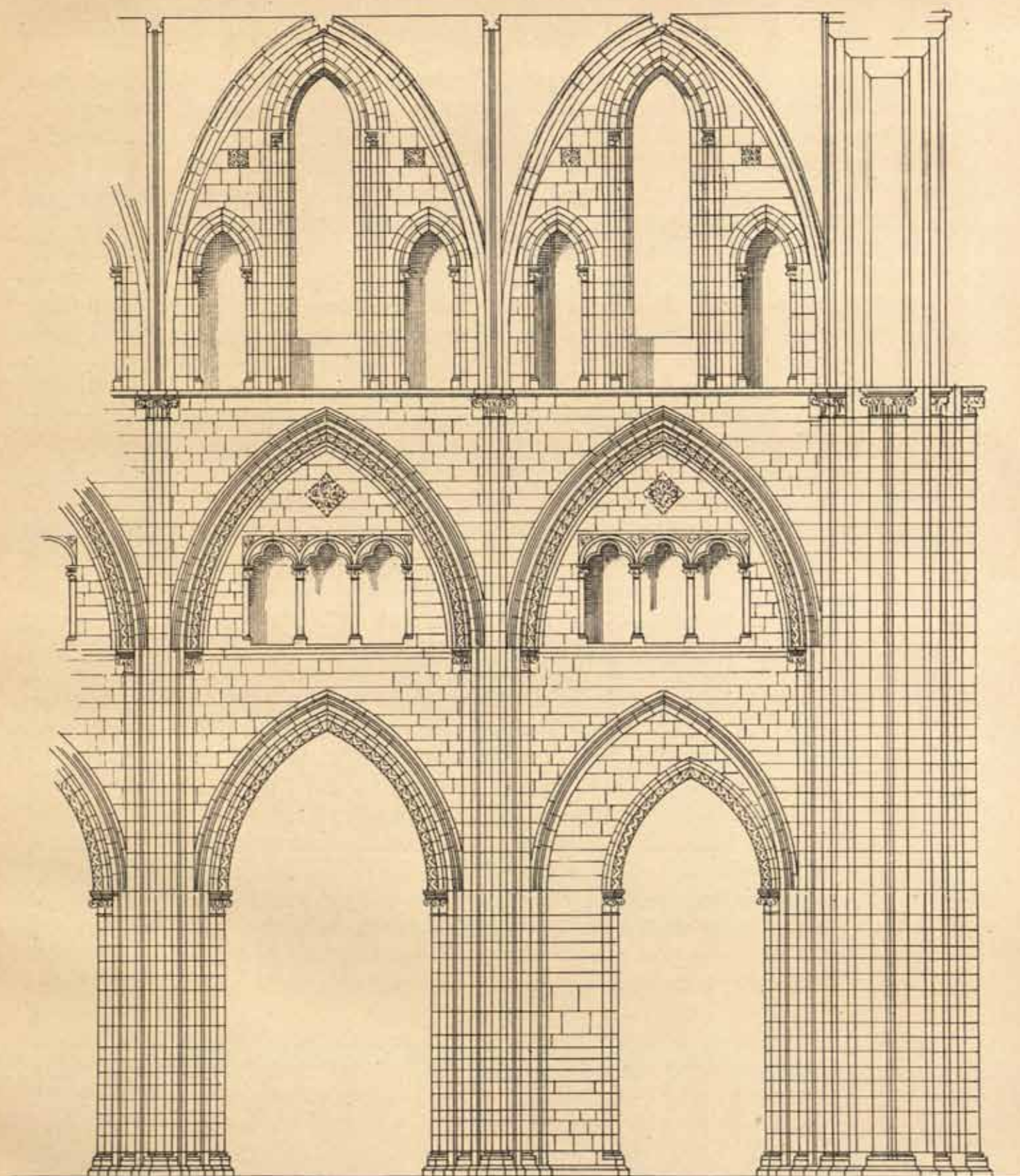
² The use of chevrons occurs in the early vaults of Durham, and is only claimed as a feature of the school in being used long after the plain moulded rib had become general.



Scale 8 ft. = 1 in.

Worcester, western bays of nave, north side

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Scale 8 ft. = 1 in

Glastonbury, east side of north transept (restored)

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with fine ashlarwork. These principles might have been learnt from the Cistercians, but as the school appears to have originated in Benedictine Malmesbury, and in no case was it employed by the Cistercians, these qualities must be ascribed to the talent and sincerity of the masters themselves, and not to any outside influence.

Heaviness of construction seems to have clung to the practice of the school throughout its course, and even the late nave of Llandaff has walls 5 ft. in thickness. Though the great buildings of Worcester and Glastonbury were intended from the first to have vaults over the main span, the buttresses were of no great projection, and the abutments for the high vaults were concealed under the aisle roofs.

The plans (pl. xviii) of the great churches erected *de novo* by the school show no marked similarity, except perhaps in the arrangement of the east end. The east ends of Wells, Glastonbury, and Lichfield have been destroyed by later works, but from the remains that have been found it would seem that each was square-ended; the presbytery was aisled and finished with a high gable, beyond which was an ambulatory aisle with eastern chapels. This arrangement has been found by excavation at Lichfield; it certainly existed at Glastonbury, and possibly was the termination at Wells. Hereford and Llandaff seem to have been finished more or less in the same way, but in these cases the east ends were added to existing presbyteries.

Wells had an aisled presbytery of three bays, an ambulatory aisle outside the east gable and presumably eastern chapels, aisled transepts of three bays each, an aisled nave of ten bays, and a north porch.

Glastonbury had an aisled presbytery of four bays, with an ambulatory aisle outside the east end and eastern chapels, transepts of three bays each, with the unique arrangement of an eastern aisle and two chapels beyond, an aisled nave of ten bays with western towers, and a north porch.

St. Davids had an aisled presbytery of four bays, transepts of three bays each, with eastern chapels to the end bays, and an aisled nave of six bays.

Lichfield had an aisled presbytery of five bays, with an ambulatory aisle outside the east end and chapels beyond, but only three bays of the arcade and aisles now remain. The transepts and nave were apparently never completed by the school.

Nuneaton, Farley, and Llanthony were each planned to suit the requirements of their respective Orders, and the plans cannot be instanced as typical of the school. The other principal works, besides the Lady chapel at Glastonbury, are additions to existing buildings: two bays at the west end of Worcester, an eastern aisle and chapels at Hereford, and the same and a nave at Llandaff.

Towers were a feature of the designs, though the western bays at Worcester were the result of doing away with western towers. Western towers were provided for at Glastonbury and Llanthony, and possibly at Wells, Llandaff, and Lichfield. All the designs were to have had central lanterns, but these in all cases either were not completed by the school or have been destroyed, with the exception of a portion of that at Llanthony (pl. iv *b*).

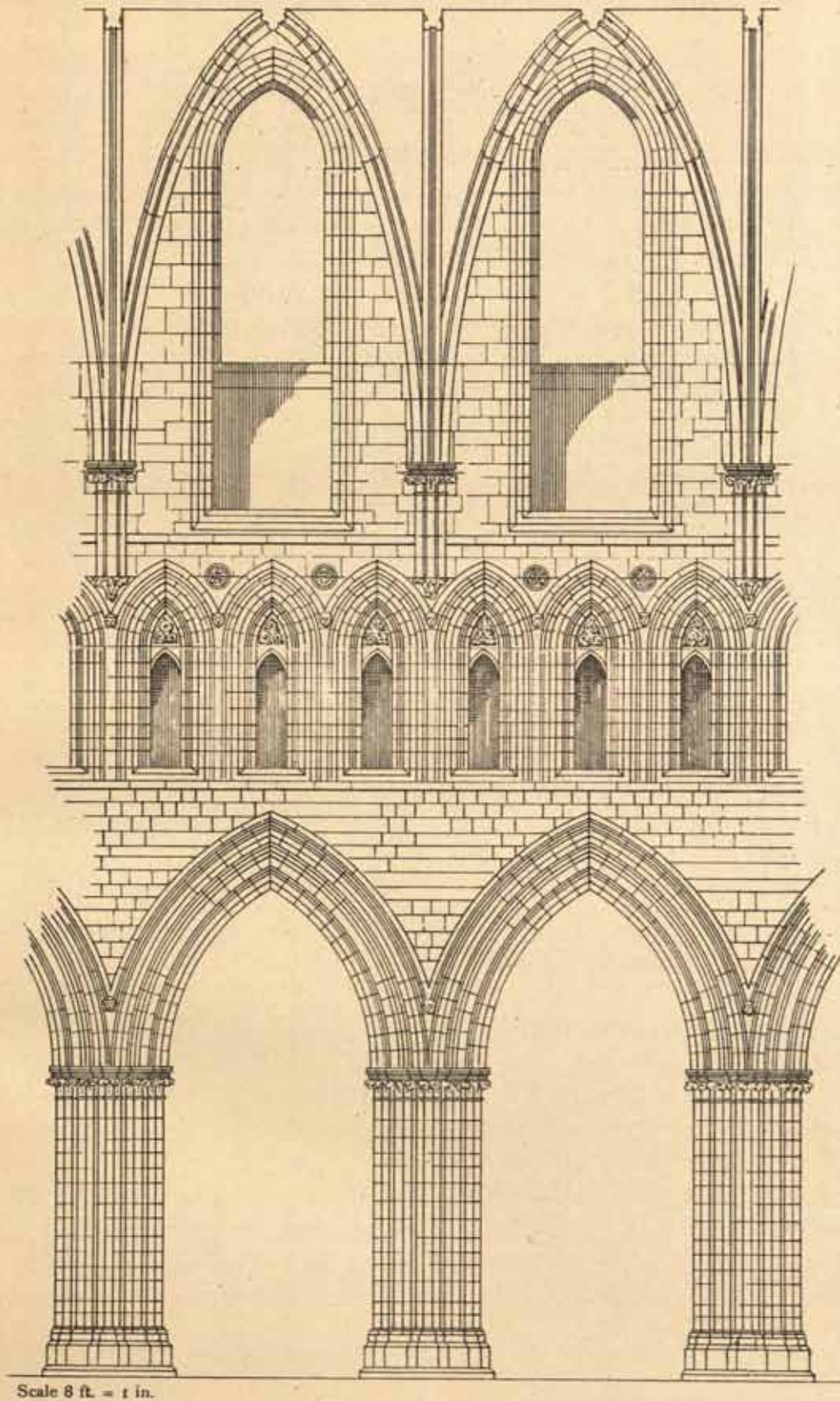
The principal buildings, unless the nave of Wells may be perhaps excepted, were intended for high vaults from the first, and these had pointed arched ribs, diagonal, transverse, and wall ribs. The aisles were vaulted from triple columns, though at Worcester the wall ribs, like those of the high vault, were carried up from the ground on either side of the vaulting shafts. The ribs generally were cut from stones having a flat soffit. Ribs with a projecting roll to the front are met with in conjunction with the flat soffit ribs, and in some cases the ribs are ornamented with chevrons.

Ornament was sparingly used, but where it occurred it was of superb quality. It was never used where it interfered with the apparent strength of the structure, and its use gave a delicate relief to what might otherwise have been a severely heavy design. The way the carvers treated the hard lines of Norman ornament and literally played with them is wonderful. Chevrons became frames of living foliage, and the harsh lines of a scalloped capital were from the first hollowed beneath, and gradually converted into the wonderful stiff-leaved foliage of Wells nave (pl. ix *a*). The carving of the school is a study in itself, and in no other part of the country is such a series of progression in sculpture to be found.

Though in every example of the school the pointed arch is employed for the vaulting, the round arch is found in subsidiary parts, and with very few exceptions is always used for doorways. At the Lady chapel at Glastonbury the round arch is used throughout for everything but the vaulting. It occurs also in the nave of St. Davids, the aisles of which were prepared for vaulting which was never carried out (pl. viii *a*). In smaller works where there was no vaulting it is constantly used for the arcades.

During the period that the school lasted the details changed considerably and progressed with the general development of the art, but the main character of its individualities continued to the end.

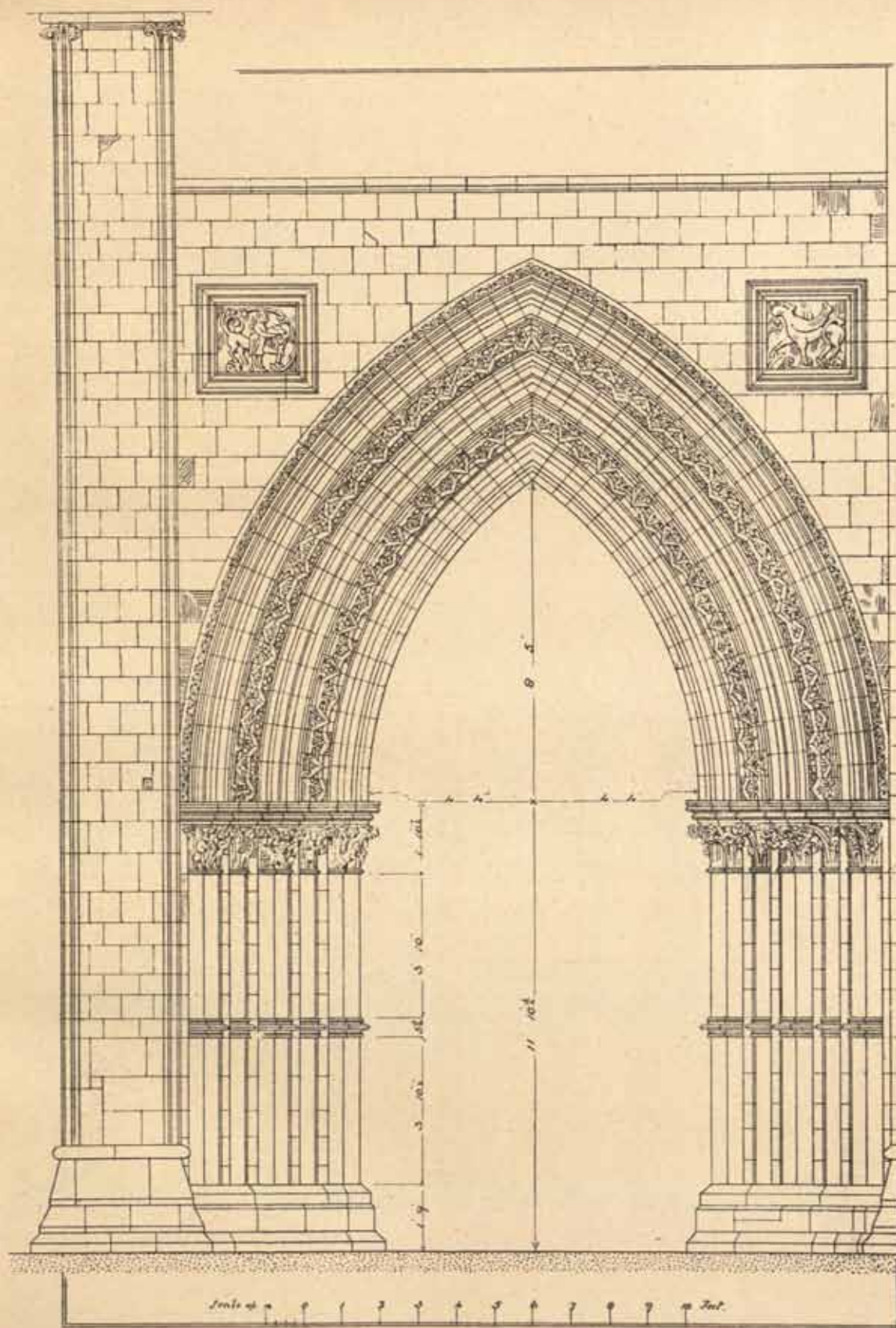
Search has been made for some connexion between the rulers of the various buildings which bear the impress of the school, especially in those cases which are certainly by the same hand, but without any success, save in one instance, and it only helps to prove how very little the bishops and abbots had to do with the building of their churches. Malmesbury, Worcester, and Glastonbury were all Benedictine houses, but there is no known intercourse



Scale 8 ft. = 1 in.

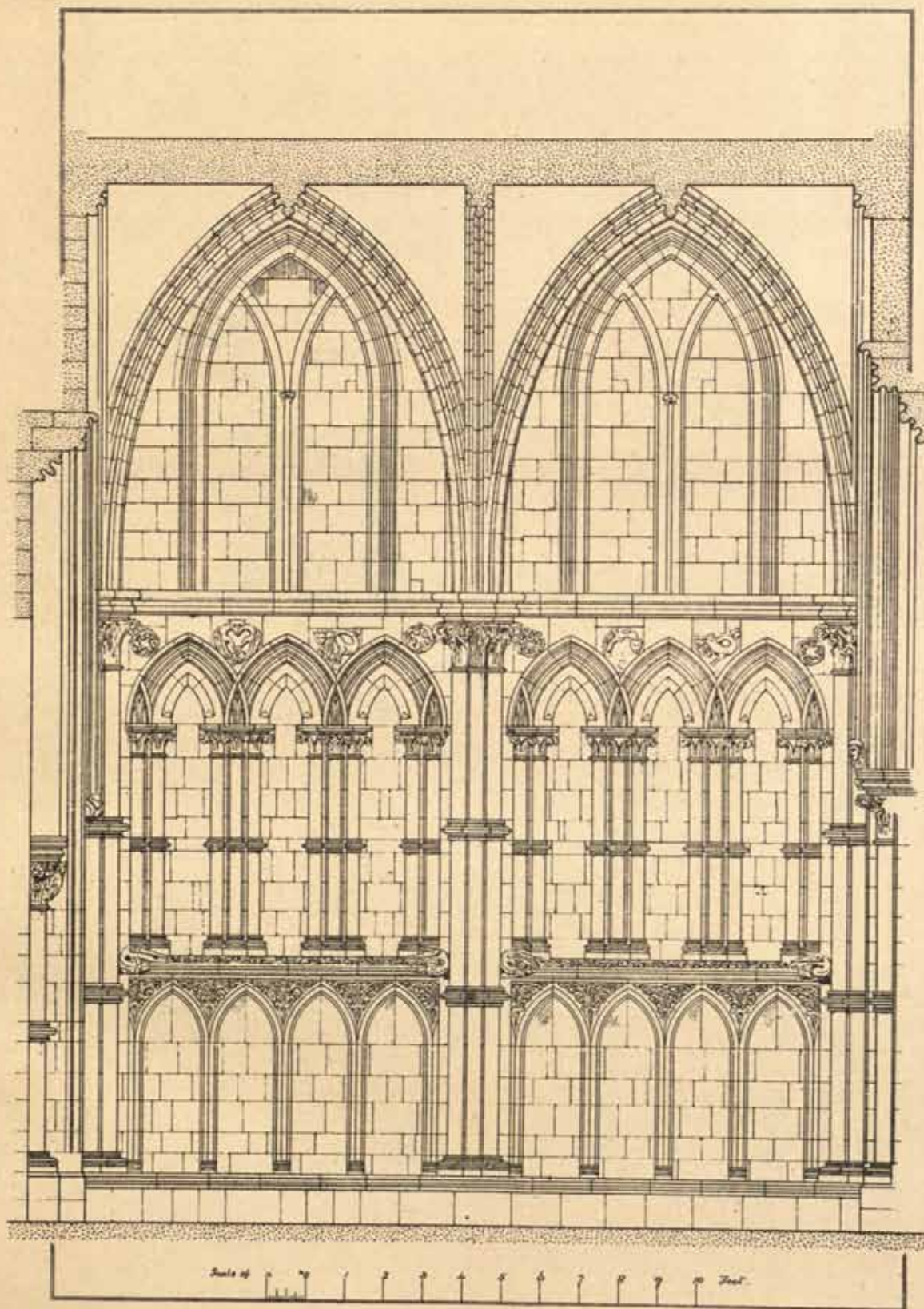
Wells, two bays of nave

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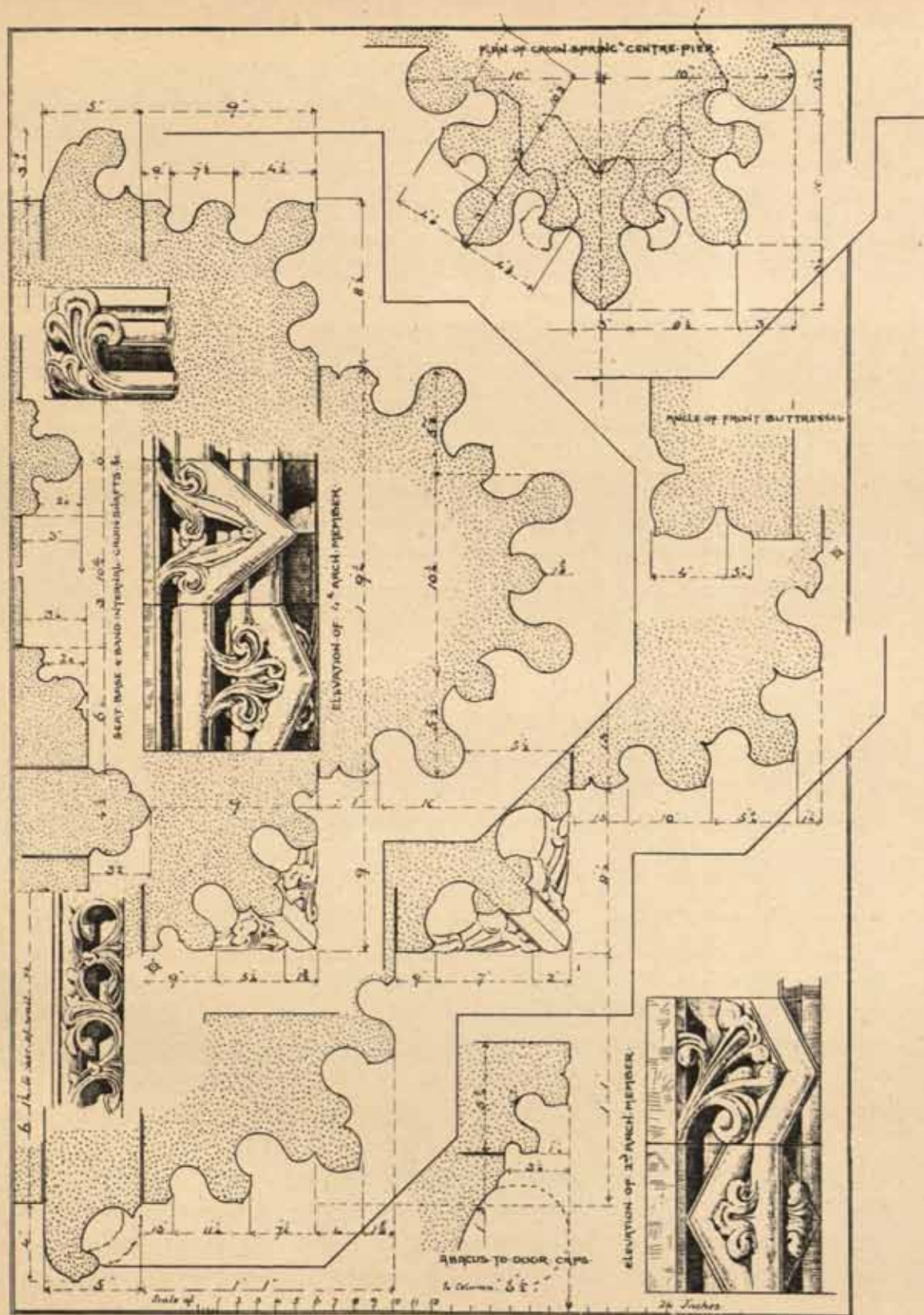
Wells, North Porch, entrance arch

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Wells. North Porch, interior elevation of west wall

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Wells, North Porch, details of entrance arch

between them. The work at Malmesbury was wrought during the abbacy of two or more little-known men, that at Worcester during the priorate of Ralph of Bedford (1146-89), and the work at Glastonbury during the time the abbey was in the hands of the king (1178-89). At Wells the church was building during the episcopate of Reginald de Bohun (1174-91). It is recorded that he helped with the building, and at Monkton Farley the de Bohuns were hereditary founders, so in this case there is a distinct connexion, apart from the similarity of the work at both places.

Further, Bredon and Bishop's Cleeve belonged to the bishop of Worcester, and the same master, working at the cathedral, was apparently employed at these churches. The Bredon work is of the same character as the western bays of Worcester, and the Cleeve porch is of the same date as the passage to the infirmary, but varies in certain details.

The most disappointing feature in connexion with the school is the total absence of direct documentary evidence of the date of any of the buildings, except of Glastonbury. Here it is recorded that, on the day of St. Urban (25th May) 1184, a fire consumed the whole monastery, except a bell tower and a chamber with a chapel in which the monks took refuge. The group of buildings so lately erected by Bishop Henry, 'with the church venerable to all and sheltering so many saints were reduced to a heap of ashes'. The abbey was at that time in the hands of the king under the charge of one Peter de Marci, who died the same year.¹ He was followed by Ralph fitz Stephen, and of him it is stated that 'he completed the church of St. Mary in the place where from the beginning the ancient church had stood, building it of squared stones of the most beautiful workmanship, omitting no possible ornament. It was dedicated by Reginald, bishop of Bath, on St. Barnabas day (11th June) about 1186. He repaired all the offices of the monastery and, lastly, laid the foundations of this great church, 400 ft. in length and 80 ft. in breadth.'² After the death of King Henry II in 1189 an abbot was appointed, and Ralph's trusteeship would cease. From these records two things are certain: first, that the Lady chapel was completed in about two years, and, secondly, that the great church was begun by Ralph fitz Stephen, probably immediately after the fire; and if it was proceeded with as rapidly as the Lady chapel it would have had most of the eastern arm erected before 1189.

Two other buildings may be approximately dated, Worcester and Wells. Of the former it is recorded that the new tower fell in 1175. If this was the central tower, then the work of the school remaining in the transepts must be that which was necessitated by the damage; but if so, what was the reason

¹ *Adam de Domerham*, Hearne's ed., ii, 334.

² Willis, *Glastonbury Abbey* (1866) 12, n. 1.

³ *Annales Wigorn*, in *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series) iv, 383.

for the two western bays being built, not as the completion of an unfinished nave, but in place of two bays of an existing structure? Surely it is more reasonable to suppose that the new tower was one of two being built at the west end of the church and that the new western bays were erected in consequence of the damage caused by the fall of this tower. In this case the work can be exactly dated as immediately following 1175. Otherwise if the new tower was the central one then the western bays must be placed at about 1170, as they are obviously earlier than the work in the transept, and the reason of their erection remains unexplained.

In the case of Wells a statement as old as the fifteenth century, that Bishop Jocelyn built the whole church, has first to be disproved, and this has been done by the late Canon Church, who clearly showed that Reginald de Bohun was the bishop who obtained grants towards the new work and gave liberal concessions from his own revenues for the same purpose.¹ A grant for the same use, after Reginald's death, was made by one Martin of Croscombe, who gave three silver marks towards the construction of the new work of the church of St. Andrew's in Wells and another two marks to the repair of the chapel of St. Mary there 'in the second year after the coronation of the lord the king at Winchester'.² This coronation must have been that of King Richard, after his release, which took place on 17th April 1194.

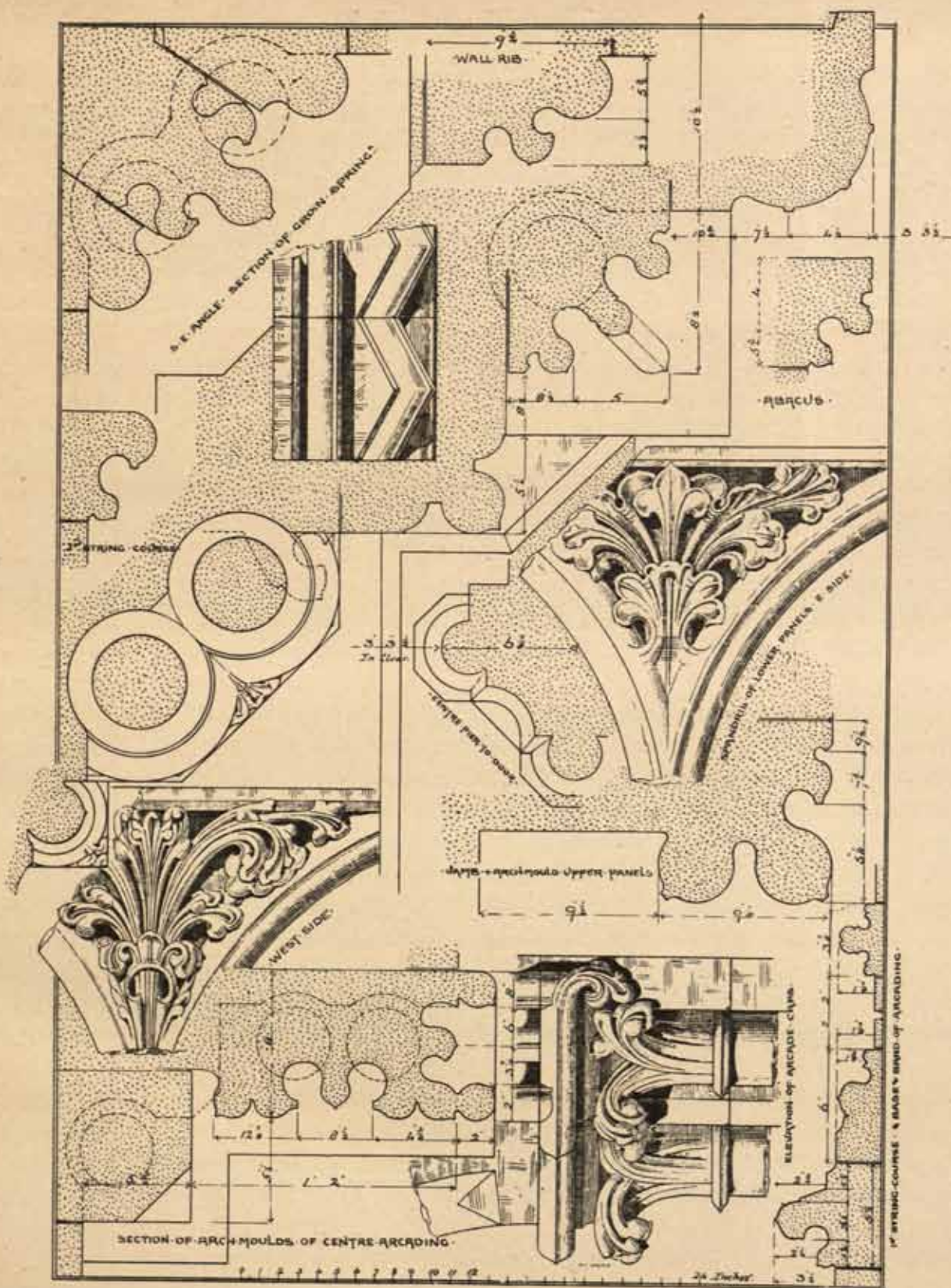
These show that the church was actively in progress during Reginald's episcopate and that the work was not finished in 1196. About this time everything was disordered by the contentions between Wells and Glastonbury and the Norman west front was doubtless left standing. It was this *part of* the church that Jocelyn is recorded to have found ready to fall, and 'he pulled down the greatest part of it, to wit, the west end, and built it anew from the very foundation'.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that Bishop Reginald began the church about 1180, and there seems to have been a change of master-masons after the aisles of the transepts were finished, which may mark the point to which the work had proceeded at his death in 1191. With this slight change the building was continued up to a distinct break westward of the north porch, where the diagonal tooling ceases, and which cannot be dated later than 1210. The remainder of the church, with the west front, is without doubt the work of Bishop Jocelyn, and is of one build throughout, though the design of the nave continues without any change.

When the archives of Lichfield have been examined, in the same way as those of Wells, it may be possible to date more exactly the earlier work there, which at the moment can only be approximately placed at about 1195 to 1200.

¹ *Archaeologia*, 1, 323 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, 1, 328.



Wells, North Porch, details of inner panels, &c.

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The dated buildings of the school, if these inferences are accepted, are, therefore, Worcester 1175, Glastonbury Lady chapel 1184-6, the great church 1184-1210, Wells about the same date, and Lichfield quire presumably 1195-

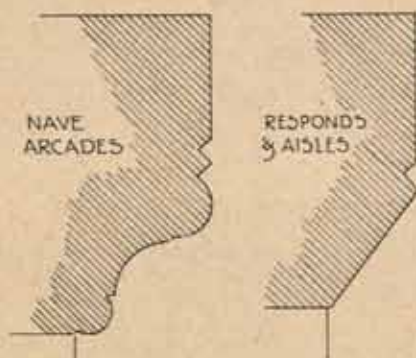


Fig. 5. Malmesbury, abaci.

1200. By comparison with these landmarks it might be thought that the lesser works could be dated to within a few years, but as the characteristics continue from the earliest to the latest examples this is not so easy as it might appear.

There is one feature that changed during the period the school was at work, and which does indicate the date of the work to a marked extent, and that is the abacus mould.

At Malmesbury there are two distinct forms of abaci, those of the responds and vaulting shafts and those of the arcades (fig. 5). The former are the usual Norman form of quirked chamfer and the latter a more complicated type with two sets of beads. It is a curious fact that these two forms were used by the school during the whole of its existence, until almost the end. In the earlier examples the former is used without exception, save that the chamfer is hollowed, but when Glastonbury was built this form was given up for the other section, which occurs with slight variations until it was abandoned at Lichfield and Llandaff. The examples, therefore, with abaci of quirked chamfers can safely be placed between 1175 and 1186, and those with the double bead from 1184 to about 1195; in other words, both forms were each in vogue for about ten years.

The peculiarities of the school vary considerably in different examples, and examination of the treatment of these will show that there were at least three master minds at work during the time the school was at its height. Each of these men was imbued with the same general teaching but each had individual characteristics.

The first great building actually erected under the aegis of the school is that now forming the two western bays of the priory church of Worcester (pl. xi). The designer of this work seems to have gone to Nuneaton to

direct the building of the church of the Fontevrault nunnery there, and from thence to the great church of Glastonbury in 1182 (pl. xii). He or his immediate pupils may have been responsible for the Augustinian church at Llanthony in Monmouthshire (pl. iv *b*) and later for the cathedral at Llandaff (pl. v *b*). The same characteristics of the continuous order and triple vaulting-shafts rising from the floor occur in each of these buildings, and their treatment is so personal that they must have been by the same master or erected immediately under his direction.

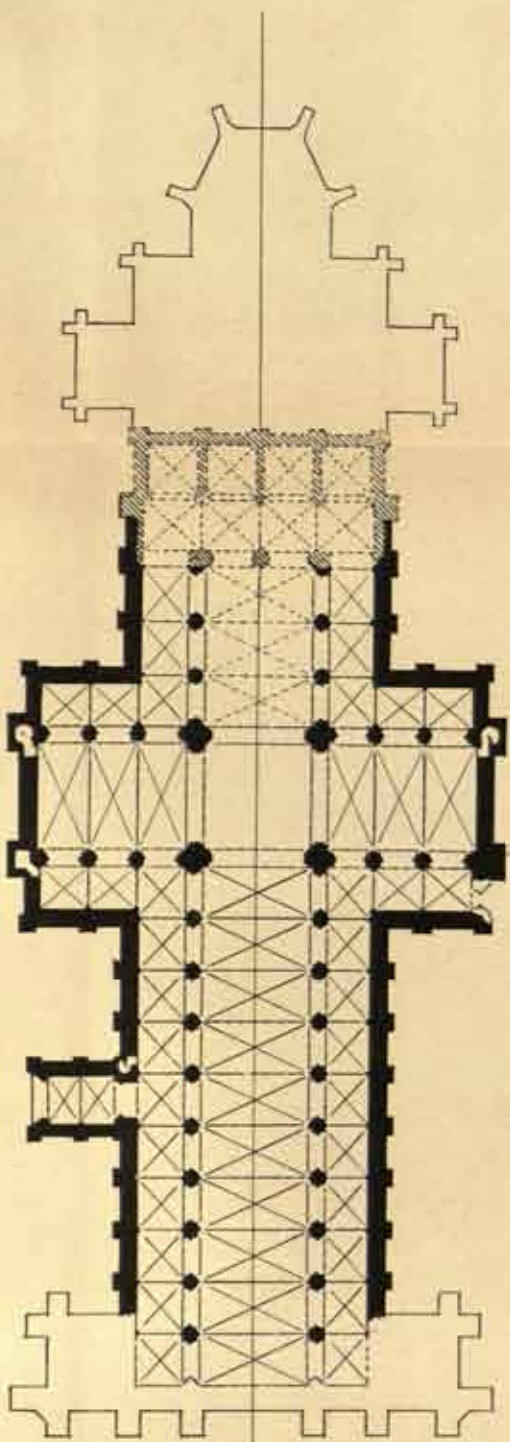
The designer of Wells cathedral (pl. xiii) was a different master from the last; he broke away from the use of the continuous roll in the main arcades and formed the pillars with groups of triple columns. He omitted the logical arrangement of the vaulting shafts for the main spans, and abandoned the round arch for his decorative features but kept to other characteristics of the school. After Wells, or at the same time, he built the new church for the Cluniac monks at Farley in Wiltshire, and was apparently responsible for the nave arcades of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (pl. vii *a*), and St. Cuthbert's at Wells. His last work seems to have been the beginning of the new cathedral at Lichfield.

The designer of the Lady chapel at Glastonbury (pl. iii) was certainly a different man from either of the other two masters. He was the most conservative of the three, save for the lavish use of detached columns and the use of a different material for them and their bases, bands, and capitals, which are treated in the most approved fashion of the thirteenth century. All his arches are round-headed, and the pointed arch is only used in the vaulting. He was obviously employed later for the north porch at Wells (pl. xvi), but in this design, like the rest of the work there, the pointed arch is used throughout; and the arrangement of the detached columns with moulded bands is identical with the Lady chapel of Glastonbury. Of his work was apparently the south porch at Bishop's Cleeve, the wall arcading of which is similar to Glastonbury, and the trefoiled heads of the divisions which were only painted on the latter are here worked in the stone (pl. ix *b*).

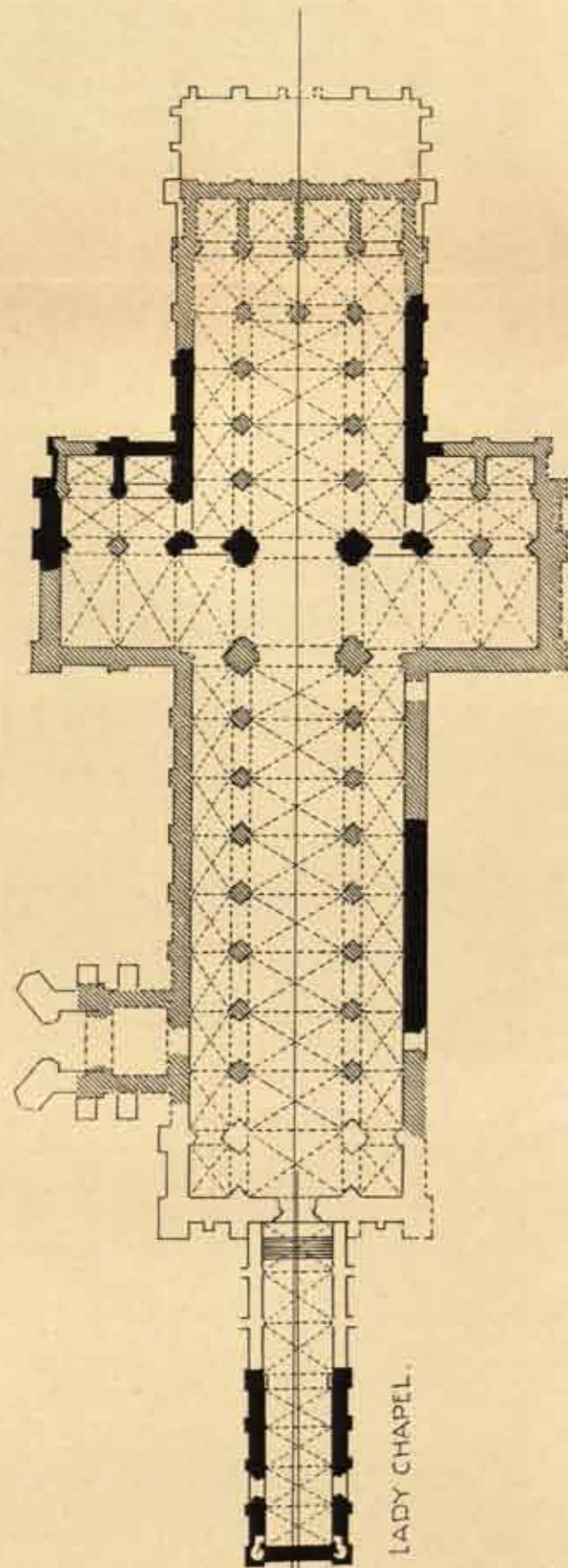
There were undoubtedly lesser lights of the school, one of whom was employed on the earlier work at St. Davids (pl. viii *a*), but in this the whole design is clumsy and devoid of originality. The later work in the transepts there is entirely different and characteristic of the school; it assimilates so closely to that at Slymbridge in Gloucestershire that it was probably by the same hand.

Though most of the smaller churches were evidently executed by inferior designers there are instances like Bredon (pl. i *b*, ii *b*), the porch of Bishop's Cleeve, and Slymbridge where the work is directly influenced by a master mind.

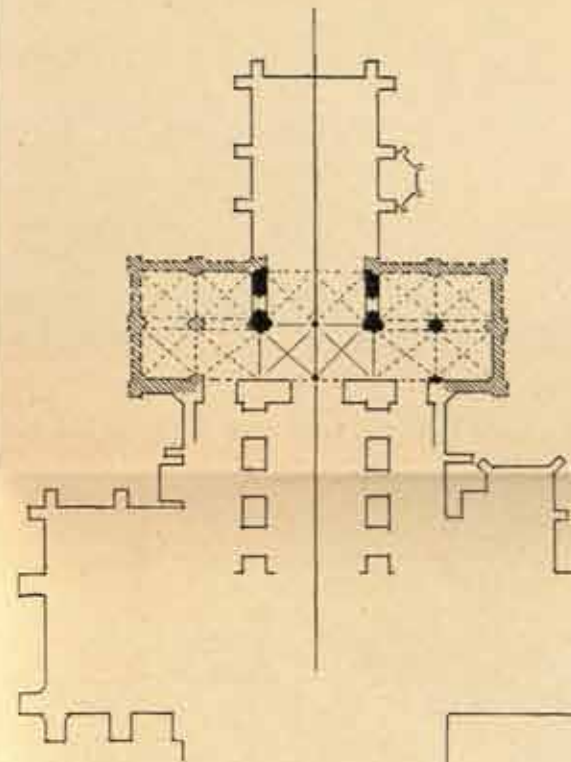
Though the general use of the individualities of the school died out with the century, some of the greater buildings, such as Glastonbury, Wells, Lichfield,



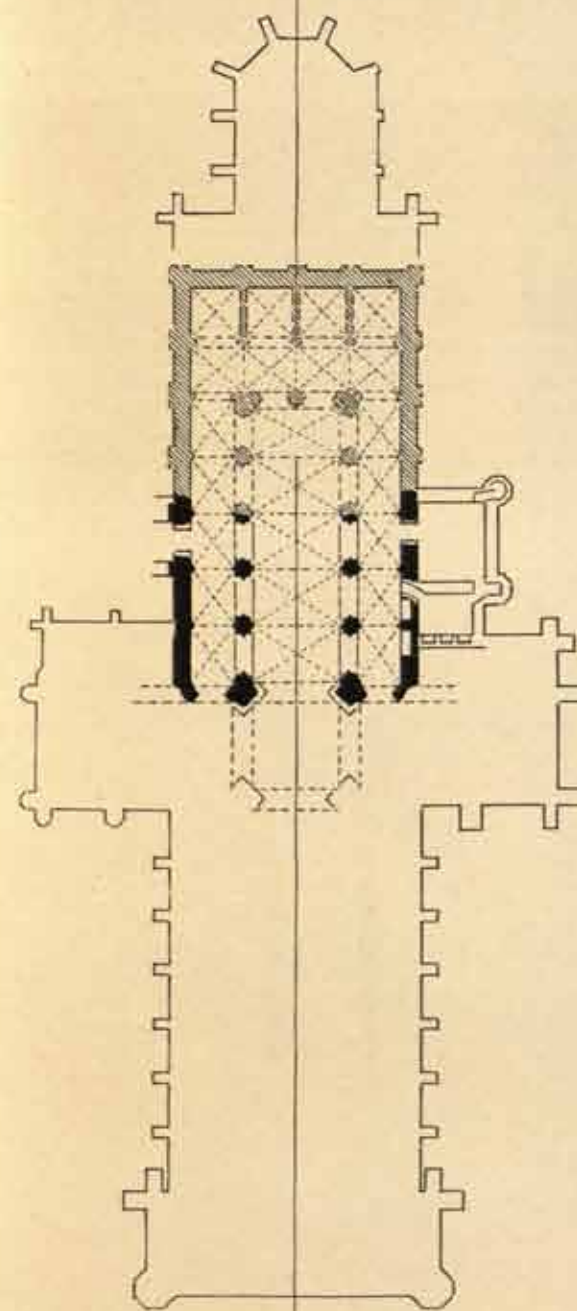
WELLS CATHEDRAL.



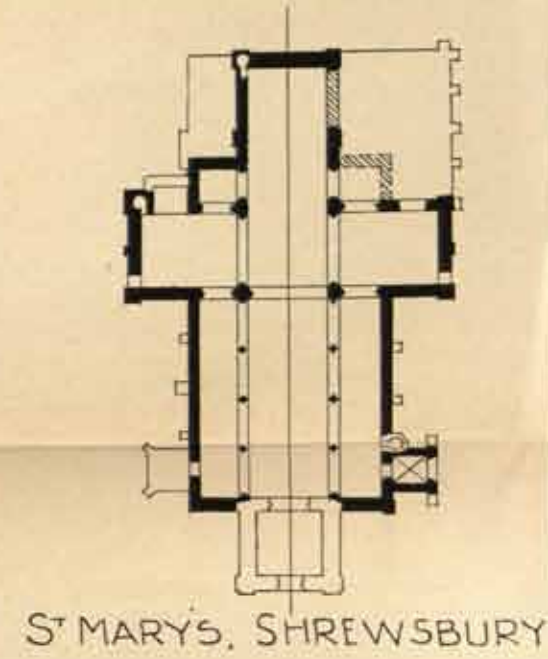
GLASTONBURY ABBEY.



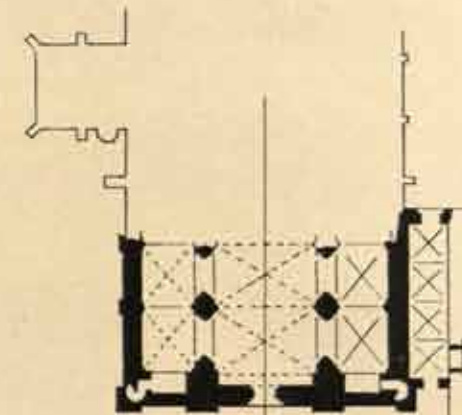
HEREFORD CATHEDRAL



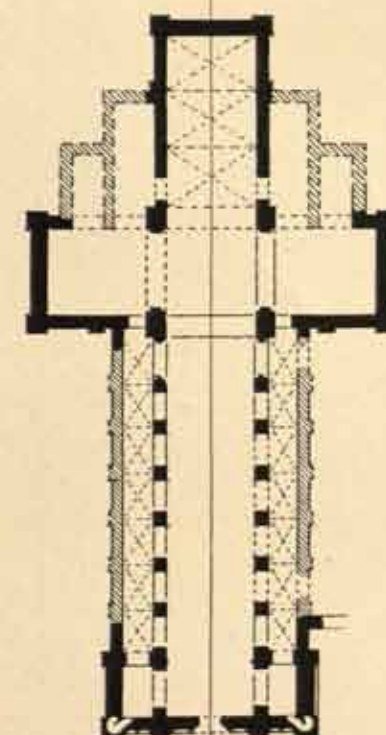
LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL



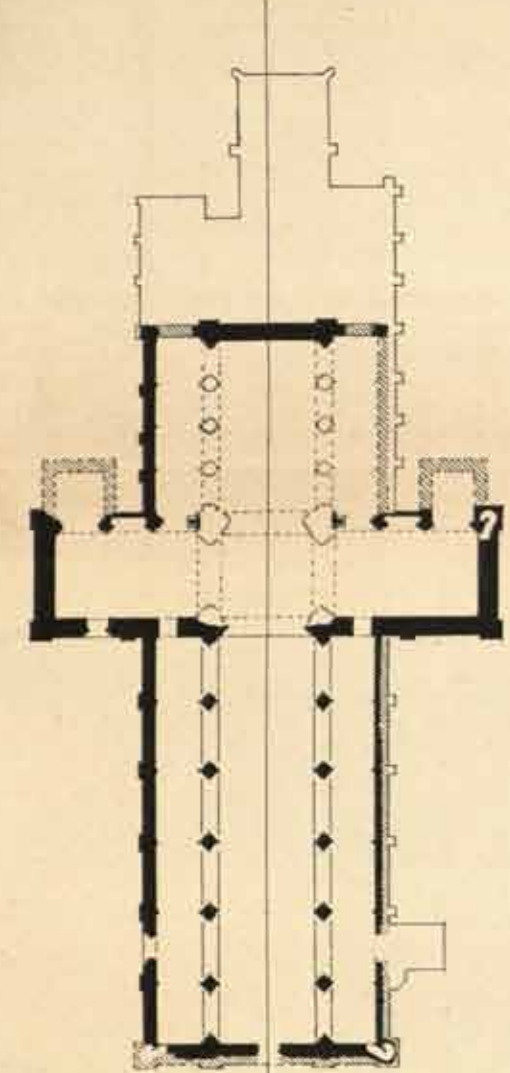
ST MARYS, SHREWSBURY



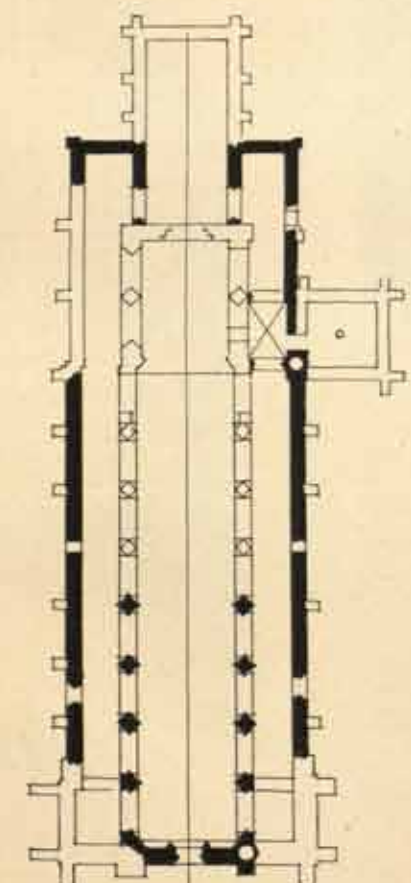
WORCESTER CATHEDRAL



ILANTHONY ABBEY.



ST DAVIDS CATHEDRAL



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL

SCALE OF 0 50 100 150 200 FEET

COMPARATIVE PLANS

and Llandaff, were then unfinished, and were not completed until the second decade of the thirteenth century.

It is strange how in the completion of the building of Wells, Lichfield, and Llandaff the craftsmen employed should have so readily shaken off the characteristics of the school, and the cause can only be explained by the supposition that the school, as such, had ceased to exist through the death of its leading masters, the work being carried on by others who had not been reared in its teaching. At Glastonbury, however, in the galilee connecting the church with the Lady chapel, distinct traces of the characteristics of the school are continued in the later work; the doorways have the continuous member alternating with the column, the window arches have lower arches within, and there are wall bosses. A new feature shows itself there in the tall wall-panelling with trefoiled arches formed of half quatrefoils. This feature also occurs in the chapel attached to the north transept at Tewkesbury Abbey, where the spandrels are decorated with trefoiled leaf-work very similar to that in Wells porch. Another building of the same character is the 'Elder Lady chapel' at St. Augustine's, Bristol; here the trefoils of the wall panelling are pointed, but in the spandrels above are genuine wall bosses, and the string-course is stopped against the vaulting shafts with beasts in precisely the same way as is done in Wells porch. These two buildings do not bear any of the marked peculiarities, but there is a feeling about them which suggests that the designers were not ignorant of the former work of the school.

Another case is the north transept at Whitchurch, Dorset, which was built for the shrine of St. Candida. Here the school was responsible for the north arcade of the nave, though a late example, and the transept was erected not many years later. The work is marked by a profuse use of detached columns, banded at half-height, having capitals with round abaci but carved in a character reminiscent of Wells, which may be due to the employment of an old hand of the school or to the author being influenced by the work of the school already in the church.

Two well-known examples of the survival of the traditions of the school occur in the arcade of Llanidloes church, which is said to have come from the abbey of Cwmhyr, and the presbytery of Pershore Abbey. In both these arcades the piers are alike and have triple columns applied to square piers set diagonally, but each have fillets instead of nibs. The capitals of the former show an earlier character and are entirely characteristic of the school, but have rounded abaci enclosing each triple column. The Pershore capitals are similarly arranged, but are much shorter and have quite ordinary leaf-work.

These lingering traditions indicate that, though the school had ceased to

exist, individual masons were carrying on, in a half-hearted way, some of its features without employing its original characteristics. So the school which sprang up so strongly and left its impress upon some of the greatest works in the country came to an end as suddenly as it arose, its founder and masters alike unrecorded, while its dearest traditions were laid to rest in their unknown graves.

In conclusion, the writer desires to express his great indebtedness to Mr. B. C. Clayton for the use of some of the photographs used for the illustrations, and more particularly for specially taking others for the purpose of this paper.

II.—*Addenda to the Iconography of St. Thomas of Canterbury.* By TANCRED
BORENIUS, Esq., Ph.D., D.Lit.

Read 26th February 1931

It is almost exactly two years since I had the honour of addressing this Society on the results of my investigations concerning the Iconography of St. Thomas Becket. I was conscious at the time that I had not arrived at anything like a complete survey of the existing material; and in the intervening period the material at my disposal bearing on this subject has as a matter of fact considerably increased. To a notable proportion of this new material my attention was drawn as a result of the publication of my paper in *Archaeologia*¹; and I should like at the outset to express my warmest gratitude to my numerous correspondents, many of whom are Fellows of this Society. The widespread interest, which from this large body of evidence I may conclude exists in the Iconography of St. Thomas Becket, has emboldened me to give an account of certain of the most interesting aspects of the Iconography of St. Thomas upon which I did not touch in my previous paper.

The extraordinarily wide geographical diffusion of the material was something I had already occasion to emphasize in the first instance; and I should like by way of introduction still further to illustrate this point by drawing attention to a whole group of representations of St. Thomas that once existed in distant Iceland. Altogether the interest taken in Becket in Iceland was very remarkable. I need not recall that we possess—in part or in entirety—no fewer than three Icelandic *Thomas Sagas*, the earliest, a fragmentary one, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, the complete one a source of the greatest importance for the history of Becket's life and work. Indeed, next to St. Olaf of Norway, St. Thomas was the most popular saint in Iceland; we know of thirteen churches in the island dedicated to St. Thomas, singly or jointly; and effigies ('likneski') and pictures ('skript') of St. Thomas are mentioned in Icelandic records as having existed in seventeen churches.² Nothing of all this survives, I am sorry to say: at least there are two medieval statues of bishops in the National Museum of Reykjavik, but they are not from

¹ 'The Iconography of St. Thomas of Canterbury' in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxix (1930), pp. 29-54.

² See E. Magnússon in the preface to his edition of the *Thómas Saga Erkebyskups* (Rolls series, no. 65; London, 1875-83), vol. ii, pp. xxix seqq.

churches dedicated to St. Thomas; and in the country churches I am assured that there are no representations of him at all.¹ Still the evidence of the early records on this point is incontrovertible; and I have thought it worth while to lay stress on the material for the iconography of St. Thomas which once was available in *Ultima Thule*.

It is evident that the diffusion of the veneration of St. Thomas was much helped by the fact that Henry II's three daughters all married in different countries—Joan indeed twice, first in Sicily and then in the south of France; Mathilda, in Germany, and Eleanor in Spain; and as we saw, the very earliest representation of St. Thomas known to exist, the mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale, is directly to be accounted for by the marriage of Princess Joan, in 1177, to William the Good, King of Sicily. Princess Eleanor, wife of Alfonso III of Castile, founded about 1174 a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas in Toledo Cathedral—the site of the chapel is now occupied by the Capilla de Santiago; and another was dedicated to St. Thomas in the cathedral of Sigüenza by Bishop Jocelyn, who accompanied the Princess Eleanor to Spain; we hear of an altar to St. Thomas in Barcelona Cathedral in 1186; and perhaps from the very end of the twelfth century, in any case from a period not much distant from the year 1200, dates one of the most notable items bearing on the iconography of St. Thomas—the series of wall-paintings in the church of S. Maria at Tarrasa in Catalonia.

The church in question was consecrated in 1112; and the paintings which interest us in the first instance are those which adorn the apse of the right transept. They were discovered some fifteen years ago² and were then on the whole, save one or two large breaks, in a very good state of preservation: I understand that they have since been somewhat ruthlessly repainted. The paintings (pl. XIX, fig. 1) occupy two tiers. In the lower one we see depicted three successive scenes from the life of St. Thomas. First, beginning from the left, the interview between St. Thomas, accompanied as usual by Edward Grim, and the knights, three in number, who assume either a threatening or mocking attitude (pl. XIX, fig. 2). Then follows the scene of the murder (pl. XIX, fig. 3): St. Thomas has been seized from behind by one of the attackers; another stands on the left, with his sword raised; but the deathblow is being dealt by a figure on the extreme right, and with such tremendous force that his sword

¹ For information on this point I am indebted to M. Mathias Thórdarson.

² See José Soler y Patel in *Museum*, vol. v (Barcelona, 1927), pp. 295 seqq., with reproductions. These paintings have subsequently been discussed by C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 149-51 and fig. 25, and by Charles L. Kuhn, *Romanesque Mural Painting of Catalonia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 41 seqq. and plates xxxv-vii. I am indebted to Mr. Eric P. Barker for first drawing my attention to these paintings.

is bent,¹ the mitre and the crozier of the archbishop meanwhile falling to the ground. Third follows the scene of the burial of the saint, whose soul is being carried heavenwards by two angels—a symmetrically disposed scene akin to those which occur on numerous Limoges chasses.

Above the tier now described, in the semi-dome of the apse, we see in the centre Christ enthroned within a *mandorla*, the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse being placed on the strip of ground; and Christ, assuming a hieratic, symmetrical attitude is touching the heads of two figures with books. Of these the figure on the left (pl. xix, fig. 4) is quite obviously the archbishop. The figure on the right was interpreted by Señor Soler y Patel as Edward Grim, and he has been followed in this by every one who has up to now written on these paintings. It would, however, be absolutely unexampled to promote to such an exalted position the clerk from Cambridge who happened to be at Canterbury in December 1170, and who, it is true, stood by St. Thomas very bravely during the great struggle of which he has left a long account, and in the course of which he had one of his arms almost severed. I feel personally no doubt that the only possible interpretation of the figure on the right is one that has been suggested to me by my friend Mr. Hedley Hope-Nicholson—namely, that he must be St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, whose feast occurs but three days before that of St. Thomas. Indeed, in the wall-paintings on the ceiling of the vaulting of the Relic chamber at Norwich, about a century later than those at Tarrasa, St. Thomas Becket and St. Stephen are represented standing next to each other; and on two embroidered mitres (at Munich and Sens) while the martyrdom of St. Thomas appears on the front, that of St. Stephen appears on the back. So there was evidently a tendency to bracket the two martyrs whose feasts are so near to one another.

The story of the murder is told at Tarrasa with a certain freedom—one point to be noted is that there are only *three* knights present. This, however, is not an unusual feature, and is probably due to the fact that one of the four, Hugh de Moreville, took no active part in the slaying of the archbishop, but stood all through the scuffle at the entrance of the transept, keeping intruders away. There need, in fact, be no hesitation, on the evidence of the paintings alone, in accepting the identification of the saint with St. Thomas Becket; and in addition, in the unfortunately fragmentary inscriptions which run below the lower tier there occurs repeatedly the word THOMAS—once in the context 'THOMA BO . . .', once, as I interpret it, (THO)MAS QUEM SEMPER AMAVIT.² The

¹ Unless, indeed, the sword is one of a particular type with curved blade.

² This phrase suggests the end of a hexameter, and if so, can only have a very vague general relationship to any verses in an office of St. Thomas. Mr. Hope-Nicholson has drawn my attention

character of this lettering indicates the very end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century as the date of the paintings—a dating borne out also by the style of the paintings, which shows the characteristic rude force of the Catalan wall-paintings of this period. We are, I may add, always perhaps disinclined to give the Middle Ages sufficient credit for its gradual extension of the subject-matter of painting beyond the time-honoured sacred themes. Still, in much ecclesiastical painting, convention was clearly supreme; and we can therefore appreciate what a relish of actuality, of topicality the painter must have derived from a contemporary subject like this.

From Spain we can thus now quote this very remarkable early series of wall-paintings connected with the life of St. Thomas Becket. As to English medieval wall-painting there is not very much that is tangible that I can point to in the way of instances of several scenes from his life being depicted on church walls. Still there are certain vestiges of such series in England to which I can now point with some degree of certainty. There is, for instance, the case of the two bands of paintings above the supports of the altar of the Fitz Hamon chantry at Tewkesbury built in 1397. A close examination of the very faint traces of paintings here to be seen indicates with great probability that they represent a succession of scenes from the life of St. Thomas, beginning with his coronation as archbishop, including further on a scene in which he appears on horseback, and ending up with his martyrdom.¹ Moreover, there is the possibility that a series of scenes from the life of St. Thomas once was to be seen on the wall of the south aisle of the church of Merstham, Surrey, where a very faint figure of St. Thomas, painted on the west pillar of the south side of the nave, can still be made out blessing those entering the church. Traces of paintings were discovered in 1861 along the whole wall of the south aisle but were subsequently destroyed. Among them the most distinct figure is said to have been a man drawing his sword, and the suggestion that this was a fragment of a scene of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas was an

to the second Antiphon of the second Nocturn at Mattins of the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas :

*Thomas coram Domino
Vixit in timore
Ideo cum Domino
Regnat cum decore*

(Sarum Breviary, British Museum, Sloane MSS. 1909, fol. 374 v). These words are, as a matter of fact, singularly appropriate to the scheme of the Tarrasa paintings, even if—apart from other considerations—it has to be borne in mind that the Feast of the Translation was not instituted until 1220.

¹ I have to thank Miss Eleanor Hollyer for her kind offices in deciphering the remains of these paintings.



Fig. 1. Tarrasa, S. Maria. General view of Apse. (Photograph, Arxiv 'Mas')



Fig. 2. The Mocking of St. Thomas Becket. Wall-painting, c. 1200, in S. Maria, Tarrasa (Photograph, Arxiv 'Mas')



Fig. 3. The Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket. Wall-painting, c. 1200, S. Maria, Tarrasa. (Photograph, Arxiv 'Mas')



Fig. 4. St. Thomas Becket. Detail of wall-painting, c. 1200, in S. Maria, Tarrasa. (Photograph, Arxiv 'Mas')



Fig. 1. Painting on panel, 15th century. In the collection of Mr. Francis Harper



Fig. 2. The Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket. School of Michael Pacher. Museum, Graz

(Reproduced by permission from E. Hempel, *Michael Pacher*. Published in Vienna, 1931, by Messrs. Anton Schroll & Co.)



Fig. 3. The Funeral of St. Thomas Becket. School of Michael Pacher. Museum, Graz

(Reproduced by permission from E. Hempel, *Michael Pacher*. Published in Vienna, 1931, by Messrs. Anton Schroll & Co.)



Fig. 4. Drawing by Hans Süss von Kulmbach (1511) Private collection, Germany

obvious one, seeing that Merstham lay on one of the direct routes of the pilgrims to Canterbury.¹ My investigations at Bramley, Hampshire, point to the possibility that there was yet another scene from Becket's story on the left of the fine wall-painting of the martyrdom of which I spoke in my first paper. Then I can point to a panel picture associable with England (pl. xx, fig. 1), which probably represents a scene from the life of St. Thomas, and obviously is one of a series. This is a picture which was exhibited at the British Primitives Exhibition in 1923, but which I had lost sight of afterwards. I am, however, now able to produce it, thanks to the kindness of its owner, Mr. Francis Harper, of Bickleigh Castle, Tiverton. All that I have been able to ascertain concerning the provenance of this picture is that it is said to have come from a church in East Anglia; the date is obviously the second half of the fifteenth century. The subject lends itself well to being interpreted as an interview between Henry II and St. Thomas; and it may be noted that the presence of the soldiers on the left is in conformity with the iconography adopted for the rendering of the Council at Northampton in the alabaster table in the church of Elham in Kent.²

Speaking of panel pictures of scenes from the life of St. Thomas, I drew attention in my first paper to two pictures by, or perhaps rather of the school of, the Tirolese Master, Michael Pacher, in the Museum of Graz (pl. xx, figs. 2 and 3), one representing the Murder of St. Thomas and the other the Funeral of the Saint. The subjects had, as a matter of fact, also been interpreted as scenes from the life of a Polish saint, St. Stanislaus Szepanow of Cracow, who censured so energetically the conduct of Boleslaw, King of Poland, that he had to flee. The emissaries of King Boleslaw overtook him, however, in the church of St. Michael in Cracow, and slew him in the year 1079, as he was celebrating Mass. It will be seen that this story would fit the Graz pictures equally well, but they illustrate the life of St. Thomas all the same and the proof of this is the fact, only recently discovered, that they originally formed part of an altarpiece in the church of Neustift, and that the chapel which contained the altarpiece was dedicated, among others, to St. Thomas of Canterbury.³ One can feel less certitude concerning the scene shown in a drawing of 1511 by Hans Süss von Kulmbach in a private collection in Germany (pl. xx, fig. 4), evidently a design for

¹ Compare Alfred Heales in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iii, 7 seq.

² See *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work*, Society of Antiquaries, 1913, no. 39, pl. xviii; and P. Nelson, in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1917, p. 87; see pl. vii.

³ Compare on this discovery, by Prince Josef Clemens of Bavaria, Eberhard Hempel, *Michael Pacher*, Vienna, 1931, p. 81 seq.

stained glass, where the crowd is breaking into a church and the foremost figure attacks a bishop celebrating Mass.¹ I should say this was more likely to be the Martyrdom of St. Stanislaus of Cracow. As to the great altarpiece by Meister Francke of Hamburg, begun in 1424, it will be remembered that it originally contained four scenes connected with St. Thomas Becket, namely (1) the enthronement of St. Thomas; (2) the mob insulting St. Thomas by cutting off the tail of his horse; (3) the murder of St. Thomas; and (4) a scene which I originally was unable to interpret. I have recently, however, come across a very convincing interpretation, first suggested by Dr. Alfred Lichtwark² and subsequently elaborated by Fräulein Bella Martens.³ The king kneeling in a harbour city must be Becket's friend the pious King Louis VII of France, who, among his many pilgrimages, made a famous journey to St. Thomas's tomb, crossing the Channel in 1179; and the halo round his head springs probably from a confusion with *Saint* Louis—Louis IX—the best known of the French medieval Louis of kingly rank. The pilgrimage of Louis VII was, as M. Jusserand⁴ has well expressed it, 'a prodigious and unparalleled event, the first time a king of France had ever set foot on British soil. Feeling that for him death was near, and having had, although three times married, only one son, he decided in 1179 to have the young prince crowned at once, but before the ceremony, Philip, aged fourteen, while boar hunting, lost his way in the forest of Compiègne, and, separated from his companions, endured for days such hardships before a charcoal-burner found him and led him out of the maze, that his life was despaired of. The king, in his anguish, had at night a vision of St. Thomas Becket, whom he had well known, promising life for his son if he himself went to Canterbury as a pilgrim. Louis's advisers recommended him not to risk a journey which would place him at the mercy of his enemy, the Plantagenet king. But again, and yet again, St. Thomas appeared at night, now threatening disaster. Louis started then with a brilliant retinue, and no untoward event marred the journey. Henry II, on the contrary, very meek now his former chancellor was in question, came to meet the French monarch at Dover; both went together to Canterbury; Louis remained two days in prayer, and offered the monks a gold cup and a magnificent gem shown henceforth to pilgrims as the "regale of France". By a special charter he granted them, besides, one hundred casks of

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Elisabeth Valentiner for drawing my attention to this drawing and for the photograph here reproduced.

² Alfred Lichtwark, *Meister Francke*, Hamburg, 1899, p. 125 seq.

³ Bella Martens, *Meister Francke*, Hamburg, 1929, p. 216 seq.

⁴ J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1925, p. 353 seq.

wine to be taken yearly for ever at vintage time, from his cellars of Poissy-sur-Seine. He returned to find his son on the way to recovery; and, having had him crowned, died within a year.' Little wonder, then, that this great and outstanding event in the long series of Canterbury pilgrimages should have been thus specially commemorated in the *Thomasaltar*.

In Germany the cult of St. Thomas was indeed very widespread. No fewer than eighteen dedications to him are known, and among iconographic items not noted by me before, I must mention a much restored fifteenth-century figure of the saint forming part of a wall-painting of the Crucifixion in the church of Doberan in Mecklenburg, and, a particularly important one, the figure and series of scenes from his life in the late Gothic altarpiece with wood carvings in the church of Tettens in Oldenburg. Unfortunately the only photograph of this altarpiece available for reproduction is not a very good one (pl. xxi, fig. 1). It will be seen that, above and below, it contains portions dating from the eighteenth century. In the centre is the Crucifixion, flanked by figures of St. Thomas Becket and St. Martin of Tours, and six scenes from the legend of each saint have been reproduced on the inside of the wings. These, too, have got out of their original order, the correct sequence being: (1) the Coronation of St. Thomas; (2) St. Thomas feeds the poor and washes their feet; (3) St. Thomas kneels before Pope Alexander III at Sens; (4) St. Thomas rides through the town of Strood near Rochester, and the mob insults him by cutting off his horse's tail—the same subject as occurs in the *Thomasaltar* at Hamburg; (5) the Murder of St. Thomas—he is being slain by only one knight; (6) Henry II doing penance at the tomb of St. Thomas. It will be admitted that this elaborate series of subjects throws vividly into relief the interest taken in St. Thomas in Northern Germany. In particular is it interesting to find here, as in Hamburg, the scene of the insult offered St. Thomas by the mob at Strood, which is unknown to the *Golden Legend* and of which no rendering survives in England.¹

When I read my first paper on St. Thomas Becket, my friend Dr. Hildburgh, who was present, expressed the hope that a series of alabasters of subjects of the life of St. Thomas might yet be found. Here luck, accompanied by perseverance, has favoured him, and through his kindness I am enabled to reproduce a recent acquisition of his, a pair of alabasters of subjects from the life of St. Thomas Becket (pl. xxi, figs. 2 and 3). The two tables are of very considerable interest, being both artistically of very fine quality and also

¹ For information about this altarpiece I am much beholden to Pastor Hans Thorade of Tettens, a keen student of the cult and iconography of St. Thomas Becket in Germany, and to Dr. Müller-Wulkow, Director of the Landesmuseum in Oldenburg.

iconographically notable, especially the table on the right, which represents the landing of St. Thomas Becket at Sandwich on his return from exile. This is a subject new to English alabasters, but not to the iconography of St. Thomas

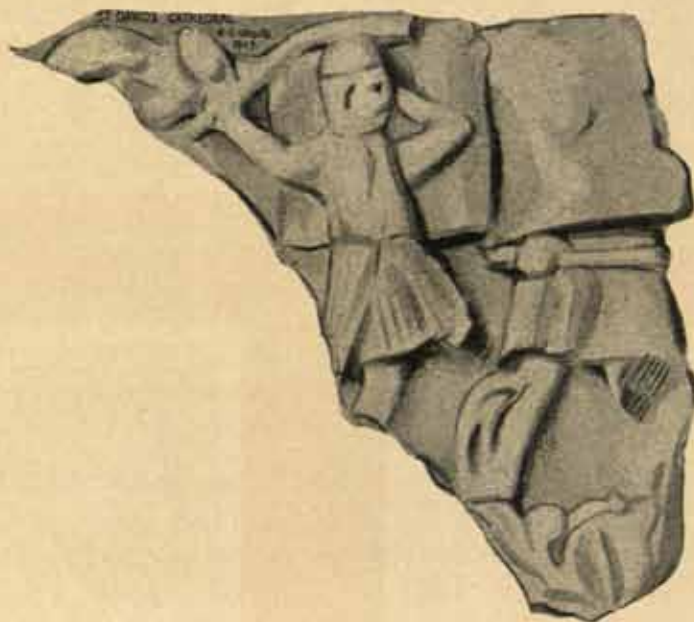


Fig. 1. Bas-relief, fourteenth century, St. Davids Cathedral.

Becket. It occurs for instance in Queen Mary's Psalter and in the fragmentary series of earlier illuminations possibly of the school of Matthew Paris, which in 1883 were in private hands in Courtrai; and it is a notable fact in this connexion that there existed a special feast for the Anniversary of the Return, 2 December, the *Regressio Sancti Thomae*. The fact that this bas-relief thus indubitably represents a scene from the life of St. Thomas Becket allows us to conclude that the accompanying bas-relief does represent the audience granted to St. Thomas Becket at Sens by Pope Alexander III, after St. Thomas had escaped from England, a scene with which a bas-relief in St. Mary's, Nottingham, had hitherto been but tentatively identified. The subject is one which also occurs in the Tettens altarpiece, the Wismar altarpiece, and elsewhere. Altogether, it will be seen, this is a find of extreme importance for the iconography of St. Thomas Becket, upon which Dr. Hildburgh may be warmly congratulated, and one may express the hope that he has not yet come to the end of his discoveries in this field.

From English medieval sculpture other than alabaster I have also some little material to add. I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity of repro-



Fig. 1. Altarpiece, in carved wood, 15th century. Church of Tettens



Fig. 2. St. Thomas Becket kneeling before Pope Alexander III



Fig. 3. St. Thomas Becket landing at Sandwich

Two alabaster panels in the Collection of Dr. W. L. Hildburgh



Fig. 1. Reliquary, late 12th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Front)



Fig. 2. Reliquary, late 12th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Back)

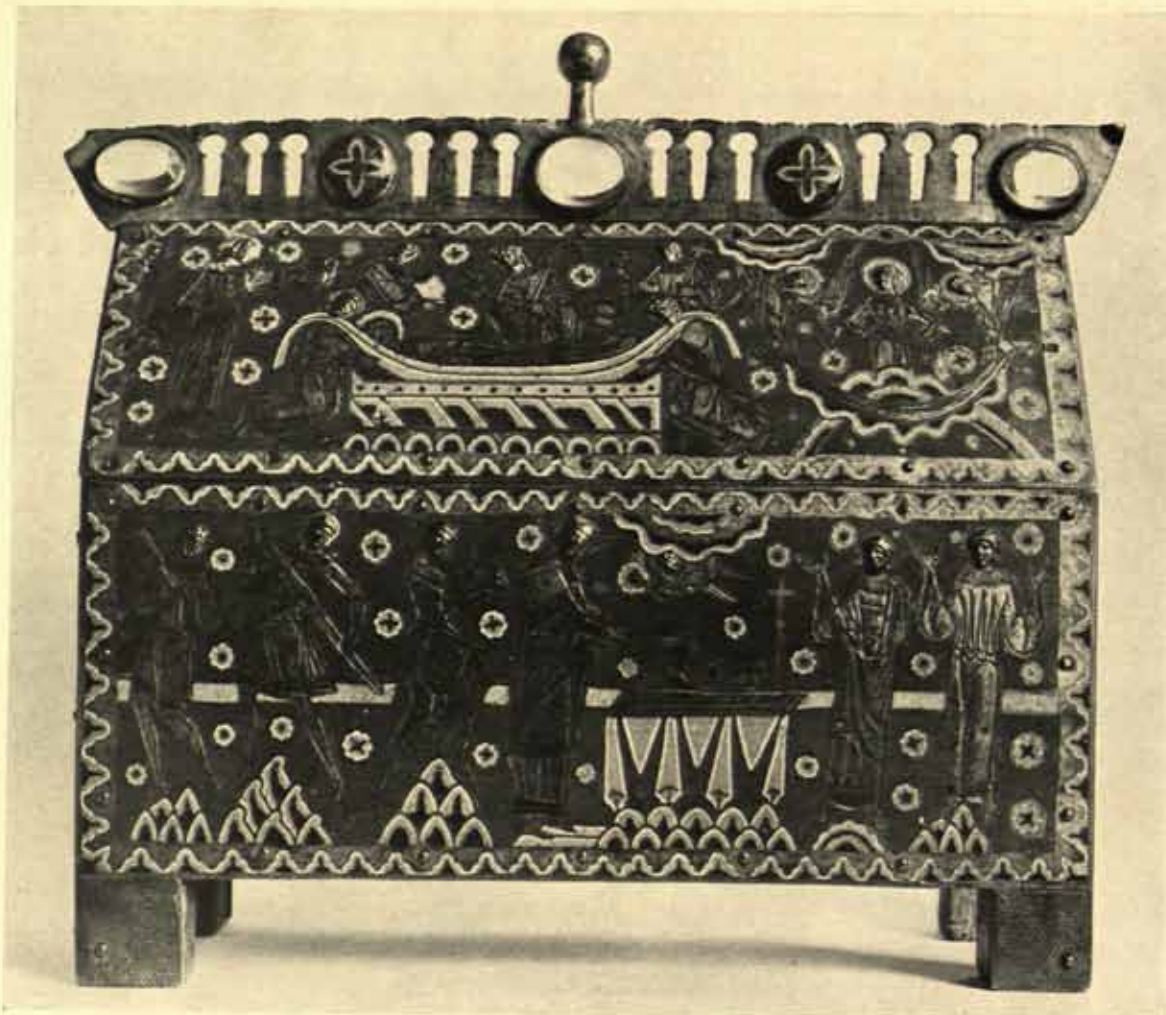


Fig. 3. Enamelled Châsse. Limoges, 13th century. Formerly in the possession of Major H. Chase Meredith

ducing (fig. 1), from a water-colour made by Mr. H. C. Whaite, the fine bas-relief on the double piscina in the chapel of St. Thomas Becket in St. Davids Cathedral, which I originally thought might be a fragment of a representation of the murder.¹ As the two fighters are protected by rectangular shields such as were used in ordeals by battle, it is just possible that this may refer to the miracle worked by St. Thomas in helping a weaker combatant to overcome a stronger one during a trial by ordeal, though the description of the incident² has little resemblance to the scene represented at St. Davids. Then there is the weather-worn bas-relief of the murder occupying one of the faces of the interesting sculptured base of the ancient stone cross at Rampisham, Dorset. This must be fifteenth-century work, and is in many respects of great interest, but I have as yet no other reproduction of it than the rough sketch I made of it on the spot last autumn. Finally, from the domain of English sculpture, I should like to draw attention to what is, so far as I am aware, the first rendering on a monumental scale of the coat of arms which posthumously was attributed to St. Thomas Becket—the arms of the archbishop of Canterbury impaling three beckets or choughs—a canting device based on the Norman-French word *becquet*, which in the sense of ‘small bird’ is still, I understand from the Rev. E. E. Dorling, used in Guernsey. This rendering occurs in the series of arms in the Cathedral cloisters at Canterbury, illustrated by Mr. Griffin in *Archaeologia* some sixteen years ago, the work having been taken in hand by Prior Chillenden, 1391–1411.³

Under the category of metal-work, I have above all to quote a very interesting tiny reliquary of silver with niello decoration, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The suggestion has been made concerning this reliquary⁴ that it was once in the possession of John of Salisbury, Becket's friend, who was present, at any rate, at the beginning of the conflict with the murderers.⁵ It is on record that he collected some drops of St. Thomas Becket's blood in two vials which he gave to the Cathedral of Chartres, of which he became Bishop in 1176, dying in 1180; previously between 1174 and

¹ See *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxix, p. 46, note 4.

² See Edwin A. Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, London, 1898, vol. i, p. 324.

³ See *Archaeologia*, vol. lxvi (1915), pl. xxiv, fig. 2.

⁴ See Joseph Breck in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. xiii (October, 1918), pp. 220–4.

⁵ Guernes of Pont Ste Maxence (v. 5598–5600) bears witness to the fact that William de Tracy was under the impression that the monk wounded by him was John of Salisbury. The latter, however, undoubtedly had already deserted the archbishop some time before the struggle began, and it is perhaps indicative of a feeling of embarrassment on his part that in his own account of the murder he does not mention the heroism of Grim.

1176 he had been Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral. The interior of the reliquary originally contained a thin partition, so two vials could have found place inside it. As to the exterior, it contains niello plaques in all the four divisions of the lid (which is surmounted by a ruby) and all four sides of the box. The niellos which principally interest us are those on the front and back of the box. There is comparatively little to be said of the front (pl. xxii, fig. 1), on which St. Thomas Becket collapses under the death-blow from the foremost of the three knights—*S. TOMAS OCCIDIT* as the inscription explains. On the back is the burial (pl. xxii, fig. 2)—two figures of ecclesiastics carrying St. Thomas to the grave. And here the interpretation of the inscription raises a very interesting problem. Mr. Breck reads it

IT SANGUIS E(xceli) S. TOM(ae) E

and interprets the first two letters as 'Iohannes Terserarius' indicating John of Salisbury at the time when he was Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral; while to him 'E' stands for 'Edwardus' (Grim). As against this, my friend Mr. Francis Wormald has put forward the following interpretation:

HJIC SANGUIS E(st) S(ancti) TOME

and I own that both on palaeographical and general grounds such an interpretation strikes me as being preferable. It is, of course, perfectly possible that this is the reliquary that once belonged to John of Salisbury, but the reliquary itself, I fear, hardly supplies quite as explicit evidence in favour of that possibility as Mr. Breck thinks. I must not, however, leave this reliquary without still further emphasizing the high rank which it takes artistically, through its style of figure-drawing in the noblest late Romanesque style. It is not easy to determine its place of origin; if it had been done, as Mr. Breck suggests, during John of Salisbury's tenure of office at Exeter, it would of course have been almost inevitable to regard it as of English origin, and the possibility that it was done in England is even now not to be excluded.

To the category of Limoges châsses with champlévé enamels I have been able to make certain additions, which, however, do not call for any special notice. Very interesting, on the other hand, is the case of the superb chässe, offered for sale by Major H. Chase Meredith in London in the summer of 1930. This was published as far back as 1748 by Dr. Stukeley in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, and at that time belonged to Sir John Cotton, to whom it is surmised to have passed from a Mr. Eyre, of St. Neots, who had discovered it in a house in that neighbourhood. Dr. Stukeley puts forward the theory that it originally belonged to Croyland Abbey, in Lincolnshire, but of this there is no proof positive—the same provenance, by the way,

has been attributed to a contemporary Limoges *châsse* in the British Museum.¹ The present casket unambiguously displays characteristics which point to the first half of the thirteenth century as its date—the gilded figures (with embossed heads) silhouetted against a deep blue background *semé* with coloured circles and (in the case of the principal scene) traversed by a turquoise-coloured band, while the figures are shown surmounting imbricated hills. An unusual feature is the presence of four engraved, gilded figures of saints, against enamelled backgrounds, on the back of the *châsse*, which otherwise on the body and roof shows an ornamental pattern. Of the sides, one shows a figure of Christ in Majesty; the other, apart from some slight enamel and gilded decoration, contained a door which is missing now, as in the day of Dr. Stukeley.

A question which calls for careful consideration is the identity of the martyr who is the protagonist in the scenes on the front of the *châsse* (pl. xxii, fig. 3). On the body of the casket we see a bishop, who, officiating at an altar, is being attacked by three men coming from the left, while on the other side of the altar two monks stand witnessing the scene. On the roof, the story is continued by two scenes—on the left the burial of the martyr, and on the right angels carrying his soul to heaven. In their general lines the scenes correspond very well with those occurring on numerous *châsses* illustrating the final scenes of the story of St. Thomas Becket. The burial scene occurs, for instance, on the roof of three *châsses*—those belonging respectively to the Society of Antiquaries, Hereford Cathedral, and the church of Trönö in Sweden. The scene of the Angels carrying the soul of St. Thomas to heaven occupies the roof of a *châsse* in the Lyon Museum and of one in the British Museum; while the *châsse* in the church of St. Laurent de Vigean has the burial scene on the back of the roof, and the reception of St. Thomas in heaven on the front of the roof.² The number of the assailants in the scene of the murder is three, which corresponds to what we see in numerous representations of the murder of St. Thomas Becket. So far so good; but there is one circumstance which must make us pause before identifying the martyr with St. Thomas Becket, and that is the presence of the two monks in the scene of the murder. In very few of the Limoges *châsses* definitely associated with St. Thomas Becket is there a witness to the scene. The faithful Edward Grim, who stood by his archbishop so staunchly and whom most renderings of the murder in other mediums do not omit, is generally ignored by the Limoges enamellers. It is true that on a *châsse* in Sens Cathedral two laymen are being massacred as well as the bishop at the altar; but though this scene has been interpreted as

¹ Reproduced in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxix, pl. xx, fig. 2.

² For reproductions of all the above caskets see *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxix.

the Murder of St. Thomas Becket, it more probably represents the Martyrdom of St. Sabinianus and his two companions. Again, in two examples which may bear a relation to St. Thomas—at Goluchów and Clarholz—witnesses to



Fig. 2. Wall-painting discovered in the Church of Whaddon, Bucks., in 1854.

the scene undoubtedly occur: two in the former case, one in the latter. While admitting, therefore, the possibility that the Meredith *chasse* may be connected with St. Thomas Becket, it is yet permissible to wonder whether Dr. Stukeley possibly was not right in identifying the principal martyr with Abbot Theodore, murdered by the Danes at the high altar of Croyland in 870, and the two monks with Friars Elfget and Savin, who were put to death on the same occasion.

As regards English medieval wall-paintings, representing solely the murder, I also have some additional material. Thus I can add one item to my list—the wall-paintings of which but faint traces remain in the church of Winslow, Bucks.¹ Of the wall-painting that was discovered in the church of Whaddon, Bucks., in 1854, and which I noted in my first paper, I can reproduce (fig. 2) an obviously not very accurate pen-and-ink drawing of the group of knights, interesting on account of the elaboration of the armour and heraldic portions.² Finally, and most important of all, the wall-painting in South Newington,

¹ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), Buckinghamshire*, ii (1913), p. 341.

² This is reproduced from a lithograph published in the Rev. C. Lowndes's paper, 'Mural paintings in Whaddon Church' in *Records of Bucks.*, vol. iii (1863), plate facing p. 272.

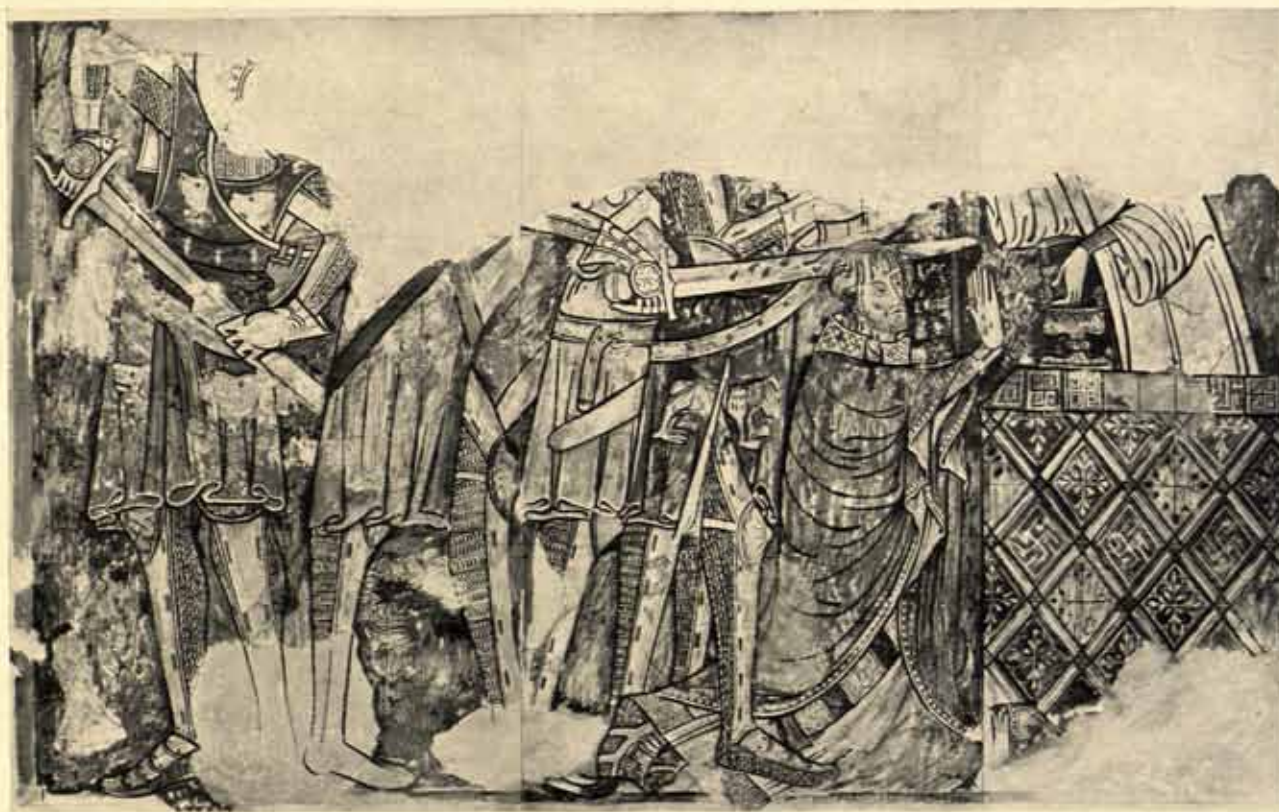


Fig. 1. Wall-painting, c. 1350. South Newington Church. (From a water-colour drawing by Prof. E. W. Tristram)



Fig. 2. Detail of the South Newington wall-painting. (From a water-colour drawing by Prof. E. W. Tristram)



Fig. 3. Illumination. Account book of 1523. Ven. English College, Rome

Oxon., which I noted in my first paper as an uncertain subject, has since been cleaned and proved conclusively to be a representation of the Murder. Professor Tristram has with his accustomed skill made a large water-colour copy of it, which I am privileged to reproduce (pl. xxiii, fig. 1). The upper part of the composition is unfortunately gone; but what is left is very well preserved, and we can unmistakably make out from right to left, Grim, St. Thomas kneeling before the altar, and four knights, of whom the third from the right—Richard Le Bret—is plunging his sword into St. Thomas's skull. The knights carry no visible shields; but the tabards over their armour are prominently blazoned with heraldic charges, viz. first knight: a bear statant (Fitzurse); second knight: a bend possibly accompanied by crescents (Le Bret); third knight: nothing visible; fourth knight: several dogs heads erased. The whole is a splendid example of English mid-fourteenth century painting; and we are particularly fortunate in having the head of St. Thomas extremely well preserved (pl. xxiii, fig. 2). Adjoining this subject is a decapitation scene, which I do not think can have any connexion with the St. Thomas Becket subject. The village of South Newington was one in which a large number of miracles worked by St. Thomas occurred,¹ so little wonder that a particularly elaborate painting of the Martyrdom was done for the church.

By way of conclusion, I should like to add a few words about St. Thomas Becket and post-Reformation times. As I mentioned in my previous paper, there is one spot where his memory has continued to be kept green, and that is the Venerable English College in Rome; and to the examples already cited I can add, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Francis Shute, an illuminated page of an old account book, of 1523 (pl. xxiii, fig. 3), in which the Trinity is shown adored by St. Thomas and St. Edmund—the same subject occurs in an account book of Cardinal Pole's of 1543, and finally turns up in Durante Alberti's great picture still in the College. In such a rare Roman Catholic publication as *The Life or the Ecclesiasticall Historie of S. Thomas Arch-bishoppe of Canterbury*, printed at Cologne in 1639, there occurs a frontispiece with an engraving of the Murder, signed 'Huret inv. et f.', which shows a decidedly curious travesty of the subject into Baroque forms. Another rare book, Giovanni Battista Cola's *Italian Life of St. Thomas*, printed at Lucca in 1696, is interesting as showing the way in which, after the fall of James II, the idea of St. Thomas Becket was coupled in people's minds with the idea of a Stuart restoration, for the book is dedicated to Rinaldo I, Duke of Modena and James II's relative by marriage, and the dedication particularly dwells on

¹ See Edwin E. Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, London, 1898, vol. i, pp. 297 seqq. I am indebted to Mr. Hope-Nicholson for drawing my attention to this group of miracles.

the powerful intercession in favour of James II and Mary of Modena that may be expected from St. Thomas Becket, and the excellent news about them that is being yearned for, hopes which were to receive a decisive blow the next year, 1697, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick. Here, then, we find once more exemplified that background of wider historical interest, against which the figure of St. Thomas Becket may be seen, and the unexpected context in which material bearing on him will turn up, all of which adds enormously to the fascination of the quest concerning him, of which in this paper I have endeavoured to illustrate certain aspects.

III.—*Excavations at Chun Castle in Penwith, Cornwall (Second Report).*
By E. THURLOW LEEDS, Esq., M.A., Vice-President.

Read 19th March 1931

THE investigation of the interior of the castle in 1925 resulted in the discovery of a series of furnaces in front of the well, the exploration of a circular house east of the well, and partial excavation of an area near the wall on the east side of the castle. The accumulation of debris from the wall, however, prevented continuation of this last piece of work right up to the wall itself. In 1927, therefore, with the kind permission of Mr. N. Matthews, who, since the first exploration in 1925, had acquired the property on which Chun Castle stands, it was decided to conduct further excavations in order to ascertain the nature of the site by the east wall and to investigate another portion of the interior of the castle.

For the second part of the work choice fell on the area immediately north of the inner gate, and here again completion in the time available was rendered impossible by the immense masses of dislodged stones which encumbered the inner face of the wall. It was evident that yet another visit would be necessary, but not until March 1930 did an opportunity occur to carry out this project.

In the present report the two short campaigns of 1927 and 1930 are treated as one. Thanks are due in particular to Canon Taylor, F.S.A., one of our local Secretaries for Cornwall, and to Dr. Vernon Favell, F.S.A., for their help and encouragement, and I am also much indebted to Mr. J. E. Hooper, Secretary of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society, for assistance during the last visit to the site. My wife has helped as before to prepare the plans and in many of the other tasks that fall to the lot of excavators.

Before proceeding to a description of the areas actually explored since the first report, it will be well to clear the ground by placing on record certain facts which have come to light, since they place an entirely different complexion on the interior economy of the castle as it must have been constituted in the days of its original construction and occupation.

Throughout the earlier part of the investigations account was always taken of the visible lines of stones which led Borlase, Cotton, and Barnwell to show on their plans a division of the interior of the castle into a ring of well-defined *septa*. It was a natural assumption that, even though divisions as depicted by Borlase seemed almost too geometrically drawn to be strictly accurate, they nevertheless did represent to some extent the original lay-out

of the castle, the more so as in his day it had not suffered from the great demolition and depredation to which its present condition is due. It followed that Cotton's plan might be regarded as an attempt to reinterpret what Borlase had seen, with the reservation that Borlase's very geometrical plan seemed unwarranted by the visible remains. Barnwell went back to something akin to Borlase's survey.

The fresh survey made by Mr. Overy in 1925 aimed at avoiding anything in the nature of hypothesis, and merely recorded the position of the visible stones on the ground itself. Even so, it remained incontestable that the inside of the inner wall was ringed by a series of divisions of unequal size and form, clearly defined not only by lines of loose blocks, but also in a few places by pairs of upright blocks, always on the side towards the centre of the castle. These appear to constitute entrances to the divisions to which the several pairs belonged.

It was these more than anything else which led to the exploration of areas delimited by visible stones on the assumption that these entrances belonged to the original interior plan. Possibly some of them did. Certainly those of the house east of the well (B in the first report) seemed capable of such interpretation, but it should at once be noted that the position of the supposed entrances lies far nearer to the main wall than the lines of blocks which mark the inner limits of the divisions recorded on all the plans.

In a large number of Iron Age camps there have been discovered remains of circular buildings surrounding the area within the inner ramparts, and such houses would appear to be the normal form, but their size assuredly fell far short of what would be demanded at Chun, if part of their walls were delimited by the stones of the visible divisions, since these lie in some cases 30 to 40 ft. from the inner wall of the castle.

One further point calls for note before the nature of these *septa* of the plans can be discussed, and that is the constitution of the superficial deposits around the inside of the wall above the rab which furnishes the first indications of virgin soil. The moor here is in fact double, each layer about 9 in. thick. Above the rab is a dark layer of mixed sand and peat, and above this a black, greasy layer, the result of the decomposition of bracken, grass, and other vegetation. This forms the first layer. The upper layer is a repetition of the first, except that where it is free from debris the vegetation is still growing. In the centre of the castle, as proved in 1925, the moor above the rab is, on the other hand, only one layer thick.

In exploring the area north of the inner gate two blocks at the base of the castle wall were found *in situ*, and these showed that the foundations of the wall had been laid on the original moor. In the case of the houses the

evidence obtained at different points seemed to be contradictory, but is probably capable of exact explanation. In the gate-house just mentioned remains of a paving were found resting on the rab, and where such paving was still preserved no pottery was found; it occurred only in unpaved portions and in the lower moor. Clearly it had been trampled into the ground, possibly shorn of its grass in such places. In the house east of the well the pottery came from below a patchy paving. Here it seems the house had at first been unpaved, but later, when the floor became a trampled mire, into which the pottery had sunk, some attempts were made to improve it by paving. In both cases the absence of pottery on the pavement could be explained. It was of such poor quality that, fallen on the stones, it would be ground to pieces except where it was forced down into the interstices.

This digression into the nature of the surface-layers has been made because it is essential to a clearer understanding of the stones marking the lines of the *septa*. Although it would be hazardous to assert that all the stones were in like case, it is certain that by far the greater number either rest on, and have naturally by their own weight sunk into, or are set in, the upper layer and no deeper. A few which go deeper are probably older and have been incorporated in the lines of the *septa*. But apart from these few exceptions it may be taken for granted that the blocks which form these visible divisions have nothing to do with the original disposition of the dwellings within the castle.

In this connexion four separate observations may be cited:

(a) The house east of the well, as already noted, lies well within the line of stones marking the *septum*.

(b) A controlling trench, dug in 1927, southwards from the area in which the furnaces were found (A in first report) towards the centre of the castle revealed the foundations of a curving wall, 5 ft. south of that area and here outside the line of stones between the large blocks at the east and west ends of the southern edge of the area originally excavated.¹ This wall, if followed in a north-easterly direction, would have met the westernmost of the two pieces of wall encountered in the trench between the well and the house to the east of it (*Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 216). The south wall of the furnace-house therefore lay outside the line of the *septum* at this point.

(c) As will be explained in the account of the house near the gate, a line of paving was uncovered evidently corresponding to the inner curve of the original wall of the building. Between that and the inner line of the *septum* lay a wide blank patch, which had clearly not been included in the house.

(d) The most convincing proof that the *septa* had no relation to the original buildings was, however, discovered in the last day's work in March,

¹ These two large blocks would fall into the line of the wall, and for that reason may be original.

1930. In order to test the nature of the *septum*-lines more thoroughly, a trench was driven from a point close to the well southwestwards towards the gate, so as to cross the double line of stones in that part of the castle shown on Mr. Overy's plan (*Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 210, fig. 3). Immediately under the stones, which were found to be resting on the upper moor, lay the basal blocks of a doorway of a house. The trench passed immediately north of them, and in it could be detected the footings of a rubble wall which curved outwards from these blocks. The blocks stood about a foot high, and between them was a narrow, paved threshold, with additional paving outside the door. Over the eastern block lay one of the largest stones in this double line of superficial stones which runs inwards from the main wall. This line must approximately bisect from north to south the area included within the walls of the house.

What then is the meaning and purpose of the divisions recorded first by Borlase and still existent, though perhaps in less perfect condition than when he saw them, it is now only possible to conjecture. They are evidently deliberate, but just as evidently they are later than the original construction of the castle. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that when the walls were better preserved the castle would afford quite adequate shelter and protection for cattle, and that these lines of stones are nothing more than the debris of walls erected (at an unknown time) to form cattle-pens, and that the walls so erected have since suffered from the same fate which befell the walls of the castle itself in the early nineteenth century. Any attempt to work the whole series of these stones into the original scheme of those who built the castle can only lead to misunderstanding.

Sufficient evidence has been gathered already to show the position of four round or elliptical buildings standing between the north side of the inner gate and the eastern side of the well. There is ample space for two more, but in the trench dug southwestwards from the well no signs of walls could be detected between the well and that to which the doorway belonged. There is, however, room for a smaller hut either north or south of the trench.

At one time it was thought that some of the houses actually abutted on the wall of the castle, but that must be regarded as unproven, even though, as will be seen, they must in some cases have approached very closely. The difficulty in the way of settling this question arises from the fact that much of the castle wall has been prized out from its original line and so encroaches on the space which may have intervened between the huts and the wall.

THE EXCAVATIONS

C. The house in the south-east quarter (see *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, pp. 219-20)

Further work in this quarter in 1927 furnished but little additional evidence of the nature of the site. The actual area investigated in 1925 and 1927 was defined by the stones delimiting one of the *septa*, and these, as is now certain, could have had little if any relation to an original building at this point. Traces of house walls may exist underneath some of the blocks or even beyond towards the centre of the castle.

After removal of the debris at the base of the castle wall the so-called party-wall mentioned in the first report was found to run almost to the foot of the castle wall, with a tendency to curve southwards, so that it may mark the north wall of a hut in which the area explored to the south was included. In this area remains of a rough paving covered the middle of the floor towards the castle wall. A strip along the south side was devoid of paving, but was bounded on the west side by a narrow line of laid stones continuing the western edge of the paving and giving the appearance of having served as a threshold.

North of the paving the floor descended, as in the earlier excavations, to a pit-like depression. In this pit were found most of the scanty sherds recovered.

In the part of C north of the party-wall only a narrow strip along the east side remained to be examined, a large part of it covered by an enormous block fallen from the castle wall. Removal of this block revealed the remains of a small hearth in a position which must have been close to the foot of the castle wall. Exactly how close it was impossible to tell, since none of the blocks of the wall at this point could be said to lie in their original position. But close it must have been, since the original curve of the wall could be ascertained with a fair degree of accuracy by means of blocks, apparently undisturbed, in the southern section, and of the upright stones at the north end of the northern section, which, as observed in 1925, had been set close to the wall and right down into the *rab*. It becomes a question, therefore, whether here a building had not been erected against the castle wall itself.

The hearth was found to be filled with charcoal to a depth of 6 to 9 in., and from the charcoal were recovered numerous fragments of pottery, for the most part very small. Fortunately it has been possible to fit together sufficient to allow the height and diameter of the vase to which they belonged to be accurately ascertained, and thus Mr. W. H. Young has been able to reconstruct the vase in its original form.

D. *House north of the inner gate* (fig. 1)

Reference to the plan of the castle will show two large blocks close to the inner side of the horn projecting from the northern gate-post (here A and B). On the assumption that these might be *in situ* they were taken as possibly marking the entrance to a house. From the westernmost (A) of these two blocks a line of four smaller, narrow stones set on edge ran in a line towards the northern gate-post. Beyond them, however, the stones lay pell-mell in such confusion that it is impossible to state whether they did or did not form part of the wall of the house. As will be seen from the figure, along the side of this apparent wall there ran a line of slabs, and from the western door-post another line ran almost at right angles to the wall for 9 ft., thereafter turning again westwards, though not so clearly defined. East of the slabs lay an unpaved patch, and nothing in the nature of the footing of a wall outside the slabs here or on the northern side could be detected.

Westwards of the line of slabs lay a medley of stones, whether remains of paving or not it is impossible to say. One large oblong block, possibly used as a seat, appeared to be *in situ*. The principal feature of the house was the presence of three slightly mounded hearths, each about 3 ft. in diameter, composed of rab. In two (H. 1 and H. 3) the rab had been burnt to a bright red, and these two had had a surround of stones. Hearth 3 in addition had a small ring of flat pieces of stone set in the middle. In the third hearth (H. 2) the rab was pale yellow in colour. Dr. Thomas of the Geological Survey, who happened to be passing at the time of the discovery of the hearths, kindly examined them, and pointed out that the grains of mica in hearth 2 were still intact, proving that it had never been put to use. In the other two all traces of mica had been destroyed by heat. Hearths 1 and 3 were also accompanied by large quantities of charcoal. By H. 1 it was found in a stone-cased pit in the floor, 18 in. deep, near the line of blocks on the south side of the house, while that from hearth 3 came partly from a trough, some 6 in. deep, on the north side of the hearth, and partly from a stone-cased pit, 24 in. deep, and farther westwards. The exact construction of this could not, however, be determined owing to an enormous block from the castle wall, which could not be moved. On the south edge of this pit was a curved strip of burnt rab. No charcoal was found near hearth B.

It was evident in 1927 that hearth 3 and its pit were separated by only a short interval from the castle wall. In 1930 an attempt was made to reach it. Behind hearth 3, and a little southwards, the line of the wall had been destroyed, but beyond that two blocks are marked on the plan. These, without question, have never been disturbed. Since, as will be seen, they do



Fig. 1. Chun Castle; pot from hearth in area C. (c. $\frac{1}{2}$)

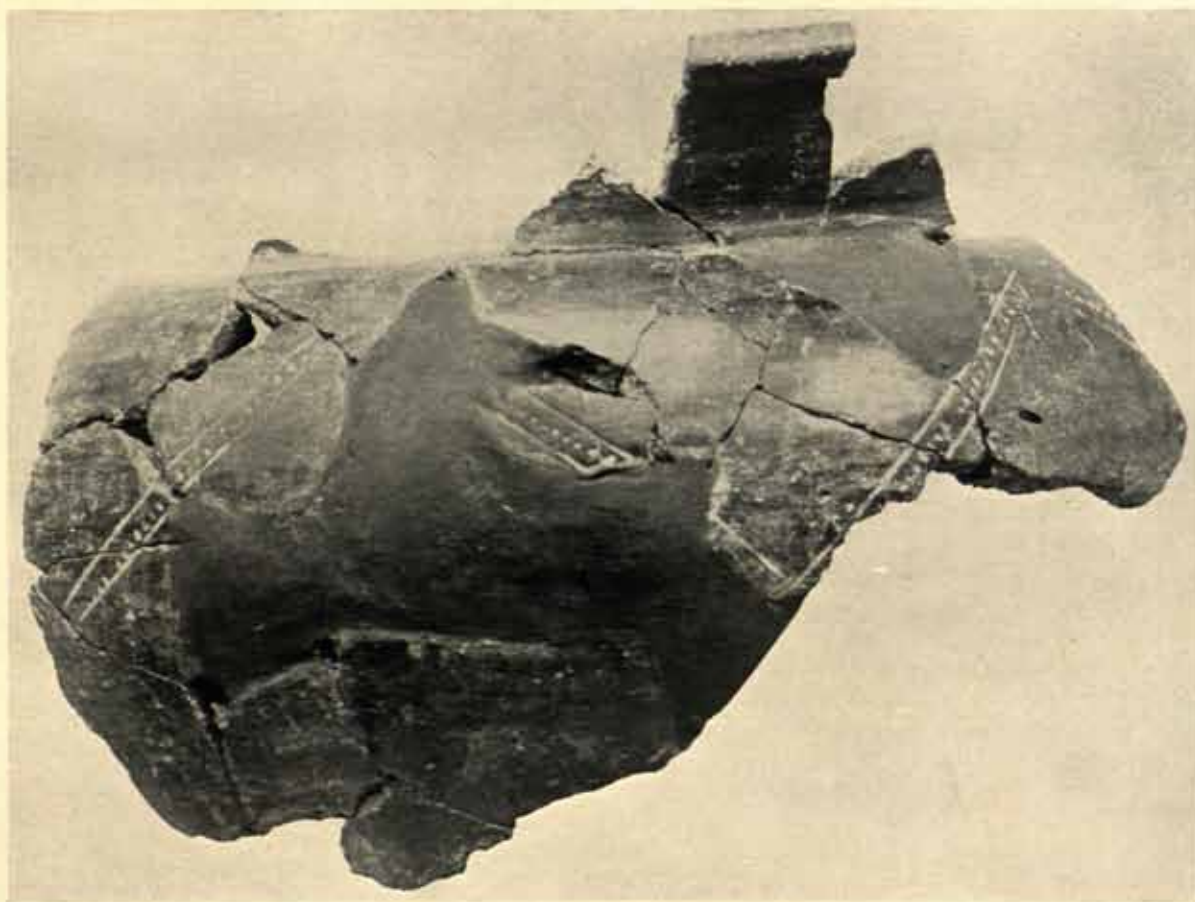


Fig. 2. Treveneague 'fogou'; decorated sherd ($\frac{1}{3}$)

not follow a curve of the castle wall from the point marked X, where the wall is apparently intact, to the northern gate-post at the entrance to the interior of

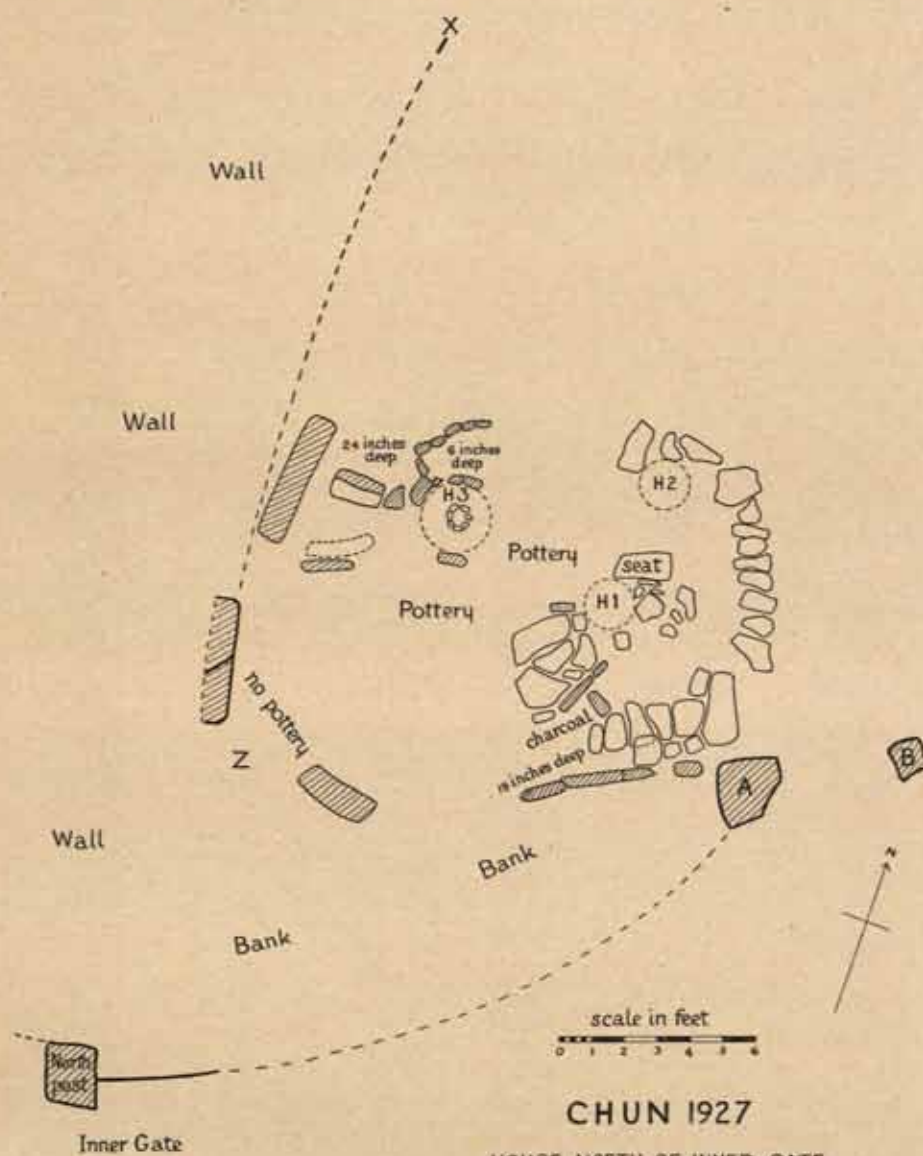


Fig. 1. Chun Castle: plan of house on north of the inner gate.

the castle, it would seem that there is some basis for the inner curve of the horn-like wall which flanks the entrance as depicted by Cotton. But did it also form the wall of the house? This seems doubtful, because in the area in the presumptive angle of the castle wall (indicated by Z on the plan) not a single sherd was to be found, though sherds of pottery, a large proportion of them from one vase, were found within an area of such dimensions as would fall within a house the limits of which are partly indicated by the

lines of paving on the east and south sides, and which would have included H. 3. The evidence suggests that the house was of the usual round type tucked into the angle formed by the castle wall and the projecting horn.

The objects discovered were neither numerous nor remarkable.

Hammer-stones. Apart from the large diorite hammer-stone found in the exploration trench across the lines of *septum*-stones, other examples were found in the gate-house. The largest, a pebble of red hornblende granite, nearly circular, 5 in. across and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, domed on one face and worn flat by use on the other, had served as a muller. A broken piece of smaller pebble had a similar worn face. Other spheroidal pebbles of varying sizes showed no signs of wear, but, like the frequent beach pebbles imported for sling-stones, must have been brought up from the beach.

Fire-stone. An oblong block of granophyre, roughly shaped, 5 in. long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, and 2 in. thick. On one face is a deep pit, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. deep, blackened by use. Towards one end is a second, adjoining the first, but less clearly defined, less worn, and only faintly coloured.

Whetstones. Portions of two, one broad and flat and irregularly worn, the other smaller and originally of bolster form, well worn towards the middle.

Flint. A flake, unpatinated, and with the cortex still on one face.

Glass. Fragments of a small, light blue, spherical bead of almost transparent glass, found in the interstice of two paving-slabs on the east side of the gate-house.

Pottery. The pottery obtained in the more recent work does not add greatly to our knowledge of the wares in use during the occupation of the castle. One fact does, however, seem to be established by its scarcity, namely, that the occupants cannot have been numerous. For the most part, as before, only small sherds were found, and the fabrics coincided with those registered in the first report. In the gate-house it was noted that many of the sherds of rough, dark red ware must have belonged to stouter and larger vessels than those from other parts of the castle explored by us, but since no rims were found to match them there was no possibility of reconstructing the forms of the vases to which they had belonged. Of one vessel with rather thinner walls and of a dark brown colour enough was recovered to restore the form (fig. 2). It measured $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter across the mouth, and $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. at its greatest diameter, and has a well-turned rim.

Comparison of the rims (fig. 3) with those illustrated in fig. 8 of the first report reveals nothing new except no. 7, in which a sharp angle replaces the usual curve, and no. 12, which must have belonged to a vase with a fairly narrow mouth, probably surmounted by a lid, which would be held in place by the ridge on its inner edge.

The only decorated pieces were a small fragment with a cordon, another with a horizontal groove, and a third with some lightly incised lines close to the base.

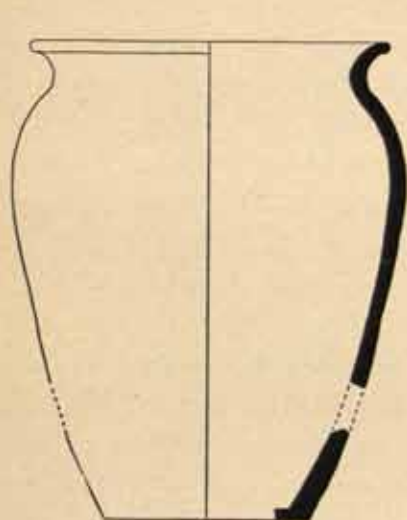


Fig. 2. Chun Castle: restoration of vase from D ($\frac{1}{4}$).

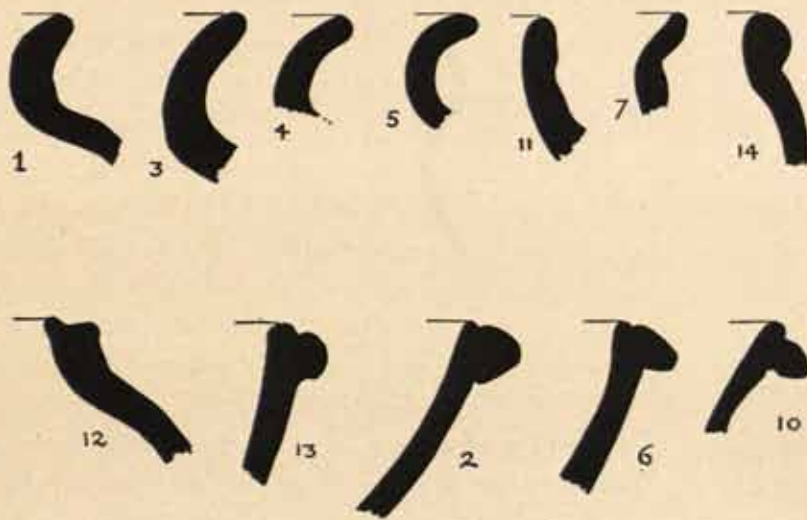


Fig. 3. Chun Castle: section of vase-rims ($\frac{1}{4}$).

All the pottery described or figured above belonged to vases either made on the wheel or so carefully fashioned by hand as to be hardly distinguishable, and all belong to forms more or less familiar in Early Iron Age pottery. The pot (pl. xxiv, fig. 1) found in fragments near the hearth in area C is, however, quite another story. It is hand-made, of fairly fine unburnished buff ware, the exterior now blackened by charcoal, and was built up on the grass-floor of the castle, the base, which is perfectly flat, showing the impress of the grass quite plainly. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, 8 in. in diameter across the base, but only $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the mouth. The walls, under $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, slope inwards towards the mouth and terminate in a plain narrow rim.

Although in itself it only suggests a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the castle, the pottery from Chun on second examination seems to point to a longer occupation than had previously been imagined, down indeed to a time not remote from the Roman Conquest. In this connexion comparison of the material from Chun with that from sites farther east is instructive. At Casterley Camp, Wiltshire,¹ Mr. and Mrs. Cunnington found fragments of cordoned ware, along with a large series of bead-rims, in the lower strata of the ditches. The introduction into this country of the former type, usually known as Aylesford or Swarling ware, is now placed in the first century B.C., and is followed in turn by the bead-rims at the turn of the Christian era. In the

¹ *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, vol. 38, pp. 86-91.

upper stratum of the same ditches along with Roman wares there were found deepish bowls of grey or black ware with flanged rims. Some of these (*loc. cit.*, pl. VIII, 1-15) resemble examples from Chun (fig. 3 and *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 221, fig. 8), but the ware of the Chun bowls has nothing in common with the

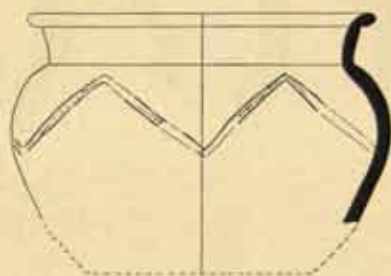


Fig. 4. Treveneague 'fogou': restoration of decorated vase ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Wiltshire fabrics, and also has the appearance of being slightly earlier, though that may only be due to the granitic paste of which they are made.

But assuming that the bowls with flanged rims from the two sites are roughly contemporaneous, we find that the Chun pottery seems to begin with pottery of Glastonbury type, e.g. the fragment with curvilinear ornament figured in the first report and other decorated pieces, and to pass through the cordoned wares to others like fig. 2, not far removed from the typical Romano-British olla, and the flanged bowls of Casterley Camp.¹ In short, scanty as the material is, it seems to bear witness to an occupation lasting from the third century B.C. down to a time which can at most only shortly antedate the Roman conquest of Cornwall. As elsewhere in Britain and abroad the conquerors may well have demanded the evacuation by its Celtic occupants of such a stronghold as Chun Castle must have been in its prime.

NOTE.—On my last visit to Cornwall I was able by kind permission of Mr. J. E. Hooper to examine closely the parcel of sherds from the 'fogou' at Treveneague. It appeared certain that many of them could be fitted together, and he courteously allowed me to take them to Oxford for that purpose. The result is the excellent sherd here figured (fig. 4 and pl. xxiv, fig. 2), one of the best pieces of decorated pottery that we have from Cornwall. It clearly belongs to a form which occurs with some frequency at Glastonbury,² a wide-mouthed vase with a neatly moulded rim, an almost vertical neck, and a squat body with a wide rounded shoulder. In date it falls into place with the decorated wares discovered at Chun.

¹ Flanged-rim bowls, as Miss M. V. Taylor, F.S.A., has kindly pointed out to me, are characteristic of early Roman deposits in the West of England. At Wroxeter (*Wroxeter*, 1912, p. 70, no. 10), at Gellygaer (J. Ward, *Roman Fort at Gellygaer*, 1903, pl. x), and at Caerleon (*Archaeologia*, lxxviii, 178-80, fig. 19) they occur with some frequency. At the first-named site they were assigned to a period from A.D. 80-110. The earlier forms were there distinguished by their more vertical walls as also by the right or even acute angle made by the junction of the rim and wall, as contrasted with the obtuse angle found in later forms. Whether this type of bowl goes back into the pre-Roman period in Britain seems to be doubtful.

² A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, pl. LXXVIII, p. 154.

IV.—*The Easby Cross.* By Miss MARGARET LONGHURST, F.S.A.

Read 22nd January 1931

IN August 1930 the Victoria and Albert Museum was enabled to purchase a fragment of a tall cross of the well-known Northumbrian type, of which the best-known examples are perhaps the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses. This fragment, which had been for a long time in private possession at Easby in Yorkshire, has frequently been illustrated as one of the finer examples of the carving of the period. It shows on the one broad face Christ Enthroned in Majesty between two angels (pl. xxv, fig. 1); on the other, magnificently designed vine scrolls with a bird, probably an eagle or a falcon, and a beast (I would rather not specify the breed) in the convolutions (pl. xxv, fig. 3). On the two narrow sides are panels of interlaced ornament and vine scrolls, separated by bands of pearled ornament (pl. xxv, fig. 2). Mr. W. G. Collingwood, both in his contribution on Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*,¹ and in his later work on the Northumbrian crosses,² noted two other fragments built into the fabric of the parish church at Easby, which, though only one narrow face was visible, appeared to him to be of the same date, and to have come from the same or a similar cross. Another small piece³ with a bust of Christ was also noted by him on the outside of the south wall of the chancel. Last autumn permission was obtained by the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum to cut out these stones and to replace them with plain masonry. The carved stones, which were brought to the Museum for cleaning, were found to be covered on three sides to a depth of two or three inches with hard mortar; on cleaning this off the stones were found to show on two of the broad faces busts of eleven of the twelve Apostles, ranged in groups of three or more under arches (pl. xxvi, fig. 1, xxvii, fig. 1), the halo of the twelfth head appearing at the bottom of the fragment already in the possession of the Museum. This shows quite clearly the order of arrangement of the stones—the Christ in Majesty at the top, with the Apostles below. Mr. Collingwood, only having one stone to go upon, had restored them the other way round with the Christ at the bottom. The other faces of these two fragments of the shaft show vine scrolls and interlacing panels similar to the first piece (pl. xxvi, figs. 2 and

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 109 ff.

² *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, 1927, p. 42.

³ *Victoria County History*, vol. ii, p. 111.

3, xxvii, fig. 2). A reconstruction of the three pieces of the shaft is shown on plate xxviii. The third fragment recorded by Mr. Collingwood as in the church was found to have on the walled-in side a second bust of Christ and to be, as already suggested by him, a part of the head of the cross (pl. xxvii, figs. 3 and 4). Although now in pieces the cross would seem to have been originally composed of a monolithic shaft with the head carved from a separate stone, as in the case of the Bewcastle and other crosses. The Easby cross must have been violently thrown down at some time, probably during the Danish invasions, and then repaired with lead, a piece of which still remains at the base of the middle stone (pl. xxvi, fig. 3). In this connexion it is interesting to note that Symeon of Durham records the fact that when the Viking raiders of Lindisfarne had broken off the head of a stone cross the two pieces were afterwards joined together by being run with lead.¹ The material of the Easby cross, like the other great crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell, is a local stone.

The existing pieces of the shaft, allowing for the small fragments missing between them, total about 5 ft. 6 in., but what was its original height it is impossible to say with any certainty. In the case of the head, though there is less of it remaining, one can be rather more sure; there is, or was recently, at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire,² a portion of a head which shows on the one side a similar bust of Christ in a medallion (almost identical in size), and on the other a whole-length figure of Christ (pl. xxix, fig. 1). Sufficient of this head remains to enable us to see that the whole width would have been about 3 ft., so that on this analogy we can account for approximately 8 ft. 6 in. of the Easby cross. The proportions of the Hoddam cross shaft are very nearly the same as those of our cross, and it has been suggested that the total height of the Hoddam example was probably about 15 ft. (*op. cit.*, p. 102), so that it is possible that ours was about the same. The Bewcastle shaft is 14 ft. 7 in. without the head, and the Ruthwell cross 17 ft. 3 in. with the head, but both of these are considerably thicker in the shaft. It is also uncertain how the rest of the shaft was decorated, whether with figure subjects,³ or with scrolls and interlacing ornament, and possibly with an inscription panel.

The adjacent abbey of St. Agatha, Easby, was founded in 1152 by Roald, Constable of Richmond, for canons regular of the Premonstratensian order. The date of the earliest building of the parish church is much less certain. There is no mention of it in Domesday Book, but it is probable that it was already in existence when the Abbey was founded. The first certain record

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series, 75; *Hist. Dunelm Eccl.*, i, chap. 12.

² *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments of Scotland, County of Dumfries*, 1920, pp. 101-2.

³ Mr. MacLagan suggests that a figure of the Virgin, which would normally be part of the representation of the Ascension, probably occupied another panel.



1



2



3

Top stone of the cross shaft from Easby, Victoria and Albert Museum



1



2



3

Middle stone of cross shaft from Easby, Victoria and Albert Museum

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1931



2



3



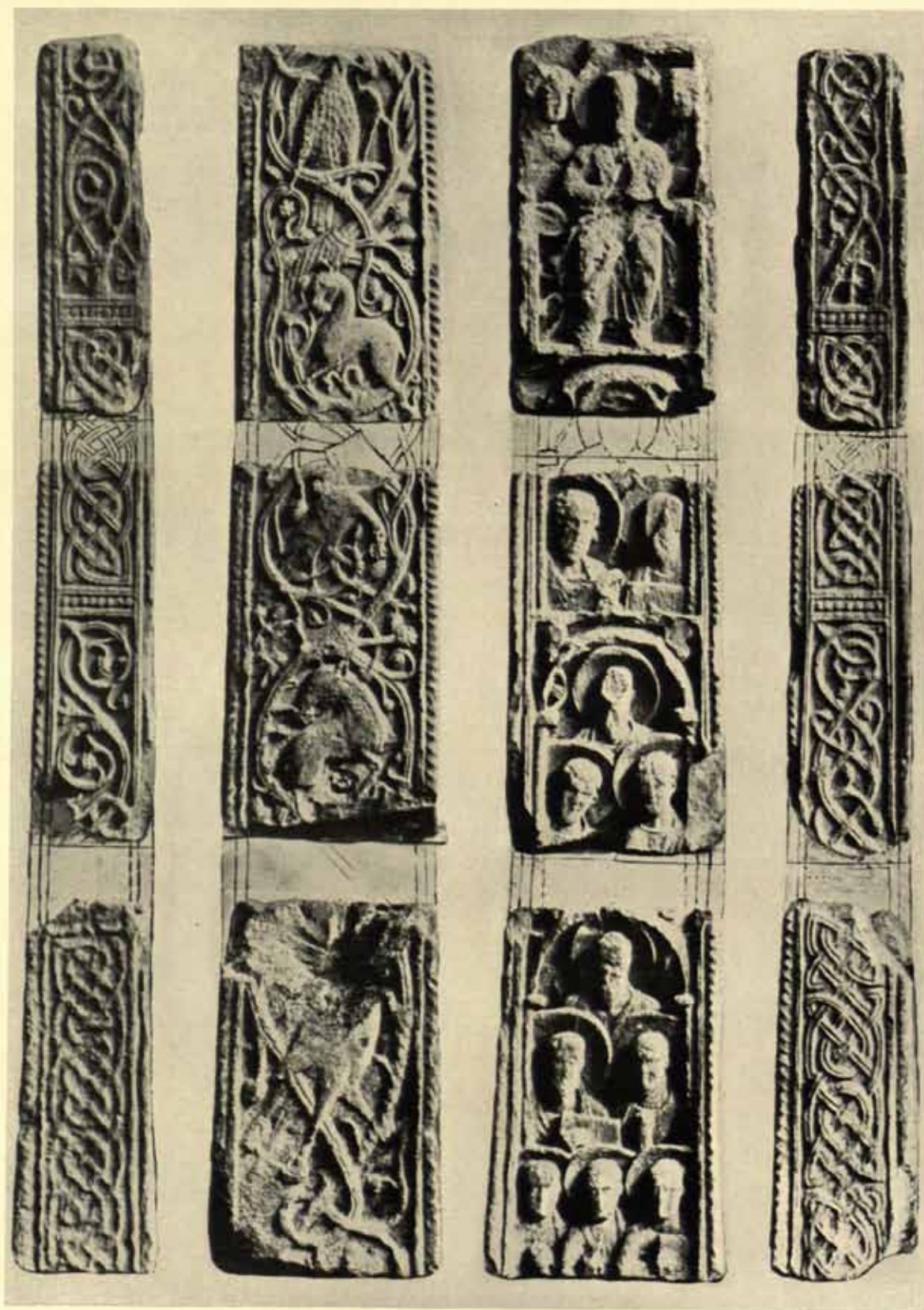
4



1

1 and 2. Lower stone of cross shaft from Easby, Victoria and Albert Museum. 3 and 4. Centre of head of cross from Easby, Victoria and Albert Museum

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1931



Reconstruction of the cross shaft from Easby

seems to be in the taxation of 1291,¹ where the parish church is appropriated to the abbot of St. Agatha. Of this earliest church nothing remains but a portion of the south wall of the chancel and a small piece of wall at the north-east end of the south aisle. It is, however, a point of special interest that one of the two stones with Apostle heads was, until its removal last October, embedded in this latter piece of wall, while the fragment of the cross head was built into the south wall of the chancel. The west front and the north wall of the church, the only other parts of the building which concern us, appear to have been rebuilt at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The third stone was built into the west front about 25 ft. up, so that all three stones belong to the two earliest parts of the fabric, and there seems no reason to doubt that they were used as building material when both portions of the church were constructed. In any case no record of any building contemporary with what I believe to be the period of the cross exists. There is, however, undoubted evidence that crosses were set up for various reasons quite independently of ecclesiastical buildings—to commemorate an event or a person (as at Bewcastle), to mark a place of assembly, or to define a boundary (hardly likely in this case), or as in the case, unique I believe, of Reculver, where the cross was erected in the church.² Some event of which all record has been lost may well have taken place at Easby, and in this connexion how much would we not give for an inscription?

Of the two figure subjects represented on the cross, Christ Enthroned in Majesty appears on many of the crosses, as at Dewsbury, on the head of the Hoddam cross, and on the Rothbury fragment, now used as a font (pl. xxix, fig. 4). This last is iconographically a particularly interesting example, as it portrays a scene which occurs on several late Coptic ivory carvings—for example, on a leaf of an ivory diptych in the Musée de Cluny (pl. xxix, fig. 3), on a curious curved relief in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (pl. xxix, fig. 5), and on two fragments at Munich and in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The scene seems to be a combination of the Ascension and Christ in Majesty—at the top Christ Enthroned, and below the Apostles and the Virgin, a type of composition which appears to have originated in Palestine and spread to Egypt, where it is fairly common. On the diptych the figures are crowded together, so that only their heads are visible in a way very similar to that on the Rothbury relief, the carver of which must, I think, have seen one of these representations; I believe too that the subject must also have been at the back, at any rate, of the mind of the carver of the Easby stones.

¹ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV, c. 1291.* (Pub. Record Commission, 306 b).

² C. R. Peers, *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, pp. 250 and 255.

The more immediate source of inspiration of the Christ in Majesty may well have been an ivory carving such as the well-known diptych at Berlin (pl. xxix, fig. 2). Of course, the association of Christ with the Apostles is common enough—Christ and the Apostles standing in pairs are represented as a frieze round the Masham¹ cross; single standing figures, which may be Apostles, appear on the Collingham cross²; and evangelists half-length under arches are found in several instances, as at Otley,³ but I know of no series quite similar to this one. The vine scroll, with or without birds and animals in its convolutions, is also one of the commonest motives on the crosses, and it has been used by Professor Brøndsted as a basis for his chronology of the crosses. But the whole subject has been so fully and lucidly treated recently by Mr. Clapham⁴ that I will not presume to say anything more on the subject, except to mention that it has, I think, been generally accepted that the most naturalistic examples are normally the earliest—I mean those where the birds are still recognizable, and where the beast is still a quadruped, not an indeterminate, if extremely decorative, stylized form with hind quarters forming part of the surrounding scrolls or plaits. The vine, too, appears to show the same development, or rather disintegration, as the carver gets further and further away from his model.

As regards the dating of the cross, the fact that it was already considerably worn and weathered, and had been broken and repaired, before it was used as building material for walls which cannot reasonably be dated later than the second half of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries, effectively excludes (if such proof is necessary) a date in the twelfth century for the carvings, such as has been suggested recently in a letter to *The Times*.

It is now generally agreed, I think, that the historical conditions are most in favour of a period between the late seventh and the middle of the eighth century for work of this type; that is, during the period of greatest prosperity in Northumbria.

One of the most noticeable features of the figure sculpture on our cross is the very Roman type of the heads of the Apostles, and the common type of Roman tomb with similar heads may well have furnished the model. I know of no good example remaining in this country, but they are frequent on the Continent, and Roman work varies little in the main in the different provinces; Rome was artistically, as well as politically, all-pervading. This classical influence is surely an argument in favour of an early date for these carvings in the series of similar sculptures. The type of heads, too, is still very individual,

¹ Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, p. 44.

² Collingwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

³ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 1930, pp. 55 ff.



1. Head of Cross at Hoddum

By permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Scotland



2. Ivory diptych at Berlin : Early Christian



3. Leaf of ivory diptych in Musée de Cluny. Coptic



4. Rothbury fragment

By permission of the Clarendon Press and Mr. B. C. Clayton



5. Ivory relief in Metropolitan Museum, New York. Coptic

well characterized, and not at all mechanical, as it tends to be in later work. It is perhaps worth noting that the style of the heads and draperies seems to belong to a rather different type from the probably almost contemporary Reculver figures, which show the round faces framed in short curly hair, characteristic of certain groups of Early Christian sculpture, while the draperies are almost Early Greek in character. The folds of the drapery of the Easby Christ are finely designed, and have none of the rigid parallelism which may be associated with work such as the Bishop Auckland stone, which is treated on two planes, the folds of the draperies being little more than incised lines.

The main difficulty as to the actual source of inspiration for these Anglian crosses still remains unsolved, and I cannot pretend to throw any light on this difficult problem. So far as I know no sculpture of the quality of these carvings had been produced for over a century, either in the Near East or in Europe, and one is thrown back on ivory carvings of the fifth and sixth centuries, such as the Berlin diptych.

A comparison with the great Christ figures at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and especially with the former, will show that the Easby figure falls little, if at all, short of these magnificent carvings. I may be prejudiced, but I do feel that this is almost, if not quite, the finest piece of Anglian figure sculpture, damaged as it is, that we know, and whatever date we finally assign to the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses, round about 700 or, as preferred by some authorities, 800, the same dating must be assigned to the Easby carvings: this in spite of Professor Brøndsted's opinion (for which no one has a greater respect than myself) that the Easby carving, of which incidentally he only knew one stone, was the work of foreigners. I can find no convincing reason why it should not be the work of our own countrymen.

V. *On Palm-tree Crosses.* By Dr. W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A.

Read 23rd October 1930

IN the Crucifixion scene on the remarkable bronze doors of Hildesheim Cathedral, cast for Bishop Bernward in 1015, appears a cross with a series of curious protuberances regularly disposed all round its edge.¹ Dibelius, writing² of this cross, has suggested that it represents a cross constructed of unhewn palm-trunks, conventionalized in form, and has cited, as early examples of similar crosses, the representations of crosses on some of the Monza ampullae, attributing these representations to a presumed tendency, on the part of a Palestinian craftsman, to show the Saviour's cross as if made of a wood common in Palestine. I am dealing elsewhere³ with the suggestion that the cross on the Hildesheim door represents palm-wood, concluding that logs of palm-trunk are not represented in that cross and that the latter is no more than one of a class fairly common, formed of conventionalized living vegetation; and I am there discussing, in considerable detail, Dibelius's further suggestion that the crosses, common in medieval times and during the early Renaissance, represented as if made of rough wood, have been derived from crosses intended to represent pieces of palm-trunk set crosswise. Although since preparing that study I have seen no reason to ascribe the origin of rough-wood crosses to prototypes representing palm-trunks, either dead and as the material substance of which our Lord's cross was constructed or as living, and representing symbolically the Tree of Life, the iconographical questions—first, as to actual representations of palm-tree crosses; and, second, as to the symbolical meanings underlying such representations—suggested by Dibelius's conjectures have seemed to me to be worthy of the investigation of which I present the results below.

Dibelius referred (*loc. cit.*) primarily to what he considered to be a cross formed of palm-trunks, upon one of the ampullae at Monza, of which he gave a sketch. Crosses appear on several of the sixteen Monza ampullae,⁴ and,

¹ Cf. Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die deutschen Bronzetüren des frühen Mittelalters*, Marburg a. L., 1926, pls. LV, LIV, LVI, and (pair of doors) XII; F. Dibelius, *Die Bernwardstür zu Hildesheim*, Strasbourg, 1907, pl. 9 (with pair of doors on pl. 2) and pp. 64 seq. of 'Text'.

² *Op. cit.*, 65 of 'Text'.

³ 'On a Medieval Bronze Pectoral Cross' in *Art Bulletin*, xiv (1932).

⁴ Reproduced by R. Garrucci, *Storia della Arte cristiana*, vi, Prato, 1880, pls. 433, 434, 435; A. Heisenberg, in *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, i, Leipzig, 1908, pls. VIII and IX, reproduces photograph.

although without a crucifix, they obviously represent, even if only symbolically, our Lord's cross. Plate xxx, fig. 1,¹ shows the cross which, of all the crosses on the ampullae, most resembles a palm-tree. The construction of this cross, similar to the crosses on two of the other Monza ampullae, to represent some sort of vegetation is quite evident²; but knowing of the tendency to floralize the Saviour's³ cross during the period when the ampullae were made (they are ascribed to the seventh century or to the end of the sixth), and taking into consideration the rude art displayed in the ampullae, we must hesitate before asserting definitely that the vegetation is actually intended to represent that of the palm.⁴ Furthermore, one of the crosses,⁵ surmounted, like the vegetational ones, by a bust of Christ, is smooth but set amidst flowering plants. From the evidence of the ampullae alone, as displayed in Heisenberg's photographs, and even allowing for exaggerations incidental to the small scale of the crosses, I am disinclined to believe that any one of them—even the one shown in pl. xxx, fig. 1—was intended as a 'palm'-cross. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Early Christians in Rome sometimes associated the palm-tree in particular with their vegetational crosses; e.g. in the wall-painting shown in pl. xxx, fig. 5,⁶ in the catacomb of St. Soteres, which seems to depict the cross as if formed of the living trunk of a date-palm with fronds growing from its base,⁷ having a beam set as the cross-bar. For this there

graphs of six; Cabrol, *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne*, i, s.v. 'Ampoules', shows drawings 'from photographs' of five; A. Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corte*, Milan, 1794, i, gives drawings of the most important ones, etc.

¹ Reproduced from Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. 434, fig. 2; given by Heisenberg (fig. 1), Cabrol (fig. 458), Frisi, pl. v, no. v.

² C. R. Morey, in 'The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum', in *Festschrift . . . Paul Clemen*, Düsseldorf, 1926, suggests (p. 160) that the rough crosses on the Monza ampullae, as well as those on the ampullae found at Bobbio (cf. *ibid.*, 153 seqq., with reproductions from photographs; citations and pictures are from Father Celi's *Cimeli Bobbesi*, Rome, 1923, extract from *Civiltà Cattolica*) 'reflect the paramount importance to the pilgrims of the central objective of their pilgrimage, the gemmed Cross which stood, certainly as early as the fifth century, on the rock of Golgotha . . .' I think that this is not the case with the examples I specify, for to me their little projections strongly suggest vegetation; as, also, do those of the cross, in the symbolized Crucifixion, on the Bobbio ampulla reproduced in Morey's fig. 12. On the other hand, I agree that the cross on the Bobbio ampulla shown in his fig. 10, with regular projections *all* pointing outward from the centre, may well represent the gemmed cross.

³ Cf. Cabrol, *Dict.*, s.v. 'Arbres', 2707 and fig. 901 (the same as our pl. xxx, fig. 5, *infra*), 2706 and fig. 899.

⁴ A series of sketches of representations of palm-trees in ancient art is given by W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte-Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, 243.

⁵ Garrucci, pl. 434, fig. 1; Heisenberg, fig. 5; Cabrol, fig. 461.

⁶ Reproduced from G. B. de Rossi's *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, iii, Rome, 1877, pl. xii.

⁷ For examples of date-palms thus shown in art of the period see J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien . . . vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed., iii, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917,



Fig. 1. Monza Ampulla



Fig. 2. Ivory, Spanish, 11th century, in Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 3. Capital at Vézelay

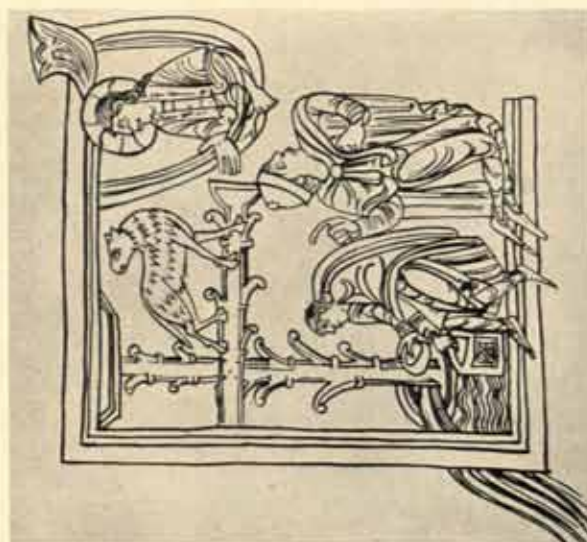


Fig. 4. The Tree of Life in Paradise; from Goldschmidt, *Der Altpsalter*



Fig. 5. Painting in Catacomb; from De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea*



Fig. 6. From Harley MS. 2788, c. 800

was good reason, as we shall see, in the conception of the Tree of Life as a palm-tree. However this may be, it seems clear, from what has been said above, that it is extremely unlikely that the makers of the Monza ampullae intended to represent the crosses as if made of palm-logs; and, indeed, the fact that the little projections on the cross-bars point in both directions from the centre, instead of in only one (as they would do were the cross-bars rough logs), appears unmistakably to indicate that they entertained no such idea.

There can, I think, be but little doubt that it was as the symbol of Christ Himself, as the divine source of life, that the vegetational crosses were set upon the Monza ampullae; indeed, a more fitting symbol could hardly have been found, and as such symbols they were made the easier of identification by the busts at their tops and connected with them. In early Christianity the identification of the cross with the Saviour was so close, and so often was the cross idealized as a living tree, that there are many invocations of it as 'a divine tree, a noble tree, the likeness of which no earthly forest could produce . . . a tree covered with leaves, sparkling with flowers, and loaded with fruit', to be found in the liturgy and the writings of the fathers.¹ We have seen, in pl. xxx, fig. 5, what appears to be a pictorial identification of the cross with the date-palm in particular. An even less questionable identification may be seen in pl. xxx, fig. 6, reproduced² from one of the canon-tables of a Franco-German manuscript³ of about A.D. 800; a companion table of 'Canon Primus' is similarly headed by a palm-tree bearing a cross—in this case, however, of another form and lacking the λ and ω . In both these illuminations the date-palm is represented clearly in respect to its trunk, its leaves, its flowers, and its fruit. In them, as on the Monza ampullae, it seems probable that, if the palm-trees were not purely decorative in purpose (as they may well have been), the intention was to symbolize the Saviour Himself, rather than to portray Him as attached to a tree-form representing His cross; and this the more so because in the minds of ancient Germans the symbolical Cross, often spoken of as golden and begemmed, had become fully amalgamated with the crucified Christ Himself.⁴

reproducing the apse-mosaic (A.D. 526-530) of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano; M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV^{me} au X^{me} siècle*, Geneva, 1924, p. xxxiv.

¹ Cf. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, i, 412, where authorities are cited.

² By courtesy of the British Museum.

³ The 'Golden Gospels' (Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 2788), believed to have been produced in the imperial schools connected with the court of Charlemagne, at Aix-la-Chapelle; cf. *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Series I-IV, London, 1903. It has been described or referred to in many books on Carolingian illumination. The two canon-tables here mentioned are on fols. 6 v. and 7.

⁴ Cf. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln*, Berlin (1912), 18. The naturalistic rendering of details in the two palm-trees of the manuscript suggests artistic influences of some kind from the South.

We have dealt, as yet, only with palm-crosses which bear no crucifixes. We have now to consider those upon which our Lord appears in human form. Such crosses, obviously, might represent either living wood, as do the ones cited above, or dead. Since the suggestion which has prompted our inquiry referred more particularly to the latter, it is crosses constructed of palm-trunks with which we shall first concern ourselves.

The medieval craftsman might well have thought that he had good warrant for depicting the Saviour's cross as made, at least in part, of palm-wood, and have then tried so to show it by the only means open to him, that is, by representing the cross as if formed of pieces (or including a piece) of uncarpentered palm-trunks. The normal result of this would have been an upright whose leaf-stumps all pointed upward, with a cross-bar whose leaf-stumps pointed all to the left or all to the right; for, since the Crucifixion took place in a land of whose characteristics the palm-tree was one of the most notable, the craftsman might have considered that the cross must have been made of palm-wood.¹ And tradition, too, might have influenced him directly, for *The Golden Legend* tells us, under 'Of the Invention of the Holy Cross',² that 'the cross by which we be saved came of the tree by which we were damned, and . . . With this tree, whereof the cross was made, there was a tree that went overthwart, . . . and another piece above, . . . and another piece wherein the socket or mortice³ was made, . . . so that there were four manner of trees, that is of palm, of cypress, of cedar, and of olive'.⁴ Again, Cardinal Stefano Borgia says⁵ that, 'From the opinion entertained by some that palm-wood formed part of Christ's cross perhaps arose the custom of ancient believers in Christ, of attaching a palm-branch to the cross; and to this belongs the frequent mention, by the ancient fathers, of the palm as the Cross of Christ, as may be observed by the interpreters of the words of Canticles vii, 8: "I said, I will climb up into

¹ The date-palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*, the tree with which we are here concerned) 'was regarded by the ancients as peculiarly characteristic of Palestine and the neighbouring regions'; cf. W. Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. 'Palm-tree'. Medieval Europeans probably looked upon it in a similar way.

² F. S. Ellis's edit. of Caxton's translation, in 'The Temple Classics', iii, 170.

³ Or, in another version, the suppedaneum.

⁴ The same four woods are mentioned, as the materials of the cross, in *Mirk's Festial* (E.E.T.S. ed., 1905, 77 seq.), presumably following *The Golden Legend*. They are also mentioned, but in a different set of applications, in another version of *The Golden Legend*, where palm-wood serves only for the suppedaneum, while cedar forms the upright (cf. W. W. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History, and Art*, New York and London, 1898, 98). The tradition that palm and olive were used seems to derive from the South or the East; Bede mentions, in their stead, box (which, in northern Europe, long took the place of palm for religious uses) and fir (cf. Smith, *Dict.*, s.v. 'Cross').

⁵ Cf. *De Cruce Veliterna*, Rome, 1780, pp. ccix seq., note C; the quotation here given occurs in a discussion concerning the woods of which the True Cross was made.

the palm-tree".¹ He quotes further (*loc. cit.*), from Gretserius's *De Cruce*, bk. 1, chap. 5, a verse including '*Palma manus retinet*', a statement which seems to have been based on the continuation of the text in Canticles, saying 'I will take hold of the boughs thereof'. Elsewhere, we are told that 'the Cross was made of the palm of victory, the cedar of incorruption, and the olives of royal and priestly benediction'.² The idea, here embodied, that the cross was made of three—not of four—kinds of wood, was held by a number of the early writers, the woods varying according to their particular interpretations of the Scriptures, and sometimes, but not always, including palm.³

The History of the True Cross tells us how, when Seth had carried out the angel's instructions, after Adam had sent him to the Garden of Eden to secure the 'Oil of Mercy', and had planted seeds (or a branch) of the Tree of Knowledge in (or on) Adam's grave, a plant formed of three rods—one of cypress, one of cedar, and one of pine—grew there, and later became a tree from whose wood was made the Saviour's cross.⁴ In this there is no mention of the palm, sometimes said (as noted above) to have gone to the making of the cross, although both the cypress and the cedar are again specified. The species (or even nature, excepting that it bore fruit) of the original Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, from which was derived the miraculous tree of the story, is not stated in Genesis i and ii, and that Tree is not mentioned again in the Bible; the Tree has, however, generally been depicted as a fruit-tree of some known kind.⁵

Even though the palm-tree was sometimes employed in medieval art as

¹ '*Ex sententia in qua nonnulli fuerunt palmarum lignum Crucis partem constituisse, forte manavit mos apud antiquos Christifideles receptus, quo consueverant palmam Cruci adnectere; quemadmodum huc etiam pertinet usurpasse veteres Patres palmam pro Cruce Christi, ut observare est penes interpretes ad illa verba cap. vii. v. 8. Cantici Canticorum: DIXI ASCENDAM IN PALMAM.*'

² Seymour, *op. cit.*, 97 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 97, 98 note. On other woods of which the Cross was variously supposed to have been made, cf. *ibid.*, 93 seqq. The utilization of palm-leaves for the making of small crosses, blessed and distributed on Palm Sunday, has, I imagine, no special significance in this connexion, because, of the various devices formed of the palm-leaves blessed on that day, none is symbolically more suitable for the purpose than the cross.

⁴ A. S. Napier, in his *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, London (E.E.T.S., no. 103), 1894, gives (pp. x seq.) a bibliography of literature referring to the history of the wood of our Lord's cross, until the time of His passion. Some works, easy of access, in which the story may be found, are R. Morris's *Legends of the Holy Rood*, London (E.E.T.S., no. 46), 1871; Caxton's *The Golden Legend*, s.v. 'Of the Invention of the Holy Cross'; and John Ashton's reproduction (under the title of *The Legendary History of the Cross*, London, 1887) of a series of 64 woodcuts in a Dutch book of A.D. 1483.

⁵ Barbier de Montault speaks (*Traité d'iconographie chrétienne*, ii, Paris, 1890, 50) of the apple, the orange, and the fig, as thus shown; Didron, who cites (*Guide de la peinture*, Paris, 1845, 80 seq., note) the cherry and the grape-vine, points out (*loc. cit.*) that the tree selected varied according to the period and the geographical situation of the art in which it appeared, and was generally the one looked upon as most precious in the art of any particular time and place.

a symbol of knowledge—'Scientia = Palme—Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades says an inscription (amongst others equating Virtues with plants) on a thirteenth-century enamelled reliquary in the Darmstadt Museum¹—representations of the Tree of Knowledge as a palm-tree are rare; thus, in a considerable series (comprising some twenty-four examples, mainly of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries) of medieval paintings and sculptures showing the Fall of Man, reproduced by Cook,² almost all from Spanish sources, only one example, in an eleventh-century Beatus manuscript in the Escorial Library,³ shows the Tree clearly as some kind of a palm-tree. We may, I think, account for this by the fairly common medieval conception of the Tree of Life as a date-palm (cf. *infra*), in conjunction with the Bible's distinction⁴ between the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life.

Evidence, of a curious kind, that at least part of our Lord's cross was in medieval times thought by some to have been of palm-wood, seems to be afforded by the ivory-carving, of Spanish origin and attributed to the second half of the eleventh century,⁵ shown in pl. xxx, fig. 2.⁶ This carving⁷ appears to present the incident, related in some versions of the legendary history of the True Cross, wherein the cross which had borne the Saviour was distinguished from the other crosses (those of the Two Thieves) discovered with it, by its power to cure the dying or to revive the dead.⁸ Although the scene has certain features⁹ not quite in accordance with the story's variants with which I am acquainted, it seems to accord with this incident better than with any

¹ Cf. W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1926, 211.

² W. W. S. Cook, 'The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (V),' in *Art Bulletin*, x, figs. 1-20, 22-5.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, fig. 10.

⁴ Genesis ii, 9, and iii, 22.

⁵ On this ivory, which is in the Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, see J. Breck, 'Spanish Ivories of the XI and XII Centuries . . .', in *Amer. Journ. Archaeology*, 2 S., xxiv (1920), 218 seq.; Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, iv, no. 83.

⁶ Reproduced by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum.

⁷ Goldschmidt suggests (*loc. cit.*) that possibly the ivory illustrates an incident in the life of St. Vincent (of Avila). I have not, however, been able to identify the incident to which he alludes, and in consequence am inclined to remain in agreement with Breck's suggestion that the scene represents the testing of the True Cross.

⁸ There seems to have been considerable uncertainty, even at an early date, as to the exact nature of the miracle whereby the True Cross was identified; cf. Cabrol, *Dict.*, s.v. 'Croix (Invention de la)', cols. 3135 seq. A bibliography of literature dealing with the finding of the cross by St. Helena is given by Napier, *op. cit.*, p. xi. *Mirk's Festial* says (E.E.T.S. ed., 144) that the crosses were tested upon a 'dead body', without specifying the sex; Caxton's *Golden Legend* states (Ellis's ed., iii, 173) that a dead young man was brought to life; Ashton's *Legendary History of the Cross* shows (block 47) a dead maiden being revived; elsewhere we are told that an expiring woman was made whole.

⁹ Most important of these is, of course, the form of the object—a pillar or a stake rather than a cross—although a cross-form of the usual T-type is hinted at by the curling foliage at the top.

other of which I know. And the central object appears fairly clearly to represent a palm-tree with the scars of fallen branches running round it in a spiral pattern, and with young leaves (perhaps to suggest the living quality of the wood) springing from its top.

Caxton's account, given above (p. 52), of the several woods of which the cross was made, seems to imply (although it does not state it explicitly) that the upright of the cross was of palm-wood. The ivory of pl. xxx, fig. 2, seems, if we may indeed take it as representing the testing in the presence of St. Helena, to imply the same thing. So, too, although unfortunately with a corresponding lack of certainty, does the catacomb-painting of pl. xxx, fig. 5. What may perhaps—and now we have a double element of uncertainty—be a fairly close parallel to this painting is the cross shown in pl. xxxi, fig. 1,¹ to be seen on one of the well-known wooden doors (now believed to have been carved in the first half, or early in the second, of the eleventh century,²) of St. Maria im Kapitol, in Cologne; the scene in which it appears is on a very small scale, and the wood of which it is made has suffered damage and is now covered with paint, so that the original intention is not clearly evident. The main part of this cross is of the usual form and of smoothed wood, but against the axis of its upright is a post whose rough excrescences have seemed to several distinguished German scholars to be meant to suggest a palm-trunk. I have not observed traces of even a single corresponding rough excrescence on the cross-bar; but, considering the present state of the carvings, I am not prepared to say that one never was there. I am inclined to think that the rough portion (whether it has or has not been meant as palm-wood) has been intended (as in analogous cases where a living cross appears against one of carpentered wood, and in others where the whole cross is shown as if formed of palm-trunks) as a symbol of the Tree of Life, rather than as a material believed to have been actually used in the construction of the cross.

Another cross which, by some, has been thought to represent palm-trunks is in the Crucifixion-panel of the great bronze doors of the Korsunski Gate at Nijni Novgorod. Adelung, in writing of this,³ says that it seems to repre-

¹ Reproduced from R. Hamann's *Die Holztür der Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria im Kapitol*, Marburg a. L., 1926, pl. xxxv; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20. It is given also by P. Clemen, in 'Die katholische Pfarrkirche zu St. Maria im Kapitol', in *Die kirchlichen Denkmäler der Stadt Köln*, of the series 'Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz', Düsseldorf, 1911, fig. 170, p. 235.

² Opinions as to their date have, amongst the many writers on the doors, differed widely. A. Marignan has assigned them (cf. *Études sur l'histoire de l'art allemand*, Strasbourg, 1913, chap. on 'La porte en bois de l'Église de Sainte-Marie de Cologne') to a period as late as the early thirteenth century.

³ F. Adelung, in *Die Korsün'schen Thüren in der Kathedralkirche zur heil. Sophia in Nowgorod*, Berlin, 1823, 46. A coloured lithograph, purporting to show this cross, on a fairly large scale, is

sent 'zwey Palmbäumen zusammengesetzt'; and he gives a sketch suggesting the appearance of a cross whose limbs are closely covered with adherent leaves or scales. Examination of a photograph (pl. xxxi, fig. 2¹) of the panel shows, however, that as the protuberances on the cross-arm point in *both* directions from the centre, we have to do presumably, not with a cross constructed of two pieces of palm-wood, but with either a cross whose wood, according to a medieval legend, became alive and blossomed during the hours that the Saviour hung upon it, and died again when He died,² or with the cross as the Tree of Life (see *infra*). There seems to be a bare possibility that the maker of the panel had in mind the traditional construction of the cross of carpentered (i.e. squared) wood, and wished to suggest by the addition of the little protuberances that palm-wood had been employed. Or, again, it may possibly be that he desired to suggest that the squared wood of the cross had blossomed and had died, although in that case he should, to be consistent, have made all the little protuberances on the cross-arm point in *one* direction. It seems to me, however, much more probable that what he was trying to represent was the Living Christ (be it noted that the eyes are open, and that no wound is shown in hands or feet or side) standing before the Tree of Life, and that in some way he confused that Tree, whose cruciform symbolic likeness was commonly represented as of circular section throughout its stem and its arms, with the more usual cross shown as if of squared wood. The singular feature of the Saviour's hand within the Blessed Virgin's, a feature perhaps derived from a Deposition-scene, lends further colour to this view. So far as I am aware, nothing is known with certainty of the maker of this panel; he has, however, been thought to have been a craftsman from the vicinity of Magdeburg, working about 1153,³ and perhaps in Russia or Poland. The several curious features to which I have referred suggest that, at any rate, he was out of touch with the usual Germanic iconography of his period.

In view of what has been said above, it seems somewhat strange that we

given on pl. 22 of vol. vi of the Russian publication on *The Antiquities of the Russian Empire*, Moscow, 1853. Photographs of a number of the panels, including the present one, are reproduced, on a small scale, by H. Beenken, in *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 55, 57 (text on 54, 56). For the latest and most exhaustive study of the doors see A. Goldschmidt's *Die Bronzetüren in Nowgorod und Gnesen* (vol. ii of R. Hamann's series, 'Die frühmittelalterlichen Bronzetüren'), Marburg (Lahn) University, 1932.

¹ Reproduced from *Die Bronzetüren in Nowgorod und Gnesen*.

² Cf. *Cursor Mundi* (a Northumbrian poem of the fourteenth century, translated from the French), E.E.T.S. edit., Part III (E.E.T.S. no. 62, London, 1876), lines 16859-16869.

³ Cf. Beenken, *loc. cit.*; Goldschmidt, *Die Bronzetüren in Nowgorod und Gnesen*. The reasoning on which this dating has been based is by some German scholars regarded as not entirely conclusive, although there seems to be general agreement as to the doors having been made after 1150. Cf., also, *Antiquities of the Russian Empire*, Text, 61-5.

have been able to cite no examples, excepting the very questionable one at St. Maria im Kapitol and the still more questionable one at Nijni Novgorod, illustrating a belief that the Saviour's cross was constructed, at least in part, of palm-wood. On the other hand, we are able to point to a number of medieval crosses whose component parts indicate, in one way or another, the presence in their makers' minds of an intention to represent palm-trunk, but which appear to have had as bases for their forms either the conception of the Tree of Life as a palm-tree or the idea of a palm-tree as a symbol of the Resurrection.

The Tree of Life, mentioned not only in the Old Testament (Gen. ii, 9; iii, 22), but also in the New (Rev. ii, 7; xxii, 2), has inspired writers and artists since the early days of Christianity. Often it has been represented in the form, or as the image, of the cross upon which the Saviour hangs, or against which He stands.¹ And very often, as would be expected in view of the lands where Christianity began and wherein it first took root, the Tree of Life was imagined to have the form of the date-palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*). There were numerous reasons for this. St. John spoke (Rev. xxii, 2) of the Tree of Life 'which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month'; and the date-palm popularly has been supposed to put forth a shoot each month.² The Egyptians, centuries before the birth of our Lord, had represented their Tree of Life in the form of a date-palm.³ Again, the very name of the tree, *phoenix*, was suggestive of resurrection and immortality, and we have Pliny telling us (bk. xiii, chap. 9) that 'We have heard . . . relative to this last tree [i.e. the tree bearing the 'syagri' dates] . . . that it dies and comes to life again in a similar manner to the phoenix, which, it is generally thought, has borrowed its name from the palm-tree, in consequence of this peculiarity'.⁴ Ovid, too, had spoken (*Metamorphoses*, bk. xv, lines 396 seq.) of the phoenix preparing in the date-palm for its immolation, long before the mosaics of Christian Rome⁵ showed it, as an emblem of the Resurrection, set within the branches of a date-palm.

¹ Sometimes the impulse for such representations sprang from the conception of the Tree of Life in the midst of Paradise as an allegory of Christ's cross as the centre of the Church, giving life to the world; cf. J. Hoppenot, *Le crucifix*, Lille and Paris, 1902, 195.

² Cf. H. C. Barlow, *Essays on Symbolism*, London, 1866, 69.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, 63 seqq.; one example cited is ascribed to 1500 B.C., or earlier. The sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus*) may sometimes take its place (cf. *ibid.*, 64).

⁴ Bohn's ed. (Bostock and Riley's trans.) of *The Natural History of Pliny*, iii, London, 1855, 175.

⁵ Possibly the known fact that when an aged female palm-tree was burnt down to the roots, a new tree sprang up amid the ashes of the old one, may have been the origin of the fable' (Barlow, *op. cit.*, 71, note).

⁶ e.g., the apse-mosaic, of about A.D. 530, in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano (cf. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, iii, pl. 102); or that of the early ninth century in the Church of St. Prassede (cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, iv, pl. 286).

Again, palm-branches were a symbol of victory,¹ seemingly amongst the Jews² as well as amongst the Greeks. It is clear, therefore, that there were sufficient reasons for showing our Lord's cross as if made of living palm-wood.

We should note, in passing, a curious sculptured capital, in the Abbey Church of Vézelay, which shows a crucifixion, obviously not that of our Lord, upon a palm-tree. Plate xxx, fig. 3 reproduces a photograph of this capital, for which I am indebted to our Fellow Mr. Barrow, who had it made. The victim's wrists are bound to branches, while an executioner on either side of the trunk pulls him down across its top. Crucifixion, apparently, was anciently often done upon trees³; and, as the palm was in medieval times looked upon as the tree most common in Palestine, a medieval sculptor might well have thought himself justified in showing a palm-tree as the instrument of a crucifixion in Judaea. The subject of the scene here is uncertain⁴; but the rationalistic conceptions seemingly underlying it might conceivably have influenced a craftsman wishing to depict the crucifixion of our Lord, and have led to showing Him crucified upon a palm-tree.

Turning now to the actual presentations of our Lord's cross in palm-tree form, we have in the example shown in pl. xxxii, fig. 1,⁵ what seems to be an unmistakable representation of a palm-trunk as the stem of the cross, and two similar representations, to the right and left respectively, as the arms. This example, now in the Archiepiscopal Diocesan Museum at Cologne, was found by the Director of that institution, Rev. Dr. Jakob Eschweiler, in the parish church of Monheim, in the Rhine district, cast aside and in five pieces. It has been supposed—without criteria entirely satisfactory to those who have used them—to have been made between about the end of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth; the label assigns to it, tentatively, the latter date. The crucifix is almost life-sized. The cross, which clearly does not represent lopped

¹ Their special association with Christian martyrdom should, in this connexion, not be forgotten.

² Cf. Smith, *Dict.*, s.v. 'Palm-tree'.

³ I have seen it stated (cf. *Jewish Encyclo.*, s.v. 'Crucifixion') that Tertullian says (*Apologia* viii, 16) that convicts were often crucified upon trees; I have not, however, been able to verify this reference.

⁴ The curé of the church at Vézelay suggested to Mr. Barrow that the scene represented the crucifixion of a victim of Alexander Jannaeus, a subject with which it accords reasonably well. Alexander Jannaeus (on whom see Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Biography*, 1850, i, 117), having won a decisive victory, in 86 B.C., crucified a large number of his opponents in circumstances of such peculiar atrocity (cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, bk. 13, chap. xiv) that they made an impression lasting many centuries thereafter. The method of fastening, to be seen on the capital, by cords instead of by nails, was one used in Egypt and probably elsewhere (cf. *Jewish Encyclo.*, *loc. cit.*); while the prolonging of the victim's agonies by setting him astride a piece of wood appears to have been a regular feature of punishment by crucifixion.

⁵ Reproduced by courtesy of the Rheinisches Museum (Bildarchiv), Cologne.



Fig. 1. Panel of door at Cologne; from Hamann, *Die Holztür... an St. Maria im Kapitol*



Fig. 2. Panel of the Korsunski Gate, from Goldschmidt, *Die Bronzetüren in Nowgorod und Gnesen*



Fig. 1. Wood, Rhenish, (?) Middle 12th century; in Diocesan Museum, Cologne



Fig. 2. Gilt copper, Hungarian, (?) 11th or 12th century; in Hungarian National Museum

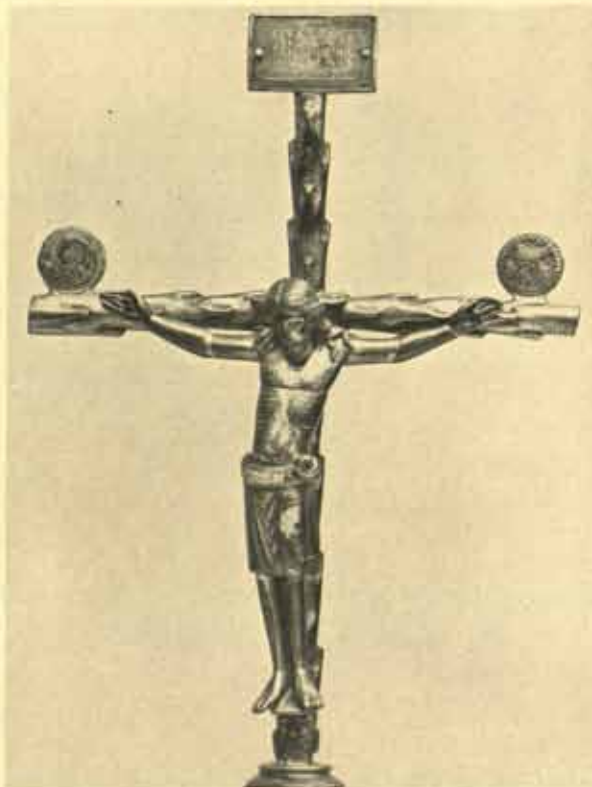


Fig. 3. Gilt bronze, German, 12th century; in Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 4. Wood, Lower Rhenish, about 1400; in Kaiser Friedrich Museum

wood, looks as if it had been repainted at some comparatively recent time, and is in general a dark green; its scale-like excrescences each terminate in a little circular tip, now a lighter green as if representing a newly-sprouting shoot, which presumably was originally (as representing the remnant of a fallen stem) painted a darker green or a brown.

Closely related to this cross is the portable cross, of gilt copper, in the Hungarian National Museum at Budapest, depicted in pl. xxxii, fig. 2¹; it is (as to the part here to be seen) about 9 in. (23 cm.) high and 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (17.5 cm.) wide. The crucifix, which is badly formed, is crowned. Believed to have been made in the eleventh century or the twelfth, it appears to be a typical member of a certain group of Hungarian crosses of its period; another cross very similar to it was formerly (and perhaps is still) in possession of the Budapest Piarists,² and another belonged to Count Géza Andrassy,³ the cross itself in each case resembling palm-trunks rather than ordinary tree-trunks with lopped branches.⁴

It is instructive to compare with the cross of pl. xxxii, fig. 1, the beautiful gilt bronze cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 7938-1862) attributed to Germany of the twelfth century, shown in pl. xxxii, fig. 3.⁵ On this the sprouts on the stem and on the crossbar are represented in a manner somewhat similar to that employed on the Hungarian cross, but the unidirectional sprouts on the crossbar indicate that we have here a roughwood cross and not a tree-cross. This cross looks as if it might be a transitional form between the 'living' cross of early and medieval Christianity, and the medieval cross of dead wood, an appearance which seems to be substantiated by the crucifix's open eyes.

In the St. Albans Psalter, an English manuscript of the twelfth century, now in the St. Godehardskirche at Hildesheim, is a cross, representing the Tree of Life in Paradise, which looks as if it might be a copyist's misunder-

¹ Reproduced by courtesy of the Historical Department of the Hungarian National Museum. A brief note on this cross, together with a rather poor reproduction of a photograph, has been published by Béla Czobor in *Die historischen Denkmäler Ungarns in der 1896^{er} Milleniums-Landesaussstellung*, i, Budapest and Vienna, 1897-1901, 66 and fig. 85.

² Cf. Czobor, *loc. cit.*, with fig. 86; the picture is not very clear.

³ *Ibid.*, with fig. 87; the reproduction is even poorer than in fig. 86.

⁴ The crucifixes of these two crosses are very like the one here shown; the crucifix of fig. 87 is crowned, the one of fig. 86 is not. A crownless crucifix having several of the same characteristics as that of our fig. 9, but with an exaggeratedly long body, and a loin-cloth of another and quite different form, occurs on a Hungarian cross, of about the same period as those just cited, whose stem is engraved with plaited ornament; cf. *ibid.*, 65, with fig. 84. Czobor refers (66) to a cross, 'similar' to the one of his fig. 85, found in the grave of King Béla III (†1196); my examination of a small line drawing (given by Imre [Emerich] Henszlmann, *Magyarország ő-keresztény, román és átmenet stílusú műemlékeinek rövid ismertetése*, Budapest, 1876, 58, fig. 46) of this seemed to indicate that the cross, although similar in many ways to the crosses of Czobor's figs. 85, 86, and 87, was *smooth* and without markings suggesting a palm-trunk.

⁵ Reproduced by courtesy of the V. and A. Museum; the fine support is not shown in our figure.

standing of a palm-tree. This cross, shown in pl. xxx, fig. 4,¹ has a series of scale-like protuberances, each with parallel lines at its base, suggesting relationship with crosses like our pl. xxxii, fig. 3; the border of small, slightly curling projections indicates the living character of the cross, which seems quite clearly not to be a member of the group having limbs formed as if to represent tree-trunks with lopped branches.

An early example of what may possibly be (although I do not take it to be such) a palm-tree cross of 'living' type, on the wooden doors of St. Maria im Kapitol, at Cologne, has been cited and reproduced (p. 55 and pl. xxxi, fig. 1).

Of considerably later date, but nevertheless of peculiar interest to us, is the Crucifixion group of painted wood, shown in pl. xxxii, fig. 4,² formerly in the Benoit Oppenheim collection³ and now (no. 7942) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Of Lower Rhenish origin and dating from about 1400, it shows a form intermediate between the palm-tree cross and the cross of lopped tree-trunks. The cross itself has small projections, set at regular intervals, resembling the stumps of close-lopped branches rather than the projections from a palm-trunk, yet still showing some likeness to the latter; and is surmounted by a nest of foliage (which is not a continuation of the foliage of the cross) containing a Pelican in her Piety with three young. The cross is set upon a mound, and its foot is in the top of a palm-tree (whose trunk and branches define its nature clearly) at whose very foot is a skull, in precisely the situation in which we are accustomed to find the skull which marks the site as 'Calvary' or 'Golgotha' or as the grave of Adam (or of his skull). Although part of the carving, just at the junction between the palm and the cross, is now missing, and there are some leaves not of palm at the foot of the columnar cross, any assumption that the artist's intention was merely the representing of a cross of lopped-branch type set upon a hill whereon grew palm-trees, and that by chance the line of the cross coincided with that of one of those trees, must, I think, be ruled out, because of the skull's position at the foot of the palm and not at the foot of the upright of the cross.

Painted on the wall of a ruined building which originally formed part of the Convent of Santa Agnese, near Rome, there was formerly a conventionalized tree, seemingly a palm of some kind, having on its trunk in the midst of its branches a cross bearing a crucifix, and on and about the tree passages of Scripture and the remains of two inscriptions dated 1454 and 1456.⁴

¹ Reproduced from A. Goldschmidt's *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin, 1895, fig. 41.

² Reproduced by courtesy of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

³ For a reproduction on a large scale see B. Oppenheim's *Original-Bildwerke in Holz, Stein, Elfenbein usw. aus der Sammlung Benoit Oppenheim Berlin*, Leipzig, 1907, pl. 1. Cf. also Demmler, *Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, 63 seqq.

⁴ Cf. J.-B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art*, ii, London, 1847, pl. cxxxv.

An account of the stained glass to be seen in Oxford tells us that in a window in the chapel of Queen's College, one of four made about 1500 but much altered in the eighteenth century, there is an Annunciation scene showing 'a green palm growing from a vase, and in the middle Christ crucified . . .'.¹ If this were actually the case, the scene would be not only interesting in itself, but possibly also an important piece of evidence towards explaining the occurrence in medieval art of that (so far as we know) exclusively English iconographical detail, the 'Crucifix on the Lily'. Unfortunately, so far as our present investigation is concerned, the plant in the vase is a lily, not a palm-tree, thick with interlacing green leaves (the massing of which about the centre has caused the plant to be mistaken for a palm) and rich with beautiful white flowers, and the finest and most elaborate example of its kind I have seen.²

There are extant a number—the example just referred to is the eleventh of which I have learned³—of Annunciation scenes, in various materials and from various parts of England, in which the Saviour appears crucified upon a lily-plant. An examination of these led me, some years ago, to conclude that in them the crucifix had been set upon the lily in particular allusion to the Resurrection.⁴ As the palm-tree was commonly looked upon as a symbol of the Resurrection (cf. 57, *supra*), there seems to be a possibility that on the Continent the palm-tree cross came to be regarded often (although probably not always, and almost certainly not in early days when the conception of Christ's cross as the Tree of Life was predominant) as an allusion to the Resurrection, and that the fancy of showing the crucified Saviour upon a living emblem of the Resurrection came to England. There, for some reason or reasons,⁵ the palm-tree of the Continent became, at least in Annunciation scenes, the pure and beautiful lily which was in the minds of men so closely associated, not alone with the mystery of the Resurrection, but also with that blessed Virgin Lady to whom they daily prayed for intercession.

¹ Cf. E. S. Bouchier, *Stained Glass of the Oxford District*, Oxford, 1918, 43.

² Cf. *Ant. Journ.* xii, pl. ix and p. 25.

³ My paper, 'An Alabaster Table of the Annunciation, with the Crucifix', in *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, 203 seqq., mentions eight examples of the 'Crucifix on the Lily'. Since it was published, a further example, painted on a wooden screen at Kenn, near Exeter, has been noted in *Ant. Journ.* vii, 72; another, in glass, at Long Melford, has been reported to me by Miss A. G. Gilchrist and by Mr. Christopher Woodforde (cf. *Ant. Journ.* xii, pl. viii and pp. 24 seq.), and the one at Queen's College has appeared in its true light. A twelfth example—curiously, perhaps the first example recorded in print—in the church at Wellington, Somerset, has just lately (in February, 1932) been brought to my notice by our Fellow the Very Reverend Dom Ethelbert Horne; a good engraving of it, together with a short description, appears in *Proc. Somerset Archaeol. Soc.*, i (1849-50), part 2, 36.

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, 226 seqq.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 218 seqq.

VI.—*Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople.* By THEODORE
MACRIDY BEY and STANLEY CASSON, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 10th November 1927

THE excavations described below were carried out conjointly by the Museum of Antiquities at Stamboul and members of the mission excavating on behalf of the British Academy in Constantinople in 1927. The funds required were provided by both parties. The account here given is published by kind permission of Halil Bey, Director of the Museum, at whose request it was drawn up, and who in the first instance proposed to the British Mission that the work should be carried out in collaboration with Macridy Bey and the Museum.

I. YEDIKULE, OR THE SEVEN TOWERS

The great pentagonal building which constitutes the fortress of Yedikule consists, as is well known, of two distinct parts, namely the Turkish part which makes the four sides of the pentagon on the east, and the Byzantine part which forms the long western side, consisting of the Theodosian wall, the Golden Gate, and the propylaea and rampart which belong to the latter. The Byzantine part, except for the obstruction of the propylaea by a reservoir, has been little altered by the Turks. Our researches have been confined wholly to the Byzantine portions.

Before describing the excavations in detail it will be useful to give a brief survey of the history of this gateway-fortress during the Turkish period, since it played a part of the greatest importance in Turkish history for some four and a half centuries.

Five years after the conquest of Constantinople, according to the version of the historian Dukas, Mahomet II began to build at the end of the city near the place called the Golden Gate, a townlet which the old emperor John had also wanted to build, but had been prevented by Bayezid, grandfather of the Conqueror.¹

The text of Chalcocondylis is even more explicit, for he says that the

¹ Dukas (ed. Bonnae), p. 339. ὁ δὲ τύραννος τῇ χειμῶνι ἐκείνῳ ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς πόλεως τὸ καλούμενον Χρυσεία πύλη πολίχνιον, τὸ δ' Ἰωάννης ὁ γέρων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠβουλήθη τοῦ κτίσαι, καὶ ὁ Παγιαζήτ, ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πάππος, ἐκόλυσεν αὐτόν.

Conqueror 'had built the acropolis of Byzantium at the Golden Gate with great and marvellous towers'.¹

The Turkish historian Toursina or Toursun Bey, in his history of the Conqueror, records that Mahomet II 'built an interior castle at a corner of the city near both land and sea with solid towers covered with lead whose height is such that they can be seen at a distance of two days' journey' (from the city).² It is thus established with certainty that Yedikule was constructed by the Conqueror, as was the castle of Rumeli Hissar on the Bosphorus, but not with a strictly defensive object. In fact the enclosure has, since its construction, served as a depot for artillery and for war-booty while the state treasures and archives were kept in the towers. Nicolas de Nicolay, who was at Constantinople in 1551, states that the Grand Turk and his predecessors before him always stored their treasures in this place.³ In Vavassore's map of Constantinople made in 1520⁴ and in another printed at Venice in 1574⁵ Yedikule is shown as a new castle in which is kept the Grand Turk's treasures. It is not inappropriate to recall the theft committed in the year 947 of the Hegira (1540) by a thief who entered one of the towers at night and stole 1,000 pieces of gold and silver which had come from Egypt.⁶ It appears that the Treasury remained at Yedikule until the reign of Murad III at the end of the sixteenth century, when that Sultan removed it to the Palace of the Old Serai, where it now is. On this subject we can consult the work of Domenico of Jerusalem, who was Doctor in Chief to the Palace between the years 1576 and 1582.⁷ The most valuable information given by this author is worthy of note in virtue of his profession, for he had the entry to Yedikule, which a stranger could not even approach.⁸ The removal of the Treasury to the Old Serai seems

¹ L. Chalcocondylis (ed. Bonnae), 529. καὶ ἄλλα ἀξία λόγου, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Προποντίδι Δαιμοκοπίην, τὴν τε ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀκρόπολιν ἀξίως λόγου, εἰς τὰς Χρυσέας καλουμένας πύλας, πύργους τε μεγίστους καὶ ἀξιοθεάτους.

² 'Denize ve karaya yakın bir köşede bir ahmedek yaptı. Muhkem burgazlarla kurşun örtülü irtifai bir mertebededir ki iki günlük yoldan görünür.'—Tursina (Tursun Bey), *Tarihi Ebul-Feth*. Cf. *Tarih osmani incumeni Mecmuası*, 5, 6, 7.

³ Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les Navigations et Pérégrinations*, ch. xvii, p. 95. Anvers, 1576.

⁴ E. Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suliman dem Grossen*, München, 1902, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23. Caedicius, *Ancien plan de Constantinople, imprimé entre les années 1566 et 1574*. Constantinople, 1889.

⁶ 'Bu yılda Yedikuleye hırsız girüp Mısrđan gelen altından bin altın bitteman alıp.' Lutfi Pasa tarihi. İstanbul, 1341, p. 384.

⁷ *Vera relatione della Gran Citta di Constantinopoli et in particolare del Serraglio del Gran Turco. Divisa in cinque Capi nella Terza pagina annotati. Cauata dal vero Originale del Sig. Domenico Hierosolimitano già Medico di esso Gran Turco da Alfonso Chierici Bolognese. In Bracciano, Per Andrea Fei Stampator Ducale. MDCXXI.* (E. Jacobs, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, i, Heidelberg, 1919, p. 33 ff.).

⁸ In fact no traveller after the fifteenth century was able to approach Yedikule. See Ebersolt, *Constantinople Byz. et les Voyageurs du Levant*, 1919, p. 157 ff.

to have taken place while Domenico was actually at Constantinople, for he gives circumstantial details about the various objects of the Treasury which were kept in the several towers.¹ There was, however, no need to transfer the artillery, and Domenico saw there more than a hundred pieces, of which thirty were of large calibre, 'so great that a tall man could not encircle them with his arms'. Yedikule from this time on, while remaining also an artillery park, was changed into a concentration camp for prisoners of importance. Domenico tells us that in his time the two sons of the king of Tunis and the king of Yemen were incarcerated here. Unfortunately we know of no engraving, sketch, or illumination which will give us an idea of the appearance of Yedikule at this time. The only documents which we can show—and those mainly as curiosities—

¹ 'Nell'ultimo colle della Città verso terra ferma alla parte della Ripa del canale grande, vi è un' antica fortezza grande, con sette torri in mezo alla detta fortezza, à memoria delli sette colli della Città, laquale è chiamata Ghedicola, che vol dir sette torri, dove stanno continuamente ducento cinquanta soldati maritati tutti con famiglia ciascuno habitante dentro, con un Castellano, & quattro luogotenenti, ilqual Castellano non può uscir fuor della fortezza senza licenza del primo Visir se non due volte l'anno, che sono le due feste loro solenni per andare alle loro orationi alla Moschea, ove era Santa Sofia come si dirà dappoi.

'Le sopradette sette torri erano al tempo passato piene di diversi tesori, cioè una di monete e verghe d'oro, due di monete, e piastre d'argento, una di diversi fornimenti d'oro, e d'argento gemmanti per cavalli, & huomini d'arme, una di diverse armerie antiche; & in un'altra diverse machine per pigliar fortezze, & la settima è archivio di diverse scritture, accompagnate con una stanza per galleria di varie anticaglie, che riportò il Gran Turco Selim dalla Città Reale di Tauris.

'Tre sono verso il Mare, & due verso terra, che riguardano la Città, & il corpo di ciascuna è quadro, la cima delle quali per quattro braccia finisce à piramide coperta di piombo, & nelle due torri di mezzo in una stà riposto il tesoro d'oro, et nell'altra li fornimenti gemmati & nell'altre tre verso il Mare, in una vi sono le machine, nell'altra l'armerie, e nella terza le piastre d'argento, & nelle due verso la Città, in una vi è moneta d'argento, e nell'altra l'archivio delle scritture.

'Le quali torre erano molto piene avanti il Gran Turco Selim Secondo, ma poi per haver preso Cipro, e poi perduta la giornata à tempo di Papa Pio Quinto, consumò molto di esso tesoro d'oro, & d'argento, sicché si raccolse esso medesimo & così Amurat suo figliolo di fare il tesoro nel serraglio, come si dirà di sotto.

'Dentro di essa fortezza ci è provisione grande d'ogni cosa da mangiare, & monitione di polvere & altre cose necessarie per uso di guerra, con trenta pezzi d'artiglieria che à pena lo può abbracciare un grande huomo, & da cento, e più dell'ordinarie.

'Vi è anco dentro il bagno, il giardino, hortaglie, & una Moschea solenne, cioè di quelle privilegiate dal Gran Turco per dir l'oratione il Venerdì, che in niuna altra Moschea in tal giorno si può dir l'orationi se non con privilegio di esso Gran Turco, & egli proprio dedica tal Moschea, o vero altra persona deputata da lui.

'In essa fortezza si usa di metter prigione qualche Rè da loro preso in qual si voglia parte del mondo, & sino al di hoggi vi si trovano li doi figliuoli del Rè di Tunesi & il Rè proprio di Hiemenò; & ancor vi si mette qualche Bassà che habbi fatto fallo importante, quali prigionieri hanno l'uso di praticar liberamente per tutta la fortezza, & hanno stanze nobilissime con quattro servitori per ciascuno; ma però senza uso di arme di sorte alcuna, & con licenza del Castellano, & à piacer loro se li può parlare, & non si apre la porta della fortezza, se non à un'ora la mattina di giorno, & si serra nell'ora avanti, che il Sole tramonti.' Domenico, *op. cit.*, in Jacobs, p. 86.

are the views of Yedikule, largely imaginary, taken from the various bird's-eye plans and maps of Constantinople. Those of the sixteenth century are the most numerous and the map here reproduced (pl. xxxiii) by Lokman effendi is of particular interest. The Golden Gate is very clearly shown.¹

For more than two centuries Yedikule was the prison and the tomb of thousands of people, Turkish and foreign. In this oriental Bastille there was perpetrated the first crime of *lèse majesté* in Turkish history when the young Sultan Osman II was murdered here in 1622. The governor of Crete, Deli Hussein Pasha, was also beheaded here. His tomb still stands just outside the gate. Yedikule also served as the prison for the ambassadors of the powers with whom Turkey was at war. The last to occupy it in this capacity was M. Ruffin, chargé d'affaires of France, who was there from 1798 to 1801. Almost at the same time there was incarcerated there Dr. Pouqueville, who had been taken prisoner by pirates on his way from Egypt. We owe to him a minute description of the interior of the fortress as well as the general view of it in his book.² After Ruffin and his companions were let out, the custom of imprisoning ambassadors of foreign states with whom Turkey was at war was abandoned and Yedikule began to lose its importance. Nevertheless at the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Mahmoud II, Yedikule was restored and steps were taken to open the Gate of the Propylaea and to destroy the reservoir near it. On this gate is still the *toughra* of Sultan Mahmoud II with the date 1254 (1838). For a little time the towers of Yedikule served as a powder magazine, and in the interior court were kept various animals used for hunting. About 1850 one of the towers still retained its pointed roof, as is apparent from an engraving in Duckett's work.³ But since that date the powder magazines have been removed outside the city, and the ancient artillery with its stone balls has been sent to St. Eirene Museum. Yedikule since then has remained completely derelict and disused. The interior court has been made into a market garden, and the towers were used as hay barns for use of the army down to 1895. But at this date the fortress came into the control of the Museum authorities. In concluding this recent history of the fort, it is important to mention an iron helmet (fig. 1) found in the earth that filled the courtyard during our excavations of 1927. Dr. Stocklein, Director of the Army Museum at Munich, gives it as his opinion that the helmet is of

¹ The maps in question are Vavassore, 1520; that of Hajji Mehmed Piri Reis, made in 1554-5; the anonymous map made at Venice in 1574; a map extracted from an unpublished MS. (in the library of the Serai, no. 1431) by the historiographer of the Sultans down to 1516 (922 of the Hegira) (pl. xxxiii), Lokman effendi; that of Dellich made in 1597, and that of Schwieger made in 1613.

² Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople et en Albanie en 1798-1799, 1800 et 1801*, Paris, 1810.

³ W. A. Duckett, *La Turquie pittoresque*, Paris, 1855.



Plan of Constantinople by Lokman effendi from an unpublished MS. in the library of the Serai
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1931

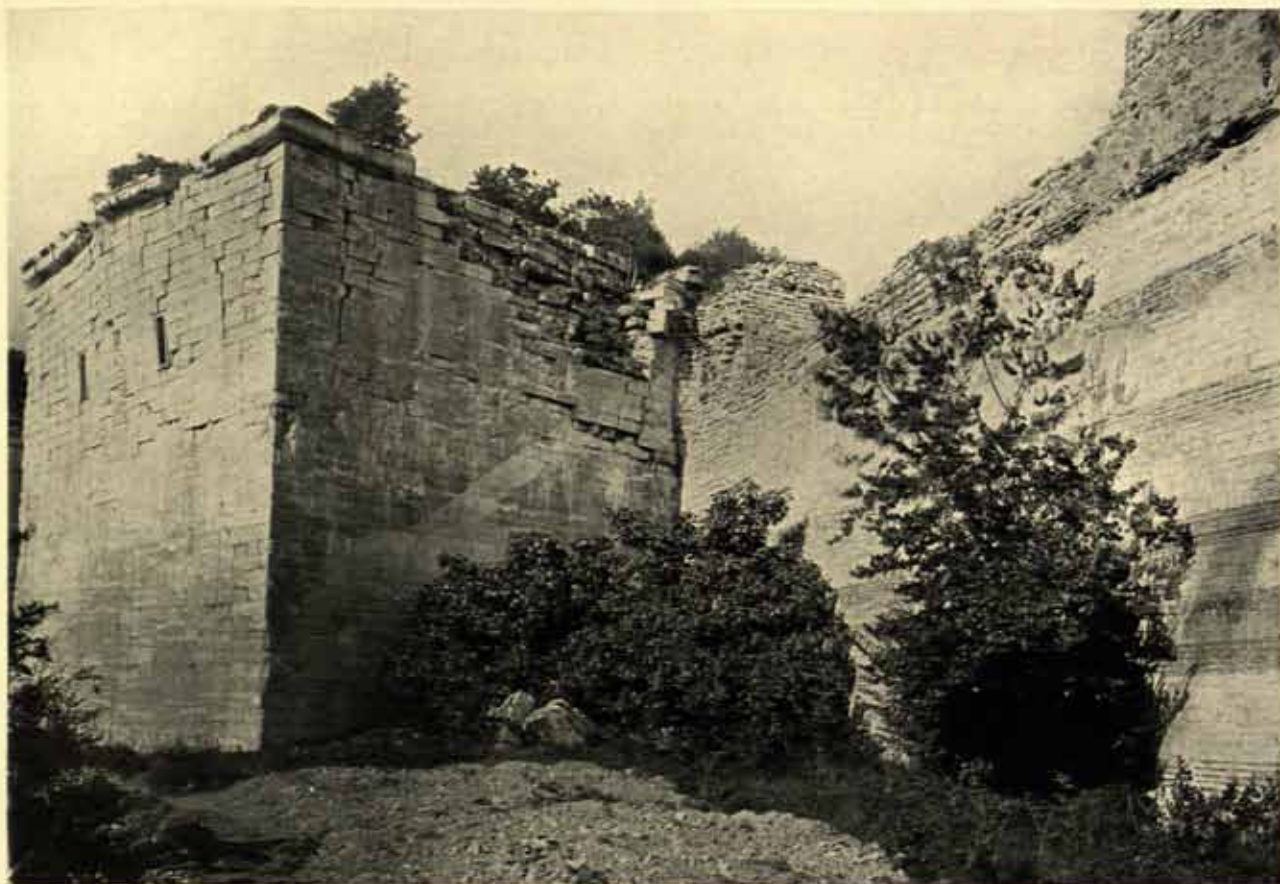


Fig. 1. Junction of the wall of Theodosius with the South Tower

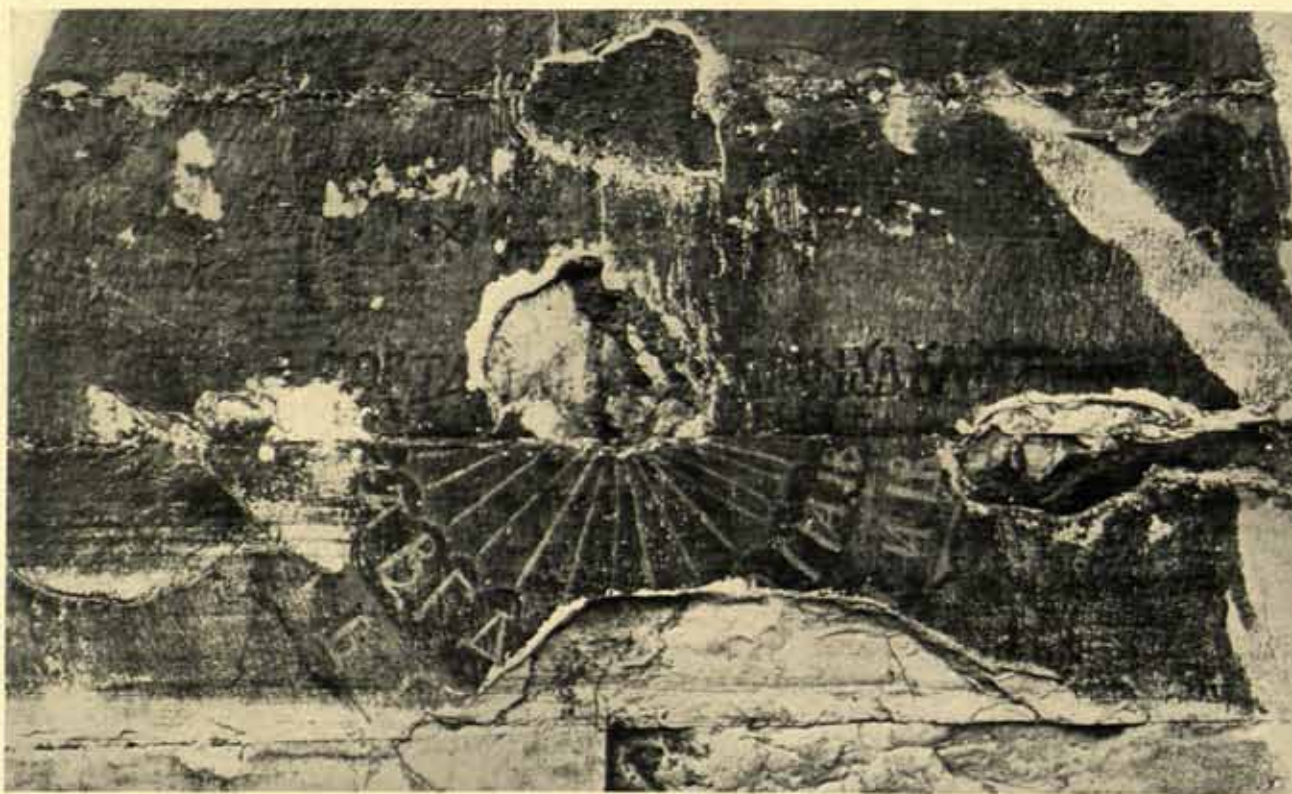


Fig. 2. Painted sundial on the south wall of the North Tower

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1931

Italian manufacture of the first half of the fifteenth century and is of a unique type. It must almost certainly have belonged to one of the Venetian defenders of the Golden Gate which, during the final siege, was entrusted to the troops



Fig. 1. Iron helmet found at the Golden Gate.

led by Cotarin Contarini according to Nicolaus Barbarus,¹ or to Manuel of Liguria according to the authority of Phrantzes.²

II

It is unnecessary to repeat the account of the Byzantine Golden Gate already given in the learned article of Professor Strzygowsky.³ Dr. Weigand has also published an exhaustive study of the subject, which largely refutes the theories of Strzygowsky.⁴ For the time being we make no attempt to solve this dispute, in view of the lack of absolutely decisive proof. Unfortunately we were unable to excavate the foundations of the South Tower at the point

¹ Nicolaus Barbarus, *Patr. Gr.* 158, p. 1070.

² Phrantzes, p. 253 (ed. Bonnae).

³ Strzygowsky, 'Das Goldene Thor in Konstantinopel', *Jahrbuch des K. d. arch. Institut*, viii, 1893.

⁴ E. Weigand, *Mitth. des D. Arch. Instituts in Athen*, xxxix, 1914, pp. 15 ff.

of its junction with the Theodosian wall owing to the enormous accumulation of earth at this place (pl. xxxiv, fig. 1). The details which could be detected by such a clearance would be sufficient to give a definite decision whether the marble towers were constructed simultaneously with the Theodosian wall, as Dr. Weigand believes, or whether, as Professor Strzygowsky maintains, the city wall was built against a structure already existing. We must confine our researches to certain limited hypotheses based on the facts which we have established.

Our principal object in undertaking this excavation was to clear the central courtyard which extends between the Golden Gate and the Propylaic Gate, and to look for fragments of the reliefs which once stood on each side of the latter Gate.¹ Fallen blocks of marble brought down from the marble towers in the earthquake of 1894, accumulations of earth and vegetation, and other debris had made it almost impossible to pass through the narrow entrance to the central arch of the Golden Gate except by a very small passage (pls. xxxv and xxxvi). The Propylaic Gate in the same way was heavily encumbered and the right side of the gateway was actually in a private market garden.

The original level of the courtyard, paved with large rectangular slabs of marble, was cleared from a layer of earth that varied from 0.90 m. to 3 m. The same pavement exists on the other side of the Golden Gate in the interior courtyard, where we established its existence by a trial pit 5 m. in length. Apparently in Turkish times, or perhaps at the end of the Byzantine period, the level was raised by some 0.80 m. In the main courtyard in the centre was a reservoir placed in front of a well whose foundations rest on this level. The clearance of the courtyard revealed the lower mouldings of the arches of the Golden Gate as well as those of the towers. These mouldings were unfinished, and were cut only at the junction of stones (pl. xxxvii, fig. 1), serving as guiders

¹ For these reliefs see the following: Chrysoloras, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 156, p. 48; P. Gylli, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*, Lyon, 1562, pp. 217-18; J. Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanarum Othmanidarum*, Francfort, 1596, p. 206, s. 209; *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte*, London, 1740, p. 386; Bulialdus in the commentary of Dukas, éd. Bonnae, p. 612; *Journal des Voyages de M. de Montconys publié par le sieur de Liergues son fils*, t. I, Lyon, 1665, p. 455; Omont, *Missions Archéologiques en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1902, p. 34, and *Instructions pour le Père Wansleben s'en allant au Levant le 17 Mars, 1671*—cf. Omont, *ibid.*, p. 60; Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage à Constantinople*, Paris, 1680, p. 79; J. Spon et G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, La Haye, t. I, 1724, p. 156; *Lettres de M. l'Abbé Dominique Lestini écrites à ses amis de Toscane pendant le cours de ses voyages en Italie, en Sicile et en Turquie*, trad. par M. Pigeron, t. III, Paris, 1789, pp. 82-3; J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin*, t. I, Paris, an viii, p. 99; C. Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topographica dello stato presente di Constantinopoli*, Bassano, 1794, p. 35; J. Dallaway, *An Account of the Walls of Constantinople* (*Archeologia*, t. XIV, 1803, pp. 241-2); Pouqueville, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 70-2.

for the masons who were to complete the work. In the same way the blocks in position often retained their bosses which were used for hoisting them into position. These bosses are common in many Greek buildings like the Propylaea

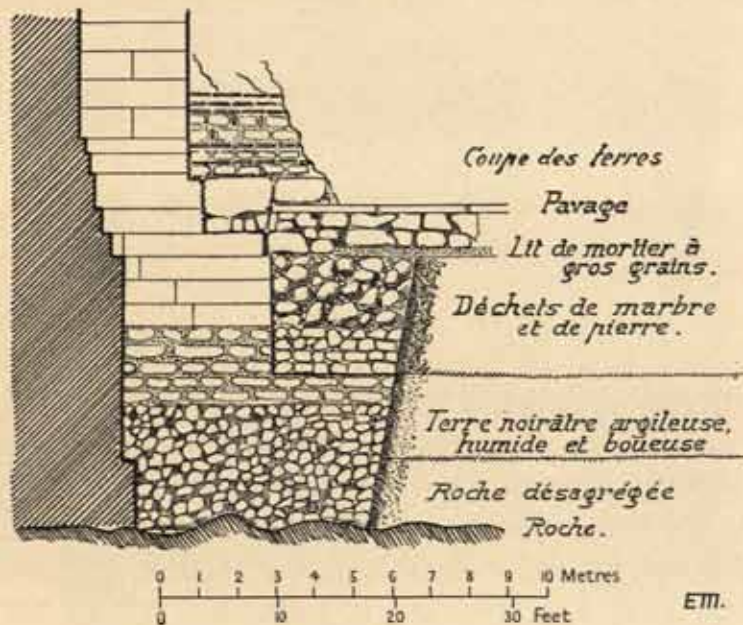


Fig. 2. Foundations of base of North Tower.

at Athens. The moulding throughout its length is very well preserved. It was only cut below the three arches of the Golden Gate so as to enable the three pilasters and their bases to conform (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1). At the angle on the right of the central arch the moulding is seen in perfect preservation and turning into the interior of the vaulted passage-way. In order to examine the foundations two trial pits were dug in front of the west front of the north tower (*a* and *b* on plan, pl. XLII). From these we found that this immense marble structure rests on a foundation of no less than eleven courses of stone (pls. xxxvii, fig. 2 and xxxviii, fig. 1). All the blocks of these foundation courses are rectangular and most carefully masoned. The total substructure which reaches the rock at 4.30 m. below the level of the main courtyard is an astonishing piece of work. On some blocks are seen, cut into the surface, small crosses, a practice common among Byzantine masons.

Another pit, sunk at the angle of junction of the north tower and the main Gateway itself (pl. xxxviii, fig. 2), was dug right to the foundations also (*c* on plan, pl. XLII). Here even more interesting details were discovered. The foundation structure here consists of three distinct elements (fig. 2). The foundations properly so called which rest on the rock are formed of a wall of masonry 1.86 m. in height, constructed with small unequal stones. This wall

extends continuously to the right. Above it we have another wall composed of larger stones, rectangular in shape, roughly cut, with cemented joints. This wall makes a right-angle turn into the interior of the archway. On this wall are built five rows of blocks of limestone, which are rectangular and which

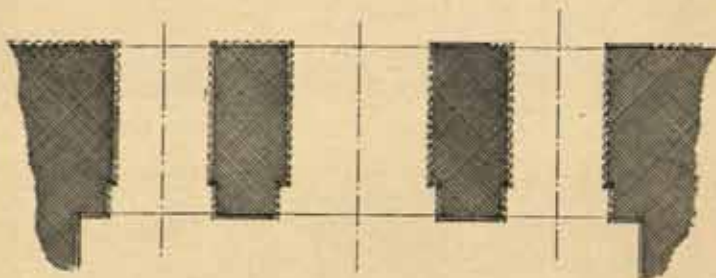


Fig. 3. Plan of the triple arch.

follow the same direction. What was the object of the architect at this point is uncertain. It is possible that the architect was using the remains of an earlier building; but this remains pure hypothesis.

Unfortunately we were unable to extend our researches further within the inside of the archways in order to trace the return side of the wall on the interior face. The dangerous state of the superstructure at this place made any excavation impossible.

It was, however, possible to make investigations with some chance of success under the right-hand archway (*d* on plan, pl. XLII), where the foundation wall shows the same characteristics. The marble roofing of the archway here is in perfect preservation, and the wall which closes this arch on the east without touching it closely could be removed. If the marble courses of the façade were strengthened it would be possible to remove the wall in front of the archway and so completely clear this entrance, which would be revealed in all its perfection, now so long hidden.

We continued our trenching on each side of this arch (*e* and *f* on plan, pl. XLII), working towards the central archway, but we were unable to verify here the details observed on the foundations of the other side. We are driven to assume that the foundation wall of the central archway was continuous, as shown on fig. 3.

It may at this point be appropriate to add certain details concerning the opening of the archways themselves which previous writers have not discussed. The main arches have the following dimensions on the western face of the whole façade: 8.50 m. in the case of the central arch and 5.75 m. for the side arches. These measurements are slightly reduced on the eastern face, being 7.85 m. for the central archway and 5.45 m. for the side arches. This difference is due to two recesses which the architect has made on the west face on each



Fig. 1. The central archway of the Golden Gate before the excavations



Fig. 2. The façade of the Golden Gate before the excavations



Fig. 1. The Golden Gate after the completion of the excavations



Fig. 2. The Propylae Gate, after excavation

side of each entrance, measuring 0.155 m. These recesses are very carefully cut, but there is no reason at all to suppose that they were intended for the reception of pillars. Their purpose remains at present obscure.

The entrances to the smaller gateways on each side of the central arch have been closed by heavy walls in which are numerous blocks of masoned marble. It is certain that on the inner or eastern side this is Turkish work, for it was essential for the Turks to have a solid face of wall without any opening. On the western front, on the other hand, the walls that close the side arches are of Byzantine date. The Turks merely opened passages in these walls and roofed the interior so that the passages could be used as store-rooms. Nevertheless the northern side-arch is closed with a wall of very early date, belonging to the time when the marble pilasters were moved to the central arch so as to make that central entrance narrower, suppressing the larger entrance altogether. The one surviving pilaster of this central entrance remains *in situ*, the other must have been removed at the same time. The filling wall both of the northern arch and of the central arch is in the main contemporary with this large reconstruction. On the inside of the wall that closes the northern arch are to be seen certain brick ornaments of Byzantine type. On the outside is the remains of a cross worked also in brick. From the time that this northern archway was closed it remained definitely out of use. In this context it is important to note that the striations cut in the surface of the paving of the court, made to prevent horses from slipping on the stone, are found in front of the central archway and also in front of that on the south, but that they are absent from the front of the closed archway on the north. In the same way it is interesting to note that the pavement in front of this northern gate is different in quality. The existing small gateway, now in use in the central gateway (pl. xxxvi, fig. 1), seems to us to be the work of the period of the last Byzantine emperors, whose main object was to fortify themselves as efficiently as possible in their final stronghold, without regard to the glorious memories of the past that surrounded this mighty gateway.

On the front of the marble walls on each side of the central archway there are two groups of inscriptions, identified as *acclamations*, one painted in red, the other in black. These have already been deciphered by van Millingen and Ramsay and published in full by the latter.¹ They have now been fully

¹ W. M. Ramsay, *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, pp. 267 ff. (Aberdeen, 1906), completes van Millingen's account. The *acclamations* painted in red were correctly transcribed by van Millingen in *Byzantine Constantinople*, p. 69. Ramsay here transcribes the more fragmentary graffiti painted in black.

The Greek *acclamations* in red read:

ὁ θεὸς καλῶς ἡνεγκέν σε and
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων.

cleared and cleaned. A copy of them was made during the course of the excavations (figs. 4 and 5).

On the south face of the north marble tower is also a painted sun-dial



Fig. 4. *Acclamations* at the side of the central archway.

which has not hitherto received notice (pl. xxxiv, fig. 2). It is not possible to establish its date for certain.

The courtyard inclines gently towards the west. At about 18 m. distance from the gateway towards the south-west we observed certain cracks down which the rain disappeared, and we decided to examine them. Here it

The Latin *acclamations*, painted in black below the red, read as Ramsay copied them:

- (1) (n)u(m)eri militum primo sagitario(r)um leonum iuniorum
- (2) (numeri militum cornutoru)m iuniorum.
- (3) (numeri militum primo sa)gitariorum le(o)nu(m iuniorum)
- (4) (numeri) militum cor(n)uto(ru)m i(u)niorum.

These readings are in the main confirmed by our examination of the surviving inscriptions, though we cannot accept Ramsay's reading in detail. Thus in line (4) *primo* is not there, and Ramsay's reading of line (1) suggests that since he studied it the inscription has suffered some damage.

Ramsay agrees with van Millingen's original conclusion that the inscriptions were painted on the walls immediately after the construction of the gateway to celebrate the triumphal entry of Theodosius I, in A.D. 391, after the defeat of Maximus in the West. The troops here named were part of the western armies which had come to reinforce those in the East. The character of the script both of the Latin and Greek does not conflict with this conclusion.

appeared that the pavement had never existed, and numerous large blocks of marble were found as if they had been thrown here in a heap. In all probability these holes were deliberately dug when the pavement was laid down

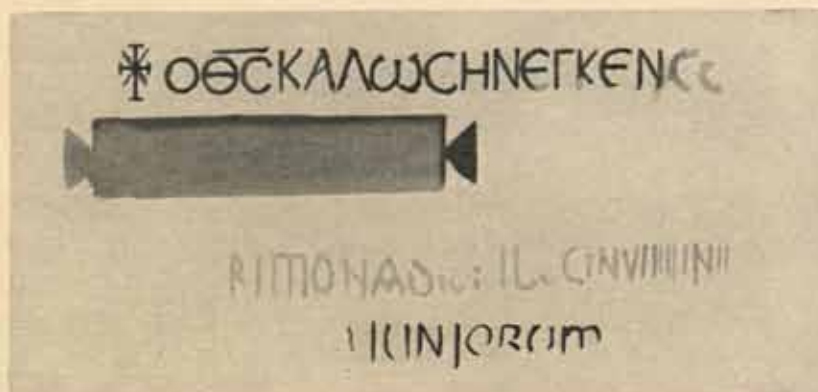


Fig. 5. *Acclamations* at the side of the central archway.

(pl. xxxviii, fig. 3) in order to dispose of an accumulation of marble blocks which could not otherwise be got rid of. The marble fragments in question came perhaps from the upper parts of the main gateway, perhaps dislodged by earthquake, and were disposed of at a late Byzantine date by being buried in these holes made in the pavement so as to save the trouble of removing them to a distance. Some blocks similar to these were used to construct the buttresses of the Propylaic Gateway.

III. THE PROPYLAIC GATEWAY

The second city wall, the 'little wall' which commands the moat, runs out into a projection to the west corresponding to the projection made by the Golden Gate and its two towers of marble. It is provided with a single gate which is placed almost exactly along the central axis of the Golden Gate itself. The whole group of fortifications at this point was made to assure the defence of the city in front of a monumental entrance which was, in fact, extremely defective from a purely military point of view. On the other hand, since a victorious emperor had to pass through this first gateway before passing through the Golden Gate itself, it was essential to give this entrance as imposing an appearance as possible (pl. xxxvi, fig. 2). This propylaic gate with its marble frames that flank it on each side, in each of which were placed a series of ancient marble reliefs, has often been described and discussed. Our only object here is to add certain new facts to those already accumulated and to reject definitely the date assigned to this monument by earlier writers.

It is quite certain that this propylaic gateway was constructed simultaneously with the construction of the second wall of the city and belongs to its general arrangement. This statement must, however, only be taken to refer

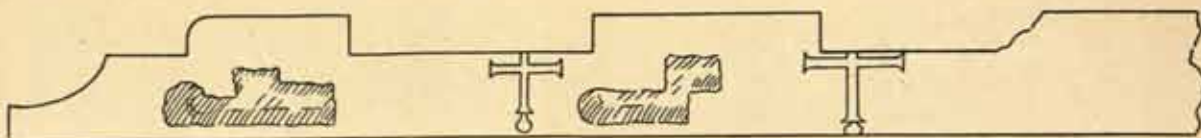


Fig. 6. Crosses on cornice shown in pl. xxxviii, fig. 4.

to the lowest parts of the walls disclosed by our excavations. The superstructure belongs to a date very much later than the fifth century A.D., as will be made clear later by a variety of arguments. The walls of the main façade are made of alternating courses of stone and brick (pl. xxxvi, fig. 2), and there are visible at their base, incorporated in the construction of the wall, a number of small marble pillars which have been used for the most part as blocks of stone. All these marble fragments are of a date also much later than the fifth century. A further proof of the late date of this wall is found in the cornice fragment which crowns the top of the southern flanking wall (pl. xxxviii, fig. 4). On one face of this cornice stone are seen remains of a cross, the shape and type of which cannot be earlier than the sixth century (fig. 6). Seeing that this marble fragment must have been used when the wall was built, we are driven to the conclusion that the flanking wall itself cannot antedate this century. It is, in fact, much later, though its *terminus ante quem* is not fixed.

The gateway itself with its marble decoration must have been transferred to its present place from another and earlier building, and one can detect on the flanking walls certain later restorations which suggest a breach in the wall hastily repaired, for there are built in the basis of a circular pillar of marble, a large fragment of purple porphyry, and other rougher fragments. Our excavations cleared the bases of two projections or ledges built against the flanking walls below the framework of marble that held the reliefs (*g* on plan, pl. xlii). The bases of these ledges rest on the natural soil. Their dimensions are 10.13 m. in length, 2.20 m. in breadth, and 2.20 m. in height, and their extremities at the ends near the gateway are rounded. It is certain that these ledges were enclosed in marble slabs, and some of the fragments of such slabs were found. The gateway itself with its two columns of Carystian marble, surmounted by a masonry arch opens to the west between two projections of masonry. It has a framework of marble fixed into the masonry; one sees the elaborate mouldings of the inner part of this framework. On the other side is a similar framework of marble facing the exit with a less elaborate moulding. We are inclined to the opinion that this marble framework, here used as a



Fig. 1. Guiders for moulding at the base of the North Tower



Fig. 2. Foundations of the North Tower

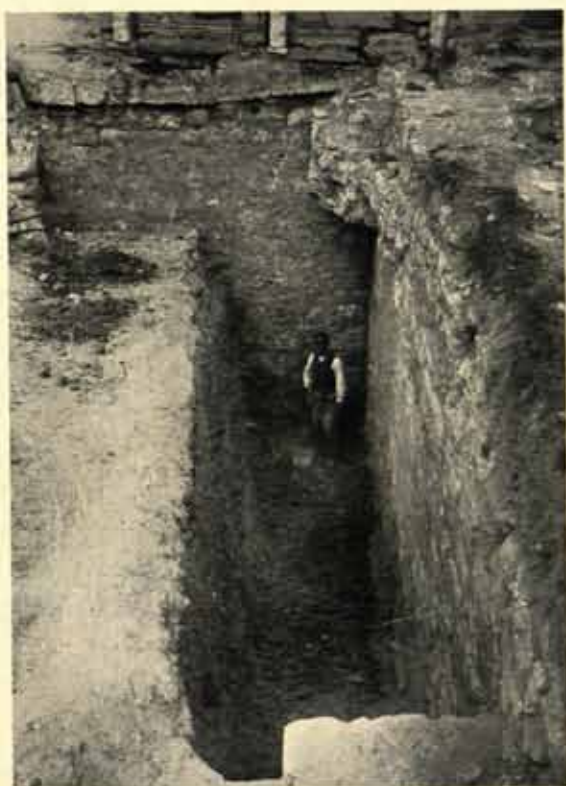


Fig. 3. Foundation wall of Propylaic Gate and boundary wall of ramp



Fig. 4. Foundation wall of the flank walls of the Propylaic Gate



Fig. 1. Substructure of North Tower

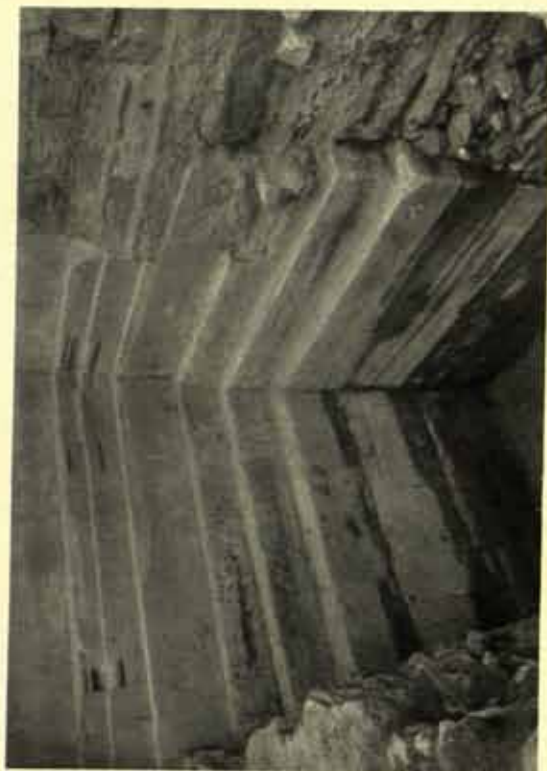


Fig. 2. Excavations at junction of North Tower with Gateway



Fig. 3. Marble blocks found beneath the pavement of the court



Fig. 4. Cornice incorporated in the southern flank wall of the Propylaeic Gate

simple internal revetment, is derived from another earlier building which stood on this site.

Our excavations revealed the foundations of a rectangular tower of two

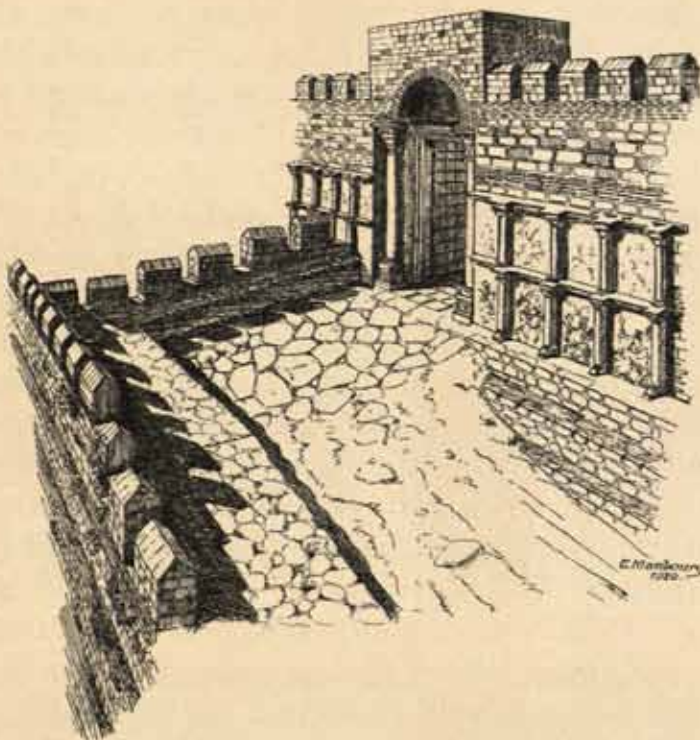


Fig. 7. Restoration of the Propylaic Gateway, showing the ramp and northern boundary wall

stories on the north side, of which the lower story was surmounted by a cupola with remains of the pendentives visible. Traces of a flight of steps led up to the first floor of the tower. Remains of a second tower were also found on the south. Both seem to have been the work of John V Palaeologue, who was compelled by Bayezid I to demolish them almost as soon as they were built with the threat that he would blind John's son Manuel unless his orders were obeyed. Dukas tells us that John Palaeologue employed no new material in the construction of these towers but used as his building material the ruins of three churches which he had demolished.¹ These towers of the fourteenth century, which perhaps were intended to have been given a marble veneer, as Dukas suggests, have often been confused with the great marble towers of the fifth century at the Golden Gate.

The excavations made in front of the main façade of the Propylaic Gate revealed a large portion of the foundation wall on which stood the bases of the flanking walls which held in marble frames the series of reliefs above

¹ Dukas (ed. Bonnae), pp. 47 ff.

referred to. This foundation wall is solidly built of uniform material to the bottom of its foundations, which reach to a level of 5.60 m. (pl. xxxvii, figs. 3 and 4). At first glance this wall, which follows the main line of the façade walls, seems to be the natural consequence of its upper portion. But at a distance of 0.80 m. before it reaches the junction of the upper wall with the gateway it turns sharply to the east, thus leaving the upper façade wall devoid of foundations (*g*¹ on plan, pl. xlii). We were unable to follow the return of this wall towards the east for more than a distance of 0.70 m. because of the danger of excavating beneath a building that had no proper foundations. But the clearance was sufficient to show that the existing Propylaic Gate was built at a date subsequent to that to which the wall revealed by the excavations belonged. In our opinion this foundation wall is part of the curtain wall of the Propylaea built by the prefect Constantine in 447. Another foundation wall of great strength was revealed running just north of the north pilaster of the gateway from the façade wall to the wall of the rampart that commands the moat (*h* on plan, pl. xlii). It is 1.60 m. thick and its foundations are at a depth of 4.20 m., not quite so deep as those of the wall mentioned above (pl. xxxvii, fig. 3, wall in foreground on right). At first, following Gurlitt, we thought that a wall of this kind must have existed on the south side of the gate in order to support a ramp which ran to the west out of the gateway and ended at the drawbridge across the moat. But no such wall was found on the south, and, instead, a long ramp was discovered which sloped down to the south. Also it was clear that that portion of the rampart wall that faced the gate had been removed, while the crenellations show a gradual descent, following the descent of the ramp. It is thus clear that during the latest phase of the Byzantine period the use of a drawbridge had been given up, and the only access to the gateway was by way of a sloping ramp facing south, bounded on the west by the rampart wall and on the north by the massive wall above mentioned just on the north of the gateway as shown in the restored view (fig. 7). This modification of the system of defence was the work of John V Palaeologue, who, according to Dukas,¹ cleared a part of the city between the Golden Gate and the sea-shore on the south, where he made a *ὀρμητήριον* which he could use in case of necessity as a refuge. We found that the wall above the moat was composed largely of fragments of marble and odd columns thrown in haphazard. These were probably the remains of the churches demolished by this emperor. Among the fragments so recovered was a large part of the side of a sarcophagus of the Asia Minor type (pl. xxxix, fig. 1). It shows a standing figure, draped, and

¹ Dukas (ed. Bonnae), p. 48. *ἐχώρησεν οὖν μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσείας Πύλης ἕως τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κατασκευάσας, καὶ ὀρμητήριον ἔχων αὐτὸ πρὸς καταφυγὴν ἐν καιρῷ.*

with it the forepart of an Indian zebu¹ facing the front. The general style of the sarcophagus is that of the well-known Sidamara sarcophagus.² The entrance to a tomb is shown alike on each in the relief.

At the north-west end of the northern tower is a stone gateway which had

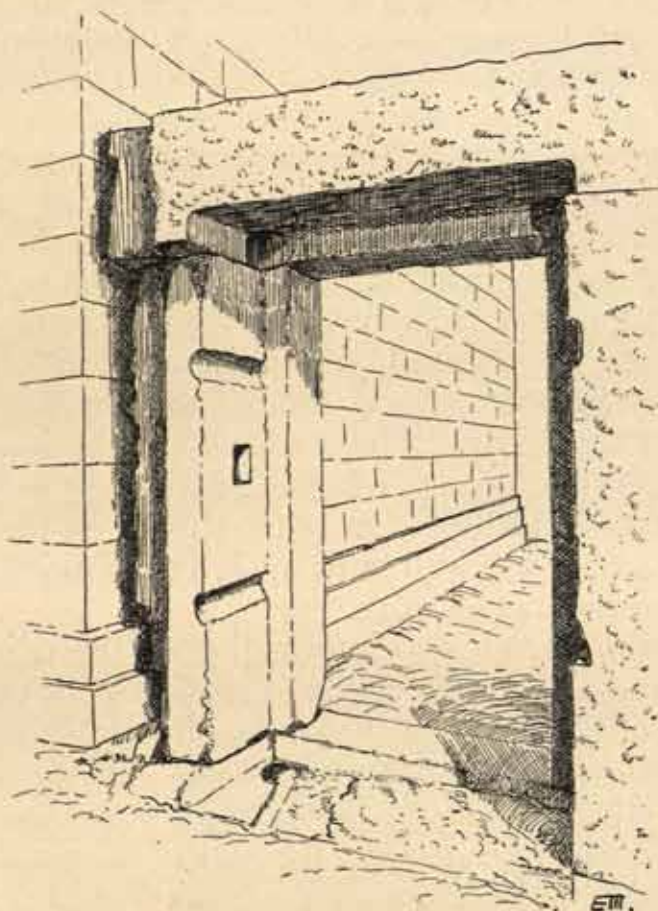


Fig. 8. Gate at the NW. corner of North Tower.

been almost silted up with earth. We cleared it completely (fig. 8). The date is hard to establish, but it probably formed one of the entrances to the courtyard at the time when the side arches were closed.

IV. THE RELIEFS FROM THE PROPYLAIC GATE

The reliefs which originally adorned the panels on each side of the western front of the Propylaic Gate are mentioned for the first time before the capture

¹ The earliest appearance of this animal in East Roman art is in the coinage of Julian the Apostate, where it occurs on the obverse of some issues.

² See T. Reinach, in *Monuments Piot*, ix, p. 189, Le sarcophage de Sidamara.

of Constantinople by the Turks by Manuel Chrysoloras¹ at the beginning of the fifteenth century. After that date the reliefs were seen and described repeatedly by numerous travellers during the subsequent centuries down to 1791, at which date they seem to have disappeared finally. Pierre Gylles² (Gyllius) saw twelve reliefs in 1544, Sir Thomas Roe³ also saw twelve, but by then they were already damaged; de Monceaux⁴ mentions only eight in the year 1672; his contemporary Grelot⁵ describes only two, and Spon and Wheler⁶ in 1675 give an account of four, stating that the remains of the others are not considerable. Some travellers see in these reliefs an art of incomparable beauty; de Montconys,⁷ on the other hand, says that they are badly executed, and Grelot is not very enthusiastic about their merits. Many writers describe them without having seen them at all. Almost all the descriptions that survive seem to be concerned almost exclusively with the panels on the right of the south side of the gateway. Pierre Gylles writes only with brevity of the reliefs on the left side, and speaks of them as representing fighters armed with clubs beneath a figure of Eros flying. This confused description is perhaps due to the bad state of preservation of the reliefs. It seems probable that the panels on the left or north side had suffered more than those on the other side because they had been left outside the wall built by John Palaeologue for the defence of the ramp mentioned above (p. 76).

The travellers who have left us information on the reliefs may be divided into two groups—those who really saw and studied what they described for us, and those who had only seen them hastily, or at a distance, or had not seen them at all and relied on second-hand evidence. Among the first group must be classed Pierre Gylles, Sir Thomas Roe (who tells us plainly that he went to the Gate if only to verify or check the enthusiastic description given to him by Petty), probably Grelot, and certainly Spon and Wheler. As will be seen in the catalogue of fragments given below, there are three reliefs which have been regularly described by different travellers who all agree in general on the subject represented. Seven other reliefs are mentioned, each separately by a different traveller, while the general nature of the reliefs as a whole is usually said to be the Labours of Hercules.

¹ *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 156, p. 48.

² *De topographia Constantinopoleos*, Lyon, 1561, p. 217.

³ *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 386.

⁴ Omont, *Missions archéologiques en Orient*, 1902 ('Observations faites par M. de Monceaux dans le voyage qu'il a fait au Levant') (17th cent.), p. 34.

⁵ *Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage à Constantinople*, 1680, p. 79.

⁶ J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie, et du Levant*, Amsterdam, 1679, vol. i, p. 199.

⁷ *Journal des voyages de M. de Montconys*, Lyon, 1665, p. 455.



Fig. 1. Portion of Sarcophagus of Asia Minor type



Fig. 2. Lower part of body of draped woman



Fig. 3. Lighted torch



Fig. 4. Part of a trophy



Fig. 1. Upper part of female figure



Fig. 2. Fragment of shoulder



Fig. 3. Fragment of arm



Fig. 4. Two wing fragments (front)



Fig. 5. Two wing fragments (back)

Chrysoloras, Leunclavius,¹ Bulialdus,² and de Montconys³ speak only of the Labours. Endymion and Selene are mentioned by Gylles, and Spon and Wheler; Pegasus and the Muses is mentioned by Gylles, Roe, de Monceaux, and Grelot; the torture of Prometheus is mentioned by Chrysoloras; two reliefs showing peasants carrying baskets of grapes by Gylles; a young man and a horse and a satyr with Heracles and a woman by Roe; the fall of Phaethon by Spon and Wheler, and Heracles and a bull by Wheler.

All these sculptures were usually described as in low relief. Sir Thomas Roe alone speaks of some as being in very high relief, approximating almost to sculpture in the round.

In dimensions de Monconys speaks of them as of natural scale, while Roe says that some were larger and others smaller than natural scale.

In the account of de Montconys there stood on the 'gate of the Seven Towers a great Victory holding a palm branch, also in low relief and badly carved'. This must be the Propylaic Gate, for such a relief would be in the Byzantine manner and so is more likely to have been placed on the Propylaic Gate which, unlike the Golden Gate, is a purely Byzantine rather than late Roman construction. The destruction of such a figure, as well as of the series of reliefs in the panels, was the more easy since the Propylaic Gate, after the Turkish reconstruction of the Seven Towers, was left outside the main system of defences in a spot difficult of access, where such profane sights would not shock the Moslem. But we know nothing of the manner or of the occasion of their destruction. The unsuccessful attempt of Sir Thomas Roe to secure four of the reliefs is well known. In 1795 James Dallaway,⁴ chaplain of the British Embassy, gives certain details of the disappearance of two of the reliefs, but his account is not of great value. He does mention one relief as showing in itself the whole series of the Labours of Heracles which, he says, was broken during an earthquake, and another showing the torture of Prometheus which was mutilated by the Turks when they closed the gateway.

In our opinion the destruction of these reliefs is due chiefly to earthquakes and to the passage of time which gradually allowed them to fall from their frames. Once fallen the fragments were used for building in other places, or were in various ways scattered. Some large fragments were used as paving stones, with the sculptured side downwards in the paving of the courtyard. The fine head (pl. xli, fig. 2), which constitutes the most interesting artistic discovery which was made, was unearthed inside the gateway in the courtyard, and there is reason to suspect that other fragments were used in the construction of the

¹ *Annales Sultanarum Othmanidarum*, Frankfurt, 1596, p. 206.

² apud Dukas, p. 612.

³ *Journal des voyages*, p. 455.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 241-2.

belvedere whose ruins, in the north-west corner of the courtyard, we were unable to examine. The other fragments described below were found below the panels on the right or south of the gateway, with the sole exception of the small torso which came from the area below the panels of the other side. No doubt excavation of the moat would reveal many other fragments which had fallen over the curtain wall. Nevertheless what has been found now makes it possible at last to get some idea of the date and technique of these much praised reliefs. The work is good, and in no case seems later than the second century A.D. On the other hand, none of the fragments found suggests a date before the time of Augustus. The relief described by Gylles as that of peasants carrying baskets of grapes suggests the pastoral style common in the Neo-Greek manner of the Augustan Age, but no actual fragments of this style were found, though the general character suggests a survival of the Greek tradition rather than anything which could be definitely called Roman.

Among the fragments found are three which definitely belong to reliefs of which descriptions survive. Nos. 1 and 2 below come from the relief on which was shown Endymion and Selene, while no. 3 may come from the Pegasus scene described by Sir Thomas Roe. The remainder, described below, belong certainly to these reliefs but cannot definitely be assigned to known descriptions, with the possible exception of the small torso no. 4, which may come from the relief which shows flying Erotes, mentioned by Gylles.

The following is a catalogue of the fragments found:

1. (Pl. xli, fig. 2.) Head of Selene. Broken off on three sides, but on the fourth is a groove by which it was fixed to the framework. The nose was broken off in antiquity and mended, but is now missing. Traces of the lead used in the mend remain. There are slight marks of damage on the chin and lips.

Height 0.25 m. Length 0.34 m. Height of relief 0.6 m. White crystalline marble.

The head is in high relief and measures 0.15 by 0.12 m. Behind the head, which is tilted slightly backwards, is the skin of a wild animal. The hair falls in two curves on each side of the centre and covers the ears. On the head just above the temples are the bases of two horns. The face looks upward and the lips are parted. The expression is one of melancholy and sadness.

2. (Pl. xxxix, fig. 3.) A lighted torch in high relief. Broken on all sides. Composed of three joined fragments, found separately. The right part of the flame and the forefinger of the hand are broken.

Height 0.40 m. Width 0.23 m. Thickness of the background 0.06 m. White crystalline marble.

The hand is a right hand, and it holds a torch the handle of which is grooved and ends with a burner from which comes the flame. The lower part of the torch and the hand are in high relief, detached some 2 cm. from the background. The remainder is in lower relief.



Fig. 1. Byzantine sculptures, Peacocks



Fig. 2. Head of Selene

This fragment with no. 1 comes from the same relief, which showed Selene holding in her right hand a lighted torch and with horns on her head.¹ Behind her head is a skin which Pan gave to the goddess.

This representation of Selene can be compared with that on a silver vase discovered in Switzerland.²

3. Head of a horse in relief. Broken on all sides. The head of the horse is in profile to the right. The right ear with part of the mane and of the upper lip and the upper jaw and teeth are visible.

Height 0.26 m. Width 0.7-0.4 m. White marble veined with blue.

4. Nude torso of an Eros. Missing: the lower part of the body below the hips; the wings from their bases. Head and neck. The head was originally attached separately and some lead remains in the hole which was to contain the iron pin of attachment. High relief. This fragment must have been in very high relief, the body being attached mainly to the background by the wings and legs.³

Height 0.14 m. White crystalline marble.

5. (Pl. XL, fig. 1.) Upper part of a female draped figure. Composed of two fragments found apart and joined. The back is slightly hollow. Shoulder and folds of drapery are worn.

This is the right side of the upper part of the body. The body was bent back so that the folds of drapery on the shoulders fall vertically. The breast is slightly to the right of its normal position because of this backward attitude of the body. The lower part of the arm and breast are nude; the forearm against the breast is raised. The attitude may be that of a wounded Amazon falling backwards. Probably this relief shows the woman as seen by Gylles on the upper part of the relief which showed Pegasus and the Muses.⁴ Sir Thomas Roe in his description of the same relief says that the figures on this relief are numerous but that they are less than half natural scale. This figure corresponds with that estimate of size.

Height 0.23 m. Length 0.19 m. Thickness 0.09 m.

6. (Pl. xxxix, fig. 2.) Lower part of the body of a draped woman. On the surface of the upper fracture is a rectangular cavity in which are three holes which contain lead for the fixture of the upper part. The surface of the whole is badly rubbed.

Height 0.35 m. Width 0.28 m. Thickness 0.09 m. White marble.

The figure is standing and is draped in a chiton of heavy material which falls

¹ Orphica, ix, κλυθι, θεὰ βασίλεια, φαισφόρε δία Σελήνη·
ταυρόκερος Μήνη, νυκτιδρόμος.

and Pausanias, vi. 24, 6, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Ἡλίου πεποιήται καὶ Σελήνη λίθου τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοῦ δὲ αἱ ἀκτῖνες ἀνέχουσιν.

² Gazette Archéologique, 1879, pl. 1.

³ P. Gylles, *op. cit.*, p. 217. Superiores habent supra se cupidines velut praecipites ad volandum. For this type of Eros see nos. 72 and 73 in the Stamboul Museum. Mendel, *Cat. des Sculptures*, I, i, p. 114.

⁴ (p. 218) In summa parte tabulae alia mulier recubat.

to the ground. The feet are in sandals and the toes are visible. The background is plain, and on it is the end of a garment which is probably that which fell over the left arm.

This fragment may show the figure of a Muse, and so would come from the relief described as that of Pegasus and the Muses.

7. Fragment of a veiled head of a woman.

Height 0.19 m. Width 0.18 m. Depth 0.11 m. White marble.

The head was of natural size. All that remains is the lower part of the neck, which was broken off at the 'Adam's apple', and the folds of drapery to the right of it.

It is uncertain if this is a fragment of a relief at all. It may be derived from a statue. Its scale in any case is much larger than that of the preceding fragments.

8. (Pl. xxxix, fig. 4.) Part of a trophy in relief. The fragment is broken on all sides. There is shown on what remains a helmet with a plume, a greave, and an arm-plate.

Height 0.49 m. Width 0.18 m. Thickness 0.11 m. White marble.

It is impossible to identify this fragment with any of those recorded. The relief seems to be of the first or second century, like most of the rest. Whether it was a purely decorative relief of the type that adorn triumphal arches or whether the trophy was part of a larger descriptive scene must remain uncertain.

9. Pl. xl, fig. 3. A small fragment of an arm of a figure, undraped. Length 0.17 m.

10. Pl. xl, fig. 2. A small fragment of a shoulder and drapery on it. Height 0.16 m.

Three large fragments of wings were also found, which clearly have nothing in common with the reliefs from the Propylaic Gateway. They are as follows:

i. Height 0.19 m. Width 0.13 m. Thickness 0.035 m. (Pl. xl, fig. 4—front.) The end or tip of a wing.

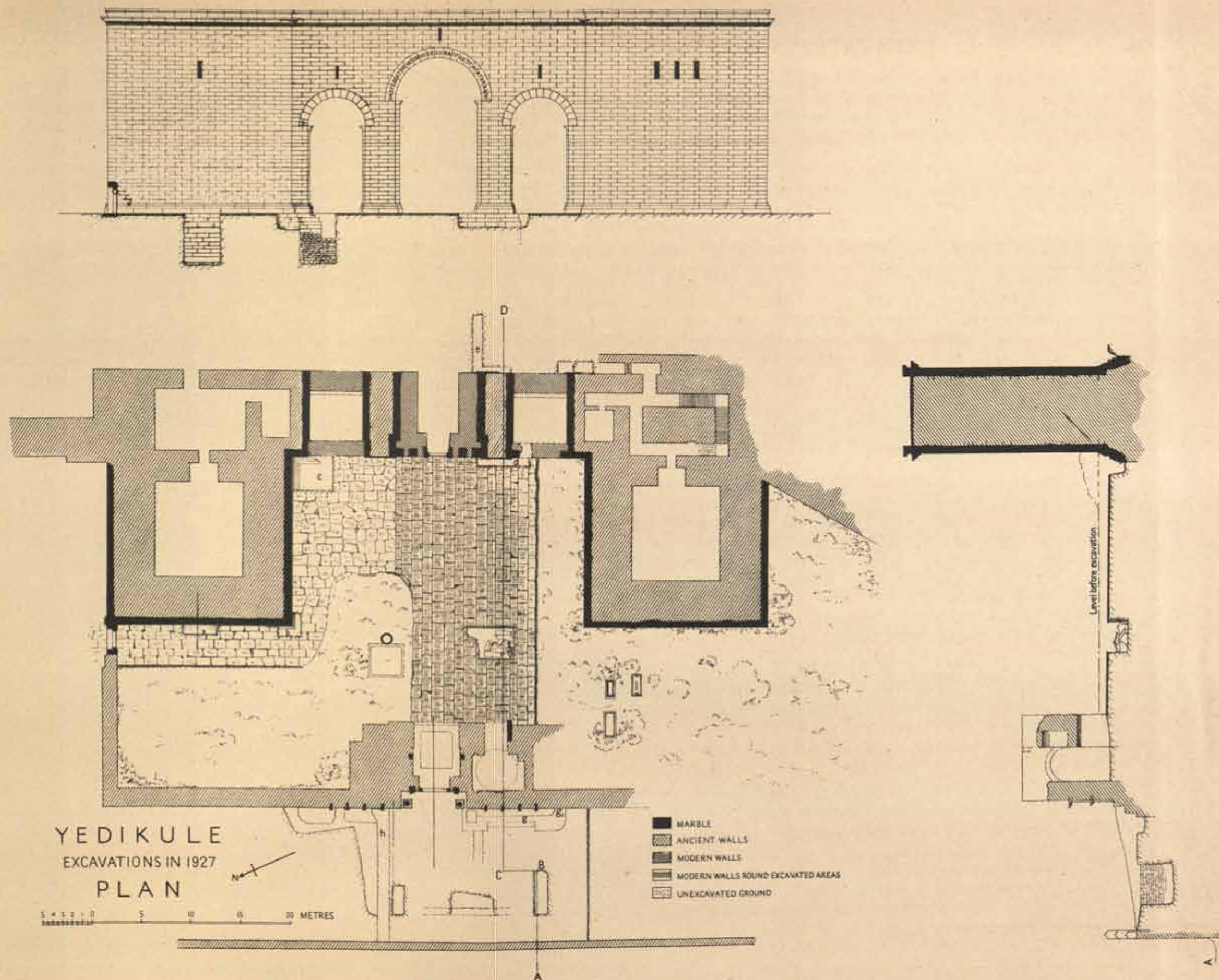
ii. Height 0.13 m. Width 0.13 m. Thickness 0.05 m. (Pl. xl, fig. 5—back, and fig. 9.) Part of the base of a wing.

iii. Length 0.31 m. Width 0.17 m. Thickness 0.17 m.

Of these three fragments, in which the feathers are clearly cut in each case, the first two are from a figure, perhaps a Victory, which was probably in relief. The third, on the other hand, is from a statue in the round. The first two perhaps come from the Victory mentioned by de Montconys, the last more probably from a Victory mentioned in *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum*¹ and there described as 'a woman holding a crown', among smaller reliefs at the Golden Gate.

Two fragments of Byzantine sculptures were also found during the

¹ Ed. Th. Praeger (Teubner), 58 a, p. 182.



excavations amongst the others described above. They come from two different reliefs which show peacocks, of which one faces the right and is in profile, and the other is facing, with outspread tail (pl. xli, fig. 1). It is quite possible that these reliefs come from the panels of the Propylaic Gate, for we read in the record

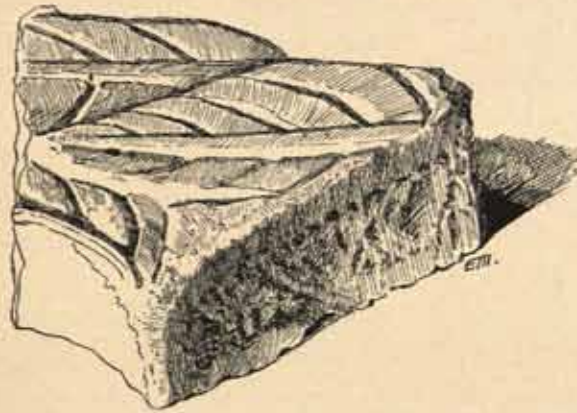


Fig. 9. Side view of wing fragment no. ii to show structure.

of Sir Thomas Roe that some of the reliefs were what he called 'Gothic' in style, which he believed had been put up in later times to replace earlier reliefs which had vanished.¹

The only general conclusions which can be arrived at concerning the whole set of the reliefs at the Propylaic Gateway is that they were never made for the purpose of being placed there. From the fragments and from the descriptions alike it seems that they were a various group with no common style or subject. As such they must in all probability have been collected from various parts of the city from decayed or abandoned buildings and here put up for the adornment of the gate. The example of the Little Metropolitan Church at Athens shows how the later Byzantines had a great affection for earlier Greek and Roman work, which they liked to incorporate in the walls or façades of buildings. The same habit, more exaggerated perhaps, is seen in the walls of St. Mark's at Venice. Here at the Propylaic Gateway a later emperor seems to have placed, in two groups of six, twelve reliefs of the Greco-Roman period which had been assembled for that purpose. The traces of restoration and ancient damage which some of the surviving fragments exhibit, and the care with which the damage was repaired, suggest very strongly that the reliefs were brought here from other sites. In the course of

¹ Michaelis, *op. cit.*, p. 189, quoting the *Negotiations*. 'There are of them (i.e. the reliefs) but sixe that are woorth the taking downe, the other being flatt Gothish bodyes, lame, and of later tymes sett vp only to fill place of the other sixe.'

time several may have been broken by accident or damaged during times of trouble, and they were replaced by contemporary Byzantine work which itself was perhaps derived from demolished churches. The peacock fragments are late Byzantine and of a type often seen in church or fountain sculpture.

The correspondence of our fragments with the records is sufficiently close to make it now possible to envisage the general character and date of these famous but perhaps over-praised reliefs. The praise lavished on them by some travellers is due mainly to the taste of the day, which, trained in the traditions of the Italian Renaissance, saw more beauty in late Greek and Roman work than in the less representational masterpieces of an earlier age.

VII.—*The Fourteenth-century Glass at Wells. By the Very Reverend J. ARMITAGE
ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Wells.*

THE earliest painted glass preserved in the cathedral church of Wells—with the exception of the ten small tracery lights on the staircase leading to the chapter-house—belongs to the opening years of the fourteenth century. The reason for this is to be found in the history of the building. Begun under Bishop Reginald about the year 1186, it represents the period of transition between the Norman and the Early English styles. The thick walls with their straight buttresses are of the Norman type: the stout piers of the nave would betray the Norman heaviness, if each were not surrounded by four and twenty slender shafts. But, on the other hand, this is the first great church in England to banish wholly the round arch, which was still being used at Glastonbury for ornament where the structure did not require the new pointed form. In this transitional style Bishop Reginald's church was carried through to the end of the nave under Bishop Jocelin (1205-42), until the western wall was reached; and then, in the latter half of that great builder's time, we get quite suddenly the full perfection of the Early English in the elaborate splendour of the great west front.

Half a century later a scheme of enlargement was entered upon which occupied another forty years. The exact order in which the work was done is not quite easy to determine.¹ But in the end there was a great chapter-house resting on a spacious undercroft and approached by an impressive staircase; the central tower had been raised to its full height; the choir had been lengthened by three new bays, and linked by an ambulatory and eastern transept to a new Lady Chapel erected far east of where the former one had stood.

We thus understand why no thirteenth-century glass is to be looked for in the eastern portion of the church; for none of its windows was left unmodified at this period. But we might have expected to find at least some traces of such glass in the windows of the main transept and the nave. In the fifteenth century, however, all these windows, which were large plain openings after the Norman manner though with the pointed arch, were divided up by mullions and traceries; and it is grievous to think what a wealth of early glass must then have been destroyed. Of that which took its place the only scraps which still exist are some delicate figures in silver-stain preserved here and there in the traceries.

If we were to consider the glass in order of date we should begin with

¹ See the paper in *Arch. Journ.* lxxxviii, pp. 159-74, 'On the date of the Lady Chapel at Wells'.

the quatrefoils in the windows on the chapter-house staircase, which are perhaps not later than 1280. We should then proceed to the Lady Chapel, which, as we shall see presently, was probably built between 1300 and 1305. But this glass, for all its fascination, is so fragmentary or so confused that it will be more satisfactory to take first the well-preserved east window of the choir, which may be dated *c.* 1330. This arrangement will have the advantage of following the order of the recent repair, which it is the main purpose of this paper to record.¹

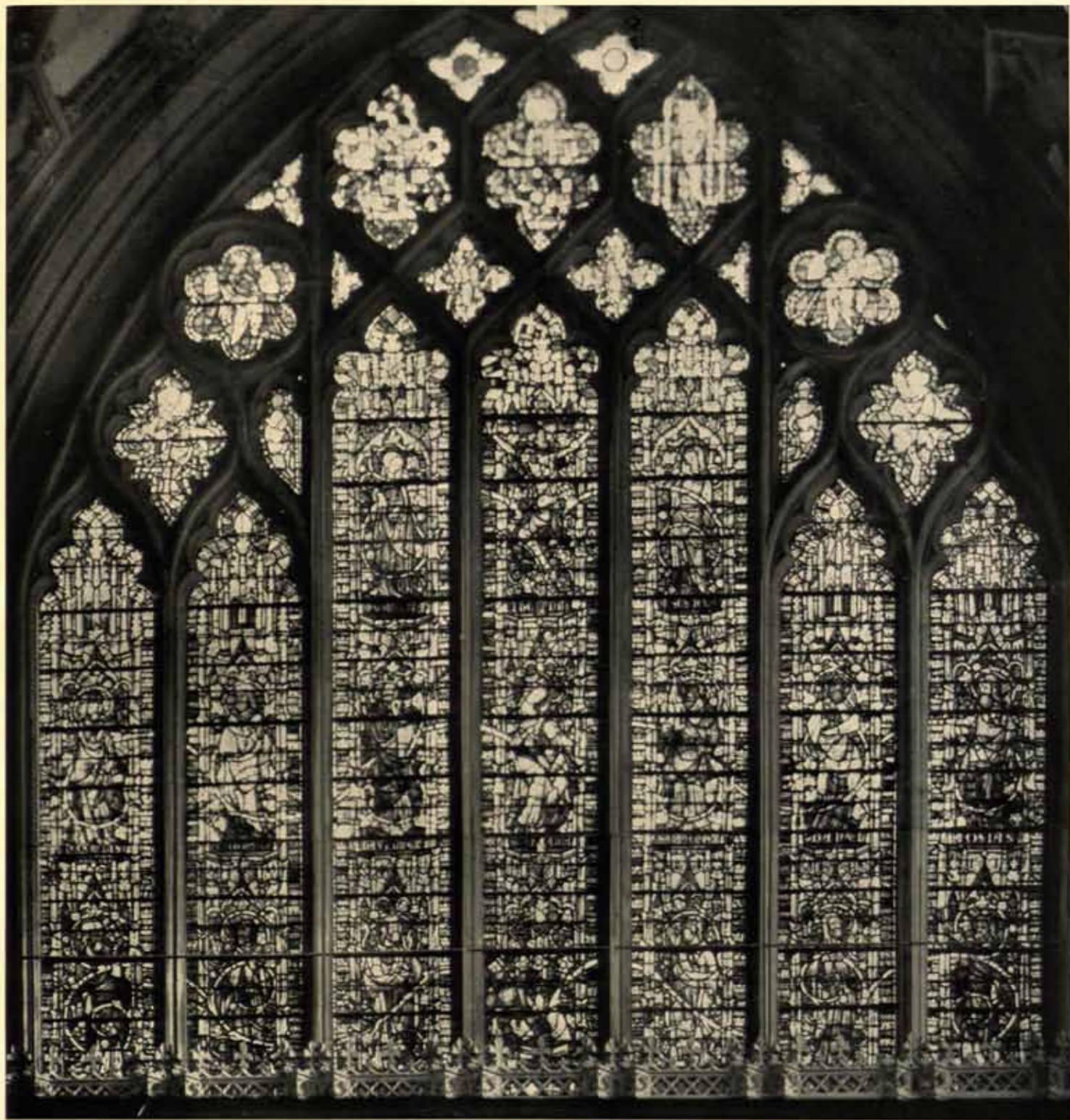
1. THE GREAT EAST WINDOW

The great east window—the Golden Window of Wells, as it is appropriately named—consists of seven tall lights, of which three in the middle rise higher than the rest, and a network of flowing tracery above. Our first glance at it is bewildering. It sparkles with green and gold and ruby and white. When we try to interpret the design we see first in the middle light the figure of the Virgin Mother bending over the Holy Child. Then above this we see the Saviour on the cross; on the one side the Virgin Mother again, on the other the Beloved Disciple: and as these three panels are higher than the rest, the Crucifixion scene stands isolated (pl. XLIII).

What are we to make of the thirteen figures which fill the rest of the window? In the middle panel of the bottom row, immediately beneath the Virgin and Child, is a figure which does not stand, but reclines. From his body rises a white tree-trunk which branches out on either side. This gives us the key to the whole scheme: 'There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of *Jesse*, and a branch shall grow out of his roots' (Isa. xi, 1). If now we look up we shall see, on either side of our Lady, David with his harp and Solomon with a model of the temple. Other figures represent ancestors of Christ, or prophets who foretold His coming. A close inspection reveals the Vine that springs from the root of Jesse: the white lines of its curving branches can be traced through the several lights of the window, passing before or behind the borders and canopies, and curling round the figures; while the background is everywhere filled with vine-leaves, yellow and green, and bunches of white and red grapes.

The earliest complete 'Jesse' window is at Chartres, and may be dated about 1150. There we have a plain window-opening, some 9 ft. wide and 25 ft. high. At the bottom lies Jesse: then come four kings in succession and the

¹ I have to acknowledge friendly counsel from Dr. M. R. James, Sir Charles Peers, P.S.A., Mr. Rushforth, Mr. J. A. Knowles, and the Rev. Christopher Woodforde; but above all I am indebted to Dom Ethelbert Horne, the Prior of Downside Abbey, to whose camera all the illustrations are due.



Wells Cathedral Church. The great east window

Blessed Virgin: at the top is Christ Himself, surrounded by seven doves, to symbolize the seven-fold gift of the Spirit which the prophecy declares shall rest upon Him (Isa. xi, 2). On each side of the tree are seven prophets in segments of circles, forming a border to the whole. The figures in the middle are seated, and all except the Saviour hold on to branches of the tree, which meet below but not above them, making a kind of semi-oval: in later designs this oval was completed by bringing the branches together again above the head of each figure.

Portions of a Jesse almost identical with that of Chartres are preserved at St. Denys, and a fragment closely similar is at York. The subject quickly became popular, and the design was presently modified so as to fill a large window divided into five or seven lights: sometimes the reclining Jesse was made to stretch across the bottom of the three middle lights. The doves surrounding the Saviour soon disappeared, and the design underwent many variations. The tree, which at first had foliage purely conventional, received in the fourteenth century a naturalistic treatment; but then stiffened again into conventional forms, far inferior however to the simplicity of the twelfth century.

The Wells design appears to be unique. The Crucifixion dominates the whole. The ovals round the figures are abandoned altogether; and the figures, instead of being grotesquely perched in a tree, stand under splendid canopies, each in a niche of its own, like the statues on the west front. Jesse occupies a single panel in the middle: the Vine that springs from him is everywhere, but it has to be looked for: its many-coloured foliage and fruit can hardly be made out from below; but the long white branches, once observed, can be traced as they cross from light to light, linking the separate elements of the great picture into a symbolic whole.

The details of the colour scheme deserve to be noted. The prevalence of green and gold is enhanced by the almost complete absence of blue. Blue indeed is hardly to be found, except in the heraldic borders of alternate lights, and here and there behind the canopies as if to suggest the sky. In contrast to this restraint, ruby calls to ruby across the spaces of rich yellows and vivid greens. A delicate pink is seen in the robe of the Christ-child, and appears again only to gird the Saviour on the cross. A pure white glass is effectively used in the central panel of the Virgin and Child, which thus challenges our attention at the first glance; and we see it also in the face of the Virgin beside the cross. It is again significantly used for the silvery stems of the Vine, which, as we have already hinted, unite the component parts of the design in a mystic harmony.

The tracery lights in the head of the window will be considered in detail at a later point. Here it will suffice to say that they are much mutilated in

the upper part; but they appear to have represented the Christ in Majesty, surrounded by angels, while beneath are figures rising from their graves. Here, therefore, as often elsewhere, the 'Jesse' would seem to be surmounted by the Doom. In a small opening at the very top a white Dove descending reminds us of the seven doves of the earliest scheme.

Something may here be said as to the borders of this window and of other windows in the church. First of all, in the Lady Chapel we have in alternate lights the leopards of England on a red ground and the lilies of France on blue. In 1299 King Edward I had married Margaret of France, 'who placed on one of her seals a shield of England and France dimidiated'.¹ So, too, did Isabella of France, the queen of Edward II. But in 1327 Isabella's husband was foully done to death, not without her complicity. Is it without significance that in the main lights of the great east window, which may be dated about 1330, the lilies are not found, but crowns on a blue ground alternate with the leopards on red?²

In view of the unique importance of this window it is desirable to place on record the occasion and the process of its recent repair. In the summer of 1923 it was discovered that the mullion between the two southernmost lights was dangerously cracked, owing to the action of the iron bars which held the glass. Accordingly these two lights were taken out. The glass proved on examination to be in far better condition than had been anticipated. Though greatly disfigured by accumulations of dirt, it was for the most part entirely complete and in place, though several pieces were cracked across. But the small bottom panels of both lights were merely jumble-compositions, in which bits of old glass were mingled with odd pieces of the kind that was made a hundred years ago. As the result of the destruction of these portions the names of the two lower figures, which should have been at the top of the panels under the bar, had disappeared. The trefoiled heads of these lights were also very imperfect and in great confusion, some of the pinnacles of the canopies being lost and some laid sideways. By a careful inspection of the top of the northernmost light of the window it was possible to get much back into place, and to indicate by the leading the general structure of these canopies.

Then the bottom panels of the northernmost pair of lights were taken out. One of them had the name AMINABAD (*sic*): the other had OB, and some way lower down E, T (upside down), and H. Reversing the T we get OBETH, which is the reading in some good Vulgate manuscripts (*Amiatinus*, *Arma-chanus*, etc.) for Obed, the father of Jesse. At some period of repair the

¹ Boutell (revised by Fox-Davies), 1907, p. 122.

² Though Edward III had claimed the throne of France, he did not assume the arms until 1340. For further details on Borders see below, pp. 105 f., 112.

Aminadab panel, which had a border of leopards and red, had been placed under the northernmost light, which had a border of crowns and blue; whereas the Obed panel (crowns and blue) was set next to it under a light with a border of leopards and red: here therefore an obvious readjustment was made.

After this we took out the two panels of the Crucifixion in the central light and the trefoiled head above it: also the lowest panels of this light, which show Jesse with the vine springing from his body. The head of the Christ, we found to our surprise almost perfect, though from the incrustated coating of dirt its very position had been unrecognizable hitherto: moreover a patch of purple glass had been stuck on with putty outside to cover up a hole close to the head, and this had destroyed the general outline as seen from below. A small piece of old white glass was inserted to complete the head, and the place of the purple patch of a hundred years ago was filled with a nondescript bit of old glass of a sober tint, which had been used as a patch elsewhere.

In the lower panel of the Crucifixion were at separate points the letters E L and H I, used as patches. In another place we found Z E and a C: so that we recovered the name of the prophet [E]ZECHIEL. Still later we were fortunate in finding the initial E.

By rearranging the patches near the head of Jesse and removing the accumulation of dirt, we were able to make this head fairly distinguishable from below. The lettering beneath Jesse and on the same panel was as follows:

SIC . . VS EX IESSE VI . AM.

Some years earlier I had observed in the adjoining south-east window of the clerestory the word ADESSE, which had been used to fill a gap, and had come to the conclusion that the inscription ran somewhat thus:

SIC [DE]VS EX IESSE VI[T]AM
[DECREVIT] ADESSE

The fact that the first part of the inscription comes on the same panel with the figure of Jesse, and not at the top of the panel below as in the other lights, confirms this replacement; for the last two words could not have been got in on the same level, and must have gone below at the top of the panel beneath.¹ The lowest panel is a mere jumble, almost entirely made up of later glass: its design is irrevocably lost. Fortunately, however, little of these bottom panels is visible from below, on account of the stone-crested of the clerestory passage.

¹ We may add here that Westlake (*Hist. of Design in Painted Glass*, i, 79) tells us that beneath a thirteenth-century 'Jesse' at Le Mans is the inscription: SIC DEVS EX IESSE CEPIT CARNALITER ESSE.

The following is the scheme of the Jesse window, the order of names in the lowest range being in part conjectural:

		B. Virgin	Crucifixion	St. John		
Jeconiah	Abraham	David	Virgin & Child	Solomon	Daniel	Josiah
Obed	Aminadab	?	Jesse	?	Ezechiel	Judah

The choice of names is somewhat capricious. Ezechiel and Daniel have come in to represent the prophets, who find a place in other Jesse windows. Aminadab stands in the genealogies as great-great-grandfather of Obed, the father of Jesse; but he must have been helped by 'the chariots of Aminadab' in the Song of Songs (vi, 12).¹

The work was carried out by our own master-mason, Mr. F. W. J. Bray, and our own plumber, the late Mr. H. S. Trudgian, who showed zeal and skill worthy of this most responsible task. Nothing has been done to restore lost features, except by rearrangement of the leading. The only new glass inserted has been plain red and blue, chiefly to make up the borders here and there, and plain green to make up a lost portion of the cross. This glass was carefully chosen for us by Mr. Archibald Nicholson, whom we have to thank for his kindly interest and encouragement as the work was in progress. The stonework was repaired and the seven lights were in place again before the end of 1924. The tracery above them was left untouched, as our attention was of necessity drawn away by the discovery of the dangerous condition of four out of the five great windows of the Lady Chapel.

2. THE WINDOWS OF THE LADY CHAPEL

In the Lady Chapel the work of repair presented a very different problem—probably unique in character and scale. In the five great windows of five

¹ Westlake tells us (*ibid.*, i, 31) that in a medallion window (c. 1150) of Abbot Suger at St. Denys there is what is called the 'Ark of the Covenant'. M. Émile Mâle says: 'The second medallion represents the Ark of the Covenant carried on four wheels like a triumphal car. Inside are shown the Tables of the Law and Aaron's rod. From the bottom of the Ark rises like a standard a great green cross with the Saviour crucified: this is upheld by the Eternal Father. Around are set the four evangelical symbols.'

'There are two inscriptions: (1) across the middle of the picture: *Federis ex arca cruce Christi sistitur ara: Federe maiori vult ibi vita mori*; (2) beneath the Ark: *Quadriga Aminadab*.'

Abbot Suger has the verses, as given above, in his book *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*. The choir of his church was consecrated in 1144. The Latin of the passage in Canticles is: 'Anima mea conturbavit me propter quadrigas Aminadab'. The A.V. has: 'Or ever I was aware, my soul made me like the chariots of Ammi-nadib'. The commentators on the Canticles, notably Honorius of Autun, a contemporary of Suger, explain that Aminadab who stands up in the chariot is the Saviour crucified, and the four horses are the four evangelists (Migne, *P. L.*, clxxii, col. 462). See Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du xiii^e siècle en France* (ed. 3, 1910) p. 206.

lights each the glass was low enough down to be within easy reach of the destroyer, when the word went forth that 'monuments of superstition' were to be defaced. We cannot be sure when the damage was done—perhaps not till the seventeenth century. Whenever it was, a certain prudence checked the destroying hand. The beautiful canopy work which rose above the tiers of figures was to a great extent spared: it took up a large portion of each light, and to fill the spaces, even with common white glass would have been costly: it was enough if the saints were battered out of recognition.¹ Thus a great deal of the old glass was left, and when quiet times came again it was wisely determined to keep it, and to fill up gaps with fragments from other ruined windows in the side-chapels and aisles of the choir. Here and there the canopy work was actually preserved in what appears to be the original leading of six centuries ago; and we have succeeded—we hope without too great a risk—in putting some of this back as it was; for specimens of early leading are becoming exceedingly rare.

In speaking of these windows we shall find it convenient to refer to them as N., N.E., E., S.E., and S.; and to the separate lights as N1, N2, etc., reckoning from left to right.

The East Window must be considered by itself, for it has a story of its own. It probably was less damaged than the rest, having been to some extent protected by the magnificent reredos of which but the fragments are now left. It was very carefully 'restored' in 1843. It is still in excellent condition, and the state of the leading reflects high credit on the workmanship of nearly a century ago. In a valuable series of 'Notes on the progress of the Works of Refitting the Lady Chapel, Nave and Choir of the Cathedral Church, 1843-1854', written by Canon Henry Watson Barnard, who died in 1855, we read as follows:

The East Window of the Lady Chapel had been from time to time so patched and mended that it presented a chaos of coloured glass, and though the figures were extremely imperfect enough of their forms and inscriptions remained to assist in unravelling the complete design. The restoration was entrusted to Mr. Willement of London, and the expense . . . was defrayed by Dean Goodenough privately.

¹ 'As for churches themselves, belles, and times of morning and evening praier remain as in times past, saving that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood-lostes, and monuments of idolatrie are removed, taken down and defaced; onlie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be provided and set up in their roomes' (quoted by Winston, *Hints on Glass Painting* [ed. 2, p. 271] from Harrison's *Description of England* in the time of Queen Elizabeth, prefixed to Hollingshed's *Chronicle*, bk. ii, c. 1, p. 233).

The figures under the canopies are arranged thus:

Upper Tier: Noah, Abraham, David, Isaiah, Malachi;

Lower Tier: Eve, Serpent in Tree, Virgin and Child, Brazen Serpent, Moses.

Each figure has its name underneath in yellow lettering, and a scroll with a text in white across the body. The inscriptions are almost entirely of new glass, and they contain some absurd mistakes, such as ILLIAS and SERPERTE. But part of the new EVA seems certainly old. The colours have in general been so well matched that it is nearly impossible from the inside to distinguish the new from the old glass: nor does an examination from outside always offer a sure criterion; for not only the old glass has suffered from exposure, but also some of the new. It is practically certain, however, that all the heads are new, and indeed the great part of each figure.

A partial exception must be made for the Tempting Serpent, which is unusually well preserved. Its body and the trunk of the tree round which it twines are mainly of old glass. The blue of the body is here and there slightly stained with yellow, which gives a delicate green tint. Two pieces of the body have been renewed, and the blue of these is of a purplish hue: this is the more strange as the new blue in the rest of the window is of an admirable tone.

Like those in the other windows, the tracery openings of the east window had largely escaped destruction. In the uppermost light we have our Lord in glory: the head has been renewed. Beneath this the nine openings are filled with angels: first, two with censers; then three holding (1) the spear and nails, (2) a fillet representing the crown of thorns, as in the Crucifixion in the great east window and in the south choir-aisle (see below, p. 109), and (3) a green cross; then four below, each holding a candle.

Of this remarkable 'restoration' it is but fair to say that, if it should have been done at all, it could not have been better done. We owe to it the preservation of the general scheme of these windows; and to the experience gained in doing it we may attribute the excellence of the great window painted by Thomas Willement three years later in the south clerestory of the choir.

Before we consider the other windows in detail it will be convenient to speak of the tracery openings of them all. The five tall lights of each window are surmounted by geometrical tracery presenting a pyramid of ten cusped triangles. The uppermost triangles contained the Evangelic symbols, with the bust of Christ in blessing in the centre (E). In N. and NE. the emblems of St. Mark and St. Matthew are fairly well preserved: SE. has but the fragment of an eagle, with the arms of England intruded above; and S. has practically nothing of the original left. In N. and S. the nine lower triangles are filled with fine coloured patterns with natural foliage; in NE. with heads of

Patriarchs; in SE. with heads of Saints. The grim aspect of these great heads is largely due to the fact that many of them have eyes on white glass leaded into faces of a pinkish brown—a grotesque feature not uncommon in large figures of an earlier period, but not found elsewhere in the Wells glass: it points to an earlier date than has hitherto been assigned to the Lady Chapel glass. The names beneath these heads are for the most part preserved; but it had not occurred to the glass-painter that, bold as his lettering was, it would not be visible from the ground, being hidden by the depth of the stonework. It is interesting to note that in a later series of heads, just outside the Lady Chapel, this defect was avoided; the lettering being placed higher up, on either side of the head. The change was facilitated, if not suggested, by the diamond shape of these openings, which left no room for lettering at the bottom.

The Patriarchs are arranged as follows:

	YSA[CHAR]		ASAR	
GAD		NEPTALIM		[ZA]BULON
SYM[EO]N	RUBEN	...	?	...

The Saints are distributed thus (pl. XLIV):

	S' LEONI[S P]APE		S' URBA[NUS]	
[S'] L[EONA]RDVS		S' DU[NST]AN[US]		SCS CUTHBERTUS
S' GER[M]ANUS PP	S' BRICIUS EPISCO[PUS]	S' IULIAN 'E[PISCO]PU[S]		S' [....]TANUS

Here there are some curious variations and confusions. The shapes of the letters differ a good deal. St. Leo's name is in the genitive case. St. Germanus is labelled as a pope, though he is not given a coronet; whereas St. Urban lacks his title, St. Dunstan's name in the middle is the only lettering in yellow, all the rest being white. The last name was probably that of St. Wulstan of Worcester, who was honoured in the Wells calendar and seems to occur again in the S. clerestory of the choir.

These great heads filling tracery openings have been thought peculiar to Wells: Westlake could only suggest a parallel in some churches in France.¹ The same cartoons have been made to serve for different saints, by the simple process of reversing the direction and changing the colours. Thus Leo and Urban are the same in drawing, looking one to his right and the other to his

¹ *Hist. of Design*, ii, 19. But in the examples he gives from Evreux and Toul the heads are much smaller than those of the Lady Chapel, and might better be compared with the series in the adjoining chapels referred to above. Mr. J. A. Knowles finds a yet closer parallel to these later heads in the church of St. Denys at York: see *Journ. of the Society of Master Glass Painters*, iii, 195 f. Another example is found in a window at Ludlow. Single heads, indeed, are not uncommon. What is notable at Wells is the occurrence in groups—of nine, as twice in the Lady Chapel, and of four in the two adjoining chapels.

left; and they alone, as popes, have coronets round their mitres. Leonard and Cuthbert, looking in opposite directions, alone are beardless and alone are shown in profile. Other pairs are Germanus and Julian, Brice and [Wuls]tan: Dunstan in the centre alone shows the full face. The Patriarchs in the window opposite are treated in a like manner.

The arrangement of the glass in the main lights was uniform throughout. Beginning from the top, we have first a very tall canopy running up into the cusped head of the light; beneath this a figure, or possibly a small scene; then a considerable piece of canopy work again, with another figure or scene; and finally a base.

This is a convenient place to speak of the use of silver-stain in these windows. It has been suggested that it is so abundant as to make it impossible to assign the glass to the early part of the fourteenth century. But the criticism is only relevant in respect of the windows on the north side; and there, as we shall see presently, an exceptional amount of later glass has been inserted to fill up gaps. In the triangles of the tracery no silver-stain was used.¹ In the main lights the pattern of the canopy work is uniform, except in the NE. window. We are entitled to say this because, though the lower parts of many of the canopies are gone, the heads are preserved throughout. Now in NE. the canopy heads are of a different pattern from the rest; and in one of them silver-stain is not used at all, save in a streak at one side of a pinnacle, while in the other four the use of it is very timid. In all the other windows it is used in combination with the white glass of the canopies, but much that resembles it may be clear pot-metal yellow. We cannot say whether it was used at all in the figures or scenes: quite probably it was not—or, if at all, but sparingly. We might imagine that in NE. we have a first experiment, and that the use of silver-stain was not very familiar at the time. It is greatly to be regretted that the lower parts of these NE. canopies are all gone, so that our evidence must remain incomplete.

We proceed to comment on some notable details of each window in turn.

The South-East Window must be taken first; for it was found to contain a larger proportion of fairly complete sections or panels than any of the others. It may have been the best preserved, and so the first to be undertaken when it was determined—at what period we do not know—to fill the gaps in all these windows with fragments of ancient glass from the side-chapels and choir-aisles. It seems to have occurred to the repairers that almost a complete window could be made up by taking panels containing canopy work from elsewhere in the Lady Chapel and massing them together here. Five such panels were

¹ One of the nine angels in the traceries of E. has a white face and silver-stained hair; but as all the others have pink faces this is probably a restoration, though perhaps an early one.



1



2



3

Wells: windows in the Lady Chapel

removed, it would seem, from the upper part of the N. window, being taken out just below the cusped heads of the lights, the tops of the canopies remaining where they were. These panels were inserted in SE. at random, regardless of the borders (leopards on red, or lilies on blue) above or below them. They have now been put back under their proper heads in N., from which five panels have been taken over in exchange. With this exception it would appear that most of the glass in SE., though badly damaged, was in its original position; and here only we have the full series of lower canopies preserved.

In one panel of SE 1 were scattered fragments of an inscription in Lombardic capitals (white on a dark ground, as in the scrolls of the restored east window), which, when sorted out, made up the following text from the Song of Solomon (iv, 7):

TOTA : PULCRA : ES : AMICA : M[EA : ET :] MAC[ULA : NON :]ES]T : IN : [TE]

This must have accompanied a figure of the Blessed Virgin.

In another light (SE 2) we found the top of a cross, one or two palliums, hands and feet, and portions of a red robe. There was also the fragment of a scroll with the letters BIT IN DOMO, and near by were other pieces with DOMINI and something illegible which at last yielded the word JUSTUS. So we were able to recover the main part of the scroll, which must have read:

JUSTUS [UT PALMA FLORE]BIT IN DOMO DOMINI

This abbreviated form of Ps. xcii, 11, 12 occurs in the commemoration of one martyr in the Sarum rite.¹ The practised hand of Mr. G. McN. Rushforth enabled us to indicate by the leading an archiepiscopal figure, which our fragments nearly filled: the missing head and mitre were filled in with pieces of old white and yellow glass from the adjoining medley. This is the only instance in which it has seemed possible to reconstruct a figure; and it does not, of course, pretend to be more than patchwork.

At the bottom of the lowest panel of SE 4 was the following, in white Lombardic lettering:

: ISTA CAPELLA : CONSTRUCTA EST

The silver-stain in the dots, as well as the character of the lettering, enabled us to piece together the following fragments which were found scattered about in the opposite window (NE.):

: IN : ONORE [.] : MARI[E : M]AGD[ALENE :]

ET : MARGARET[E] : ET : OMNĪVALIARV̄ : [.]

¹ *Sarum Breviary*, Proctor and Wordsworth, ii, 385. In the Roman Breviary the wording of the Psalm is more closely followed.

The whole now stands at the bottom of the lights SE 3, 4, 5, spaced out with blanks as here indicated. That the inscription does not belong to the Lady Chapel at all would be sufficiently proved by the style of the lettering. From what chapel then can it have been brought?

The answer is not far to seek. The small panel which contains the base beneath which the first part of the inscription comes has at the top of that base, immediately under the bar, SANCTA : KATERINA in yellow lettering, which is also of a later date than the glass of the Lady Chapel. Now 'The chapel of St. Katherine, where the body of Bishop John de Drokenesford lies', is a description, occurring in more than one document, of the chapel in the south choir transept (R.I., f. 193; III, f. 286, where we have 'St. Katherine and other virgins'). Dean Gunthorpe's will also speaks of his burial in St. Katherine's chapel. But the full dedication of this chapel is given in a chapter-order of 2 April 1488, by which leave was given to the sub-dean, John Wansforde, to be buried in the chapel of Blessed Mary Magdalen, Katherine and Margaret, on the south side of the cathedral church. We may accordingly complete our inscription somewhat thus: *Ista capella constructa est in onore sanctarum Marie Magdalene et Katerine et Margarete et omnium aliarum sanctarum virginum.*

I do not know whether there are other examples of the express announcement of the dedication of a chapel in one of its windows. It may often have seemed enough to indicate it by the picture or story of its patron saint. At Wells, however, the same thing was done in a window of the corresponding chapel on the north side of the choir transept, which was dedicated in honour of Corpus Christi. In Bishop Drokenesford's Register (f. 16 a) we find an instruction issued in 1318 to the bishop's official to publish the Pope's appointment (in 1264) of this feast, to be kept on the Thursday after Trinity. In an unpublished book of poems by Alexander Huish, an aged prebendary of Wells, written in 1667, there are some curious reminiscences of his boyhood. Some verses regarding two tombs in the chapel in question (called of late the Milton chapel, now St. Anne's) begin thus:

Corporis hanc Christi titulo notam esse Capellam
Inscriptum fragili legimus ante vitro.

As he was born at Wells in 1595, we may suppose that he saw the inscription in the windows at some time between 1610 and 1615.¹

The South Window still retains the upper tier of its canopy work, but the lower tier is gone, and most of the window is a chaos of glittering fragments. Here, however, we begin to meet with another feature of the Wells windows

¹ See *Som. Arch. Soc. Proc.*, lxxi (1925), 81 f.

which apparently is unique. At various points we can read, for the most part immediately under the main-bars, fragmentary inscriptions giving a donor's name followed by that of a saint: in every instance the donor's name can be identified with that of a member of the chapter in the early part of the fourteenth century. It has only now been possible to piece the fragments together and to recover a lost page of our history. The discovery is the more important as the date of the Lady Chapel itself has never been accurately determined. Hitherto it has been ascribed to the later years of the famous Dean Godelee, who did so much for the rebuilding of the eastern part of the church in his long tenure of office from 1305 to 1333. But it now becomes clear that this is a quarter of a century too late (pl. XLV).

At the top of the third panel of S 5 we can now read:

MAGISTER : HENR[IC]US : HUSE [.] : S' : EDWARDU[S]

On the same level in S 3 we have:

[M]AGISTER : WILL'S [.] : DE : KJINGESCOTE : S' : GREGORIUS :

Also, in a lower panel, on a curve:

[M]AGIST[ER] : TH'OS : DE : LOGOUERE

Now Henry Husee was the immediate predecessor of John de Godelee: he was dean from 1302 till his death in 1305. It is, indeed, just conceivable that the window, or the portion of it commemorating him, might have been erected by his executors, who during the next two years were dealing with his estate and arranging for his *obit*. But even so we could not postpone the date very long, for William de Kingescote was dead before June 1311, and Thomas de Logovere died in 1313. It should also perhaps be noted, though it would not be safe to argue from this, that Master Henry Husee is not described as *Decanus*: he had been a canon since 1284.

There are two other fragmentary names in this window, but their identification is conjectural. High up in S 3 we have, on a curve, three fragments which seem to make up [D]E : BERE[W]I[K]I : A canon named John de Berewyk died shortly before July 1312.

Under the bar in the middle of S 1 are three other fragments, M SOKE [.] : S' : BAR [.] THOLOM. I can only suggest that this may refer to Richard de Plumstoke, who died in 1328, but was a canon at least as early as 1304. In that case the glass-painter missed out the T from his name.

The North Window offers us a further series of canons' names, in the same Lombardic capitals, yellow on a dark ground. Among the more complete are:

In the middle of N 4, on a curve, : IVRDAN[.] : D]E : LILE : and on the bottom panel, under the main-bar,

DN'S : WALTER' : DE : PEDERTONE : S' : LAURENC[IUS]

In the middle of N 5,

DN'S : WILL'S[: DE]: ESTDENE : S' : [PHI]LIPPUS :

In the bottom panel of N 3, under the main-bar,

WILL'S : DE : CHERELTONE [:] S' : LEON[ARDUS]

Jordan de Lile died probably in 1315; Walter de Petherton died in 1316; William de Estdene left us in 1313; there were two canons of the name in succession, the former of whom resigned, and the latter (styled *Magister*) exchanged in 1319 into another diocese: and William de Chereltone (or Charlton) died in 1329, having been a canon since 1292.

In this window again two names are conjectural. In the bottom panel of N 5, under the bar, we have what may be reconstructed as

MAGIST' : [WILL'S : DE : IA]TTONA : S' : STEPH'S

Master William de Yatton died in 1325: he appears as sub-dean in 1311, and no doubt had been a canon for some time before that.

In the upper part of N 1, on a curve, we have

[MAGIS]TR' : ANTONY :

Master Antony de Bradeney was a canon c. 1298, and died in 1321.

Reviewing this list of names, we observe that they all represent canons of the early years of the fourteenth century; indeed, it is probable that they all had stalls before the year 1300. In those days it was not the custom to commemorate persons deceased by windows or monuments: those who desired such forms of commemoration saw to the matter in their life-time. On the other hand, it became quite common, as the fourteenth century went on, to insert in a window a living donor's name, and sometimes his picture and his coat of arms. The author of *Piers the Plowman*, William Langland, satirized the friars for extorting money on this plea. Writing in 1362, he makes the friar to whom 'Mede the Maid' comes to be shriven address her as follows:

We han a wyndowe a wirchyng will sitten¹ us ful heigh;
Wouldestow glase that gable and grave there-inne thi name,
Siker sholde thi soule be hevene to have.

It is to our credit, at any rate, that all the names in the Lady Chapel windows are those of members of the chapter, and may be taken to represent spontaneous gifts. We may be grateful for the evidence they afford of the early date of the windows on which they have left their mark.

This window (N) had, as we have seen above, lost all its canopy work except that in the cusped heads of the five lights. The panels below these had

¹ i.e. 'cost'.

been transferred to make up the SE. window: they are now in their place again. But a good deal of glass remaining in the window has plainly come from elsewhere.

Thus N 1 contains two heraldic shields. The upper one is for Zouche (*Gules, ten bezants*): the lower one (*Barry or and vert, semée of lozenges counter-changed*) has not been identified. Above each of these is a donor's name in 'black-letter' on a white ground:

WILLIAM : DE LITTLETON : PRETOR : ECCLE :
WELLES

[WILLIAM] : ROST : ARCHIDIACONUS : [ECCLE] : WELLES

William de Littleton was precentor from 1335 to about 1355, and Roger de Mortimer was archdeacon of Wells from 1335 to 1348.

The panels in which these shields and inscriptions occur differ from all others in the window, being largely composed of small green or yellow fleurs-de-lis, and of 'grisaille' quarries. There is surprisingly little 'grisaille' in any part of the church; and we have now brought together here such similar fragments as were to be found scattered about elsewhere. All this glass has plainly come from other windows, and is of a slightly later date.

In N 3 there is a fine angel with a long trumpet and with delicately coloured wings, but it cannot originally have been in this place. It is reproduced in Herbert Read's *English Stained Glass* (pl. 10) from a photograph taken when it was on loan at South Kensington.

Special attention must be called to one very beautiful panel in N 4 (pl. 11, fig. 3). It is pictured (not quite correctly) in Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass* (1882), ii, 58. Two figures stand facing one another under a small canopy which is slightly different in design from the original canopy work of these windows, though not unlike some fragments in the panel next it on the right (N 5). Each of the figures wears a crown. As one of the crowns was hidden by the leading, Westlake was misled into thinking that this medallion might represent Nathan rebuking David. 'The colouring of this', he says, 'as of all the other Wells glass, is exceedingly good and rather choice; the ruby background of the figures, and the green of the canopy, marking the selection of tone and tint as that of a refined and educated taste.' The true interpretation of these crowned figures we owe to Mr. Rushforth. 'Every age', he writes, 'has its own way of representing the Offering of the Kings. Down to the 12th century they are seen advancing in a line, one after the other. In the 13th and 14th centuries they form a group; the old king, having removed his crown, kneels before the Madonna offering his cup, which the Child Jesus receives or touches. Behind him stand the two other kings

waiting their turn, while the elder points out the star to the younger . . . Evidently the Wells artist found there was not room for the whole group in one panel, or thought that it would look crowded, and therefore divided it into two: (a) the old king kneeling before the Virgin and Child, which is lost; (b) the two younger kings, each of whom holds his offering (in one case a gabled box, like a shrine or chrismatory), and one of whom points to the star.¹ He refers among examples from MSS. to two figured in Mâle, *L'art religieux du xiii^e siècle*, figs. 107 and 113. It is possible that the similar canopy work of the adjacent panel once stood over the part of the group now lost.

The North-East Window. We have already said that the canopy-tops in the main lights of this window are of a different pattern from the rest, and appear to be rather earlier and experimental. But if originally this was the first window undertaken, it was clearly the last to be dealt with in later days in the process of filling up the gaps. It is largely made up of remnants, and has a good deal of late glass. There are no personal names of donors, as indeed there is none in the window opposite (SE); but there are very many fragments of saints' names, some of them in a later style of lettering. There are traces, more or less, of Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, Margaret, Anastasia, Christina, and Cecilia.

In a panel of NE 3 we have two scrolls: the upper one in small gothic lettering (yellow on black) has apparently *Quia vidisti & [cr]edidisti*, and afterwards *non viderunt & crediderunt*; the lower one in Lombardic letters (yellow on black) has DEVS : MEUS : ET : DEUS : MEUS; the DEV at the beginning being rather larger than the rest, and having come in instead of the DN of DNS. The scene was the meeting of our Lord with St. Thomas after the Resurrection: one arm grasped by the hand of another is all that remains to suggest the figures.

This is not the place to discuss the architectural question of the date of the Lady Chapel.¹ It must suffice here to say that the evidence derived from the names of the canons in the N. and S. windows makes it hardly possible to place its completion later than 1305, and would not be inconsistent, so far as we can at present tell, with as early a date as 1300.

3. THE CLERESTORY OF THE CHOIR

In the clerestory over the presbytery the glass of two windows on each side has been preserved. Each window has three tall lights with tracery above. The upper half of each light is filled with canopy work: the lower half contains a figure six feet high, standing on a two-foot base, above which is, or was, the name of a saint.

¹ See note on p. 85 above.

This splendid series of twelve saints cannot be seen to advantage from within the choir, but it can be well studied from the adjoining aisles. For several generations it has been practically hidden from view by the incrustation of accumulated grime on the inside, a phenomenon which was met with to a lesser extent in the great east window and which it has proved difficult to account for.¹ It was, moreover, further disfigured by the gross carelessness with which the figures had from time to time been re-leaded and patched. Winston saw it in 1848 and noted the figure of St. George, of whose armour he gave a full description.² Westlake wrote in 1882: 'The clerestory windows of the choir were once filled with large figures and canopies; amongst these the St. George is still nearly perfect.' He adds Winston's description of the armour, and continues: 'Fragments of other figures also remain, with the canopies over them.' That is all he has to say, though he gives a fine large drawing of the canopy of one of the side lights.³

Notwithstanding this ill-treatment and neglect it was eventually found that, apart from one or two canopies and bases, little of the glass was missing: even the faces of the figures, save that of St. Ambrose, were intact, and the names for the most part can be read. After six centuries the windows have come to their own again, and can once more be seen

With gay glittering glas
Glowing as the sunne.⁴

Most of the saints here figured can be identified by the inscriptions wholly or in part remaining beneath them.

North Side (E. to W.)

1. The mitre with crown beneath, as well as the cross in the left hand, indicates a pope. The name has wholly disappeared, but probably St. Leo the Great was here represented; for he received special honour in the Wells calendar, being commemorated not only on 28 June as at Salisbury, but also on 11 April, the feast of the translation of his relics.⁵ Moreover, his head is figured in the tracery of the SE. window of the Lady Chapel.

2. St. George has his name beneath him, but his white shield with the red cross would in any case serve to identify him. He is clad, to quote Winston's description, 'in a surcoat which reaches to the knee. He wears a helmet,

¹ See however below, pp. 114, 116 ff.

² *Proc. of Royal Archaeol. Institute* (Bristol, 1851), p. 159.

³ *Design in Painted Glass*, ii, 18.

⁴ From the 'Creed' (c. 1394), formerly attributed to 'Piers Plowman': quoted by Winston, *Hints, etc.*, p. 412.

⁵ See *Muchelney Memoranda*, 'Mediaeval Calendars of Somerset' (*Som. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xlii), p. 161.

avant and rerebras, shin pieces and sollerets of plate, or rather *cuir bouilli*; the rest of his person is defended with mail, on his shoulders are aiglettes' (pl. XLVI, fig. 3).

3. Next we have a Bishop with staff and mitre. Beneath him are the two letters S.B in white on a black ground. And here we may note that in the jumble of a window on the south side another S.B was found, differing from the former in that it has a yellow border of silver-stain at the bottom. It would seem therefore that we have to look for two bishops beginning with B. The Wells calendar appears to offer us only Basil (14 June), Blaise (3 Feb.), and Brice (13 Nov.). Now St. Brice appears among the heads in the Lady Chapel and St. Blaise among the heads in the N. window of St. Stephen's Chapel, just outside the Lady Chapel. Among the misplaced fragments of the clerestory windows the letters LA were found—white letters on black, and with no silver-stain. Thus we get S. BLA[SIUS] as the name of the bishop next to St. George (pl. XLVI, fig. 2).

4. St. Gregory's name is happily preserved. 'Our father Gregory who sent us baptism' was honoured at Wells as elsewhere on 12 March (pl. XLVI, fig. 4).

5. St. Giles—S. EGIDIUS—who, as an abbot, carries a staff. He is bare-headed with a conspicuous tonsure and very conspicuous ears. His day is 1 September (pl. XLVI, fig. 1).

6. S. RICAR . . . stands for St. Richard, bishop of Chichester (†1253), the friend and fellow-exile of St. Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury. He was canonized in 1262, and found a place in the Wells calendar not only on 3 April, but also on 16 June, the feast of his translation.

South Side (E. to W.)

1. St. Clement is identified by the anchor in his left hand. The legend relates that he was martyred by being cast into the sea with an anchor fastened to his neck. The letters SC and LE, now placed beneath him, were found among the misplaced fragments in other lights. He was commemorated at Wells on 23 November.

2. The next figure is a crowned king with a white beard holding a sceptre in his left hand; his right hand is stretched out in front of him with palm uppermost. The name is lost, but we may perhaps have here King Edward the Confessor, who is commonly depicted as holding the ring which he gave as an alms to an aged man who proved to be St. John the Evangelist. The ring, however, is not certainly discernible. The sceptre was broken away at the top, and the fleur-de-lis now conjecturally placed there was found among the jumble elsewhere: it is of a different pattern from any other that we have come across. St. Edward was commemorated, as were St. George and St. Dunstan, at the



1. St. Giles



3. St. George



2. St. Blaise (?)



4. St. Gregory

Wells: windows in clerestory of Choir



I



2



3

Wells: Resurrection scenes in tracery lights of clerestory windows

altar of St. Martin.¹ In the glass of the Lady Chapel Dean Husee's name is followed by that of St. Edward as his patron saint. He was honoured at Wells both on 5 January and on 13 October, the feast of his translation.

3. S. ETHELBERTUS remains complete beneath the figure of the next king, who is crowned and carries a sword point upwards in his left hand. Why he should be figured here is not obvious. He was a king of the East Anglians, who was slain, as the story goes, by order of Offa king of Mercia in 794. As his body was being taken to Hereford, of which he became the patron saint, the head fell off the cart and was afterwards picked up by a blind man who was thereupon restored to sight: in later days it was said to be preserved in a shrine at Westminster.

4. In the next window we have two nameless Bishops, with St. Ambrose in between. We have already said that we had found out of place another S.B, with a lower margin of yellow stain. Corresponding fragments gave us CI and US which clearly belonged to the same inscription. We were, therefore, able to recover the name S. B[RI]CIUS, which is now set under the first of these two bishops.

5. The name S. AMBROSIUS was found complete, though two portions of it had been set inside out. The saint wears what appears to be a doctor's cap with a round knob on the top; his left hand carries a book. The face unfortunately had entirely disappeared; the gap has been filled with pieces of old glass from the jumbled panel below.

6. This Bishop remains unidentified. In the medley of fragments beneath his figure two broken pieces of yellow lettering on a dark ground gave us S.W, and A followed by part of N. It was tempting to suppose that these stood for S. W[ULST]AN[US], the highly honoured bishop of Worcester, who is apparently to be found among the heads of the traceries in the Lady Chapel. But these fragments cannot have stood beneath the bishop in this light; for yellow lettering is only employed for the middle figures in these clerestory windows. It is not unlikely, however, that the next windows on each side (now filled with modern glass) originally contained further groups of saints of whom all traces have disappeared. If the fragments come from the name of a king, and not from that of a bishop, St. Wistan, whose shrine was at Evesham, would present a possibility; for his name occurs in an early Wells calendar.²

The canopy work of these windows is specially beautiful, both in design and in colouring. There are two quite distinct types; for the middle light of each window rises higher than the side-lights. The niche in which the middle

¹ Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, Statutes, p. 51.

² See 'Som. Med. Calendars' *ut supra*, p. 31; and cf. pp. 10 ff.

figure stands is surmounted by three sharply-pointed ogee arches, two of which are just indicated in perspective. In the lights on either side there is a single ogee arch, wider and flatter.

Further points of distinction indicate the care with which these lights are designed. In no instance does the saint beneath the pointed arch of the middle light wear a mitre. St. George has a round helmet, St. Giles is bare-headed, [King Edward] has his crown, St. Ambrose wears a doctor's cap. The bases also differ. In each case a small building, or perhaps a shrine, is depicted with a door in front; but in the middle lights there are porches, instead of windows, at the sides. Moreover, the name above the base is, as we have already said, in gold letters in the middle lights, while at the sides it is in white.

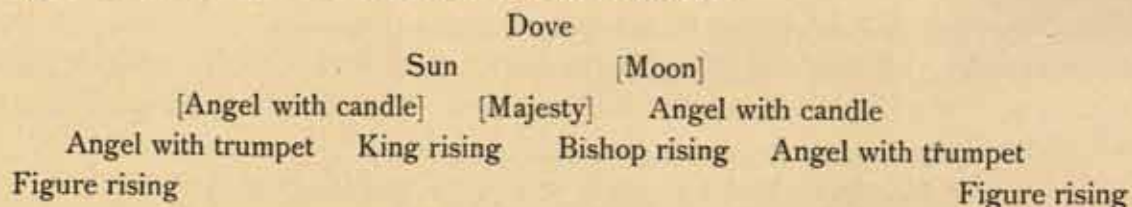
The borders of the middle lights have fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground; those of the side-lights have leopards on red. There is a corresponding balance of colour in the canopies.

It is worthy of note that of all these twelve figures no one is drawn from the same cartoon as another. The practice of 'making a few cartoons go a long way in the case of clerestory windows' has been dwelt on by Mr. J. A. Knowles in an article on the History of the York School in the *Journal of the Society of Master Glass-Painters* (Apr. 1926; I, iv, 39 ff.). Among other striking examples he cites the clerestory of the choir of York Minster, where 'five or six different figures are made to do duty for 38 separate personages'.

In an earlier paper (*ibid.* Oct. 1925; I, iii, 37) on Medieval Cartoons for Stained Glass, the same writer, after giving many examples of this practice in clerestory windows, says: 'No matter where you go it is always the same. There was never the same amount of money spent on windows in clerestories, and therefore old cartoons were used and poorer workmanship put in, than in windows nearer the eye.' The cleaning of the choir windows now shows that Wells is an exception to the rule. For here, while the same cartoons have been used with changes of colour in some of the heads of tracery lights, no such economy of design is to be found in the great figures of the clerestory.

4. THE TRACERY LIGHTS OF THE EAST WINDOW AND THE CLERESTORY

The tracery lights of the 'Jesse' window represent the General Resurrection, heralded by trumpeting Angels. Little is lost except the central Figure and an Angel on the left. The scheme is as follows:



At the top, in a flattened diamond opening, is a white Dove descending, on a ruby background. Beneath is a ruby Sun, with a man's face, on a white background: corresponding with this was the Moon, where now is a round of plain ruby glass. Of the three large six-foiled openings beneath these, the glass of one only is preserved: an Angel holding a candle, beneath a canopy the pillars of which conceal the main part of its widely outstretched wings (pl. XLVIII, fig. 3).

Next we have on either side, in a large six-foiled opening, an Angel sounding a trumpet (pl. XLVIII, fig. 1); and in between on the same level, two small pointed quatrefoils, showing a King crowned (pl. XLIX, fig. 1), and a Bishop with staff and mitre (pl. XLIX, fig. 2), seated calmly on their opened graves. Underneath again, on a level with the tops of the canopies of the three middle lights which rise higher than the rest, in eight-foiled openings on either side, are large figures rising from tombs (pl. XLVIII, fig. 2); smaller figures are in narrow openings on the inner side of each (pl. XLIX, fig. 3).

These Resurrection scenes are carried forward on either side in the traceries of the clerestory windows (N. and S.) nearest to the East window. In each of these we have three large quatrefoils, the uppermost of which contained a trumpeting Angel (preserved only on the south side): the two lower show in each case four figures rising from their graves. On the north side the left quatrefoil has a King crowned above, and a Pope with crowned tiara below; on the left side a Queen crowned, and on the right a Bishop mitred: all these have their hands folded in prayer and look eagerly towards the east (pl. XLVII, fig. 1). The right quatrefoil has men above and below, and women at the sides, in similar postures but with no ornaments by which to distinguish them (pl. XLVII, fig. 2). On the south side the lower quatrefoils contain figures similar to those last described, save that they are mostly of men: some of them show signs of amazement and distress, corresponding with their position on the left hand of the Glorified Christ (pl. XLVII, fig. 3).

The traceries of the pair of windows west of these contain no figures, but are filled with fine foliage patterns on bright backgrounds.

The borders of these tracery lights show considerable variety. It has been already said that in the main lights of the Lady Chapel windows we have alternately leopards on red and lilies on blue; but in the main lights of the great East window leopards on red alternate with crowns on blue. And it may here be added, as an indication of the greater freedom in the use of silver-stain, that these crowns are not of pot-metal yellow as the leopards are, but are stained to a brighter yellow, with the clear white glass in a semicircle beneath indicating the interior of the rim.

To come now to the borders of the traceries: the Dove has but a thin line

of white, not visible from below: the Sun and Moon have small white quatrefoils on red: the Angel with a candle has yellow quatrefoils on red; whereas the lost Majesty has the exceptional border (so far as it is preserved) of yellow lilies on red. The Angels with trumpets have the familiar lilies on blue, and the King and Bishop white quatrefoils on red. The large figures rising at the sides just below have yellow quatrefoils on green, and the smaller figures yellow quatrefoils on red.

In the S. clerestory the Angel with the trumpet has a border of yellow quatrefoils on green, and the two sets of rising figures beneath have white quatrefoils on red: the same scheme obtains in the corresponding window of the N. clerestory.

The openings in the tracery are at times very irregularly worked, and the edges of the lights are cut away or added to until they fit (pl. XLVII). The white border of no. 3 is only used at top and bottom of the quatrefoil: in no. 4 at the bottom only. A large extra rim has been added at one side of the bottom of no. 5.

It is of interest to note that in the earliest work (the windows of the Lady Chapel) the heraldic motive has given us the leopards on red alternating with the lilies on blue indicating, as we have already said, the marriage in 1299 of Edward I with Margaret of France. In the latest (the main lights of the great East window), the heraldic motive has weakened, or even disappeared: the leopards on red alternate with crowns on blue, the lilies having been for whatever reason abandoned.

In the intermediate work the lilies still are found in the main lights of the clerestory windows; but not in the traceries, which have only small quatrefoils on various backgrounds. The lilies are, however, to be seen here and there in the traceries of the East window, once indeed, strange to say, on a red background. Heraldry has given way to decoration, and we need not of necessity seek for a heraldic interpretation of the crowns on blue which have displaced the lilies on blue in the alternate lights of the 'Jesse'.¹

5. THE WINDOWS OF THE CHAPELS OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. STEPHEN

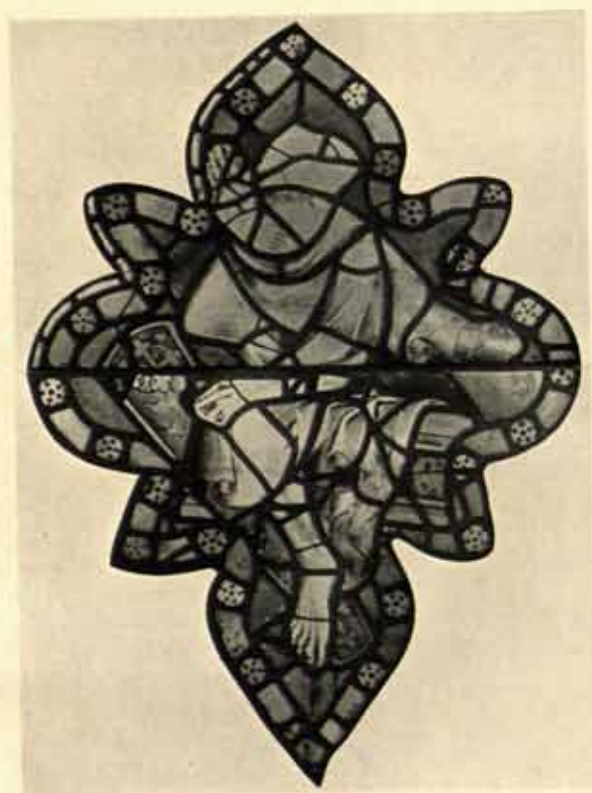
These chapels are contiguous with the Lady Chapel on the S. and the N. respectively, and are in line with the aisles of the choir. They probably came next to the Lady Chapel in the order of building, though after a not inconsiderable interval. Their east windows have three main lights with traceries identical with some in the adjoining transept and the choir aisles.

E. window of St. John Baptist's Chapel. In the top tracery light is a

¹ See further on these borders, pp. 88, 112.



I



2

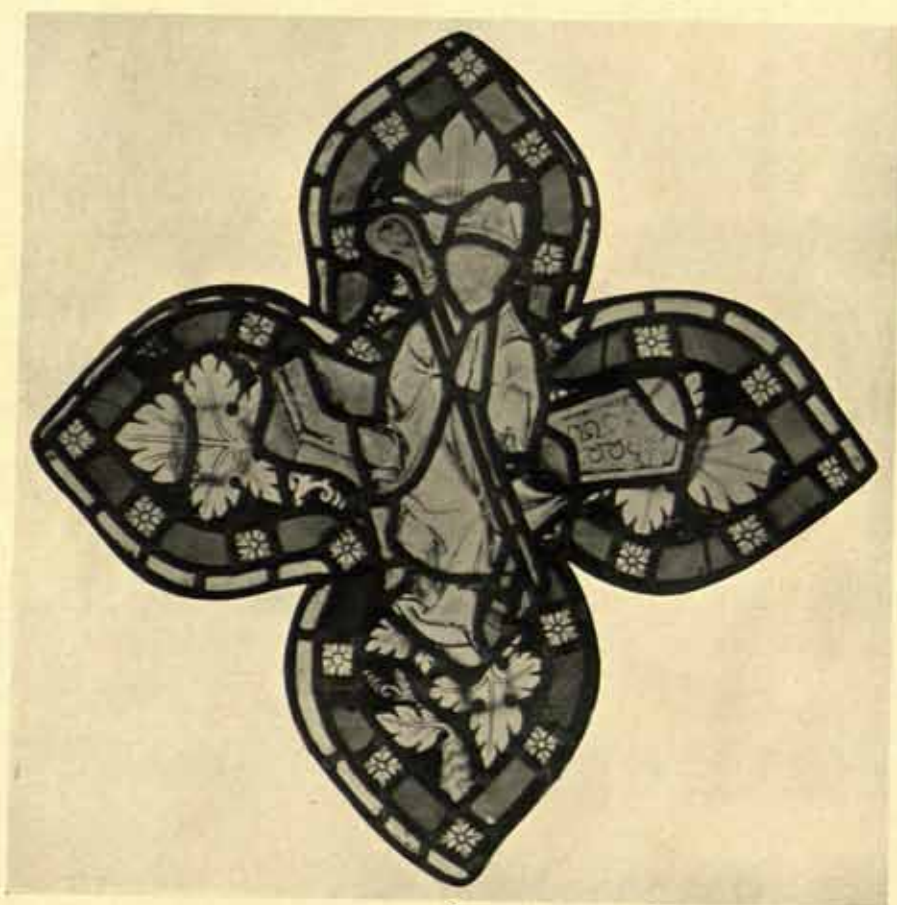


3

Wells: Resurrection scenes in tracery lights of great east window



1



2



3

Wells: Resurrection scenes in tracery lights of great east window

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1931

seated figure of our Lord, His right hand raised high in benediction, in His left hand a book. He is dressed in ruby with a full brown robe above. The throne is flesh-coloured and similar in design to that of the Virgin in two traceries of the south aisle: the background is a vine (white upon green).

The two traceries beneath doubtless contained censing angels, for remains of one are seen in the right-hand light. The main lights are for the most part filled with fragments; but some good canopy work is still in place, and some brilliant decorative design at the bottom.

E. window of St. Stephen's Chapel. Here there was most probably a seated figure of our Lord, drawn from the same cartoon as in the corresponding chapel on the S., but differently coloured; just as in the N. and S. windows of these chapels we shall find a repetition of a somewhat different figure of our Lord so treated. But there is now in this place a censing angel, taken no doubt from the left-hand tracery below. His wings are parti-coloured, purple and silver, and he holds a plate like one of those in the window of the Virgin and Child in the south aisle. The tracery lights below and the main lights are now filled with fragments.

But the main interest of these chapels is in the other two windows, S. and N. respectively. In the top of each is a figure of our Lord, and in the narrow side-lights are small censing angels. The four tracery lights below have heads of popes and bishops, the popes being distinguished by the crowns on their mitres: on the S. the two popes are in the middle and a bishop is on either side; on the N. this order is reversed. In each window the two easternmost heads face west, the two westernmost face east, the direction being determined by the figure of our Lord in the tracery light above. The heads are on a smaller scale than in the Lady Chapel: they do not present the same archaic treatment of the eyes, but the foliage surrounding them is not to be compared in delicacy with the oak leaves and vine leaves of the earlier series. The names are placed, not underneath, but partly on one side of the head and partly on the other: the borders are as before, alternately leopards on red and lilies on blue. The five main lights of these windows have now only plain glass.

In the traceries on the N. side (St. Stephen's Chapel) the ancient glass is practically intact. It seemed to be in the original leading, and of this we have been able to retain a considerable amount. But on the S. side (St. John Baptist's Chapel) the figures have all suffered more or less mutilation. The details given below suggest that stones were aimed at the faces with varying degrees of precision. The restoration of the heads was so skilfully done that their originality has never been questioned until the recent removal of the lights for cleaning and releading.

In the window on the S. our Lord is seated, His right hand is raised in blessing, His left presses the orb upon His knee (pl. I, fig. 2). The inner garment is green (partly of modern glass), the outer is yellow (also partly modern). Except for the upper parts of these garments the figure is well preserved, the face having happily escaped destruction—a fact which suggests that the stone-thrower was outside and could not see the exact character of the damage he was inflicting. In the N. window the inner garment is yellow and the outer green: otherwise the figures are closely similar. The border is of leopards on red.

The heads beneath (from left to right) are inscribed thus:

S.	N.
S:ALDE LMI:EPI:	S:STE PHI:PAPE
S:LINI:PAPE:	S:BLAS II:EPI:
S:BO:HEGI:EPI:	S:ERKE NWALDI:
S:ERKE NWALDI:	S:MAR CELL:PAPE

The following notes will indicate the main points of the restoration on the S. side, which was undertaken, probably by Willement, between eighty and ninety years ago:

St. Aldhelm: beard and neck *new*, copied from St. Blaise.

Pope Linus: face, beard, neck, apparel and amice, and foliage *new*, copied from Pope Stephen.

Pope Boniface—for so we must complete the fragment of his name—is all *new*, except his crowned mitre, half of his green halo, and the upper part of the amice. The first part of his inscription was doubtless copied from a fragment which had survived; the second part from another fragment which belonged to a different light, of which more presently. The missing parts of the picture were closely reproduced from the beardless Pope Marcellus on the N. side.

St. Erkenwald. Here nearly everything was gone except the border of lilies on blue, and the upper part of the amice. The gap was filled by an admirable copy of the same saint in the N. window.¹ We cannot doubt that the missing saint was St. Alphege, the second half of whose inscription was copied to complete the inscription of Pope Boniface.

A word must be added as to the use of silver-stain in these traceries. In those of the Lady Chapel there is none. Here, however, it occurs, but only in the papal mitres and their coronets. The clumsiness of its handling might suggest want of familiarity with its use. Splashes of it also occur through mischance on a portion of the white foliage and on the cheek of one of the popes.

¹ Illustrated in the *Journal of the Society of Master Glass-Painters*, iii, 196.

It was the very close inspection of individual portions of this glass, to determine whether they were original or not, that led our glazier to observe here for the first time certain small marks something like the 'masons' marks' with which we are familiar. Similar, but not identical, marks were afterwards found on the older series of heads in the Lady Chapel. An account of these marks has appeared elsewhere.¹

6. THE TRACERY LIGHTS IN THE CHOIR AISLES

The windows of the choir aisles contain in their traceries some very fine glass; but about a century ago the windows on the south were partially daubed with paint, to prevent the sun from shining into the eyes of the choir: as a result of this, as well as of the obscuring film prevalent elsewhere, much of this glass has been undecipherable. The tracery lights have now been cleaned and releaded, and this has revealed the beauty and interest of the glass. We may take the lights in order, beginning at the westernmost window of the south choir aisle.²

1. *Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.* Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin sit facing one another. Our Lord is dressed in brown with a green robe. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in His left is an orb. The Virgin wears a crown, and is dressed in ruby with a brown robe. The small figure kneeling to the right is dressed in a blue robe over a white garment. The faces of these figures are not well preserved. The background is of black leaf pattern on white, and the border is blue alternating with gold fleur-de-lis.

The censuring angel in the compartment below to the left is dressed in gold with a purple robe. He has gold wings and a green halo: the censer is gold and its chains silver. The background is of white sprays upon black enamel: the border has leopards on red. The censuring angel to the right is dressed in gold with a blue robe: in other respects this light is similar to its companion.

2. *Crucifixion* (pl. LI, fig. 2). The next window contains a Crucifixion. Our Lord hangs upon a green cross. The figure is flesh-coloured and the hair is brown: the loin-cloth is orange and reaches to the knees: one nail pierces both the feet. There is no realistic 'crown of thorns', but its place is taken by a narrow fillet.³ The cross is set upon a green mound, and bears the title

¹ See the same *Journal*, iv, 71 ff.

² For the description which follows, I am indebted in the main to the Reverend Christopher Woodforde. It will be observed that the account of the colours of the glass is more detailed than I have attempted elsewhere.

³ On this feature see the remarks of Dom Ethelbert Horne in the *Journal of the Society of Master Glass-Painters*, iii, 12, where also a photograph of this panel is reproduced. A like fillet appears in the Crucifixion in the great East window, and in the hands of one of the angels bearing Instruments of the Passion in the traceries of the east window of the Lady Chapel.

I: N: R: I in gold letters upon black. To the left a small figure kneels in a blue robe lined with ermine and wearing a white hood: from the mouth issues a scroll bearing the words: *Dñi ihu xpi passio sit nra salus et pteccio*. The background is grisaille, bearing on each diamond quarry a four-leaved flower painted in black enamel: the border has leopards on red. Each of the little lights on either side contains three small circles of ruby upon a leaf-pattern background. The two small quatrefoils below contain grotesque faces in gold upon a similar leaf-pattern background.

3. The next window contains the arms of the see in fifteenth-century glass. The border, the two side-lights, and the two quatrefoils below are as in the corresponding window (8) in the north aisle.

4. *Blessed Virgin and Child* (pl. LI, fig. 1). This is a most beautiful picture. The Virgin has a gold halo and a crown of ivy-leaf pattern. The upper part of her dress is a curious brown, and the robe is purple with an ornamented border; a portion of white dress appears below. The Child wears a long green robe with full sleeves and kneels upon His mother's knees. His right hand is placed below His mother's chin,¹ and in His left He holds a hawk-like bird with long talons and wings outstretched. The Virgin has a hand on each side of the Child's waist. The Virgin sits upon a gold seat decorated with architectural devices resembling simple two-light windows. The faces of these two figures are white; they were both well drawn, particularly that of the Child. The background is ruby and upon it is the vine—as in the other lights. The border has fleurs-de-lis. There is no use of silver-stain.

The censuring angel below to the right is dressed in gold with a ruby robe. The left wing is parti-coloured purple and gold, and a fragment of the other wing appears above the right hand. The right hand swings a silver censer with gold chains. The left hand holds a curious plate. The background is green with the vine upon it, and bunches of grapes appear on each side of the figure. The other censuring angel is dressed in ruby with a gold robe, the wings are parti-coloured purple and silver. This angel is apparently meant to be gathering grapes, of which there are three bunches.

5. *St. Michael*. This figure must be considered with the similar one opposite to it in the north aisle, to which we now pass.

6. *St. Michael* (pl. L, fig. 4). This is the most striking light of the series. St. Michael is a splendid figure. His dress is of the same 'brick-red' as the Blessed

¹ This delightful variation is to be seen in somewhat later fourteenth-century glass at Eaton Bishop, co. Hereford: it is figured in Herbert Read's *English Stained Glass* (p. 59): the Child's left hand holds a bird, the Mother's right hand a flower. The same feature is to be seen carved on one of the long cone-shaped corbels in the choir at Exeter, c. 1290 (figured in Prior and Gardner's *Medieval Figure-Sculpture*, p. 386, and Gardner's *Guide to Gothic Architecture*, pl. CXLIV).



1



2

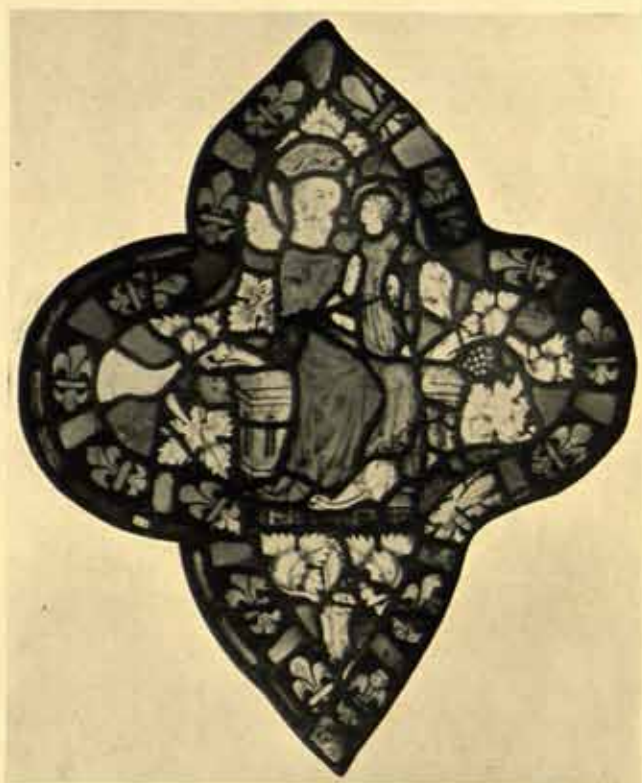


3



4

Wells : tracery lights in Chapels and Choir aisles



1



2



3

Wells: Tracery panels from Choir aisles (1 and 2)
Lady Chapel panel (3)

Virgin's in no. 4, and over it is a yellow-brown robe. He has a green halo, purple wings, and a green spear with a silver blade: strange to say, the left-hand is uppermost. He stands upon a most formidable dragon of a yellowish-green colour: he has a shield bearing (as is not unknown elsewhere) 'the red cross of St. George' upon a white diapered field. The background is of intertwined oak sprays upon blue: the leaves are white and the stems and acorns are of yellow stain. The border is of ruby interchanged with yellow four-petal flowers on black.

When now we compare this figure with the St. Michael (5) in the corresponding window of the south aisle we note that the same cartoon has been used, but differently coloured. The workmanship here is not so good, and the glass is not so well preserved. The archangel wears green with a gold robe above. The dragon is brown, and St. Michael transfixes it with a spear of the same colour, having a silver blade: here the right hand is uppermost.¹ His wings are purple and his halo red. The head does not look as if it belonged to this figure. It is white, and has none of the bold character of the head of the other St. Michael; it is very like the heads of some of the censuring angels. The shield appears again bearing a red cross upon a white field which is diapered with a different pattern. The background is the same as in the other light: so is the border, save that some of the flowers are white, and some are green.

7. *Crucifixion*. Our Lord wearing a yellow loin-cloth is crucified upon a purple cross. His halo is ruby and the feet are nailed separately.² The background is green intermingled with white sprays upon black. The border is ruby alternating with yellow flowers upon black.

In the tracery light below to the left is St. John with a green halo. Originally he was probably dressed in green beneath a gold robe: the bottom part of the figure is now missing. The background is ruby alternating with white sprays upon black. The border is green alternating with yellow flowers on black.

In the light to the right is the figure of the Blessed Virgin. The upper part of this figure is fragmentary. She is dressed in gold beneath a green robe: her halo is green. The background and border are similar to those of the light to the left.

8. *St. John the Baptist* (pl. I, fig. 3). He is clothed only in a yellow garment, with legs and arms bare: his halo is green. He holds in his right hand a flesh-coloured Agnus Dei upon a black ground within a narrow flesh-coloured border. The background of this beautiful figure and the border are like those of St. Michael.³

The two side-lights have each three gold circles set upon a background

¹ See below, p. 112.

² See no. 2 on p. 109.

³ This light is figured by Westlake, *Hist. of Design*, ii, 19.

that differs a little from that of the main light. The gold circles consist of simple five-petal flowers upon a black ground and within a narrow gold border.

Each of the two quatrefoil lights below contains a gold grotesque face set upon a saltire of green 'ribbons'.

9 and 10. The tracery lights of the next window contain modern glass, and the westernmost window has only plain glass.

There is no means of telling who the two little kneeling figures in the south aisle windows are intended to represent. It is unusual to find the figure of a donor relegated to a tracery light. It may be that the three main lights below contained only grisaille patterns with no figures. As to this we have nothing left to guide us, except that the right-hand main light of no. 1 has a considerable portion preserved at the top, which shows within a border of leopards on red some grisaille quarries with a slender foliage spreading from one quarry to another and with no silver-stain.

Something may be learned from observation of the borders of all these traceries. Three only of the aisle windows keep to the older and characteristic Wells tradition of leopards on red or lilies on blue (see above, pp. 88, 105). These are in the S. aisle: 1, Coronation of Virgin (with donor); 2, Crucifixion (with donor); 4, Virgin and Child. They are the only lights with no silver-stain. The borders of all the rest show the yellow four-petal flowers with red or green between them: these, or the like, were to appear later in the traceries of the clerestory and east window of the choir. We cannot doubt, therefore, that nos. 1, 2, and 4 are to be assigned to a slightly earlier date. Of the rest we may with probability say that those in the S. aisle preceded those in the N. aisle: this would be in harmony with the fact that the St. Michael on the south is of the less perfect workmanship, and holds his spear with the right hand uppermost as the designer of the cartoon doubtless intended.

7. THE TRACERY LIGHTS OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE

On the staircase leading to the chapter-house there are five six-foiled tracery lights in each of the two windows. The stone-work of these windows is to be dated *c.* 1280-6. The glass is a simple grisaille, having in the centre a yellow flower surrounded by a circle of colour. It is probably contemporary with the windows, though the foliage is naturalistic. The flowers are fleurs-de-lis and quatrefoils. As the fleur-de-lis is on a red ground, it is merely ornamental here and not heraldic. Similarly in the border of a window at Chartham, Kent, which is commonly assigned to 1280, the fleur-de-lis and the quatrefoil occur alternately, the former on a black ground.¹

¹ Cp. Westlake, *Hist. of Design*, i, 145.

The chapter-house itself was not completed till about 1318. To the character of its glass we have independent testimonies in 1634 and 1635. In the former year three soldiers journeying from Norwich spoke of

the neat Chapter House of 8 squares, and many fayre windowes, curiously painted with the History of the Bible.¹

In July 1635 Sir William Brereton, with strange coincidence of language, writes:

Here is a pretty, neat chapter-house, with a pillar in the middle supporting the same. It is much less than Yorke or Salisbury, otherwise much resembling them, wherein there is represented (as is also in them) the history of the Bible, in painted glass window, which compasseth round about this structure.²

Of all this nothing remains but a series of somewhat mutilated roundels in the traceries, containing Resurrection scenes; also a few coats of arms (mostly, if not all, of a later date).³ In the narrower openings around and below these roundels there is much white foliage on a ruby background. Most of this glass was so begrimed, and so interspersed with patches of clear white, that nothing could be made of it from below. The lights have now been cleaned and releaded, and the many gaps in the foliage have been filled with odd scraps, or with white glass toned down with leafy patterns in ordinary black paint to enable the coloured glass which survives to be better seen. This is but a makeshift experiment; but we were unwilling to depart from the rule which has governed all our repair, of introducing no newly painted glass at all. Such introduction may often be justifiable elsewhere, especially when borders and grisaille are concerned, and not figures or scenes. And it may well be that in the future this more permanent method of repair may be desirable here in the chapter-house; and, as the foliage patterns are so often repeated, there will be little difficulty in making a correct reproduction of the missing parts. But the Wells glass of our period is of such exceptional importance for the history of the development of the art, that the most conservative treatment has seemed to be demanded.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The insufficient attention paid by serious students in recent times to the considerable store of early fourteenth-century glass at Wells is partly due to the unfortunate miscalculation of the dates to which the various portions should be assigned—a miscalculation caused by the post-dating of the building of the

¹ See L. G. Wickham Legg, *Relation of a Short Survey, etc.*, p. 100.

² *Travels, etc.*, Chetham Society, i, 176.

³ These coats of arms are described by the Rev. H. W. Pereira in *Som. Arch. Soc. Proceedings*, xxxiv, ii, 40 ff.

Lady Chapel by at least a quarter of a century. But a far more serious reason for its neglect has been the excessive obscuration of the glass itself. This obscuration is not due to any defect in the composition of the glass, rendering it (as for example in the chapter-house at York) specially liable to decay through the action of weather or other external influences. It has been the result of a grimy coating on the interior face of the glass, such as has not been found elsewhere, and has proved on investigation to be attributable to exceptional local conditions. I am permitted to append a report on this obscuration by Dr. Alexander Scott, of the Chemical Laboratory of the British Museum, who has rendered us a great service by his painstaking inquiries. The matter may be summed up as follows:

The admirable Doultong stone of which the whole church is built retains its surface even in the most delicate carving, if only it is not touched; but, if it is laid down for paving, every footfall raises a fine dust which gets gradually drawn up into the general atmosphere. In the middle of the last century most of the large monumental slabs of marble and lias were torn up from the floor of the nave and some other parts of the church, and a regular paving of Doultong stone was substituted. About the same time large stoves were clumsily introduced for heating the eastern part of the building, and the choir was lighted by gas. The result of the combination of these well-meant 'improvements' could not possibly have been foreseen. There were now frequent changes of temperature, moisture was produced on the inner surface of the glass, the dust rose with the heated air from below, the fumes of the stoves and gas-burners released an acid which prevented the moisture from drying, and gradually consolidated the dust adhering to the glass, until it formed a coating almost as hard as stone. In recent years the causes of the mischief have to a great extent been disposed of: the stoves are gone, the gas-lights have been diminished by two-thirds through the use of incandescent burners, and the Doultong stone of the pavement is in process of being exchanged for a more suitable material. Accordingly, the recovered brilliancy of the glass will, we have good reason to believe, remain unimpaired for many years to come.

In conclusion, it will, I hope, be a help to students if—speaking with the reserve proper to an amateur, whose main qualification arises from the exceptional experience of having actually handled so large an amount of precious glass of the early years of the fourteenth century—I set down, by way of summary, first what seem to me the probable dates of the glass in the various groups of windows; and secondly certain striking features which, from such study of the literature of the subject as I have been able to make, appear to demand special attention.

(I). In the following assignment of dates the first figure denotes the earliest, the second the latest possible year, to which the evidence (derived from the order of building and from the glass itself) appears to me to point:

The Lady Chapel, 1300 × 1305.

The chapter-house, 1316 × 1318.¹

The chapels of St. Stephen (N.) and St. John Baptist (S.), 1318 × 1322.

The aisles of the choir, 1320 × 1325.

The clerestory of the choir, 1325 × 1333.

The east window of the choir, 1328 × 1334.

The richest treasury of English fourteenth-century glass is in York Minster, and it may be of service to give here the most recent conclusions (derived mainly from the heraldry) as to the dates of its several portions: 'The windows were glazed in the following order: (1) the chapter-house, 1300 or 1307, (2) the vestibule in 1307; (3) the nave clerestory in 1314; and (4) the nave aisles and the west end at various dates between 1310 and 1338.'²

(II). Among the more characteristic features of the Wells glass the following appear to me to deserve special attention:

(1) Heads in traceries; especially earlier series with white glass leaded in for eyes (pp. 93 f., 107 f.).

(2) Early and tentative use of silver-stain (pp. 94, 108).

(3) Early development of tall canopies—always with bases (pp. 94, 99, 104).

(4) Borders for the most part exclusively of leopards on red and lilies on blue (pp. 88, 105, 112).

(5) Absence of 'the secular element'—heraldry and grotesque figures so prominent e.g. at York.

(6) No alternation of coloured panels and grisaille (pp. 99, 112).

(7) No re-use of cartoons in great figures of clerestory (p. 104).

(8) Richness of colour, and sparing use of blue (pp. 87, 99).

The mere enumeration of these characteristics will suffice to show at how many points the Wells glass offers a striking contrast to contemporary glass found elsewhere. Now that it is once more clearly to be seen, there is good hope that it will challenge the attention of students of the history of early English glass. In 1925 a few specimens of it were placed on exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and shortly afterwards Mr. Herbert Read in the

¹ It is not unlikely that the small tracery lights on the staircase leading to the chapter-house may be as early as 1280.

² *The Painted Glass of York*, by the Rev. F. Harrison (1927), p. 60.

few lines devoted to Wells in his remarkable book on *English Stained Glass* wrote as follows (p. 233):

'Glass of the first half of the 14th century is more plentiful . . . [in it] there is a tedious repetition of cartoons and a general lack of vivacity. This tendency, however, is not observable at Wells, where the early 14th-century glass, by far the most beautiful of its period in England, is distinguished by its rich range of colours and fine distinction of line.

Thus the signs of a new appreciation have already begun to appear. What is now to be desired is that the facts and conclusions presented in this inadequate sketch should be critically examined by experts, whose knowledge and practical experience qualify them to pass an authoritative judgement. If these facts and conclusions are in the main accepted, much that has been written about the earliest stages of the development in England of what is known as the Decorated style of glass-painting will have to be reconsidered. Broad generalizations as to the dates at which particular features or methods first make their appearance must be abandoned, and much more allowance must be made for the independent advance of native genius in widely separated localities.

APPENDIX

The British Museum Laboratory
39 Russell Square, W.C. 1
15th July, 1929

Dear Mr Dean,

When I saw you in April I promised to send you some notes regarding the Cathedral windows which have presented so many points of interest to us. These notes deal chiefly with the greyish deposit which occurs on the inside of the glass and which seems to be as unique as the glass itself. Although its occurrence and mode of formation seemed at first perplexing, a simple explanation has been found which explains both.

Analysis of the very adherent coating on the glass showed that by far the largest constituent was calcium sulphate or sulphate of lime. When the deposit was removed by careful scraping, the glass below it was found to have a brilliant surface quite unattacked and showing no signs whatever of decay or deterioration. The coating could not, therefore, have come from the glass. In all the examples of Cathedral glass from all parts of the world which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum no specimens show any deposit of like nature. From various circumstances it seemed as if a coating had at some time been applied to the glass so as to dim it, and this was especially so with the glass in the Lady Chapel. This explanation was not altogether satisfactory and a fresh examination both chemical and microscopical was undertaken with new specimens this year. The problem was narrowed down to the fact that this deposit must be connected in some peculiar way with conditions occurring in the Cathedral Church of Wells.

This has now been satisfactorily elucidated by the recent examination. Chemical analysis as pointed out above showed the deposit to consist of calcium sulphate and the problem resolved itself into accounting for the calcium (or lime) and the sulphuric acid which are both required to form this compound. Further, the microscope revealed that any structure which the deposit possessed was

of the nature of rounded nodules, and there was nothing of the nature of brush marks or of any stream lines such as might be produced either by a brush heavily charged with liquid or liquid running in any way from the walls or mullions of the windows.

After my visit to the Cathedral and from what I saw and learnt there the solution of the apparent mystery became clear. The Cathedral was formerly lit by coal gas and heated by stoves burning coal, the latter being apt to allow 'fumes' to escape into the building. The combustion of the coal gas was undoubtedly the chief agent in the formation of the sulphuric and sulphurous acids which were formed along with much water vapour. The combustion of the gas also produced much heat, and the heated air on a cold night would deposit, on the glass, drops of water (as dew) each containing some of the sulphuric acid simultaneously formed. Drops of dilute sulphuric acid never dry up however dilute the acid may be. The floor of the Cathedral is of Douling stone, a limestone which although it weathers well is readily rubbed by friction (such as it would be subjected to by the action of feet on the floor) into an impalpable powder easily carried by currents of air. This fine powder was also carried up by the hot air and chilled again on the cold windows. The dust, consisting mainly of calcium carbonate, was to a certain extent caught by the small drops of dilute sulphuric acid neutralising them and forming calcium sulphate. It is possible that the neutralization of the sulphuric acid by the calcium carbonate dust tended in some degree at least to the preservation of the glass and prevented the sulphuric acid, inevitably produced by the combustion of the coal gas, from having any serious deleterious action on the surface of the glass.

The results of the chemical analysis of the deposit on the glass are as follows:

(1) *From Inside of Glass.*

This incrustation took the form of light grey crystalline nodules.

Calcium sulphate	77.13 per cent.
Silica	4.95 "
Oxides of Iron and Aluminium	6.35 "
Lead sulphate	2.52 "
Carbonate	Small trace.
Organic matter and moisture (by difference)	9.05 "
	<u>100.00</u>

This analysis is in marked contrast to that obtained for the outside incrustation.

(2) *From Outside of Glass.*

Thin, hard, and firmly-adherent film.

Lead sulphate	32.18 per cent.
Lime	31.95 "
Silica	10.65 "
Oxides of Iron and Aluminium	7.58 "
Carbonate and Chloride	Nil.
Organic (Tarry) matter, moisture and sulphate (by difference)	17.64 "
	<u>100.00</u>

It seemed of interest to determine the composition of several specimens of the glass, as the data so obtained might throw light on the actual source of the Cathedral glass or give some indication as to whether it was Continental or British. A clear-green specimen was subjected to quantitative analysis with the following results:

Silica	53.58 per cent.
Lead oxide	1.02 "
Copper oxide	2.19 "

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Oxides of Iron and Aluminium	3.36 per cent.
Calcium oxide	11.9 "
Sodium oxide	14.78 "
Potassium oxide	13.61 "
	<u>100.44</u>

and a series of six other samples gave the following qualitative data :

(x signifies present ; — signifies not present ; ? signifies a doubtful result or mere trace)

<i>Glass</i>	Si	Pb	Cu	Phos	Al	Fe	Mn	Ca	Mg	Na	K	Co
No. 1 Ruby flashed	x	?	?	?	x	x	?	x	?	x	x	—
No. 2 Tinged faint blue-green	x	—	—	x	x	x	—	?	?	x	?	—
No. 3 Tinged faint blue-green	x	?	—	—	x	x	?	x	—	x	x	—
No. 4 Amber	x	?	—	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x	—
No. 5 Rich 'cobalt-blue' tint	x	?	—	—	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	?
No. 6 Dark bluish-green	x	?	x	—	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	—

Yours very truly,

ALEXANDER SCOTT,
Director of Research.

The Very Reverend J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D.
The Deanery,
Wells.

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