

PART IV. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE: THE CATHEDRAL BUILDINGS; LIBRARY; CLOSE; EXCHEQUER GATE AND DIOCESAN RECORD OFFICE.

By A. W. CLAPHAM

The Medieval Diocese of Lincoln was of vast extent, and at the Conquest the see was not yet at Lincoln, but at Dorchester-on-Thames. Yet Lincoln was marked out for importance both by its strategic situation and by its wealth as a trading-centre (pp. 100, 158); and about 1072, soon after the Conqueror had given orders for the erection of Lincoln Castle (p. 157), the city was made the seat of the diocesan bishop.

The Cathedral was at once located in the south-east quarter of the upper Roman enclosure, opposite to the Castle (cf. fig. 5, p. 29), on the site till then occupied by St. Mary's church (the 'Old Minster'); and the work of building the first Cathedral church was put in hand in 1072-3 by the bishop, Remigius or Remi of Fécamp. This church was consecrated in 1092. Of its plan, enough has been recovered by excavation beneath the present Cathedral to enable it to be plotted, and a description and plan of these remains were published in 1911 by Dr. John Bilson:¹ but much of the west front, with the lower parts of its two great towers, still remains standing, and forms one of the most unusual monuments of eleventh-century church architecture surviving in Western Europe. A special study of it, incorporating much evidence not available to Bilson, has been contributed to this Report by Professor F. Saxl, and is printed separately below (with pl. xi, cf. his fig. 1, p. 106).

Of the later work which made the present Cathedral (pl. xi), only a summary need be given here.² In 1141 Bishop Remi's church suffered damage by fire, and the 'magnificent' Bishop Alexander (1123-1148) covered the nave with a stone vault, and made substantial alterations to the original west front. However, in 1185 the church was split from top to bottom by an earthquake, and its rebuilding under Bishop Hugh of Avalon (St. Hugh of Lincoln) was begun in 1192. The plan of the east end was extremely remarkable, and its foundations have been recovered by excavation.³ The rebuilding of nearly the whole church followed on from east to west. The great transept is of about 1205, and the nave was nearing completion in 1233. In the course of the work the central tower had likewise been rebuilt, but in 1237 or 1239 it collapsed; it was thereupon again rebuilt. The new presbytery, called the Angel Choir, was begun about 1255, when a licence was granted to pull down part of the city wall to allow the building thus to be extended eastwards. The translation of St. Hugh's body to its appointed place in the centre of the extended eastern arm was effected in 1280, but the new work was not complete until early in the next century. Then also, in 1307, the raising of the central tower

¹ 'The Plan of the First Cathedral Church of Lincoln': *Archaeologia*, lxii, part 2, 543-64.

² Cf. the account given by F. C. Penrose at the Institute's Meeting in 1848 (*1848 Meeting Volume*, 125-38), and that given at the 1909 Meeting (*Arch. Journ.*, lxvi, 359ff.).

³ A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, ii, *After the Conquest*, 90, fig. 31 (whence the overprint on pl. xi here), based on Venables in *Arch. Journ.*, xliv (1887), 194-202.

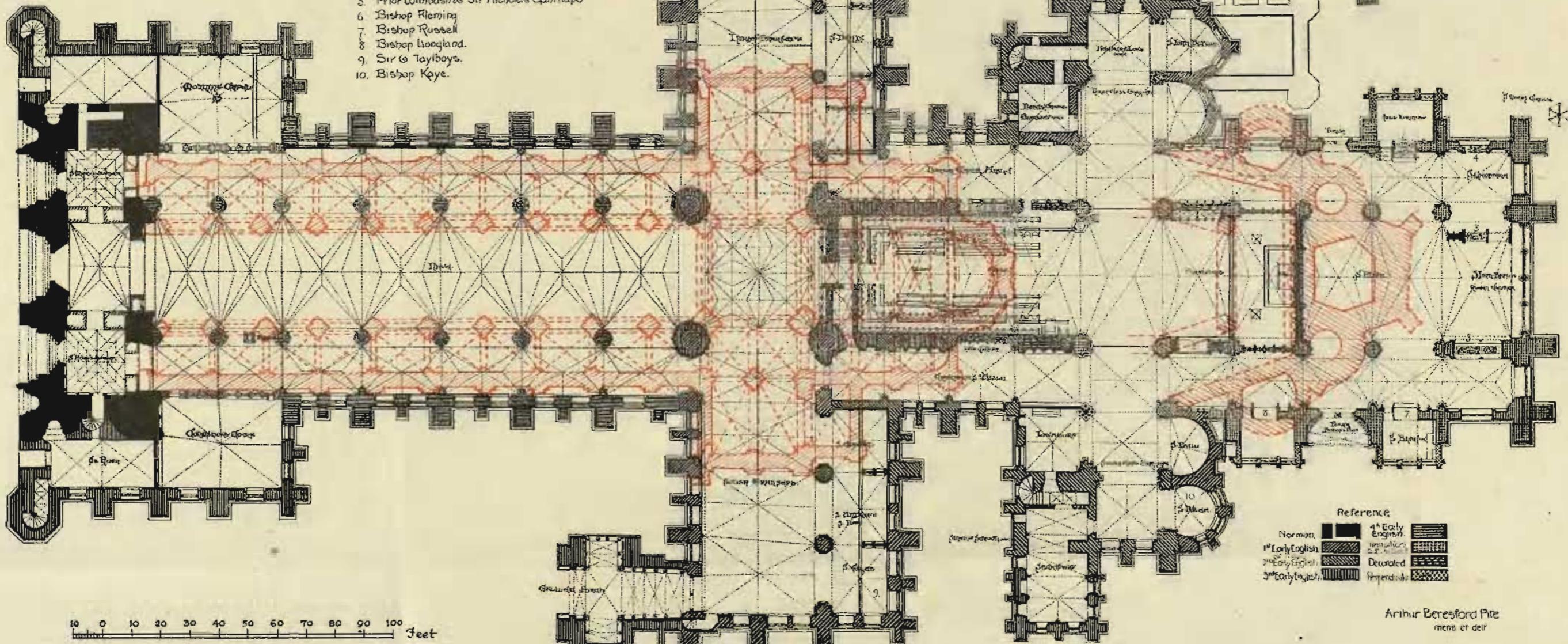
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

From a plan in *The Builder* of November 7th, 1891.
 Added in red: plan of St. Hugh's East End, late
 12th Century (■■■■), and Dr. J. Bilson's plan of
 Bishop Remi's church, late 11th century (■■■■■),
 from *Archaeologia* Ixii, part 2 (1911) plate LXXVII.

for amendment to which at the west end, and to the representation
 of the west front still existing, see the plan illustrating Prof. Saxl's
 article here, Fig. I, p. 106.

Monuments

1. Garter Sepulchre
2. Monument of Catherine Swinford & the Countess of Westmoreland.
3. Bishop Burghersh & Sir Roger do.
4. Sir Bartholemew Burghersh.
5. Prior Wimbley & Sir Nicholas Castilope
6. Bishop Fleming
7. Bishop Russell
8. Bishop Longland.
9. Sir G. Taylboys.
10. Bishop Koye.



was begun ; and considerably later, but before 1380, the western towers were also raised. The whole succession can be followed in the sequence of hatchings used on the plan pl. xi.

Of the subsidiary buildings, the decagonal Chapter House was built perhaps between 1220 and 1235. The south side of the Cloister was built about 1296, and the east and west sides followed shortly afterwards. The present north side is of the seventeenth century, with the Library above it, on which see below.

The monuments in the Cathedral include those with chantry-chapels of Bishops Fleming (+1431), Russell (+1494), and Longland (+1547, but the chapel is earlier), and the tombs of Bishop Burghersh (+1342) and his brother Bartholomew (+1355), Nicholas Cantelupe (+1355), Catherine Swynford (+1403), Joan Beaufort her daughter, and ' Little St. Hugh of Lincoln ' (on whose story see p. 162 below). There is a modern monument replacing the original one of Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I (+1290). Mention must also be made of the choir-stalls, the lectern of 1667, and the bishop's throne of 1778. In the Cloister is the incised slab of Richard of Gainsborough, master mason of the church, who died early in the fourteenth century.

The Lincoln copy of Magna Carta (lent for exhibition in New York in 1939 and lately returned) is displayed in the Cathedral : for an engraved facsimile, see *The Statutes of the Realm*, i, 9-13. Along with it is the Conqueror's charter to Bishop Remi sanctioning the removal of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln.

The Cathedral Library. The following notes are contributed by Canon W. H. Kynaston, the Librarian. The north side of the Cloister, and the Library above it, were built from the designs of Christopher Wren in 1674. The ante-room to the Library is all that a fire in 1609 left of the old library, built about 1420-22 ; the Library proper, built from Wren's design at the expense of Dean Honeywood, extends over the whole length of the north Cloister walk (104 feet), with bookcases designed by Wren on its north side and doorway likewise at its east end, richly ornamented and containing the arms of Honeywood.

In the ante-room are a licence of Edward I dated 1285 granting permission for the walling of the Close by the Dean and Chapter, and the chalices, patens, and episcopal rings found in the tombs of Bishops Grosseteste, Gravesend, and Oliver Sutton. In the Wren Library are three early lecterns for chained books, and more than 9,000 volumes, with some 298 manuscripts. The early printed books include 118 incunabula, 1,543 works printed between 1501 and 1640, and a fine series of Bibles and Psalters. On a fly-leaf inserted into the twelfth-century Great Bible here is the earliest list of books belonging to the Cathedral : it enumerates 45 books as found present when Hamo took office as Chancellor, in 1150. The Library also has a notable collection of Broadsides, many associated with the Civil War.

The Close, with its wall, gates, and houses, and the Bishop's Palace, was succinctly described in the Report of the Institute's 1909 Meeting.⁴ In the *Exchequer Gate*, itself also there described, is housed the Diocesan Record Office, on which the following note is contributed by the Archivist, Mrs. Joan Varley.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.*, lxvi, 354-7, with plan of the Bishop's Palace. Cf. 1848 *Meeting Volume*,

1-18 (Palace, with plan), 291-4 (Deanery),
295 (St. Mary's Conduit).

LINCOLN DIOCESAN RECORD OFFICE

The Lincoln Diocesan Record Office was established in 1936 with a grant made by the Pilgrim Trust, in response to a request of the then Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Nugent Hicks, in order to carry on the work voluntarily undertaken by the late Canon C. W. Foster in the previous thirty-three years, Miss Kathleen Major being appointed archivist.

The records are of much more than local interest, since the diocese of Lincoln, before the Reformation, covered eight and a half counties, losing Northampton, Rutland and Oxford in 1541, but retaining Leicester, Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon and part of Hertford until the nineteenth century. These records have been produced in the course of administration of the diocese, and are preserved in their present home because they were received or compiled in the course of diocesan business. The main series of records is the episcopal rolls and registers, beginning at the time of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-35, whose Institution Rolls are the earliest known in this or any other English diocese. Besides the records of institutions, the rolls and registers contain memoranda, consisting of such items as copies of royal writs, ordination lists, licences to clergy for absence from their benefices for various purposes, and dispensations for defect of birth. Another important series is the collection of presentation deeds, beginning in the late fifteenth century, some of which bear signatures of great personages and seals both of individuals and religious and educational corporations who were patrons of livings. The records also include resignation deeds, subscription books, visitation records of various types, court books recording proceedings in the church courts, inventories of the goods of deceased persons made for the purposes of probate, account books, terriers, faculties and transcripts of parish registers. Such a collection is of obvious importance to the ecclesiastical historian and the genealogist; it is not always realized that visitation records, accounts and inventories may be of great interest to the student of social and economic history.

Some of the records preserved in this office have been edited and printed for the Lincoln Record Society, whose volumes include the following rolls and registers of the bishops:

Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, 1209-35, 3 volumes, Lincoln Record Society. Volumes 3 (1912), 6 (1913) and 9 (1914).

Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, 1235-53, ibid. Volume 11 (1914).

Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, 1258-79, ibid. Volume 20 (1925).

Lincoln Episcopal Records in the time of Thomas Cooper, 1571-84, ibid. Volume 2 (1912).

Taken also from the episcopal registers and visitation books are:

Visitations of Religious Houses, 1420-49, 3 volumes, Lincoln Record Society volumes 7 (1914), 14 (1918) and 21 (1929).

Other records of visitations taken from Visitation Books are:

Diocesan Visitations, 1517-31, 2 volumes, ibid., volumes 33 (1940) and 35 (1944), with a third volume in preparation, and the *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolniensis*, 1705-23, ibid., volume 4 (1913), a volume based on visitation returns.

The State of the Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, ibid., volume 23 (1926), contains a number of contemporary documents preserved in this office. Lincoln Record Society volumes in course of preparation include the Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-99, the Memoranda of Bishop Repingdon, 1405-19, and Churchwardens' Presentments, 1595-1631. In addition to these publications of the Lincoln Record Society, the *Liber Antiquus Hugonis de Welles* was printed privately, (Lincoln, 1888), and the *Inventarium Monumentorum Superstitionis* was edited by Edward Peacock under the title *English Church Furniture* (London, 1866).

The office is normally open, free of charge, to accredited students from Monday to Friday of each week, except during the month of September.

2. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL : THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY DESIGN FOR THE WEST FRONT.

By F. SAXL

The façade of the Lincoln *pronaos* (pl. xii), to use J. C. Buckler's old-fashioned term,⁵ was the most original section of the first Cathedral. We may say indeed—to anticipate the results of this paper—that no comparable façade exists either on the continent or in England.

What are the outstanding characteristics of this façade? Three tall and deep vaulted recesses flanked by two niches form the front. The south elevation (pl. xiii and fig. 1) shows the same motifs as the front—an arched recess and a niche—while the north side has the niche only. These great arches and niches make a heavy block, 35 feet wider (110 feet) than the nave and aisles (75 feet). The re-entrant angle at both ends of the façade articulates the unit formed by the front and the sides without splitting it, because the two niches around the corners unite the parts more firmly than the angles divide them.

The façade is designed in two planes: first, the outside wall with the gable, the small windows and the two curious shallow niches let into the piers on either side of the main portal; secondly, behind this outer façade, the rear walls of the recesses, which are continued above in the towers. The towers, in other words, rise up well behind—in fact, 11 feet behind—the frontal block. The ground-plan (fig. 1) reveals the reason for this arrangement: the front is composed of the four buttresses for the towers, two at the angles, two in the middle. The centre buttresses are brought forward so that deep recesses are formed between them, and the outer buttresses are hollowed out into niches. Thus a foreground plane is built up, to which the towers form the background.

This conception is not without vigour and grandeur. The three arches strike the dominant note, and the niches provide a harmonious decrescendo. The repetition of the arches in depth (pl. xiv, b) produces striking effects of light and shadow, and there are no decorative features to mitigate the impression of severe monumentality. The worshipper stands over-awed in front of the Cathedral.

Only at a certain distance is this effect moderated (pl. xiv a), so that we perceive that the lower block forms the base of the rising towers.

Dr. John Bilson, in his brilliant paper on 'The plan of the first Cathedral Church of Lincoln',⁶ although recognizing that the western work of the Cathedral 'stands almost alone as a magnificently original piece of monumental building', states that it 'presents strong analogies with what had just been built, or was then being built, at the west end of Saint-Étienne and at Saint-Nicolas at Caen'.⁷

Bilson intended to make the work at the west end of Lincoln the subject of

⁵ J. C. Buckler's *A Description and Defence of the Restorations of the Exterior of Lincoln Cathedral*, (Oxford, 1866), contains by far the most accurate and extensive information on our subject (286 pages). The photograph reproduced (pl. xii) by kind permission of the Librarian of the Victoria and Albert Museum was taken probably

about 1860, and shows the façade without the three steps in front of the church (compare pl. xiv, a). These steps, as well as those leading down to the space in front of the church, are later accretions.

⁶ *Archæologia*, lxii, part 2 (1911), 564, 545.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 545, note 4.

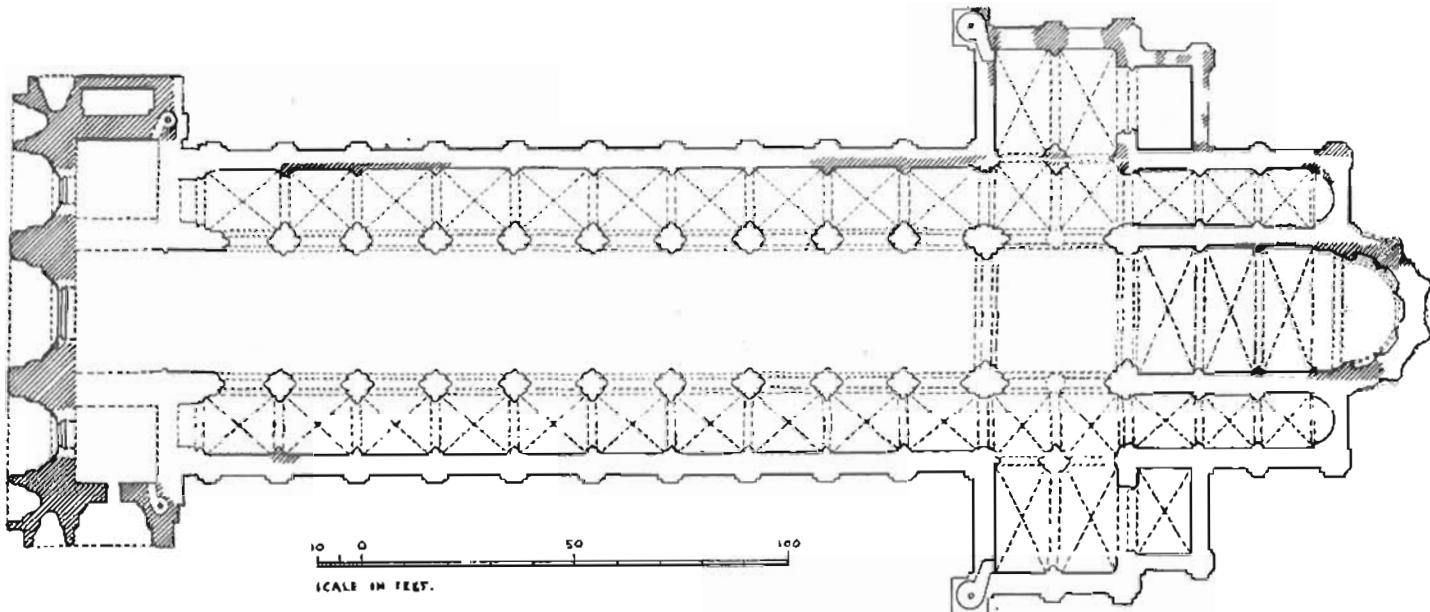
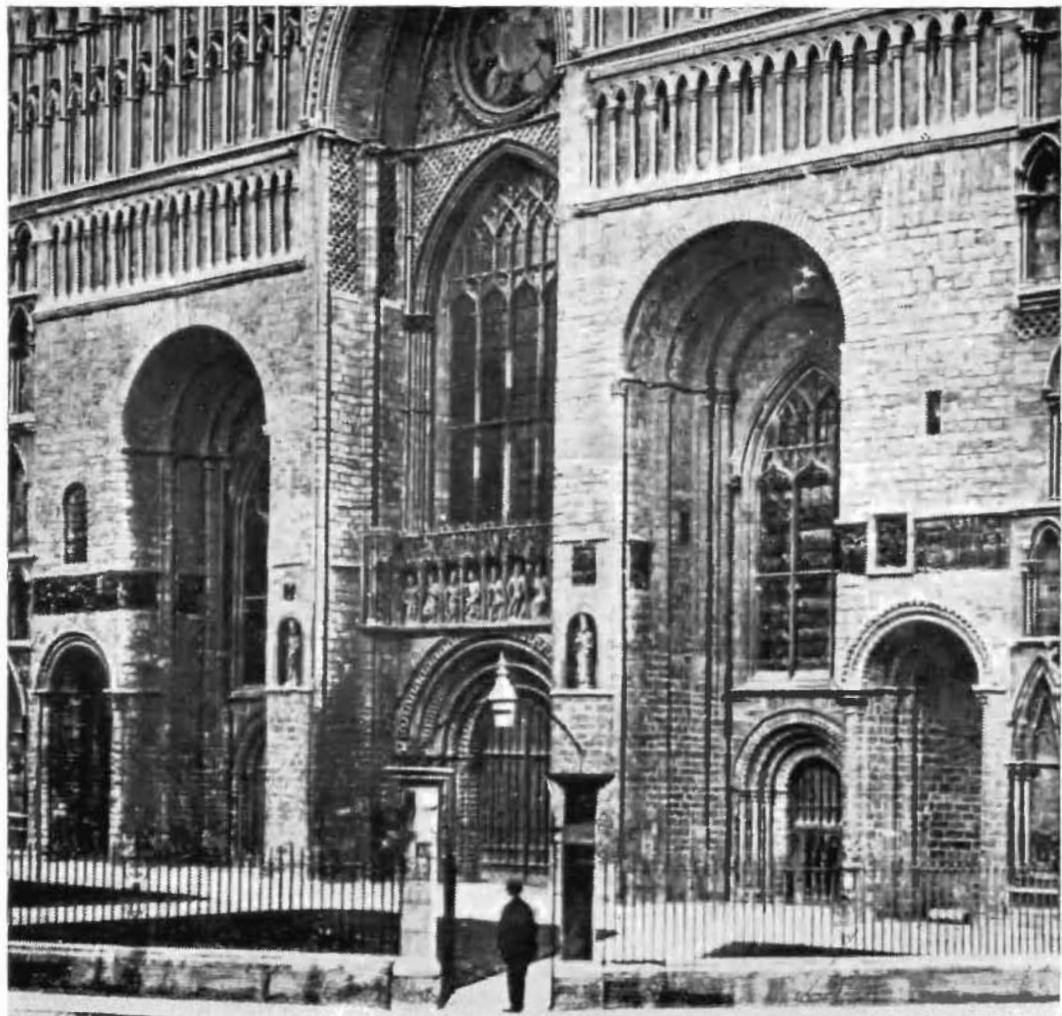
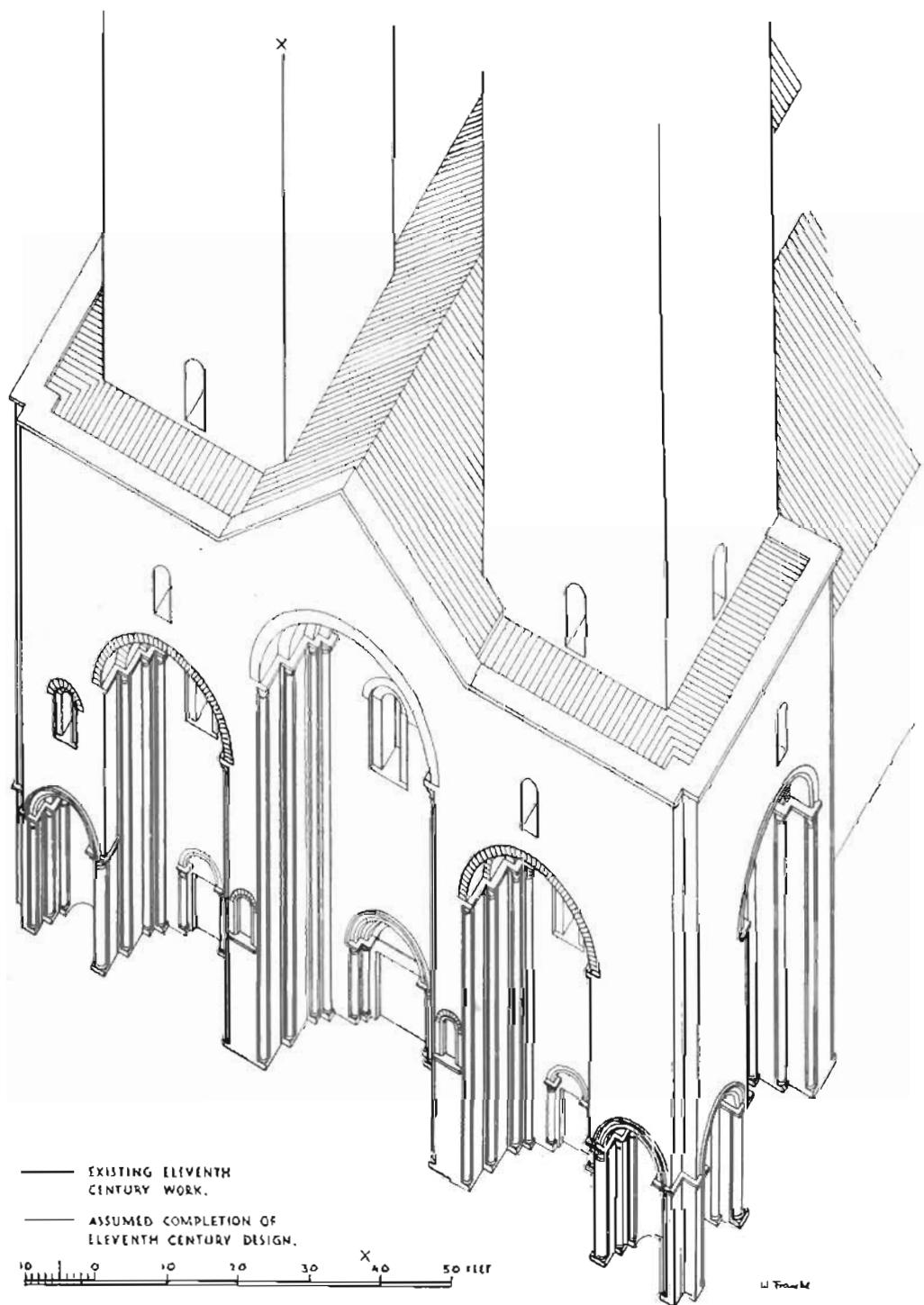


FIG. I. PLAN OF THE FIRST CATHEDRAL OF LINCOLN. AFTER J. BILSON
(WITH ALTERATIONS BY W. FRANKL: COMPARE PL. XI, P. 103)



LINCOLN : WEST FRONT, AFTER AN OLD PHOTOGRAPH IN THE
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM (p. 105)

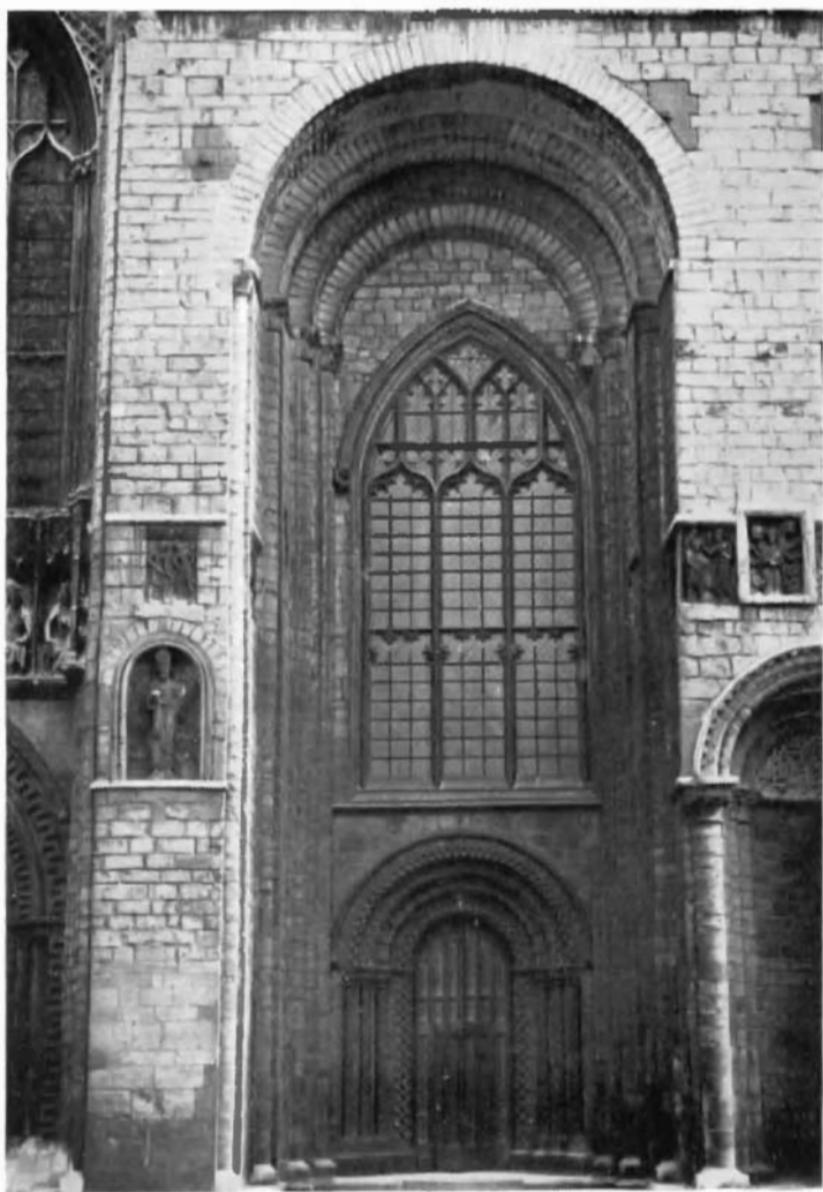
PLATE XIII



LINCOLN : RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY WEST FRONT
BY W. FRANKL



(a) LINCOLN : GENERAL VIEW SHOWING THE TOWERS RISING
BEHIND THE FAÇADE



(b) THE SOUTHERN RECESS OF THE LINCOLN FAÇADE



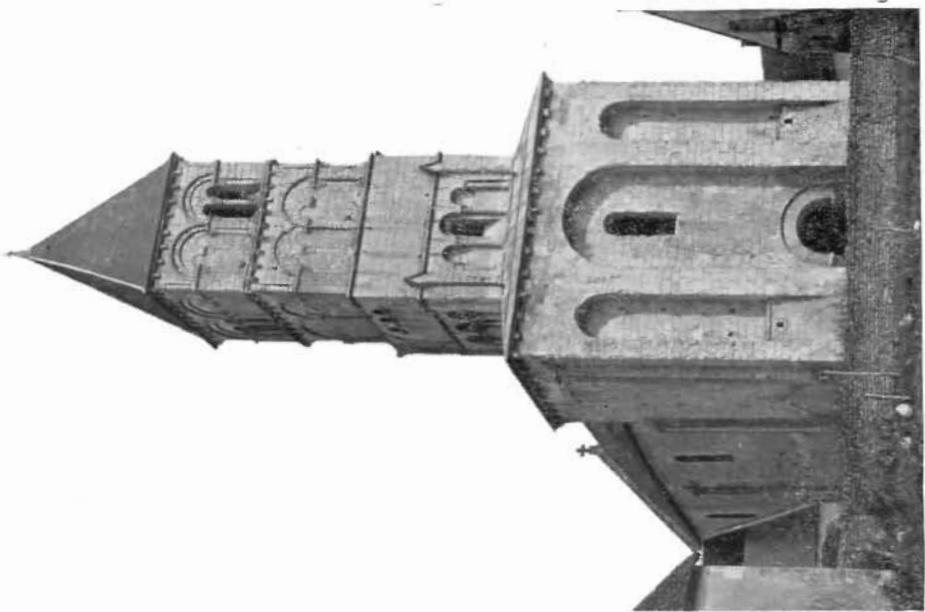
(a) LIÈGE, ST. BARTHOLOMEW
(p. 110)



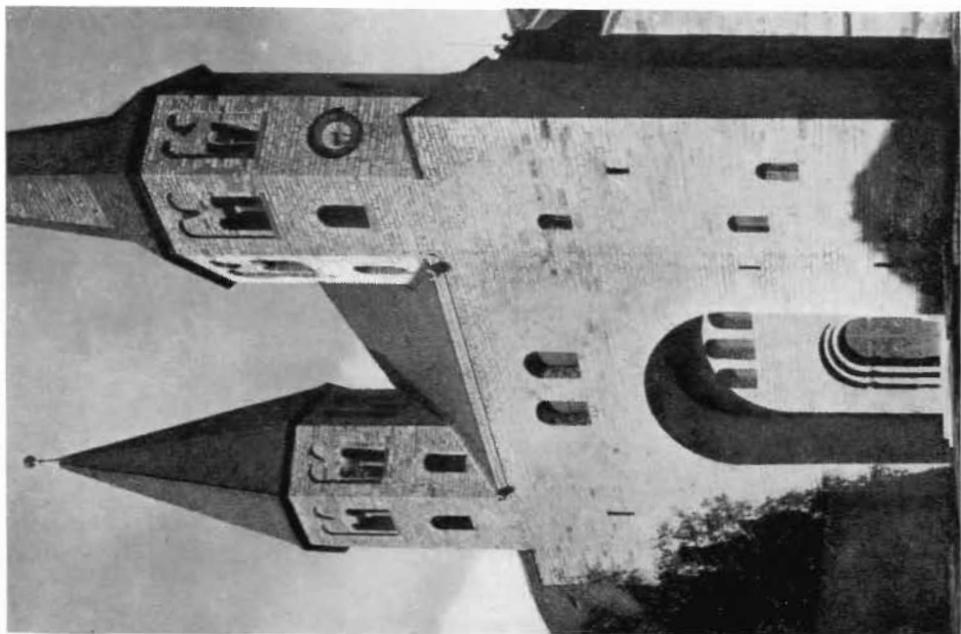
(b) RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY FAÇADE OF
ST. MARK'S VENICE : DETAIL (p. 111)



(c) RHEIMS, THE ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH (p. 110)
(PHOT. GIRAUDON)



(b) FAÇADE OF GERMIGNY-L'EXEMPT (CHER)
(p. 112)



(a) FAÇADE OF ST. PETER AT WIMPFEN IM TAL
(p. 112)



(a) NICHE FROM THE SOUTHERN ANGLE
OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE



(b) THE NORTHERN NICHE OF THE LINCOLN
FAÇADE



(c) TRIFORIUM ARCHES AT SAINT-ÉTIENNE
AT CAEN (AFTER E. GALL)

(see pp. 112-115)



(d) DETAIL OF THE NICHE ON THE NORTH
WALL OF LINCOLN FRONT

a separate study, but when he died in 1943 this study had not been published. It is difficult to be sure what similarities he may have seen between the three façades, because their dissimilarities are much more striking. St. Nicolas has between the towers an open portico consisting of three bays; its entrance is supported by two pillars, and the main door is at its rear.⁸ This is a feature quite exceptional in Norman architecture and there is certainly no analogy to it in Lincoln. The towers stand in the front plane and not behind it. And lastly, the breadth of the façade is equal to that of the Church.

The façade of St. Étienne (fig. 2) has often been described in recent years because it is rightly considered as the type from which the façades of the early Gothic churches are derived.⁹ It is a perfect frontispiece, perhaps the most perfect pre-Gothic frontispiece that exists. Its doors, windows and towers are all in one plane; the side elevations are separated from the front by heavy buttresses, and they do not extend beyond the aisles. Neither of the churches at Caen have tall and deep recesses, nor niches at the corners.

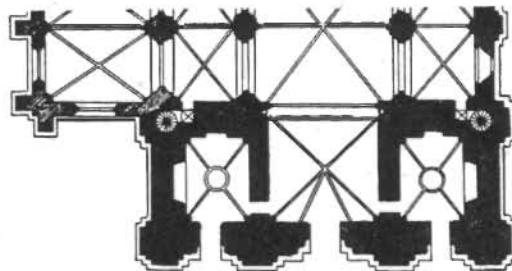


FIG. 2. SAINT-ÉTIENNE AT CAEN (AFTER CONGRES ARCH. 1908)

What Bilson may have had in mind is that the master of Lincoln Cathedral was certainly faced with the same problem as the architects of the two churches in Caen, a problem then new and vital to Norman and indeed to European architecture: the problem of finding the best way of relating the two-tower block to the church. To solve it the architect of St. Nicolas created a separate unit, viz. the portico flanked by buttressed towers. The Lincoln master was not in sympathy with this solution. At St. Étienne the heavy buttresses and foundation walls of the tower form oblong chambers in front of the aisles. They are entered by the side doors of the façade, but are not open to the aisles. Through the main door, however, we enter an ante-room connected both with the nave and with the rooms under the towers. At Lincoln the interior arrangement may originally have been planned on similar lines to that at St. Étienne, but unfortunately it has been almost completely destroyed by subsequent alterations.¹⁰

The façades of St. Trinité at Caen and of the Cathedral of Bayeux are variations of the same theme.¹¹ Bayeux (fig. 3) is, however, particularly interesting in relation

⁸ Congrès archéologique de France (Caen, 1908), i, 58.

⁹ Ibid, 44, and H. Schaefer, 'Origin of the two-tower façade in Romanesque architecture', *Art Bulletin*, xxvii (1927), 85.

¹⁰ However, the remains of Norman arches which are visible above the vault of the present rooms under the towers seem to indicate that these rooms were originally open towards the nave and aisles.

¹¹ Congrès l.c., 18, 165ff.

to Lincoln. It had originally a middle door and two entrances in each of the towers.¹² This strange fivefold arrangement in front of a building with only two aisles was conditioned by two buttresses placed in the centre of the towers, which bring the number of buttresses up to six with five intervals. Counting the 'spurs' in the

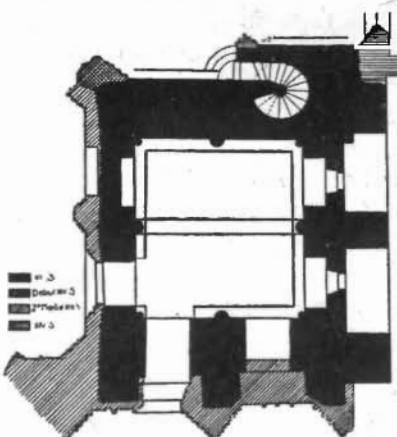


FIG. 3. SOUTHERN HALF OF THE FAÇADE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF BAYEUX
(AFTER BULL. MON. 1923)

angles at Lincoln (fig. 4) as separate buttresses, and the two niches at the far ends of the front as the equivalent of doors, one might say that Lincoln had a similar arrangement. We do not know how the old façade of Bayeux was finished, but it is most surprising to see that the Gothic architect transformed the Romanesque

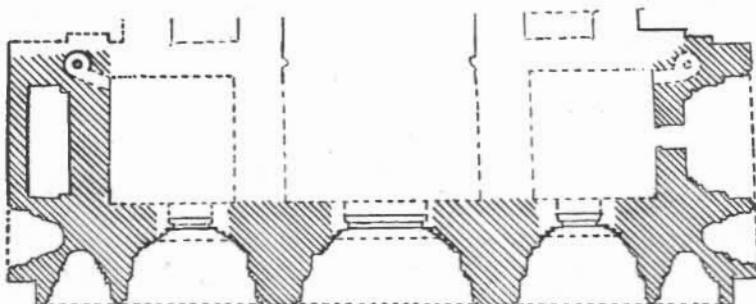


FIG. 4. LINCOLN: PLAN OF THE FAÇADE (AFTER J. BILSON)

wall with its five doors into three bays plus two blind niches, the latter in fact corresponding to those at Lincoln. These observations indicate that Bilson's remarks, which at the first glance seemed without foundation, contain an important truth. Starting from the Norman idea of the two-tower façade with buttresses—as at Bayeux—a great and original mind could have arrived at certain essential features of the Lincoln solution. But knowledge of Norman architecture alone

¹² J. Vallery-Radot in *Bulletin monumental*, lxxxii (1923), 65-94.

would not have been enough to enable the architect of Lincoln to reach his extraordinary plan and elevation ; he must also have been familiar with ideas from other parts of Europe.

There are three main features which cannot be explained from Norman analogies : first, the treatment of front and sides as a unified western block (pl. XIII) ; secondly, the three recesses (pl. XIV, a) ; and thirdly, the four niches (pl. XVII, b).

The termination of the body of the church at the west with an oblong block of considerable extension is a feature well known from Carolingian architecture

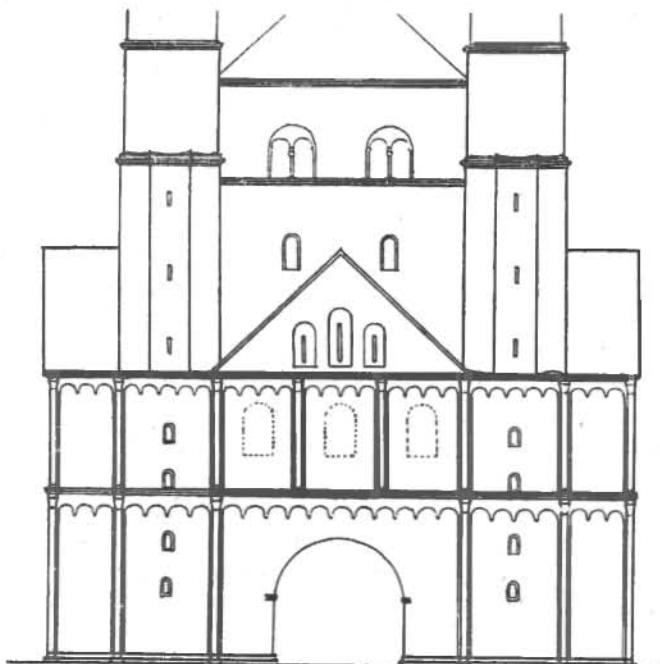


FIG. 5. ST. PANTALEON AT COLOGNE (AFTER D. GRUBER)

onwards¹³ ; it occurs—to mention only two of the most famous monuments—in the abbey churches of St. Riquier (near Abbeville, a few miles from the Channel coast) and of Fulda, and this pattern persists, with considerable alterations, into the eleventh and even into the twelfth century. St. Pantaleon at Cologne (fig. 5) is a good eleventh-century example showing a massive block on the west and the tendency to treat its three sides as a definite architectural unit.¹⁴ The façade of the narthex of St. Philibert at Tournus,¹⁵ which dates from the early eleventh century, with its two towers and the uniform treatment of the front and the sides, shows how the scheme could be modified. Here, however, the block does not protrude beyond the aisles. A twelfth-century group of churches on

¹³ E. Gall, *Karolingische und ottonische Kirchen* (Burg, 1930).

¹⁴ D. Gruber, 'Das Westwerk', *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Ver. f. Kunsthistorie*, iii (1936), 164.

¹⁵ F. Deshoulieres, *Éléments d'art roman en France* (1936), 14, pl. V.

the Meuse, which spring unquestionably from Carolingian traditions,¹⁶ shows the uniformly developed oblong block wider than the body of the church, and also a further feature which reminds us strongly of Lincoln: the towers recede behind the plane of a front which embodies the foundations of the towers (Liège, St. James and St. Bartholomew (pl. xv, a); Maastricht, St. Servatius). Fels and Reinhardt, therefore, in their interesting paper on the Carolingian 'églises porches' and their survival in Romanesque art,¹⁷ describe St. Servatius in Maastricht not as a two-tower façade but as a 'massif de façade surmonté de deux clochers', with towers 'en retraite'.¹⁸ These twelfth-century examples prove, I think, that the west front of Lincoln too is descended from the Carolingian *Westwerke*. These had already been adopted in Pre-Conquest England: both Canterbury and Ely seem to have been built in this way, and Clapham has suggested that the twelfth-century rebuilders of Ely Cathedral, where the western transept can still be seen, copied it from the earlier façade, which existed at the time when Lincoln was built.¹⁹ We know nothing of the details of either eleventh-century Canterbury or Ely, but we cannot exclude the possibility that Bishop Remigius and his architect were influenced by the design of the old Metropolitan Church, which was just then being rebuilt by Lanfranc after the fire of 1067. Another factor which may very well have been decisive is this: Bishop Remigius came from Fécamp. During the tenth century the Abbey church of Fécamp had probably been rebuilt with a great western block by Richard I, duke of Normandy. Dudo of St. Quentin describes it as a 'delubrum, turribus hinc inde et altrinsecus praebalteatum', a temple whose front was on all sides set about with towers.²⁰ Nothing else seems to be known about this building, but Fels and Reinhardt²¹ are probably right in interpreting Dudo's description as that of a 'Carolingian' west-church. It is just possible that Remigius was remembering this church at Fécamp—where he had served as an almoner—when he decided that the elevation of the façade of his new church must depart from the eleventh-century Norman tradition. But from wherever Remigius drew his inspiration²² it is certain that his church with its 'massif de façade surmonté de deux clochers en retraite' forms a link in the chain of buildings descended from Carolingian architecture, a chain which ends with the Meuse churches.

The western block, however, does not alone account for the singularity of the Lincoln composition. The façade of St. Trinité in Caen, for example, is also wider than the church, and yet there is not there the contrast between the front and the body of the church which there was at Lincoln. This contrast is due to the tall recesses, which are nowhere to be met with in Norman or French architecture. We may think of a Roman triumphal arch, with three similar archways, like the Arc de Triomphe at Rheims (pl. xv, c), as a source of inspiration for the Norman

¹⁶ A. Verbeck, 'Romanische Westchorhallen an Maas und Rhein', *Westdeutsches Jahrbuch f. Kunstgeschichte*, Wallraf-Richartz Mus., Köln, ix (1936), 59-87.

¹⁷ E. Fels and R. Reinhardt, 'Études sur les églises porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman', *Bull. mon.*, xcii (1933), 331ff; xcvi (1937), 425ff.

¹⁸ Ibid., 442ff.

¹⁹ A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, i (1930), 86ff, 90, 94.

²⁰ V. Mortet, *Recueil des textes*, i (1911), 344, note 1, and E. Fels and R. Reinhardt, op. cit. (1933), 354.

²¹ Fels and Reinhardt, ibid.

²² Fels and Reinhardt, op. cit., 353, are of the opinion that in the eleventh century the plan of the Cathedral at Rheims also conformed to the Carolingian tradition.

master. But the aesthetic values are essentially different. At Lincoln (pl. XII) the dominant impression is of the wall and the wall alone, with its even surface and the deep shadows of its recesses. The detail is unimportant. The balance between the columns and the wall, between columns and architrave, of a Roman triumphal arch is missing; the slender nookshafts at Lincoln do not even pretend to carry the vault. Their function is to emphasize the great height of the arches and at the same time to give a rhythmical movement to the recession of the walls. It seems unlikely that familiarity with some triumphal arch or other in Gaul was enough to lead an architect to invent the Lincoln façade.

Moreover, any suggestion of a resemblance between the Lincoln façade and a Roman triumphal arch is destroyed by an examination of the ground plan of the

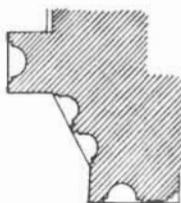


FIG. 6. DETAIL OF THE NORTH-WEST CORNER OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE
(AFTER L. MARANGONI)

façade (fig. 4). The arches at Lincoln are graded so as to form a bay; it is, therefore, likely that this arrangement follows the example of a façade opening into a series of arched recesses, rather than that of a triumphal arch with no 'bays', but thoroughfares.

Such a façade was just being built at the time when Lincoln was begun: the façade of St. Mark's in Venice (pl. XV, b).²³ From excavations carried out in 1912²⁴ we know that St. Mark's must have looked startlingly different from what it looks now; it was a brick building with neither marble incrustation nor columns. The curve of the bays was not simple, but articulated with half-columns and semi-circular niches (fig. 6). The central bay, taller than the others, was flanked by two long and narrow niches, and the piers between the bays were decorated with small niches very much like those at the sides of the main recess at Lincoln, which now contain the two figures of saints (pl. XII).

Wulff has rightly maintained that the façade of St. Mark's is closely connected with that of the Koimesis Church in Nicaea,²⁵ and this (on paper) looks at first glance even more similar to Lincoln than St. Mark's (fig. 7). But the arches at

²³ Certain details of this reconstruction—the only one which we know—are unreliable. It was made for Onganía's San Marco publication in the 1880's, (*La basilica di San Marco*, ed. C. Boito, 1888, vol. *Documenti*, pl. IX), and criticized in a note of the same work by R. Cattaneo (vol. *Testo*, p. 168, note 1). The brick decoration of the recesses is not shown (see our fig. 6), and the big central door should

not appear; it belongs to a later period. Cattaneo has also criticized the distribution of the windows.

²⁴ L. Marangoni, 'L'architetto ignoto di San Marco'. *Archivio Veneto*, xiii (1933), pp. 12ff of the offprint.

²⁵ O. Wulff, *Die Koimesis-Kirche in Nicaea* (1903), 147. For later photographs and drawings see Th. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche* (1927).

Nicaea are shallow, almost decorative.²⁶ They do not form recesses, as they do both in Venice and in Lincoln.

The Lincoln master went further than did the southern architect ; one element originally Byzantine, which in Venice was co-ordinated with a great variety of others, has been singled out and made into the main feature of a new creation. At Venice there are five arches and they are almost equal and form the base for five arches above. In Lincoln there are three recesses only, and they are so tall that the proportions show nothing left of southern measure.

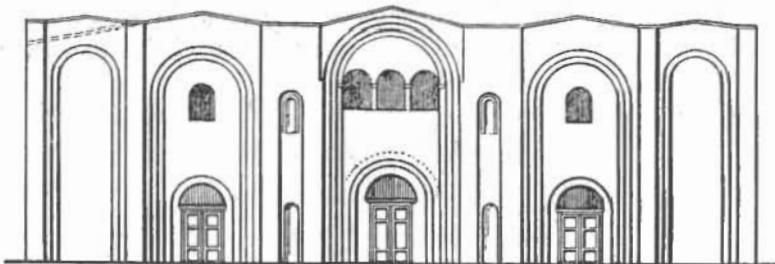


FIG. 7. KOIMESIS CHURCH AT NICAEA (AFTER O. WULFF)

Now on the Continent there was a tradition of tall arches on church façades. We know them from Charlemagne's chapel in Aix-la-Chapelle and from the church at Wimpfen in Tal (pl. xvi, a). In both cases there is only one arch, because the facade formed the entrance, not to a basilica, but to a centrally-planned building.²⁷ Wimpfen is similar to Lincoln in that it shows the tendency to emphasize the walls ; yet Lincoln is not descended from these isolated examples of earlier centuries.²⁸ I think we must inevitably conclude that the Lincoln architect was aware of the Byzantine tradition ; and most probably he knew it at St. Mark's ; that is, in its westernized shape.

The evidence becomes more cogent if we turn to the third of the 'foreign' elements mentioned above, the two semi-circular niches on the front (pl. XIII) each with an asymmetrical column on the side towards the recess (pl. XVII, b), and the two corresponding niches on the side elevations round the corners. Again analogies may be found elsewhere, but they are deceptive. Tall niches in front of the aisles at the sides of the central porch occur in Normandy at Huppain (Calvados),²⁹ and the façade of the 'clocher porche' at Germigny-l'Exempt (Cher)³⁰ consists only of three recesses, the centre one taller than the others (pl. XVI, b). These niches resemble the recesses at Lincoln in so far as they are also as tall as the church behind them, but they are quite shallow. The comparison makes the 'southern'

²⁶ Neither have those of the Pantocrator façade, which belongs to the same type, any considerable depth (about five feet). J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (1913), pl. XLVIII.

²⁷ See the useful thesis by K. Reissmann, *Romanische Portalarchitektur in Deutschland* (Munich, 1937).

²⁸ A façade like that at Pontorson (Manche), with its low and shallow recess, belongs evidently to a different type.

²⁹ V. Ruprich-Robert, *L'architecture normande*, ii, pl. XXXVII.

³⁰ F. Deshouillères in *Bull. mon.*, lxxxi (1922), 19ff., and R. Reinhardt and E. Fels, op. cit. (1937), 438. The narthex in front of the church at Chatel Montagne (Allier) has a most interesting façade : three open arches, three niches with windows above them, buttresses at the corners and between the nave and the aisles (phot. Arch. Phot. 3692). See *Bull. mon.*, lxiv (1905), 505-17.

character of the Lincoln niches doubly clear. The architect of Germigny l'Exempt had a similar preference for tall arches and wall formations ; but, being independent of the Byzantine tradition as manifested in St. Mark's, he created something quite different. At St. Mark's, however, we find at the corner of the façade, as in Lincoln, two vaulted niches, one towards the front, the other towards the side (fig. 6) ; and apparently³¹ they were also accompanied by an asymmetrical column (pl. XVII, a). The distance between the niches is greater than at Lincoln, and they are lower. But there is no doubt that the motif of two niches round the corner of a façade, which as far as my knowledge goes does not otherwise occur in Romanesque architecture, is at home in Byzantium ; it occurs not only in St. Mark's, but also in Constantinople at the Kilissé Djami (fig. 8), here again at the end of a series of

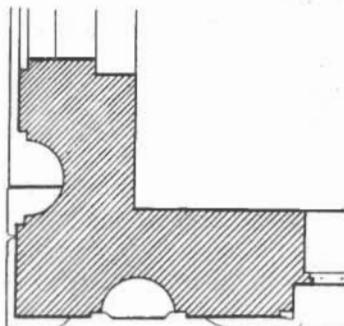


FIG. 8. NICHES AT THE NORTH ANGLE OF THE KILISSÉ DJAMI FAÇADE
(AFTER EBERSOLT AND THIERS)

arches.³² Certainly the Byzantine niches have a different shape and the meaning they carry in the architectural context in the south is different from the meaning they have in the north ; but this does not invalidate the argument that at Lincoln the niches, as well as the tall arched recesses are southern features.

Yet we have no reason to doubt that the Master of the fabric was of Norman descent and training. Not only do the nave and choir closely follow the Norman tradition ; the nook-shafts and all the capitals on the façade (pl. XVII, b, d) show a Norman character.³³ The stressing of the vertical lines which is so obvious on the Lincoln front is as incompatible with the Byzantine system as it is characteristic of early Norman buildings. The great arch over the crossing at Jumièges³⁴ is of similar proportions to the arch which preceded the present Gothic one over the main door at Lincoln ; in both cases the height is about double the width of the interval, whereas in St. Mark's the proportions are about 1 : 1.76. And nothing could be more typically Norman than the shafts in the recesses and niches. No other single

³¹ Neither from Marangoni's photograph (pl. XVII, a, here), nor from his plan (fig. 6), is it quite clear whether originally the columns were only on one side of the niches.

³² J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, op. cit., pl. XXXIV. Kilissé Djami is difficult to date, but even if it is later it shows that the motif was

known in the east, whereas it was not known in the west.

³³ Cf. Ruprich-Robert, op. cit., pl. XLV, 2. The weather moulding above the niches is also Norman in character ; see the mouldings of the windows on the apse of St. Nicolas in Caen.

³⁴ R. Martin du Gard, *Et. archéol. des ruines de Jumièges* (1909), pl. v.

feature of Norman architecture has roused the interest of antiquaries as much as the tall wall-shafts in Norman naves, because the architects seem to have used them even in cases where they did not intend to vault the ceiling. On the Lincoln façade there were vaults; and, following the Norman taste, the architect incorporated nookshafts although they can hardly have been necessary to support the structure.

A visitor from Caen, nevertheless, accustomed to buildings in pure Norman style, would have found Lincoln new and unfamiliar (fig. 9). Apart from the strange aspect of the façade he would find the nave to be longer than even that of St. Étienne, and the transept comparatively short.³⁵ This transept had to compete with the west block, which was only about 15 feet shorter than the transept. Walking round the choir, however, he would have felt more at home (fig. 10). With its many intersecting forms and the tower over the crossing, it must certainly have looked picturesque, like the east end of Cérisy-la-Forêt³⁶—as picturesque as anything could have looked in this style. But when he had made the tour round the choir his eyes would have fallen again on the powerful west block, sparsely decorated only with nookshafts at the corners. At St. Étienne, St. Trinité or St. Nicolas the buttresses of the towers were on the outside, tapering upwards and eventually merging into the walls of the towers; in other words there was a clear and articulated vertical movement, sustained by the lines of the buttresses along the walls of the aisles, and continued in the central tower. But here, in the west part of Lincoln, the buttresses did not appear; in their stead there appeared the deep vaulted recesses, and from the centre of the block rose the heavy towers. Our visitor could not have been accustomed to such a variety of views, for he was faced not with an attempt to achieve a unified organism, but with a design based on one great contrast, front versus choir. The heavy forms were concentrated on the front, whereas narrow and high shapes (the transept) and picturesque intersections were reserved for the east. No doubt the effect may have been bewildering, but it must have been most impressive. Were our visitor himself a master-mason, a study of the details of the plan of the front (fig. 4) would have roused his curiosity and his critical faculties. The re-entrant angles at the corners occur in Normandy,³⁷ but they occur naturally where the front buttresses meet the side buttresses. In Lincoln the motif becomes almost decorative, because here we have a 'meeting', not of buttresses, but of niches. A spur of wall, only about 1 ft. 6 in. wide at its narrowest point, juts out between the niches, and is deeply indented at its end (about 2 ft. 6 in. deep), as if it were only there because the architect felt the need to conform to the conventional type of the façade with angles re-entrant. But it was the transformation of buttresses into recesses that would have shocked him. Being a Norman he would have been accustomed to deep recessed arches. He knew the shape of such arches well from the triforium of St. Étienne (pl. XVII, c.).³⁸ But to give depth to the façade (and a considerable depth at that) and to make it appear even deeper by narrowing down the intervals between the shafts—this was contrary to his whole conception of the nature of a façade as a buttressed wall pierced by doors. In his country they had just begun to widen and organize the entrances by decorating

³⁵ J. Bilson, *Archaeologia*, lxii, 561.

³⁶ Congrès I.c. (see n. 8, p. 107), ii, plate after p. 578.

³⁷ As in St. Etienne.

³⁸ E. Gall, *Die gotische Baukunst in Frankreich und Deutschland* (1925), 74.



FIG. 9. CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST CATHEDRAL
OF LINCOLN (BY W. FRANKL: COMPARE FIGS. 10, 12)

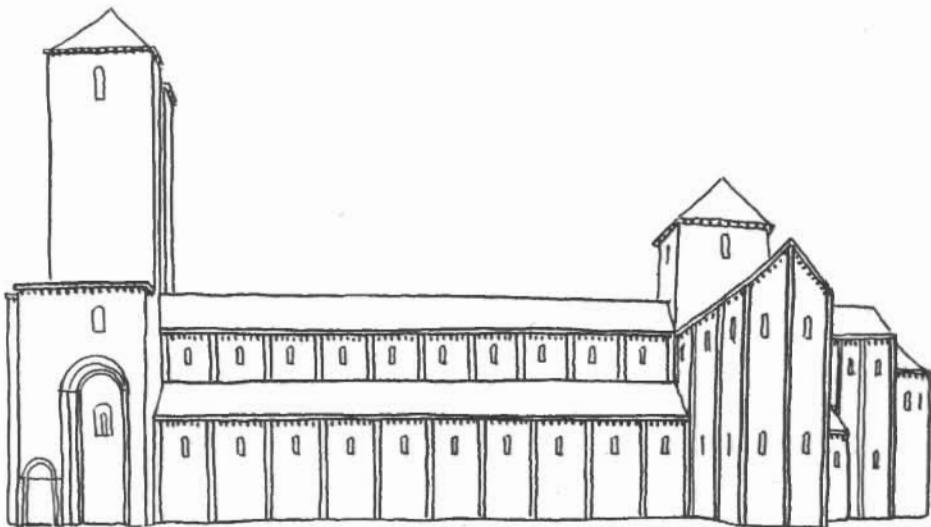


FIG. 10. CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST CATHEDRAL
OF LINCOLN (BY W. FRANKL: COMPARE FIGS. 9, 12)

the recessed walls with columns and crowning them with recessed arches.³⁹ But the porches were modest and almost formed part of the wall. Here, it seemed as if the new idea of the recessed Romanesque doorway had been developed on an enormous scale, both in height and in depth. Our good Norman might have admired the conception, but would hardly have felt inclined to follow the lead.

³⁹ K. Erdmann, 'Zur Genesis des romanischen Stufenportals', *Repertorium f. Kunsthissenschaft*, li (1930), 194, note 1.

In the light of later history our own judgement may in some points agree with his, in others differ from it. The future did not belong to a design based on a contrast between western and eastern parts, the inheritance of Carolingian architecture : the future belonged to the St. Étienne type. But our Norman visitor's criticism of the recesses may in fact not be so historically sound as would appear. The ground-plan of the Lincoln front (fig. 4) and that of a developed Gothic cathedral, like Laon, Rheims (fig. 11) or Amiens, look astonishingly similar to one another. True, the difference is as obvious as the resemblance. But the idea of deep and internally graded recesses in front of the entrance, which the Lincoln architect developed at the end of the eleventh century, became the leading idea all over the Continent. To this extent the Lincoln master is a true forerunner of the architects of the Gothic period.

I do not think his ideas became known on the continent. In England the twelfth-century architect of Tewkesbury⁴⁰ made one tall recess the main feature

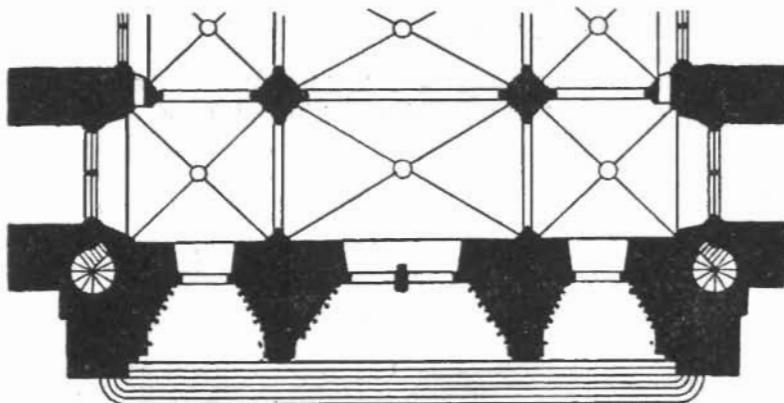


FIG. 11. RHEIMS CATHEDRAL : PLAN OF THE FAÇADE (AFTER DEHIO AND BEZOLD)

of his façade, in clear imitation of Lincoln. It is more surprising, as Professor Geoffrey Webb has pointed out, that even in the thirteenth century the master of the Gothic façade of Peterborough⁴¹ imitated the three tall Lincoln arches, translating the detail from the Romanesque into the Gothic idiom. He erected a screen in front of the Romanesque church which from a distance creates the impression of three deep recesses. He could do so because the Lincoln architect had anticipated the Gothic idea of the church front with deep bays receiving the visitor before he enters the church.

Since the Lincoln façade is unique, it is not possible to ascertain from analogies how the first architect planned the upper part of its structure. He may have planned to have a gable over the central arch and a straight line of parapet above the side arches (see pl. XIII), in a style which we know from the twelfth-century Meuse churches. Alternatively, he may have planned to have three gables (fig. 12).

⁴⁰ A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, ii, pl. XII.

⁴¹ K. Escher, *Englische Kathedralen* (1929), pl. XCIII.

The elevation did not lend itself to gables in front of the towers because the recesses are accompanied by niches, and so do not stand centrally to the tower elevations. A gable would accentuate the centre of the recess ; consequently, its centre could not coincide with that of the tower. But whether this reasoning would have appealed to the eleventh-century architect or not is difficult to say, as the twelfth-century successor who finished the elevation undoubtedly did so with three gables without paying much attention to the relation between their centres and those of the recesses.

With the twelfth-century transformation of the façade a new phase begins. The portals were enlarged and adorned ; the band of reliefs was inserted above the niches ; highly decorated gables were added in front of the aisles ; and the towers

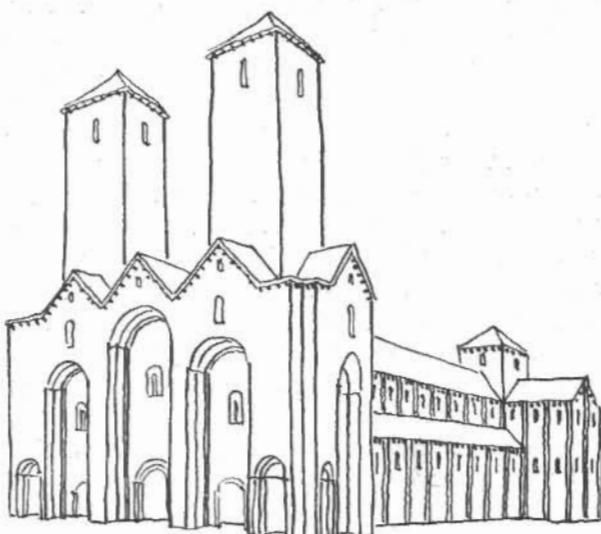


FIG. 12. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST LINCOLN FAÇADE WITH THREE GABLES (BY W. FRANKL : COMPARE FIGS. 9, 10)

were completed with rich and tasteful detail. The twelfth-century history of the façade, though the author hopes to approach it in the near future, is outside the scope of this article.

Everybody interested in Lincoln Cathedral is aware of his debt to Mr. R. S. Godfrey, Surveyor and Clerk of Works to the Dean and Chapter, who fought for the preservation of the fabric and saved it when in the 1920's it was threatened with ruin. The author is however under a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Godfrey, for the kind and active help which he received on many occasions. In particular, he allowed Mr. Frankl and the author the full use of his original drawings of plan and sections, the result of many years of labour. Neither Mr. Frankl's reconstruction, nor the article itself would have been possible without Mr. Godfrey's generosity.

NOTES ON THE RECONSTRUCTION

By W. FRANKL

The reconstruction is based on the drawings made by Mr. Godfrey for his work on the reinforcement of the structure. These drawings do not include the sections of the lower part of the south-west tower, and a number of details which would have been of importance for our reconstruction could therefore not be ascertained. More information than is at present available would also have been needed to reconstruct the interior of the west block and its links with nave and aisles.

In the plan on fig. 1 the existing walls, and those shown by the excavations to have existed, are drawn in hatched lines. The plan differs from Bilson's plan (pl. xi) in two small particulars : 1, the correct position of the staircases was settled by Mr. Godfrey's discovery, in September, 1922, of the head of the Norman staircase in the north tower, and the plan has been adjusted accordingly ; 2, the outside wall of the west block, where it joins the nave on the south side, is still visible above the roof, and the outline on our plan is in accordance with this evidence.

It must be pointed out, however, that the east side of the towers raises a particular problem which has not been solved. Under the buttresses, which were reinforced when the Gothic architect erected the flying buttresses along the nave, the line of an earlier roof can still be seen. This line is traceable along the whole width of the towers and extends beyond the points which Bilson had assumed in his reconstruction to have been the limits of the original church.

As regards the elevation, three designs are suggested as possible solutions, for this reason. The original wall above the side recesses on the west side terminates to-day about 1 ft. above the arches. Between the receding arches which form the vault of the recesses oblong spaces are left open, like slots. It has been assumed that these slots served purposes of defence and that through them burning pitch and other materials were to be hurled down upon attackers. The slots would therefore have to have been accessible and might have been reached either by open or by covered passages. In fig. 9 an open passage is assumed and the front wall is therefore not higher than the present height of the original stonework. On pl. XIII the passage is assumed to have been covered, and the wall is therefore considerably higher. This solution seems aesthetically the most satisfactory one. Fig. 12 also suggests a covered passage, but with gables in front of the aisles and a gable on the south side (see text, p. 116).

The re-entrant angles at the corners of the façade are shown on all three designs. They cannot have been made by the Gothic masons when the new parts were joined to the original building as Buckler had assumed, because they are clearly visible below the level of the Gothic structure.

Fig. 10 shows a design which is highly hypothetical. The silhouette of the choir follows that of Cerisy-la-Forêt.

3. THE STAINED GLASS DECORATION OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By JEAN LAFOND,

Sometime President of the Academy of Rouen.

Honorary Member of the Institute

I. INTRODUCTION

At our Lincoln Meeting of 1848, Charles Winston gave an *Account of the painted glass in Lincoln Cathedral and Southwell Minster*¹ in which his historical system and his aesthetic doctrine were put forward for the first time. This pioneer of archaeological science had carefully looked at the glass in the cathedral in order to determine its chronology, but he had been content with describing the North Rose. Nine years later, about the same Rose, which had just been reloaded under his eyes by Hughes, he wrote another paper, full of precious observations on the manufacture of coloured glass.²

The author here devotes a bare half-dozen lines to the eight legendary panels which have been used to stop its gaps. He has made an admirable drawing of one of them, but he misnames it. He passes even more rapidly before the medallions in the four lancets of the South transept and before those of the East windows of the choir aisles, for which he accepts a wrong identification by E. J. Willson. At this period of his life, Winston is chiefly interested in complete windows, the composition of which can be analysed in the hope of discovering the peculiar traits of an epoch.

The same point of view is shared by L. F. Day, 'le plus artiste des historiens du vitrail', whose list of *windows worth seeing* leaves Lincoln out. Another conspicuous writer, whose opinion on the origin of the Lincoln windows will be discussed later on, N. H. J. Westlake, has made here a few sketches, and he has reproduced some beautiful tracings lent by Hughes and by E. J. Willson. But he finds no time for a catalogue. Neither do Hugh Arnold and Herbert Read, who could not spare one plate of their handsome books for the Lincoln glass. The first to tackle the necessary task, with the valuable help of Dr. M. R. James, was Dr. Philip Nelson, in his *Ancient Painted Glass in England* (1913). His concise list of subjects formed the basis of the interesting and convenient *Guide to the Mediaeval Glass in Lincoln Cathedral* compiled in 1933 by the Rev. Christopher Woodforde, with illustrations borrowed from Winston, Westlake, etc. But it will readily be understood that neither of these competent authors was at liberty to indulge in the requisite critical discussions.

The present study, begun at the Lincoln Meeting of the Institute in 1909^{2a}, and taken up again after some forty years of other avocations, can make no claim to

¹ *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute at the annual meeting at Lincoln, 1848.* Partly reprinted in *Memoirs illustrative of the art of glass painting* (London, 1865), 77-105.

² * On the Glazing of the North Rose window

of Lincoln Cathedral', *Arch. Journ.*, xiv. 1857. Reprinted in *Memoirs, etc.*, 222-230.

^{2a} At that early stage of my work, I received much encouragement and effective help from Miss Ethel Knox-Little, now Mme. Albert Levé, to whom this paper is gratefully dedicated.

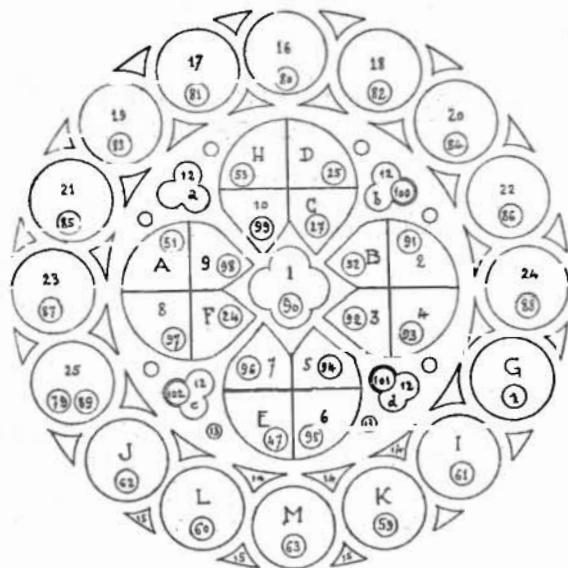
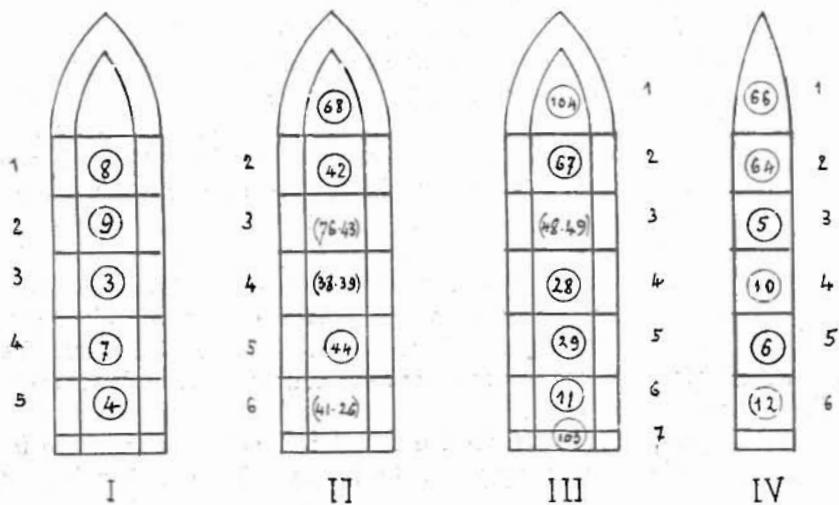


FIG. 1. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL: DIAGRAM OF THE NORTH ROSE WINDOW

final completeness. Many elements are still wanting; first of all, an inventory of that treasury of ornament, the South Rose. My only ambition is to show that in bestowing some attention to mere 'waifs and strays', it is possible to gain a clear and true view of the stained glass decoration of the most majestic and lovely cathedral in England, as it stood in its prime glory.



South Transept

FIG. 2. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL:

DIAGRAM OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT LANCET WINDOWS

The North Rose is the only part of that decoration which has remained *in situ* (diagram, fig. 1). The rest of the thirteenth-century glass has been brought together in the transept (diagram for S. transept, fig. 2) and in the East windows of the choir aisles (diagram, fig. 3). Charles Winston heard from E. J. Willson that the latter windows were filled *circa* 1788 with fragments from the nave aisles. The date must apply to the entire operation, which was carried out everywhere in the same manner.

The idea was that blank gaps 'killed' a stained glass window. Since a 'restoration' of the kind we have known since, was then neither wished for nor, indeed, possible, they gathered all the panels and fragments which in the various parts of the building had resisted the insults of age and vandalism—here peculiarly embodied, so history says, in certain servants of Dean George Fitz-Hugh (1501) who took their pleasure in shooting at the windows with arrows and quarrels, and

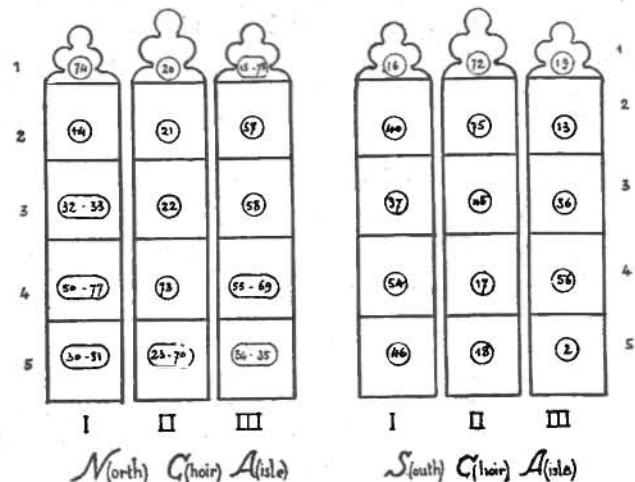


FIG. 3. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL :
DIAGRAM OF THE EAST END WINDOWS OF THE CHOIR AISLES

later in the Earl of Manchester's fanatical soldiers (1644)—to construct entire windows or groups of windows.³

The glazier who was entrusted with that charge by the Dean and Chapter did not lack ability, and still less patience. Except for the South Rose, where he has chiefly put up scroll- and diaper-work and other bits of ornament, he was not

³ The same operation has been carried out in some French churches during the eighteenth century, e.g. at Elbeuf (Saint-Jean), Louviers (Notre-Dame). In other places, canons and churchwardens did the reverse, replacing borders or even panels by blank glass to let in more light ; cf. P. Le Vieil, *Art de la Peinture sur Verre* (Paris, 1774), 82. At Chartres such a deed did not fall very far short of a crime : it was committed in 1757 and in 1773. At Canterbury, the idea seems to have been different. 'Large portions of what was left in the Chapel of St. Thomas were moved to other parts of the

church. Dean Percy is said to have decreed that no window visible from the canons' stalls—at any rate from his own—should be of plain glass' ; Canon Mason, *A Guide to the Ancient Glass in Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury, 1925), 27. Both at Canterbury and Lincoln, however, the cathedral authorities bore witness to the growing taste for stained glass which distinguished England in the eighteenth century. The revival of glass painting in Europe after the French Revolution was largely due to English influence and examples.

content with chance combinations. First, he wanted to provide every lancet with a border. In the choir aisles, he used beautiful thirteenth-century specimens. When none were left, he made new borders by cutting up grisaille windows. Each panel was to be provided with a medallion of regular shape, mostly circular. He managed to find them, or to complete them, or to shrink them, or even to make them. In the choir aisles, he used grisaille backgrounds with coloured circles, and he composed rosettes for the traceries. Each body was to own a head, and each head, a body. Here again the glazier rose to the occasion. It is quite plain that so many operations, in which the painter's brush was never used, but only the glazier's diamond and soldering-iron, have caused numberless mutilations and deplorable damage.

Moreover they have accumulated, under our feet as exegetes, all sorts of traps and pitfalls of which my predecessors were perhaps not sufficiently afraid.⁴ The first thing to be realized is how seldom the *text* we have to deal with has preserved its original purity. The number of 'interpolations' reaches a 'high' fortunately unknown to works of literature. But who would ever think that the primary task of the historian of glass painting is one of textual criticism?

Lastly, it is hardly to be doubted that our thirteenth-century panels were ruthlessly cleaned. The glass used at Lincoln seems peculiarly liable to decay. The cathedral windows ought to have been treated with reverent care. The wholesale rally in 1788 certainly did not favour their preservation. As the process of decomposition has been going on for 150 years, with a probable acceleration during the days (or rather winter evenings) of Victorian gaslight,⁵ things have become so bad that it often is impossible to publish satisfactory photographs.

I shall on several occasions have to deplore the mess which the Georgian glazier has made of our Early English medallions. But we should not forget that it might all have been still worse; that he could have been paid for 'beating the glass to pieces' (for the sake of the lead), like poor John Berry at Salisbury in that very year 1788.⁶ Let us then refrain from condemning the honest craftsman whom we should rather thank for his pains.

In fact, my task has consisted in mentally trying to undo—with the help of pen, pencil, camera and even yard (or rather metre) measure—what was done by the eighteenth-century glazier, in analysing the strange conglomerate that issued from his hands, in order to piece together its sundry elements in as close accordance with the thirteenth-century plan as was possible.

Identifying the subjects in a more or less plausible way was not enough. It was, as I have hinted, incumbent upon me to examine the medallions critically, to dissociate what had been arbitrarily put together, and to make accurate measurements in order to ascertain which pieces belonged together.

⁴ This would be saying too little of General Sherrill, who of course was not afraid at all. He thought the glazing of the East windows of the choir aisles was *original* and *complete*, and he wrote in his *Stained Glass Tours in England* (London, 1909), 54: 'It is not so beautiful as it would have been if the spaces between the brilliant medallions had also been filled with colour instead of the greenish grisaille which the practical Englishman used so as to admit more light than would have been possible

through the entirely coloured panes of his more artistic, if less utilitarian French contemporary, etc., etc.'

⁵ Cf. James Fowler, 'On the Process of Decay in Glass', in *Archaeologia*, xlvi (1880); and Noel Heaton, 'Mediaeval Stained Glass, its Production and Decay', in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (London), March 15th, 1907.

⁶ J. D. Le Couteur, *English Mediaeval Painted Glass* (London, 1926), 164.



NO. 29. THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON: THE RETURN FEAST



NO. 29. DETAIL OF THE RETURN FEAST

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

Plates XVIII-XXIII are from photographs and drawings by J. Lafond

PLATE XIX



NO. I. ADAM DELVING : DETAIL



NO. 28. THE LAST SUPPER : DETAIL



NO. 15. HEAD OF A KING, FROM
A TREE OF JESSE (?)



NO. 71. THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

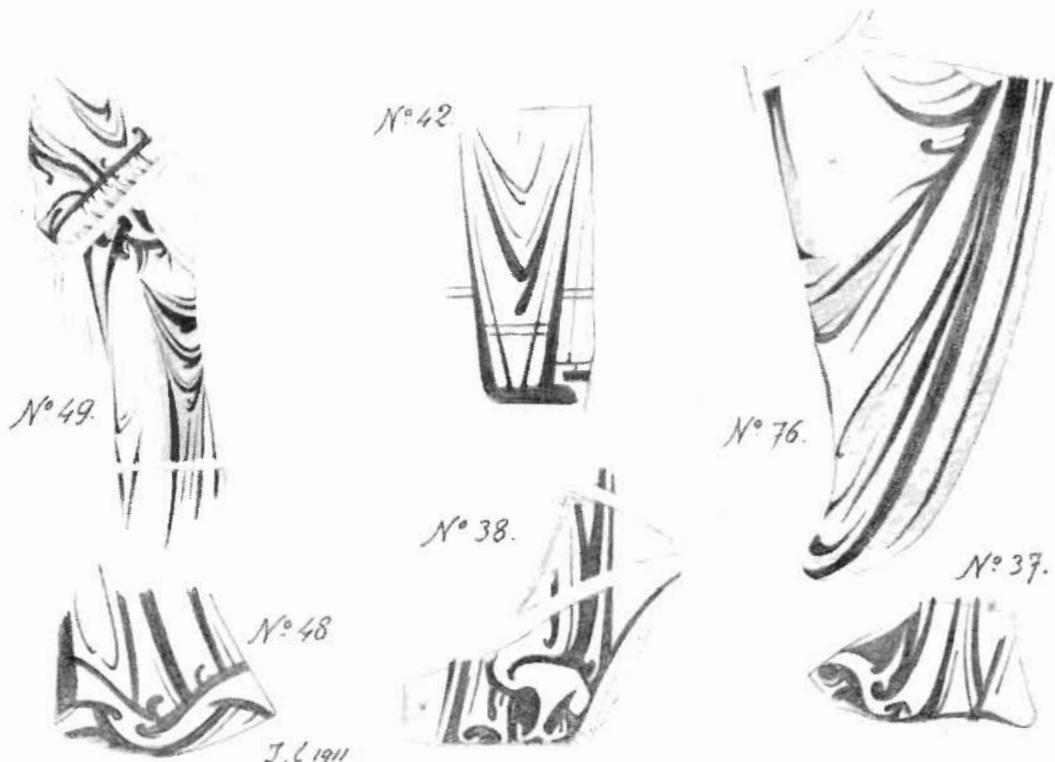


NO. 87. DETAIL OF DRAPERY



No. 79.

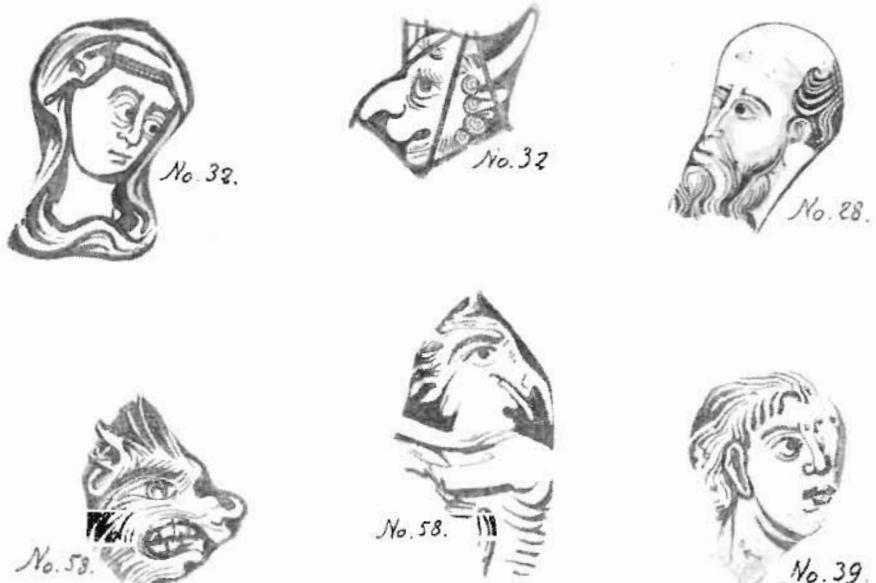
NO. 79. FRAGMENT OF DRAPERY



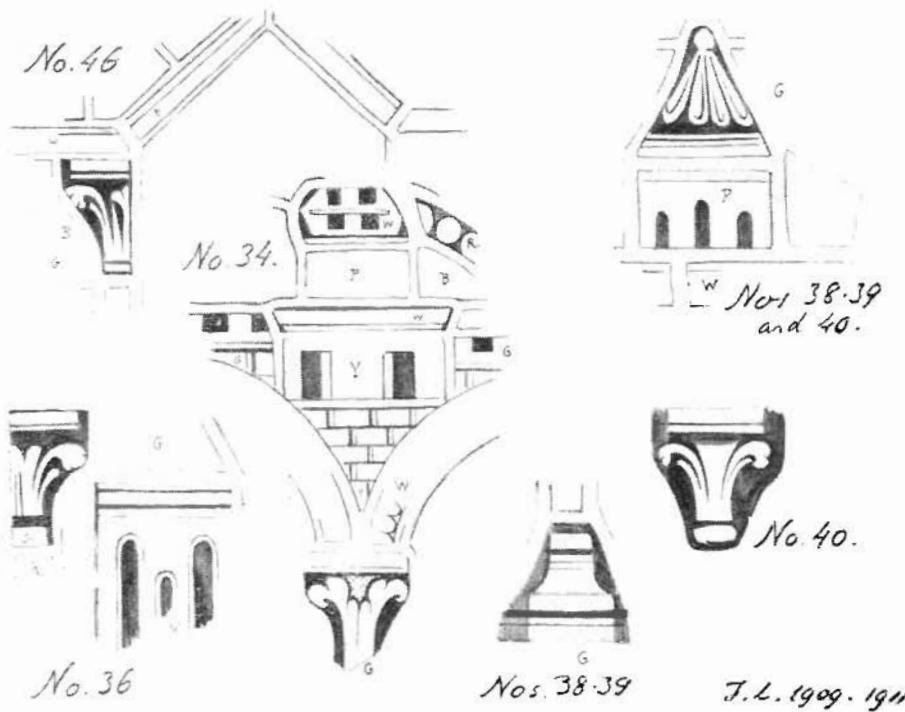
NOS. 37, 38, 42, 48, 49, 76. SPECIMENS OF DRAPERY

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

PLATE XXI

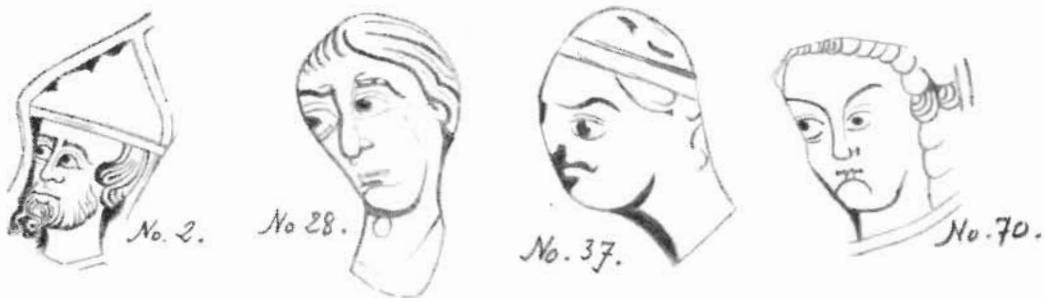


NOS. 28, 32, 39, 58. SPECIMENS OF HEADS



NOS. 34, 36, 38-39, 40, 46. SPECIMENS OF ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

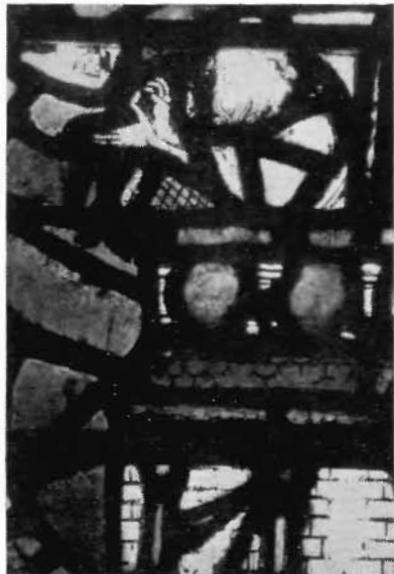
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL



NOS. 2, 28, 30, 31, 37, 50, 70. SPECIMENS OF HEADS AND VARIOUS DETAILS



NO. 38. ST. JOHN AND THE DISCIPLES
OF CRATO (?) : DETAIL



NO. 13. NOAH GREETING THE DOVE

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL



NO. 44. LEGEND OF ST. NICHOLAS



NO. 7. A SACRIFICE

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

Every panel, every fragment has been given an inventory number (which usually tallies with the number given by my predecessors) and moreover a running number^{6a}, as well as a precise title. I have finally assigned a title to every group of cognate subjects. In some instances, such groups correspond with original windows.

II. CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

I. THE CREATION AND FALL

1. Adam delving and Eve spinning.

North Rose G. Diam. about 0 m. 78.⁷

'In the centre', writes Winston, 'are the remains of a tall figure or angel.' But the face is bearded and the head has a plain red nimbus. We may safely dismiss it as an insertion, after Mr. Woodforde's example. The middle part of the so-called angel is made of bits of white glass. Only the lower part is original. One of the feet (of the same pink colour as our first parents' carnations) rests on a spade exactly like Adam's.

I suggest young Cain was here represented as 'a tiller of the ground'. In one of the stalls of Ely Cathedral, the Expulsion from Paradise is flanked with two minor groups: one of a 'man digging and boy picking up', the other of a 'woman with distaff and little girl with bobbin'.⁸ The striking figure of Adam may be compared with the well-known panel at Canterbury⁹ (pl. xix).

II. THE HISTORY OF MOSES

The life of Moses has inspired the Lincoln glass painters more than once. Two important episodes (Nos. 12 and 14) will be considered hereafter as part of a 'type and antitype' scheme. Other subjects, most of which are circles cut across by the window border, belong to a 'historical' series.

2. Moses teaching.

South choir aisle III 5. Diam. 0 m. 48.

Moses, in a white tunic and a purple¹⁰ mantle, sits to the left, holding a rolled-up scroll. Horn-like rays shoot from his forehead.¹¹ He addresses four seated men, who make the quiet gestures of an interested audience. One of them shows a well-preserved face under his characteristic pointed hat (pl. xxii). The architectural scenery and Moses' seat are equally worthy of notice. There is a notable difference of stature between the prophet and his people.

3. Moses on Mount Sinai.

South Transept I, 3. An incomplete circle. Diam. 0 m. 49.

To the right, Almighty God, in a white tunic and a purple mantle, seated in a green hillock, with a blue cloud under his feet. His nimbus is red with a white cross, on each

^{6a} In the accompanying diagrams (figs. 1, 2, 3), the running numbers are enclosed in small circles.

⁷ Nearly all our subjects are round medallions the diameter of which is measured in centimetres. In other cases, the form will be described, and the first number given will indicate the *height*. The colour of the background is uniformly blue.

⁸ Dean Stubbs, *Ely Cathedral Handbook* (1904), 35 (reprod. in Francis Bond, *Misericords*, 132).

⁹ Reprod. in Herbert Read, *English Stained Glass* (London, 1926), 49.

¹⁰ This adjective will be constantly used here as an equivalent to the French *pourpre*, which in its technical sense does not correspond to the blending of red and blue, a colour not used in stained glass till the fifteenth century, but very precisely to the colour of wine dregs (*lie de vin*). English writers seem to call it three different names: *purple*, *brown* and (more often) *pink*.

¹¹ The 'horns' of Moses come from the Vulgate (Exodus xxxiv, 29) and were first seen in liturgical dramas of the twelfth century. They are most distinctly represented in a Psalter in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS. No. 383). Cf. Emile Male, *L'Art religieux du douzième siècle*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1940), 146.

branch of which a small cross between three dots is painted. He carries a yellow book and lifts up his right arm, as in exhortation. To the left kneels a man with joined hands, in a yellow garment and a white mantle with a yellow staff beside him. The features of his face are very much decayed.

Dr. Nelson and Mr. Woodforde call this medallion 'Giving the law' (*Exodus xxxi*, 18). This is perhaps too precise, as the 'tables of stone, written with the finger of God' are nowhere to be seen. But that Moses on Mount Sinai is represented here cannot be doubted. The figure of Almighty God is very grand indeed, and hardly unequal to the 'glory of the Lord' as it 'appeared in the cloud'. There is every reason to believe that the following three medallions belong to the same series as No. 3, as they have the same shape and measurements, the same green and white border, the same yellow wave-like ground, etc.

4. *Another Episode from the Life of Moses.*

S.T. I, 5. Idem. Diam. 0 m. 48.

Dr. Nelson writes: 'To the left is a figure of Moses with a staff, who holds up a warning hand to three (really five, as four heads are painted on one piece of glass) other figures standing to the right.' Moses wears a white tunic and a purple mantle, as in all the other medallions except No. 3. He leans on a long yellow staff and raises his hand in benediction.

A comparison with plate 72 of the *Bible moralisee*¹² would suggest an illustration of Numbers vi, 24-26, were it not for the somewhat imperious gesture of the foremost Israelite, which rather reminds us of the numerous occurrences when 'they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of spirit'.

5. *Another Episode from the Life of Moses.*

S.T. IV, 3. Idem. Diam. 0 m. 48.

The connexion of this medallion with Nos. 3, 4 and 6 has escaped the notice of Dr. Nelson and Mr. Woodforde, who call it 'The Angel appearing to the Shepherds'. In spite of the plain red halo, the apparition in the white clouds is that of Almighty God, as in plate 90 of the *Bible Moralisee*, illustrating Deuteronomy xxvii, 26. His face is turned to the left, and his benediction is evidently bestowed upon a man originally dressed in a white tunic and a purple mantle (but very much mutilated now) who holds a white staff (not necessarily original) and bends his knees. Two figures or more stand behind Moses, also looking up towards the Deity. Two men are seen on the right, standing back, as it seems, in awe.

6. *Another Episode from the Life of Moses.*

S.T. IV, 5. Idem. Diam. 0 m. 48.

In this one instance, the original disposition has been preserved, the white and green border of the medallion being cut up by the vertical lead of the (primitive) window border. Nos. 3, 4 and 5 have been made perfect by the Georgian glazier.

This beautiful scene is reproduced in Westlake's *History of Design in Painted Glass*, I, 114, pl. LXVI, with a title which has again misled Dr. Nelson: 'Our Lord's Apparition to His Disciples'. A trivial detail makes this interpretation impossible, for all the figures wear shoes, and it is one of the main rules of Christian iconography that Our Lord and His Apostles should be bare-footed.

Moses, whose purple boots are especially conspicuous (as in No. 4), wears his usual white and purple garments. He holds a long yellow staff (not a 'candle' nor a 'taper') and stretches his right arm out, addressing a group of five men (or more), one of whom bends forward with joined hands, in the attitude of worshipping. The white robe of this figure may stand as a remarkable example of style in drapery. It is well preserved, while

¹² This monument of French illuminating in the thirteenth century has been published by the Societe française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à peintures (Paris, 1911-1925, 5 vol. including text by Comte Alexandre de Laborde,

and 807 folio plates) from a copy now divided between the Bodleian Library (MS. 270b), the Bibliotheque nationale in Paris (MS. lat. 11.560) and the British Museum (Harleian MSS. 1526 and 1527).

all the faces in this medallion are washed out.^{12a} They were very clearly indicated in Westlake's sketch, made in 1864; that would show that the decay of the Lincoln glass was a very recent affair, and a terribly rapid one. The subject is very like No. 4. It may illustrate Exodus xii, 21-28, when Moses repeated God's ordinance concerning the Passover 'and the people bowed the head and worshipped'.

I am sorry not to be able to propose more definite identifications for these excellent specimens of early thirteenth-century glass, where the attitudes are remarkably natural, and the drapery bold. But I must be more prudent still as regards the following four round medallions where the clues are still rarer, although their connexion with the History of Moses seems to be accepted by my learned predecessors (except for No. 10).

III. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE MOSAIC LAW (?)

7. *A Sacrifice.*

S.T. 1, 4. Diam. 0 m. 48.

Dr. Nelson writes: 'To the right stands a figure sacrificing a sheep upon an altar, before the altar is a second sheep' (in reality, two white lambs, grazing) 'whilst to the left are twelve ruby cups arranged in rows upon three yellow shelves one upon the other.' Everybody will agree on the first part of this description, for the victim lies on what evidently was an altar (green with S-like strokes, pl. xxiii).

But the restorer who mended it with a large piece of purple glass seems to be responsible for the very strange fabric in the background. According to Mr. Woodforde, Dr. Nelson's cups may be meant to represent the shew-bread. Others thought of Noah's ark. But it would be a dismantled ark; and as a matter of fact, I do think the whole thing is made up of old capitals, shafts and possibly ground-lines put together by the eighteenth-century glazier. Therefore, I do not think the subject represents Noah's sacrifice after the Flood, but rather 'The Mosaic law of sacrifice' and more precisely Leviticus iii, 7.

8. *'Entering the Veil'* (?)

S.T. 1, 1. Diam. 0 m. 49.

'Three figures, one holds a taper and one bends in adoration in front of an altar above which is drapery hanging from a tree behind. "Entering the Veil".' So Dr. Nelson, apparently backed by the authority of Dr. M. R. James. Mr. Woodforde agrees; and I will not disagree, although this medallion has been tampered with. The man on the left, with the yellow staff, wears incompatible clothes, if I may so speak: either the red mantle or the white tunic must go. The description of the third figure should run thus: he bends forward, almost kneeling on his right knee, while in the act of putting something with his arm stretched full length into a kind of white tent, consisting of a curtain supported by a red pole.¹³

The text would be Leviticus xvi.

9. *Sprinkling the people with blood* (?)

S.T. 1, 2. Diam. 0 m. 49.

Here again we must not be too sceptical. If the three men who represent 'the people' are in a good state of preservation, the chief actor has no feet, and his garments (originally a white tunic and a purple cloak) are badly patched up. Moreover, his scale is notably less than that of the other figures. As he seems to own a yellow staff, one could think he is too rich by the asperge (in which the red ball is obviously substituted for the

^{12a} It is therefore impossible to make sure that one of the heads in Westlake's plate 67c (p. 115) is that of Moses, whether original or not.

¹³ The typological window in Becket's Crown, Canterbury Cathedral, 'shows the High Priest within the veil, as the Old Testament forecast of the Ascension of Our Lord'. But the treat-

ment entirely differs from our No. 8. We may say the same thing of the interesting medallion of the 'Holy of Holies' preserved in the store-rooms of Lausanne Cathedral, which has been so strangely mistaken for 'St. Peter and St. John at Our Lord's tomb': J. R. Rahn, *Die Glasgemaelde in der Rosette der Kathedrale von Lausanne* (Zurich, 1879), 26.

original head) or by the bowl, if not by both these implements, which he holds very clumsily.

But, in plate 8o of the *Bible Moralisee*, which illustrates Numbers xviii, 12, and is very much like our medallion, the priest's grip on the sprinkle is hardly less feeble, though the miniature is intact.

10. *Undetermined subject.*

S.T. iv, 4. Diam. 0 m. 49.

Neither Dr. Nelson nor Mr. Woodforde have seen how closely related this medallion stands to the preceding numbers. The latter writes: 'To the right is a seated figure. . . . In his left hand, he holds a (yellow) staff, his right hand is raised as if to dismiss three figures who appear in attitude of obeisance, possibly "The Three Wise Men being sent on their way by Herod".' But there are *four* men on the left. Beside the Wise Men are always represented as crowned kings, and Herod likewise, and no regalia appear on either side. I prefer to imitate Dr. Nelson's prudence, and to leave this very much decayed medallion among the undetermined subjects.

IV. OLD TESTAMENT SUBJECTS FROM 'TYPOLOGICAL' WINDOWS

II. *David feigning madness before King Achish.*

S.T. iii, 6. Originally of the same shape as No. 12. Measurements now reduced to 0 m. 44 x 0 m. 46 (see fig. 4).

Of this panel, Dr. Nelson gives the following description and commentary: 'To the left stand two soldiers, one of whom supports a green shield (decorated with a star-like ornament) the other a spear; in the centre is David standing on his hands, whilst his white robe falling to one side displays his red stockings. In front of David is Achish seated upon his throne, holding a white sword upright (*I Samuel xxi, 13*). This remarkable panel, a corresponding example of which also occurred at Canterbury (Window XI, No. 1) refers to the Septuagint title of Psalm xxxiv, paraphrased in the Authorised Version as "changed his behaviour", παρεφέρετο ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, i.e. *ferebatur in manibus suis*. St. Augustine in his comment upon this passage applies it to Christ holding His own body in His Hands at the last Supper, whilst an annotator of the Pictor in Carmine took it as referring to David dancing before the Ark.'

Now all the writers on Lincoln Cathedral have mentioned this panel as 'Salome dancing'. On my first visit to the Minster, I heard with my own ears the verger declaring: 'It is considered a very good likeness.' I must confess that I long agreed with the old fellow. The more so because the long white gown is rather like a woman's. When I read the above notice, I was not far from thinking Dr. M. R. James's special knowledge of symbolism had led Dr. Nelson rather far astray. But then, against the current reading arose in my mind an objection which the two doctors might properly have added to their erudite commentary. Salome is indeed very often represented tumbling, but the spectators are *always* seated at a feast-table. Next I noticed that the original shape and measurements of the panel were the same as those of the 'Fall of Manna' (No. 12). Now the description of the symbolical windows at Canterbury to which Dr. Nelson refers too briefly links up both subjects, as 'antitypes' to the Last Supper: *In medio Coena Domini, David gestans se in manibus suis. Manna fluit populo de coelo*, etc. . . . The only question is whether our medallion of the Last Supper (No. 28) belonged to the same window. It will be discussed in another chapter.¹⁴

12. *The Fall of Manna.*

S.T. iv, 6. The shape is that of an axe-head. 0 m. 71 x 0 m. 45 (see fig. 4).

At the top, Almighty God, blessing with his right hand, appears in a ring of red clouds, from which falls a broad yellow ribbon figured with small circles representing Manna.

¹⁴ See also No. 27 ('Jesus among the Doctors').

On each side of the golden stream are three Jews, tiered, so to speak, one above the other, the foremost one seated. They stretch forth their right arms, holding cups under the fall of the 'small round thing'. To the left, a seventh Jew in green, carrying a cup and looking up, with a tree behind him.

The painting of this interesting panel is miserably decayed, except the head and shoulders of the Deity, which show complete identity of manner with No. 13 and No. 3.

The corresponding subject to Nos. 11 and 12 are no longer to be seen at Canterbury.

13. *Noah greeting the returning dove.*

S.C.A. III, 2. Diam. 0 m. 52.

Noah appears to the left, emerging from the roof of the ark—a charming head painted very much like Adam's but much decayed. The patriarch holds out both hands to receive the olive branch, a stylized twig in the beak of the white dove, which flies downwards (pl. xxii). Some absurd insertions are to be seen in the right hand half of the medallion, including a white tree.

The same subject occurs at Canterbury, and is illustrated in Hugh Arnold's *Stained Glass in England and France*, from a water colour by Lawrence B. Saint.¹⁵ Mr. Arnold pronounces our medallion 'not nearly so good' as the Canterbury one, of which 'it is practically a replica'. My own judgment on the first point would be quite different; and as a matter of fact, the Canterbury panel cannot be the original composition, because its two-storied ark somewhat curiously emerges from the white and green waves without the assistance of the 'boat-like hull' we see at Lincoln. Both medallions are evidently derived from the same model, which had to be substantially altered to suit the half-circular shape adopted at Canterbury.

This remarkable circumstance shows that this subject originally belonged to the same 'type and antitype' set as Nos. 11 and 12. Otherwise, it would have been part of a 'History of Noah' similar to the window presented by the coopers of Chartres to their cathedral.

14. *The Destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.*

N.C.A. I, 2. Diam. 0 m. 52.

The tall figure of Moses in a white tunic and a purple mantle, with a green halo round his 'horned' head, stands above the hillock-like waves of the Red Sea, in which Pharaoh and his host are drowning. The Egyptian king falls from his green and blue chariot, with yellow figured wheels, head foremost. A blue and a white horse, a corpse in white and blue, and several heads, are to be seen in the ruby water.

Holding his rod in his right hand, the prophet obviously comments upon the wonderful event. The elect people is represented by a man carrying a child on his shoulders, a man wearing the traditional pointed hat, and a woman leading a child.

While this subject is much larger than the round medallions of the 'History of Moses', its size hardly differs from that of 'Noah's ark', where the sea waves are treated in the same manner. Like the 'Fall of Manna' it once belonged to the 'symbolical' series. At Canterbury, only these inscriptions are left: *Maris Rubri* and *Sub(mersio) Faraon.*

V. THE TREE OF JESSE

In his valuable book on *English Mediaeval Painted Glass*, J. D. Le Couteur mentioned Lincoln Minster between Salisbury Cathedral and Westwell Church as possessing 'fragments of Jesse windows which show that although still comparatively simple in design, they were much more advanced in style of drawing and general technique than the stiff archaic earlier types'.¹⁶

He must have relied upon a brief mention in C. Winston's description of the North

¹⁵ London, 1913, plate 4, cf. p. 79. At Canterbury, there are two inscriptions: *Noe in archa* and *Fluxu cuncta vago submergens*

prima vorago Omnia purgavit baptismaque significavit.

¹⁶ Op. cit., 72.

Rose : 'Part of a Jesse is inserted', which refers to some ornament of doubtful origin (see No. 94).¹⁷

A late twelfth-century panel, obviously derived from the famous Tree of Jesse at St. Denis (where the theme seems to have found its classical form) is still preserved in York Minster. That Lincoln Cathedral once owned a specimen of that composition, which so harmoniously links the Old Testament with the New, is indeed very likely. We are perfectly justified in looking for relics of it among the fragments in the East windows of the Choir aisles, after Mr. Woodforde's example. But we should take care not to be deceived by the eighteenth-century glazier's tricks. Most of the 'Kings' that appear there were made up of odd bits of glass and are to be claimed by our rubric 'Stray figures and fragments'. Only one head may be retained here.

15. *Head of a King, from the Tree of Jesse (?)*.

S.C.A. III, I.

A reproduction of this head, the size and character of which could suit a *Jesse Tree*, will be found on pl. XIX.

VI. PROPHETS AND APOSTLES

In complete thirteenth-century Jesse Trees, the Ancestors of Christ are escorted on each side by a full series of Prophets and Apostles drawn as a rule on a lesser scale.

Ample remains of such a series are preserved in the Choir aisle windows. They would admirably fit our purpose were not the figures framed in elongated quatrefoils of an average height of 0 m. 75. That this disposition is original is proved by the presence of yellow labels with inscriptions which cross the blue background behind the figures. And we must not disregard the fact that such an arrangement would just as well suit a set of grisaille windows in which each figure would be the centre of a white panel, as at Stanton Harcourt (Oxfordshire), where the Apostles stand on blue foils with cusped heads.¹⁸ The question of the primitive destination of the Lincoln *Prophets and Apostles* will accordingly remain unsolved for the time being.¹⁹

16. *Isaiah*.

S.C.A. I, I.

The very prophet of the Tree of Jesse ('There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse . . .') has by our predecessors constantly been called Isaac. Yet in his very legible inscription the last letter is most distinctly an E (*Isaie*, in French). This figure is very well preserved (white tunic, purple mantle, green halo).

17. *St. Barnabas*.

S.C.A. II, 4.

Illustrated in Westlake, op. cit. i, pls. XLIIb and XLIII.

The Apostle stands on a quaint little bridge which we could already have noticed under the feet of King Achish (No. 11), and which we shall often see again. He carries a red book in his left hand, under his green mantle. Inscription : S. BARNA . . .

18. *Mutilated figure of an Apostle*.

S.C.A. II, 5.

The original figure, in red and yellow garments, holding a book and giving benediction, has been completed with a crowned Virgin's head (see No. 70).

19. *St. Paul*.

S.C.A. III, I.

One of the best figures at Lincoln, in green and white, with sword and book.

¹⁷ It may be noted that Westlake, who took a special interest in the subject, saw no Jesse Tree at Lincoln.

¹⁸ C. Winston, *An Inquiry into the difference of style observable in ancient glass paintings, etc.*, 1st ed. (1847), ii, pls. 6 and 32. Cf. Westlake, op. cit., i, pl. 56.

20. *Mutilated figure of an Apostle (?)*.

N.C.A. II, 1.

In blue and white, with yellow nimbus.

21. *An Apostle*.

N.C.A. II, 2.

In green and white, with purple nimbus.

22. *St. Jude*.

N.C.A. II, 3.

Illustrated in Westlake, op. cit., pl. LVIIb and g.

In purple and green, holding a scroll. Inscription: SC. IVDA.

23. *An Apostle*.

N.C.A. II, 5.

A very fine figure again, in a green tunic and a purple mantle with a blue band, 'He appears to hold two large golden keys, in which case he represents St. Peter', writes Mr. Woodforde. Others call the emblem an axe; as a matter of fact the painting is very much decayed.

VII. LEGEND OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

24. *St. Joseph chosen as husband for the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

North Rose F. A quatrefoil.

This subject is reproduced in Charles Winston's *Art of glass painting* (77, pl. xxv) from an excellent drawing by the author. Winston, however, called it the 'Mass of St. Gregory'. Dr. Nelson fell into the same very surprising mistake, which was only corrected by Mr. Woodforde, who rightly adopted the above title.

Altogether very different from the simpler compositions at Chartres and elsewhere, the Lincoln medallion fully illustrates the tale in the *Golden Legend*: 'While all were in prayer, a voice issued from the back of the temple, saying that all the unmarried men of the House of David should draw near the altar, each carrying a rod in his hand, etc. . . .' Mr. Woodforde writes on: 'The figure kneeling before the altar is probably meant to represent the girlish figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary.' A comparison with an eleventh-century miniature in the well-known Byzantine manuscript of *Monk James's Homilies*²⁰ and with a fourteenth-century 'Anglo-Norwegian' altar-frontal formerly at Odda²¹ leaves no doubt on this point. An angel, not the Deity, appears above. Standing to the left among the suitors, St. Joseph wears a green mantle over his white tunic. His rod has blossomed and a dove sits upon it. Here again we find the bridge under the floor-line, in its full development.

25. *A mutilated scene from the same window (?)*.

North Rose D. A quatrefoil.

A very much mutilated figure seems to be knocking at a red door framed in quaint architecture. Farther to the right, stand three other persons, apparently women, of which only the foremost one has preserved a human shape and is likely to be *in situ*. Dr. Nelson suggests 'The foolish Virgins', and I was very much tempted to follow him after seeing plates 362 and 517 of the *Bible Moralisée*. But one must confess that the characteristic detail, viz. the lamps, is missing, and that there is only one group of 'virgins' instead of two.

¹⁹ In any case they should not be considered as clerestory figures, as J. D. Le Couteur (op. cit., 71) seems to do, nor be compared with the 'Prophets and Kings' at Canterbury, as Dr. Nelson does.

²⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 1208, fol. 131.

²¹ Now in Bergen Museum. Repr. in Tancred Borenius and E. W. Tristram, *English Mediaeval Painting* (Florence and Paris, 1927), pl. 48.

The only thing quite certain about this badly damaged panel is that it has the same shape as the preceding one. This was noticed by Winston, who borrowed from it the border, background, etc., for his plate of No. 23. If it does belong to the same legend, it may refer to the life of Mary and her youthful companions in the Temple. This charming theme has been treated in a window of Le Mans Cathedral, several panels of which remain unexplained to this day.²²

26. *A fragment from the Funeral of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*

S.T. II, 6.

Two panels which have strayed into the North Rose (A and B) have been called 'The Death and Funeral of the Virgin', by Dr. Nelson. But I feel bound to class them under a less positive heading (see No. 51-52) together with another medallion framed in a similar border (No. 53).

The only indisputable element from a 'Funeral of the Blessed Virgin Mary' is to be found in the South transept, included in the same medallion as 'St. Matthew writing his gospel'. A youthful man in a yellow tunic and a white mantle walks towards the right, with a tall green palm in his right hand. His bare feet and a book he carries show him to be an apostle; and we are reminded that at the Virgin's funeral 'saint John the Evangelist marched first, holding the celestial palm which an angel had brought to the Mother of God'.

In one of the windows of Chartres Cathedral a similar figure is isolated in a half-quatrefoil, to the left of the medallion where the apostles are represented carrying the coffin.²³

VIII. NEW TESTAMENT SUBJECTS FROM 'TYPOLOGICAL' WINDOWS

27. *Jesus among the Doctors.*

North Rose C.

This small circular medallion is quite clear, in spite of its many mutilations. The Boy Jesus sits in the middle, His feet resting on a white half circle. Two groups of Doctors are seated on the same narrow yellow bench. The left-hand group is illustrated in Winston's *Art of Glass Painting*, 325. Its leader shows a most remarkable bearded face under a scarlet pointed cap.

It should be noticed that the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph do not appear. Now 'Jesus among the Doctors' is not a frequent subject in the 'Christmas cycle' windows we see in French cathedrals. And in M. Emile Male's opinion, its occasional presence evinces 'a wish to glorify the Virgin'.²⁴

At Canterbury *Jhesus duodennis in medio Doctorum* is still in its original place (the third window of the North Choir aisle) near *Noah in Archa*. The general arrangement is like Lincoln. I am therefore inclined to think our medallion once belonged to the 'type and antitype' scheme rather than to the 'Christmas Cycle'.

28. *The Last Supper.*

S.T. III, 4. Diam. o m. 56.

I once thought this very important subject might be the relic of a Passion window. But my metre-measure has decided otherwise, for the medallion fits in the space left by compartments 11 and 12, where the 'antitypes' to the *Last Supper* are represented (fig. 4).²⁵

This arrangement is very like that of 'the Legend of St. John the Evangelist' at Chartres, where, however, a quatrefoil is substituted to the circle.

²² E. Hucher, *Vitraux peints de la Cathédrale du Mans* (Paris and Le Mans, 1865), in fol. Chapelle de la Vierge, sixième lancette (2 plates). Cf. Emile Male, *l'Art religieux du treizième siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1902), 282.

²³ Y. Delaporte, *Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1926), pl. 23.

²⁴ L'Art religieux du treizième siècle, 2nd ed., 219.

²⁵ The alternative disposition is very unlikely, for if the two 'axe-heads' were set 'edge to edge', half circles of about o m. 60 in diameter would insert themselves between the hollow sides, leaving room (in the middle) for circles of about o m. 30 only.

Plate x of Canon Delaporte's *Vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* has greatly helped me to draw fig. 4, by suggesting the dimensions of the ironwork, the number of fillets round the medallions, etc. I am very much struck by the fact that the border of this Chartres window is almost similar to the most beautiful border of Lincoln, reproduced in Westlake, I, 115, pl. 67 b.

The scene is treated in a most interesting manner. Our Lord, in a white tunic and a purple mantle, is seated at the left end of the table and lifts up the chalice in His left hand while His right hand 'gives the sop' to Judas Iscariot who stands in front, bending forward and 'dipping his hand in the dish' with his Master.

Our plate xix shows that Christ's head has been replaced by another of the same time. Such were the methods of restoration of our glazier and, indeed, of almost all his contemporaries. This 'patch' is very like St. Paul's traditional physiognomy. It is full of character and much better drawn than the rest of the panel, but one cannot say it has improved the general effect, for it is turned away from the action (pl. xxi).

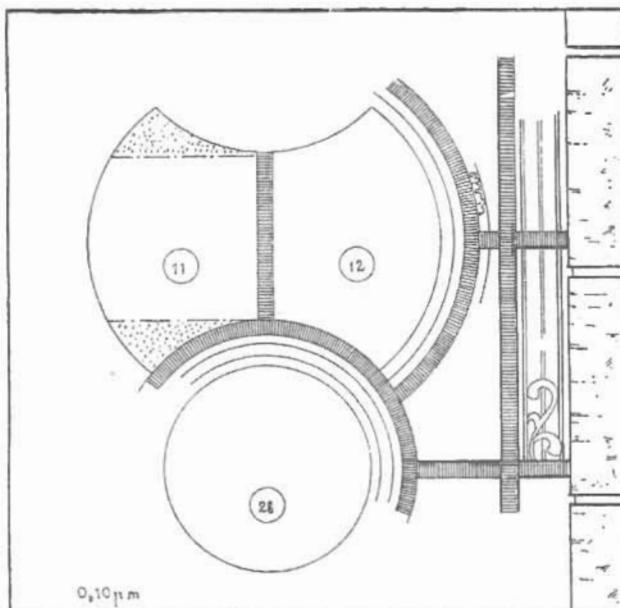


FIG. 4. LINCOLN CATHEDRAL:
TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF ONE OF THE 'TYPOLOGICAL' WINDOWS

St. John reclines on his Master's breast, but oddly enough, he is fast asleep, which hardly agrees with the evangelical story. Three other apostles (the last of whom has lost his head^{25a}) sit at the table, which resembles a stone structure, blue with small red arches. The white cloth is covered with dishes and vessels of coloured glass, leaded in.

In many respects, this composition recalls a beautiful medallion at Laon Cathedral.

IX. THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON

29. *The Return Feast.*

S.T. III, 5. Diam 0 m. 62.

This scene was once mistaken for Herod's Feast, on account of its proximity to No. II, which is generally called Salome dancing. But the inscription [*Hic e]pulan[tur fi]lio reverso*] identifies it with the feast given for the return of the Prodigal Son. It would not

^{25a} I have sketched his neighbour's head (pl. xxii).

be safe, however, to recognize the hero of the parable in the central figure, an evident insertion since the yellow gown and the feet under the table cannot possibly belong to him (pl. xviii).

Incomplete as it is, this medallion is one of the masterpieces of the Lincoln glass painters, so full of life does it appear. The table-cloth itself—on which dishes and loaves are outlined—seems to be blown this side and that by a gale, in a perfect contrast with the calm lines of the Last Supper above. From a technical point of view, it may be interesting to note that the folds are painted on the inner side of the glass, and a pattern of squares on the outside. The same observation has been made at Canterbury, in the Marriage Feast at Cana.²⁶

Two women and two men are still present, all looking at a minstrel who stands to the left, playing upon a very accurately drawn rebec. The head of the musician and that of his neighbour are reproduced in Westlake (op. cit., i, pl. LXVII) after tracings by E. J. Willson, which can be compared with our photographs. The much mutilated architectural decoration includes the now familiar 'bridge' and a quaint dome.

'The Prodigal Son' was a favourite parable in the thirteenth century. It is still represented in the windows of many French Cathedrals: Sens (where the inscription runs: *Hic epulantur cum gaudio*), Chartres, Clermont-Ferrand, Bourges, Auxerre, Coutances, and last but not least Poitiers.

Were other parables illustrated at Lincoln?

After we have discarded 'The Foolish Virgins' (see No. 25), shall we admit 'The Rich Man and Lazarus'? This point will be discussed under No. 67.

X. MIRACLES OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

The miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary were likewise a much favoured (and apparently inexhaustible) theme in the Middle Ages in England, witness the wall paintings in Winchester Cathedral and Eton chapel. The most popular of them, the story of Theophilus, need not be told here. It is represented in four half-medallions now in the East window of the North Choir aisle.

30. *Theophilus consulting a Jewish Wizard.*

N.C.A. 1, 5 b. 0 m. 65 × 0 m. 265.

Inscription: TIOFILUS with some scroll-work delicately scratched out. There is a white tree (pl. xxii) between the Jew and Theophilus, who stands to the left, a beautifully draped figure.

31. *Theophilus selling his soul to the Devil.*

N.C.A. 1, 5 a. 0 m. 65 × 0 m. 315.

The ambitious clerk (whose original costume, consisting as in No. 29 of a white tunic and a brown mantle, has been partly replaced by a piece of white drapery with yellow stained diamonds,²⁷) is seen to the right, with one knee on the ground, handing a white scroll to a yellow hairy devil seated with one leg cocked over the other (a lordly attitude in the Middle Ages) on a green hillock. Satan is a very weird creature indeed, with 'a red horned and beaked head, human hands and the clawed feet of an eagle' (and white and green winglets at his elbows and heels). The Jew, standing to the right, puts his hand on Theophilus' shoulder. Inscription: TEOFIL:: U :: S : The cloud over their heads is reproduced in pl. xxii.

32. *Satan surrendering the bond to the Virgin.*

N.C.A. 1, 3. b. 0 m. 60 × 0 m. 255.

The Blessed Virgin stands to the left in an (originally) purple robe and white veil and takes the scroll from the hands of the reluctant devil. The scroll is covered with mysterious signs. Inscription: S. MARIA (pl. xxii).

²⁶ Canon Mason, op. cit., 26. In the well-known 'Legend of St. Julian' at Rouen, a dapple grey horse, a fur mantle and several heads are likewise painted on both sides.

²⁷ An evident interpolation which somewhat misled Westlake (op. cit., i, 117).

33. *Theophilus handing the recovered bond to his Bishop.*

N.C.A. I, 3 a. 0 m. 60×0 m. 28.

The repentant clerk holds up the white scroll in both hands. The Bishop in a purple chasuble and white mitre stands behind an altar partly covered with a white veil, and leans with both hands on the red staff of his golden crosier. Very probably the principal scenes of the story (e.g. Theophilus praying before an image of the Virgin, the Virgin giving back the bond to Theophilus, the Bishop showing the bond to the people, etc.) were represented in full panels now lost. The round medallion which Dr. Nelson wishes to annex to this series, without explaining it, belongs to another legend and will be described under No. 50. Incomplete as it is, the Lincoln Theophilus would hold a very high rank among the numerous windows of the thirteenth century of the same subject²⁸ did not its poor state of preservation discourage the publication of photographs. The details on plates XXI and XXII will perhaps give some idea of its excellent execution.

Canterbury Cathedral once possessed a panel of the 'Repentance of Theophilus' in the tenth window of its typological series. The inclusion of this one miracle of the Virgin in *ensembles* of this kind may have contributed to its universal and somewhat exclusive adoption by Christian Art.

I discover another English specimen of the Legend of Theophilus in two medallions at York, in the church of St. Denys, Walmgate. These medallions have been ascribed to the twelfth century, and one of them interpreted as 'St. Michael preventing the demons from escaping from Hell', the other being described as 'somebody kneeling before the Virgin Mary'.²⁹ This somebody will be easily named when we realize that in the first medallion a red devil, with hairy limbs, body and tail, holds out his left hand to seize a document consisting of several lines of arabic-like writing on white glass from a man in a white tunic and red mantle, standing to the left. A yellow devil can be seen between the two figures.

Mr. J. A. Knowles rightly ascribes the two panels and the accompanying grisaille to the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁰

34. *The Jew of Bourges throwing his son into a furnace.*

N.C.A. III, 5 b. 0 m. 625×0 m. 27.

In his admirable *Art religieux du XIII^e Siècle en France*, M. Emile Mâle observes this 'remarkable fact that in our cathedrals, with the one exception of Le Mans, only one and the same miracle of the Virgin was always represented, the Miracle of Theophilus'.³¹

Lincoln Cathedral offers a second exception, with the miracle of the Jewish boy of Bourges, which is represented twice at Le Mans³² and in no other window whatever.³³

'In a town of the East' (so runs the original story, but the *Golden Legend* locates the miracle at Bourges), 'lived a Jewish glass maker whose son often went to church with the young Christians. One day, the child received Holy Communion with them. When his father heard of it, he became so furious that he threw his son into the furnace he had just lighted.' Here the Jew wears a red pointed hat (different from those we have already seen, and exactly like those in the *Psautier de Saint-Louis*). He carries the boy head downwards, and is just about to pitch him into a blazing furnace which is quite a handsome structure. The victim desperately kicks the air with his thin red legs. I have sketched part of the architectural decoration (pl. XXI).

35. *The Jewish Boy saved by the Virgin.*

N.C.A. III, 5 a. Same measurements.

'... His mother's cries attracted the whole town', proceeds our story. 'The child was thought to be burnt to death, but they saw him lying in the midst of the flames

²⁸ The French examples need not be cited here, except perhaps a medallion at Angers cathedral which seems to have hitherto escaped notice.

²⁹ F. Harrison, *The Painted glass of York* (London, 1927), 160.

³⁰ *The York School of Glass Painting* (London, 1936), 150.

³¹ 2nd ed., 297.

³² In the triforium of the choir. Cf. Hucher, op. cit., fol. 27.

³³ It was carved in the Lady Chapel at Ely (fourteenth century) and painted in the Lady Chapel at Winchester (fifteenth century).

"as sweetly as on a feather bed". He told them that the Lady whose image was in the church had covered him with her mantle, and the miracle was attributed to the Virgin.³⁴

In the centre stands the furnace, with its upper door open. The head and shoulders of the boy are seen among the flames. Traces of paint show that he clasps his hand on his breast and looks up to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who stands on the right, leaning against the furnace. On the other side, the father holds up his right hand in wonder.

XI. THE LEGEND OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST³⁵

36. *St. John preaching.*

S.C.A. III, 3. Diam. 0 m. 50.

To the left stands the Apostle, in a white tunic and a purple mantle, holding a scroll inscribed JOHS EWANG(E)LIS(TA). He addresses some five men, likewise standing.

Some details of the architectural scenery are given in pl. XXI.

37. *St. John before the Latin Gate.*

S.C.A. I, 3. Diam. 0 m. 495.

The English Church calendar still counts May 8th, 'St. John ante Portam Latinam', among its festivals. At Rome on that day the beloved Disciple was plunged into a cauldron of burning oil by the order of Domitian, according to a tradition preserved by Tertullian and St. Jerome.

The figure of the martyr is very much decayed, but of the tormentors who stir the red flames, one shows a curious caricatural face (pl. XXII). The short white gown of the other is a remarkable piece of drapery (pl. XX).

38 and 39. *St. John and Crato's Disciples (?)*

S.T. II, 4. A medallion combining rectangular with circular forms. 0 m. 67 x 0 m. 63.

This medallion was once called 'the Cleansing of the Temple'; by hasty observers, no doubt. Dr. Nelson and Mr. Woodforde claim it for the Legend of St. John. It would illustrate the story of the Disciples of a certain philosopher called Crato. At their master's bidding, two young men sold all their goods to buy precious stones, which they subsequently broke to pieces to show how much they despised riches. St. John rebuked their pride, saying that they should have given the money to the poor, according to the Lord's precept: 'If thy master really is God', retorted Crato, 'and if he wishes the profit to go to the poor, restore these stones to their former state, and we shall believe in Him.' St. John made the miracle, and the three philosophers received baptism.

This interpretation is very tempting indeed. But it must be pointed out that the figures have terribly suffered from mutilation and consequent insertions, and have nothing to do with their present frame. In my opinion fragments from two different panels are now filling this medallion of unusual form and dimensions. At Chartres, the episode has inspired two scenes. In one compartment, the two young men break their stones with hammers on a kind of table; Crato is seated near by, and seems to give the order. In the other one, St. John holds in his left hand the restored stones and his right hand is raised in benediction.³⁶ At Lincoln, the young man with the yellow hammer is characterized by the same remarkable drapery as the tormentor in No. 37³⁷ (pls. XX and XXII). On the long yellow table with its curious legs turned in the lathe small rounds have been 'scratched out' which can be mere ornament (as in a Canterbury medallion reproduced by Read, op. cit., pl. 8), but may as well represent pearls.³⁸ As to the blessing figure in the middle, it has the typical attitude of the miracle-worker. His head (whether original or not, at all events an excellent piece of work: pl. XXI) is surrounded by the same red halo as St. John in

³⁴ Male, op. cit., 302.

³⁵ See also Nos. 26 and 28.

³⁶ Delaporte, op. cit., 162 and pl. II.

³⁷ The bare feet and the colours of the robe (white and purple) suggest that the eighteenth

century glazier may have adapted a spare figure of St. John himself.

³⁸ In plates 73 and 75 of the *Bible Moralisee* the shew-bread is likewise represented by (larger) circles without an outline.

Nos. 36 and 37. His feet are bare as becomes an Apostle, yet practically nothing of the original drapery can be considered *in situ* (and it shows traces of oil paint). The bystanders on the right have no bodies of their own. Only their general attitude, one of awe and reverence, makes their belonging to the original composition likely.

On the whole, the odds are in favour of Dr. Nelson's explanation.

XII. THE LEGEND OF ST. MATTHEW

40. *The Calling of St. Matthew.*

S.C.A. 1, 2. Diam. 0 m. 50.

In the middle stands Our Lord in a white tunic and a brownish purple mantle, raising his right hand in benediction and holding a scroll with SE[QUER]E : ME, 'Follow me', the words he addressed to Matthew the publican, 'sitting at the receipt of custom'.

Were it not for the clue given by this inscription, this badly damaged medallion would have been hard to decipher. The lower half of Our Lord's figure has gone, and his face has been replaced, inside the red halo with a white cross, by a striking but inadequate one. Another very curious head is among the countless patches of this panel. Two or three very much mutilated Apostles can be seen behind Christ.

To the left St. Matthew stands up, bowing his head and joining his hands. Here again the lower half has disappeared, with the changer's table which would have given the scene a picturesque touch.³⁹ The architecture strongly resembles that of Nos. 38 and 39 (pl. xxii).

41. *St. Matthew writing his Gospel.*

S.T. II, 6. Diam. 0 m. 51.

There are two other SEQUERE ME in the Gospel according to St. John, one of which, addressed to St. Philip, could have been the text to No. 40, in its present condition. It has inspired one of the pictures of the Apostles' window at Chartres, where the 'Calling of St. Matthew' is not illustrated.⁴⁰ Yet none of the historians of Lincoln seems to have thought of St. Philip. The medallion I shall now describe shows they were justified. To the left is a holy man seated on a yellow chair, near a white tree. His right hand rests on a lectern, near a large open book. Half hidden in white clouds, an angel flies down towards him, making him known to us as St. Matthew the Evangelist. For the Lincoln medallion, very much decayed as it is, bears a strong general resemblance to a magnificent sculpture from Chartres, now in the Louvre.⁴¹

The presence of a figure which I have recognized as an insertion (No. 26: St. John carrying the palm at the Virgin's funeral) had hitherto prevented a correct reading of the scene. After proposing 'St. John at Patmos' (which was not very far from the mark) Dr. Nelson offered as an alternative 'or an Angel bringing a palm to the Holy Mother in announcement of her death'—and that was not, after all, so ridiculous as a suggestion made by others, who need not be named on this occasion: 'Our Lord and St. Peter walking on the water'.

XIII. THE LEGEND OF ST. NICHOLAS

42. *The child with the golden cup.*

S.T. II, 2. The right hand part of a pointed quatrefoil. 0 m. 48 x 0 m. 45.

This hitherto unexplained panel represents the final scene of a charming chapter in the legend of St. Nicholas, the most popular saint in the middle ages.

A nobleman had prayed to St. Nicholas for a son, promising to take the child to the saint's shrine on a pilgrimage and to leave there a golden vase as an offering. The son

³⁹ Cf. *Bible Moralisee*, pl. 493.

⁴⁰ Delaporte, op. cit., 298 and pl. 93. It is verse 43 of the first chapter. The other text

(John xxi, 19 and 22) has no iconographical application.

⁴¹ Cf. Andre Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, ii, part i, 162.

was born, and a vase was accordingly ordered, but the father found it so beautiful that he kept it for his own use, and had another vase of equal value made for the saint.

When the time came to go on the pilgrimage, the family took passage on a ship. During the crossing, the father asked his child to give him some water in the vase which had first been destined for St. Nicholas. But as he leaned forward to fill the vase, the child fell into the sea and disappeared at once. Nevertheless, the mourning father performed his vow. At the shrine of St. Nicholas, he offered the second vase, but the precious vessel fell from the altar as if repulsed by some mysterious power. When it was again put upon the altar, it was rejected further still. While the people were wondering at such a prodigy, the child appeared in perfect health, holding the first vase in his hands, and told that when he had fallen into the waves, St. Nicholas had come to his help and preserved him from any harm. Then the overjoyed father offered both vases to the saint. Our medallion represents a church, from the roof of which hangs a lamp. To the right stands a small white stone altar with beautiful yellow hangings (pl. xx). Of the image of St. Nicholas which formerly adorned it, nothing now remains but its round-headed niche. Turning his back upon the altar, the Boy, in a short green gown, carries the golden cup with both hands. The grateful father, in the centre, in a white tunic and a red cloak, holds up his clasped hands towards the image. Behind him stands the mother, leaning on a pilgrim's staff and raising her right hand in wonder.

43. *The Butcher murdering the Schoolboys.*

S.T. II, 3. Originally of the same shape and measurements as No. 42.

The story of the three schoolboys murdered by their host, a butcher, and restored to life by St. Nicholas after they had been preserved in salt, is not to be found in the *Golden Legend* nor in any of the ancient Lives. But it was told as early as the twelfth century by the Norman poet Wace, and very soon after put to the stage by the schoolboys in their patron saint's honour, which accounts for its universal circulation.

This panel is reproduced in Dr. Nelson's pl. IX from a drawing lent by Mr. A. G. Webster, and requires no long comment. No faces are left, save those of two sleepers, painted on one piece, very much like that of St. John in the Last Supper (No. 28). To the left of the scene, a beautiful angel has been inserted : see No. 76.

44. *St. Nicholas standing near a ship.*

S.T. II, 5. A lozenge-shaped medallion. 0 m. 76 x 0 m. 73.

This very fine medallion with the inscription 'S. NICHOLAUS' refers to one of the many occasions on which the great worker of miracles had to do with seamen. But in spite of its tolerable preservation and seeming clearness, it does not allow of a more precise interpretation (pl. XXIII). While I am rather tempted by the episode of the Storm, in spite of the extraordinary calmness of the scene, Dr. Nelson puts forward the amusing legend of the *Midiacion* (an 'oil that burned, against nature, in water' and which the devil had given to some pilgrims to destroy St. Nicholas' church at Myra). But his description is not quite accurate. St. Nicholas does not hold 'the rope attached to the sail', and the sailor near the oar does not carry 'the oil vase', but a very plain lantern.⁴² Besides the story of the *Midiacion* is told at great length at Chartres (in one of the three windows dedicated to St. Nicholas) without affording any enlightening comparison with our panel.⁴³

45. *Fragment from the Legend of St. Nicholas.*

S.C.A. II, 3.

In the central light of the East window of the South Choir aisle, in order to complete his series of 'Prophets and Apostles', the eighteenth-century glazier has enlisted a holy bishop, evidently cut out of a medallion. St. Nicholas will be easily known by his costume (white mitre, alb and amice, purple cope, and a plain yellow crosier, as in No. 44) and especially by the interesting drapery of his alb. St. Nicholas stands before a red altar (?) giving benediction (see also No. 65).

⁴² A similar lantern can be seen in plate 207 of the *Bible Moralisee*. Cf. plates 623 and 665.

⁴³ Delaporte, op. cit., 368-370 and plates 146 and 147.

XIV. THE LEGEND OF ST. DENIS

46. *St. Denis carrying his head.*

S.C.A. 1, 5. Diam. 0 m. 60.

Excellent sketches of this once very beautiful medallion (to which photography can hardly do justice) have been published by Westlake,⁴⁴ unfortunately under an erroneous title which has prevailed to this day: 'St. Thomas of Canterbury escorted by Angels to Heaven'. My objection is not that this would be the only representation of the subject ever reported. An ἄπαξ λεγόμενον can be admitted, witness our No. 11, when no other explanation is available. But all students of art will at one glance recognize St. Denis carrying his head, a theme not infrequent in French windows and paintings, to say nothing of monumental sculpture. Some people will be surprised to meet the patron saint of the French monarchy in an English cathedral. Let them know that one of the chapels of Lincoln cathedral was dedicated to St. Denis.⁴⁵ It was seated in the North Transept, between those of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas the Apostle. So that we may still behold the window where our medallion had its first place.

That we hear of no chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury in Lincoln Cathedral would hardly prove anything against the current attribution. Perhaps there would be more pith in the fact that the martyr does not wear the *pallium*, which is the distinctive mark of archbishops.⁴⁶ But the final argument against Westlake's *invention* is supplied by the window of the 'Legend of St. Cheron' at Chartres. This local martyr was credited with the same miraculous feat as St. Denis. The glass painter of Chartres accordingly represented him carrying his head under the guidance of an angel, while another angel censes him. But another scene shows two angels taking the soul of St. Cheron to heaven and the soul is figured in the usual manner, as a small naked figure standing on a veil, with joined hands.⁴⁷ Is not this a solid proof that when angels 'present a saint at the gate of Heaven' according to Westlake's phrase, they do not walk with him in procession?

Westlake's interpretation may have been suggested by the mention in St. Thomas' *Lives* that the sword of one of the murderers chopped off the vault of his skull. It will be noticed that the martyr in our medallion carries the upper part of his head only. But so does St. Denis, e.g. in the thirteenth-century windows at Le Mans, Chartres (destroyed in 1773), St. Denis-de-Jouhet, Tours, etc., in a statue in Chartres cathedral, and in a charming miniature in the collection of Mr. H. Yates Thompson,⁴⁸ where a tradition is followed earlier by many centuries than the *Golden Legend* and even than the Canterbury tragedy, and which greatly relieved the more delicate artists by allowing them to substitute an elegant symbol for that somewhat ungainly object, a headless figure.⁴⁹ At Lincoln, both the face and the scalp of the martyr have been 'cut, most artistically, from a piece of shaded ruby which gives them a bruised and ensanguined appearance'.⁵⁰ The same observation can be made here in the North Rose (cf. No. 78), at Chartres, in the 'Legend of St. James the Great'⁵¹ and elsewhere. Part of the architectural scenery is sketched in pl. XXI.

XV. THE LEGEND OF ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN

47. *The Body of St. Hugh carried into Lincoln.*

North Rose E.

To this medallion one of Westlake's plates⁵² has given fame, and a wrong title, unfortunately adopted by Dr. Nelson. It does not represent the translation of St. Hugh's

⁴⁴ Op. cit., i, 116, plate 68.

⁴⁵ According to the *Lincoln Diocesan Calendar*, five parochial churches in the present limits of the diocese are dedicated to St. Denis.

⁴⁶ Cf. *infra*, No. 59 and 60.

⁴⁷ Delaporte, op. cit., 340-1, plates 124-5.

⁴⁸ S. C. Cockerell, *A Psalter and Hours executed*

before 1270 for . . . *Isabelle of France* (London, Chiswick Press, 1905), pl. 14.

⁴⁹ Cf. Albert Mayeux, 'Les vitraux de Saint-Denis de Jouhet (Indre)', in *Bulletin Monumental*, lxxxii (1923), 183.

⁵⁰ Westlake, loc. cit. Cf. Hugh Arnold, op. cit., 80.

⁵¹ Delaporte, op. cit., 312.

⁵² Op. cit., vol. i, 115, pl. 67.

relics (which took place in 1280 only), but the Body of St. Hugh carried into Lincoln, on November 23rd, 1200, by three 'bishops' (probably the archbishops of Canterbury, Dublin and Ragusa) and three 'Kings' (probably king John of England, king William of Scotland and the Welsh prince Roland of Galloway).⁵³ It accordingly illustrates in a very faithful manner the contemporary relations of the event. Moreover, the style of drapery would perfectly agree with the date suggested by the foundation of a chantry in the nave (1235). St. Hugh was canonized in 1220.

A smaller figure is introduced under the bier. Father Thurston thought it was 'a cripple, no doubt intended to indicate the sufferers miraculously healed by the Saint'. Mr. Woodforde holds it 'must surely represent Adam, Sub-Prior of Eynsham, the chaplain and constant companion of St. Hugh for the last three years of his life and also the writer of the magnificent *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*'. It certainly is a priest, and the interesting face might be an early attempt at a portrait. But this very much mutilated medallion (which has the same shape and border as Nos. 24 and 25) ought to be closely examined to make out what share the mender may have taken in its present composition.

Winston, who does not seem to have noticed this historical panel when he studied the North Rose, mentions 'some of the medallions in the East windows of the choir aisles' as representing 'incidents of the life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, according to the opinion of Mr. E. J. Willson'. They are the subjects where a bishop appears, viz. No. 33 (Theophilus), No. 50 which will be presently described, and No. 57 which must, in its present condition, be classed among the 'unattributed medallions' though it may have belonged to another window of the 'Legend of St. Hugh of Lincoln'.

XVI. THE LEGEND OF A SAINTLY PRINCESS (ST. ETHELDREDA?)

Two medallions in the South Transept, which were sometime absurdly misnamed 'Our Lord's Apprehension' and 'The Kiss of Judas', have been more recently supposed⁵⁴ to be part of a series illustrating 'the Visit of the Queen of Sheba to king Solomon'. Each of them contains only one crowned figure, and that this principal actor is a princess is shown by the veil under the crown, practically the only feature in the heads which has not vanished, but is still perfectly visible in both cases.

Who this princess may be, I am not prepared to decide. One would think of the most famous one, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, but she was canonized in 1235 only, and our medallions cannot have been painted much later, if indeed they were not already in their place before that time. Is it likely that a German princess would have been honoured so soon and so far away from her abode? A British saint seems much more eligible, St. Etheldreda for example. I hand the question to my friends of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

48. *A holy princess distributing alms.*

S.T. III, 3 a. Segment of a circle. 0 m. 46×0 m. 38.

A princess, in a white tunic (pl. xx) and a yellow mantle, is standing at the palace door, between two red columns with yellow capitals, with an attendant. She stretches both hands forwards, in the act of distributing alms to two men outside. The foremost figure, very probably a monk in a white tunic and brown cloak, receives the alms with bent knee and inclined head.

49. *A holy princess washing the feet of the poor.*

S.T. III, 3 b. Same shape. 0 m. 46×0 m. 37.

The princess wears a green tunic and a purplish brown mantle. She stands in the centre, bending forward to wipe the legs of a beggar whose feet she has been washing. The poor man, in white, sits on a green stool, to the left. His hands are clasped on his

⁵³ Cf. the thirteenth-century bas-relief of a funeral reproduced in Didron's *Annales archéologiques*, iv, 22.

⁵⁴ By Dr. Nelson and Dr. James, who evidently were thinking of the Canterbury 'antitypes'.

breast, and his feet rest on the brim of a yellow basin. Two or more attendants stand behind the princess, one of whom wears a white tunic and a red mantle (pl. xx). The splendid style of the drapery makes the poor condition of these panels the more deplorable.

50. *A holy princess in the presence of a bishop.*

N.C.A. 1, 4. Diam. 0 m. 545.

A very much mutilated medallion indeed, with some more or less obvious interpolations. First of all the figure on the left must be cleared away to section xxi, where it will be described under No. 77. In the centre, a very curious piece has been inserted : the head of a sleeper very much like those in No. 28 and No. 43.

The princess stands with her head slightly inclined before a bishop seated to the right. The prelate wears a purple chasuble, a yellow amice and a low white mitre and carries a green book. He holds out his right hand and bows in greeting. In the present state of the medallion, the beautiful crosier between the two principal figures looks as if it stood on end (pl. xxii). Perhaps there has never been a crosier bearer to hold it : in that case the scene would be the Investiture of a princely abbess by a bishop, and might greatly help towards the identification of the legend. Otherwise we should witness a more commonplace welcome. At all events, *pace* Dr. Nelson, the medallion has nothing to do with Theophilus.⁵⁵ For one thing is certain : in spite of the different measurements, the princess is one and the same with the royal figure in medallions 48 and 49. Costume, drapery, crown and veil are identical.

At the top a fragmentary inscription consists of the two letters : ON or rather NO : and of an S. Even if it is *in situ*, it does not seem to bring much light to the question.

XVII. THREE MEDALLIONS WITH ELABORATE BORDERS

To this series, characterized by a rich border consisting of quatrefoils painted on blue glass, between two strings of white beads and two red fillets, belong the medallions usually identified with 'the Death and Funeral of the Blessed Virgin Mary'.

51. *An entombment scene.*

North Rose A.

The corpse is wrapped up in a white shroud and the presiding figure seems to be a woman whose green tunic with a white border can be seen under the tomb. The other actors wear boots. All those details clearly debar Dr. Nelson's explanation : 'The Death of the Virgin'. To the right, an alien figure and part of a border complete this very much mutilated panel.

52. *Men carrying a coffin.*

North Rose B.

This sadly mutilated scene is more likely to be a translation than a funeral. Here again certain boots make Dr. Nelson's title, 'The Funeral of the Virgin', most improbable. All the faces are decayed. The most remarkable piece, a man in white to the left is a probable interpolation. His short gown is draped very much like that of Theophilus in No. 30. A fragmentary border fills up the rest of the medallion.

53. *Four men standing.*

North Rose H.

This panel has been omitted from Mr. Woodforde's description. Dr. Nelson writes : 'Two pairs of people back to back.' There is not much more to be said about it. As a matter of fact, it is made up of two half moons, and the original portions in Nos. 51 and 52 also seem to be half moons.

⁵⁵ And yet the order of the medallions in this light was altered after the Great War in accordance with Dr. Nelson's views.

XVIII. OTHER UNATTRIBUTED MEDALLIONS

54. *A beheading.*

S.C.A. I, 4. Diam. 0 m. 51.

An executioner in a short yellow gown with red hose and yellow shoes stands to the left, raising his right arm (but the sword has gone) and grasping with his other hand the head of his victim, who kneels with hands clasped. To his feet, another severed head is plainly seen.

This remarkable detail prevents us from thinking of St. John the Baptist and of St. Thomas the Apostle, who had their own chapels in Lincoln Cathedral. A double execution occurs in the legends of St. James the Apostle and of St. Catherine. The longish hair would be in favour of the latter, but the decay of the painting makes a final choice impossible.

55. *A beheaded corpse lying on the ground.*

N.C.A. III, 4. Diam. 0 m. 525.

A censing angel (see No. 69) must be eliminated from this very much ruined medallion in which the only tolerably preserved feature is a corpse lying on the ground, very likely that of a beheaded man. Behind the corpse an utterly defaced figure in purple stands in the attitude of reverent pity. It may be noticed that the (severed?) head rests on the hands of the victim, hands and head being painted on the same piece of glass. A similar detail occurs in the legend of St. Chéron, who was found by his disciples 'prostrate on the ground as if he had still been in prayers, his head lying on his right arm'.⁵⁶ Of course it is hardly to be believed—in spite of what we shall have to say about No. 103, and of older associations—that the fame of an obscure martyr, honoured in the diocese of Chartres, should have travelled so far north. But a future student of our windows may find a similar note in some corner of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and proudly strike No. 55 off the list of 'unattributed medallions'.

56. *A saint preaching.*

S.C.A. III, 4. Diam. 0 m. 47.

This is not St. John again, as Mr. Woodforde only seems to say (owing to a misprint), but perhaps another Apostle. It is a pity that his name has gone off the scroll he holds in his hand.

57. *The burial (or exhumation) of a bishop.*

N.C.A. III, 2. Diam. 0 m. 57.

Across the medallion stretches a blue tomb, with its slab laid aslant on the ground. In the open green coffin lies a mitred figure. A priest in white standing at the head (near another priest) and a man in a short yellow garment are engaged in placing (or removing?) the green lid. To the right stand a priest carrying two books and an asperge, and a clerk in white, holding a book. Mr. Woodforde surmises the scene 'might represent the burial of St. Hugh or of St. Thomas Becket'. I think we should here imitate the caution of Westlake, who speaks of the 'burial or exhumation of a bishop'.⁵⁷ For it is by no means easy to descry one operation from the other, as will be seen on referring to the 'Resurrection of Lazarus' in the *Psautil de l'Arsenal*.⁵⁸

58. *A diablerie.*

N.C.A. III, 3. Diam. 0 m. 485.

This is again a hopelessly defaced panel, with no painting left in the figures. The principal one, in yellow boots, is chasing away with much energy a group of demons, of

⁵⁶ Delaporte, op. cit., 340. This detail has not been represented in the window at Chartres.

⁵⁷ Op. cit., 116. There is less sense in the opinion expressed in the same passage that the

capital of the column in this subject is 'drawn almost like twelfth century work, such as it occurs in the Jesse Tree of Chartres'.

⁵⁸ Henry Martin, *Psautil de Blanche de Castille*, Paris (Les Joyaux de l'Arsenal).

which are extant only a wonderful red head and a comical green devil who hastens back into a yellow cauldron (pl. xxi). Red flames spring up from the ground where they stood. To the right stands the smaller figure of a saint with a red halo, who raises his right arm in the act of exorcising.

I have vainly searched the *Golden Legend* for the explanation of this most amusing diablerie, which has certainly nothing to do with chapter xiv of Revelation, in spite of Dr. Nelson's far-fetched suggestion.

XIX. ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS

59 and 60. *Two Archbishops.*

North Rose, K and L. Quatrefoils.

In each medallion, an archbishop is seated, holding his metropolitan cross and a closed book with the distinctive pallium on his chasuble. No. 60 is illustrated in Westlake's plate 42. In No. 59 the top part of the cross is replaced by a fragment of foliage. It is obvious that these two somewhat stiff figures were drawn from the same design.

61, 62, 63. *Three Bishops.*

North Rose, I, J and M. Quatrefoils.

The bishops raise their right hand in benediction and hold a crosier. As will be seen later, most authorities agree to think these five prelates are not in their proper place in the North Rose. Westlake suggests they may have come 'from the opposite transept when the wheel window in it was rebuilt'. Arnold is content with writing they come 'from elsewhere'. His prudence seems justified. For archbishops and bishops alike are represented without nimbi. Of course mediaeval artists are not always consistent in their use of this symbolical detail. In the North Rose itself, the Blessed in Paradise are unequally treated in this respect. At any rate the absence of nimbi leaves the door open to the hypothesis that the five medallions do not enshrine saints, but living prelates.

At Chartres, several donors are represented standing or riding in the tracery roses. At Rheims, the clerestory windows of the choir show Archbishop Henri de Braine and his suffragan bishops with their cathedrals under the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Apostles. In the clerestory of Tours Cathedral, a large grisaille is adorned with an upper row of holy archbishops, under which stand prelates without nimbi, suffragan bishops again, the donors of the window.⁵⁹

A somewhat similar programme may have been followed at Lincoln, and it is by no means improbable that our prelates once sat in the tracery of some grisaille windows.

XX. LANCET HEADS AND TOP-FIGURES

64. *Christ sitting in majesty.*

S.T. iv, 2. A lozenge-shaped panel, o m. 56 x o m. 495.

Our Lord, in a yellow tunic with a green amice and a purple mantle is seated on a throne, holding a closed book. His right hand raised in benediction shows its bleeding wound. Nothing is left from his face, surrounded by a red nimbus with a white cross.

65. *Same subject.*

The same subject on a smaller scale and with eventual differences appears at the top of the lancet in the North Transept with the beautiful fourteenth-century Angels playing upon musical instruments. It is contained in the upper part of a pointed quatrefoil like those of Nos. 42 and 43, so that this figure of Our Lord may have been the top panel of a St. Nicholas window.⁶⁰ At Chartres, more than twelve legendary windows show similar figures.

⁵⁹ Bourasse, Manceau, and Marchand, *Verrières de l'église métropolitaine de Tours* (Paris and Tours, 1849), pl. II.

⁶⁰ I was unfortunately unable to measure this panel.

66. *Same subject?*

S.T. IV, 1.

A small figure of Christ of which nothing but the head with the cruciferous nimbus and the right arm remain *in situ*. The left arm and hand, in which Dr. Nelson sees a chalice, have been interpolated. Even the face of Our Lord is a substitute for the original one, but it is of the same style as those in Nos. 29 and 39, and most interesting.

67. *Christ carrying a soul.*

S.T. III, 2. A lozenge-shaped panel. Height 0 m. 60.

Our Lord is represented very much as in No. 64, but His hands, raised up to shoulder height, hold the ends of a white veil in which a little naked soul is standing. His face, painted on light purple glass, is tolerably well preserved.

No other example of this subject is known to me in stained glass. It closely resembles the motif of 'Abraham's bosom', which is often met with in windows of the Last Judgement (e.g. at Chartres and at Mantes) and, of course, of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Bourges). It would be tempting enough to consider the cruciferous nimbus as a mistake of our by no means unerring glass painters, and this panel as a remnant of a Lazarus window. But only one soul is represented here instead of three in the other examples quoted (and in plate 339 of the *Bible Moralisee*). So that I think the temptation should be resisted.

On the other hand, there is a panel of 'Abraham's Bosom' at the top of another window at Bourges, the 'Legend of St. Mary of Egypt', and only one soul is figured, that of the saint. Perhaps the present panel is to be looked upon as an English reading of the theme, precisely illustrating Wisdom, iii, 1: 'The souls of the just are in the hand of God.' A Nottingham alabaster carving of the fifteenth century in a private collection at Rouen represents the Holy Trinity, and the Crucifix stands between the knees of God the Father who carries several souls in a veil. Of course this would give no clue whatever to the subject of the original window.

68. *Censing Angels.*

S.T. II, 1. Height about 0 m. 50.

Censing Angels were a favourite theme for lancet heads, where they accompanied martyrdom scenes, funerals, representations of the Deity or of 'Abraham's Bosom', etc. (e.g. at Chartres, Bourges, Le Mans and Rouen).

This excellent specimen has been reproduced by Westlake.⁶¹

69. *A Censing Angel.*

N.C.A. III, 4.

A fragment of a similar figure has been inserted in medallion No. 55. The angel holds the chains of his censer in both hands.

XXI. STRAY FIGURES AND FRAGMENTS

It would not be possible here to draw up a complete list of all the figures and fragments of figures, drapery, architecture and scenery the eighteenth-century glazier has made use of. But I may perhaps pick out the more interesting among them, those which I have traced, sketched or photographed.

Some very curious heads have already been mentioned in Nos. 28, 38-39, 50 and 66.

70. *A crowned head (of the Blessed Virgin Mary?).*

S.C.A. II, 5.

The mutilated figure of an Apostle described in section VI (No. 18) has been 'mended' with a crowned head with curly hair, of a somewhat archaic construction, and which may be the earliest image Lincoln Cathedral has preserved of the Virgin, if it is not claimed for St. Catherine or for another holy princess (pl. XXII).

⁶¹ Op. cit., i, pl. 66 (p. 114).

71. *The Virgin and Child.*

From the South Rose.

In the wonderful medley of the South Rose, I have found this most noble image of the Virgin and Child, framed in a yellow trefoil arch with a blue background. The Holy Mother is seated and carries the Child (in green) on her left knee. She wears a golden crown and a yellow robe. The beautiful drapery and the perfect drawing of the hands make the destruction of both heads only the more deplorable (pl. xix).

72. *The Virgin and Child.*

S.C.A. II, 1.

The seated Virgin wears a purple tunic and a white mantle. She gracefully inclines her crowned head over the Child, in green and white, who is seen full face and gives benediction.

Across the blue background runs the golden inscription : *Ave Maria*. Thus to this day, in the neighbourhood of the high altar once dedicated to Our Lady, this very charming image quietly sings the sacred words which the whole Cathedral was built to proclaim with 'full-voiced quire'.

73. *Head of St. John the Baptist.*

N.C.A. II, 4.

The white scroll inscribed IOHANN puts a name on this half-figure of the Harbinger, drawn on a larger scale than the neighbouring Prophets and Apostles. The pupils are two black dots in the middle of the staring eyes.⁶² The golden crown over the red nimbus does not belong to the subject, one of the best preserved in the cathedral.

74. *A King (?).*

N.C.A. I, 1.

'A figure of a King largely made up of disconnected fragments' (Woodforde); cf. section V.

75. *A King, from a medallion.*

S.C.A. II, 2.

A crowned king in yellow and red, seated with one leg cocked over the other, and holding a sceptre. Mr. Woodforde believes this 'interesting figure may originally have come from a Jesse Tree'. But even in late examples of the thirteenth century (e.g. at Tours) the Kings of Judah hold the branches of the tree with both hands.

I am more inclined to consider this figure, which reminds one of Herod in the 'Massacre of the Innocents', as a fragment from some martyrdom scene.

76. *An angel from a medallion.*

S.T. II, 2. Height 0 m. 45.

This angel is reproduced in Dr. Nelson's pl. IX together with the scene from the 'Legend of St. Nicholas' (No. 43) to which it has been appended by the 'restorer'. But the draughtsman has hardly done credit to his model, one of the most admirable figures in Lincoln. The angel has a red halo and white wings and wears a white mantle over his purple tunic. He stands with head bent and clasped hands, facing right. In what action he may have been engaged, I shall not venture to guess. The style of drapery is that of the legends of St. Matthew and of St. John (pl. xx).

77. *A young saint preaching.*

N.C.A. I, 4.

A youthful figure seated facing towards the right, holding a book. The red stole on his alb is marked with a cross at each end. Interpolated into No. 50.

⁶² Cf. the head of a King painted on the walls of the cloisters of St. George's chapel at Windsor,

reproduced in T. Borenius and E. W. Tristram, op. cit., pl. 31.

78. *Fragments of drapery.*

N.C.A. III, I.

I wish to mention, in favour of the excellent drapery, the mutilated body or bodies which compose, with No. 15, a distinctly top-heavy figure.

79. *Fragment of drapery.*

North Rose, 25.

Inserted into the 'Resurrection of the Dead'. See pl. xx.

The South Rose contains some more or less mutilated angels, men and devils of the same character as those I have catalogued. Perhaps I may be excused not to give them numbers. But I wish to draw attention to a figure in white and green which, judging by the drapery, might date from the twelfth century. The background is red, with some beautiful scroll-work. This curious relic ought to be photographed and closely studied.

XXII. THE LAST JUDGEMENT

(North Rose)

The abolition of Time and the advent of Eternity find their proper place at the end of a methodical catalogue. I may add that it is a great relief, after gathering so many fragments, 'that nothing be lost', to contemplate at some leisure the North Rose, which is at once the masterpiece of the Lincoln glaziers, and the only work of their hands that has remained in its original place.⁶³

The North Rose has been described by Winston and by Mr. Woodforde, whose numbers and letters are here adopted with but few changed. The subject is twofold, the outer circles representing the Day of Judgement and the inner compartments the Kingdom of Heaven.

80. *Christ as Judge.*

North Rose, 16.

This medallion is reproduced in Dr. Nelson's pl. ix and in Mr. Woodforde's guide (from a drawing by Winston?), and the head of Our Lord in Westlake's pl. 41.⁶⁴ The face is a perfect masterpiece of style and workmanship. Unfortunately its features are now very much decayed. Our Lord wears a purple mantle over the white tunic which leaves the wound of His side bare.

81. *The Cross* (No. 17).

The large cross is painted on green glass—a symbolical colour—with a white *titulus* inscribed I H C N A Z A R E N U S. It is supported by two angels. Reproduced in Fowler's *Mosaic Pavements and Painted Glass*; 'but not accurately', remarks Winston.

82. *The Spear* (No. 18).

Two angels hold the Spear 'the head of which is formed of a piece of ruby glass imperfectly coloured and appearing as if it were white, with a trifling smear of red' (Winston). Cf. No. 46.

83. *The three Nails* (No. 19).

An angel carries the three Nails in a veil, another holds a censer.

84. *The Crown of Thorns* (No. 20).

Two angels, one with the Crown of Thorns, depicted as a green wreath of entwined stems with small clover leaves, the other with a censer (illustrated in Westlake, i, 75, pl. 43).

⁶³ J. D. Le Couteur observes that it is the only example of a thirteenth-century rose window in England retaining its original glazing (op. cit., 71).

⁶⁴ Op. cit., vol. i, 71 (after an excellent tracing by Hughes).

85. *The Virgin and Apostles* (No. 21).

A group of six seated figures, the foremost of whom is St. Peter with a pair of large keys and the second St. Paul, known by his traditional type, as at Chartres. The third person is the Blessed Virgin Mary wearing a crown like that in No. 48, while the others have nimbi. The Virgin is not present at Chartres, but at Mantes she can be seen with St. John the Divine, kneeling at the feet of the Supreme Judge.

86. *Another group of Apostles* (No. 22).

Seven seated figures, very much mutilated.

87. *Two angels sounding the trumpets* (No. 23).

The lower part of the figure to the left has been selected as a specimen of the beautiful and effective drapery which marks the North Rose (pl. xx).

88. *Same subject* (No. 24).89. *The Resurrection of the Dead* (No. 25).

This very much mutilated panel is full of motion. The dead rising in their tombs carry blue stone slabs on their shoulders.

The same subject was very probably repeated, in the corresponding compartment (G), now occupied by our No. 1. The five medallions where we now see archbishops and bishops may have been originally filled by 'St. Michael weighing the souls' (M), 'the Elect led by angels' (L) 'to Paradise' (J), and 'the Wicked taken by devils' (K) 'to the Mouth of Hell' (I), as I suppose after comparison with the contemporaneous roses at Chartres and at Mantes.⁶⁵

The Lincoln rose would thus gather in sixteen circles all the essential elements of the grandest scene in Christian art. Mr. Woodforde is the only authority to profess that the worthy prelates (Nos. 59-63) are *in situ*. It strikes him 'how well they fit' and he observes that 'the borders are the same as those in the panels' of the Last Judgement. But the Archbishops and Bishops have a setting of their own (a quatrefoil consisting of a double fillet, red and white) in which they seem somewhat loosely and irregularly arranged. No doubt the Georgian glazier has been very busy over them. Besides, Mr. Woodforde must admit that 'they were perhaps the work of a younger and more advanced glass painter'. The main point, however, is this: if the prelates are part of the original composition, they must mean something. Dr. E. M. Sympson wrote that 'the subject of the North Rose was the Church on Earth and the Church in Heaven'. Is any one prepared to uphold that two archbishops and three bishops are a sufficient representation of the Church militant?

XXIII. THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

(North Rose)

90. *Christ sitting in majesty* (1).

Winston gives a valuable description of this very much mutilated figure: 'The head is youthful, but of inferior execution to the head of the figure in 16 (No. 80). It is adorned with a yellow nimbus bearing a white cross. What remains of the figure is clothed in a red robe, and a white under-garment having yellow cuffs. The right hand is raised in benediction; it exhibits no stigma. The left hand is destroyed; it once held a book which still remains. One foot is perfect, it exhibits no stigma. The flesh colour is very deep, almost purple.'

⁶⁵ Winston thought the Archbishops and Bishops were 'somewhat later than the original glazing' and that their place was 'in all probability occupied with the Resurrection and its usual incidents, the rescuing of the Good and the abandonment of the Bad to Infernal Powers'.

For Chartres, see Delaporte, op. cit., 519, pls. 275ff. Westlake's description of the rose at Mantes is neither complete nor trustworthy. Excellent photographs have recently been executed for the French administration of Historical Monuments (Nos. 110.952 to 110.963).

91-93. *The Blessed in adoration* (2-4).

Each lobe of the central part of the rose was originally filled with a gigantic medallion, the combination of a square and of a quatrefoil inside a circle, all composed of white and green or blue fillets, the red field being decorated with scroll-work and small discs of colour. It enclosed four symmetrical groups of three seated figures on a blue background, representing the Blessed in attitudes of adoration. None of those large compartments is now complete. The glazier has filled the gaps with medallions from other windows, as we have already seen and with mere fragments.

The present division has kept three of its original groups. Each comprises a mitred bishop. A woman can be distinctly seen in No. 92 (3). The central person in No. 93 (4) shows perhaps the only tolerably preserved head in this sadly mutilated and decayed ensemble where most of the figures are mere patchwork. It is that of a man with curly beard and hair, and is finely painted on white glass.

94-96. *The same subject* (5 to 7).

One of the figures in 95 (6) is a woman with a red halo.

97-98. *The same subject* (8 and 9).

Two figures are missing in 97 (8). Winston writes: 'Part of a Jesse is inserted' (see section V).

99. *The same subject* (10).

The only group left in the upper lobe: three saintly figures seated on a yellow bench.

100-102. *Censing angels* (12 b, c, d).

The trefoils were originally occupied by four censing angels, one of whom has been destroyed (there is nothing but fragments in compartment 12a) and another badly damaged (No. 102, 12d). No. 101 (12b) is illustrated in L. F. Day's *Windows* (third ed., 38) after an excellent water colour by Winston. It bears a comparison with the best panels at Chartres and Bourges and shows the high degree of artistic and technical excellence to which the North Rose attained before the combined assaults of time, weather and man more than half ruined it.

The decoration is completed by 'little four-leaf ornaments in four colours which vary in the different compartments' marked 13 (one of which has given shelter to an archaic *palmette* on a red background similar to those in the South Rose) and by 'white estoiles on red backgrounds' (No. 14) and 'red estoiles on blue backgrounds' (No. 15).

Westlake thought he could correct Winston on his interpretation of the general subject. He suggested that 'the centre represented our Lord as the Word, the uncreated Wisdom as Creator, resting, an idea of the original Sabbath; seeing all that He had done was good', etc. His far-fetched and unconvincing explanation is founded on the wrong idea that 'it is not probable that Our Lord would be represented as seated in Heaven in his beatitude without the "stigmata".' Proof of the contrary is given by the *Bible Moralisée*,⁶⁶ and it is obvious that a composition where Christ seated in majesty is adored by the Blessed represents the beatific vision, the 'Kingdom of Heaven'.

XXIV. INSCRIPTIONS, HERALDRY AND ORNAMENT

103. '*Lame Thomas*'.

S.T. III, 7.

The inscriptions which occur here and there have been recorded with the medallions they meant to make clearer. Only one remains to be described, a very beautiful specimen of lettering which has been reproduced in L. F. Day's *Alphabets Old and New*,⁶⁷ but must rather puzzle the casual visitor who reads LAME THOMAS, in tall yellow letters on a blue background, under the panel where David stands on his hands before King Achish.

⁶⁶ See plates 49, 244, 620, etc.

⁶⁷ (London, 1910), 48 (from a drawing by Winston).

The riddle is solved when you pronounce it in French and put two words^{67a} before it, (*Pries por l'ame Thomas*: 'Pray for the soul of Thomas'). But it is not so easy to guess what words went after, and to say who this Thomas was. A mighty person no doubt, for the scale of the lettering suggests a very large 'memorial window' indeed, possibly a triplet. Some have thought of Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who became Earl of Lincoln on marrying the daughter of Henry Lacy, and was beheaded at Pontefract in 1322. But that is much too late for the style of the inscription. Another Thomas who occurs in local history: Thomas Comte du Perche, who was killed at the battle of Lincoln in 1217 and was buried in the city, seems to me much more eligible. An interesting window with the 'Signs of the Zodiac' and the 'Labours of the months' was founded to his memory in Chartres Cathedral.⁶⁸

104. *A coat of arms.*

S.T. III, I.

'Beaumont impaling de Vere' (Dr. Nelson). This is the most important specimen of heraldry in the Minster. Having made no notes of this panel, I shall not venture to date it.

The section on Ornament would be the longest one by far had I to catalogue the innumerable fragments of borders and of scroll- and diaper-work, the bosses and quarries, the grisaille patterns, etc., which have escaped destruction. Fortunately my dry list can be replaced by the more useful indication of two collections of admirable documents, one at the Victoria and Albert Museum (E.I.D.) by O. Hudson (watercolours and tracings, 1846) and the other in the MSS. department of the British Museum (watercolours by Charles Winston).⁶⁹ Several borders have been also published by Westlake from tracings by E. J. Willson, and reproduced elsewhere, so that the decoration at Lincoln is comparatively better known than the figure work. Its importance is very great indeed, as I hope to show in the forthcoming conclusion where a word must also be said of the grisailles.

III. RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

The catalogue I have drawn up comprises more than one hundred subjects and figures. The question is, how many windows can be reconstructed with them. The answer depends very much on the solution given to the problem of Old Testament History.

No. 1 must be set apart, for it is almost twice as broad as the average medallions. It either comes from the original South Rose, where the 'Genesis' would have offered an admirable contrast to the 'Last Judgement' in the North Rose,⁷⁰ or from some large lancet or triplet yet to be identified.

On the other hand, Nos. 2-10 form by far the longest set among the Lincoln panels. Its original arrangement—the 'incomplete circles', being cut up by the window border either to the right (Nos. 3 and 5) or to the left (No. 4), were probably disposed in regular tiers with perfect circles in the middle—proceeds from a wish to save space at the cost of pleasure. To my knowledge, it only occurs at Rouen, in a grisaille window where the effect is, of course, very monotonous.⁷¹

^{67a} Here given in their old form.

⁶⁸ Delaporte, op. cit., 228.

⁶⁹ See the catalogue of drawings of glass paintings by 'the late C.W.' appended to the *Memoirs*, etc., published in 1865.

⁷⁰ There is a 'Genesis' rose window at Rheims, and another at Lyon (where the 'Fall' and the 'Redemption' are represented in twelve

medallions). Both are in the North Transept, in perfect accordance with iconographical rules. But every rule has its exceptions, and the Lincoln rose is one, for the proper place for the 'Last Judgement' would have been the West front, only there was no room for a rose window there.

⁷¹ G. Ritter, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Cognac, 1926), pl. 29.

Besides the special character of Nos. 8 and 9 induces me to suppose the original collection to have always been of a purely narrative character (like the windows in the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris, that most admirable of 'Historial Bibles', in M. Emile Male's phrase). In other words, it was too numerous, too minutely detailed, to be contained in the frame of those symbolical windows where Old and New Testament subjects were confronted.

All our other biblical medallions, including the only two from the Gospels, belonged to such a 'type' and 'antitype' series. Their subjects were part of the Canterbury programme of twelve windows as published by Charles Winston.⁷² Of course it does not follow that Lincoln was quite so rich, but the fact that in either cathedral 'Noah's Ark' (No. 13) is drawn after one and the same model, and the presence of such an exceedingly rare episode as 'David feigning madness before king Achish' (No. 11) certainly point that way.⁷³

In respect of the other subjects (New Testament History and Christian Legends), I do not wish to go farther than the indications given by the chapters in my catalogue. For this second part of the general scheme, we may then safely reckon on a rose and ten windows (or pairs of lancets, as in the case of the 'Legend of St. Nicholas', which offers two different types of compartments). Would the 'unattributed medallions', the hypothetic 'Jesse Tree', the 'Prophets and Apostles' and the 'Archbishops', not to mention the lancet heads, justify us in doubling that number? The question had better remain unanswered for the present.

It stands beyond doubt that in the general scheme a considerable part was allotted to the grisaille windows, not only in the transept and other unobtrusive positions, as at York, at Rouen and even at Chartres, but in the whole Angel Choir. Great surfaces of such work were sacrificed to the 'restoration' methods of the Georgian glazier while five perfect specimens were placed in the lancets under the North Rose.⁷⁴

We may therefore conclude that the stained glass decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the thirteenth century is known to us to a very remarkable extent. Canterbury of course has the advantage of showing an ensemble of complete or completed windows of a high grade of excellence, and the wonderful series of Patriarchs from the choir clerestory; but without Lincoln, should we be able to state that the iconographical programme of the windows of an English cathedral could be as full, as universal as that of a French one? For it appears from our catalogue that the glaziers gladly assumed a task which the sculptors had to leave aside, even when, as the Bishop's Porch shows, they were artists of no mean ability.

Perhaps the reader has noticed that we still possess a certain number of lancet heads and that most of the preserved subjects belong to the top part of the original windows. Of course this is by no means special to Lincoln, but only Puritan iconoclasm can account for such an unusual proportion of martyrdom, burial,

⁷² From Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*. See *An Enquiry*, etc., 351-364.

⁷³ The actual design of the windows was not the same in both cathedrals, for at Lincoln 'Noah in the Ark' has been allotted a full circle, and at Canterbury half a circle only.

'David feigning madness' is not among the subjects at the Sainte-Chapelle.

⁷⁴ Illustrated in L. F. Day, *Windows*, 3rd ed. (London, 1909), figs. 111, 113 and 226. Another grisaille pattern is represented in fig. 77.

and translation scenes and for the total absence of births, christenings, and other episodes from the early life of the saints.

Something has just been said of the probable composition of the Moses window (or windows). The 'incomplete circles' appear again in the 'Legend of the Holy Princess' (Nos. 48 and 49) where larger round medallions were also used (No. 50). The beautiful decoration of the Legend of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Nos. 24 and 25) has been made popular by Winston's plate. Under No. 28, I have described the remarkable arrangement of some of the symbolical subjects, as it can be reconstructed after comparison with the 'St. John' window at Chartres (fig. 4). One of the lancets in the chapel of St. Nicholas once showed pointed quatrefoils with a circle in the middle (see Nos. 42, 43 and 65) as the 'Prodigal Son' at Chartres; and the other lozenges (see No. 44) possibly combined with smaller roundels as at Canterbury, Chartres, Sens, and elsewhere. Medallion 38-39 is of a very unusual and not inelegant shape, but we cannot be sure it belonged from the first to the 'Legend of St. John'.

All the other subjects are circles and half-circles. The Georgian glazier had a special liking for that perfect form. No doubt he has transformed, if not destroyed, many compartments of the shapes we can see in other cathedrals, thereby depriving us of the necessary clues to further reconstructions. Nevertheless, I think a patient observer could still find out what borders and diaper backgrounds go with certain sets of medallions, and that such an enquiry would be no waste of his time and pains.

IV. THE CHRONOLOGY OF LINCOLN GLASS

Canon Delaporte, the learned historian of the Chartres windows, has shown that as a rule the glaziers kept pace with the masons. This is verified at Lincoln where the North Rose, which so eloquently bears witness to the influence of Cistercian art on English Gothic architecture,⁷⁵ was glazed about 1200, according to Winston. It would therefore be very important to ascertain the original placing of the other windows; the more so, because they are in such a wretched state of preservation that their 'internal evidence' is very often inaudible. Fortunately, we stand on firm ground with 'St. John the Divine' (Nos. 36-39), 'St. Nicholas' (Nos. 42-45) and 'St. Denis' (No. 46), all of whom had their chapels in the main transept which was completed shortly after St. Hugh's death in 1200. Other windows, e.g. the 'Legend of St. Matthew' (Nos. 40 and 41) evidently belong to the same very important group.

A comparison with Canterbury and the windows in the nave of Chartres suggests an early date in the thirteenth century for the 'symbolical' windows (Nos. 11-14 and 27-28) which were probably placed in the choir aisles and for 'Adam and Eve' (No. 1), which I have tentatively located in the original South Rose. The other biblical subjects (Nos. 2-10) are characterized by an exceptional severity of style. They show no scenery but only figures, boldly outlined and draped. Their colouring is practically limited to blue (for the backgrounds of the roundels), a greenish white, and purple. Brown does not appear at all, yellow and green are but scantily used, and red only appears in spots, so that the idea arises that it played

⁷⁵ The central part with its four 'petal-like lights' is almost exactly similar to the rose in

the ruined abbey church of Les Vaux de Cernay (Seine-et-Oise).

a large part in the background of the window. Howbeit, such marks clearly indicate early work. So does the beautiful decoration of the 'Legend of the Blessed Virgin' (Nos. 24-26).

E. J. Willson told Winston that the so-called 'subjects from the Legend of St. Hugh' (see the account of No. 47) came from the nave aisles.⁷⁶ Now, for the *real* subject from St. Hugh's life at present in the North Rose (No. 47), where a distinctly 'advanced' face is conspicuous, I have accepted the date of about 1235 (the year in which a chantry was dedicated to the saint and in which Bishop Hugh of Wells, the builder of the nave, died). In my opinion, none of the subjects in the choir aisle windows (including the 'Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary') are more recent. Only the head of a king (No. 15, from a Jesse Tree?) and the 'Prophets and Apostles' may be ascribed to the middle of the century. Perhaps they represent the contribution of the Angel Choir to the present collection.

These very prudent conclusions gainsay the current opinion which ascribes the bulk of the Lincoln medallions to the period 1220-1240, in opposition to Canterbury. In reality most of the Lincoln glass is contemporaneous with the greater part of the 'Gothic' work at Canterbury (1200-1220), and its evidence may be called into court to sort out the earlier elements of the Canterbury work.

Some authors also thought Canterbury could be characterized by the predominance of scroll-work backgrounds, and Lincoln by that of geometrical diaper. Perhaps they had not the opportunity of observing both systems side by side in the nave of Chartres. Besides diaper mosaic already appears at Canterbury and the diaper at Lincoln, being of the same refined character as in the earlier windows of Chartres, ought not to be described as 'trellis' work. Large portions in the South Rose are very like the background of the 'Noah' window in that cathedral, and of the well known 'History of Joseph' at Rouen by Clement of Chartres.⁷⁷

Another very interesting point to settle would be the presence of twelfth century glass at Lincoln. In the glorious medley of the South Rose Dr. Nelson was the first to descry 'some fine scroll-work in white upon ruby, the leaves being painted upon yellow, blue and green glass, which work appears to date from the end of the twelfth century'. His opinion seems to be confirmed by the presence of a figure which may belong to that period, as has been said at the end of section XXI (p. 144).

But why did he describe the four lancet windows under the Bishop's Eye as 'containing fine *twelfth* and thirteenth century medallions'? Mr. Herbert Read followed him, although he did not bring forth the least justification, but Mr. Woodforde very wisely gave him the slip. For a close study of our medallions discovers nothing of a 'Norman' or 'Romanesque' character.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Winston mentions 'the original ironwork of a medallion window' in the first window from the west on the North side.

⁷⁷ Illustrated in Hugh Arnold, *op. cit.* pl. 14.

⁷⁸ I think the reader will agree that the gist of the question is there, and not in fact that a panel may have been painted in December, 1199. Yet the standard books on stained glass in England will give lists of 'twelfth century glass' which include Dorchester Abbey, Lanchester church and St. Denis, York—on which see No. 33 of the catalogue. The other

two examples are certainly more archaic, but their 'Gothic' character cannot be disputed. The only specimens of 'twelfth century' English glass are to be seen at York Minster, at Canterbury (where the chronology remains to be fixed) and (possibly) at Lincoln. Such an extreme scarcity proves nothing against the former existence of numerous stained glass windows of the Norman period. Normandy and Picardy have nothing to show before the thirteenth century, and yet nobody imagines their cathedrals and abbeys of the preceding age had blank windows.

V. AN ANGLO-FRENCH DEBATE

'Where was the glass painted? This is the natural question to ask after we have looked carefully at the glass and admired its beauty.' So says Mr. Woodforde, and I may add that this 'natural' question becomes a piquant one when you can put it to a Frenchman. For there has been an Anglo-French debate since the day when Westlake, after discovering remarkable and unquestionable analogies between certain windows at Canterbury, Sens and Chartres, stated that the best work of the thirteenth century in England had been painted in France or by Frenchmen from Chartres, Bourges, etc. At a later stage of his *History of Design*, he came to the same conclusion about the fourteenth century, and established a central school at Rouen. His views were adopted by the great French historian of Christian art, M. Male, and it was henceforth more or less taken for granted on my side of the Channel that all English windows from the twelfth to the fifteenth century were made either in France or by French artists.

As regards Lincoln, Westlake writes that its windows 'resemble occasionally the glass at Bourges most strongly and have little or nothing distinctly English. . . The borders exhibit a different character to the work at Chartres and Canterbury, Sens and Rouen, but not unlike some at Bourges. There can be scarcely a doubt that at this date there were three or four great painted glass ateliers, and possibly the Lincoln glass or the artists employed upon it were of the Bourges school.'⁷⁹

M. Male makes matters simpler still. He accepts Westlake's mistaken identification of 'St. Denis carrying his head' (No. 46) with 'St. Thomas of Canterbury escorted to Heaven by Angels', and that is sufficient for him to press Lincoln into the Canterbury-Sens group.⁸⁰ Of course, some critics in the other camp (Mr. Sherrill, for example, whom I have quoted in the Introduction) are equally unscrupulous when they decree that Lincoln had nothing to do with Canterbury, 'that rock on which the main current of English art struck and parted asunder only to meet again on the other side'.⁸¹

The wild generalizations of Westlake and his followers have been strongly deprecated by Mr. Herbert Read, who shows that France could not possibly have manufactured all the windows in Europe, nor even provided all the local ateliers with foremen. Besides 'the safe carriage of the complete equipment of the windows of Lincoln Cathedral from their supposed workshop at Bourges is a feat that a modern master of industry, with the means of modern transport by sea and land at his disposal, might well be proud of. For the thirteenth century the idea is not so plausible'.⁸² Finally Mr. Read asks why England should not be credited with the same amount of creative power in glass painting as in architecture, sculpture, wall painting and other branches of art.

I naturally agree with him on those points and I heartily join in his plea that 'stylistic and decorative details which are the commonplaces of the period, should not be given a significance which is altogether false' and that 'comparisons should rest almost exclusively on the nature of painting and design and the range of the

⁷⁹ Op. cit., i, 117.

⁸⁰ Emile Male, 'La Peinture sur verre en France, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, in Andre Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, ii, part 1 (Paris, 1906), 373.

⁸¹ Francis Bond, *English Cathedrals* (London, 1912), 29.

⁸² Op. cit., 37.

colours'. Moreover, Mr. Read rightly holds that our conceptions of nationalism are 'totally foreign to the age and art in question'. He certainly makes short work of the ravings and inconsistencies of his opponents, but I am afraid his own arguments in favour of the growing independence of English glass painters during the second half of the thirteenth century are not much more solid, and do not savour of a wrong notion of patriotism any less.⁸³

However, this is not the place to discuss them. I must be content with defending Westlake against an imputation of Mr. Read's, when he says: 'That the theory did, in this instance, originate with an English writer is only a further witness to the strange fact that English critics, always innately puritanical, have ever been peculiarly ready to disown evidences of aesthetic feeling among their own countrymen.'⁸⁴

Now Westlake has composed his large *History of Design in painted glass* to prove the continuity of a national tradition dating from the twelfth century.⁸⁵ In his vol. i, he discovers a 'national character' in the Romanesque borders at York Minster, just as, at the end of vol. iv, he will claim for English glass painters the purely Flemish windows of Basingstoke and The Vyne. After such feats, we may be sure that he has earnestly strived to discover something 'distinctly English in the work at Lincoln'. His failure to do so is not to be explained by any fanatical infatuation.

I very seldom agree with Westlake's theories. In my opinion, his system of schools and ateliers is often inconsistent and almost always absurd. In the present instance, his attribution of the Lincoln glass to the workshop of Bourges Cathedral or to artists from Bourges rests on nothing but wrong impressions or memories. For example, his reference to the Salome medallion at Bourges à propos of our No. 11 is quite irrelevant. The Lincoln borders are very much more like Chartres than Bourges. Indeed, one may wonder why Westlake named Bourges instead of Chartres, except perhaps just for a change. Yet Westlake was a conscientious artist with a practised eye. After hunting myself for English characteristics at Lincoln for a much longer time than he did, and without coming to the same negative conclusion, perhaps I may say that he had very many excuses for not finding them.

It is my conviction that what I have called the Anglo-French debate—there is of course a Franco-German, and a Franco-Flemish debate; as many debates, in fact, as there are nations in Europe—would come to a very happy and useful conclusion if only my countrymen could refrain from their fits of naïve greediness, if they did not insist on having done and made everything, and if my foreign colleagues proved a little less nervous, if they ungrudgingly admitted the plain fact that in the thirteenth century 'France was the main fountain-head of art, as of civilization generally'.⁸⁶ If Mr. Read, for instance, was ready to acknowledge that what he rightly calls 'the art of a period, and more significantly the art of a religion' (the art of Christendom in the thirteenth century) distinctly bears the stamp of Paris.

One of the weaknesses of the Westlake-Mâle system is the assumption that Chartres could have been the centre of an universal influence. It is a fact that

⁸³ For example, the windows of Eaton Bishop Church ought to be compared with French examples of the fourteenth, *not* of the thirteenth century. Further on, the Merton College windows are described as a local type.

⁸⁴ Op. cit., 42.

⁸⁵ Op. cit., iv, 2.

⁸⁶ Tancred Borenius, op. cit., 10.

to-day no more gorgeous treasury of stained glass exists than Chartres Cathedral and it is not to be denied that the formation of its atelier was an event in the history of glass painting. But it is another fact that Chartres was (and is still) a mere 'county town' where an important gathering of artists could not outlive the period of thirty years sufficient to the decoration of the whole cathedral, according to Canon Delaporte. The real centre was Paris, the seat of the Royal court and of the world-famous University, a place where the glass painters' ovens need never be put out as M. Malé says they were. For when Notre Dame was completed (for the time being), there was plenty of work at Saint-Victor, at Sainte-Geneviève, at Saint-Germain des Prés, at the Sainte-Chapelle, not to mention the sixty parish churches (seventeen of which were rebuilt in the small island of the Cité in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) nor the countless chapels of convents, University colleges, etc. The influence of Paris affords the only possible explanation for the fact that glass painting followed the same rapid evolution in all parts of France and abroad—allowance being made of course for local peculiarities and traditions.

The 'Paris school' was wide open to all able elements from the provinces and from foreign countries—just as the present Paris school of painting is—and that was one of the reasons of its far-reaching action. I hope to show some day that such Italian influences as appear in several countries at the beginning of the fourteenth century made their way through Paris. No doubt England had her share in the making of what became the art of Europe, presumably through her admirable school of book illumination. But that is surely no reason for questioning its Parisian character.

The leading position of Paris in glass painting in the late twelfth and in the early thirteenth century would remain a mere hypothesis if we could show no samples of Parisian work. You will read in the most approved books that everything has been destroyed except the three roses of Notre-Dame. But approved books must not make us quite blind to the actual contents of those roses. It happens that a late twelfth century 'Pharaoh's dream' has been interpolated into the North Rose. Another insertion was the beautiful head reproduced in Viollet-le Duc's *Dictionnaire*.

Likewise the South Rose was 'mended' with many early medallions, including thirteen subjects from the 'Legend of St. Matthew' which I have recognized as an important work of the latter half of the twelfth century. Indeed, I am not far from thinking that it provides the missing link between Saint-Denis and Canterbury and the thirteenth century work at Sens and Chartres. The blue background to the figures in the medallions is covered all over with a thin 'matt' of paint from which a delicate damask pattern has been scratched out. Such a decoration is to be found at Strasbourg about 1200^{86a} and it is one of the most remarkable features of Canterbury. The same background occurs in a 'Resurrection of the Dead' brought to the Musée de Cluny from the Sainte-Chapelle with a number of other thirteenth-century roundels which had been used as stop-gaps.⁸⁷

^{86a} Fr. Zschokke, *Die romanischen Glasgemälde des Strassburger Münsters*, Basel 1942.

⁸⁷ No. 1887. Another medallion from the Sainte-Chapelle (St. Michael weighing the souls) with the same background is illustrated in F. de Lasteyrie, *Histoire de la Peinture sur Verre* (Paris, 1853), pl. 27. Its present location is apparently unknown. No. 1883 of the Musée de

Cluny ('St. Remi christening Clovis'?) is also a very remarkable piece, dating from the late twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth.

Other panels from the Sainte-Chapelle, some original and some interpolated, belong to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Cf. Arthur Rackham, *Guide*, 30.

All these new elements, to which must be added a twelfth century 'Martyrdom of St. Vincent' from St. Germain-des-Prés (now in the crypt of St. Denis), the beautiful *Last Judgement* rose at Mantes, and some other windows in the neighbourhood of the French capital, must entirely alter the accepted views. If we consider on the other hand that the roses of Notre-Dame were painted at wide intervals (the West Rose in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the North Rose about 1250 according to M. Aubert, and the South Rose about 1270), and if we remember that the Sainte-Chapelle was glazed in 1244-1248 and the Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés (many panels of which have found their way to the Victoria and Albert Museum and other English collections) at the same time, we may conclude that few glass painting centres have left a fuller record than Paris.

I ought perhaps to apologize for straying so far away from Lincoln, but the reader is already aware of the very close bond our unbiased inquiry has revealed between Lincoln and Canterbury. That it is not limited to a community of subjects (which would eventually mean very little) is proved by the striking similarity of the two 'Noah' medallions.⁸⁸ When the admirable photographs taken at Canterbury by the Victoria and Albert Museum, under Mr. Arthur Rackham's direction, are published at last,^{88a} no doubt many other points of contact will appear. A tiny fragment which has found its way into the North Rose already shows that Lincoln once possessed some medallions with a damask blue background⁸⁹ (pl. xxiv, o).

Throughout these pages the reader will have found many references to French windows. I think I may declare that not one of them has been made in order to *prove* anything. Indeed, in this study mainly devoted to iconography, I have not been seeking stylistic comparisons—the quest of which is not peculiarly furthered by wartime conditions, with so many windows taken down and so many precious books sent away for safety. But I confess that such a number of parallel instances may mean something after all. No wonder Westlake came to his hasty conclusion, for the Lincoln glass speaks French, and that not only in the 'Lame Thomas' inscription. It speaks French in a Cathedral which already speaks distinct English, because painting, of which glass painting is only the most glorious branch, always enjoys greater liberty to follow the fashion than architecture in its perpetual (and wholesome) bondage to tradition, to geographical conditions and to practical utility. It speaks French as the Royal Court at Westminster spoke French.

Pure French? We should certainly say so, after visiting Germany, where powerful influences from far away and long ago, and an innate bent to archaism and provincialism, stood in the way of the Paris fashion. With an English accent? Most probably, and I am quite willing to admit that it is our own fault if we do not perceive it more clearly. But, in the present state of archaeological science (or

⁸⁸ I am surprised that Mr. Hugh Arnold, who had noticed this very interesting fact, finally emphasized the differences between the two cathedrals in order to declare that Lincoln 'has something in common with the Sainte-Chapelle'. Now the Sainte-Chapelle was only built and glazed in 1244-1248. I have alluded to its richness in Old Testament subjects, but no actual comparisons can be made with Lincoln, even from the point of view of iconography.

^{88a} See Mr. Rackham's excellent but too short

paper, *Burlington Mag.*, Jan., 1928.

⁸⁹ Other English examples of this rare feature are to be seen at Dorchester Abbey. One of the Canterbury patterns is illustrated in Westlake, op. cit., i, 113, pl. 45c. The background is powdered with small rings as at Lincoln.

Among other fragments in the North Rose, there is a *castle* from the arms of Castile, a commonplace feature in French borders and backgrounds of the second half of the thirteenth century.

ignorance), I dare say you could substitute for some of our Lincoln panels an equal number of panels from a French cathedral, and vice versa, without startling anybody. Some day things may be different. But it will require a vast amount of work both in France and in England. Not only must the interesting notions about the manufacture of glass and the technique of glass painting which Mr. Knowles, Mr. Heaton, M. Appert, M. Chesneau, Professor Geiges, Dr. Oidtmann, etc., have already evolved be laid under contribution and completed, but careful comparison with contemporaneous wall paintings, carvings, incised slabs, embroideries and chiefly illuminated manuscripts will have to be conducted, in order to determine types of figure and head construction, of attitudes, of natural and architectural scenery, etc. One of the first and most important of those tasks will be a strict analysis of the elements of drapery, to which distinctive names must be given, borrowed, if possible, from the best works on sculpture.

I do not think many English traits will appear in the choice of subjects. At present, only No. 67 could raise a claim to complete originality. To be sure there are no 'symbolical' ensembles left in France which can compare with the 'twelve windows' at Canterbury (and probably at Lincoln), or with the wall paintings of Peterborough, which only survive in the famous Peterborough psalter of the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels. But that scriptural symbolism was, so to speak, a second creation of Suger, is one of M. Male's most solid conclusions, and this leads us back to Saint-Denis.

As regards natural and architectural scenery, the prospect would seem better, for there is a close relationship in this sphere between our windows and such manuscripts of undoubted English origin as the Life of St. Cuthbert, the Roll of St. Guthlac, the Huntingfield Psalter, etc. But the result will not be very important, for the general dispositions and the more striking details, such as the two-storied battlements (pl. xxi) and the 'bridges' occur at Canterbury, Sens and Chartres. I may point out that the two types of capitals (pl. xxi) are to be found at Chartres.⁹⁰ But Mr. Read has warned us against giving undue importance to the decorative common-places of the period under review.

Our best hopes must therefore be lodged in the study of drapery and of the head and figure construction, and that is the reason why so many illustrations have been selected from my tracings and sketches. Some faces do look typical, and the tall angels and saints in the North Rose, with their noble robes which Charles Winston compared with antique models, would have much to say if they were not in such a pitiful condition. But here we enter the domain of technique, with few chances of finding anything really English except the very bad quality of the glass, which accounts for the ruin of so many figures.⁹¹

The present state of the Lincoln windows excuses in some measure its having been so generally neglected by the critics of glass painting. It must not discourage the young student of art who, in this iron age, has perhaps already planned the complete monograph I once dreamt of writing. This future historian will first

⁹⁰ Delaporte, op. cit., *passim*, and pl. 219.

⁹¹ This is said, of course, *cum grano salis*. There is much decayed glass in French thirteenth century windows, for example the light purples in the famous 'St. Julian' at Rouen, where,

however, the painting has suffered little damage. At Lincoln much harm has evidently been done by inconsiderate 'cleaning'. I do not agree with Mr. Hugh Arnold, who writes that 'much of the painting does not seem to have been so well fired as at Canterbury' (op. cit., 78).

tell his readers if the artists who manufactured the stained glass windows of Lincoln Cathedral—undoubtedly within the walls of the City, and perhaps of the Close—had a French leader. It would not be surprising under St. Hugh of Avalon and Geoffroy de Noyers and I am very much inclined to think so, though, strictly speaking, the influences of Canterbury might be sufficient to explain the character of the work.⁹² Then he will ascertain the number of the master painters (perhaps only two or three at one time with some journeymen to help them). Finally, he will decide of their respective nationalities. No doubt his book will be full of gratifying certitudes as well as of large scale photographs.

It will not be my lot to enter the Land of Promise, but the days I have spent on its road, especially in that most hallowed of resting places, Lincoln Close, certainly belong to my happiest experiences. After apologizing to the reader for my rusty English, I wish to pay a tribute of gratitude to the memory of my first host, the Ven. Archdeacon John Bond, Precentor of Lincoln, and to express my warm thanks to the present Dean, the Very Rev. R. A. Mitchell, without forgetting the clerks of the works, Mr. Godfrey and his predecessor of 1909, though their ladders always proved too short for my wishes and ambitions.

'Cochons-sur-Marne', November 19th, 1946.

⁹² The last words are the translation of Camille Enlart's judgement on the architecture of the transept.