

**PROCEEDINGS**  
OF THE  
**CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN**  
**SOCIETY**

(INCORPORATING THE CAMBS & HUNTS  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY)



**VOLUME LXIX**

1979

**IMRAY LAURIE NORIE AND WILSON**

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Published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (incorporating the Cambs and  
Hunts Archaeological Society) by Imray Laurie Norie and Wilson Ltd, Wych House,  
Saint Ives, Huntingdon

ISSN 0309-3603

Printed in Great Britain at the University Library, Cambridge.

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## THE GREAT WINDOWS OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL AND THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'VIDIMUS'.

H. G. Wayment

In the muniment room at King's College are four indentures of the year 1526 which provide for the renewal of the campaign to glaze the great windows.<sup>1</sup> They refer to a previous contract with Barnard Flower, the King's Glazier, binding him to glaze the great windows 'with the story of the olde lawe and of the newe lawe'. In November 1515 and February 1517 Flower received two advances of 100 *l.* each for this work, but in the summer of 1517 he died. Under the 1515 contract, which does not survive, glass for the equivalent of four windows must have been painted; for the indentures of 1526 provide for the glazing of only 22 out of the 26 windows. Two indentures signed by Galyon Hone, Richard Bond, Thomas Reve and James Nicholson deal with eighteen windows, and two more signed by Francis Williamson and Simon Symondes with the remaining four. Two of the indentures use the word 'vidimus'. One provides that the representatives of the King and of the College, William Holgyll, Master of the Savoy Hospital, Thomas Larke, Surveyor of the King's Works in Cambridge, and Robert Hacomblen, Provost of the College, shall deliver to Williamson and Symondes 'patrons otherwise called A vidimus ... for to form glass and make by the foresaid four windows of the said church'. The main indenture signed by Hone and his three fellows in fact binds *them* to hand over the vidimuses in question to Williamson and Symondes. Both documents specify that two of the four windows concerned are on the north side and two on the south side; Dean Milner-White and Kenneth Harrison concur in identifying them as nos I and III in the north-west and nos XXIV and XXV in the south-west of the ante-chapel.<sup>2</sup> One of these (XXIV) must in fact have been sub-contracted to another glass-painter; but they all share similar canopies in the heads of the lights. We shall return to these windows later on; but meanwhile what is the meaning of the word 'vidimus'?

During the later middle ages the primary sense of the word was 'a certified copy', made for legal or administrative purposes, and authenticated by the word 'vidimus', signed and often sealed by the competent authority. The word is so used in the *Rolls of Parliament* in 1436.<sup>3</sup> A secondary meaning, which follows easily from the practice itself, is 'authentication'. There is even a word in late medieval Latin 'vidimare', to authenticate, and in French 'vidimer'. The use of the word to mean a first sketch for a glass window may derive from a parallel use of the word 'vidimus' to mean a sketch signed by the person who commissions the window and given to the glazier as the basis of the contract between the two; or it may be used, more strictly in accordance with the primary sense of the word, to denote the glazier's certified copy of an original to be

kept by the person commissioning the window. In either case it is clearly a legal and administrative term.

The nineteenth-century Belgian antiquary J. Neeffs, for instance, cites<sup>4</sup> an example of 1547, in which a glazier named Van Vianen binds himself to glaze a window in St Rombouts' Cathedral, Mechlin, 'naervolgende dit vidimus', that is in conformity with this vidimus; and on the other side of the same sheet of paper is the actual design by Michael Coxcie which he was to use; this showed the *Baptism of Christ*, with portraits of Charles V and Mary of Hungary, and the words 'Ceste verriere a donne messire Gaspar Duchy ... Conseil de l'Empereur ... 1548'. Unfortunately Neeffs does not specify the context in which this document was found; but it is probably the donor's and not the glazier's copy.

Can the word 'vidimus' also stand for the full-size cartoon which is to serve in the actual cutting of the glass? This seems at first sight most unlikely. A cartoon, much less four cartoons the size of the great windows of King's Chapel, would be an extremely cumbersome basis for a contract, almost impossible to check. The words 'for to form glass and to make by the foresaid four windows' do not by any means imply that the 'patrons' mentioned are on the same scale as the windows themselves.

Nevertheless such an interpretation has more than once been put forward. Arthur Lane, in a footnote to an article of 1949 in the *Burlington Magazine*,<sup>5</sup> quotes the King's College contracts and describes the vidimuses as being 'presumably cartoons'. In the next number the Dutch scholar A. van der Boom firmly corrected him:<sup>6</sup> "A vidimus is always the first sketch after which the cartoons for the large glass paintings are made ... This first sketch ... should have the approval of the donor who gave the order for the window, thereby becoming a kind of I.O.U. from glass painter to donor".<sup>7</sup> In his book of 1952<sup>8</sup> Harrison established the distinction with admirable clarity: 'to every window, and to every part of it, there are at least four questions attached:

- (1) Who drew the vidimus?
- (2) Who drew the cartoon?
- (3) Who painted the glass?
- (4) When was the glass painted?

However, in 1964, when another Dutch scholar, K. G. Boon, actually discovered in an American library three small-scale sketches for scenes on the south side of the Chapel, he would not call them vidimuses, but reserved this term for the cartoons.<sup>9</sup> Similarly in an analysis published in 1973 of a number of actual cartoons preserved on the continent he maintains that the word 'vidimus' frequently means 'cartoon'; but the sole instance he gives are the King's College contracts already quoted.<sup>10</sup>

Our only resource in this impasse is to examine the windows themselves and draw from them any evidence they may provide on the question. First let us look at two of the sketches published by Boon and the scenes painted after them. They are probably not, in fact, the original sketches, whether or not the originals were kept by the persons offering the contract, but copies rapidly made as guides for the cartoonist. They show how the design fits into the grid of the *ferramenta*, the iron cross-bars and

stanchions which are built into the masonry from the beginning, and they even number the cross-bars 1 to 14. The basic module of the glass itself will follow this grid, of which each square is filled by two oblong pieces, cut across by whatever shapes the mosaic of the coloured design requires. The sketch shows the decorative framework only summarily, and omits it altogether where one side is simply the mirror image of the other.

The cartoon of the *Appearance of Christ to the Disciples* was not apparently drawn by the designer himself, but by the colleague who was responsible for the painting of the glass. The assistant has weakened the design at several points, especially by filling the simulated window with blank panelling in grisaille, instead of letting the blue of the sky shine through.

The proof that these are not copies *after* the windows arises from the scene of *Peter and John healing the Lame Man*. The swags and garland within the glyphed arch of 'the Gate called Beautiful' are afterthoughts intended to relieve the monotony of the background and put more weight and colour into the upper part of the scene.<sup>11</sup> A second afterthought is to be seen in the window itself: the lame man's leg comes down one step further in the grid than it does in the sketch. This improves the design: the figures are better balanced and a vacancy is avoided. The style of the heads and drapery shows that this scene was painted by Dierick Vellert of Antwerp, the presumed designer and also in my view the master-painter of the later glass; he was no doubt also largely responsible for the full-size cartoon in which the change must have been made. Nevertheless, his name is nowhere mentioned either in the King's College contracts or in any other English document of the time, unless he is to be identified with a 'Longe Deryk' who is named with a number of other foreign-born glaziers in a document of about 1545.<sup>12</sup>

If, as all scholars since Friedländer have agreed, Vellert was the designer of the later glass, and even more if, as I believe, he acted as master-glazier in charge of operations, why is he not mentioned in the 1526 contracts? Simply, I think, because he could have no contractual status. Barnard Flower, to whom as we have seen, advances of as much as 100 *l.* were made at a time, is described as a native of 'Almayn';<sup>13</sup> but he had been settled in England since at least 1496, and had become a denizen in 1514. Hone, Bond, Reve and Nicholson were either natives or residents; they received similar advances *pro rata*, but had themselves to pay a deposit of 500 marks. Similarly Williamson and Symondes had to get guarantors to join with them in depositing 200 *l.* sterling. A foreigner normally resident abroad could scarcely be bound in this kind of way, and would not therefore be mentioned in the contract with the donor's agents; but the contracting glaziers themselves might well take the risk of calling in as their subcontractor a foreigner not normally resident in England.

So much for the origin of the word 'vidimus' and the three surviving examples of what, in deference to Mr Boon, we will merely call small-scale sketches for the windows. We must now examine the four windows entrusted to Williamson and Symondes, and see if they contain any evidence about the nature of the vidimuses given them 'for to form glass and make by the foresaid ... windows'. They all exhibit in

profusion Renaissance motifs of a delightful kind which begin to appear in Flanders at the very end of the first decade of the century and become common towards the end of the second: shell niches, putti, swags, profile medallions, glyph mouldings, arabesque reliefs. This Renaissance detail alternates and mingles with a wealth of late Gothic decoration of a similarly playful character, such as interlaced canopy-work reminiscent of late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century German paintings and glass,<sup>14</sup> the trick arches beloved of the Antwerp mannerists,<sup>15</sup> the peculiar key-caps to shaftings which appear in certain Brussels tapestries of the second decade,<sup>16</sup> and the short coloured colonnettes found in certain windows in Normandy at the same time.<sup>17</sup> This amalgam was already going out of fashion in 1526. However, the basic designs and the figure-work contained within this framework are even older. The figure of the translated Enoch prefiguring the Virgin of the Assumption (XXV, 1) goes back to that of the kneeling Magus in an *Adoration of the Magi* from St Vincent's in Rouen, which I would date about 1507,<sup>18</sup> and even further to the corresponding figure in the glass at Fairford, which was probably designed in or around the year 1500. The Virgin of the Nativity kneeling in adoration of the child Christ (III, 4) is more than a reminiscence of Van der Goes' *Portinari Madonna* of 1475 or so,<sup>19</sup> and again the same allusion may be traceable at Fairford (n. III, 1b). The angel announcing to Joachim the coming conception of the Virgin Mary (I, 3) is a close copy of the alighting angel of the Annunciation on the outside of the wings of the same altarpiece; and the Fairford designer once again has the same original in mind (n. III, 1a). The close connection with the Fairford glass is finally confirmed by the re-use of a bearded figure (Pl. 1a) in the *Judgement of Solomon* at Fairford (n. X, 1a) as a Messenger, three times repeated, in the Williamson and Symondes windows (Pl. 1b.); each complete window in the north and south walls has four such Messengers in the middle light of the five, each carrying a scroll referring to one of the four scenes.

In the style of drapery and gesture there are similar resemblances. The robe of an angel supporting the Virgin of the Assumption (XXV, 3), painted by Symondes, has straight, deep folds, expanding radially, turned at right angles to each other, and ending in wide, curving trails; the same pattern recurs in a Messenger painted by Williamson (III M3). Something very similar can be seen in the mantle of Peter in the *Agony in the Garden* (IX, 4), one of the most backward-looking scenes in the Chapel, and also in the *Transfiguration* (s. III, 1c), in the best preserved window at Fairford.<sup>20</sup> Finally, the half-open hand with gently curving fingers seen in the Joachim of window I, 3 recalls that of Christ in the *Agony in the Garden* dating from ten years earlier (the head and body are modern), and those of St James in the *Transfiguration* at Fairford, at least twenty years earlier.<sup>21</sup>

What are we to make of all these links with Fairford, and who designed the Fairford glass? By good fortune one of the glaziers left what appear to be disguised monograms in at least two of the windows at Fairford. In the south-west window, the *Judgement of David on the Amalekite* who slew Saul, a capital A on the blade of the executioner's sword (now partly flaked off) has long been thought to be a concealed signature – concealed, because the A represents primarily the armourer's initial on a real sword-

blade. This was long the subject of contention, since one party of antiquaries insisted that it must be the curtailed monogram of Albrecht Dürer, a theory which the more knowledgeable and realistic recognised to be untenable.<sup>22</sup>

A second crux lies in an inscription on the collar of a foot-soldier in the east window, which is to be read IO SAVELE, for Sir John Savile, a soldier and administrator who achieved some success under Henry VII and must have been entrusted with the oversight of the glazing campaign in its early stages.<sup>23</sup> The two central letters of the inscription are combined into a sort of monogram, and are painted on a larger scale than the others, so that they obtrude on our notice (Pl. 2a, b). This constitutes, I am convinced, a *double-entendre* on the same lines as the other: the artist could not gratuitously include his own signature in his work, but took any opportunity he could to slip it in under the cover either of a character in the scene concerned, or an inscription, or the donor's name. In a painting at Mechlin, for instance, dating from 1507 or a little before, the arms of the leader of the city's forces at the time are shown on the caparison of its champion's horse with a border composed of As: his name happened to be Van der Aa, and a capital A was his badge.<sup>24</sup> In a tapestry (Pl. 3) which bears all the marks of the same artist's style, a design for the funeral of Absalom has been adapted to that of Turnus, as foreshadowed in the last book of the Aeneid: the dead man's shield carries an A, whose cross-piece is also a V, so that it corresponds to the combined letter in the inscription at Fairford.<sup>25</sup> The weavers did not change the A to a T; if they thought about it at all, they must have regarded it as the designer's monogram.

Two figures here in particular recall counterparts at Fairford: the man in the foreground holding the crested helmet, who stands with his feet at an obtuse angle, is paralleled for instance by two Persecutors of the Church (Pl. 4) in a clerestory window at Fairford (n. II, 1b & 1c), and the St Michael in the west window (w. I, 1d). The flexed knee stands out in pure profile. Again, the figure on horseback in the middleground who turns his back to the spectator, but at the same time looks over his shoulder resembles the horseman on the right of the *Crucifixion* (Pl. 2c), or the footsoldier called IO SAVELE (Pl. 2a) on the left. A third gesture which constantly recurs is that of the arm raised for the stroke of a sword or bludgeon, or for the thrust of a lance. The *Flagellation* and the *Carrying of the Cross* (Pl. 5) at Fairford (I, 1d & 1e) afford two parallel examples. Common as it is, wherever such a gesture occurs in Flemish or Anglo-Flemish art of this period the question must be asked whether the Master AM has not something to do with it. An example, cut off by the frame, occurs in the scene at Tournai Cathedral from which I derive his makeshift name (Pl. 6).<sup>26</sup> His style is recognisable in a score of works, whether in glass, tapestry or oils, which sport the monogram A or AV or AM, and it is largely his (surely roguish) insinuation of these letters into his designs which made it possible to rescue him from oblivion. He is almost certainly to be identified (though the final proof is lacking) as Adrian van den Houte of Mechlin: hence the A, the AV, and the AM. His style as a draughtsman was brilliantly characterised by Max Friedländer in his analysis of the group of drawings which he attributes (wrongly, in my view) to Aerdt Ortken:<sup>27</sup> 'His firm, blunt heads ...

are loosely outlined with an indented contour and often misplaced in false perspective ... The eyes (are) almost always closed and rounded to a circle ... The drapery folds are schematic with their thrust of straight lines often running off parallel this way and that, while the outer extremities swing in wide curves'. Only a few of the so-called Ortkens drawings are to be attributed to AM, but the *Man Struggling with Death* (Pl. 7)<sup>28</sup> or the *Jupiter and Arcas*<sup>29</sup> certainly answer to Friedländer's description.

To return to the early windows of King's Chapel: the fan vault was finished in July 1515, and before the end of November in that year, when the King's Glazier Barnard Flower received his first advance, Richard Fox, Lord Privy Seal and Bishop of Winchester, will have worked out the iconographical scheme for the twenty-six windows.<sup>30</sup> Before the end of November, too, the first batch of vidimuses will have been prepared and accepted. One set, those of the silvery window opposite the south door, must have been drafted by the Flemish-Burgundian glazier who painted it;<sup>31</sup> but the other early scenes, making up the equivalent of three windows, bear unmistakable signs of AM's hand. The resemblance of the Mount of Olives in the *Agony in the Garden* in King's (IX, 4) to the mount of the Ascension at Fairford (s. V, 1c) has often been noted; the descending angel is first cousin to the angel appearing to Gideon at Fairford (n. V, 1c).<sup>32</sup> The stylistic correspondence between the *Transfiguration* at Fairford (s. III, 1c) and the King's *Agony in the Garden* is so close as to suggest that the designer and the chief painter were the same in both cases.<sup>33</sup>

Again, in the King's *Arrest of Christ*, another early scene (X, 2), there are figures which correspond to the stereotypes we have already met: Peter with his arm uplifted to strike off Malchus' ear, and the soldier seen from behind with head in profile and feet at an obtuse angle. The glass-painter in both scenes is a glazier who had worked previously at Fairford to AM's designs, and is probably to be identified as the now elderly Englishman, Richard Bond.

The *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, in the upper register (IX, 3), was probably glazed by two partners who had painted the lively musical angels in the south clerestory at Fairford. One of the warring angels comes from one of Dürer's *Apocalypse* woodcuts,<sup>34</sup> but St Michael has the same tell-tale posture; AM's responsibility for this eclectic design is clearly established by the figure of God the Father (Pl. 8a), which resembles the David (Pl. 8b) in one of the signed windows at Fairford (s. X, 1c). In the kneeling angels at the top of the right-hand light there is another borrowing from Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altarpiece*, though even in 1515 Hugo had been dead for over thirty years.

Thus, in the early glass of King's Chapel we are driven to the same sort of assumption as has been made, by all recent commentators, in regard to the later glass and Vellert's part in it. Barnard Flower, in 1515, contracted to glaze the windows of the Chapel with 'the story of the olde and of the newe lawe', just as Hone and his fellows did in 1526. And just as they are thought to have called in Vellert, so Flower must have called in the Master AM, and paid him to prepare at least the first batch of designs. How many did he prepare? When Henry VII wrote his will, from 31 March to 10 April

1509, the fabric of his chapel at the east end of Westminster Abbey was almost completed; but already all the designs for the windows 'with the story of the olde lawe and of the new lawe' had been prepared.<sup>35</sup> In the case of King's Chapel, where the iconographical scheme was modelled on that of the Henry VII Chapel, can only four windows have been designed before work was interrupted on the glass c. 1517?

To answer this question it is only necessary to look at the two windows by the delicate, tentative glass-painter whom I believe to have been Thomas Reve, nos 5 and 7 on either side of the organ loft in the north wall. These were first ascribed by Harrison to the years 1526-31.<sup>36</sup> Here the heads of the lights present a very different aspect from those of the four windows assigned to Williamson and Symondes. There are no canopies at all above four out of the five outdoor scenes, and three scenes are surmounted by simulated reliefs of a Renaissance character. A peculiar circumstance proves that the glass-painter did not design the windows himself. The lower register of window VII is unbalanced in that there are two celestial figures in the heads of the two left-hand lights representing the *Baptism of Christ* (VII, 2), God the Father in the left-most, and an angel in the companion light. The angel is redundant; apart from the customary angel holding Christ's robes there are four more occupying the middle ground, and the sixth in the cusping is positively confusing. On the other hand there is room for an angel in the head of the right-hand light of the *Temptation* on the other side (VII, 4), since St Matthew's version says that after the Devil had departed 'angels came and ministered unto him'.<sup>37</sup> Alike on grounds of symmetry and iconography, then, it appears that the angel has been transferred from light 5 to light 2. This cannot have been done by a repairing glazier later on, because the blue of the sky above the *Temptation* is much more intense than that above the *Baptism*; the error must go back to the original glazing.

In the designs of windows V and VII, as opposed to the decorative elements, the hand of AM can once more be discerned. One of Christ's legs in the *Baptism* is seen directly from the front, and the other from the side, at not less than 90° difference. A dismounted horseman, in the *Cleansing of Naaman* above, walks like the courtier in the *Funeral of Turnus* with his legs at an obtuse angle to each other. Joseph, in the *Flight into Egypt*, west of the organ loft, does precisely the same, and the hand of Christ in the *Temptation* curls like an opening bud. The Reve windows, in fact, seem to be as much indebted to AM as the four Williamson and Symondes windows.

There is no need to labour the point. If two sets of windows with widely different decorative framework yet betray in the structure and gesture of their main figures the same formal style, it is clearly the preliminary sketches on which they are based that transmitted the similarities and the large-scale cartoons prepared by their respective executants that imported the differences. It must have been because the preliminary sketches for 'the foresaid four windows', prepared at the time of the first contract, were left over and were available at the time of the second that they are mentioned in Williamson and Symondes' indenture. In other words, the windows themselves, when examined attentively, give no support to the theory that the word 'vidimus', as used in the 1526 contracts, refers to full-size cartoons. On the contrary, they prove

conclusively, in my submission, that here the word means purely and simply, as its etymology suggests, a small-scale, preliminary sketch, and is used deliberately to distinguish this from the full-scale cartoon.

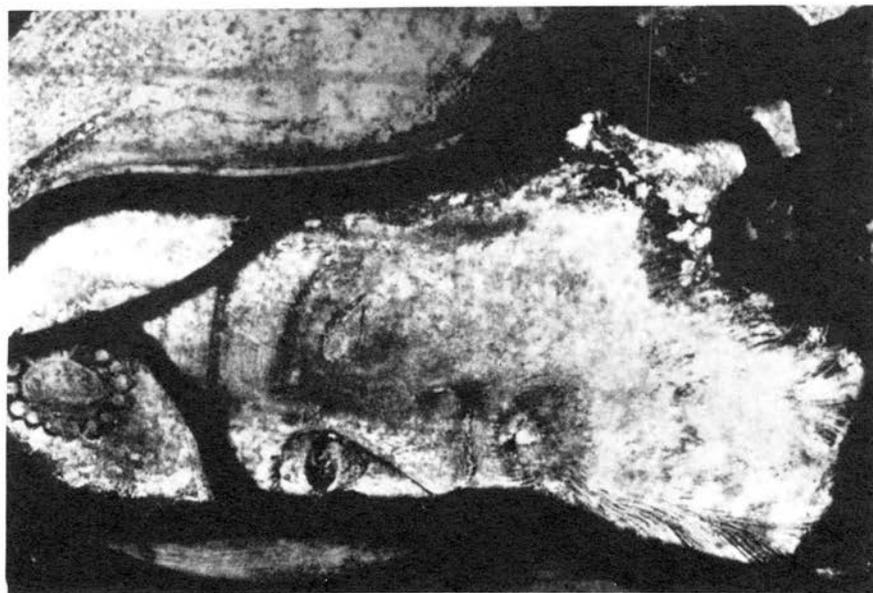
This argument, I may add, does not depend in any way on the identification of the designer, which is put forward in the hope of shedding still more light on what actually happened.

The Mechlin archives record the death of Adrian van den Houte on 19 March 1521.<sup>38</sup> If he was indeed the Master AM (and there is no evidence to conflict with the theory, but much to support it),<sup>39</sup> Hone in 1526 had to look elsewhere for a designer to finish the cycle at King's. Vellert had almost certainly been trained by AM, and was peculiarly suited to take over the task. In window IX three of the designs date from the early period, including the *Agony in the Garden* (IX, 4) and the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (IX, 3). AM must surely have prepared a design for the fourth scene, the *Last Supper* (IX, 2); it will have resembled the round-tabled *Supper at Emmaus* which is one of the weakest of the Fairford compositions (s. IV, 1a-b). The existing glass, however, follows an advanced design by Vellert, using Pieter Coeck's adaptation of Leonardo's *Last Supper*, but turning the long table endwise in perspective so as to use the full height of the lights. There could be few more eloquent contrasts between late Gothic and early Renaissance art than the work of the two masters standing side by side above the northern stalls.

#### NOTES

1. H. G. Wayment, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge*, Corpus Vitrearum Great Britain Supplementary Vol. I (London 1972) 123-5; this volume comprises a complete photographic record of the great windows, and accordingly reference is not made as a rule to individual plates, but only to particular windows.
2. *ibid.* 24-5; K. P. Harrison, *The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1952) 53.
3. *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. The word normally used for this purpose in England, as Mrs Dorothy Owen has kindly pointed out, is 'inspeximus'; the word 'vidimus' is the French equivalent.
4. 'Notes sur les anciennes verrières de l'église métropolitaine de Malines', *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique*, Ghent 1877, 20-22.
5. 'Florentine painted glass and the practice of design', *The Burlington Magazine* XCI 47 n. 15.
6. *ibid.* 114.
7. The implication here is that there were two copies, for without his own copy the glazier could not have kept his side of the bargain.
8. Harrison (n. 2) 19, cf. 69.
9. 'Two Designs for Windows by Dierick Vellert', *Master Drawings* II ii 154. The vidimuses are illustrated in Wayment (n. 1) pl. 8.2.
10. 'Een onbekend glaskarton van ca. 1538 in het Rijksmuseum', *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (The Hague 1973) 54; the contracts do not mention vidimuses to be used for the eighteen windows which Hone, Nicholson, Reve and Bond were to glaze (as Boon implies) but only those to be used by Williamson and Symondes for their four windows.
11. cf. the twice-worked drawing in the British Museum Printroom, *The Lord Appearing to Abraham and Abraham entertaining the Angels*, which appears to be an early work later revised by the artist himself: A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists in the British Museum* (London 1932) 52, pl. xix.
12. Wayment (n. 1) 126.
13. A. Oswald, 'Barnard Flower, the King's Glazier', *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XI (1951-2) 9.

14. e.g. the Scharfzandt window of 1493 at Munich: E. von Witzleben, *Die Frauenkirche in München* (Augsburg 1969) fig. 37.
15. Compare the arch supporting the profile medallions in the *Nativity* (window III 4) with that high above Jesse's head in J. de Beer's cartoon for a Tree of Jesse in the Albertina, Vienna: M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting XI* (Leyden 1974) pl. 206D.
16. e.g. *The Legend of Herkenbald* in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels: M. Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des Tapisseries* (Brussels n.d.) no. 12, pl. 16.
17. Wayment (n. 1) 15, pl. 15.4.
18. H. G. Wayment, 'The windows of King's College Chapel and their relation to French art', *Actes du XIXe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art 1958* (Paris 1959) 302-3; the conclusion drawn on p. 304 from the complex of analogies between French (and especially Norman) art and the windows attributed to Williamson, Symondes and Reve, namely that the French examples probably have a Flemish source, is confirmed by the present study. See n. 39.
19. Friedländer (n. 15) IV (Leyden 1969) no. 10 pl. 15.
20. The two figures of St Peter are illustrated in Wayment (n. 1) pl. 13.
21. *ibid.*
22. On this controversy see J. Fuller Russell, 'On the Painted Glass in Fairford Church, and its claim to be considered the work of Albert Dürer', *Archaeological Journal* (1868) 119-36.
23. J. W. Clay, 'The Savile Family', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal XXV* (1918-20) 6-11.
24. H. G. Wayment, 'A Rediscovered Master: Adrian van den Houte (c. 1459-1521) and the Malines/Brussels School, I: A Solution to the 'Ortkens' Problem', *Oud Holland LXXXII* (1967) 183, fig. 18; Friedländer (n. 19) prints a barely legible reproduction (no. 106, pl. 99, top left).
25. H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche in den Niederlanden* (Leipzig n.d.) I i 140-1, ii 107. The A cannot stand for Aeneas, since it clearly forms part of the dead man's panoply.
26. Wayment (n. 24) 181-7, fig. 13; J. Helbig, *Les Vitraux médiévaux conservés en Belgique 1200-1500*, Corpus Vitrearum Belgique I (Brussels 1961) 203-227, fig. 114.
27. M. J. Friedländer, 'Der Niederländische Glasmaler Aerdt Ortkens', *Amtliche Berichte aus der Königl. Kunstsammlungen XXXVIII* no. 6 (1917) 161-7.
28. In the Pierpont Morgan Library, formerly Fairfax Murray collection: A. E. Popham, *A Selection from the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C. Fairfax Murray* (London n.d.) I no. 253.
29. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Printroom no. 2323: Wayment (n. 24) II 'Adrian van den Houte as a Tapestry Designer', *Oud Holland LXXXIII* (1968) 71-2, fig. 1.
30. Wayment (n. 1) 2.
31. *ibid.* 48.
32. *ibid.* pl. 13.
33. *ibid.*
34. B.72.
35. T. Astle, *The Will of King Henry VII* (London 1775) 6.
36. Harrison (n. 2) 54.
37. Mat. 4:11.
38. Schepenhuis, Mechlin: *Register of Deaths of St Romold's I*.
39. The career of the Master AM, as it is to be followed in a long series of works, largely glass windows, but also tapestries, drawings and painted panels which are firmly linked by style, dovetails neatly into that of Adrian van den Houte, as recorded in the archives of Mechlin and the household account-books of Margaret of Savoy (J. Helbig, *Glasschilderkunst in België* (Antwerp 1943) 235). During the years 1501-05, when AM was probably engaged almost exclusively on the Fairford glass, there appears to be no trace of Adrian van den Houte at Mechlin. In 1506-7 AM was probably in Rouen, where he must have designed several windows which were painted by Arnold of Nijmegen, including the *Execution of St John the Baptist* now in Wells Cathedral (dated 1507). Adrian's activity at Mechlin is recorded in each of the years 1509-21, except 1515, when AM may have been in England preparing the designs for the earlier glass in King's Chapel.



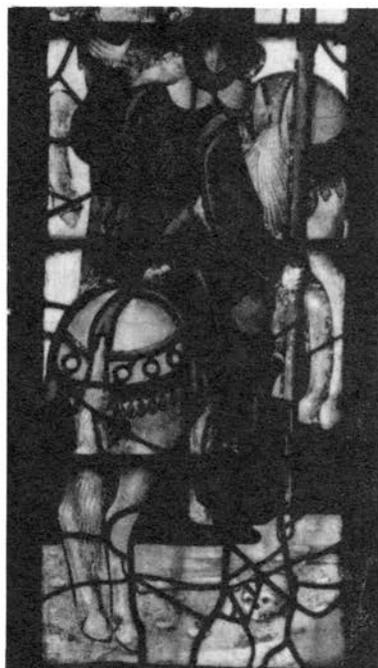
Pl. 1a. Fairford Church, The Judgement of Solomon (detail): head of one of Solomon's councillors.



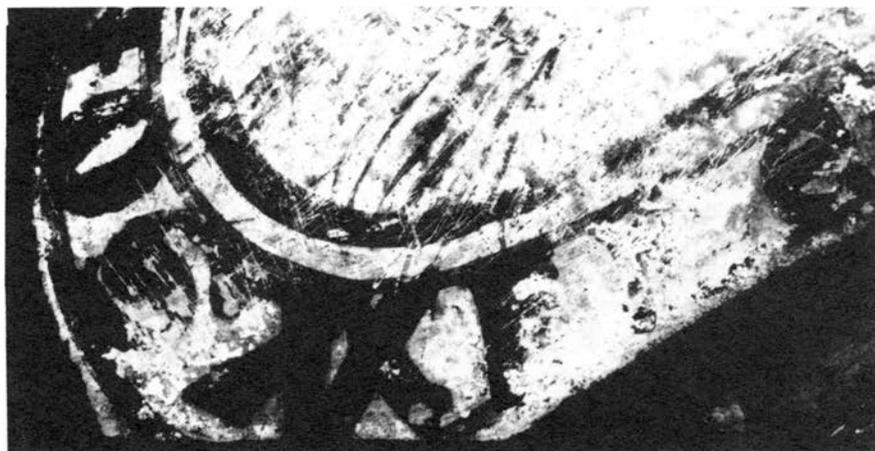
Pl. 1b. King's College Chapel, I, Messenger 2 (detail). P. A. L. Brunne.



a. Footsoldier (Sir John Savile).



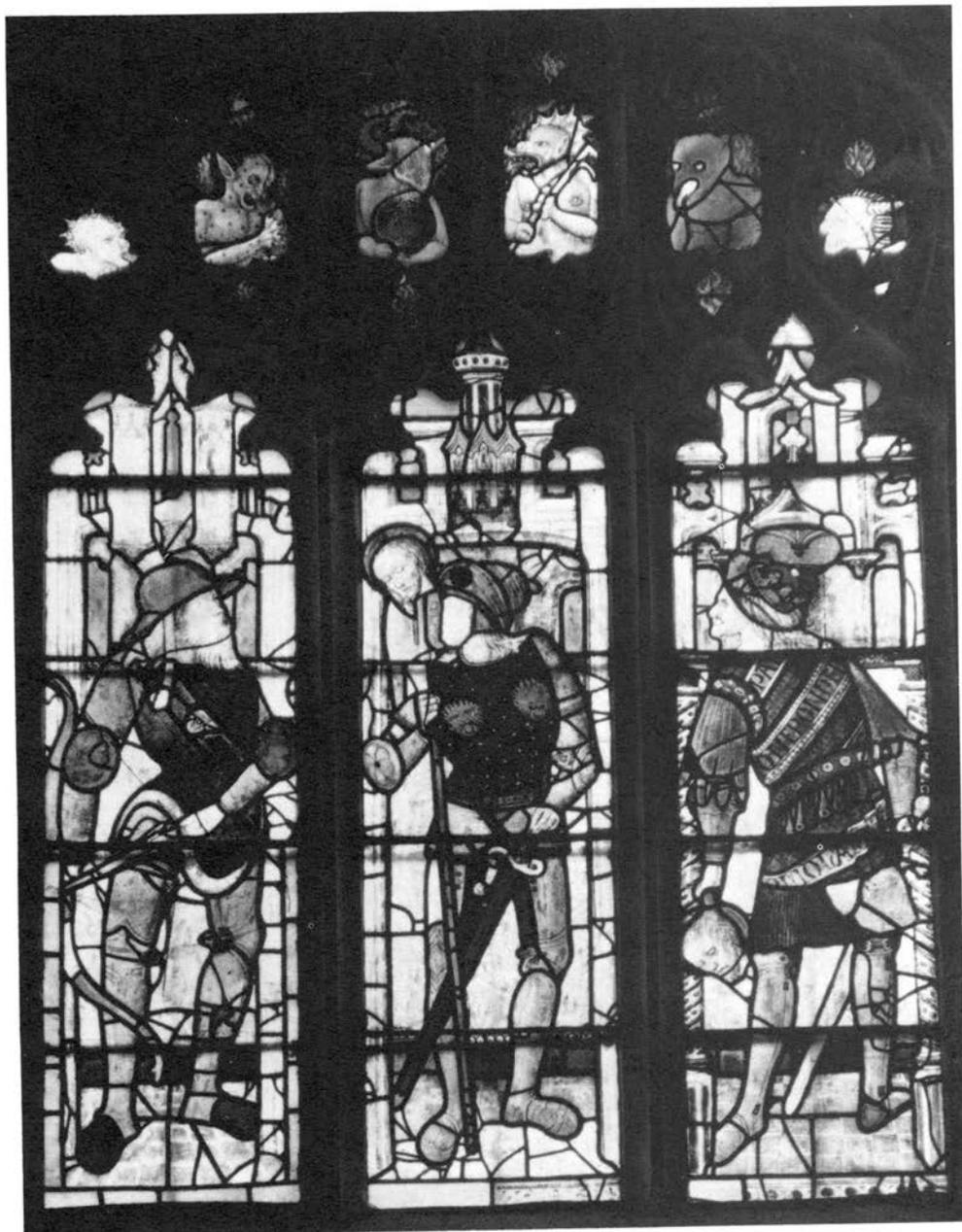
c. Horseman at the Crucifixion.



b. Detail of inscription in (a).



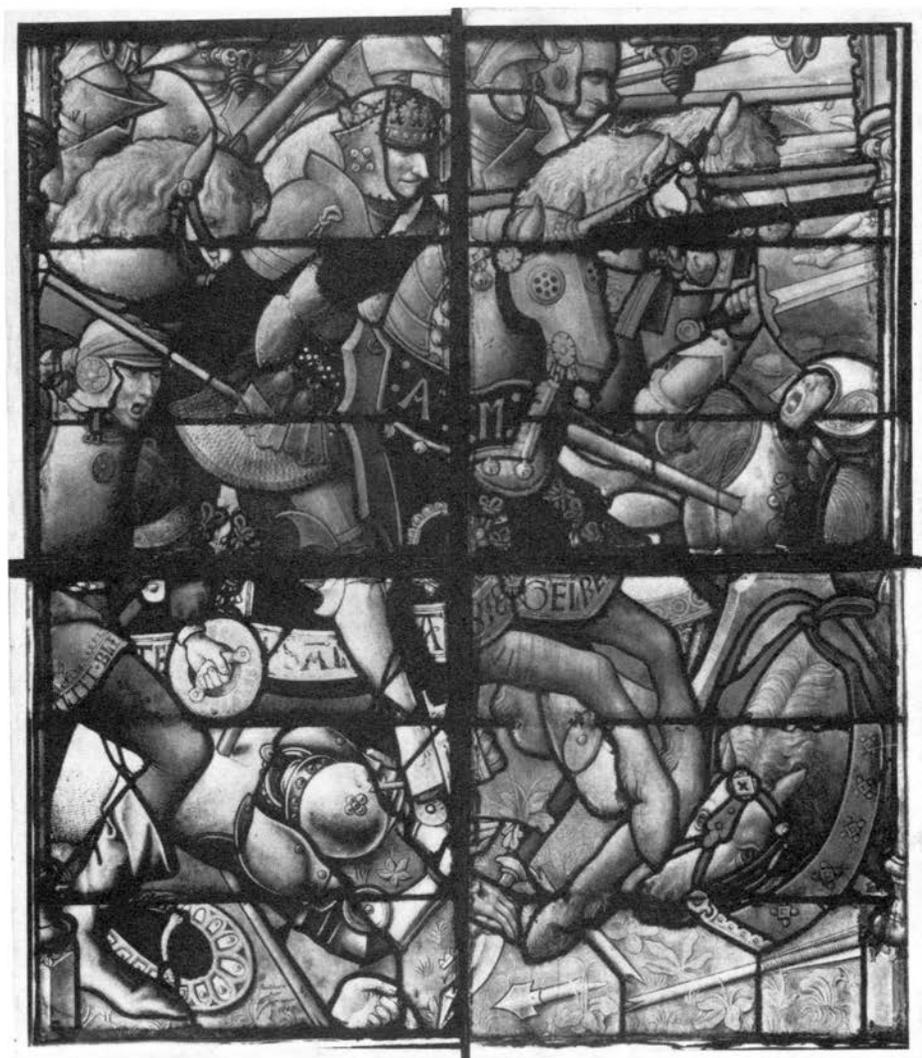
Pl. 3. Tapestry, Funeral of Turnus (detail); Spain, Patrimonio Nacional. *Patrimonio Nacional*.



Pl. 4. Fairford Church, north clerestory, three Persecutors of the Church. *National Monuments Record*.



Pl. 5. Fairford Church, east window (detail); the Flagellation and the Carrying of the Cross. *National Monuments Record*.



Pl. 6. Tournai Cathedral, south transept, Sigelbert routing Chilperic's Army; signed AM. A.C.L., Brussels



Pl. 7. The Man Struggling with Death, attributed to the Master AM.  
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.



Pl. 8a. King's College Chapel, IX, 3 (detail); God the Father.  
*P. A. L. Brunney.*



Pl. 8b. Fairford Church, David's Judgement on the Amalekite (detail):  
David.



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

VOLUME LXIX

1979

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