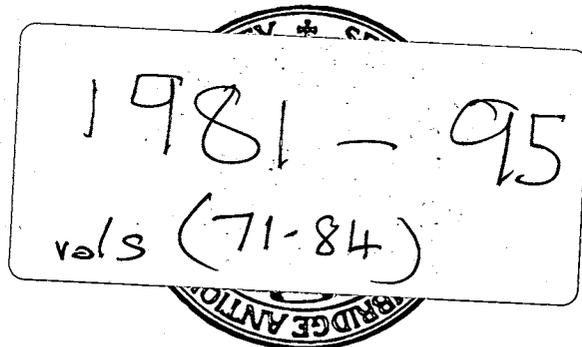

Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society

(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological
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Volume LXXXIV

for 1995



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(incorporating the Cambs and Hunts Archaeological
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Volume LXXXIV

for 1995

Published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1996

ISSN 0309-3606

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Erratum

In volume LXXXIII, p. 6, Journals exchanged with the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*:

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Macclesfield, Cheshire
should read

Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Manchester

The Late Glass in King's College Chapel: Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson

Hilary Wayment

A lack of documents concerning the genesis of a major work of art is a challenge to the art historian. This article attempts to trace in the great windows of King's College Chapel, especially on the south side, the work of two outstanding glass-painters who are nowhere specifically recorded as having taken part in the glazing, but whose involvement can be shown to have been more than likely. The article is intended to supplement (and where necessary to modify) the author's earlier publications, especially his *Introduction and Guide* (2nd edition 1992) on the great windows of King's Chapel.¹ This last contains a plan of the Chapel with the notation of the great windows, and a full list of the subjects represented in them. The plan reproduced here (Diagram 1) indicates the subjects of the scenes discussed in the article, while Diagram 2 shows the notation used for both north and south windows.

Contemporary documents concerning the sixteenth-century glazing of King's College Chapel give the names of seven master-glaziers.² The first, Barnard Flower, was a subject of the Duke of Burgundy, and probably came from the southern Netherlands. Flower was paid two advances of £100 each in 1515 and 1517, and was evidently responsible for the equivalent of four windows, all on the north side, though his actual hand can only be traced, if at all, in part of one window.³ Of the six who signed contracts in 1526 for the remaining twenty-two windows, four — Richard Bond, Thomas Reve (or Neve), Francis Williamson and Simon Symondes — can be traced with some confidence in the whole or part of seven windows, almost all on the north side;⁴ the two others, Galyon Hone and James Nicholson, are more easily identifiable as glass-painters in the late glass, and specifically in the east window

and in 14C. In addition, there are two outstanding master-glaziers whose names (Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson) are never mentioned in connexion with the King's College glass, but whose work it is the main purpose of this article to follow and identify, more particularly in the south side windows 14-23 and 25.

The Tudors and their Three Chief Glaziers

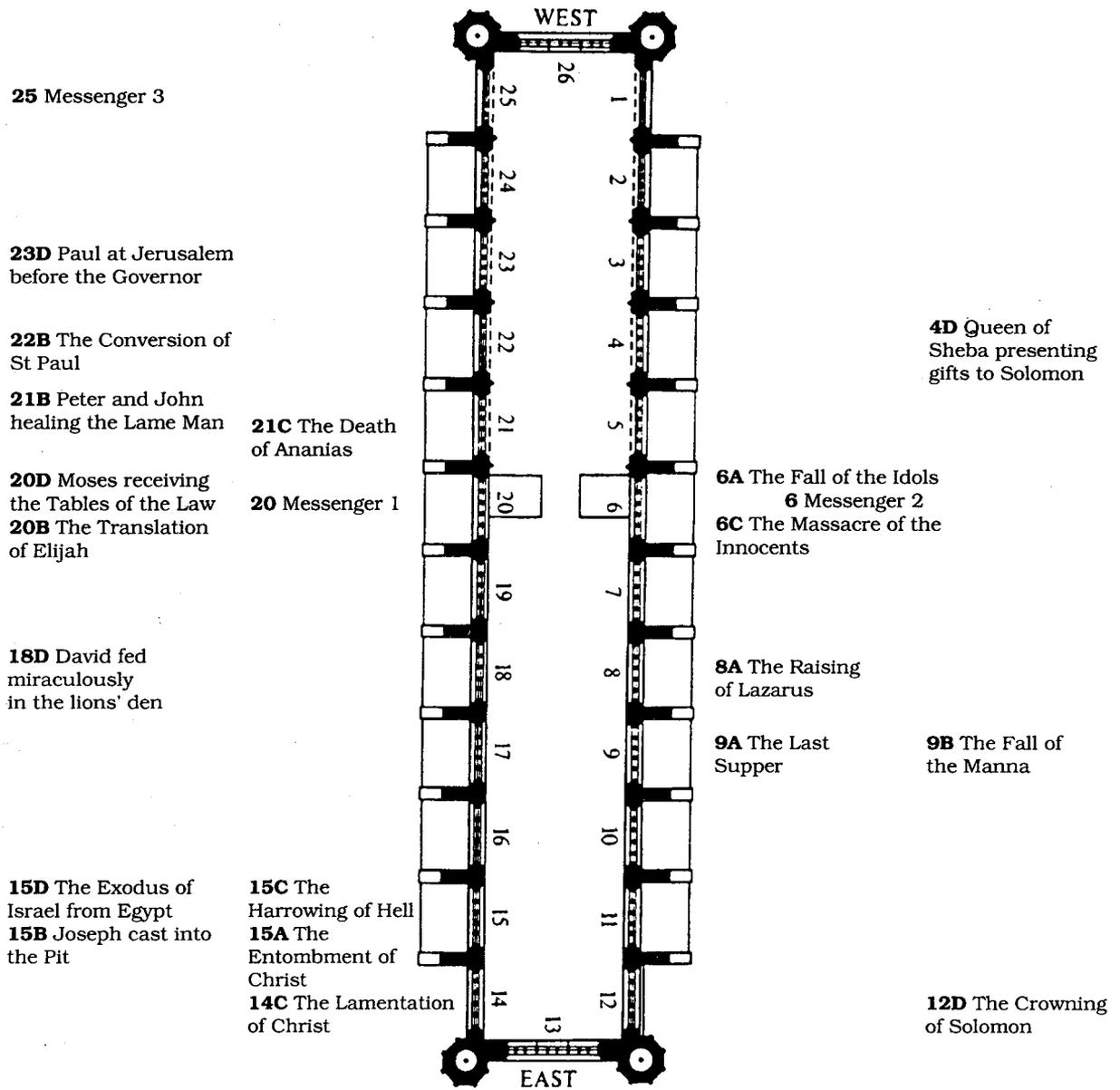
The Tudor kings and queens, over more than seventy years, seem to have been served by three Chief Glaziers only: Barnard Flower, Galyon Hone and Peter Nicholson, all of continental origin. The full range of documents referring to Flower was described by Arthur Oswald in two articles of the fifties, and supplemented in a vital contribution from Angela Smith in 1988; his career can now be traced in outline from 1496 to 1517, when he died.⁵ Galyon Hone worked at Eton College between 1517 and 1526, and is described as 'the king's glazier' in 1520, when he received the large sum of £88, in all probability for glazing the temporary palace at the Field of Cloth of Gold.⁶ In 1526 he was the chief signatory of the contracts for the glazing of the twenty-two windows in King's Chapel which remained unglazed after the campaign of 1515-17; these were intended to be completed by 1531, but only eight more seem to date from this time. On 8 April 1535 Galyon dined at King's, together with 'James' and 'another', and there is other evidence of a resumption of work at this time.⁷ Our knowledge of his multifarious work in the king's service is vastly enlarged by the survival of the 'particular books' kept by James Nedeham, Clerk-Surveyor of the King's

Upper Register

Lower Register

Lower Register

Upper Register



C The Carrying of the Cross
F The Descent from the Cross **E** The Crucifixion **D** The Nailing on the Cross

Diagram 1. Location of scenes and messengers.

Works during those years.⁸ These record his work in repairing damaged glass and setting up new, whether plain or heraldic, in no less than twenty of the king's palaces, including Bridewell, Eltham, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Westminster and Whitehall. He is many times described as the King's Glazier, or Chief Glazier; and in particular the entry under 'the king's house' at Dartford clears up a difficulty

suggested by his description, when working there, as 'servant to Sir Richard Longe'.⁹ Longe was simply 'keeper of the house', and Hone was working under him, but for the king.¹⁰ Although Nedeham records Hone's renewed activity at Dartford (and at Leeds Castle in Kent) as late as 1544, it is clear that his fortunes were already in decline. His goods had been valued in the Returns of Aliens for 1541 at £40, but in

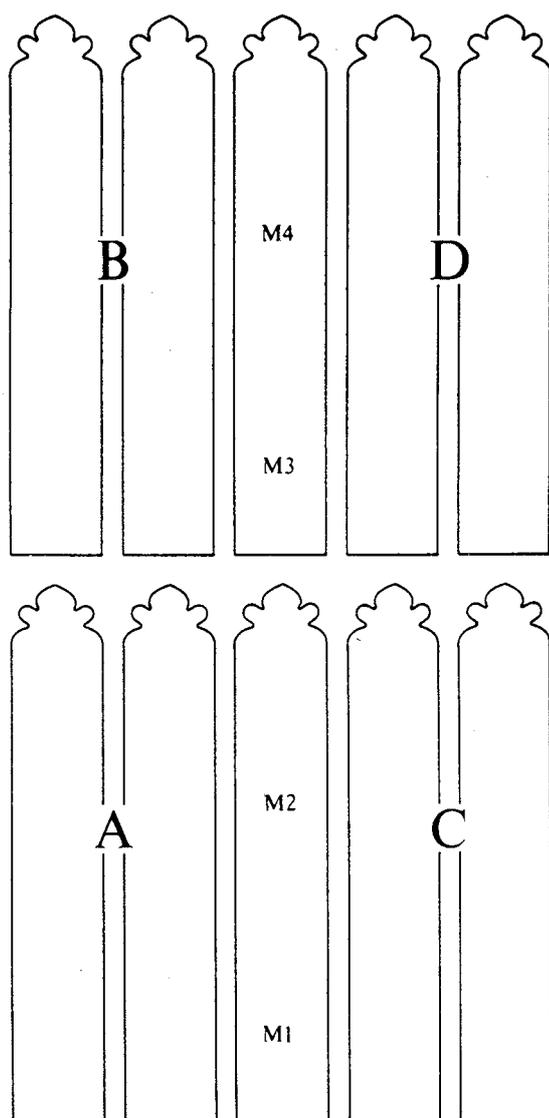


Diagram 2. Key to main lights of a window with notation of scenes.

1545 they had fallen to 20s., and in 1549 to less than that.¹¹ He probably died in 1551-2. Meanwhile, on 21 February 1550, Peter Nicholson had been appointed King's Glazier for life.¹²

From the beginning of Edward VI's reign in January 1547 until the early seventeenth century very little figural glass was painted in England. Heraldic glass was still produced more or less by the same techniques, but the growing use of enamels in place of potmetal led to a sharp decline in its splendour; in ecclesiastical buildings, apart from heraldry, only quarries in paint, yellow stain, and occasionally sanguine wash were installed. It is therefore hardly surprising that Peter Nicholson's annual

fee was rather less than that paid to Barnard Flower.

Until the very end of Henry VIII's reign, however, the foreign glaziers had prospered. Henry used the Protestant movement to rid himself of Catherine of Aragon and to establish himself as head of the English Church, but he remained a conservative in religion, and by no means discouraged religious imagery. Throughout his reign there was strong resentment on the part of the Glaziers' Company in the City of London towards the foreign glaziers who worked for the King and his counsellors.¹³ This resentment erupted into open struggle in the last decades of the reign. An undated letter from the guild to Thomas Cromwell protests against infringements of the law by Peter Nicholson, who, they point out, in addition to the two 'servants' permitted by statute employs five men to work for Cromwell himself, and moreover imports glass ready made from overseas, thus depriving Englishmen of work and the King of his dues; a second complaint brought before the Barons of the Exchequer on 17 November 1536 seems likely also to refer to the same affair, and thus to date it.¹⁴

This is the first occasion on which Peter is mentioned in any surviving document, though another Nicholson, James, had been active since 1518 at least, and was scarcely less prominent than Hone among the foreign glaziers.¹⁵ Wolsey, who could be satisfied with nothing but the best, employed James Nicholson in 1529 as his master-glazier at Cardinal College, Oxford, and at his death in November 1530 owed him the large sum of £58 for work done at his archiepiscopal mansions of Southwell, Cawood and Scroby. At Oxford Thomas Cromwell had been in charge of the building operation,¹⁶ including the glazing for which James Nicholson was responsible; but James was also a printer, and, as becomes clear a few years later, shared Cromwell's Lutheran leanings. In 1535 he published an edition of part of Coverdale's Bible, printed abroad, but with a dedication to the King which he had printed himself. A letter has survived which he sent to Cromwell with a copy of the book and also one of Melanchthon's *Commonplaces*; he appeals confidently for Cromwell's support as 'an only patrone unto the Trouth'.¹⁷ In 1537-8 James Nicholson printed two editions of the Bible, and other Protestant books; but soon after this he seems to have given up printing and passed on his equipment to others.

On 8 April 1535, as we have seen, 'Galyon, James and another' are recorded as having dined at King's College, Cambridge, no doubt with a view to the resumption of glazing work

in the Chapel. The 'James' concerned must have been James Nicholson, as will later appear. He seems likely in fact, what with his printing and his glazing, to have been fully committed when Cromwell turned instead to Peter Nicholson for what was obviously important glazing work, in all probability at his house within the City at Austin Friars.

Can we doubt that there was either a professional link, or consanguinity, or both, between the two Nicholsons? They are both reported as living within the liberty of St Thomas' Hospital, Southwark, James in 1526 (and probably for the rest of his life), and Peter in 1541.¹⁸ James had died c. 1541–2, and by January 1543 (new style) his widow had remarried.¹⁹ J.A. Knowles conjectured that Peter was James' brother, but he is far more likely to have been the son of a man whom he was to survive for at least twenty-seven years.²⁰

The struggle between the London Company and the foreign glaziers finally came to a head in 1546, the last full year of Henry VIII's reign. The Company's *Complaint* against the foreigners and their English followers, which can be dated soon after 10 June 1546, is a most informative document.²¹ It recalls the recent history of the struggle, their rivals' practice of entering the City to work there (almost certainly not to paint or fire glass, but to fix in place panels which had been made 'outside the walls'), and the imprisonment of Galyon Hone, Francis Williamson and two others. It then adds the names of six other 'strangers born', including Peter Nicholson and 'longe Deryk', and of twelve Englishmen not Londoners. Another document of 18 October 1546 cites Peter Nicholson, with Hone and Godfrey Trice, as having refused to contribute when the Company 'harnessed men for the king's wars'.²² Trice and Nicholson confessed that they had 'made privy meetings amongst themselves and . . . gathered sommes of mony to beare out this matter agynst the glasyers ffremen'. A judgement of the Star Chamber issued on 27 October 1546 decided the case in favour of the Company, which continued during the next reign to have the upper hand.²³

In this final struggle, though Hone (despite his impoverishment) was the foreigners' ringleader, Peter Nicholson clearly played an important part. Meanwhile his affairs prospered: the Returns of Aliens show that his goods were rated in 1541 at £10, and £13 in 1549; in 1551 he had £20 and two servants.²⁴ On 10 March 1552 he received a letter of denization.²⁵ He moved from the parish of St Thomas' Hospital in Southwark to that of St Saviour's c. 1545, but returned to St Thomas' by 1559–

60. In 1562, however, he was allotted a tenement in Westminster by the queen,²⁶ and in 1563 he signed accounts as churchwarden in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields.²⁷

In 1539–40 Galyon Hone had worked at the Tower of London on the glazing of the Jewel House.²⁸ In the autumn of 1547, however, after Henry VIII's death, it was Peter Nicholson who worked in the Tower,²⁹ and in 1549 he was glazing at Whitehall Palace.³⁰ On 21 February 1550 he was appointed Chief Glazier to Edward VI; his fee was fixed at 1s. a day, with 24s. a year for livery (i.e. £19 9s. p.a.).³¹ The grant was for life, and although there is no record of his activity or status during Queen Mary's reign (1553–8), on 25 January 1559, soon after the accession of Elizabeth I, he was assessed on a 'fee' of £18, which corresponds roughly to the 1s. a day granted for life in 1550.³² In February to June 1566 he installed royal arms and badges in the Queen's lodging at Collyweston, Northants,³³ and in 1568 at Reading Abbey, Berks, when he is expressly called 'the queen's Master Glazier'.³⁴ Peter Nicholson died on 16 March 1569³⁵ and was buried at St Martin-in-the-Fields the next day.³⁶

Dierick Vellert

There is another figure whose work in England is nowhere clearly attested by documents, but has been inferred by a number of scholars during the last century and a half. In 1855–6 Sir George Scharf, in a general and wide-ranging account of foreign influences on the King's Chapel glass, mentioned more than once an engraver then known as 'Dirk van Staren'.³⁷ Max Friedländer in 1899 made a more general comparison with this artist,³⁸ and soon afterwards Glück identified the engraver as Dierick Jacobsz Vellert of Antwerp.³⁹ N. Beets worked out in detail Vellert's responsibility for the designs of two windows, 13 (east) and 20 (to the south of the screen).⁴⁰

K.P. Harrison, writing in 1952, carried this idea further, and in particular saw him as 'deviser' of window 6 (north of the screen).⁴¹ It was not, however, until 1972, when my *Corpus Vitrearum* volume appeared, that Vellert was seen not only as the designer of most of the later windows, but as one of the leading painters of the glass.⁴²

There is no documentary proof of Vellert's presence in England at any time between 1515 and 1547. He might well be identical with the stranger 'longe Deryk' whose name was included in the London glaziers' *Complaint* of 1546.⁴³ It does not, however, appear in the Returns of Aliens: Vellert, as an intermittent

visitor at most, is unlikely at this time to have set up house in Southwark or Westminster, which would have rendered him liable to tax (and thus inclusion in the records). It is not unlikely, however, that he settled in England after the death of Henry VIII and figures as the 'Olde Father Derrick, Douchman', who in 1567 was living in the ward of Faringdon Within.⁴⁴ As he was probably born in Amsterdam c. 1486 and was based in Antwerp from 1511 onwards this may seem improbable; but there was good reason for emigration at that time from a city under Catholic rule to one with a new Protestant government. The glaziers, like other craftsmen, were notoriously inclined to Lutheranism, and the evidence of the glass in King's Chapel suggests that Vellert, like James Nicholson, was in fact a keen Lutheran. The late Christopher Morris drew attention to the ambiguity of the inscription on Caiaphas' throne in window 11A; this reads SIC RESPO(N)DES PO(N)TIFICE(M) (Is that how you answer the Pontiff?). The word for a high priest can also mean 'bishop' or 'Pope', and a medieval Pope had been dubbed Caiaphas;⁴⁵ the Lutherans made the same comparison. In Lutheran Nuremberg c. 1535 Peter Flötner, in his *New Passion of Christ*, was to show a Pope standing behind Christ's Cross in place of Caiaphas. Vellert, who must have designed the Caiaphas scene and painted the figure of Caiaphas himself, appears also to have designed and painted the figure of the Penitent Thief in the *Crucifixion* (east E) and that of the Prodigal Son returning to his Father (19B) — both monuments of Penitence, which to the Lutherans was a cardinal virtue.

There are indications that Vellert may have been preparing for a move from Antwerp before the end of Henry VIII's reign. A document of 4 April 1543 records that he sold the rents of seven 'fine dwelling-houses' on the Meir, in the centre of the city; but it would surely have been more profitable for him to farm the rents himself, or employ an agent, if he had been intending to stay in Antwerp.⁴⁶ Then on 1 September of the same year Vellert and his wife are recorded as having sold two houses, also on the Meir, which they had bought in 1522.⁴⁷ On 30 December 1547 he signed an act of procuration, in which he is described as a citizen of Antwerp, authorising two lawyers in Amsterdam to look after his affairs; this again might seem to indicate that he at least felt foot-loose.⁴⁸

It may in fact be possible to follow Vellert's family well into the second half of the century. In July 1569 a certain 'Jacques Vellaert, peintre de verrieres', who was 53 years old and lived in Antwerp, testifies to the character of Corneille

van Houte, another glazier, who was probably a son of the Mechlin glazier Adrian Vandenhoute.⁴⁹ Since the name Vellert (Felaert, Vellaert) is very rare, this Jacob Vellert must surely have been the son of Dierick, who will have given him his own father's name, in accordance with a practice common at the time. Finally, in the London Returns of Aliens for 1588 the name of 'Derick Jacobson' appears, as a contributor for life to the maintenance of students through the Dutch Church in London.⁵⁰ This man might well, by the same token, have been the son of 'Jacques Vellaert', and the grandson of Dierick Jacobson Vellert.

The Three Guests at Dinner in April 1535

There is, in any case, good reason to believe, as we shall see, that Vellert must have been the other man who dined in King's College with Galyon (Hone) and James (Nicholson) on 8 April 1535. In this country during the last twelve years of Henry's reign by far the most important glazing campaign that we know of concerned the east window of King's Chapel and, as I believe, the equivalent of eleven other windows, 4 and 9A on the north, and the rest on the south side (14A and C, 15–23, and the Messengers in 25). The campaign no doubt began after the visit of Hone and his two companions in April 1535, and appears to have continued, off and on, until the end of the reign.⁵¹ It is now possible to discern the co-operation of Galyon Hone, James Nicholson, and Dierick Vellert first in 14C (Fig. 1), probably in the year or two following, and in the east window (with a number of other glaziers) in 1540.

Of Hone's style little need be said. In the scene which shows the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts to Solomon (4D) the head of Solomon bears the features of Henry VIII (Fig. 2); a shield with the capitals HR which originally stood above the scene, but within the main lights, proves that the resemblance is not coincidental.⁵² This head will inevitably have been painted by the King's own glazier. Hone must also, as chief contractor for the glazing, have painted the key figure of Christ on the Cross in east E, which is in the same style (Fig. 3). Other notable heads are those of the Virgin Mary at the *Crucifixion* (east E), of the young woman at the foot of the Cross in the *Lamentation of Christ* (window 14C, Fig. 1, upper L), and of the villainous Carpenter in the *Christ Nailed to the Cross* (east D, Fig. 4). I find no sign of his hand in any of the south side windows except 14C (the *Lamentation of Christ* already mentioned); the east window (c. 1540) is most probably the last he was concerned



Figure 1. The Lamentation of Christ (*window 14C, part*).



Figure 2. Solomon, from the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts to Solomon (4D).



Figure 3. Head of Christ on the Cross, from the Crucifixion (east E).



Figure 5. Pilate, from the Carrying of the Cross (east C).



Figure 4. *The Carpenter*, from the Nailing on the Cross (east D).

with. We have seen that in the 1540s his affairs declined, though he lived until at least the end of the decade. Hone's late style, as indeed one might expect from what other documents reveal about his character and exploits, is insensitive and almost brutally assured; his noses have a broad, prominent bridge and bulbous tip, his eyelids an exaggerated curve, defying perspective, and his mouths a wide, rather loose lower lip, often showing the teeth. The hair is often aggressively unruly. He sometimes uses too much paint, a fault shared by many of his contemporaries, though not by the three most accomplished of his colleagues, whose work we have now to examine.

Before doing so, however, we must consider the processes involved in the painting of heads, or at least the more important heads. The full-size cartoons for many of the later windows, especially for instance the east window and the *Lamentation of Christ* in the next window on the south side (14C, Fig. 1), must have been prepared under Vellert's supervision; and he seems likely himself to have made full-size drawings for the more important heads. This arises from the homogeneity of style and the close proximity of different heads in a single panel which exhibit clearly the hands of two or more different painters.⁵³ It is obvious, however, that heads painted by different glaziers from drawings all from a single hand must closely resemble each other, and in many cases be practically indistinguishable in style. Nevertheless there are nearly always slight discrepancies, and the effort to distinguish the various hands may well be worth while.

There is another cautionary remark to be made. In these late south side windows a number of heads have either lost their paint or been replaced by modern restorers, so that in some cases it is difficult or even impossible to tell which of the chief glaziers had the main responsibility for a particular scene. However, since the glass as a whole is in exceptionally good condition, not much more than five per cent having been replaced, the general pattern of work remains clear.

The Style of James Nicholson

The style of James Nicholson has lately been illuminated by the discovery of a series of vidimuses (from Nuremberg c. 1526) for the windows of Wolsey's chapel at Hampton Court Palace.⁵⁴ Several of these are annotated in James' hand, and others have evidently been used in the design of some of the panels now in the east window of Balliol College, Oxford (c.

1529), which have long been suspected of being painted under his direction. It is a fair assumption, therefore, that the key figure of the *Christ before Pilate* at Oxford is his work, and that a comparison of this with figures of Pilate in the east window of King's (e.g. 13C, Fig. 5) establishes his style c. 1540, just before his death, which probably took place in 1541–2.⁵⁵ In the earlier scenes of the new campaign (from 1535 onwards) he must have painted the figures of Christ in the *Lamentation* (14C, Fig. 1), and in the *Harrowing of Hell* (15C, Fig. 7). Here the crown of the head is visible, and the hair is rendered by rounded, concentric strokes behind a tight, wavy lock which sweeps back to cover the ear. It is always picked out of a thin wash rather than painted in line, so that the light predominates over the dark. In the Christ of the *Harrowing* it breaks into spiral folds at the tips. Elsewhere the loose ends of hair or beard tend to curl extravagantly into small circular ringlets. Mouths tend to show the teeth, even to the point of snarling. The lips are full, even pouting, and sometimes a bit surly, as in the figures of Pilate in the *Christ Shown to the People* (13A)⁵⁶ and the *Christ Carrying his Cross* (13C, Fig. 5) in the east window (c. 1540). The eyes are rendered in perspective, without Hone's exaggeration of the curve in the upper lid. In the *Crucifixion* (13E) James Nicholson must have painted the Impenitent Thief⁵⁷ and the bearded dicer at the foot of the Cross (Fig. 8). Here Hone's influence is paramount; the hair is more unruly and the gestures more frantic than ever.

The Style of Dierick Vellert

Vellert, as a glass-painter, is a much more classic stylist than Galyon Hone or James Nicholson. It is true that his anatomy is often at fault. In his designs he cannot show striding legs in recession, and frequently makes hunchbacks of figures in profile (Fig. 4);⁵⁸ but his heads are a different matter. His hand as cartoonist and glass-painter was identified through comparison of the lower register of window 6A, the *Fall of the Idols*, dated 1517, with a photograph of two angels from a roughly contemporary window at Lübeck which was signed with Vellert's five-pointed star.⁵⁹ The identification of a male figure (Charlemagne) and two female demi-figures in Madingley Church (Cambs) as Vellert's autograph work (c. 1520) serves to confirm this judgement (see Fig. 12).⁶⁰ These panels are clearly part of the same set of Worthies and Virtues as those which were formerly at Warwick Castle and are signed with

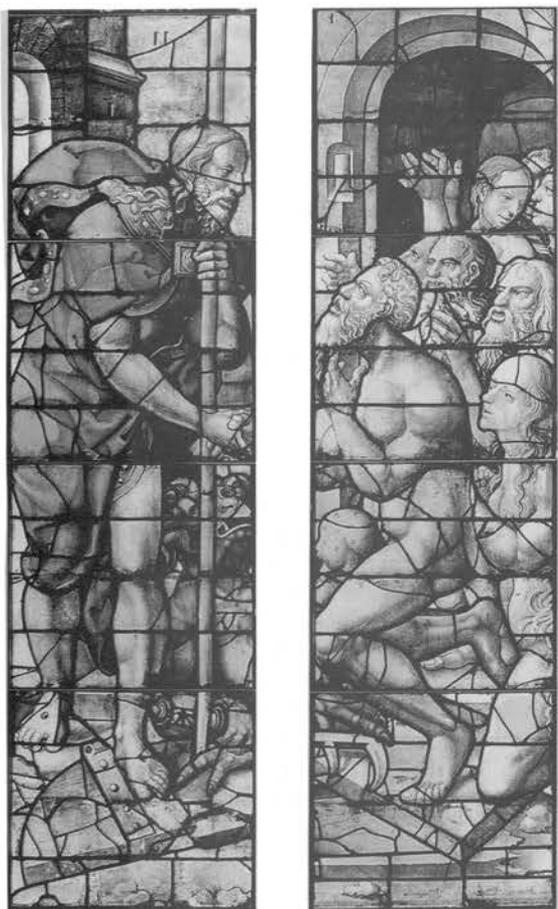


Figure 6. The Harrowing of Hell (15C, part).



Figure 7. Christ from The Harrowing of Hell (15C).



Figure 8. Dicer at the foot of the Cross, from the Crucifixion (east E).



Figure 9. The Penitent Thief, from the Crucifixion (east E).

Vellert's monogram, as seen in the plate commemorating his deanery of St Luke's Guild at Antwerp in 1526.⁶¹ Vellert's developing style can be traced in at least five of the late windows in King's Chapel, and it reaches its climax in the east window, above all in the head of the Penitent Thief (13E, Fig. 9). This he modelled after that of Adam from Michelangelo's *Creation of Man* in the Sistine Chapel. The face and the



Figure 10. *Eve, from The Harrowing of Hell (15C).*



Figure 11. *Mary Magdalene, from the Descent from the Cross (east F).*

vigorous neck are rendered by delicately graded washes which are interrupted by the dark gash of the mouth, the pale, dying eyes, and the golden curls of hair and beard. In his female heads, such as those of Mary Magdalene in the *Lamentation of Christ* (14C, Fig. 1) or of Eve issuing from the gate of Hell (15C, Fig. 10), the same finely controlled washes are set off by sparse but telling line-work, so that they are indeed 'painted with light'. Another figure of the Magdalene as she comforts the swooning Virgin in the *Descent from the Cross* (13F) repeats almost exactly the profile of Charity at Madingley, despite the passage of two decades between the two (Figs. 11 & 12). The deeper shading in his male heads is illuminated by conspicuous highlights, especially on the cheekbones. His beards are sometimes composed of short curls (Fig. 9), and the hair often sticks out in loose, untidy tufts, as for instance in the case of Joseph of Arimathea (14C, Fig. 1), or the Lame Man (21B, Fig. 14). His grown men have flowing hair and beards which often seem to imitate Pieter Coecke's sinuosity (Christ turning towards Veronica, 13C, Fig. 15);⁶² but Vellert, in his heads at least, never, like James Nicholson, oversteps the bounds of probability. His eyes are soberly outlined by a dark linear upper lid and a picked-out lower lid (Fig. 26); the tear-duct is often shown as it were in 'lost profile', just emerging from the further curve of the eyeball (Eve in 15C, Fig. 10, or the raffish young Prophet, 19M3, Fig. 19). His mouths are usually half open, sometimes showing the teeth, and sometimes crossed by a wisp or two which falls from the moustache; the upper lip, if visible, is usually defined by a dark line of paint (Figs. 9, 10, 11, 14 & 26). The most remarkable thing about Vellert, however, is the breadth and warmth of his humanity; he paints with equal



Figure 12. *Charity, demi-figure from a south window in Madingley Church, Cambridgeshire.*



Figure 13. Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).



Figure 15. Head of Christ, from *The Carrying of the Cross* (east C).

realism and sympathy Christ's suffering (13C, Fig. 15), the grief of the Magdalene in the *Lamentation* (14C, Fig. 1), her solicitude as she tends Christ's sorrowing Mother (13F, Fig. 11), the hatred of Joseph's brothers as he is cast



Figure 14. *The Lame Man*, from Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).



Figure 16. Heads of brothers of Joseph, from Joseph cast into the Pit (15B).

into the pit (15B, Fig. 16), and the bitter resignation of the Lame Man (21B, Fig. 14).

In his painting of full-scale windows Vellert should be recognised as a more important artist than in his roundels, his engravings, or his drawings. His work in King's Chapel makes nonsense of the claim that he was responsible for panel paintings such as the *Adoration of the Magi* at Rotterdam and the *Nativity* at Lille, for instance.⁶³ I have used the word 'classic' in



Figure 17. *The Entombment (15A, detail).*

describing his style; and there is little in it of the capriciousness of the Antwerp mannerists with whom he has often been included. Whether or not he went to Italy before borrowing from Raphael's paintings in the *stanze* of the Vatican⁶⁴ and from Michelangelo's in the Sistine Chapel,⁶⁵ he was deeply influenced, from 1517 on, by the Italian Renaissance. His most impressive achievement is the sober dignity, warmth and variety of the figures in the King's Chapel windows which he painted himself.

The Anonymous Master

In 1972, however, I tentatively attributed to Vellert a number of scenes in the later south side windows in which I now believe he had little part.⁶⁶ The later windows, in fact, apart from the great east window, are increasingly dominated by another outstanding glass-painter, who was influenced both by Vellert himself and by James Nicholson. It seems likely that the south side windows from 14 to 23, unlike those on the north side, were painted roughly in order from east to west, and probably all in the third period, after 1535. If this view is correct, the first sign of the anonymous glazier's work may well be in the *Entombment of Christ* (15A, Fig. 17), where over the shoulder of Joseph of Arimathea, as he supports the body

of Christ, leans another disciple looking down. Joseph's head is modelled in rather darker paint, probably by James Nicholson himself; the other disciple's head is more delicately done, with thin washes that let the light shine through, and a great economy of shadow and line. There are many points of resemblance with the head of a woman in the Exodus scene, which I believe to be Vellert's (Fig. 18), though the contrast of light and shade is not so arresting, and the ear is over-prominent. This anonymous glazier worked closely with Vellert in the *Peter and John healing the Lame Man* (window 21B), painting the figure of Peter in the right-hand light (Fig. 13) while Vellert painted the Lame Man in the left (Fig. 14). He models the heads of women, young men, and angels with the most transparent of glazes, and picks out a stippled wash with stick, scrub and needle, alternating with delicate line-work, to illuminate the hair, which often twists and rolls with all the abandon of James Nicholson's latest work, or runs at the ends into extravagant whorls (Fig. 20). His mouths are modelled partly on Vellert's and partly on James's practice. The upper lip tends to curve like a bow; the lower is rather full, though it does not pout. There is great warmth in his faces, which often seem to be lit up by an amused benevolence, even when the action belies it (21C, Fig. 21). His control of



Figure 18. Two Israelites, from the Exodus of Israel from Egypt (15D).



Figure 19. Window 19, head of Messenger 3.

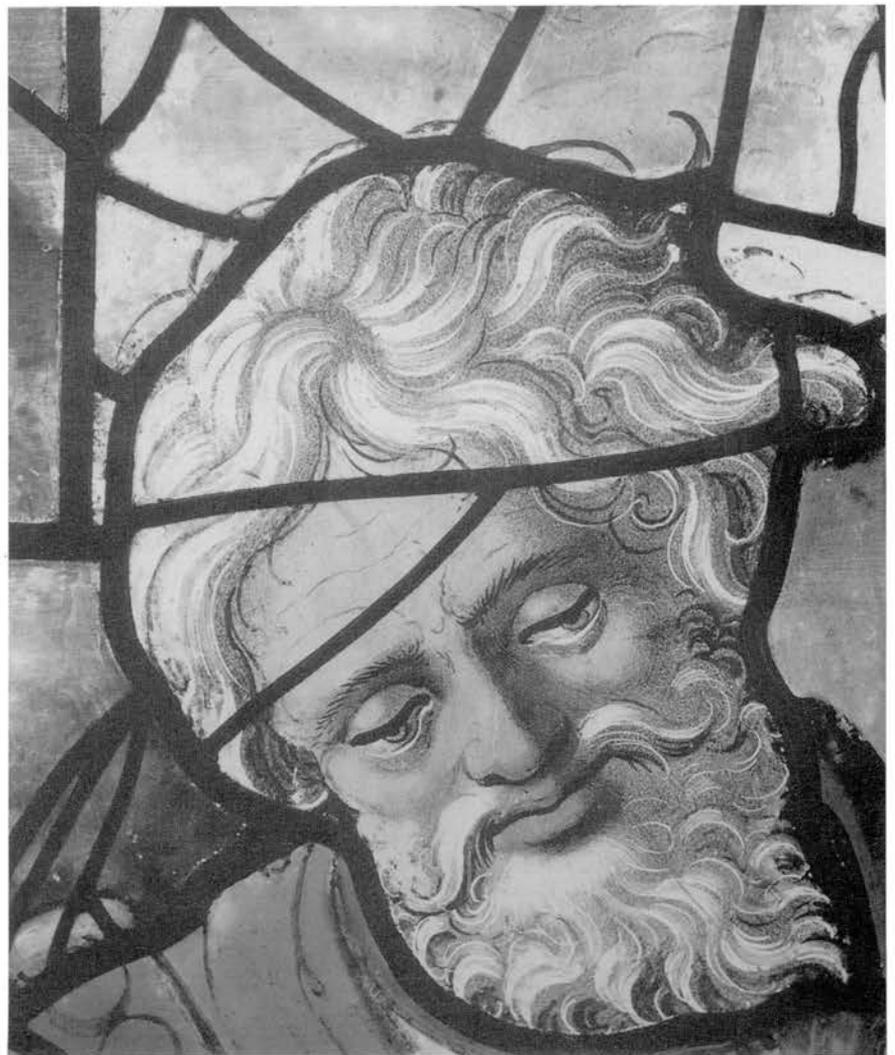


Figure 21. St Peter, from The Death of Ananias (21C).



Figure 20. *Habakkuk and the Angel, from Daniel fed miraculously in the Lions' Den (18D).*



Figure 22. *An Israelite Woman and her Child, from Moses receiving the Tables of the Law (20D).*

drapery is crisp and often dramatic (Figs. 20, 22 & 24). But it is his mastery of movement, above all, that marks him out from all the others who worked on the King's Chapel glass. This is evident in the soldier seen from the back in window 23D (Fig. 24), *Paul at Jerusalem before the Governor*, a figure no doubt designed by Vellert c. 1535 under the influence of Pieter Coecke.⁶⁷ Much more remarkable is the aerial group in window 18.1, *Daniel fed miraculously in the Lions' Den* (18D, Fig. 20): the buoyancy and living warmth of the figures at the landfall, the subtlety and richness of their colouring, and the convincing actuality of the miracle make this, to my mind, the most outstanding scene in any of the windows.

In the southwest windows the more feminine of the Angel-Messengers are no doubt by this anonymous master's assistants. One in the corner window (25 M3, Fig. 25), which may well



Figure 23. *Elijah in the Chariot of Fire, from the Translation of Elijah (20B).*

date from 1546-7, is from his own hand, and shows by comparison with Vellert's own version (20 M1, Fig. 26) how far his style was to develop before figurative glass went out of favour.

The Lazarus Glazier and the Anonymous Master

There were of course other distinguished glaziers whose work is prominent in the later glass. One whom I have called the Lazarus glazier, from the figure in window 8A, was evidently responsible for the St Paul in the *Conversion* (22B, Fig. 28). He paints the lower jaw of bearded men almost in a straight line from ear to chin. The *Triumph of Bacchus* roundel now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which must have been designed by Vellert, is no doubt his work.⁶⁸ He also appears



Figure 25. Window 25, bust of Messenger 3.



Figure 26. Window 20, head of Messenger 1.

Figure 24. The Governor and a Guard, from Paul at Jerusalem before the Governor (23D).



Figure 27. *Vidimus* for Peter and John healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (21B).

to have copied from Vellert's original the *vidimus*s for three scenes in windows 19 and 21 which are preserved in the Bowdoin College Museum, Brunswick, Maine.⁶⁹ In one of these, however, *Peter and John healing the Lame Man* (21B, Fig. 27), the figure of Peter has been over-worked in ink by another hand. The drapery in the glass itself has a more dynamic quality than any of the examples so far mentioned. Peter's mantle is full of dramatic flourishes, with muffled zigzag effects, protruding folds that

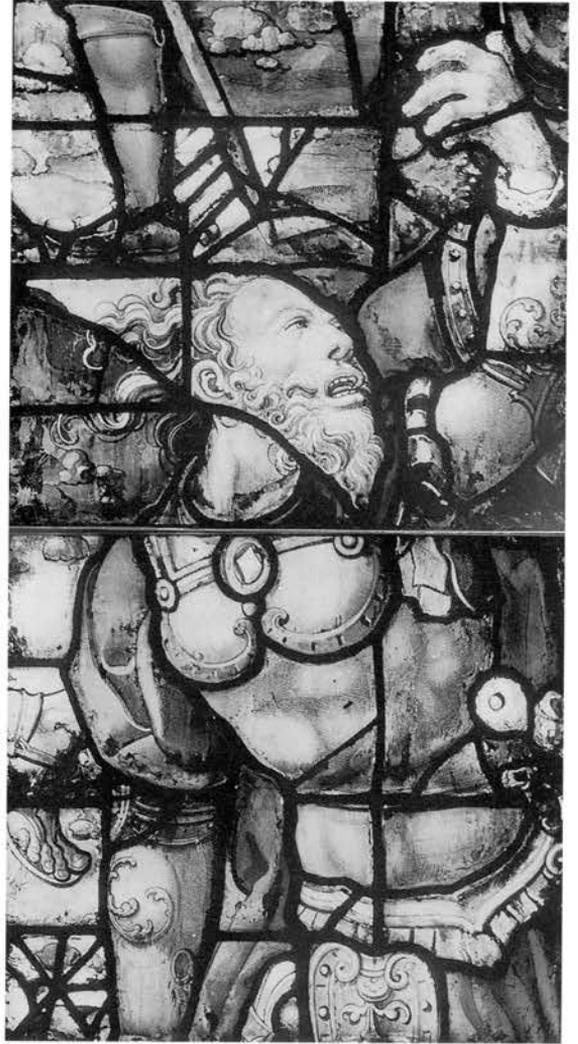


Figure 28. Window 22B, *The Conversion of St Paul* (detail).

expand or narrow as they fall, and crisp encircling outlines drawn with a single stroke of the brush. Something of the same agitation can be seen, for instance, in the figure of Christ harrowing Hell, which I attribute to James Nicholson (15C, Fig. 7); but Vellert's drapery, though often agitated enough, is less mannered and less dynamic. The figure of the Lame Man, which in the glass was clearly painted by Vellert, has in the drawing been only cursorily lined out in ink. This may therefore be the copy of the *vidimus* touched up before delivery to the cartoonist by the painter of the figure of St Peter, that is to say by our anonymous master.

The Identity of the Anonymous Master

Who was this man? We are looking for a glass-painter who first appears among the Anglo-Netherlandish masters in the later 1530s, and

probably went on well into the 1540s: a man who absorbed many of James Nicholson's idiosyncracies, and much of his virtuosity, as well as the delicacy and distinction, though not the variety, of Vellert. He appears to have taken no part in any of the glazing for which Hone was primarily responsible, in windows 4, 9, 13 and 14. What I take to be his first contribution was to a scene which must be attributed to James Nicholson's workshop (15A, the *Entombment of Christ*). James' hand is evident in the figures of Moses and Aaron in 15D, but cannot be traced any further west, while the anonymous master contributes to all the remaining windows on the south side except 24, which must have formed part of Williamson and Symondes' 1526 contract. Vellert works with him in windows 20 (Fig. 26) and 21 (Fig. 13), but after that the anonymous master seems to be in charge, and two of his Messengers appear in window 25 (M3, Fig. 25, and M4), with others equally extraneous, to complete the work of Williamson and Symondes, leaving undone only the Last Judgement, which must surely have been intended to round off the series. He might well be seen here, in glass which was probably the last to be painted before the Puritans became predominant in 1547, as the natural successor of Galyon Hone. For a variety of reasons, therefore, it is more than tempting to identify him as the third of the three Chief Glaziers who served the Tudor monarchs, namely Peter Nicholson.

A Master-Piece?

In conclusion I must mention one further case in which work I have previously attributed to Vellert should probably be credited to Peter Nicholson. One of the most striking figures in the Chapel is an Angel-Messenger in the window north of the organ-screen, where it is not easily seen (6, M2, Fig. 29). The youthful face is warm, sensitive, alert; though the eyes are less subtly drawn than in the later Messengers, the pair of locks curling towards each other on the forehead, and the circling ringlets are in the Nicholson style. The backs of the hands are painted with outstanding delicacy, and recall those of James Nicholson's *Christ harrowing Hell* (15C, Fig. 7). The combination of potmetals is exceptionally rich and bold. In the short sleeves of the cassock the plain glass borders have been perforated with a hot iron to receive jewels of blue and ruby, by 'insertion', *en chef d'oeuvre*. This technical feat belongs more to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century; it is found, for instance, in John Prudde's figures of St Alban and St Thomas of Canterbury in



Figure 29. Window 6, Messenger 2.

the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary's, Warwick (c. 1447).⁷⁰ The most striking example in King's Chapel is (very appropriately) in the *Fall of the Manna* (window 9B) where many of the descending flakes are rendered by the same technique; the scene is attributed to the elderly English glazier, Richard Bond, one of the signatories of the 1526 contracts who had also worked there in 1515–17. The Messenger in window 6 (M2, Fig. 29) may well be the earliest example of Peter Nicholson's work in the Chapel: a youthful effort meant to dazzle and impress. The main scenes of the window in which it stands date from 1517, but all four Messengers must have been assigned to it later on. This is evident from the illegibility of the scrolls they carry, giving the texts illustrated in the scenes on either side; these must originally have been left blank, and then painted cold at the time of installation. The Angel's style suggests the mid 1530s, when not merely the decorative trappings (as in Williamson and Symondes' work in the northwest window, which is dated 1527) but the genuine spirit of the Italian Renaissance begins to animate English glass.⁷¹ Peter Nicholson's work, if I read it correctly, represents even more clearly than Vellert's own the climax of this phase.

Acknowledgements

The Society's warm thanks are due to the Provost and Scholars of King's College for permission to reproduce Figs. 1, 4–8, 13–21, 23–5 and 28–9; also to Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, for the use of Fig. 27. The late Kenneth Harrison made most helpful comments on the first draft of this article, which resulted notably in the collection of evidence on the possible establishment of Dierick Vellert in England after the death of Henry VIII. The author is also most grateful to the Revd George Pattison, Dean of King's, for his suggestion that the hanging behind Solomon's throne, diapered as it is with fleurs-de-lis, implies his impersonation by a king of England (see n. 52 below).

Photographic credits:

Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine: 27

P.A.L. Brunney: 1, 4–8, 10–11, 13–20, 23–5, 28–9

G. King & Son: 21

Author: 2–3, 9, 12, 22, 26

Endnotes

- ¹ See References: £3.95, or £5.25 post free, on application to King's College Chapel Shop: CB2 1ST.
- ² Wayment (1972: 1–4 & 123–5).
- ³ Windows 2, 6, 9C and D, 10A and B, 12. See Wayment, The quest for Barnard Flower, King's Glazier to Henry VII and VIII, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XIX(1) (1989–90): 24–45.
- ⁴ 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 25. In addition Williamson and Symondes sub-contracted window 24 to another glazier otherwise unknown.
- ⁵ A. Oswald, Barnard Flower, the King's glazier, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XII(1) (1951–2): 8–21; A. Oswald, The glazing of the Savoy Hospital, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XI(4) (1954–5): 224–32; A. Smith, Henry VII and the appointment of the King's glazier, *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* XVIII(3) (1988): 259–61. See also n. 3.
- ⁶ Harrison (1952: 7–11); his account requires correction on two points: (1) Hone should not be confused with Gheleyn van Brugge; he came from the province of Holland, where the Hoon family had flourished in the fifteenth century, and must have been born c. 1486. (2) He dined in King's College on 8 April 1535, not 1536 (n. 7 below).
- ⁷ King's College Muniments, *Liber Communarum* 1534–5, under date; see also Blomefield's evidence, Wayment (1972: 4).
- ⁸ Ransome (1962), and HKW III and IV *passim*, indexed under Hone, Galyon.
- ⁹ L. & P., *Henry VIII* XVI: 358 no. 745 fol. 41, quoted by Harrison (1952: 10).
- ¹⁰ HKW IV: 71. Longe was appointed at Dartford in Aug. 1540, as he was to be later at Otford and Knole.
- ¹¹ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 37, 120, 146).
- ¹² P.R.O. CPR *Edward VI*, vol. III: 291.
- ¹³ Ransome (1960–68).
- ¹⁴ P.R.O. SP 1/162 f. 131; E139/315; Ransome (1960–68: 16).
- ¹⁵ Harrison (1952: 12–17).
- ¹⁶ S. Thurley in Gunn & Lindley (1991: 80).
- ¹⁷ Harrison (1952: 15).
- ¹⁸ P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 4 *Henry VIII*, vol. 16 no. 291: Wayment (1972: 127). St Thomas' was called, alternatively, the King's Hospital at this time.
- ¹⁹ The documents cited by Ransome (1960–68: 16–17) show that his widow remarried before January 1543 n.s.. This means that James must have died before about midsummer 1542, and very likely in the previous year. His work in the east window is likely to have been done before the middle of 1541. Indeed it may have been his death which caused Peter to move house in 1541.
- ²⁰ Knowles (1925: 50–51). A certain John Nycolson, an Englishman from outside the City, was among the twenty-two glaziers against whom the Glaziers' Company complained in 1545–6 (Wayment 1972: 126), but he is not mentioned elsewhere, and cannot have been related to James or Peter.
- ²¹ P.R.O. Sta. Cha. 2, *Henry VIII* vol. 16, ff. 79–80: Wayment (1972: 126).
- ²² P.R.O. S.P. 1/225 f. 206.
- ²³ Ransome (1960–68: 19–20).
- ²⁴ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 37, 141, 221–2, 234–5, 266).
- ²⁵ C.P.R. *Edward VI*, IV, 280: admission by royal letter patent to rights of citizenship, but not including those of inheritance or public office.
- ²⁶ HKW III: 23 n. 7, and p. 25.
- ²⁷ J.V. Kitto, *The Royal Parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields*:

- the Accounts of the Churchwardens 1525-1603* (London 1901: 212).
- ²⁸ Oxford, Bod.Lib. MS Rawlinson D778.
- ²⁹ P.R.O. E101/60/23.
- ³⁰ P.R.O. E101/474/19.
- ³¹ C.P.R. *Edward VI*, III (1549-51): 291.
- ³² Kirk (1900: 266).
- ³³ *HKW IV* (1982: 67).
- ³⁴ *HKW IV* (1982: 221).
- ³⁵ P.R.O. E405/131.
- ³⁶ T. Mason, *Registers of St Martin-in-the-Fields 1550-1619* (London 1898: 114).
- ³⁷ Sir George Scharf, Artistic notes on the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Archaeological Journal* XII (1855): 356-69 and XIII (1856): 44-61.
- ³⁸ Ausstellung von Kunstwerken veranstaltet von der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft (Berlin 1899: 188). See also the same author's *Early Netherlandish Painting* XII: 29.
- ³⁹ G. Glück, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Antwerpner Malerei, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XXII (1901): 1-34.
- ⁴⁰ Dirk Vellert and the windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Burlington Magazine* XII (1907): 33-7.
- ⁴¹ Harrison (1952: 64-6). In my view the story of window 6 is rather more complicated: the vidimus, or small-scale sketch, will have been provided by the Fairford designer, Adrian Vandenhoute of Mechlin, but at the stage of the full-size cartoon Vellert must have amplified the design of the Fall of the Idols (6A), notably with an architectural background closely related to his (destroyed) window at Lübeck, and with the 'cherubs' mentioned by Harrison. On Vellert's further part in the completion of the scene and the *Massacre of the Innocents* to its right (6C) see Wayment (1992): 11 & 24-5.
- ⁴² Wayment (1972: 21-2), with reservations given below.
- ⁴³ See n. 21.
- ⁴⁴ Kirk (1900, vol. I: 359).
- ⁴⁵ Wayment (1982; 1992: 34) and Christopher Morris (1906-93): The historian's eye in King's Chapel, *Cambridge Review* 116 (2325, May 1995): 65-6.
- ⁴⁶ Antwerp Archives, Schepenbrieven 211, Wesenb. & Grapheus 1543 f.135v, 4 April.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Rezetten der Comparanten lettere D f. 245: Dierick Fellert Jacopss. gelaasmaker ende Jacobwyne Willems syn wettich wyff verkopen 2 huysen in de Meere, gekogt die 23 July 1522 van Jan Spier van Fanteghem.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Schepenbrieven 227 (1547), quoted in full in Wayment (1972: 127). Vellert had probably been born in Amsterdam: *ibid.*: 18.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Cat.30, July 18 1569.
- ⁵⁰ Kirk (1900, vol. II: 208).
- ⁵¹ Wayment (1972: 4).
- ⁵² *Ibid.*: 56. In 12D, the *Crowning of Solomon* by Bathsheba, the figure of the King is clearly intended to recall Henry VII, who would never have come to the throne without the active help of his mother Lady Margaret Beaufort.
- ⁵³ In 14C (Fig. 1) Hone's hand can be discerned in the figures of the Virgin Mary and the woman at the foot of the Cross, James Nicholson's in those of the dead Christ and Nicodemus (left), and Vellert's in those of Joseph of Arimathea (right) and the Magdalene standing behind him.
- ⁵⁴ Wayment, in Gunn & Lindley (1991: 118-27). On the vidimus, an agreed design for stained glass, see Wayment (1979).
- ⁵⁵ See n. 19.
- ⁵⁶ Gunn & Lindley (1991: fig. 45).
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: fig. 46.
- ⁵⁸ The design of the Carpenter in the *Nailing on the Cross* (13D, Fig. 4), harks back to Giulio Romano's figure of Atlas at Mantua, and is closely related, as Beets points out (see n. 40), to a figure in an early drawing signed by Vellert and now in the Print Room at Berlin, for a roundel showing the *Execution of St John the Evangelist*. A roundel from this design, no doubt painted by Vellert himself, is to be seen in the church in Ickworth Park, Suffolk.
- ⁵⁹ Wayment (1972: 21-2 & pl. 5.1). The photographs were taken in 1942, just before the destruction of the window by an allied air raid.
- ⁶⁰ Wayment (1988a).
- ⁶¹ See n. 39.
- ⁶² Georges Marlier, *La Renaissance flamande: Pierre Coecke d'Alost* (Brussels 1966: *passim*), e.g. signed drawing *The Prodigal Son* (fig. 27). *The Corruption of Justice*, rectangular panel in side chapel 27 (h2), King's College Chapel, was no doubt designed by Coecke: Wayment (1988b: 91 & pl. 8).
- ⁶³ M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* XII (Leiden & Brussels 1975: nos. 159-60, pls. 139-40). The flying boy-angels seen from below and behind, in both pictures, were clearly painted by an artist with a pedophilic bent entirely alien to Vellert.
- ⁶⁴ In window 6C the figure of the Mother of Innocents seen in lost profile holding a child under her arm depends on *The Fire in the Borgo*.
- ⁶⁵ See above (p. 131) on the Penitent Thief.
- ⁶⁶ Wayment (1972: 27-9), where I also proposed a tentative identification of Peter Nicholson's work which has now proved untenable.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. the maidservant in strong contrapposto seen in Vellert's late roundel of *The Birth of the Virgin* at Weimar, Schlossmuseum KK 4596.
- ⁶⁸ Inv. no. M.8.1974, there attributed to Vellert.
- ⁶⁹ K.G. Boon, Two designs for windows by Dierick Vellert, *Master Drawings* II(2) (1964): 153-6; Wayment, Three *vidimuses* for the windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, *Master Drawings* XXII(1) (1984): 43-6; and D.P. Becker, *Old Master Drawings at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Maine, 1985: 43-6).
- ⁷⁰ Laurie Lee *et al.*, *Stained Glass* (London, 1976: 112); R.C. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993: 38-9, pls. II(C) and III(D)).
- ⁷¹ Cf. for instance the *Young Man* by Botticelli in the National Gallery, London, inv. no. 626.

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Theses: Mark Campbell, 'The changing residential patterns in Toronto, 1880-1910' (unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Toronto 1971).

Articles: K.R. Dark, 'Archaeological survey at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1984', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 74 (1985) pp.81-4.

Chapters in books: John Patten, 'Changing occupational structures in the East Anglian countryside, 1500-1700', in H.S.A. Fox and R.A. Butlin (eds), *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900* (London 1979) pp.103-21.

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The *Proceedings* are produced for the society by Dora A. Kemp. Printed and bound in Great Britain by Warwick Printing Company Ltd., Theatre Street, Warwick CV34 4DR.

Proceedings Volume LXXXIV, 1995

Price £10 for members, £12 for non-members

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