

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL, AT OXFORD, LOOKING WEST.

THE HERALDRY AND SCULPTURES OF THE VAULT OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL AT OXFORD.¹

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The city of Oxford is so rich in architectural monuments of all dates that it is difficult to say which is the most remarkable of them; but it can fairly be claimed that the building known as the Divinity School may be given a high place.

The building of a school of divinity had been conceived at least as early as 1423, when a letter was written to the chancellor of the University by the commissary and the rest of the regent masters instructing him that "since a certain venerable man out of a feeling of piety promised us certain money for the building of the schools of our mother," he is to strive for the payment thereof.² In April, 1424, a letter was written to Nicholas (Bubwith) bishop of Bath and Wells, by the chancellor and regents, which refers to their "working under penury on a certain building of schools now begun," and asking for his assistance.³ The same year application was made to the executors of one John Whytinton, that among other their charity for the soul of the deceased, they will see fit to bestow a share on the University "for a certain work of great piety."⁴ In 1426 the president and other prelates of the Order of St. Benet, assembled in their general chapter of black monks, were invited to help the work of the new schools of divinity which had been begun, but could not be finished for lack of funds; in consideration of which help all graduates and scholars of the Order should be free to

¹ Read before the Institute, 4th February, 1914.

² "Quod, cum quidam venerabilis pro edificio scholarum matris nostre aurum certum ex pietatis spiritu compromisit, pro ejusdem auri solutione gratuita viis honestis hac vice laborare[s]:" *Registrum F. in Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.* edited by the

Rev. Henry Anstey for the Oxford Historical Society (Oxford, 1898), part i, 5.

³ "Nos vero sub penuria laborantes in quodam scholarum edificio jam incepto:" *Ibid.* i, 10. The date is there given as 1423.

⁴ "ad quoddam magne pietatis opus:" *Ibid.* i, 15.

use the schools.¹ A similar application was made two years later to the prelates of the Order of St. Austin in the general chapter of black canons at Northampton.² Like appeals were also addressed to the dean and chapter of Salisbury and the master of St. Thomas's Hospital in London; and forms of letters were drafted that could be sent out to any bishop or other likely helper of the work.³ From the wording of a fulsome letter of thanks to archbishop Henry Chichele, also in 1426, for a liberal gift of money, "by which progress may more happily encircle the newly begun foundations of our schools, to the furtherance of learning," it seems that appeals were not always made in vain.⁴

In 1428 the assistance of Thomas (Langley) bishop of Durham was invoked, in language similar to that addressed to the Benedictine general chapter,⁵ and two years later a letter of thanks was sent to him for the notable sum of money which he had most generously contributed "to the construction and fabric of our common schools."⁶

Although the building had apparently been begun in 1424, on a void place obtained from Balliol College by the University, the formal transfer of the site was not effected until 1427.⁷

There is apparently nothing to show who was the first master-mason in charge of the work, but the office was evidently vacant in 1430, when Richard Wynchecombe was appointed master-mason. The conditions of his appointment are interesting enough to be given in full :

To all the faithful of Christ who shall see these present letters, the chancellor of the University of Oxford and the University itself greeting : Know that we have granted to master Richard Wynchecombe, mason, a pension of forty shillings sterling to be paid yearly at the feasts of St. Michael the archangel and of Easter by equal portions, so long as he stay and continue to survey the work of the new schools of theology

¹ "ut ad Dei laudis honorem augmentumque studii salutaris scole universales sacre theologie . . . pro communi omnium utilitate durabili fabrica levarentur; nosque ad hujusmodi operis fundamentaliter jam incepti debitum complementum ex nostris non sufficimus," etc: *Ibid.* i, 21.

² *Ibid.* i, 27.

³ *Ibid.* i, 24, 25, 28, 29.

⁴ "per quam scholarumstrarum noviter

inchoata fundamina processus amplexetur felicior, ad sciencie fulcimentum:" *Ibid.* i, 23. The dean of St. Paul's was thanked at the same time for a donation (p. 24).

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 41.

⁶ "ad constructionem et fabricamstrarum scholarum communium:" *Ibid.* i, 56.

⁷ *Oxford deeds of Balliol College* (Oxford Historical Society), 152.

in the said University; also a gown of the livery of gentlemen every year, or thirteen shillings and fourpence for the same; and every week when he shall be present at the work in the same place four shillings sterling for his pay. Also the said master Richard shall have a proper house for himself and his mates, and hay enough for one horse, when the same Richard shall be present at the same work, at the costs of the said University; and he shall also have reasonable expenses, as often as he shall be sent upon the business of the said University. In witness of which thing we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given at Oxford in our congregation house, the fourth day of August in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry the sixth after the Conquest.¹

Funds for the new building were provided in 1430 by an ordinance of the University that all moneys received in future from graces should be divided into equal portions, of which one half was to be kept "for the fabric of the new schools."² The Benedictine Order also voted further contributions to the work.³

In January, 1439-40, the deed of appointment of a new master-mason, Thomas Elkyn, throws some interesting light on the progress of the building. It may be translated as follows:

This indenture made between the University of Oxford on the one part and Thomas Elkyn, mason, on the other part, witnesses that

¹ "Universis Christi fidelibus, presentes litteras inspecturis, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis et eadem Universitas salutem: Sciatis nos concessisse magistro Ricardo Wynchecombe, lathomo, unam pensionem quadraginta solidorum sterlingorum annuatim solvendam, ad festa S. Michaelis Archangeli et Pasche, per equales porciones, quamdiu ipse steterit et intenderit ad supervidendum opus novarum scholarum theologie in dicta Universitate; et unam togam de liberat[ur]a generosorum quolibet anno, vel tredecim solidos et quatuor denarios pro eadem; ac qualibet septimana, cum presens ad opus ibidem fuerit, quatuor solidos sterlingorum pro stipendio suo. Et dictus magister Ricardus habebit unum mansum competens pro se et suis consortibus, et fenum sufficiens pro uno equo, cum idem Ricardus presens fuerit ad dictum opus, sumptibus dicte Universitatis; et habebit etiam rationabiles expensas, quociens missus fuerit in negociis dicte Universitatis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Data Oxonie in nostre congregationis domo, quarto die Augusti anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum octavo." *Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.* i, 46, 47. It is also repeated on page 58, with the omission

of the clause providing hay for a horse. Mr. Salter thinks that the terms of his appointment show that Richard Wynchecombe was not a resident in Oxford.

² 1430, 6th July: "Ordinavit eadem Universitas in congregatione regencium quod omnes alie pecunie levande de graciis forent dividende in equas porciones, ita videlicet quod una medietas servaretur ad fabricam novarum scholarum," etc.: *Ibid.* i, 59.

³ 1430, 15th December: Receipt given to John abbot of St. Albans for 50 marks "ad opus novarum scholarum, in partem solucionis centum librarum, quas nuper honorandi patres sancte religionis S. Benedicti, in ultimo suo generali capitulo Northamptonie celebrato, ad dictum opus graciose contulerunt": *Ibid.* i, 62.

1431, 27th April: Letter of thanks to John abbot of St. Albans, the prior of Durham, and William abbot of Pershore, presidents of the black monks in England, and the rest of the prelates and members of the Order in England, for their gifts of money (*inter alia*): "pro levandis generalibus sacre theologie scolis," and confirming the privilege already offered of the use of the new schools by the members of the Order: *Ibid.* i, 63.

the said Thomas has undertaken the building of the new schools of divinity in the University aforesaid in so much as pertains to masonry : and the aforesaid Thomas shall receive weekly through the summer four shillings sterling and through the winter three shillings and four pence when it happens that he himself is so working there weekly in person.

Also the said Thomas shall introduce other masons, the best whom he knows and at the best price he can, for the profit of the said work : but their number shall be according to the will of the surveyors of the said work.

And the said Thomas shall receive from the same University yearly in the said work a mark sterling for his pension.

And because many great people of the realm and other wise men do not approve, but censure, too much curiosity of the said work, therefore the said University wills that the said Thomas hold back in future, as he has begun to hold back, such superfluous curiosity of the said work, namely in housings of images . . . casements and fillets and other frivolous curiosities, which are not to the point and involve the University in costly expenses and the delaying of the work.

And for faithfully holding and observing the said agreements on the part of the said Thomas, the same Thomas binds himself to the said University in £40 sterling.

In witness of which matter both the common seal of the said University and the seal of the said Thomas are appended to these indentures.

Given at Oxford the sixteenth day of January in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry the sixth after the Conquest : master Richard Riderham, doctor of divinity, then being chancellor of the said University, and William Orell and John Willey proctors of the same.¹

¹ 1439-40, 16th January : "Hec indentura, facta inter Universitatem Oxoniensem ex una parte, et Thomam Elkyn, lathomum, ex parte altera, testatur quod dictus Thomas manucepit edificacionem novarum scoliarum sacre theologie in Universitate predicta, in quantum pertinet ad lathomiam : et predictus Thomas recipiet septimanatim per estatem quatuor solidos sterlingorum, et per yemem tres solidos et quatuor denarios ; quando contingat ipsum ebdomadatim ibidem presencialiter sic operari. Eciam dictus Thomas introducet alios lathomos, meliores quos sciverit, et meliori precio quo poterit, ad proficuum dicti operis : numerus vero eorum erit pro voluntate supravisorum dicti operis. Et dictus Thomas recipiet ab eadem Universitate annuatim in dicto opere unam marcam sterlingorum, pro annua pensione sua. Et quia plures magnati regni et alii sapientes non approbant, sed reprehendunt, nimiam curiositatem incepti dicti operis, igitur dicta Universitas vult quod

dictus Thomas retrahet deinceps, sicut jam retrahere incepit, supervacuam talem curiositatem dicti operis, videlicet in tabernaculis ymaginum . . . casimentis et fylettis, et in aliis frivolis curiositatibus, que ad rem non pertinent, sed ad nimias et sumptuosas expensas dicte Universitatis et ad nimiam dicti operis tardacionem. Et ad dictas convenciones ex parte dicti Thome fideliter tenendas et observandas idem Thomas obligat se per presentes dicte Universitati in quadraginta libras sterlingorum. In cujus rei testimonium tam sigillum commune dicte Universitatis quam sigillum dicti Thome his scriptis indentatis sunt appensa. Datum Oxonie sextodecimo die Januarij, anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum octodecimo : Magistro Ricardo Riderham, sacre theologie doctore, dicte Universitatis Cancellario, Willelmo Orell et Johanne Willey procuratoribus ejusdem ad tunc existentibus." *Ibid.* i, 192. "Thomas Elkyns, 'freemason,' lived in Oxford and

It will be seen that the new master-mason was to have only one mark instead of the forty shillings pension paid to his predecessor in office, no gown, horse, or hay, and to be paid four shillings a week in summer and eightpence less in winter. Further economy is manifested in the curious clause limiting the architectural detail. This was actually carried out, and an examination of the existing building shows in a most interesting way how it was done. For example, on the north front, the housings for images in the window-jambs are not continued quite to the east end, and on the south front they are left out altogether. Inside the building the north windows throughout have the jambs wrought with casements and fillets; but on the south side only the outer members are worked, though both the easternmost and westernmost windows show in their lowest courses beginnings of casements and fillets that were not continued upwards.

In 1447, as a result of one of the begging letters, the executors of cardinal Beaufort (of whom one was archbishop Kemp) were induced to contribute five hundred marks to the new work, but on condition that certain trustees should be found who would undertake to erect the building in five years, or in default refund the money. Some difficulty was experienced in finding anyone willing to undertake the trust, but eventually doctor Kymer and master Holcote agreed to do so if the University would promise to indemnify them against any loss. This the University undertook to do, and forthwith appointed twelve commissioners conversant with such matters to devise means for the building of the new schools.

The commissioners proceeded to draw up a set of rules.

First, two masters of arts "in edificando providi et experti" were to be appointed surveyors (*supervisores*) of the work. They were to engage and pay workmen and labourers, to render an account of all moneys received, and to be bound by oath to be faithful to their duties. They were each to receive four marks yearly, and be removable

died probably soon after 29th September, 1449. He had an apprentice named William. See his will in *Munimenta Academica*

Oxon. (Rolls series, 50), ii. 595. It looks as if he was by birth a Gloucestershire man." [Note by the Rev. H. Salter.]

from office by the commissioners. One surveyor might suffice if the commissioners thought fit.

It was also agreed that all further sums received beyond the five hundred marks should be in charge of the guardians of the "chest of five keys," and be delivered by instalments to the surveyors. But none of such moneys was to come into the hands of the proctors, and no sums were to be paid to the surveyors save by leave of the commissioners.

To raise additional funds, congregation was to be allowed to grant graces upon payment of certain sums by the persons seeking them. The king was to be written to for materials, and ecclesiastical persons both regular and secular, but especially graduates, were to be asked to contribute. Indulgences were to be sought from popes and bishops for those who gave money. Non-resident doctors and masters were to be called upon to pay eightpence and all bachelors fourpence yearly to the University. Executors of wealthy men were to be applied to. Fines levied by the University were to be applied to the purposes of the said building, and any offer of £100 by certain religious societies, on condition of a relaxation of statutes in their favour, was to be accepted as well as any further offer.¹

The five hundred marks from cardinal Beaufort's executors were duly received in 1452.²

From the interesting series of letters in *Registrum F.* printed for Mr. Anstey for the Oxford Historical Society, under the title of *Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.* the further progress of the work can be followed more or less closely.

The various suggestions of the commissioners appointed were carried out,³ but apparently with little success, and

¹ Printed in full in *Munimenta Academica Oxon.* (Rolls series, 50), ii, 570-575.

² 1452, 4th May: Acquittance for 500 marks received from the executors of cardinal Beaufort "ad usum fabricæ et edificiî nostrarum novarum scholarum juxta collegium Exoniense situatarum:" *Epistolæ Academicæ Oxon.* i, 316.

³ 1449, 24th May: Begging letter to the rector of Abchurch in London, who is distributing the estate of John Gedney, for a donation, because "nos equidem in quodam theologiarum scholarum edificio sub penuria laborantes, tam clarum et pulcherrimum opus absque multis proborum

hominum adjumentis perficere non valemus:" *Ibid.* i, 276.

1449, 24th May: Begging letter to master Thomas Lesurs, dean of St. Paul's, that "proinde quodcunque ex facultatibus bone memorie domini Walteri Shirryntone, ad tam speciosi et pulcherrimi operis nostri complementum, immense probitati vestre nobis providere visum est," he may safely entrust to master Robert Cowper: *Ibid.* i, 277.

1449, 24th May: Letter in English to the executors of John Gedney, of London, deceased, asking for "some resonable gyfte off goods of the sayde Gedeney, unto the

in 1451 acquittances were sealed in favour of both the surveyors, John Evelyn and Robert Cowper, appointed in 1447.¹ Another acquittance was given to the executors of Robert Cowper in November, 1452.²

A letter of thanks was written in 1453 to Edmund Reed for his gift of stones and timber for the work, asking for a gift of more stone.³ In 1454 the executors of one Rawlyn Holand were applied to for help, and reference occurs the same year to a loan by the dean of Salisbury.⁴

The building seems, however, again to have come to a standstill, and there are no more letters till 1470.

One of these is a letter of thanks to master Richard May, in which it is stated that but for his generosity the

performyng off our scoles abovesayd (we have hade of long tyme a grete beldyng, certain scoles, withinne our Universite off Oxenford, named the scoles off devinite, the whych we may nott complyshe wt outt grete helpe & releve of oder devote persons):” *Ibid.* i, 277.

1450, 28th August: A letter in English to T. Bokelonde, squyere (who was apparently helpful in the matter of obtaining duke Humphrey’s books), states that the duke “yave & bequethyd unto us in hys testament, late before hys decease, all y^e latyn bokes y^e he had, & also ane c lib. to y^e edefying off oure divine scoles; as y^e saide proctour off oure Universite sayth y^e ye certefyd unto hym; off y^e whych gods we have no thynge yet receyved.” Asks him to send them: *Ibid.* i, 285.

¹ 1451, 31st October: Acquittance of master John Evelyn, “alteri supervisorum fabrice novarum scolarum sacre theologie Oxonie:” *Ibid.* i, 304.

1451, Feast of St. Edmund the king: acquittance of master Robert Cowper. *Ibid.* i, 305.

² 1452, 11th November: Release of the executors of Robert Cowper, clerk, “quondam supervisoris fabrice novarum scolarum:” *Ibid.* i, 311.

³ 1452-3, 11th March: “Salutem tuam, quam in Christi visceribus perpetuam esse cupimus, eciam ut in hoc seculo floreat optamus. Nam cum probitatis tue munera, que scilicet in lapidibus et mereminiis fabrice nostrarum scolarum plurimum decoris afferre visa sunt, contuleris, non minus a laudis tue fama putamus abesse, quod ad tam famosi operis complecionem manus adjutrices posuisse credaris. Et quid tibi,

probissime vir, cumulacius unquam concessum fuit, quam ut ad tante fabrice maturacionem operum dederis et continuitem. Proculdubio veritatis ab ore commendatur, qui, non incepisse sed, quod incepit ad perfectum duxisse, letatur. Quia igitur nobis de te nefas est quidquam aliud suspicari, dignetur humanitas tua, ubi solita fuerat, instanti necessitatis articulo, pro felicitis operis hujus consummacione quibusdam lapidibus subvenire curare. Nos quoque pro posse nostro valebimus, si tibi fuerimus oportuni, quod nos explere cupias efficacissime perimplere.

Scripta fuit hec littera Edmundo Reed, armigero, pro lapidibus acquirendis ad fabricam novarum scolarum undecimo die Marcii:” *Ibid.* i, 321.

⁴ 1453-4, 20th March: Begging letter in English to the lord Lovel: *Ibid.* i, 322.

1454, 19th May: Begging letter in English to the executors of Rawlyn Holand: *Ibid.* i, 323.

1454, 12th July: Letter to master Gilbert Kymer, dean of Salisbury, referring to a loan by him for building the new school: *Ibid.* i, 324.

1454, 13th December: Letter in English, probably to the duchess of Suffolk, thanking her for her gifts “in boks and golde” to the University, and she “gawnttit xx lib. mor unto y^e beldyng of owr scole of dyvinite in oxn:” mentions “maystre william church, supervisor of y^e werks of y^e sayd scollis:” *Ibid.* i, 326. Referred to again in ii, 369.

1454, 13th December: Second begging letter, also in English, to the executors of Rawlyn Holand: *Ibid.* i, 326.

new school of divinity could not have been built.¹ But this is hard to reconcile with a begging letter four months later to the bishop of Norwich, Walter Lyhert, which states that the new school still remains unfinished, and unless his generous hand comes to its assistance the University is at a loss to think how it ever can be completed.²

A similar appeal was made in 1478 to the bishop of London, Thomas Kemp: all the energies and anxiety of the University have been exercised in the building of the divinity school, yet after many years it is still unfinished; all resources have failed, but the bishop's liberality is well known, and he is invited to undertake the completion; it is a great thing which is being asked, such as no ordinary man could undertake, and his name will for ever be associated with it, as that of Solomon with the Temple at Jerusalem.³ Master Thomas Kerver, one of the proctors,

¹ 1470, "pridie nonas Julii:" Letter to Richard May, master of arts, thanking him for his liberality to the University, "Nam nisi tua caritativa liberalitas caritasque liberalis in nostras theologie scolas manus porrexisset adjutrices, illud fortassis edificium frustra inchoatum fuisset. Unde tibi proculdubio quam plurimum gratulamur, quod in te dictum illud Terentianum 'quod nimium ad rem in senecta attenti sumus' nihil potest, cum tibi liberalitatem una cum senectute quotidie accrevisse res ipsa indicat evidenter," etc.: *Ibid.* ii, 384.

² 1470, "nonas Novembris:" Letter to Walter bishop of Norwich, referring to his reputation towards the poor and needy, etc.: "Tuam enim ingentem munificenciam, non modo scolarium quam multorum diuturna exhibitio, verum etiam permaxima atque preclarissima tam Norwici quam Oxonie edificia, tuam per dominationem nuperius perfectissime consummata, luce reddunt clarionem." Goes on to speak "novarum sacre theologie scolarum edificio, que quidem longa jam tempora, quod tuam non fugit discretionem, imperfecte steterunt, finem imponendo. Nam nisi tue dominationis iis succurrat paratissima liberalitas, quando earum quamdiu expectatam videbimus consummationem nos prorsus latet," etc.: *Ibid.* ii, 391.

³ 1477-8, 19th January: Letter to Dan Thomas (Kemp), bishop of London, in these terms: "Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Thome, divina providencia Londoniensi episcopo, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis universusque

regencium in eadem cetus sese in omni reverentia commissos faciunt.

Eti nulla unquam, reverende pater, a nobis in te merita proficisci tanta potuerunt, ut nostro jure tuam vicissim beneficenciam vindicare possemus, hec nostra tamen respublica et tue [*an erasure*] amantissima nobilitatis et tui [*egregia, corrected to*] erga illam amoris semper conscia, mirifice nos hortata est, ut in tua potius benignitate quam nostris meritis confisi nequaquam vereremur hoc imprimis abs tua prestantia rogare, quo nihil nostre Universitatis amplitudinem vehementius illustraret, aut tue liberalitatis memoriam magis immortalem faceret. Quod si te minime peniteat in hanc nostram, imo totius Britannie, rempublicam ascriptum olim fuisse; si ulla veteris, ut speramus, adversus illam caritatis adhuc vestigia in te resideant; si denique ceterorum complurium maxima erga suas respublicas merita tibi ante oculos proponas, non committendum putabis ut Universitati nostre ullum commodum in te claudas. Atque, ut institutum paucis perstringamus, scito, colendissime presul, nos omnem curam, sollicitudinem, studium atque diligenciam, omnem denique industriam locare atque figere in perficiendo nostro sacrarum litterarum ornatissimo domicilio; optimis equidem auspiciis inchoato, sed multis jam labentibus annis manco et prope neglecto. Quod si voluntatem facultas equaret, nihil esset preterea nobis requirendum. Sed cum desint nobis ea, quibus ad hanc rem parandam opus est, cumque tuum in multis preclarissimis rebus liberale ingenium spec-

was also deputed by the University personally to importune the bishop that he should undertake the completion of the schools, and in the proctor's accounts for 1478-9 is the entry :

"Item solut. magistro Thome kerver per deliberationem congregationis pro expensis in solicitando dominum Londoniensem episcopum pro perfectione operis scholarum theologie xx'."

This time the net was not cast in vain, and the bishop's reply was a promise of one thousand marks, provided that the University would hold a yearly commemoration of his deceased uncle cardinal John Kemp, and of himself after his own death. This the University readily undertook, but on the understanding that the bishop's thousand marks should first be paid over.¹ Pending the settlement of these matters, four masters of arts were appointed to receive the first instalment of the money,² and an acquittance was given to the bishop for a sum of £100 for the use and utility of the University.³ This seems to have been over and above the bishop's gift for the new schools.

The statute for the commemoration of John and

tatum satis habemus, statuimus nimirum ad te supplices, optime pater, confugere, ut tanti operis perfectionem, tibi potissimum atque unice commendatam, pro virili parte suscipias. Nec certe ignari sumus quid quantumve petimus. Tantumdem sane est, ut nec a vulgo hominum suscipi, nec a potenti viro negligi aut desperari debeat. Tantumdem est ut, quemadmodum laudes illorum hominum, qui tam preclarum opus auspicati sunt, nulla etas unquam conticescet, ita et tuum nomen, si hoc ipsum perficere voles, perpetuis monumentis apud nos merito celebretur. Tantumdem denique est, ut in hoc ipso eciam sapientissimo Salamoni comparari debeas, presertim quod non secus illi templi Hierusalem, Deo in primis dedicati, constructio, quam tibi hujus domicilii, sacris litteris consecrati, consummacio reservata esse putabitur. Sed ne pluribus perinde tecum agamus, singularissime domine, ac si beneficiam tuam vel vi exsculpere vel potius desperare videamur, epistole modum imponemus. Hoc unum proposuerimus, rem nobis multo jucundissimam fore, ut tui, pro tantis beneficiis, et vivi et mortui memoriam nos posterique nostri sempiterna religione celebremus. Et valeat tua semper sancta paternitas, reverende presul ac domine prestantissime.

Datum in nostre congregacionis domo, quartodecimo Kalendas Februarias": *Ibid.* ii, 429, 430

¹ The bishop with his assent stipulated certain conditions which are referred to in a second letter to him of 12th February: *Ibid.* ii, 432.

From another letter addressed to the bishop on 6th May, 1478, it seems that he had stipulated for a yearly commemoration of his deceased uncle, Dan John Kemp, cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury, and of himself after his own death. The statute for this is now drawn up and submitted to the bishop for his approval, and is to take effect on payment by him of the promised sum of one thousand marks: *Ibid.* ii, 433, 434.

² A letter was sent to the bishop on 8th July, 1478, notifying the sending of four masters of arts to receive the money (*Ibid.* ii, 435); and on the same day a commission was issued to the four masters to receive a sum of £100: *Ibid.* ii, 436.

³ Acquittance of Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, of a sum of £100 given by him "ad usum et utilitatem Universitatis": *Ibid.* ii, 437.

Thomas Kemp, having received the bishop's approval, was duly passed on 11th September, 1478.¹

On 30th September the University entered into an indenture with the bishop of London for the performance of a solemn service of commemoration every year for the souls of John Kemp sometime cardinal bishop and archbishop of Canterbury, and of Thomas Kemp his nephew, bishop of London (after that he shall have departed this life), in return for which the said Thomas Kemp granted to the chancellor and members of the University the sum of one thousand marks, of which two hundred were to be paid at the date of the indenture and two hundred more every year on the feast of All Saints until all be paid, to be applied to the completion of the new school of theology and to no other purpose, and any remaining after the building, glazing, and desking of the same to be then placed in Kemp's chest for the support of poor scholars.²

¹ *Ibid.* ii, 437.

² 1478, 3rd September: Indenture between Dan Thomas Kemp, bishop of London, on the one part, and master Thomas Chaundelere, chancellor of the University of Oxford, and all the assembly of masters regent and non-regent of the same University on the other part, witnessing that the said chancellor, etc. by a statute of 10th April, 1478, have bound themselves to celebrate every year a solemn commemoration for the soul of Dan John Kemp formerly cardinal bishop and archbishop of Canterbury, and of the said Thomas Kemp, and for the soul of the said bishop when he shall have departed this life, "nolens igitur dictus dominus Thomas, episcopus Londoniensis, tantum beneficium irremuneratum existere, consideransque quod in dicta Universitate Oxoniensi est quoddam edificium, pro scola doctorum in theologia, prope collegium Exoniense situatum, dispositum, adeoque sumptuose inceptum quod dictus Cancellarius cetusque magistrorum antedicti expensis Universitatis nequeunt consummare, concedit et presenti scripto indentato obligat se et executores suos eisdem magistro Thome Chaundeler, Cancellario, et cetui magistrorum regencium et nonregencium supradictis eorumque successoribus ad solvendum mille marcas, sub modo et forma sequenti, videlicet in die confectionis presencium indenturarum dictus dominus Thomas, episcopus Londoniensis,

solvat seu solvi faciat ducentas mercas; et in vigilia omnium Sanctorum, que erit in anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo nono, alias ducentas mercas; et sic, de anno in annum, in vigilia omnium Sanctorum vel citra, quousque dicta summa mille mercarum totaliter fuerit persoluta talibus personis, per Cancellarium et procuratores in congregacione magistrorum regencium dicte Universitatis Oxoniensis deputandis seu assignandis, habentibus sufficientem auctoritatem sub sigillo communi Universitatis predicte recipiendi et acquietandi dictum dominum Thomam, episcopum Londoniensem, et executores suos, de omnibus pecuniarum summis per eos recipiendis.

Et dictus magister Thomas Chaundelere, Cancellarius, et universus cetus magistrorum regencium et nonregencium dicte Universitatis, obligant se et successores suos per presens scriptum indentatum dicto domino, episcopo Londoniensi, in mille mercis sterlingorum, solvendis eidem domino Thome Kempe, Londoniensi episcopo, et executoribus suis, quod nec ipsi, nec alii quicumque, dictam summam mille mercarum, nec aliquam partem ejusdem, alienabunt, accommodabunt aut in alios usus convertent, quam in edificacionem seu construccionem dicte nove scole; nisi de dicta summa alique pecunie remanserint post completam edificacionem, vitriacionem et descos ejusdem scole factos; quas pe-

The first two hundred of the bishop's marks were accordingly paid over on the same day, and were followed at intervals by the promised instalments, for the last of which an acquittance was given in March, 1481-2.¹

The work now really began to go forward to its finish; William Waynflete was asked to lend the scaffolding, *edificalia instrumenta* or *edificiales machine*, as it is called, lately used by him in building his college of St. Mary

cunias dictus Cancellarius, etc. secundum antiquam fundacionem cistarum ibidem, reponent seu per alios magistros per eos deputandos reponi facient absque dilacione in cista vocata cista domini Thome Kempe, sub diversis clavibus serata, in sustentacionem pauperum scholarium in eadem Universitate studencium, etc. etc. : " *Ibid.* ii, 439-441.

¹ Acquittance of Thomas Kemp for two hundred marks on account of the one thousand "pro quodam edificio, pro scola doctorum in theologia, prope collegium Exoniense situata," 3rd September, 1478, and anno 18 Edw. IV: *Ibid.* ii, 438. For the other acquittances see pp. 451, 453, 464, 471, 474, and 477.

The Rev. H. Salter has most kindly furnished me with the following extracts from the proctors' accounts relative to communications with the bishop of London in connexion with his work upon the Divinity School:

Accounts 7th April, 1478, to 22nd April, 1479.

Solutum Iohanni Boswell per deliberationem congregationis equitanti ad dominum regem in negociis Universitatis pro lathomis.

xxs.

Item in expensis apud Henxey quando dom. Cancellarius, Commissarius, doctor Lichefield, magister Battis, magister Knyghtley procuratores cum aliis magistris convenerunt ibidem tractaturi de certis negociis Universitatis et de voluntate domini Londoniensis episcopi circa perfectionem operis novarum scholarum.

vis. viiid.

In cera pro litteris et indenturis sigillandis domino episcopo Londoniensi.

iiid.

Item pro cirotecis datis domino Londoniensi episcopo et magistris Lichefield et Knyghtley.

iiis. iiid.

Item pro conduccione duorum equorum et aliis expensis visitando dominum Cancellarium pro juramento Willelmi Orchard.

xiid.

[Also the entry about "mag. Thos. Karver: xxs."]

Accounts 22nd April, 1479 to 13th April, 1480.

Item doctori Lecheyld et magistro Knyzley et suis servientibus pro vectura ducentarum marcarum, in cerotheis ex mandato domini Cancellarii.

iiis. iid.

Item in vino dato eisdem.

xxd.

Item in expensis procuratoris boralis missi episcopo London per decretum congregationis.

xls.

Item eidem alia vice visitando predictum dominum episcopum et procurando a magistro Luke Universitati quinque mercas [i.e. Richard Luke, vicar of St. Lawrence Jewry] xs.

Accounts 10th May, 1481 to 17th April, 1482.

Solutum pro expensis factis in adquisitione et exactione pecuniarum pro scolis theologie.

vis. viiid.

Accounts 17th April, 1482, to 9th April, 1483.

Item commissario, doctori Sutton, ducenti a domino Londoniensi centum libras, pro suis expensis.

xxs.

Item magistro Willelmo Horcherd equitanti ad dominum Londoniensem pro Universitate.

xiiis. iiid.

The next account is 1488.

Mr. Salter also writes: "One cannot say for certain what was 'the oath of William Orchard' [Accounts, 1478-1479]. The chancellor was apparently at Cumnor in this year, and probably the proctor and a commissary rode to visit him. We know from a Balliol deed and from accounts at Magdalen that William Orchard, mason, was a citizen of Oxford. It appears from one of the later accounts of the proctors that he had a stone-quarry, probably at Headington, and supplied many loads of stone for the building of the Canon Law Schools. The difficulty may have been that the University wished that Orchard, before being engaged, should take an oath to be loyal to the University. By this he would bind himself to the University for ever and dissociate himself from the town. . . . He is mentioned again in the last accounts [for 1482-1483] under the spelling Horcherd."

Magdalen¹; and the king, Edward IV, was respectfully asked not to hinder Waynflete from lending men.²

Letters were also addressed from time to time telling bishop Kemp how the work was going on. One of these, in June, 1481, expresses a desire that he might see the busy labours of his workmen, "some strive to carry stones, others in smoothing them when carried, part in carving, others in setting archwise the finished figures so admirably wrought."³

¹ 1478: "Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Willelmo, divina providentia Wyntoniensi episcopo, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis universusque regentium in eadem cetus sese cum omni reverentia commissos faciunt. Nam potuerunt, amplissime presul, tua nos ingentissima beneficia deterrere, quominus pro communi reipublice nostre utilitate, si quid ipsis interesset, ad tuam prestantiam conscriberemus. Est enim, ut ait Cicero, nobilis animi atque ingenii, cui multum debeas ei plurimum velle debere. Quapropter cum, statuentibus jam nobis ad novarum scholarum perfectionem prorsus incumbere, tuum quoque subsidium ad eam rem perquam optimum videatur, te rogamus. optime pater, ut qui semper ad communes utilitates amplectendas tua sponte satis incitatus es, nostris etiam precibus ad eas ipsas incitari velis. Atque, ut intelligas quid est quod tantopere cupimus, desunt profecto nobis edificiales machine, adeo quidem ad nostrum institutum necessarie, ut sine iis nichil aggrediendum sit; quas si de integro parabimus, necesse erit cum grandem in illis pecuniam exhauriri, tum expectati operis consummationem diutius retardari. Quibus equidem malis te unum in primis, magnifice presul, facile mederi posse intelligimus, si vel illis edificialibus instrumentis, que ad tui clarissimi collegii fabricam comparata sunt, utendi nobis copiam feceris. Hoc certe nichil erit nobis, vel ad levandos sumptus vel ad celeritatem construendi, accommodatius. Quod si nostra causa facturum te receperis, curabimus equidem nos ut gratiarum actiones tibi feneremus. Nam cum pro illis meritis, que non rogatus ultro contuleris, magnas tibi gratias agere debemus, tum pro iis, que postulantibus nobis concesseris, multo maxime agemus et habebimus. Et feliciter valeat tua sancta paternitas, reverende presul ac domine": *Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.* ii, 443.

² 1477-8, 6 kal. Mar. (24th February): Letter to king Edward IV referring to the great interest, etc. he has ever shown in

the prosperity of the University, and begging his help in a work which will greatly increase its credit: "Nacti enim sumus paucis jam diebus viros nostre Universitatis observantissimos, qui ornatissimum sacre theologie domicilium, cum sexaginta ferme annos derelictum jamdiu equaleretur, perficere constituerunt. Que res quo celerius tandem expediri posset, profecto nec laboribus nec impensis pepercimus, quin perquisitis lathomis supremam operi manum imponeremus. Nunc vero, quia quos summa diligentia perquisivimus, ad tua magnifica opera sunt accersiti, ultra progredi non possumus. Atque hec operis intermissio eam nobis desperationem affert, ut nisi quam primum cepta maturemus, verendum erit ne illis, qui sumptus hactenus suppeditarunt, ad consummandum vita non suppetat. Et dum animadvertimus tuam ardentissimam in edificanda ac Dei gloriam ecclesia diligentiam, nullos eorum, quos tua auctoritate accersitos intelleximus, abs te repetere audemus. Hoc tantum postulamus, ut si reverendus pater, dominus episcopus Wytoniensis, nostro rogatu persuasus, aliquos ex his, quos usui suo concesseris, nostro etiam usui impartiri volet, illis saltem utendi nobis potestatem facias. Quod cum nec tuis edificiis officere possit, tum nostris utilissimum erit": *Ibid.* ii, 446.

³ 1481, 6th June: "Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino, domino Thome, divina providentia Londoniensi episcopo, Cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis universusque regentium in eadem cetus sese cum omni reverentia commissos faciunt.

Etsi, prestantissime presul, tanta est vis tue erga nos benevolentie, tante etiam erga rempublicam pietatis observantia ut, etiam sine litteris nostris, quod sancte tecum decreveris perficere velis, nostre tamen partis esse videtur pro immortalis beneficio tuo tibi gratias agere. Nemo certe nostra sententia te vivit felicius, pro quo, sic meritum est tuum, psallunt vive voces, et res ipsa intercedere non dubitatur. Accedit, etiam ad augmentum futuri tui meriti,

A later letter to the bishop says :

You, therefore, since you have put the final touch to the structure, will undoubtedly seem to be the author of the whole edifice. . . . You have builded for the public advantage a house which indeed is so notable and splendid that it surpasses in magnificence and beauty no less the rest of the great buildings which are in its neighbourhood, than the very theological teaching itself to which it is dedicated is agreed upon as excelling the rest of the sciences.

If ever, reverend father, you should see how famous and how excellent is this school, without doubt everything will exult your heart on account of your great joy. What can I say of the greatness and the breadth of the place, the walls built vertically of stones squared as well as smoothed ? I pass over the site which is most commodious ; I pass by also the ornaments worthy of kings and princes which in chair as in other fittings have been carved to nature's own likeness with various pictures and subtle workmanship ; I omit, too, the very special work of the doors, the splendour of the turrets, etc, etc.¹

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss further the history of the Divinity School, but to explain as far as possible the heraldry and sculptures of its wonderful vaulted ceiling. This vault is a very notable monument : first, on account of its construction ; secondly, by reason of the elaborate character of its decoration ; and thirdly, because it is probably the largest groined vault of one span in this country which covers a building erected and used solely for secular purposes. On the other hand, it differs in no way as regards style from similar vaults in ecclesiastical buildings like St. George's chapel in Windsor castle, or

quod his, qui, pace eorum dictum sit, dormierant, ad benemerendum animos acueris. Quod si enim aliunde incommodum id tibi non esset, facile creditu non est quantum tuam optaremus presentiam, ut pleniore operum tuorum solacio uti posses. Non enim alius est, dum liquida mella constipant, apum labor, quam est operantium tuorum. Alii vehendis saxis, alii jam vectis poliendis, pars sculpendis imaginibus, pars jam formatas imagines arcualiter situando mirifice conantur. Opus est certe Deo dignum, nec tibi iustior possit esse letitie occasio, quam te illius auctorem meminisse. Perge ergo, et fac ut opus imperfectum, quod optimis, ut speratur, auguriis incepisti, non nisi perfectissimum relinquis. Et valeat tua prestantissima paternitas, magnifice presul" : *Ibid.* ii, 470, 471.

¹ "Tu igitur unus, cum hujus structuræ extremam manum imposueris, totius nimirum edificiî author videberis, etc. etc.

. . . . regale atrium ad publicum emolumentum construxisti, quod sane adeo eminens et splendidum est, ut non minus reliqua ingentia aedificia que sibi vicina sunt et magnitudine et pulchritudine superet, quam Theologica ipsa disciplina cui dicatum est, ceteras scientias excellere constat. Si videris unquam, Reverende Pater, quam celebris quamque excellens sit hæc Schola, haud dubito quin tibi præcordia, omnia prae nimio gaudio exultarent. Quid dicam magnitudinem latitudinemque loci, muros quadratis lapidibus simul et levigatis perpendiculariter structos ; taceo situm qui commodissimus est ; prætermitto etiam ornamenta Regibus et principibus digna, quæ tam in Cathedra, quam in ceteris interioribus partibus, ad naturalis coeli imaginem vanis picturis subtilique artificio coelata sunt : omitto etiam valvarum singularissima opera, turricularum apparatus," etc. etc.

the great chapel of King's College in Cambridge, and is one of the many examples of mediaeval masoncraft which show that both for ecclesiastical and for secular buildings there was but one style or manner.

The Divinity School (plate 1) stands nearly east and west, and is a simple oblong in plan measuring about 87 feet by 31 feet. It is five bays long and lighted from each side by as many large windows, each of six lights with tracery above. The end walls have three-panelled compartments like built-up windows, but the middle compartment is smaller than the two flanking it, and is pierced with a pointed doorway. Over each doorway is an interesting display of imagery, which deserves more attention than it has received as being excellent work of the English fifteenth-century image makers. Over the eastern doorway, which is now the entrance into the building from without,¹ was anciently the Rood. This has been removed, but the accompanying images of Our Lady and St. John the Divine are left, and below them stand St. Peter and St. Paul. In the broad hollow moulding of the arch above are housings containing figures arranged in pairs: at the top two angels clad with feathers; then a doctor of law in gown and cap, disputing or arguing with a priest vested for mass, who is opposite; then another pair of angels with scrolls; and lastly a cardinal and a bishop with a book. The arrangement at the upper end of the room is similar. Over the doorway is a figure of Our Lady crowned and showing an open book to the infant Christ on her arm, between representations of the four Evangelists who have set forth the story of her Divine Son. In the housings of the arch above are (1) two feathered angels, (2) a pair of disputing doctors, (3) two more angels with scrolls, and (4) a bishop in gown and mitre facing an archbishop. These lowest figures in the two ends not improbably represent the four Doctors of the Church.

The vault is divided into five bays by transverse four-centred moulded arches, springing from shafts between the windows (plate 1). Each bay is crossed by a horizontal longitudinal rib from north to south, and by another from east to west, and then subdivided by two other cross ribs

¹ There is another entrance now on the north side by a doorway inserted in 1669.

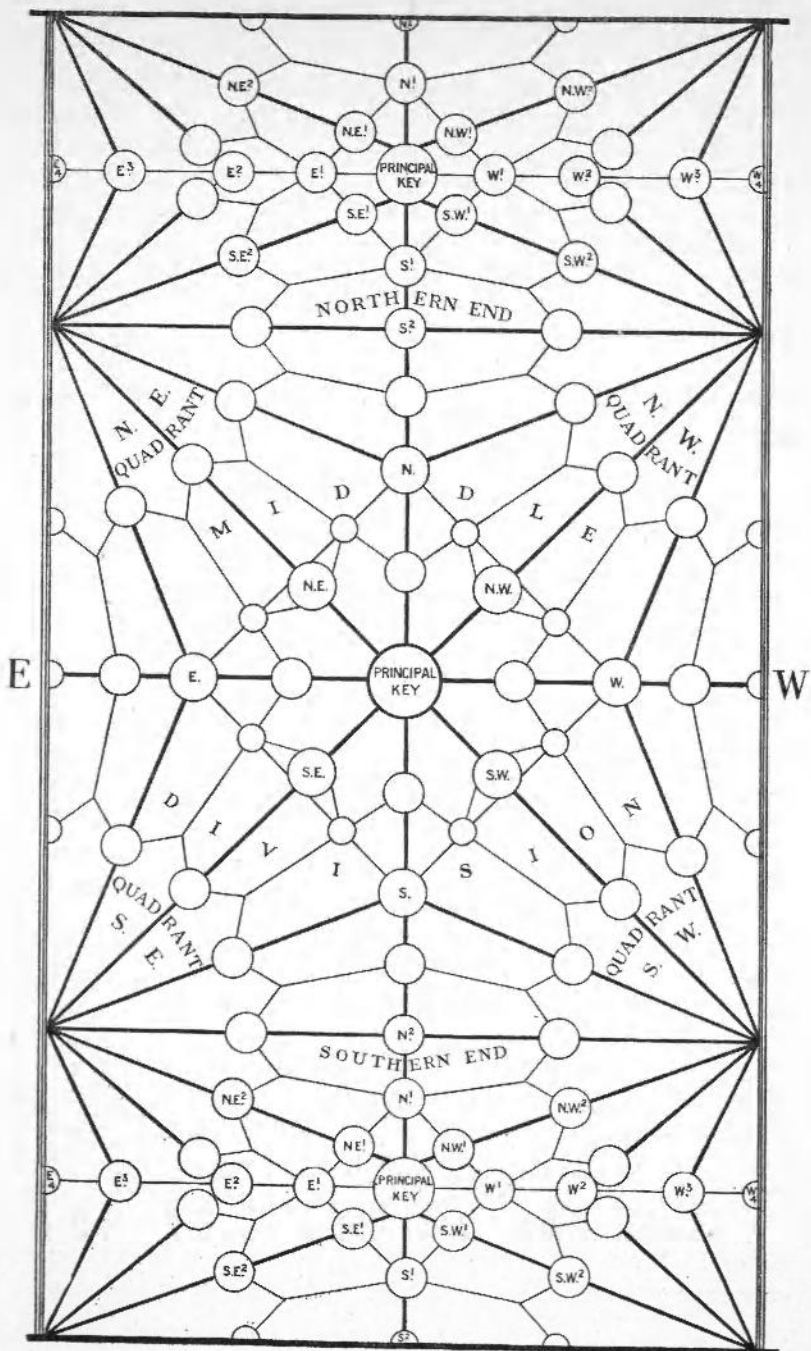


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM OF A BAY OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT, AS SEEN FROM THE FLOOR.

into a middle square compartment with an oblong one at each end. These cross ribs are not horizontal like the others, but curved to the same section as the window heads, with which they are parallel. They do not, moreover, stop upon the transverse arch, but are continued downwards in front of them and terminate with square pendants.¹ From these pendants radiate other ribs forming the diagonals and sub-diagonals of the middle compartment of the vault, as well as a further series which combines with corresponding ribs springing from the wall-shafts to form the sub-divisions of the oblong end compartments. The middle line of these end compartments is, however, horizontal, and abuts at either end upon the point of a small arch filled with open tracery, which is formed above the transverse arch between the pendants and the side wall. The effect of this remarkable expedient is that the vault actually springs from the same level as the window heads, around which it is so carefully fitted. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that the result is somewhat bizarre, and there is a sense of insecurity in the appearance of the pendants that is not quite happy. It is interesting to note, however, that precisely the same construction was adopted a quarter of a century later by the master-masons of king Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, in the formation of the wonderful fan-vault wherewith that is covered.

The lowness of the Oxford vault, which is only about 20 feet from the floor, is accounted for by the fact that it had another building, the library, over it, and its exquisite detail can therefore easily be examined.

From the construction of so remarkable a vault we may pass to the consideration of its decoration. The arrangement of this is somewhat complicated (see diagram, fig. 1). That of the middle square compartments can be followed easily with a little patience. First, a number of points have been taken on the main ribs at equal distances from the centre of the pendant. Each of these points is masked by a boss. From these issue pairs of minor ribs which first converge and are then prolonged as one between the main

¹ The lantern-like blocks in which the pendants end have a canopied housing for an image on each face. The images are those of the Four Doctors, etc.

ribs till they abut on the main longitudinal and transverse lines. Another minor rib slightly curved, with the pendant as its centre, joins the ends of the sub-diagonal ribs and forms a large lozenge-shaped panel in the middle of the bay. All the intersections are masked by bosses and the panels formed by the ribs are cusped inside their heads. The arrangement of the oblong compartments is not quite so simple to follow, owing to the diagonal ribs not being continuous but divergent, so as to meet on either side of the middle point. This fact is cleverly masked by a large carved boss or key. Two other pairs of sub-diagonal ribs, starting from each end, meet upon the horizontal inner rib which divides the compartment longitudinally, and the rest of the compartment is sub-divided by minor ribs in the same way as the main compartment, and with a like, but smaller, lozenge in the middle.

Inasmuch as each junction or crossing of a rib is covered by a boss, there were, as at first planned, no fewer than ninety-one bosses in each bay, or 455 in all, but though a slight alteration in the design reduced this number by ten, the insertion of as many shields of arms eventually restored the original number.

These bosses are of exceptionally interesting character, first on account of the number that are heraldic, and secondly because so many are carved with words or monograms in black-letter: it would, in fact, be difficult to think of another vault which displays so much lettering as this does.

A close examination and comparison of the bosses reveals several curious facts, but before describing these it is necessary to devise some simple scheme by which the divisions of the vault may be referred to. Had the building that it covers been a church or chapel, we should properly number the bays from east to west, but there are other reasons in this case for numbering the bays in reverse order; one reason being, as I hope to show, that the western part of the vault was the first to be worked or set up. Each bay may further be divided into a middle, a southern, and a northern, section and then referred to as 2M, or 3N, or 5S, and so on. With the end divisions must be included the cross ribs dividing them from the middle division. A further convenience of this arrange-

ment is that one of the fifteen principal keys or bosses that lock together the vault and save it from falling will be found in the middle of each of these divisions.

The five principal keys, those down the middle line of the vault, are all heraldic, and represent the arms of Lionel Wydville, chancellor of the University from 1479 to 1483 (plate II); of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bouchier (1454 to 1486) (plate V); of the king, Edward IV (1461-1483) (plate VIII); of the late archbishop of Canterbury, John Kemp (1452 to 1454) (plate XI); and of his nephew, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London (1449-50 to 1489), who was the principal benefactor to the building of the Divinity School vault (plate XIV).

The bosses carved about the lozenge-shaped frame that encloses, as it were, the principal key vary in an interesting way. In the first bay they represent words; in the second words and monograms; in the third monograms alone with intermediate shields of arms; in the fourth the monograms alternate with the words of a motto; and in the fifth the bosses are of mixed character.

The keys of the end divisions of the bays also differ. In the first bay they are carved with leaf work only; in the second with devices, that at the south end being St. Veronica with the Vernicle (fig. 2); in the third with sculptured subjects, the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity at the northern end (fig. 3) and a lovely half-length figure of Our Lady and Child in the southern end (fig. 4); in the fourth with devices again, namely, the rayed rose badge of king Edward IV and the Holy Lamb lying on a book (fig. 5); and in the fifth with mitres with scriptures. In the first bay, too, there are no lettered bosses in either of the end divisions, which consequently show a greater sense of dignity and quiet refinement. The main divisions, on the other hand, and the rest of the side divisions, abound with lettered devices from end to end.

Inasmuch as a complete list of the bosses is appended to this paper, it is unnecessary to describe them in detail here, but there are certain facts deducible from a classification of them which must not be passed over.

First of all come the numerous shields of arms, of which there are twenty-four in the first bay, twenty-one in the second, seventeen each in the third and fourth, and four-

teen in the fifth, or ninety-three in all. Owing, however, to many of the arms being repeated a number of times, the actual total of persons represented is only about thirty. Thus the arms of bishop Kemp occur ten times, and of his bishoprick of London five times. The arms of his uncle, the archbishop, occur eight times, and there are nine examples of the arms of Kemp alone that may belong to either bishop or archbishop. The arms of the University of Oxford occur six times, and of one college, Exeter, three times. The shield of Waynflete also occurs six times, and as bishop William of that name was then living, the arms are more likely his than of his college of St. Mary Magdalen. The arms of cardinal Beaufort do not occur anywhere upon the vault.

The following is a complete list of all the arms :

Arundel, John, bishop of Chichester, 1459-1477 (1M).
Beauchamp of Powyk, John lord, 1475-1491 (1N, 1S, 5S).

Beckington, Thomas, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1464-5 (2S, 4S).

Bourchier, Thomas, cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury, 1454-1486 (2 M).

A fesse and three Bourchier knots (1S), a Bourchier knot in a shield (2S, 4S), and a Bourchier knot alone (2M) also probably refer to him.

Chaundeler, Thomas, S.T.P. chancellor 1457-1461 and 1472-1479 (1N, 1S, 5N).

Two candles held by angels (1S) and a letter **T** and two crossed candles (2S, 3N, 4M) also allude to him.

Chedworth, John, bishop of Lincoln, 1452-1471 (2S, 5N).

Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443 (4N, 2S).

Courtenay, Peter, bishop of Exeter, 1478-1486-7 (2M).
Three dolphins in 2S may also allude to him.

Dudley, William, bishop of Durham, 1476-1483 (3M).
Edward IV, king, 1461-1483 (3M).

The York roses (1N, 1S, 2N, 5M, 5M) and the rayed rose (2M, 2N, 2N, 3S) also refer to the king.

- Exeter College, Oxford (2N, 3M, 3S).
 FitzJames, Richard, vice-chancellor in 1481 (1M).
 Greystock, Ralph lord, 1436-1487 (3M).
 Kemp (1N, 1N, 1S, 2S, 3N, 3N, 3S, 4S), and with
 engrailed border in 5M.
 Kemp, John, cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury,
 1452-1454 (1S, 2S, 3N, 3S, 4M, 4N, 5N, 5S).
 His cardinal's cross on a shield also occurs in 1S
 and 2N, and a splayed eagle (1S) may allude to
 his name of John.
 Kemp, Thomas, bishop of London, 1449-50-1489
 (1N, 1S, 3N, 3S, 4N, 4S, 4S, 5N, 5S; also 1S,
 Kemp impaling the bishoprick of London).
 Kemp sheaves (1N, 4M, 5M, 5N, 5S).
 London, Bishoprick of (1N, 2N, 2S, 4S, 5N).
 Lyhert, Walter, bishop of Norwich, 1446-1472 (4N).
 May, Richard (1M).
 Nevill, Richard, earl of Salisbury, 1442-1460 (2M).
 Oxford University (1S, 2S, 3S, 4N, 4S, 5S).
 Pole, John de la, duke of Suffolk, 1462-3-1491 (2N).
 Portugal, Kingdom of (1M).
 Russell, John, bishop of Lincoln, 1480-1494 (2M);
 also Russell alone (2S, 4N).
 Waynflete, William, bishop of Winchester, 1447-1486
 (1N, 1S, 2M, 2N, 4N, 5S. A bunch of lilies
 and a scroll occurs in 1S).
 Willoughby d'Eresby, lord (1M).
 Wounds, the Five, of our Lord (3S).
 Wydville, Lionel, bishop of Salisbury, 1482-1484
 (1N, 2N, 3S).

Also shields not yet identified :

- with a mitre and three birds (2N, 4S),
- with three wheels (1N, 3S, 5S),
- with a lion rampant (3S),
- with fretty impaling three leopards (3M),
- with three boars' heads between two bends (5S).

In addition to the shields, there are a number of badges and devices which refer to some of those commemorated by their arms. Foremost among these are the white rose of the house of York, which occurs five times, and the

rayed rose of king Edward IV, which occurs four times; and be it noted that in every case the rose is a double one, that is, with two rows of petals, and in no way different from what is mistakenly called a Tudor rose. William Waynflete's arms in the south end of the first bay are accompanied by a bunch of his lilies intertwined by a scroll. For archbishop Kemp there are likewise two shields charged with a double barred cross, for his dignity of cardinal. The Kemp wheatsheaf also occurs five times, but may refer alike to the archbishop or to his nephew of London. The two crossed candles with twisted butts, which apparently formed the arms of Thomas Chaundeler, are also repeated four times, once in the hands of an angel, and thrice with a capital letter **T**. The arms proper of archbishop Bouchier are found only once, but his well-known knot (which Anthony Wood thought to be knotted snakes) occurs three times, once by itself and twice on a shield, and there is a shield bearing a fesse and three Bouchier knots which also possibly refers to him. This last is one of several instances of what may be called loose treatment of the heraldry upon the vault. The wheatsheaves in the arms of both archbishop Kemp and his nephew were certainly borne by both within a border engrailed, but out of the twenty-seven representations of the Kemp arms, the border is shown only twice: correctly upon the arms of Thomas Kemp in the principal key of the fifth bay, and incorrectly in the arms of John Kemp in the fourth bay, where it encloses not only his three sheaves, but the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury as well. In two shields (18) the arms of Kemp impale, instead of being impaled with, the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London, and in one case the swords are shown with the points downwards.

From the many words that are scattered about the vault may be gathered up twenty-eight sentences in three different languages, Latin, French and English. Of the Latin sentences, two are important in connexion with the history and date of the vault: one being **Kemp me fecit fieri** which occurs once around the middle of the first bay, and **Edwardus rex quartus** which is found twice. The other Latin sentences are the name **ibc rpe** in the fourth bay, and the motto or word of Thomas Kemp, **Da gloriam deo**,

in one case with **tuo** added, which occurs about his arms in the middle of the fifth bay, and in five other places. Of the French sentences there are three. **ben fet** (for *bien fait*, "well done") occurs three times, and in a fourth with the words divided between two bays, but it is doubtful to whom it can be assigned. We may at any rate endorse it as applied to the vault itself. The second sentence in French is **Lop soit deu** or **dyeu** "Praised be God."¹ This occurs five times, but cannot be attached to any particular person. The third French sentence is **mercy bon ihc amen** which is to be found once in the second bay. The first of the four English sentences is similar: **ihc mercy**, and occurs twice. It is also found in four places² combined with a well-known form of invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary, **ihc mercy ladi help**. The other two English sentences are: **ihc be mi sped** in the third bay, and **thank god of al** in the fourth bay. In the first there is also a dove with a scroll lettered **mi lord of London**. Two adjacent words in the middle of the first bay seem to make another, possibly French, sentence **Ruer Row**, but I cannot venture to interpret them. In the second bay, too, are four following bosses with lettering that seems to form a name. The first bears the word **Will**, the second a broken letter, perhaps **m** or **n**, and **e**, the third plainly has **re** and the fourth **feld**. These suggest a name like William [M]erefeld, but the initial of the surname is uncertain.

The numerous monograms with which the vault is spattered form a very interesting series. Some of them can easily be identified, others are doubtful, and several still await suggestions.

A few form isolated words: thus **J Kemp** ensigned with a cardinal's hat stands for John the archbishop; and **T Kemp** for Thomas the bishop. **J B** with and without the hat above it also occurs. **T B** likewise is to be found in twelve different places, probably for the most part for the bishop, but sometimes the letters may stand for the master Thomas Kerver who was proctor in 1482, and instrumental in persuading the bishop to undertake the work of the schools.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson for suggesting this.

² 2N, 3M, 3S, 4S, 5N.

L W obviously refers to Lionel Wydville, chancellor when the vault was begun, and in three places there is a rebus on his Christian name formed of a lion rampant against the letters **W**. **W** with **S** interlacing it, in one case with a doctor's cap over, is probably for William Sutton, vice-chancellor in 1480, 1481 and 1482. **J R**, with a smaller **r** and a doctor's cap over, must, I think, be for John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, who took on the chancellorship in 1483. **R F**, which occurs twice, with and without a doctor's cap, is probably for Richard Fitzjames, vice-chancellor in 1481. The monogram **G S**, sometimes with a cap over, occurs nine times, and is either for Geoffrey Simeon, who was proctor in 1478, or Geoffrey Strangeways, rector of Lincoln College while the vault was in building. The word **Lee** with a cap perhaps refers to another living head, Thomas Lee, principal of White Hall and St. Edmund's Hall. A strange monogram like a Greek *theta* containing a large **R** and smaller letters **E L**, may be for William Orell, proctor in 1439, who was appointed a prebendary of Lichfield in 1474. A letter **W** with **O** round one limb, there is reason to think, is for William Orchard, the master-mason who built the vault. **J M** and **N H** are the monograms probably of John Martin and Nicholas Halswell, proctors in 1480, and **W P** that of William Porter, proctor in 1481. There are some that still await solution, such as **W M**, **W C**,¹ **A R**, and a few others.

Sundry bosses, apart from those which are merely botanical, are carved with subjects of a miscellaneous character. Such are the beasts typical of three of the Evangelists in the north end of the first bay: the lion of St. Mark with **ihc est amor meus** on a scroll; the ox of St. Luke with **Dominus illuminatio mea**; and the eagle of St. John with a scroll **Frete² michi magna qui potens est**. The angel of St. Matthew is at the other end of the bay with a plain scroll. In the same bay is a dove with splayed wings and a scroll lettered **mi lorde of London**. About the key with the holy Trinity in the third bay are four pairs of demi-angels in albes. One pair hold between

¹ Perhaps for William Church, who was surveyor of the works in 1454.

² Sic.

them an open book like that in the University arms; the opposite pair carry the book closed; and the other two pairs each hold between them a doctor's round cap. Some of the other carvings are of the kind to be found among the baberies of misericords: two birds fighting; a pelican in her piety; a dog coiled up on a bed of leaves; a running horse; two lions pulling down a doe or calf; a boar and a hound in a wood; a squirrel in a nut-tree; an ape with a clerk's head in front; an owl being teased by smaller birds; Samson rending the lion; a fox carrying off a goose; a man wrestling with a bear, and so forth.

Finally, we have to consider the question of the date of this wonderful vault. That it was put up during the reign of king Edward IV, its sculptures clearly prove, and as the king died in April, 1483, we have a *terminus ad quem* for the completion of the vault, since Richard duke of Gloucester is in no way indicated upon it. The vault also bears in a prominent place the arms, initials, and rebus of Lionel Wydville, who was chancellor of the University from 1479 till his appointment to the bishoprick of Salisbury in 1482. He was succeeded in the chancellorship by William Dudley, bishop of Durham, whose arms also occur on the vault. He died within a few months, and was followed, also in 1483, by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, whose monogram, **JL**, for John Lincoln, with a letter **r** and a doctor's cap over, gives us, I think, the latest date for the vault. For its earliest date there is equally conclusive evidence. It cannot be earlier than 1480, since there occur in the second bay the arms of John Russell impaled with those of his bishoprick of Lincoln, to which he was not appointed until that year. There are also to be found among the monograms in the third bay the letters **JM** with a **P**, apparently for John Martin, who was proctor in 1480. The monogram **NH**, apparently of his fellow proctor Nicholas Halswell, occurs in the same bay, as well as a monogram, **WS**, probably for William Sutton, who became vice-chancellor in 1480 and held office for three years.

Reference has already been made to the simpler style of the first bay; and there is this further point to be noticed, that in both ends of the first and second bays, and in the

south end of the third bay, the pairs of bosses east and west of the principal keys have been partly mutilated to allow of the insertion of shields of arms. This insertion does not occur in the north end of the third bay, nor in the fourth and fifth bays; the shield in the corresponding place being in each case upheld by a pair of angels carved out of the same block. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the vault was begun in 1480, and that the western half was set up first. In the western half are contained the monograms of William Sutton, who was vice-chancellor in 1481 and 1482; of Richard Fitzjames, who was also vice-chancellor in 1481; of Lionel Wydville, who was chancellor down to 1482; of Thomas Kerver, who was proctor in 1482; and of John Russell as bishop of Lincoln in 1483.

We may therefore conclude that the vault was begun in 1480 and finished in 1483, which explains, too, the reason of the gradual change in design that can be followed from west to east. The two freemasons, John Hylmer and William Vertue, who contracted to build the existing vault of the seven-bayed quire of St. George's chapel in Windsor castle in 1506, undertook to finish the work in two years and a half. William Vertue also contracted in December, 1511, to vault the lady-chapel, now the Albert memorial chapel, at Windsor, before the feast of St. Michael the archangel in 1514, so that the time allotted for the building of the Divinity School vault with its wealth of ornament and delicacy of detail is in no way unreasonable when compared with works of similar size. Its cost, too, is not unreasonable when compared with the contract price of the quire vault at Windsor, which was £700, or 1,050 marks.

It would be a matter of great interest to recover the name of the master-mason who was the architect and builder of the Oxford vault.

Mr. Salter has suggested to me that the initials W^o, which are not found in the first bay, but five times in the other four bays, are those of William Orchard, who was master-mason of Waynflete's works at Magdalen college. As these were now finished, it is quite conceivable that Orchard was taken over with the borrowed scaffolding. Whoever the master-mason was, there can be no question as to his wonderful skill, ingenuity, and resource in design.

One thing is certain, that there was not any connexion between the Divinity School vault and any work going on in Windsor Castle. When king Edward IV died in 1483 the great chapel of St. George which he had founded in 1477 was only complete as regards the quire, and this was covered by its wooden roof and not yet vaulted. The only vaults which could have been put up were those in the easternmost part, to carry the king's upper chantry chapel (now the royal pew or closet), and these are true fan-vaults, whereas the Oxford vault is emphatically a ribbed or lierne-vault.

Lastly, there is the question, who paid for the Divinity School vault. From the prominent declaration in the first bay, that *Kemp me fecit fieri*, there is no need to look further for its chief benefactor than Thomas Kemp, the bishop of London, whose arms and devices also occur on it from end to end, and who survived its erection for some years. His uncle, John Kemp, the archbishop of Canterbury, is also credited with much help, but he had died as far back as 1454, and his munificence is said to have been due to his being able to divert towards the work, already contemplated and planned in his time, a portion of the wealth of cardinal Beaufort, whose executor he was. If shields of arms may be taken as evidence of their being benefactors, there are names which can be added to that of John Kemp, of others who died without seeing the work carried out. They include John Arundel, bishop of Chichester (1459-1477); Thomas Becketon, bishop of Bath and Wells (1443-1464-5); John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln (1452-1471); Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury (1414-1443); Walter Lyhert, bishop of Norwich (1446-1472); and Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury (1442-1460). Among the benefactors who lived till the work was finished were the king, Edward IV (1461-1483); John lord Beauchamp of Powyk (1475-1496); Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury (1454-1486); Thomas Chaundeler, chancellor of the University (1457-1461 and 1472-1479); Peter Courtenay, bishop of Exeter (1478-1486-7); William Dudley, bishop of Durham (1476-1483) and chancellor; Richard Fitzjames, vice-chancellor (1481); John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk (1462-63-1491) and steward of the University;

John Russell, bishop of Lincoln (1480-1494) and chancellor (1483-1494); William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester (1447-1486); and Lionel Wydville, chancellor (1479-1482) and bishop of Salisbury (1482-1484). The University itself, and Exeter college, also contributed to the building.

Owing to the fact that the building of the Divinity School was not in the charge of the proctors there is very little documentary matter relating to actual work upon it. By the courtesy of the Rev. H. Salter, to whom I am further indebted for several valuable suggestions, I am able to print the entries in the proctors' accounts which bear on the subject.¹ These, it will be seen, show a discrepancy between the statements contained in the appeals made by the University and the actual facts about the condition and progress of the work which it is somewhat difficult to reconcile.

The first notice is in the account for 1464-1465, when straw was obtained for covering the unfinished walls, probably against frost during the winter. There are no other accounts till those for 1469-1470, but meanwhile a contract had been made with one John Godard of

¹ Proctors' Accounts, 11th April, 1464, to 24th April, 1465:

Pro stramine transeunte ad cooperturam novarum scholarum. xvid.

Et solut. operariis laborantibus circa predictam cooperturam. iiis. vid.

Next surviving accounts are 13th April, 1469, to 5th May, 1470:

Magistris supervisoribus novarum scholarum, pro completionemuri ex deliberatione congregacionis. x lib.

Et eisdem magistris pro clausura fenestrarum et pro quodam hostio ordinando in novis scholis ex condicione gracie. iii lib. (i.e. a grace, which comes to mean a degree, was granted on condition that this money was given.)

Et solut. pro incisione capitum ambonum in novis scholis. iii lib. vis. viiid.

Et magistris supervisoribus novarum scholarum pro suis laboribus, ut placet auditoribus. xxs.

Next accounts are 29th April, 1471, to 8th April, 1472:

Pro reparacione facta circa muros novarum scholarum et tectura eorundem. xxixs. viiid.

Pro reparacione vitri novarum scholarum. viiis.

Item supervisoribus operis novarum scholarum juxta decretum congregacionis. xxs.

Next accounts are 8th April, 1472, to 30th April, 1473:

Pro mundacione novarum scholarum theologie, pro clausura fenestrarum superiorum et obstruccionem foraminum. iiis.

Pro tectura novarum scholarum theologie et pro renovatione plumbi eiusdem tecture. xxvis. viiid.

Next accounts are 30th April, 1473, to 20th April, 1474:

No mention of the schools.

Next accounts are 20th April, 1474, to 8th April, 1475:

Et pro reparacione facta et fienda circa novas scholas. xiv lib. xiiis. iiiid. ("fienda" is explained by a note at the end which says the proctors have not yet paid the carpenters.)

Et supervisoribus operum earundem scholarum. xxvis. viiid.

Next accounts are 17th April, 1477, to 30th April, 1478:

No mention of the schools.

Bucklebury, Berks. "hosbandman,"¹ for fitting up the new schools with suitable desks and benches on the following interesting conditions :

On the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, namely the eleventh day of June, John Godard of Bucklebury in the county of Berks "hosbandman" bound himself to make desks with forms for the new schools of Sacred Theology at Oxford ; namely, thirty-seven desks with corresponding benches of the form and fashion discussed in the same schools in the presence of doctor Calbek, master William Lampton, master John Byrde, and master J. Arnold, also of master Richard Mey and of me, Thomas Chaundeler commissary general of the University of Oxford : so that the same work be fully, perfectly, and well finished according to the form and fashion aforesaid before the feast of St. Andrew next ensuing under pain of £40 sterling to be paid to the aforesaid University. These things were done in the presence of us Thomas Chaundeler the commissary aforesaid the above mentioned eleventh day of June A.D. 1466 in the presence of doctor Cokkys, master John Molyneux, and master John Arnold ; for which he shall receive £22 in part payment of which he now receives beforehand 100s. at the hands of master Richard Mey, vicar of the church of St. Helen Abingdon.²

It is quite clear from this agreement with John Godard that the new building must have been ready for his new desking by the end of 1466, despite the lamentable appeals made later to the bishops of Norwich and London, and there is the further evidence from the proctors' accounts that the library which formed the upper floor of the schools was also on its way to completion. Thus in 1469-1470 are payments of £10 for finishing a wall, of £3 for the closure of windows and ordaining of a certain door, and of £3 6s. 8d. for carving the heads (or popeys) of the new desks. The

¹ It is not easy to see why a "hosbandman" should contract for such an important piece of woodwork as a set of desks and benches.

² Registrum A a a fol. 228v.

"In festo sancti Barnabe apostoli viz. xi die Iunii Iohannes Godard de Bokylbury in comitatu Bark' hosbandman obligavit se ad faciendum ambones cum formulis pro novis scolis sacre theologie Oxonie viz. xxxvii ambones cum scabellis correspondentibus, sub forma & modo tractatis in eisdem scolis in presencia doctoris Calbek, magistri Willelmi Lampton, magistri Iohannis Byrde & magistri I. Arnold ac magistri Ricardi Mey & mei Thome Chaundeler Universitatis Oxonie commissarii generalis. ita quod idem

opus plene, perfecte & bene perficiatur secundum formam & modum predictos ante festum sancti Andree proximo futurum sub pena quadraginta librarum Universitati predictae solvendarum. Acta sunt coram nobis Thoma Chaundeler commissario antedicto predicto undecimo die Iunii anno domini mccccxvi^{to} in presencia doctoris Cokkys, magistri Iohannis Molyneux, magistri Iohannis Arnold ; pro quibus recipiet xxii libras, unde in partem solucionis pre manibus modo recipit centum solidos per manus magistri Ricardi Mey vicarii ecclesie sancte Helene Abendonie."

This is also printed in Anstey's *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series), but with two serious misreadings.

accounts for 1471-1472 also mention the repair of the walls and roof, and the glazing of the new schools; while those for 1472-1473 contain payments for cleaning the new schools, the closure of the upper windows, and the stopping of holes (perhaps those for the putlogs of the scaffolding), also towards the roof of the new schools and the renewal of its lead. In the accounts for 1474-1475 the large sum of £14 13s. 4d. is entered "for repairs done or to be done about the new schools."

All these entries point to the fact that the Divinity School as a building had been carried up, with the library over it, and roofed in, and was already in use before bishop Thomas Kemp's help was invoked, and that what it still lacked was the vaulted ceiling, which the bishop found the money for. The royal chapel of St. George's, Windsor castle, both as to its quire and its nave, was roofed in and brought into use, certainly as regards the quire, before the vaulted ceilings were added, and the great chapel of King's college in Cambridge was, as regards the eastern half, covered in for nearly thirty years by its wooden roof only before this was underdrawn by the splendid fan-vault. In both these cases, however, the stone vault was provided for from the beginning, whereas in the Divinity School it was clearly an afterthought. This can be proved, not only by the interval of date, but by the buttresses on the outside. These will be found on examination to be built with straight joints against the walls, and where they are carried up through the upper story they intrude upon the library windows and cover up a portion of the labels above them. No evidence could well be plainer.



It only remains to add that the admirable series of photographs from which the illustrations to this paper have been made was specially taken for the Institute by Mr. James Soame of Oxford.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF BOSSES ON THE VAULT.


FIRST BAY : MIDDLE DIVISION [I M].

(plates II, III, IV)

Principal key : a shield of arms, surmounted by the open book of the University arms, and supported by a feathered angel on either side, and a third below. The shield is quarterly : 1. Wydville, 2. Redvers, 3. Luxemburgh, 4. de Baux, 5. Prowes, 6. Beauchamp of Hacche. For Lionel Wydville, chancellor from 1479 to 1482.

W. The word **It[un]p** ; also monogram **T**  with doctor's cap over. To W.  with doctor's cap over.

SW. Shield* : 1 and 4, *six hirondelles* } for John Arundel,
2 and 3, *a bend with* } bishop of Chiches-
on the bend } ter, 1459-1477.

Between a curious knot  with a **I** thereon, and a broken monogram, perhaps **RS** or **RA**.

S. The word **me** ; also monogram **es** or **es**, and to the north the word **lee** with doctor's cap over.

SE. Shield* : 1 and 4, *a millrind cross* (Willoughby) } for a lord Wil-
2 and 3, *a cross engrailed* (Ufford) } loughby d'Eresby.
Between a broken monogram **CU** or **UC**, and a monogram of a Greek **Θ** surmounted by **R** enclosing **E** and **L**.

E. The word **ferit** ; also **WH** in monogram, and to the east **WP** in monogram.

NE. Shield* : *a dolphin and three molets*, query for Richard FitzJames, vice-chancellor, 1481.

Between the words **huer** and **hob**.

N. The word **fieri** ; also the monogram **TH**, probably of Thomas Kemp, and to the south a knot like two Stafford knots combined.

NW. Shield* : *a cheveron and three crosslets impaling* } for Richard May.
a cheveron and three hunting horns }

Between a geometrical device on a wreath, and a small shield of the arms of the king of Portugal.†

* These four shields have each a torse or wreath behind, and each has had a hole made through the middle from which to hang something.

† In the proctors' accounts for 1478-1479 £38 13s. 4d. are entered as received from five men who took the degree of D.D. One of those was *magister Ioppus Portugalensis*. In Anstey's *Epistolae Academicæ* he appears on p. 452 in a letter of May, 1480,

but under the name "Loppus," and is described as of Lisbon, that the University made him both B.D. and D.D. and that Joppus had thereupon for his part done that which reflected glory on the University and conciliated the benevolence of men. It looks, therefore, as if he had given money to the work of the Divinity School [From information kindly supplied by the Rev. H. Salter].

SW. quadrant :	[<i>flor</i>]	[<i>soit</i>]	<i>drw</i>
SE. quadrant :	<i>Da</i>	<i>gl[ori]am</i>	<i>drw</i>
NE. quadrant :	[<i>flor</i>]	[<i>soit</i>]	<i>drw</i>
NW. quadrant :	<i>Da</i>	<i>gl[ori]am</i>	<i>drw</i>

FIRST BAY : NORTHERN END [I N].

(plate III)

Principal key : a mass of conventional oak leaves.

- W¹ Shield : *three Katharine wheels*.
- W² Shield : *lozengy ermine and (sable) and a chief with three lily flowers on the chief*, for William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, 1447-1486. Inserted later between a bunch of leaves and a York rose.
- W³ Two birds fighting.
- W⁴ Two oak leaves and a scroll painted with *Da gloriam drw*.
- SW¹ Shield : *two swords in saltire* for the bishoprick of London.
- SW² A pelican in her piety.
- S¹ Eagle of St. John holding in beak scroll with *ffret michi magna qui pot[n]s est*.
- S² Wreath with oak leaves, between {
to west, the ox of St. Luke with
scroll *Domin[us] illumin[atio]*
mea
to east, a wheatsheaf supported
by two angels, for Kemp.
- SE¹ Shield : *three sheaves*, for Kemp.
- SE² Lion of St. Mark and scroll *ih̄s est amor meus*.
- E¹ Shield : *a fesse and six martlets*, for Richard lord Beauchamp of Powyk, 1475-1496.
- E² Shield : the bishoprick of London impaling *three sheaves*, for Thomas Kemp, bishop of London. Inserted later between a bunch of chestnut (?) leaves, and another of rose leaves with a rose in the middle.
- E³ A coiled dog on a bed of leaves.
- E⁴ Leafy boss and scroll with *fur*
- NE¹ Shield : *three sheaves*, for Kemp.
- NE² A York rose.
- N¹ A dove (head gone) with a scroll painted *mi f lor dr f of f London*
- N² Scroll with *Da gloriam drw*, between {
to west, leaves and a scroll
painted *flor soit drw*.
to east, a bunch of leaves.
- NW¹ Shield with *two wax torches in saltire*.
- NW² A running horse on leafwork.

FIRST BAY : SOUTHERN END [1 S].

(plate iv).


Principal key : a coiled branch of vine-leaves and grapes.

- W¹ Shield with a double-barred or patriarchal cross.
W² Shield : *three sheaves* impaling the bishoprick of London (swords with hilts upwards), for Thomas Kemp, bishop. Inserted between a wreath of figs and leaf, and a curved dolphin for FitzJames.
W³ An angel holding up two wax torches intertwined with a scroll lettered
W⁴ Four leaves issuing from behind a broad curved scroll.
SW¹ Shield of William Waynflete (as in 1NW²).
SW² An angel in girded albe holding a scroll before him.
S¹ A bunch of stalked lilies intertwined with a long scroll, for Waynflete.
S² Stalks and an intertwined $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to west, a York rose and leaves.} \\ \text{scroll, between} \quad \quad \quad \text{to east, leafwork.} \end{array} \right.$
SE¹ Shield of Beauchamp of Powyk.
SE² Shield : *a fesse and three Bouchier knots*.
E¹ Shield : *two wax torches in saltire*.
E² Shield of University of Oxford. Inserted between a bunch of vine-leaves and grapes and a crowned heart transfixd by a scroll, with leaves round.
E³ Shield of Kemp (*three sheaves*) upheld by two angels. (Placed transversely.)
E⁴ Bunch of figs (?) crossed by a scroll.
NE¹ Pall and staff of Canterbury or York, impaling *three sheaves*, for John Kemp.
NE² A splayed eagle, ? for John Kemp.
N¹ Two lions and two other beasts pulling down a doe (?).
N² A bunch of leaves, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to west, a boar and a hound amid leaves.} \\ \text{between} \quad \quad \quad \text{to east, shield : } \textit{three Katharine wheels.} \end{array} \right.$
NW¹ Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp impaling the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London.
NW² A squirrel in a nut tree.

SECOND BAY : MIDDLE DIVISION [2 M].

(plates v, vi, vii).

Principal key : a shield of arms (point to east) ensigned with a cardinal's hat, and supported by a feathered angel on either side and by a third below. The shield bears the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling Bouchier quartering Lovain, for Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, 1454-1486.

- W.  in monogram ; also the word *Deo*, and to the west a twist of leafwork.

- SW. Shield : the bishoprick of Lincoln impaling *two cheverons and three roses*, for John Russell, bishop, 1480-1494. Between the monogram **HR** and the monogram **DMT**.
- S. The word **HR[m]p** ensigned with a cardinal's hat; also the monogram **HR**. To the south, a group of four leaves.
- S.E. Shield of Waynflete. Between the monogram **WSE** and a monogram **Θ** enclosing the letter R, which in turn contains the letters E and L.
- E. The word **HR[m]p**; also **Da**. To the east a knot of foliage.
- NE. Shield : 1 and 4, Montagu quartering Monthermer; 2 and 3, Nevill; for Richard Nevill, earl of Salisbury, 1442-1460. Between the letters **rr** and the word **feld**.
- N. The letters **WH** in monogram; also **gl[ori]am**. To the north a Bourchier knot.
- NW. Shield* : the bishoprick of Exeter (*a pair of keys and a sword in saltire*) impaling Courtenay, for Peter Courtenay, bishop of Exeter, 1478-1486-7.
Between the letters **WH** in monogram and the letters **rr**.
- SW. quadrant: the words **set ben** and a calf (?).
- SE. quadrant: the words **Lop foit vpru**.
- NE. quadrant: a cluster of leaves; **HR** ensigned with a cardinal's hat; the rayed rose of king Edward IV.
- NW. quadrant: leafwork; a Wake knot **XX** or fret on a torse; a twist of leafwork.

SECOND BAY : NORTHERN END [2 N].

(plate vi).

- Principal key: the words **pater unde fidi' fpr fcs** separated by coils of twisted stalks.
- W¹ Shield with a Bourchier knot.
- W² Shield of six quarters of Wydeville, etc. as in principal key of 1 M, for Lionel Wydeville, chancellor. Between two other bosses with leafwork.
- W³ A cluster of four vine-leaves and grapes.
- W⁴ A holly-leaf encircled by a scroll.
- SW¹ Shield of Exeter College arms.
- SW² The word **HR**.
- S¹ A York rose.
- S² The rayed rose badge of king Edward IV, between two bosses with leaves.
- SE¹ Shield with the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London.
- SE² The word **help**.

* The four shields have each a torse or wreath behind.

- E¹ Shield with a patriarchal cross.
 E² Shield: *a mitre between three birds*. Inserted between two bosses, one with a coil of leafwork, the other with the rayed rose of King Edward IV.
 E³ An ape holding a clerk's head in front of him.
 E⁴ Leafwork with a broad scroll.

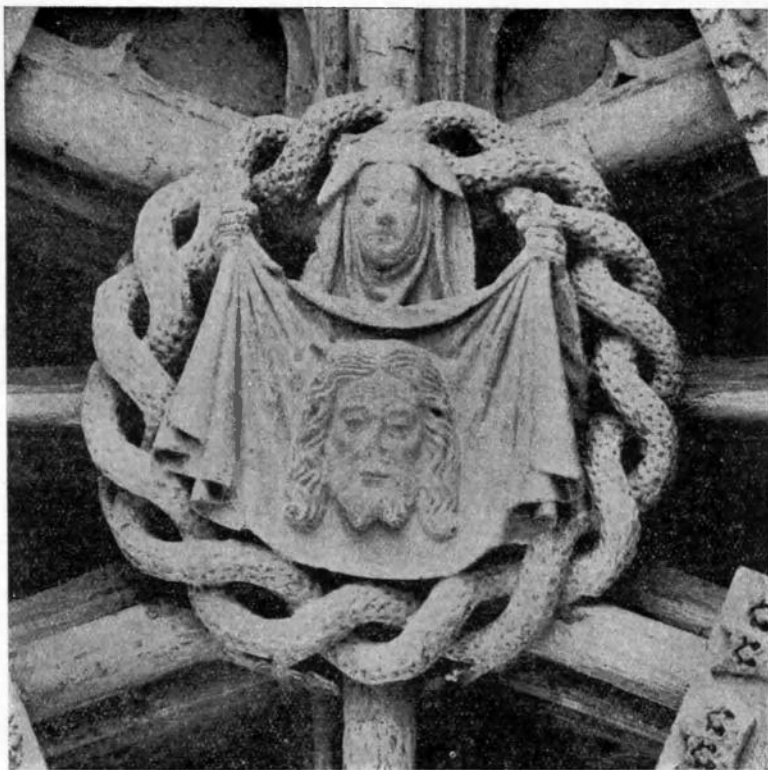


FIG. 2. ST. VERONICA AND THE VERNICLE.
 (Principal key, bay 2 s).

- NE¹ Shield of de la Pole quartering Chaucer, probably for John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, 1462-3-1491.
 NE² The word *ladi*.
 N¹ A cluster of four vine-leaves.
 N² Leafwork between $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to west, a jester.} \\ \text{to east, leafwork.} \end{array} \right.$
 NW¹ Shield of the arms of Waynflete.
 NW² The word *me[er]p [sic]*.

SECOND BAY : SOUTHERN END [28].

(plate vii).

Principal key : within a torse, St. Veronica holding up the napkin with the imprint of our Lord's face (fig. 2).

- W¹ Shield : *a cheveron and three cingfoils or periwinkle flowers*, for Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443.
- W² Shield : *a cheveron and three wolves' heads razed*, for John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, 1452-1471. Inserted between two bosses of leafwork.
- W³ Three dolphins in a triangle, probably for Courtenay.
- W⁴ A man's face.
- SW¹ Shield with the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London.
- SW² The word *m[er]try [sic]*.
- S¹ The monogram W^o on a torse.
- S² A pair of leaves, between two other groups of leaves.
- SE¹ Shield of the arms of Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1464-5.
- SE² The word *rpt.*
- E¹ - Shield : *two cheverons and three roses*, for John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, 1480-1494.
- E² Shield : the cross and pall of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling the three sheaves of Kemp. Inserted between two bosses with leafwork.
- E³ An owl being teased by two lesser birds.
- E⁴ A spray of leafwork.
- NE¹ Shield of the arms of Oxford University.
- NE² The word *þhe*.
- N¹ The word *ban*.
- N - A coil of leafwork, between { to west, the letter *T* intertwining
two crossed torches.
to east, the monogram *TK* per-
haps for Thomas Kerver
- NW¹ Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp.
- NW² The word *ant[u]*

THIRD BAY : MIDDLE DIVISION [3 M].

(plates viii, ix, x).

Principal key : on a torse, the royal arms of king Edward IV surmounted by a rayed rose, with a cap of estate over encircled by a coronet of small and great cruciform leaves, and supported by a lion of March and a bull of Clarence.

- W. The monogram J M P, query for John Martin, proctor, 1480 ; also the word *mj*. To the west, a bunch of leaves.
- SW. Shield of the arms of Exeter College. Between two coils of leafwork.

- S. The letters WM in monogram; also the word *be* (the e broken away). To the west, the letter W and some prickly leaves like holly.
- SE. Shield: 1 and 4, *two lions passant*; 2 and 3, *three cinquefoils*, quartering *barry of six pieces and a chief*, for William Dudley, bishop of Durham, and chancellor, 1483.



FIG. 3. THE THREE PERSONS OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

(Principal key, bay 3 N).

- Between two coils of leafwork.
- E. The monogram *Wm*; also *Wm*, and to the east a curly leaf.
- NE. Shield: *barry of twelve pieces three chaplets*, for Ralph lord Greystock, 1436-1487. Between a cluster of three oak-leaves, and a coil of leafwork.
- N. The monogram *Wm*, for Nicholas Halswell, proctor in 1480; also the word *spirit* (the s broken away). To the north a coil of leafwork.
- NW. Shield: *pretty impaling three leopards*. Between two coils of leafwork.

- SW. quadrant: leafwork; the word **m[er]cy**; within a torse a bust of a woman plucking grapes.
 SE. quadrant: the monogram **JA**, for John Kemp; the word **ihc**; a letter **C** intertwined with two crossed torches, for Thomas Chaundeler.
 NE. quadrant: a spray of oak leaves; the word **hcr**; the monogram **JA**.
 NW. quadrant: a boy and grapes (?); the word **ladit**; the monogram **W** on a torse.

THIRD BAY: NORTHERN END [3 N].

(plate ix).

Principal key: on a circle with rays within, half-length figures issuing from clouds of God the Son crowned with thorns and showing his wounded hands, and of God the Father as an old man crowned and holding an orb. Between them and standing on their shoulders is God the Holy Ghost in form of a dove with splayed wings (fig. 3).

- W¹ Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp.
 W² Shield with the arms of the bishoprick of London impaling the sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two demi-angels in albes.
 W³ **ihc**
 W⁴ Three vine-leaves and grapes.
 SW¹ Two demi-angels in albes holding up an open book like that in the University arms.
 SW² The word **Ja**.
 S¹ The word **Edw'r** (*Edwardus*).
 S² The word **hcr**, { to west, the monogram **JA**.
 between { to east, the monogram **CS**.
 SE¹ Two demi-angels holding between them a doctor's cap.
 SE² The word **tu**
 E¹ Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp.
 E² Shield with the pall and cross of Canterbury impaling the three sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two feathered demi-angels.
 E³ A fantastic monogram of doubtful interpretation.
 E⁴ A human face with leaves issuing from the corners of the mouth.
 NE¹ Two demi-angels in albes holding between them a closed and clasped book.
 NE² The word **hcr**.
 N¹ The word **Qrt'** (*quartus*), with a face in the Q.
 N² Leafwork, between { to west } leafwork.
 { to east }
 NW¹ Two demi-angels in albes holding between them a doctor's cap.
 NW² The word **gl[ori]am**.

THIRD BAY: SOUTHERN END [3 S].

(plate x).

Principal key: in an irradiated circle edged with clouds, a half-length figure of Our Lady with unbound hair and crowned, within a slender

crescent, and holding in her arms the infant Christ, who has an orb in one hand and with the other is holding his left foot. (A beautiful composition) (fig. 4).

W¹ Shield: *three wheels*.

W² Shield: the bishoprick of London impaling the three sheaves of

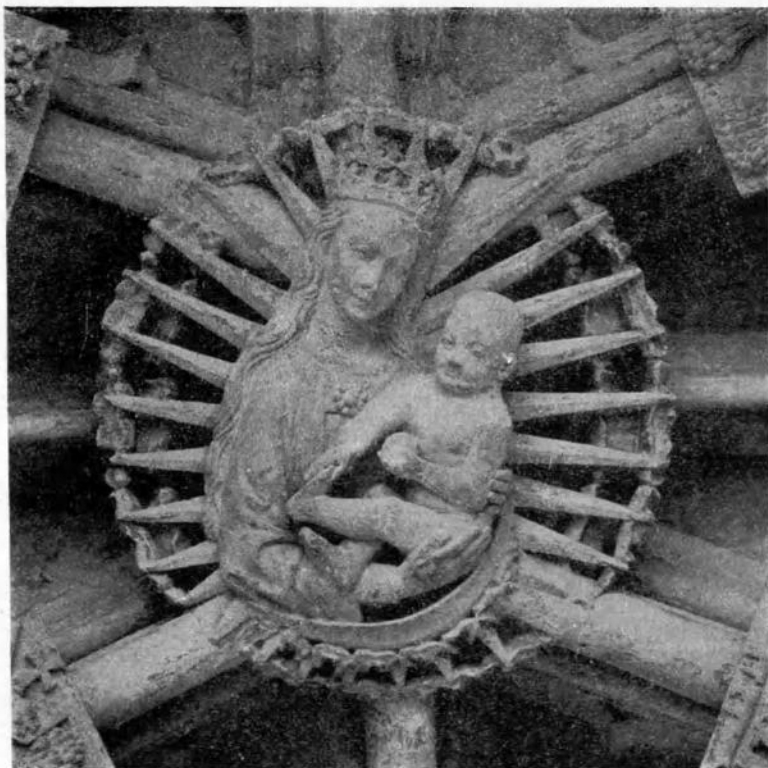


FIG. 4. OUR LADY AND CHILD.

(Principal key, bay 3 s.)

Kemp. Inserted between two earlier bosses, one with the rayed rose of King Edward IV, the other with leafwork.

W³ The word *hcn*.

W⁴ Vine leaves and grapes.

SW¹ Shield of arms of Oxford University.

SW² The word *ladi*.

S¹ A group of four leaves.

S² A sprig of oak, between two other bosses of leafwork.

SE¹ Shield: the three sheaves of Kemp.

- SE² The word m[er]cn.
 E¹ Shield of arms: *a lion rampant.*
 E² Shield with arms of Wydville and quarterings as before. Inserted
 between two leafwork bosses.
 E³ The word *ftt.*
 E⁴ A bunch of conventional oak-leaves.

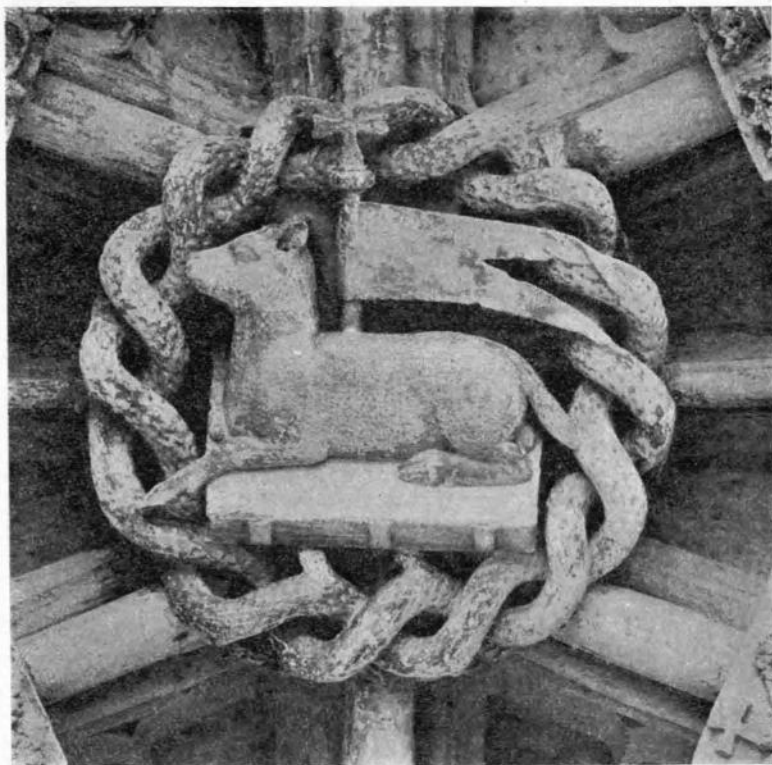


FIG. 5. THE HOLY LAMB.




(Principal key, bay 4 N.)

- NE¹ Shield of the arms of Exeter College.
 NE² The word *jsr.*
 N¹ The monogram *Th.*
 N² The monogram *LW*, to west, the letters *WS* in monogram,
 for Lionel Wydville, probably for William Sutton, vice-
 between chancellor in 1480 and later.
 to east, the monogram *JK* for John Kemp.
 NW¹ Shield with the pall and cross impaling the three sheaves of Kemp.
 NW² The word *hlp.*

FOURTH BAY : MIDDLE DIVISION [4 M].

(plates XI, XII, XIII).

Principal key : a shield of arms, the pall and cross impaling the three sheaves of Kemp, all within a border engrailed, surmounted by a cardinal's hat, and supported by two feathered angels at the sides and by a third below. For John Kemp, cardinal, and archbishop of Canterbury, 1452-1454.

- W.  in monogram ; also W in monogram. To the west, a spray of teazel.
- SW. The word *al'* on prickly leaves. Between a coil of leafwork and a vine-leaf.
- S. LW on a torse, for Lionel Wydville ; also *hrit*. To the south a twist of leafwork.
- SE. The word *of*. Between leafwork, and a group of four leaves.
- E. Two crossed torches on a letter *T*, for Thomas Chaundeler ; also a beautiful cluster of leaves. To the east, leafwork.
- NE. The word *god*. Between two clusters of leaves.
- N. The monogram *TA* ; also a pair of leaves. To the north, a pair of holly-leaves.
- NW. The word *thir[n]k* (broken). Between four small clusters of grapes, and leafwork.
- SW. quadrant : samson rending the lion ; the word *vro* ; a torse with a maple leaf.
- SE. quadrant : a sheaf (of Kemp) on a torse ; the word *gl[ori]am* ; a lion and *t[l]*, for "Lionel" (the *l* gone).
- NE. quadrant :  in monogram ; the word *Da* ; LW in monogram, for Lionel Wydville.
- NW. quadrant : a sprig of leaves ;  in monogram ; a fox carrying off a goose.

FOURTH BAY : NORTHERN END [4 N].

(plate XII).

Principal key : on a torse, the Holy Lamb with flag, lying on a book (fig. 5).

- W¹ Shield : *a bull and a border with besants*, for Walter Lyhert, bishop of Norwich, 1446-1472, and provost of Oriel.
- W² Shield : *two cheverons and three roses*, for Russell, supported by two demi-angels in feather tunics.
- W³ *r[ep]c.*
- W⁴ Leafwork.
- SW¹ Shield : the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling the three sheaves of Kemp.
- SW² A man wrestling with a muzzled bear.
- S¹ *tw'r.*

- S² Key between { to west, the monogram WS.
{ to east, the monogram thr.
- SE¹ Shield: the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London, impaling the three sheaves of Kemp.
- SE² Two prickly leaves upon a torse.
- E¹ Shield: the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling a chevron and three cinquefoils, for Henry Chichele, archbishop, 1414-1443.
- E² Shield: the three sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two demi-angels in albes.
- E³ thr.
- E⁴ Leafwork.
- NE¹ Shield of the arms of Waynflete.
- NE² The monogram W^o on a torse.
- N¹ Qt . . . (a face in the Q) [for Quartus].
- N² A pair of oak leaves, between { to west, leaves.
{ to east, leaves.
- NW¹ Shield of the arms of Oxford University.
- NW² Monogram ~~W~~ of John Kemp.

FOURTH BAY : SOUTHERN END [4 s].

(plate XIII).

Principal key: the rayed rose badge of king Edward IV, with a torse behind.

- W¹ Shield with a Bouchier knot.
W² Shield of the arms of Oxford University upheld by two demi-angels
in albes.
W³ The word *frt*.
W⁴ Leafwork.
SW¹ Shield of the arms of Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and
Wells, 1443-1464-5.
SW² The word *ladf*.
S¹ The word *de*.
S² On a torse, a spiky { to west, a spray of three leaves.
leaf, between } to east, spiky leaves radiating from a stem.
SE¹ Shield: *a mitre and three birds*.
SE² The word *m[er]en*.
E¹ Shield with the crossed swords of the bishoprick of London.
E² Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two demi-angels
in feather tunics.
E³ The word *ben*.
E⁴ Leafwork.
NE¹ Shield with the three sheaves of Kemp.
NE² The monogram *ihf*.
N¹ The word *q[if]or[ia]f[m]*.

- W² Shield: the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling the three sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two demi-angels in feather tunics.
- W³ The word *ftt*.
- W⁴ Leafwork.
- SW¹ A Kemp sheaf on a torse.
- SW² The word *ijhr*.
- S¹ Monogram *CU*.
- S² Monogram of the letters *EL* on a torse, between $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to west, LW in monogram, for} \\ \text{Lionel Wydville.} \\ \text{to east, *EB* in monogram.} \end{array} \right.$
- SE¹ Leafwork (broken).
- SE² The word *hrlp*.
- E¹ Shield with two torches in saltire.
- E² Shield of the bishoprick of London impaling the sheaves of Kemp, upheld by two demi-angels in albes.
- E³ The word *lari*.
- E⁴ A prickly leaf.
- NE¹ Shield: *a cheveron and three wolves' heads razed*, for John Chedworth, bishop of Lincoln, 1452-1472.
- NE² The word *lari*.
- N¹ A large curly leaf.
- N² A long curly leaf, between two leafy masses.
- NW¹ Broken monogram or word with *C*.
- NW² The word *m[er]cp*.

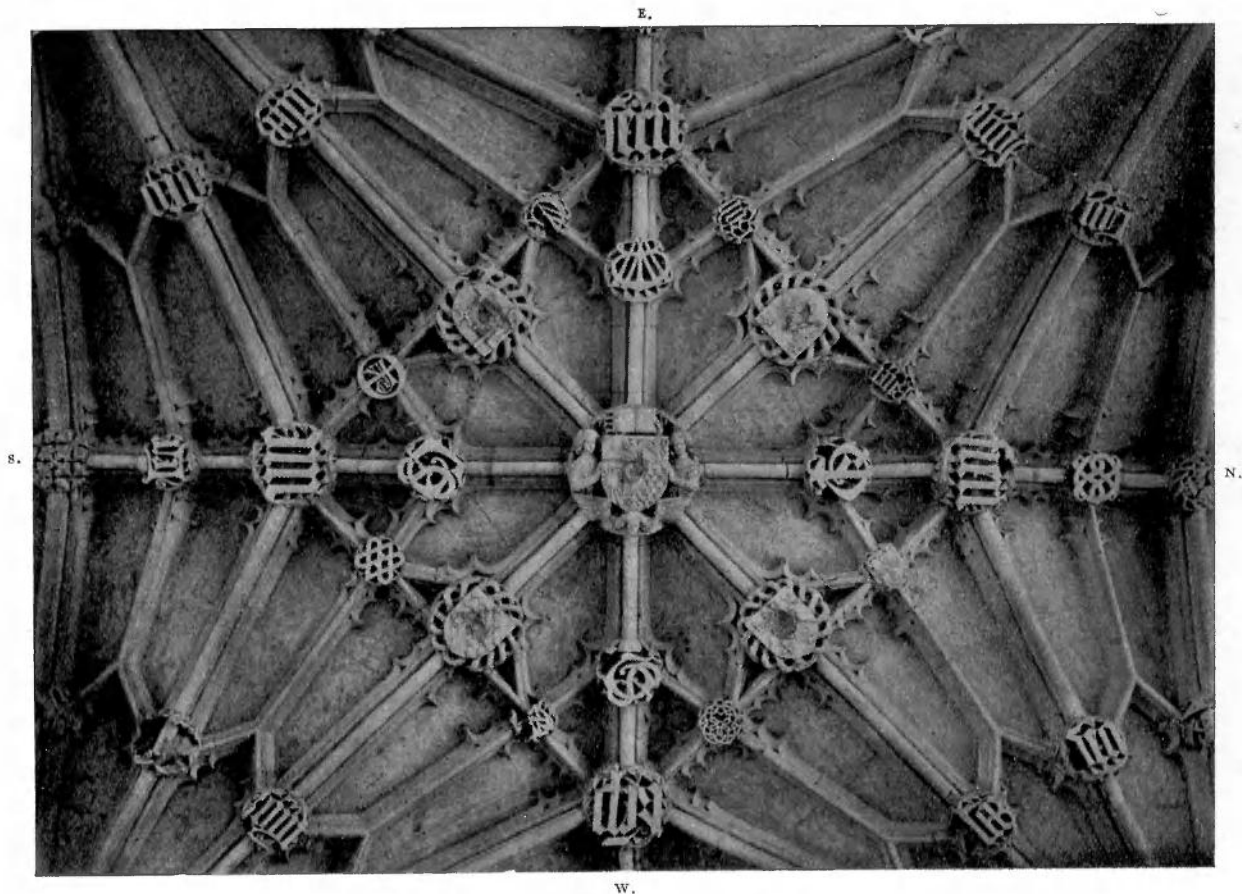
FIFTH BAY: SOUTHERN END [5 s].

(plate xvi).

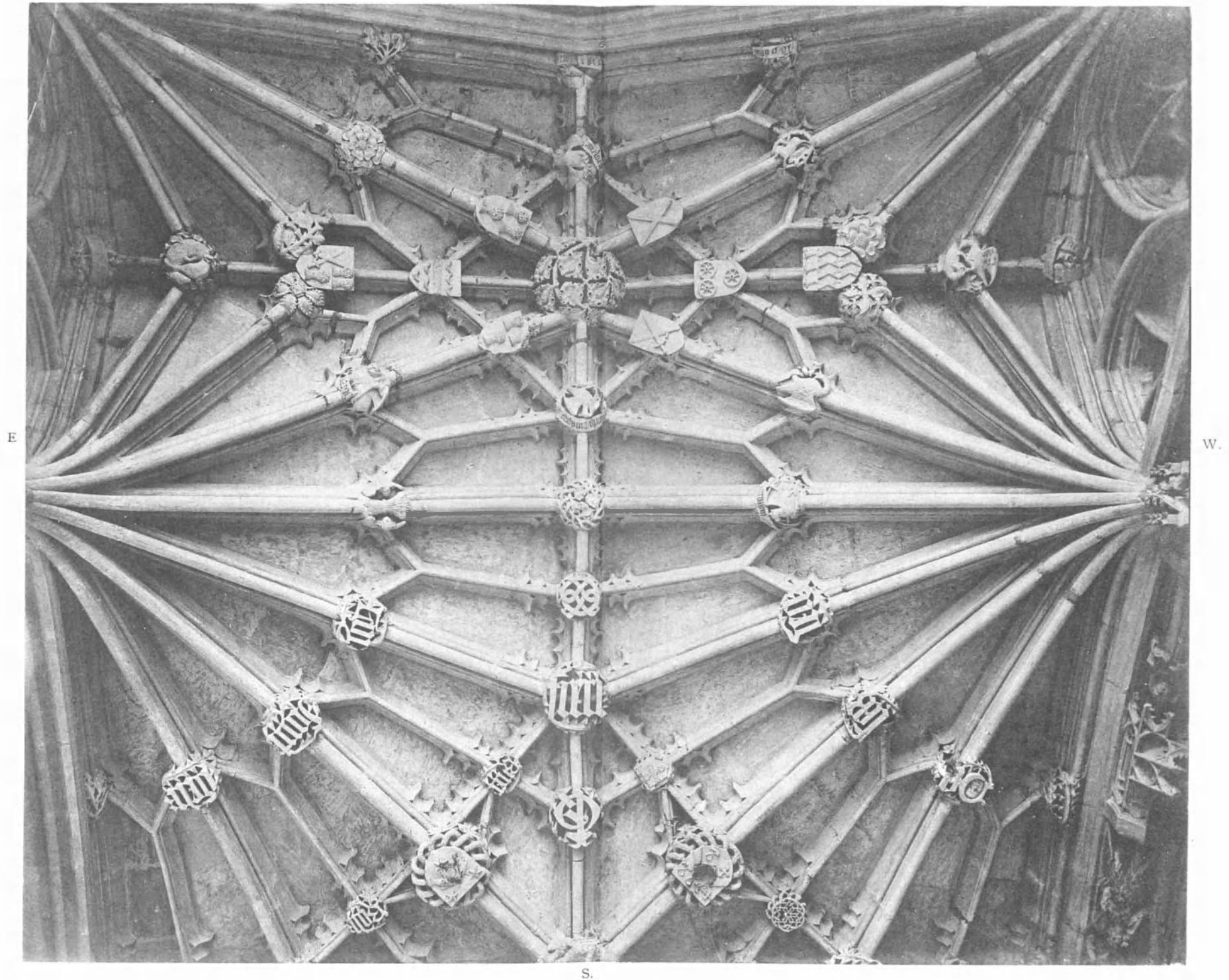
Principal key: a rich mitre within a torse intertwined with a scroll inscribed: *fecit michi magna qui pote[n]s est*.

- W¹ Shield: *a fesse and six martlets*, for Richard lord Beauchamp of Powyk, 1475-1496.
- W² Shield: arms of Waynflete upheld by two demi-angels in feather tunics.
- W³ *m[er]cp*.
- W⁴ Leafwork.
- SW¹ Shield: the bishoprick of London impaling the three sheaves of Kemp.
- SW² The word *gl[ori]am*.
- S¹ The word *tru*.
- S² A long leaf, between two leafwork bosses.
- SE¹ Shield: the pall and cross of the archbishoprick of Canterbury impaling the three sheaves of Kemp.
- SE² The word *Da*.
- E¹ Shield: *three wheels*.

- E² Shield of Oxford University, upheld by two demi-angels in albes.
 E³ The word **ih̄c**.
 E⁴ Leafwork.
 NE¹ Shield with the Five Wounds of our Lord.
 NE² Monogram **TK** of Thomas Kemp.
 N¹ The word **soit**.
 N² The word **Lion** between { to the west, a lion and **LI**, for Lionel.
 | to the east, a Kemp sheaf on a **torse**.
 NW¹ Shield: *three boars' heads between two bends*.
 NW² The word **dro**.



DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: MIDDLE DIVISION, FIRST BAY.



S.

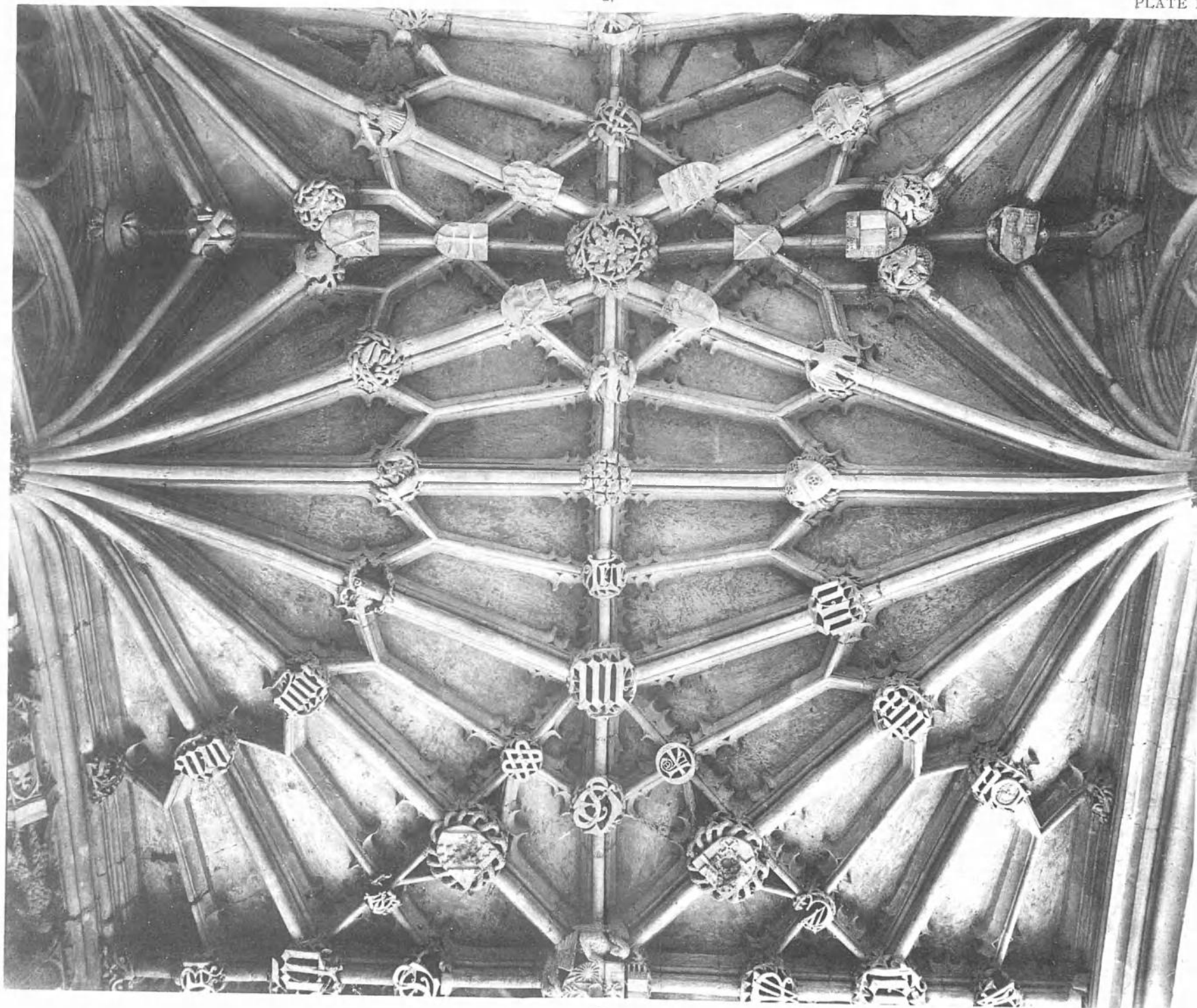
PLATE IV.

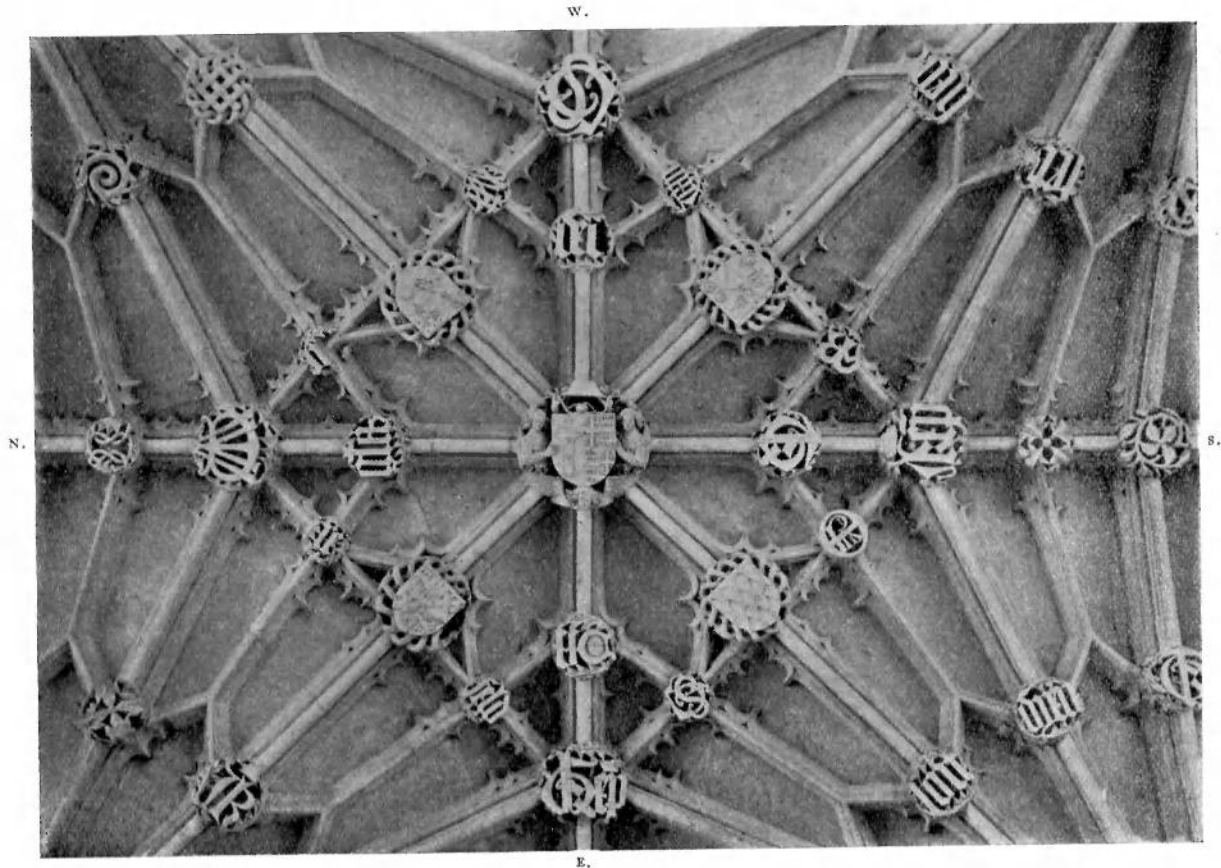
W.

E.

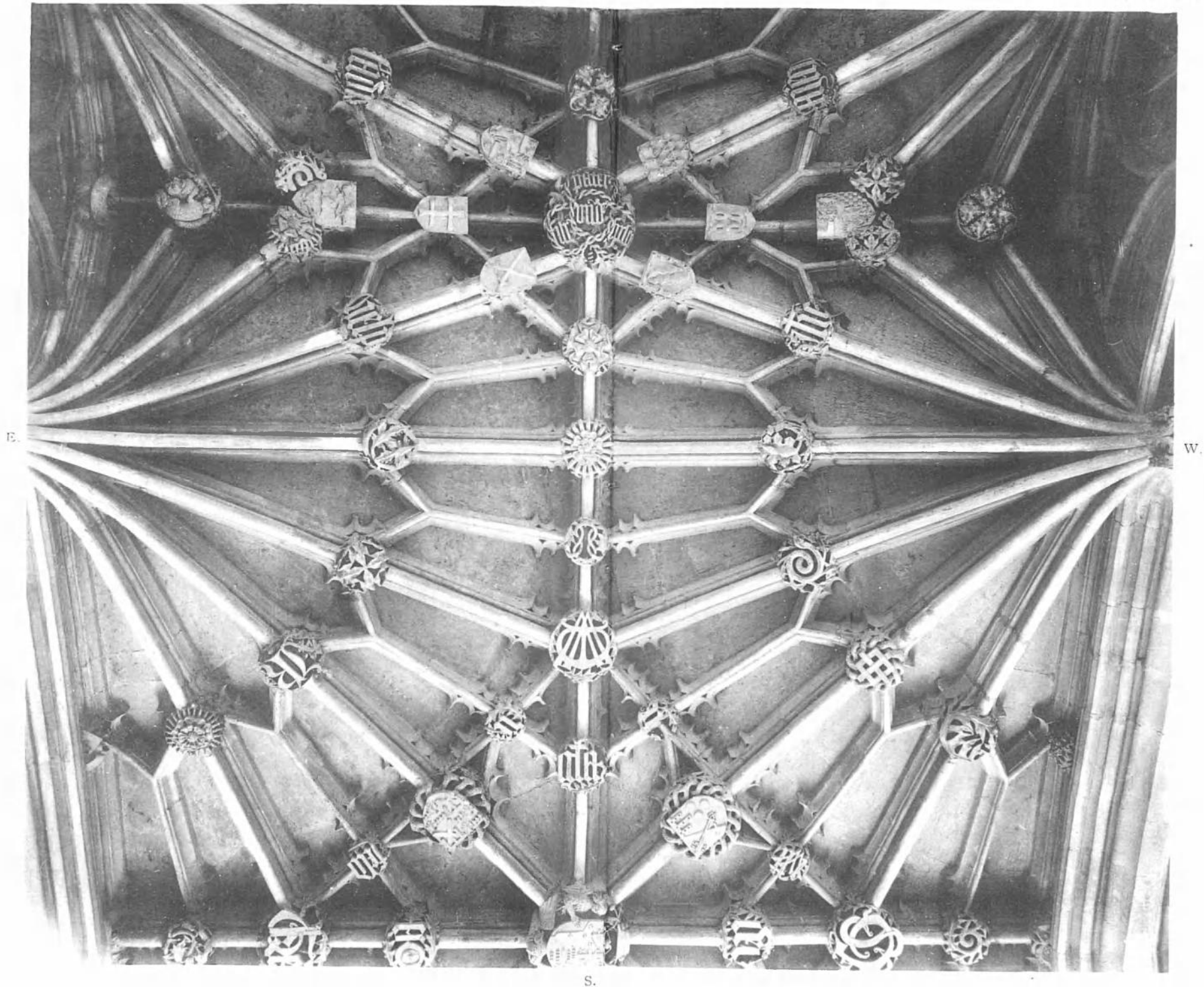
N.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: FIRST BAY, SOUTHERN HALF





DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT : MIDDLE DIVISION, SECOND BAY.



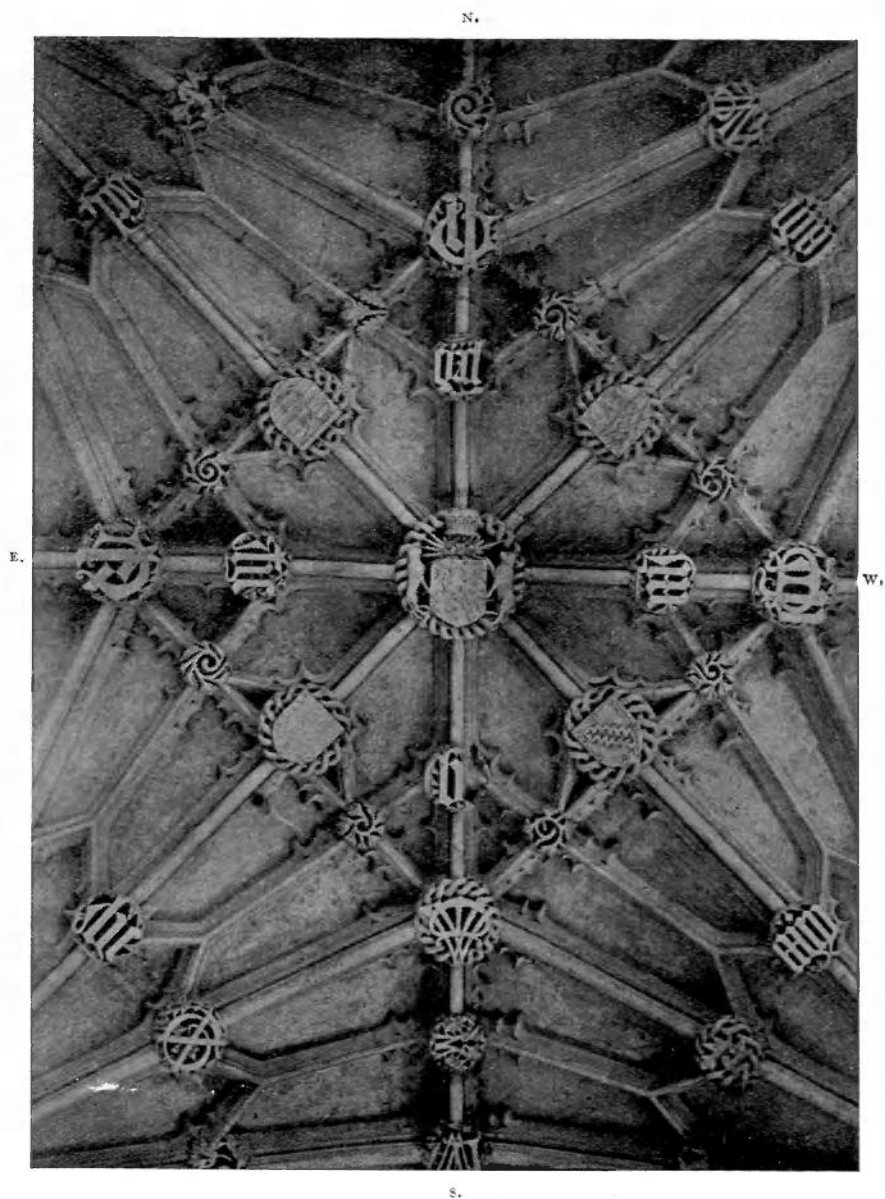
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: SECOND BAY, NORTHERN HALF.

W.

E.

N.

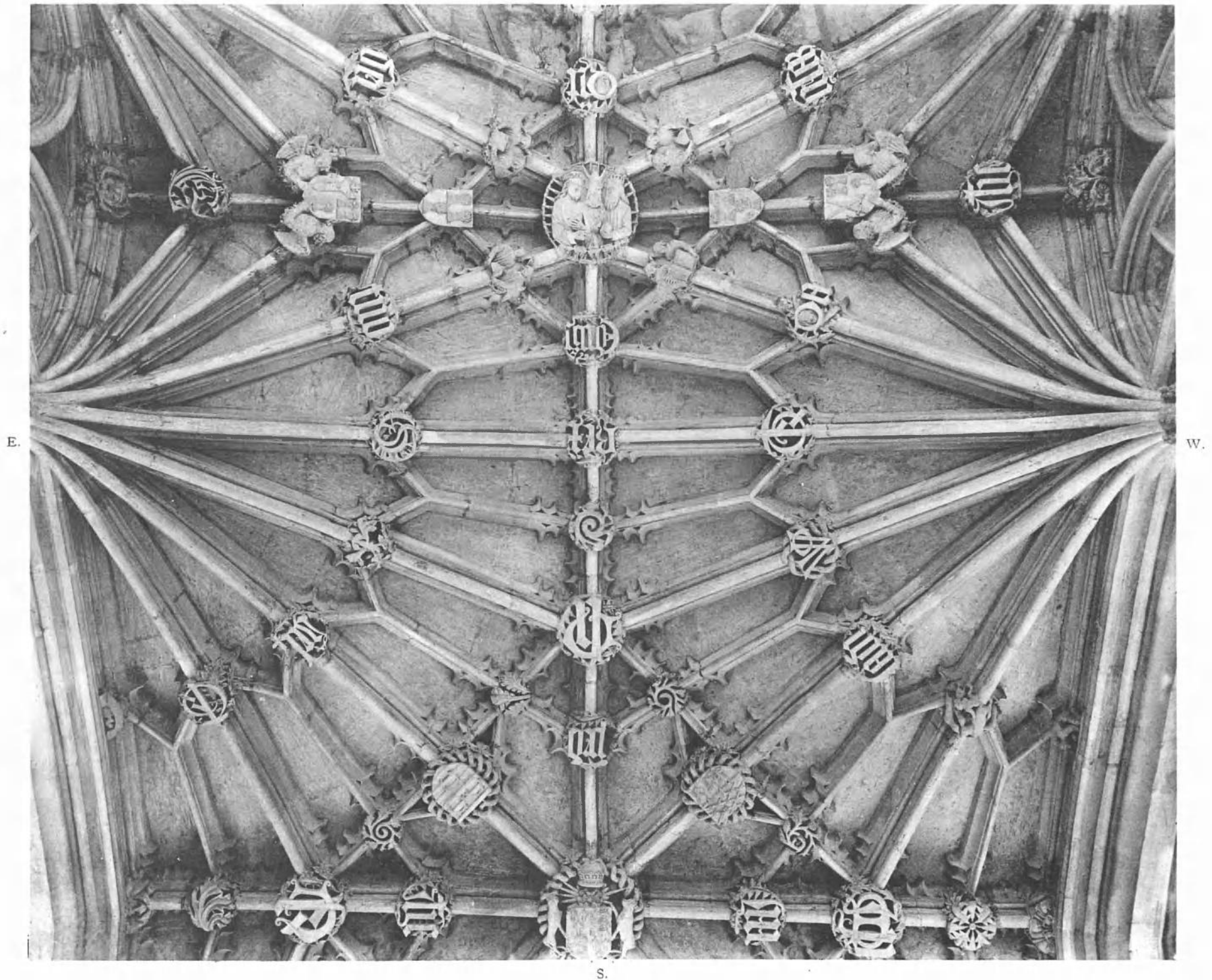
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: SECOND BAY, SOUTHERN HALF.



DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT : MIDDLE DIVISION, THIRD BAY.

N.

PLATE IX.



E.

W.

S.

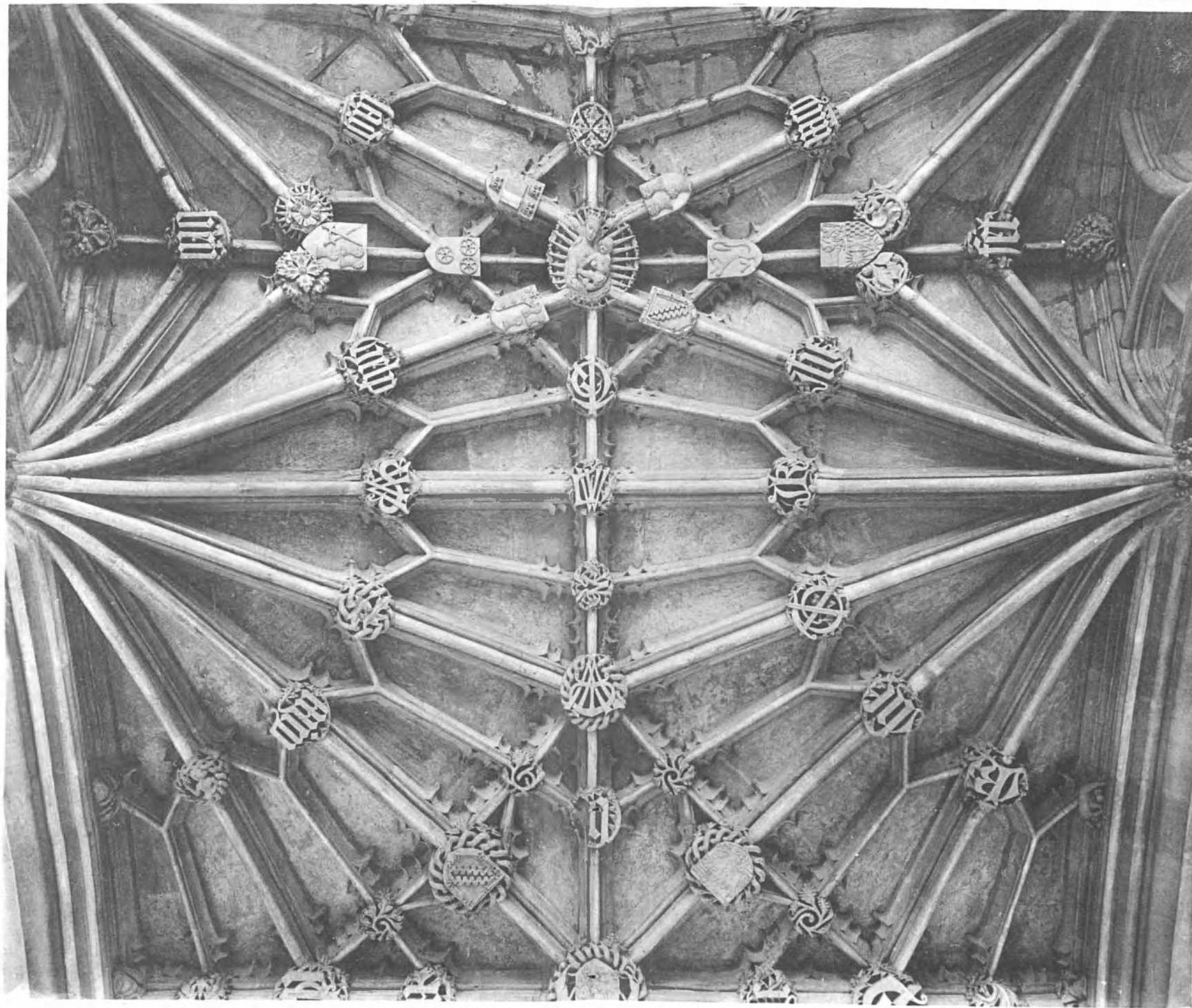
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: THIRD BAY, NORTHERN HALF.

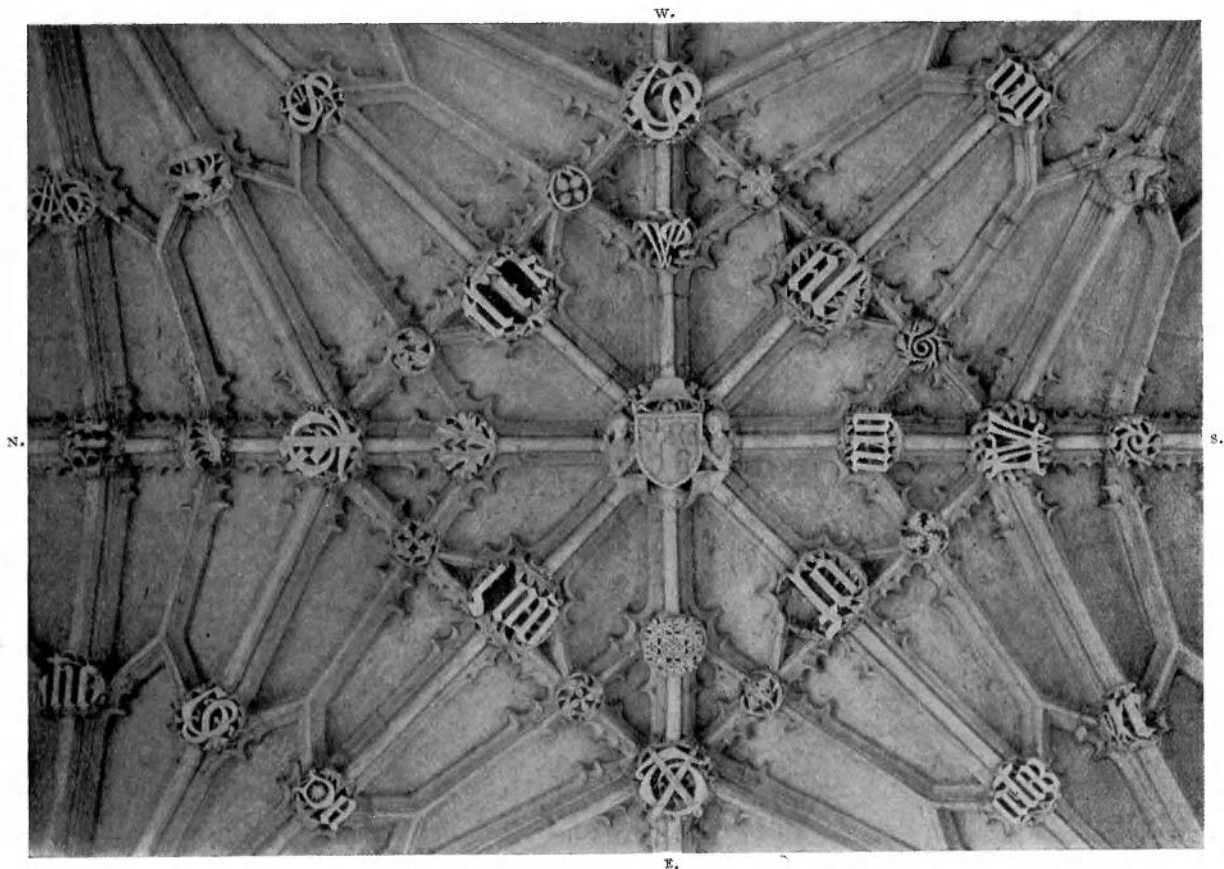
W.

E.

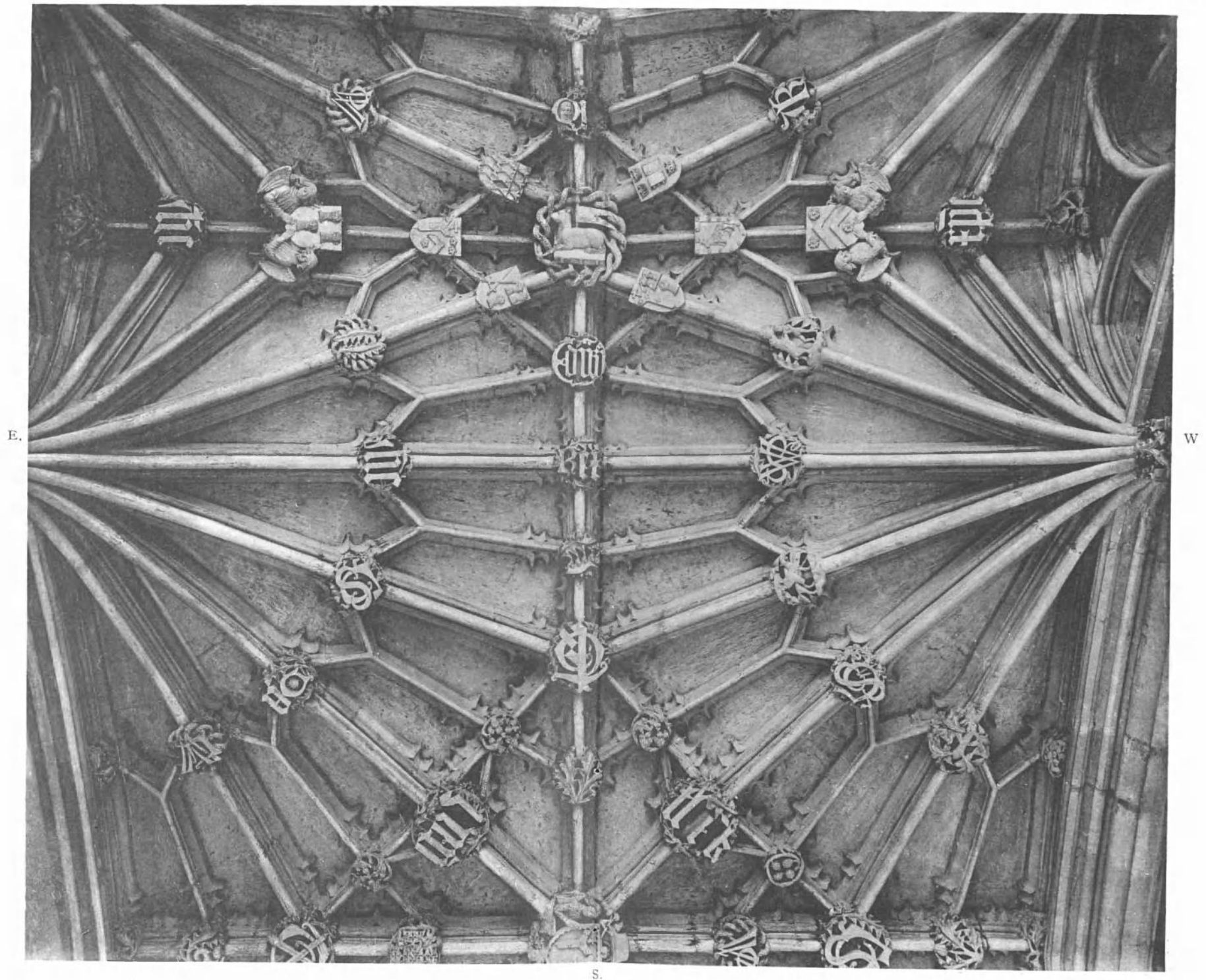
N

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: THIRD BAY, SOUTHERN HALF.

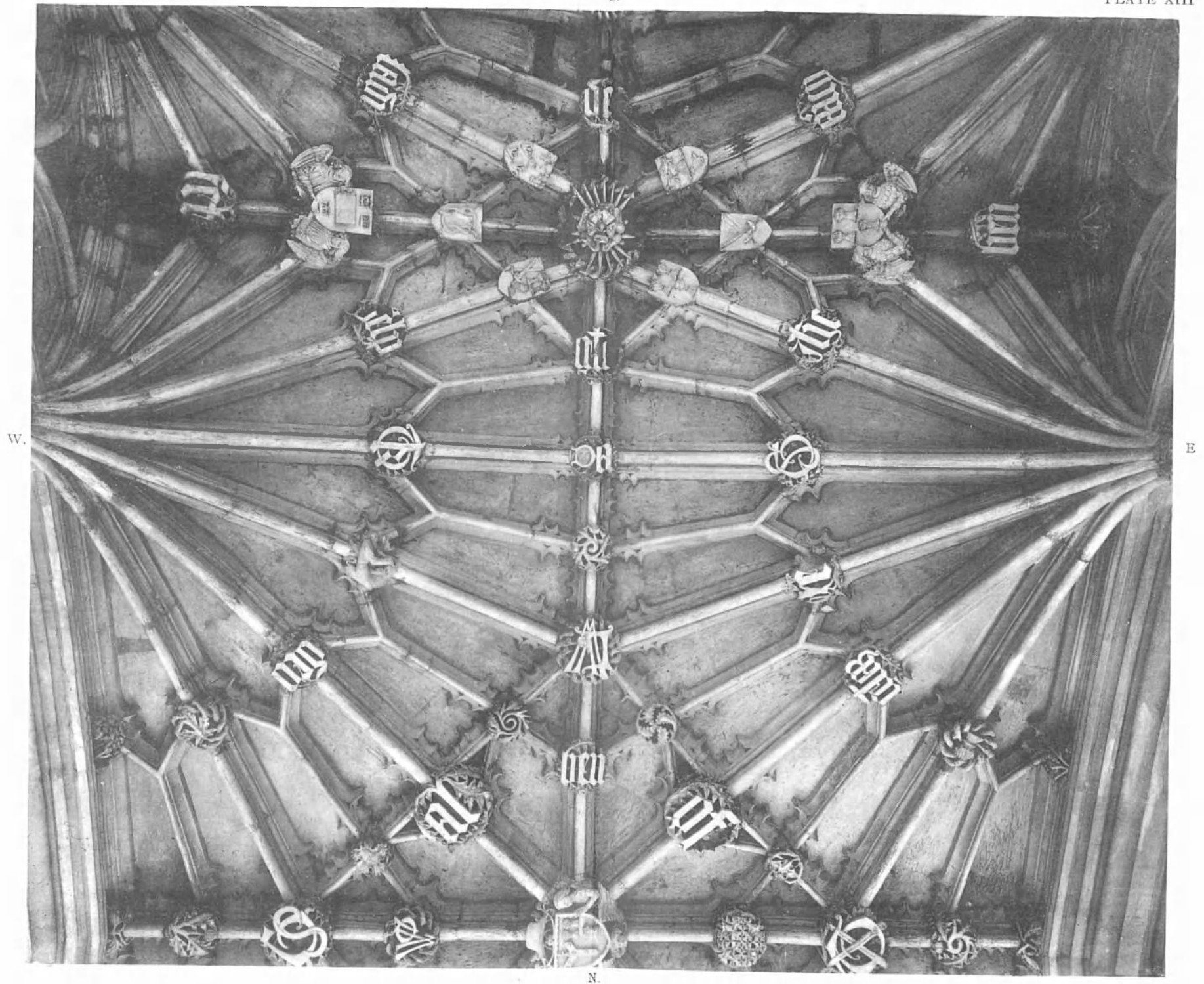




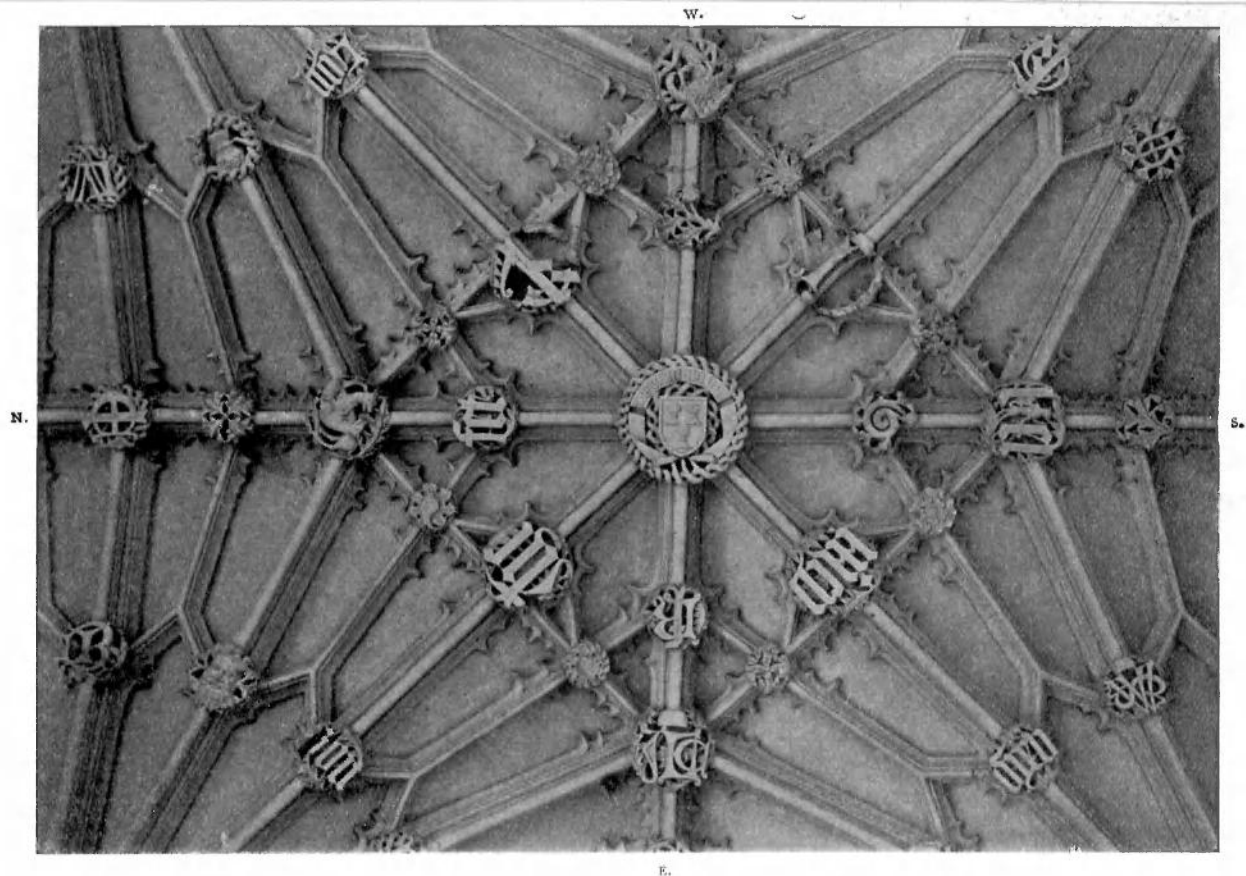
DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: MIDDLE DIVISION, FOURTH BAY.



THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: FOURTH BAY, NORTHERN HALF.



THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: FOURTH BAY, SOUTHERN HALF.



DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT : MIDDLE DIVISION, FIFTH BAY.

N.

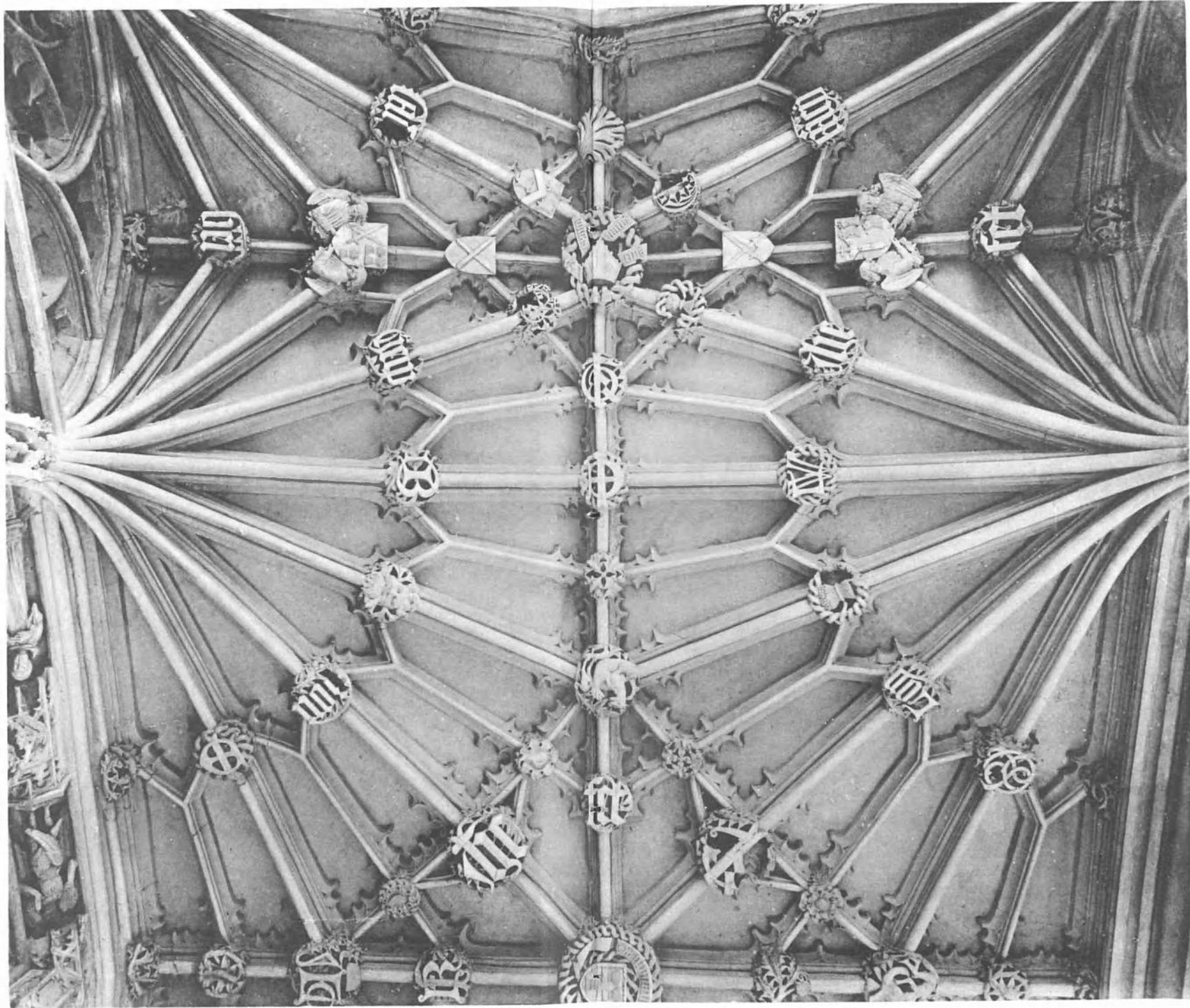
PLATE XV.

E

W.

S.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: FIFTH BAY, NORTHERN HALF.



S.

PLATE XVI.

W.

E.

N.

THE DIVINITY SCHOOL VAULT: FIFTH BAY, SOUTHERN HALF.

