

The architecture, patronage and date of St Winefride's Well, Holywell

By RICK TURNER¹

Seven Wonders of Wales
Pistyll Rhaedr and Wrexham steeple,
Snowden's mountains without its people.
Overton yew trees, St Winifred's wells,
Llangollen bridge and Gresford Bells.
(anon, late eighteenth-century)

The remarkable late Perpendicular chapel at St Winefride's Well, Holywell, Flintshire, has justifiably been considered as one of the Seven Wonders of Wales. This article looks in detail at the earlier history of buildings on this site and then at the design, plan and architectural ornament of the surviving chapel. The evidence of an awdl (praise poem) by the Welsh poet Sion ap Hywel, recent tree-ring dating of the Upper Chapel roof timbers, and a reconsideration of its architectural parallels, all indicate a date of construction in the period 1512–25, at least a decade later than previous thought. The new date range suggest that the patron of the chapel was Thomas Pennant, abbot of Basingwerk (c. 1481–1522), rather than Sir William Stanley (d. 1495), his elder brother, Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby (d. 1504), or Thomas' wife Lady Margaret Beaufort (d. 1509), or a combination of all three.

EARLIER BUILDINGS AT THE SITE OF ST WINEFRIDE'S MARTYRDOM AT HOLYWELL

There is no structural or pictorial evidence for a chapel over the gushing natural well of St Winefride that pre-dates the existing building. Documentary references to earlier buildings on this site are sparse. The first mention of a chapel or church was in the gift of Adeliza, wife of Earl Hugh of Chester, to the monks of St Werburgh's Abbey in Chester in 1093.² This grant was confirmed by her son, Richard, in 1119. The foundation of the Savignac Basingwerk Abbey in 1131–32, created a rival institution to St Werburghs. In 1135, Robert de Pierrepont granted the town and church of Holywell to Basingwerk. The Normans were expelled from north Wales in 1138 but the church and well at Holywell remained with Basingwerk until 1153. In 1157, Henry II returned the site to St Werburghs, but by 1196, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth had recaptured this part of Wales and transferred the shrine back to Basingwerk. This grant was confirmed by his son Dafydd in 1240, and St Winefride's Well and the parish church remained part of Basingwerk Abbey's estate until the suppression of the monastery.³

There are two mid-twelfth-century lives of St Winefride which contain information about the topography and layout of the shrine at Holywell. Both the *Anonymous Life* or *Vita Prima* and Prior Robert's *Life and Translation of St Winefride* or the *Vita Secunda* give the same basic legend of Winefride's martyrdom.⁴ Beuno, a holy man from Powys, had established a church at Holywell. Winefride's parents were attending mass preached by Beuno in a church he had established locally. She remained at home nearby, and it



Fig. 1. General view of St Winefride's Well and the parish church at Holywell. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

was here that she was visited and propositioned by Caradog, a local lord. Making the excuse that she wanted to change, to do him proper respect, she left the house by a rear door and ran toward the church. Enraged with lust, he caught up with her before she could reach its sanctuary and cut off her head. On the spot where it fell 'a most clear spring burst forth'. Her body remained outside the church but her head tumbled into the church 'situated at the foot of a certain slope', and 'it was on the descent of that mountain that the head of the maiden was cut off'.⁵ Beuno came out of the church with Winefride's head. He chastised Caradog who died instantly and witnesses say that his body was swallowed up by the earth. Beuno replaced Winefride's head alongside her body, and covered both with a cloak. Returning inside the church he said another mass, and came out and preached a sermon over her body in which he commanded God to return her soul to her body. Miraculously, Winefride arose bearing only a white scar around her neck as the sign of her martyrdom.⁶

Attached to the *Anonymous Life* is a list of miracles recorded at St Winefride's Well. These miracles include references to the buildings that were there at or before the time that this text was written in the mid-twelfth century. The complex seemed to have been contained within an estate. The church was separate from the well, which is also described as a spring or fountain. Pilgrims would pray and spend vigils in the church before going to bathe in the well. Within the well were loose stones on which the virgin's blood survived. Beuno's stone was in a pool below the well, and efforts to move it were

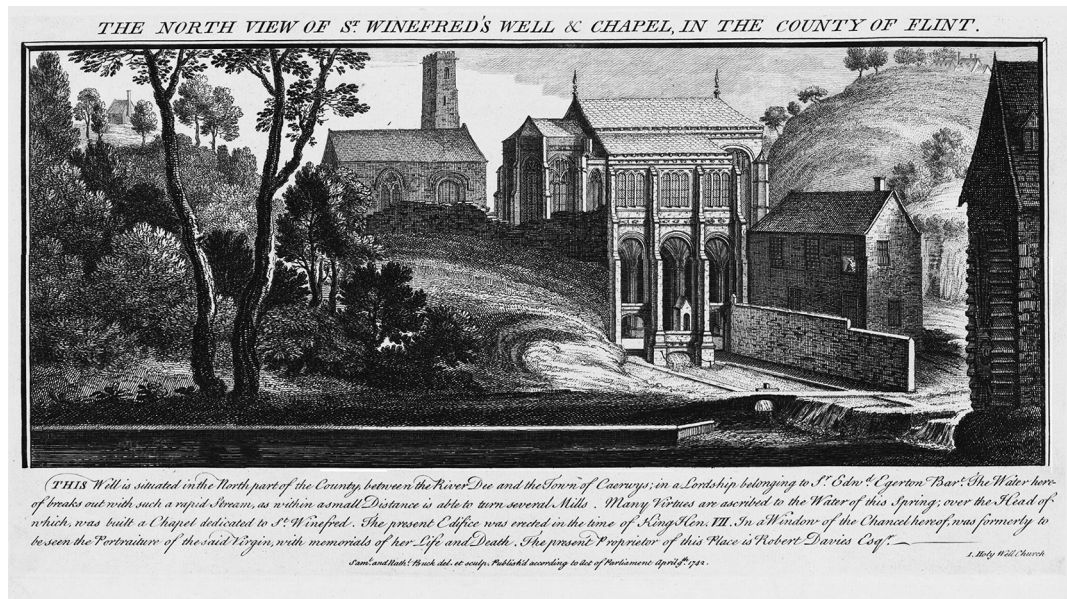


Fig. 2. View of St Winefride's Well by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, published in 1742.

unsuccessful. One French knight recognised the potential for establishing a mill on the stream erupting from the spring.⁷

The abbot and monks of St Werburgh complained to Archbishop Hubert Walter (1193–1209) that: 'In the wars with the princes of Wales they had lost their Church at Halliwell which was £100 value'.⁸ In 1240, David ap Llewelyn confirmed the grant of possession of the parish church to Basingwerk Abbey, who were to retain the building, manage the pilgrims and collect their offerings, until the Dissolution three hundred years later. In 1284, the monks received one mark (13s 8d) compensation resulting from damage caused by Edward I's army to Holywell Church.⁹ At an unspecified date Richard II made a gift of a chantry at Holywell, to be paid for by income from the king's mills at Disserth and Pentre, Flintshire.¹⁰ On 16 August 1398, he gave the vicar 'a grant to, during pleasure, of 6d a day, the said Benedict being about to erect a house at Haliwell, where poor pilgrims visiting "St Winefrith of Haliwell" might be received and entertained'.¹¹ So, by the end of the fourteenth century the sacred site seems to have consisted of an unenclosed natural spring, a church at a point below the spring and a separate pilgrim's hostel.

A description of what appears to have been the first chapel over the well at Holywell has been recently discovered. It was written by the Augustinian friar Osbern Bokenham (c. 1392–1464) of Clare Priory, Suffolk. He produced a collection of female saints' lives written in English verse, mainly derived from Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, but with some additional lives of British saints.¹² One manuscript has a *Lyf of Seynt Wenefrede*.¹³ In it Bokenham mentions that he made a pilgrimage to Holywell in 1448. He describes the chapel that he saw:

King henry the fourte for the tendyr love
 Wich he had to this virgin pure
 Dede maken a chapel over the welle above
 Myhty and strong for to endure

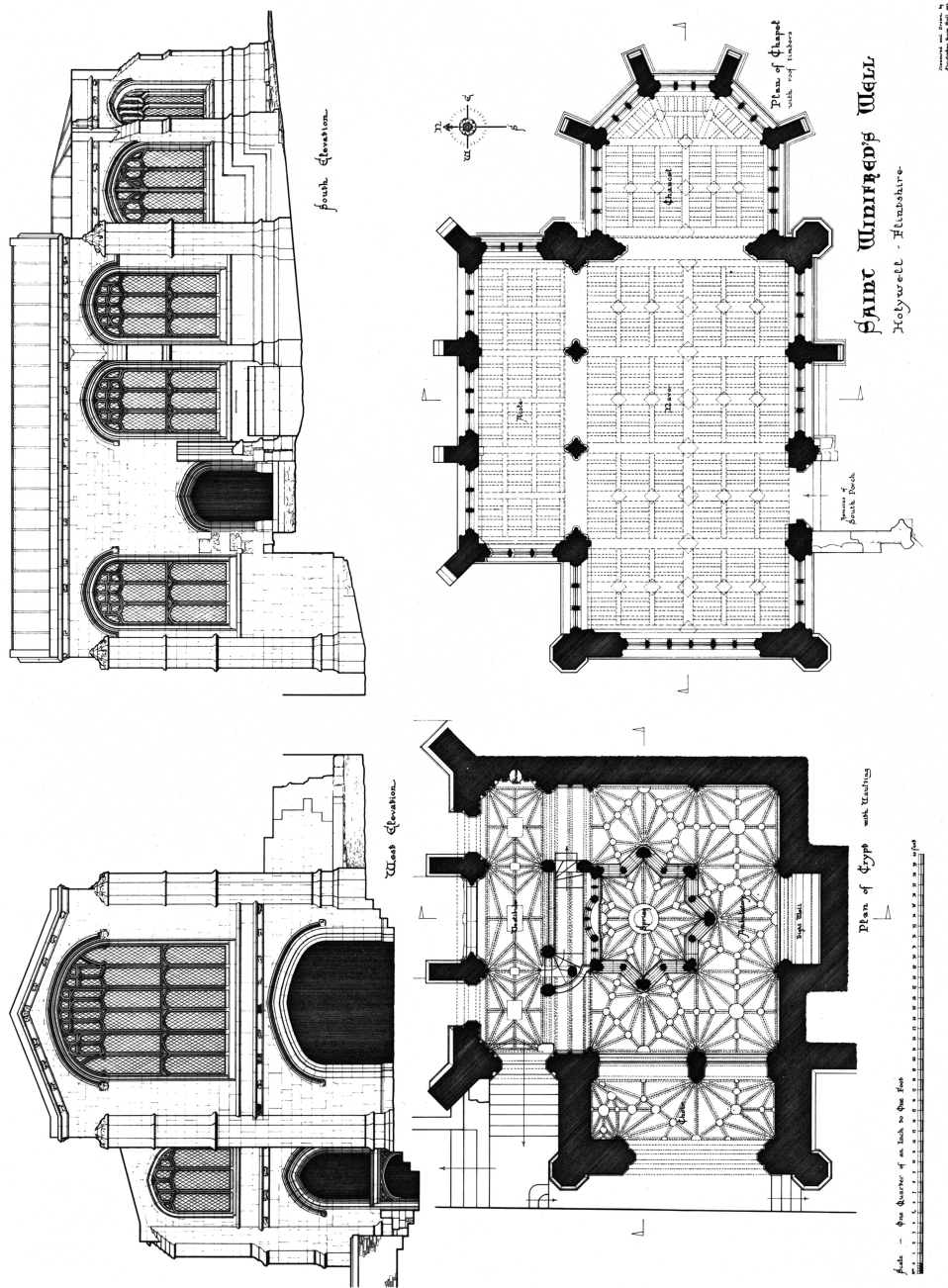


Fig. 3. Plans and elevations of St Winefride's Well, measured and drawn by Christopher Fyson Stell in 1953. © Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.

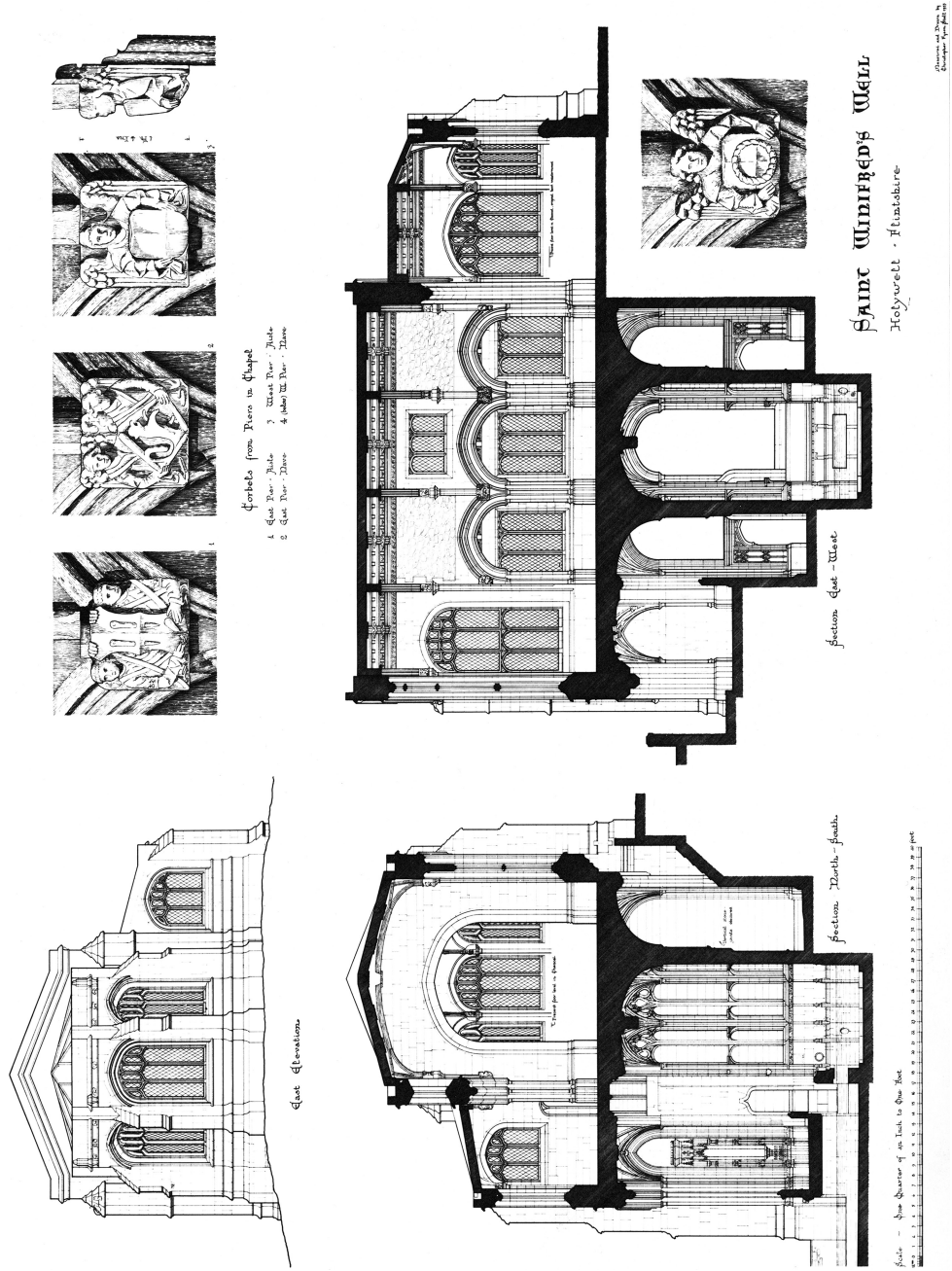


Fig. 4. Sections, elevations and details of St Winefride's Well, measured and drawn by Christopher Fyson Stiel in 1953.
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Fig. 5. The south porch of the parish church and the Upper Chapel at Holywell.
Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.

On thre partys closing yt in sure
 And that no man presумы should to com ther ny
 A gret grate ys sette on the fourte party.

(King Henry the Fourth, for the tender love that he had to the virgin pure, did make a chapel over the well above, mighty and strong to endure, on three sides closing it in sure, and that no man should presume to come near there, a great gate is set on the fourth side.)¹⁴

The poem continues to describe a friar from Coventry who was not satisfied with bathing in the waters issuing forth from the grate. He thrust in his arms and when he withdrew them they were spotted with Winefride's blood, just as the stones in the spring, and he could not wash these marks off. He then went to pray to the saint in the chapel over the well and when he next thrust his arms through the grate they came out clean.¹⁵

The motive for Henry IV's patronage seems to have been the saving of his son Prince Henry's life after an arrow lodged in his skull during the king's victory at the Battle of Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403. There is some evidence that the wounded prince was taken to St Winefride's shrine in Shrewsbury Abbey after the battle and he was to show special favour to the cult of St Winefride after he became Henry V.¹⁶

Despite its royal patronage, the chapel seems to have suffered neglect, for in 1427, Pope Martin V entrusted indulgences to the monks of Basingwerk for the benefit of those who: 'Should visit and give alms to the Chapel of St Winefride called Halliwell in the diocese of St Asaph, the buildings of which have now collapsed'.¹⁷ This reference is puzzling given that the chapel had been built by Henry IV only a



Fig. 6. The interior of the Upper Chapel looking east. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

quarter of a century earlier and Bokenham describes a functioning building in the 1440s. It may imply that the earlier church below the well was abandoned when the present parish church, whose earliest surviving part is the late fifteenth-century tower, was built. The Buck Brothers view of 1742 (Fig. 2) shows an earlier medieval nave which was rebuilt later in the eighteenth century by what survives today.¹⁸

Thus, the present well chapel appears to be but the last of a sequence of structures built at the site from possibly the late eleventh century but certainly the early fifteenth century. The form of these earlier structures and even the materials from which they were constructed remain uncertain, but the poem's references to a three-sided structure with a gate in front certainly echoes the existing well. Given the existing topography, the structure would have had to be strong enough to withstand the height of revetment and the ever present water courses running alongside and over the drop. Presumably, therefore, the earlier structure would have been of stone rather than wood but possibly insufficiently robust to withstand the challenging conditions imposed by the site.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT CHAPEL

The present chapel is a remarkable example of a late Perpendicular building, without an exact parallel in Wales and England (Fig. 1). It can be divided into two parts. The lower or Well Chapel is almost square with the natural well at its centre gushing out a constant stream of water, which was much more powerful than that seen today.¹⁹ It occupies a very problematic site set a few metres west of and a little lower than the parish church. To construct the Well Chapel, rock would have been cut away and substantial revetment



Fig. 7. The priest's door in the north-east angle of the Upper Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

walls were needed to the north and east. The Upper Chapel is part of the same design as shown by the way that the corner and intermediate buttresses rise the full height of the building. The plan of the Upper Chapel is dependent on the plan of the Well Chapel (Figs 3–4). The building was not made of local sandstone, but of stone imported from the Storeton/Bebington quarries on the Wirral, part of the Tudor estates of the Stanleys of Hooton.²⁰

The arrangement of the church and chapels at Holywell is very compact, and they are entered at different levels. At many pilgrimage sites, pilgrims would enter a number of chapels to pray on their approach to the saint's shrine.²¹ At each point, they would increase their level of purity, before reaching the shrine itself. In the case of St Winefride's Well, the intended purification route progressed from the upper level downwards, exactly the opposite to how the site is approached and explored today.



Fig. 8. A nave window in the Upper Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

Tudor pilgrims could gather in the parish church for their first prayers. However, the place where the saint's head fell and the miraculous spring burst forth is now contained within St Winefride's Chapel, a short distance from, and at a lower level than the south door of the parish church (Fig. 5). Pilgrims could first see down into the well basin via the light well, constructed within the north wall of the Upper Chapel.²²

Pilgrims entered into the Upper Chapel by the south porch, which seems to have been at the then ground level, but whose walls are now much reduced. The chapel is divided into a large rectangular and now open nave, a shorter and lower north aisle and a semi-octagonal chancel (Fig. 6). The narrow door in the angle of the north aisle and the chancel may have been for the priest to enter the chapel from the church, allowing him to come in unnoticed (Fig. 7). The interior now appears very plain with undecorated



Fig. 9. The ceiling of the chancel of the Upper Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

walls and a plain, lime-concrete floor. There are sockets in the chancel arch responds that suggest there may have been a rood beam and figures.²³ Around the chancel is a narrow, chamfered stone bench but otherwise there is no evidence for where the pilgrims may have been seated. There is no cusping in the window tracery of the Upper Chapel, which has basket arches below and flattened ogee arches above, with a more elaborate pattern of lights within the arch head (Fig. 8). The wooden nave and north transept roofs are largely original and consist of heavily-moulded, four-centred arched trusses, decorated with flat, foliage bosses. The chancel roof is semi-octagonal and uses the same decoration as the nave roof (Fig. 9). Some traces of paint are visible within the deeper recesses of the moulded timbers. It was the timbers in the chancel roof that produced a latest felling date of 1525.²⁴

The nave is large enough to have received a number of pilgrims, who then may have entered the chancel in smaller numbers. The chancel seems to require something at its centre, perhaps a statue of St Winefride, which the pilgrims could contemplate or pray to whilst sitting on the stone benches.²⁵ After prayer they could circle around and leave the chancel. The north aisle could have been dedicated to another saint, perhaps Beuno, or more likely, given the iconography in the passage beneath, the Virgin Mary. The trusses spring from carved corbels, some in wood, some in stone, which are listed in the Appendix and a selection is shown on Figure 10. There is no clear pattern to the iconography of the corbels in the Upper Chapel (see Appendix, G). There are animals both real (such as a beaver and two lions) and mythological (including a lencrota and a mantichora). There are two scenes which may represent the seasons, two emblems (one of the Hopton family and one of the Stanleys)²⁶, and a number of blank shields held by supporters. The only two overtly religious subjects are in the chancel, where an angel holds a vase of lilies (an emblem of the Virgin Mary), and another, a shield showing the five wounds of Christ.



Fig. 10. Corbels and truss feet in the Upper Chapel. Stone corbels on north wall of nave: **a** (top left) Angel carrying garlanded cross (Appendix, G, no. 10, see also Fig. 4, bottom right); **b** (top right) Man and woman holding a lozenge-shaped shield or female heraldic badge (Appendix, G, no. 12, see also Fig. 4, top middle); Wooden truss feet: **c** (bottom left) Hopton family rebus, on the south wall of the nave (Appendix, G, no. 3); **d** (bottom right) Tumblers, on the north side of the chancel (Appendix, G, no. 24). Photographs: Lee Wilkinson.

These features are what has survived the impact of the Reformation and the later reuses of the Upper Chapel. John Speed provides the first eyewitness description and illustration of the well in his *Theatre of Great Britain*, first published in 1611. He writes:

Over the head of the spring there is built a chapel of free stone, with Pillars curiously wrought and ingraven, in the Chancell, whereof, and glasse window, the picture of the Virgin is drawne, together with the memorial of her life and death.²⁷

The cartouche of the Buck Brothers engraving of 1742 (Fig. 2) records that: ‘In a window of the Chancel hereof was formerly to be seen the Portraiture of the said Virgin [Winefride], with memorials of her Life and Death’. As Glanmor Williams writes:



Fig. 11. **a** (left) The original doorway into the Well Chapel; **b** (below) dragon and Legs of Man in the spandrels of the doorway. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*





Fig. 12. The main statue niche with a modern statue of St Winefride in the Well Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

It [the Upper Chapel] was probably aglow with stained glass windows, embellished with delicately wrought images, statues, frescoes and other paintings, accomplished chalices and crucifixes in precious metal, and jewellery, magnificent and colourful vestments and other similar ecclesiastical fitments and furnishings.²⁸



Fig. 13. The star-shaped well basin and base of the mullioned window in the Well Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

On leaving the Upper Chapel by the south porch, pilgrims would turn right down some steps and so pass around the west end of the chapel. This area is now confined and contained by the present road, raised upon its embankment. However, an early eighteenth-century print shows a wide sinuous lane running at a lower level alongside the west end.²⁹ The steps took the pilgrims down to the broad open archway, forming the entrance into the gallery overlooking the well basin. Above the apex of the archway is a portcullis (a badge of the Beaufort family) in amongst the band of carved animals. Amongst the bosses in the vault above the gallery are one of the eagle and child (a Stanley badge) and the carved head of an abbot — taken to be Thomas (c. 1481–1524) or Nicholas Pennant (1525–36), both of Basingwerk.³⁰ In a poem written about a visit he made to the shrine in 1636 the Reverend Richard James describes how:

They builde a structure, chappell, cloysters rownd
 Aboute ye well; to put of cloathes they founde
 A joining roome: in seventh Harry's time.³¹

The gallery was probably this joining room, where pilgrims could watch earlier arrivals perform their observances, perhaps change into clothes more suitable for bathing, and wait for their turn.

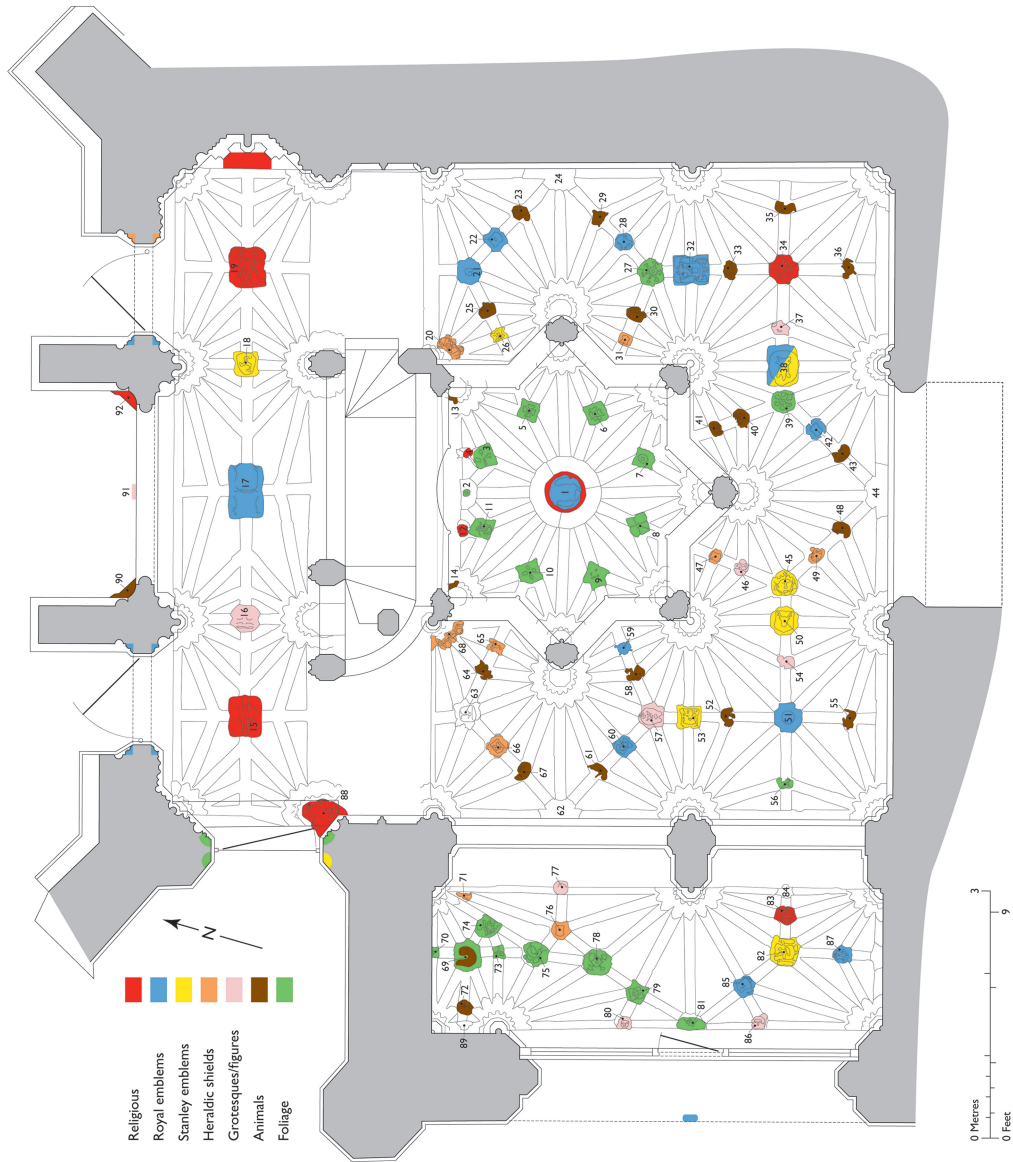


Fig. 14. Plan of the bosses in the vault of the Well Chapel. © Crown copyright. Cadw, Welsh Government.



Fig. 15. The pendant boss over the well basin with the Garter arms on the base, six panels showing the life of St Winefride around the drum and angels in the top. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

Departing the gallery, there are more steps, which turn around the north-west corner of the chapel down to what was the principal doorway into the Well Chapel, set below an unglazed window. It is broader and more ornate than the two doorways in the north wall. On the exterior within a spandrel is the Legs of Man, a Stanley emblem (Fig. 11). Entering through the doorway the pilgrim would be looking down the straight passage alongside the well basin, directly towards the very elaborate and crocketed niche in the opposite wall.³² Thomas Pennant records that it held a statue of the Virgin Mary; ‘pulled down, as I have been informed, in the year 1635’.³³ The niche currently houses a statue of St Winefride placed there in 1886 (Fig. 12).³⁴

The well or spring is contained within a basin laid out as an eight-pointed star, except that the northernmost point is replaced by a five-mullioned oriel window through which the water flowed (Fig. 13).³⁵ The edge of the basin is carved with a running moss ornament and above there was a network of two-tiers of basket-arched unglazed lights, allowing pilgrims to lean in and view the miraculous spring. Pilgrims bathe alongside the stellar basin by passing through a doorway leading to a curving flight of steps down into a deep pool in front of the oriel window through which the well water gushed. This is a later entrance, for the original doorway to the pool is now blocked by a masonry pier, inserted to support a failing lintel. At the far end of the pool is a second flight of steps leading up to the ambulatory running around the sides of the basin.

There is a complex series of symmetrical vaults needed to reconcile the vault about the stellar basin with the square frame of the Well Chapel, and the passage and corridor on its south side. Figure 14 shows the layout of the bosses in the vault and other carved elements around the main entrances into



Fig. 16. Bosses in the vault of the Well Chapel: **a** (top left) probably St Beuno; **b** (top right) Legs of Man; **c** (bottom left) Coronation of the Virgin (formerly thought to be St Winefride); **d** (bottom right) Shield with three pomegranates under a queen's crown – arms of Catherine of Aragon (respectively Appendix, A, nos 15, 18, 19, 32). Photographs: © Crown copyright: Cadw, Welsh Government.

the Well Chapel. The numbers on the figure correspond with the numbers in the catalogue given in the Appendix. The carvings have been divided into seven types which have been colour-coded on the figure. This exercise has not revealed a coherent pattern to the iconography of the bosses except over the well basin itself and above the entrance passage. The pendant boss over the centre of the well basin has the Tudor royal arms surrounded by the Garter motto, with six scenes from the life of St Winefride around the cylinder (Fig. 15). A circle of flying angels raises the boss into the ceiling. This boss establishes the primacy of the allegiance of the patron to the royal family and to the saint to which the chapel is dedicated. The ring of foliage bosses provides a neutral setting to this main boss.

The entrance passage also has royal badges at its centre with an emblem of the Stanleys of Lathom and Knowsley (Legs of Man) in a subsidiary position, and religious subjects, a saint (probably Beuno) and a Coronation of the Virgin at either end (see Fig. 16, a–c). No pattern emerges for the bosses over the ambulatory and the gallery, but there are badges of Catherine of Aragon (Fig. 16, d), potentially Prince Arthur (Fig. 17, a), Sir William Stanley (Fig. 17, c) and his wife Elizabeth Hopton, as well as an additional emblem of the Lathom Stanleys (Fig. 17, d). There is an image of a mitred abbot, a status that Thomas Pennant did not achieve but Abbot Huby of Fountains did.³⁶ There is no badge which is specific to Lady Margaret Beaufort. Pilgrims would start and complete their circuit by seeing the wonderful boss in the north-west corner of one pilgrim carrying another upon his back (Fig. 18), reminding the more able to help the sick and the lame through the pool.

At the end of the circuit, pilgrims would walk down the straight passage to pray before the statue of the Virgin, as they still do today (Fig. 12). When they had finished praying, pilgrims would leave by the door on the left-hand side. This led outside to where the water flowed away from the chapel. A print of 1713 shows that there was originally no walled lower basin.³⁷ Within the stream of water below the shrine is a large stone identified as St Beuno's stone where the lives of St Winefride report that he knelt and prayed, an example set for pilgrims to say their final set of prayers before re-entering the Well Chapel by the other doorway and so back up towards the parish church.³⁸ The emblems on these doorways in the north wall all seem to be of the Tudor family.

THE DATE AND PATRONAGE OF ST WINEFRIDE'S WELL

Previous attempts to date the construction of the well chapel have relied heavily on the family emblems contained within the carved bosses. Outside the king, the three most important figures represented are Sir William Stanley (*c.* 1435–95), Thomas Stanley, first earl of Derby (*c.* 1433–1504), and his wife, the mother of Henry Tudor, Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509). Each played a crucial role in Henry's return from exile in France and in securing his victory at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485.³⁹ It is important to trace where the assumption that one or more of these three people were the principal patrons or benefactors of the building of the surviving well chapel, and how this led previous commentators have put the date of construction somewhere between 1485 and 1510.

It was the antiquarian, Thomas Hearne (1668–1735), who first recorded the tradition in 1732/33 that Lady Margaret Beaufort had erected St Winefride's Well at Holywell and had used workmen who had been involved with Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey in the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ This idea was developed by Thomas Pennant writing in 1774, but on the basis of the inclusion of badges of Sir William Stanley and his wife, he put the erection of the chapel before 1495.⁴¹ The persistence of the association of the site with Lady Margaret Beaufort continued into modern times, when it was repeated by Edward Hubbard in 1986,⁴² and Christopher David in 2002.⁴³ Her biographers, Jones and Underwood, however, baldly stated that there was no record of her donating money to Holywell. Her



Fig. 17. Bosses in the vault of the Well Chapel: **a** (top left) Hart's head on shield; **b** (top right) Grinning green man wearing 'earl's' crown; **c** (bottom left) Hart's head on shield; **d** (bottom right) Eagle and child flanked by kneeling supporters and head looking over the top (respectively Appendix, A, nos 38, 45, 50, 82). Photographs: Lee Wilkinson (b, d); © Crown copyright: Cadw, Welsh Government (a, c).



Fig. 18. The pilgrim boss in the north-west angle of the Well Chapel. *Photograph: Lee Wilkinson.*

husband Thomas is recorded in his wife's household book as sending an offering of 3s 4d to Holywell on the feast day of St Winefride in 1502, whilst he was staying at her house at Collyweston, but this was insufficient to support any building work.⁴⁴ It was T. W. Pritchard who first gave full weight to the evidence for the patronage of the chapel in the Welsh poetry. Most significant of these is Sion ap Hywel's *Awdl i Wenfrewi a'i ffynnon* (1512), an *awdl* (praise poem) to Gwenfrewi and to her Well (1512).⁴⁵ This specifically credits Abbot Thomas Pennant as providing the expenditure to proceed with building the chapel in 1512. Add to this the actual felling date of 1525 from one of principal rafters of the chancel in the Upper Chapel,⁴⁶ means that the previously accepted range of dates for construction is no longer valid. The tree-ring date is from an original timber from part of the structure which conventionally is likely to have been amongst the earliest parts of the structure to be built.

In addition to the date of 1512 given in the Welsh poem, and the tree-ring date of after 1525 from the Upper Chancel roof, it is worth looking for architectural parallels to St Winefride's Well, Holywell. Given

its advanced design, contemporary royal buildings were the obvious source. The most important of these is the Lady Chapel added to the east end of Westminster Abbey by Henry VII.⁴⁷ Work began in 1503. The original intention was for the main body of the chapel to house the shrine to Henry VI, but later it was to contain the remarkable double tomb of Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth of York. This tomb was the work of the Italian sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano, and is taken as the first fully Renaissance work-of-art made in England. Torrigiano had made an earlier tomb to another's design for Lady Margaret Beaufort, the king's mother, in 1512, which is in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel.⁴⁸

The Lady Chapel has a similar plan to St Winefride's Upper Chapel, except that it has two aisles (Figs 3 and 19). There is a step up into the apsidal end, contained within an elaborate entrance arch. The buttressing is more elaborate at Westminster and, most importantly, the window tracery is still cusped. The range of emblems is more limited at Westminster with the Tudor rose, the Welsh dragon and the Beaufort portcullis being particularly prominent. An obvious architectural design detail linking the two buildings is the use of the eight-pointed star, but at Westminster it is divided into half, as the basis for the plan of windows of the apsidal chapels. This type of window may have originated a little earlier in an oriel window of a tower added by Henry VII to Windsor Castle in 1500.⁴⁹ This oriel was designed by Robert Jankyn (d. 1506), who as a result is taken by many as the designer of part if not all of the Lady Chapel.⁵⁰

The two apsidal chapels immediately inside the chancel at Westminster have features very similar to aspects of the Well Chapel at Holywell (Fig. 19). They have similar entrance doorways to those found between the Well Chamber and the lower basin at Holywell. More importantly, they incorporate a curving

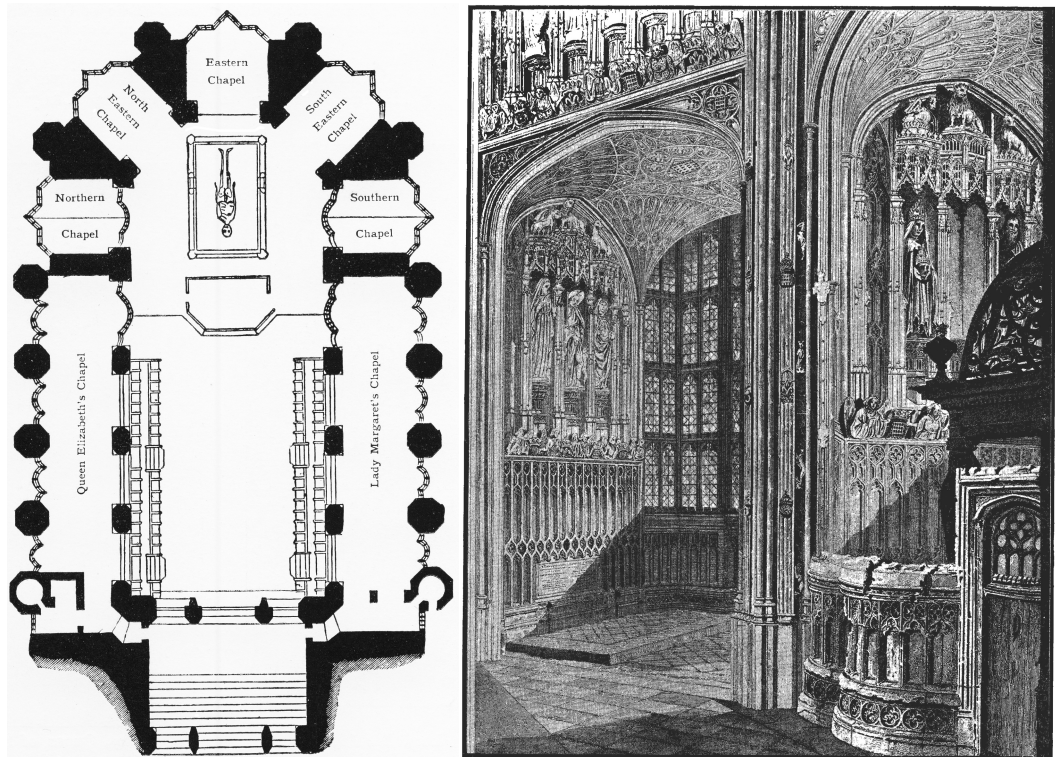


Fig. 19. Plan of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey and engraving showing the south-eastern and southern chapels. Images from Francis Bond's *Westminster Abbey* (Oxford University Press, 1909).

five-light bay window through which to view the shrine. Above this window and doorway are the remains of a two-tier openwork tracery of mullioned windows, which form such distinctive components of the surround of the well basin. The main statue niches within Westminster chapel closely resemble that in the Well Chapel (Fig. 12). Christopher Wilson has suggested that the chapels at Westminster were royal closets which enabled ‘members of the royal family to pray before the altar of Henry VI’s shrine with some degree of privacy’.⁵¹ In the entablature above the northern of these two chapels is a statue of St Winifred, in a group with St Margaret, St Anne and St Katherine, saints to which Lady Margaret Beaufort had a particular devotion.⁵²

The ceiling of the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey has a very fine fan vault of a type not found at Holywell. There is another royal building in which a parallel to the ceiling vault of the Well Chamber can be found. This is St George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle. Begun by Edward VI as the chapel for the Order of the Garter, parts remained unfinished till the reign of Henry VII. Of particular relevance to Holywell, are the vaults of the Urswick and Beaufort chantry chapels, completed about 1506, which are based on the eight-pointed star used for the well basin.⁵³ A more local parallel is the eight-pointed star of the well basin associated with the remains of a late Perpendicular well-chapel at Ffynnon Fair, Cefn Meiriadog, Denbighshire, which may also date to the early sixteenth-century.⁵⁴

St Winefride’s Well was in the ownership of the Cistercian monks of Basingwerk Abbey. Any rebuilding of the chapel could have only been undertaken with the agreement of or by the abbey itself. The Cistercian order was already in severe decline by the beginning of the sixteenth century and relatively little new building took place in England and Wales.⁵⁵ An exception was the work of Abbot Marmaduke Huby (1439–1526) at Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, where he was head of the community from 1495 until his death.⁵⁶ Most prominent is the great three-storey battlemented bell tower that he added to the north transept of the abbey church (Fig. 20). The ground floor has cusped tracery in its windows, but the first-



Fig. 20. Abbot Marmaduke Huby’s tower at Fountains Abbey. © Gavin Burton.

and second-floor windows have uncusped tracery, very similar to windows in the apse and west end of the Upper Chapel, Holywell, and the three-light mullioned window in Huby's third floor can be closely matched to the windows in the north aisle there. The exterior of the tower is decorated with bands of masonry carved with a mixture of grotesque animals, flat faces and angels carrying shields. There are inner hood moulds to the doorways and windows, another feature found in Holywell. The exact date of Huby's tower is not known, but it carries an inscription proudly stating that he was the builder.⁵⁷ Huby acted as the Reformer of the Cistercian Order in England and Wales⁵⁸ from 1495 to 1514 and is recorded as visiting Wales in 1495 and 1496. Abbot Pennant was one of three Welsh abbots who had fathered children so he was no doubt visited by Huby in those years. The poet Tudor Aled described Pennant as 'dark-complexioned and godly', with a fine taste for minstrelsy and a patron of the bards, and as a 'lion in battle who has overthrown the foreigner'.⁵⁹

In Wales, comparisons can be made between St Winefride's Well and the work carried out under the patronage of Bishop Edward Vaughan of St Davids (1509–22). At the cathedral, he infilled what had previously been an open ambulatory behind the high altar to create the Trinity Chapel. The side entrances have a network of narrow traceried panels, with weak cusping in the lights, and containing ogee-headed doors like those found above the steps into the well at Holywell.⁶⁰ At the Bishop's Palace at Lamphey, in south Pembrokeshire, Bishop Vaughan added a first-floor private chapel. Its elaborate east window is similar to the west window at Holywell, though some vestigial cusping remains. The side windows however are uncusped and provide a more accurate parallel (Fig. 21). The ground-floor room at Lamphey has three-light, basket-headed windows like those found in the north aisle at St Winefrides.⁶¹ Finally, comparisons



Fig. 21. The east window of Bishop Vaughan's chapel, Lamphey Bishops' Palace, Pembrokeshire.
Photograph: Rick Turner.

can be made with the architectural development of St Beuno's Church, Clynnog, Caernarfonshire, the cult centre for Winefride's uncle and saviour. Here the chancel, crossing and transepts of a new church were completed by 1486, the date of glass formerly in the east window. The nave followed on perhaps completed *c.* 1500. All the windows in the church have cusped lights. Standing a little to the south and on a different alignment is St Beuno's Chapel or his *capel-y-bedd* ('burial chapel'). Archaeological excavations in 1913 showed that it replaced an earlier building, but the present building has been dated to the early sixteenth century and has uncusped lights (Fig. 22).⁶² The similarity of the position of the late fifteenth-century parish church with a detached early sixteenth-century cult chapel or shrine between Clynnog and Holywell is striking, suggesting a contemporary upsurge in patronage at both sites.

The conclusion of this study is that the chapel at St Winefride's Well was built under the patronage of Abbot Thomas Pennant, and was perhaps completed by his son, Abbot Nicholas. If the Welsh poet is correct, (of course, the poem is written in praise of the abbot so may have given special emphasis to his contribution), work may have been started in 1512, but it may not have been completed until the chapel was roofed in 1525, or immediately afterwards. A construction period of thirteen years is a long time for what is a small if complex building. Though the plan and some of the detailing of the chapel clearly derives from Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey completed by 1512, the parallels for the use of uncusped window lights at Holywell pushes the date later in the period defined above. The



Fig. 22. The parish church and the east end of St Beuno's *capel-y-bedd* at Clynnog, Gwynedd.
Photograph: Rick Turner.

prominent references within the building to the Stanley family may reflect Abbot Pennant having had residual benefactions from the Stanley family, despite these not being documented. Alternatively, he may have wished to commemorate his most illustrious friends, as well as the king and his daughter-in-law, Catherine of Aragon, by placing their emblems so prominently within the chapel for all the pilgrims to see. A comparison can be made for example with Archbishop Henry Chichele's foundation of All Souls College, Oxford in 1438 to celebrate the souls of the English soldiers who fell at Agincourt.⁶³ This was twenty-three years after the battle. If the construction and the iconography of St Winefride's Well is a celebration of those who were successful at the Battle of Bosworth and in the establishment of the Tudor dynasty, then it was completed even longer after that event than Chichele's foundation.⁶⁴

* * *

St Winefride's Well continued to be revered following the Reformation and has been used continuously as a focus of pilgrimage to the present day. Despite intermittent periods of persecution in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Catholic faithful treasured and cared for the well ensuring its survival. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the time of the poem declaring the well to be one of the Seven Wonders of Wales, a more tolerant attitude prevailed and Protestants and Catholics shared the site in peaceful co-existence. Tourists started to visit in increasing numbers both for the sake of curiosity and because of its celebration as a place for curing the sick, and illustrations and written accounts of its architectural beauty and tranquillity become commoner in this period.⁶⁵ Given the continuing religious importance of the site, conservation programmes have had to respect features of observance and philosophical issues relating to sensitive conservation work within the well-chapel by Cadw, Welsh Government, who now cares for the site, are discussed in a recent article by Sian Rees in Frances Lynch's *Festschrift*, published by the Cambrian Archaeological Association.⁶⁶

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NOTES

1. This article is based on an essentially completed draft submitted by Rick Turner in January 2018. It arose from Rick's thesis, 'Sir Gawain and the cults of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Winefride in late medieval England and Wales', for which he was awarded a PhD in the summer of 2018, just a few weeks before his death on 17 June 2018. It had been Rick's intention to extend the article to include a consideration of the so-called 'Stanley Churches' at Mold, Wrexham and Holt but since this element of the text was less complete at the time of his death the decision was made to proceed, initially at least, with just the section relating to St Winefride's Well. Rick's other publications on a related theme, also related to his doctoral thesis, include his study of the history and architecture of the timber-framed well chapel at Woolston: 'St Winifred's Well, Woolston, Shropshire, and the Stanley family', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 91 (2016), 31–40.

2. The original documentary evidence for this reference is unrecorded but the information is given in a number of secondary sources. The earliest reference so far traced is D. R. Thomas, *The History of the Diocese of St Asaph*, vol. 2 (new edn, Oswestry: Caxton, 1911), 188.
3. T. W. Pritchard, *St Winefride, Her Holy Well and the Jesuit Mission c. 650–1930* (Wrexham: Bridge Books, 2009), 47. This work gives an indispensable account of the history of the well chapel and its survival to the present day.
4. The manuscripts are British Library, Cotton Claudius A.v, fos 138^r–145^v and Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS 114, respectively. The texts are transcribed in Ronald Pepin and Hugh Feiss, *Two Medieval Lives of Saint Winefride* (Ontario: Peregrina, 2000). Fiona Winward, ‘The Lives of St Wenefred (BHL 8847–8851)’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 89–132, argues that both the Latin lives derive from a lost Welsh life of St Beuno.
5. Pepin and Feiss op. cit. (note 4), 35.
6. Ibid. 37–8.
7. Ibid. 103–111.
8. J. Tait (ed.), *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*, 2 vols (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1920–23).
9. Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 53, referring to J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff: University Press Board, 1940), no. 144.
10. Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 63–4. He quotes from letters patent issued by Edward IV in 1465 confirming a pension to a chantry priest at the chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and Winefrede established by Richard II. *Thirty-Ninth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1878) Chester Recognizance Roll 4–5, Edward IV, M. 8.
11. *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1875), 214. The new guest house at Basingwerk Abbey has been tree-ring dated at c. 1385 (see D. Miles, M. Bridge and D. Clark, ‘List 257: Oxfordshire Dendrochronology Project – Phase 9’, *Vernacular Architecture* 44 (2013), 108–9). There is evidence for extending the provision for guests at Shrewsbury Abbey at about the same date, Nigel Baker (ed.), *Shrewsbury Abbey: studies in the archaeology and history of an urban abbey*, Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, Monograph Series 2, (Shrewsbury, 2002), 205, suggesting an increasing number of pilgrims to St Winefride’s shrines.
12. M. S. Sergeantson (ed.), Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* (London: Early English Text Society, 1938) and Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
13. Simon Horobin, ‘A Manuscript found in the Library of Abbotsford House and the lost Legendary of Osbern Bokenham’, in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).
14. The transcription and translation come from James Ryan Gregory, ‘A Welsh Saint in England: Translation, Orality, and National Identity in the Cult of St. Gwenfrewy, 1138–1512’, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Georgia, 2012, 291–2, taken from folio 217^v of the Abbotsford House manuscript (see note 13 above).
15. Described in lines 554–630 of Osbert Bokenham’s *Lyf*, Gregory, 418. Some stones from St Winefride’s Well were included in the collection of relics held at Eton College, M. R. James, ‘Chapel inventories 1 – plate relics and furniture’, *Etoniana* 25 (28 April 1920), 385–92.
16. See Rick Turner, ‘Sir Gawain and the cults of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Winefride in late medieval England and Wales’, unpublished PhD thesis, Swansea University, 2018, chapter 5.

17. J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 7, 1417–1431* (London: HMSO, 1906), 504.
18. Edward Hubbard, *The Buildings of Wales: Clwyd (Denbighshire and Flintshire)* (London: Penguin, 1986), 373.
19. Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 223–4, quotes Samuel Johnson's and Mrs Thrale's reactions to the force of the water when they visited in 1774.
20. Graham Lott, *St Winefride's Well, Holywell* (Keyworth: British Geological Survey, 2009).
21. For example, see the approach to the shrine of St David, Heather James, 'The cult of St David in the Middle Ages' in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), 105–12.
22. Note that the battlements were added by the Ministry of Works in the 1950s, after the chapel came into state care. This addition was recommended by Raymond Richards of the Ancient Monument Society but there is no pictorial evidence for their previous existence, which extends back to Speed's view of 1610. See details in Cadw's archive.
23. Care needs to be taken here as later uses also saw timber fittings in this area: see photographs from 1942 Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 261.
24. Miles op. cit. (note 11).
25. A case of c. 1538 describes 'an image of St Winefride with a box before it, in which people have long put their oblations, and where they offered their oxen, kine and their things', E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies (eds), *Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954), 56. This may have stood in the chancel of the Upper Chapel where it would have been easier to bring large animals rather than to the statue niche in the Well Chapel, Isabel Beauchamp, countess of Warwick, in her will of 1439 donated a russet velvet gown to St Winefride, but she did not specify to which shrine, F. J. Furnivall ed., *The Fifty Earliest Wills in the Court of Probate* (London: Early English Text Society, 1882), 118.
26. Sir William Stanley married Elizabeth Hopton.
27. John Speed, *The Theatre of Great Britain, part II Wales* (London, 1676, reprinted by S.R., 1970), p. 121. What the pillars were is unknown unless they were the bases of the trusses and their corbels.
28. G. Williams, 'St. Winifred's Well: Ffynnon Wenfrewi', *Flintshire Historical Society Journal* 36 (2003), 40.
29. See a print of 1713 published in K. Davies and C. J. Williams, *The Greenfield Valley* (2nd edn, Holywell Town Council, 1986), 6.
30. Christopher David, *St Winefride's Well, a history & guide* (new edn, Llandysul: Gomer, 2002), 7.
31. Richard James, *Iter Lancastrense, a poem written in A.D. 1636*, ed. by Thomas Corser, *Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire* 7, (Manchester: Chetham Society), 8, lines 225–7, available online at <<https://archive.org/details/iterlancastrense00jamerich>>.
32. See the eighteenth-century print of the interior in Davies and Williams op. cit. (note 29), 23.
33. Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, 1 (London, 1784, reprinted Caernarvon: H. Humphries, 1893), 31. Pennant also reports that he had heard of another statue of 'St Wenefrede', which he thinks may have been the statue intended to receive Isabel Beauchamp's gown (see note 25 above). Finally he mentions a defaced wall painting of the life of St Winefride on a wall which 'supports the roof'.
34. Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 305.
35. Heinz Götze, *Castel Del Monte, Geometric Marvel of the Middle Ages* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1998), 129–140, examines the use of the eight-pointed star in Islamic and medieval architecture.

36. Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Huby, Marmaduke, abbot of Fountains, (c.1439–1526)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53115>>, accessed 16 March 2016. Huby's connection with Pennant and their joint interest in architectural patronage is discussed below.
37. See note 29 above. Note the timber-framed and thatched building on a stone plinth beyond the north-west corner of the Well Chapel in this view to be replaced by a more substantial stone building by the Buck view of 1742 (Fig. 2). Is this the 'joining roome' mentioned in Richard James' poem of 1636?
38. Pepin and Feiss op. cit. (note 4), 42 and 101.
39. The best modern description of the events leading up to Bosworth and of the battle itself is Chris Skidmore, *Bosworth: the birth of the Tudors* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2013).
40. W. Salter (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford Historical Society 79 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 149, quoted in Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 78–9.
41. Pennant op. cit. (note 33), 30.
42. Hubbard op. cit. (note 18), 33.
43. Christopher David, *St Winefride's Well, a history & guide* (new edn, Llandysul: Gomer, 2002).
44. St John's College Cambridge Archive D91/20, fo. 23. This documents lists a number of similar offerings made by Thomas Stanley during his stay at Collyweston. See also M. K. Jones and M. G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 150.
45. Pritchard op. cit. (note 3), 82, quotes the poem at length with an English translation.
46. D. H. Miles and M. C. Bridge, 'List 227', *Vernacular Architecture* 41 (2010), 102–5.
47. The origins, design and decoration of this building are discussed by the different contributors to Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (eds), *Westminster Abbey, the Lady Chapel of Henry VII* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003).
48. Phillip Lindley, '“The singular mediacions and praiers of al the holie companie of Heven”: sculptural functions and forms in Henry VII's chapel', in Tatton-Brown and Mortimer op. cit. (note 47), 265–71.
49. Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 34.
50. The names of the potential designers are discussed in Tim Tatton-Brown, 'The Building History of the Lady Chapels' in Tatton-Brown and Mortimer op. cit. (note 47), 201.
51. Christopher Wilson, 'The functional design of the chapel', in Tatton-Brown and Mortimer op. cit. (note 47), 165 and fig. 14 showing one of the chapels; see p. 167 for the quotation.
52. Lindley, op. cit. (note 47): p. 281 gives a diagram of the layout of the 107 sculptures within the chapel, and p. 286 discusses Lady Margaret's devotion to these particular saints and comments that St Katherine and St Margaret are prominent in her own burial chapel in the south aisle.
53. Tim Tatton-Brown, 'The constructional sequence and topography of the chapel and college buildings at St George's', in Colin Richmond and Eileen Scarff (eds), *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages* (Windsor: 2001), 19–21.
54. H. Longville Jones, 'Ffynnon Vair, Wygfair, Denbighshire, near St. Asaph', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1st ser., 2 (1847), 261–7; Hubbard 1986 op. cit. (note 18), 118.
55. See Nicola Coldstream, 'The mark of eternity. The Cistercians as builders', in David M. Robinson (ed.), *The Cistercians Abbeys of Britain: far from the concourse of men* (London: Batsford, 1998), 60–1.
56. Harper-Bill op. cit. (note 36).

57. See Michael Carter, 'Cistercian abbots as patrons of art and architecture: Northern England in the Late Middle Ages', in M. Heale (ed.), *The Prelate in England and Europe 1300–1560* (York: York Medieval Press, 2014), 223. A letter from the abbot of Kirkstall to the Cistercian headquarters at Cîteaux in 1517 which talks about Huby's building works (*ibid.* cit. 232–3), and there are references to Huby acquiring building stone in 1503 (D. H. L. Michelmore (ed.), *Fountains Abbey Lease Book*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 140 (1979–80), 163–4) and in 1515 (*ibid.* 153).
58. Harper-Bill *op. cit.* (note 36).
59. David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Tenby: Caldey Island, 1984), vol. 1, 80–2, 91–2.
60. Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach and Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Pembrokeshire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 404.
61. Rick Turner, *Lamphey Bishop's Palace and Llawhaden Castle*, Cadw guidebook (Cardiff, 1991).
62. B. Stallybrass, 'Recent discoveries at Clynnogfawr', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 14 (1914), 271–308; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Caernarfonshire: Volume II: Central* (London: HMSO, 1960), 36–42.
63. Clive Burgess, 'St George's College, Windsor: Context and Consequence', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *St George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 87.
64. There is a suggestion, probably derived from Tudor Aled's description of Thomas Pennant as a lion in battle, that he might have fought at Bosworth. It is also interesting to note that he used Tudor ap David Pennant ad Tudor as the Welsh form of his name, suggesting he may have had a family connection to the king: see Thomas *op. cit.* (note 2), 195.
65. Pritchard *op. cit.* (note 3), 212–32
66. Sian E. Rees, 'The conservation of tranquility: St Winefride's Well and Llanfihangel Ysceifiog old parish church', in W. J. Britnell and R. J. Silvester (eds), *Reflections on the Past: essays in honour of Frances Lynch* (Cambrian Archaeological Association: Welshpool, 2012), 467–84.

APPENDIX: SCULPTURE AT ST WINEFRIDE'S WELL, HOLYWELL

A. Bosses in the vault of the Well Chapel (see Fig. 14 for locations within the vault)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The main pendent boss is a composite stone with a central drum clasped by an outer ring made of three stones. The drum has the Tudor royal arms at the base and six panels showing the life of St Winefride running in a clockwise direction starting with the panel facing NNE.
Base: The Tudor royal arms contained within the garter arms, with traces of the legend still visible | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1f: St Winefride in majesty Outer ring: Running vine on base, running moss ornament (as above the well basin) around the sides and the busts of twelve angels within the spandrels of the vault ribs |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1a: Martyrdom of St Winefride 1b: St Beuno restores St Winefride 1c: Winefride takes her vows as a nun 1d: Winefride enters the community at Gwytherin 1e: Death (or translation) of St Winefride | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Rose 3. Foliage 4. Pelican in piety 5. Foliage 6. Foliage 7. Foliage 8. Foliage 9. Foliage 10. Foliage 11. Foliage |

12. Pelican in piety
13. Curled animal
14. Curled animal
15. Seated male saint in lay costume with a staff in his right hand with mandorla behind. St Beuno?
16. Grinning grotesque
17. Pair of shields placed top to top. One has the suggestion of a fleur-de-lys, the other possible represents the royal lions of England
18. Legs of Man
19. Coronation of the Virgin (formerly thought to be St Winefride). Seated female figure in long dress has a staff in her left hand. A pair of angels place a crown on her head against a mandorla in the background
20. Pair of angels each holding a shield with a mid-rib
21. Elaborate rose but not exactly the full Tudor rose
22. Fleur-de-lys in small shield
23. Arched-backed animal indistinct
24. Lost
25. Arched-backed animal indistinct
26. Sir William Stanley's wolf's head as no. 38 in small shield. Later adopted by Prince Arthur
27. Foliage
28. Cross of St George? in a small shield
29. Very worn animal
30. Arched-backed animal with ring in its nose
31. Small shield with central mid-rib
32. Large shield with three pomegranates under a queen's crown, two figures as supporters. Arms of Catherine of Aragon
33. Entwined beast with large beak. Griffin?
34. Face in sunburst
35. Arched-backed crouching beast with long neck rising into vault. Giraffe?
36. Lion in twisted pose
37. Male figure with belted jerkin arching backwards. Jester or acrobat?
38. Wolf's head with three flames? Sir William Stanley, but from 1489 Prince Arthur
39. Foliage
40. Crouched animal with long tail and fangs. Dog?
41. Crouched animal with tail rising and head twisted onto body. Lamb?
42. Fleur-de-lys in small shield
43. Twisted animal with folded legs. Head missing
44. Lost
45. Grinning green man wearing 'earl's' crown
46. Lady? in cloak twisted around her ribs.
47. Small shield with crescent in frame
48. Crouched animal with folded legs. Indistinct
49. Small shield with starburst, flaming sun or *stella comatis*
50. Hart's head on shield. Sir William Stanley's badge
51. Tudor rose
52. Twisted male lion
53. Hopton family rebus on shield
54. Boy in jerkin. Acrobat?
55. Twisted animal clasping boss. Lion?
56. Indistinct foliage?
57. Pair of fighting dogs on large shield. Family?
58. Pair of clasped monkeys
59. Small shield with lion passant
60. Fleur-de-lys in shield
61. Twisted animal clasping boss
62. Lost
63. Busts of women and man facing each other in an embrace. Traditionally thought to be Thomas Stanley and Lady Margaret Beaufort
64. Monkey with collar and chain clasping boss
65. Small shield with a dog / mastiff?
66. Small shield with bird / Stanley eagle?
67. Crouching beast
68. Pair of angels holding a ribbon (formerly with painted motto)
69. Curled lion with foliage surround
70. Sprig of foliage
71. Angel with raised arms carrying host shield
72. Twisted animal, deer?
73. Sprig of foliage
74. Twisted ivy with central pellet
75. Foliage knot
76. Small shield with possible fleur-de-lys
77. Crudely carved grotesque face
78. Foliage boss with square flower at the centre
79. Foliage boss
80. Green man with zig-zag crown

81. Worn foliage
82. Eagle and child flanked by kneeling supporters and head looking over the top. Stanley emblem
83. Grinning figure in abbot's mitre?
84. Lost
85. Small shield with lion rampant
86. Grinning figure in a cap
87. Fleur-de-lys in shield
88. Pilgrim carrying lame pilgrim
89. Lost

B. Exterior facing lower basin (see Fig. 14 for location)

90. Lion passant
91. Headless torso
92. Pelican in piety

C. West entrance door

- Exterior left: Foliage
 Exterior right: Legs of Man, Stanley emblem
 Interior left: Foliage
 Interior right: Foliage

D. North-west entrance door

- Exterior left: Greyhound. Tudor royal badge
 Exterior right: Dragon of Cadwalader. Tudor royal badge
 Interior left: Tudor rose
 Interior right: Fleur-de-lys. Royal badge

E. North-east entrance door

- Exterior left: Heraldic shield
 Exterior right: Fleur-de-lys
 Interior left: Tudor rose
 Interior right: Shield en bouche

F. Main statue niche in Well Chapel

In c. 1635 reported to contain a statue of the Virgin Mary. Present statue is of St Winefride erected 1886.

G. Upper Chapel

Nave: South Wall truss feet, from east to west

1. Grotesque with tongue sticking out
2. Griffin
3. Hopton family rebus
4. Beaver
5. Two knights with round shields fighting

Nave: North Wall truss feet (tf) and stone corbels (sc) below, from west to east

6. Horse and rider (tf)
7. Lencrota (tf)
8. Gryllus? (sc)
9. Mantichora (tf)
10. Angel carrying a garlanded cross (sc)
11. Eagle's claws. Stanley emblem (tf)
12. Man and woman holding a lozenge-shaped shield or female heraldic badge (sc)
13. Grotesque smiling (tf)
14. Lion pointing downwards (sc)

North Aisle: South Wall, from west to east

15. Lion looking down
16. Angel with shield
17. Pair of men with X on their tunics carrying a shield with two wedges
18. Lion pointing downwards

North Aisle: North Wall, from east to west

19. Eagle
20. Indistinct
21. Squatting man
22. Plain

Chancel: Wooden truss feet, from north-west corner clockwise

23. Lost
24. Tumblers
25. Angel with a shield showing the five wounds of Christ
26. Vase of lilies (emblem of the Virgin Mary)
27. Men carrying a sheaf of wheat and grapes
28. Man carrying oak branches with acorns

