

ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, THORNHILL

A catalogue of the mediaeval glass  
contained in seven windows of the church  
together with material relating to the  
history and restoration of the same.

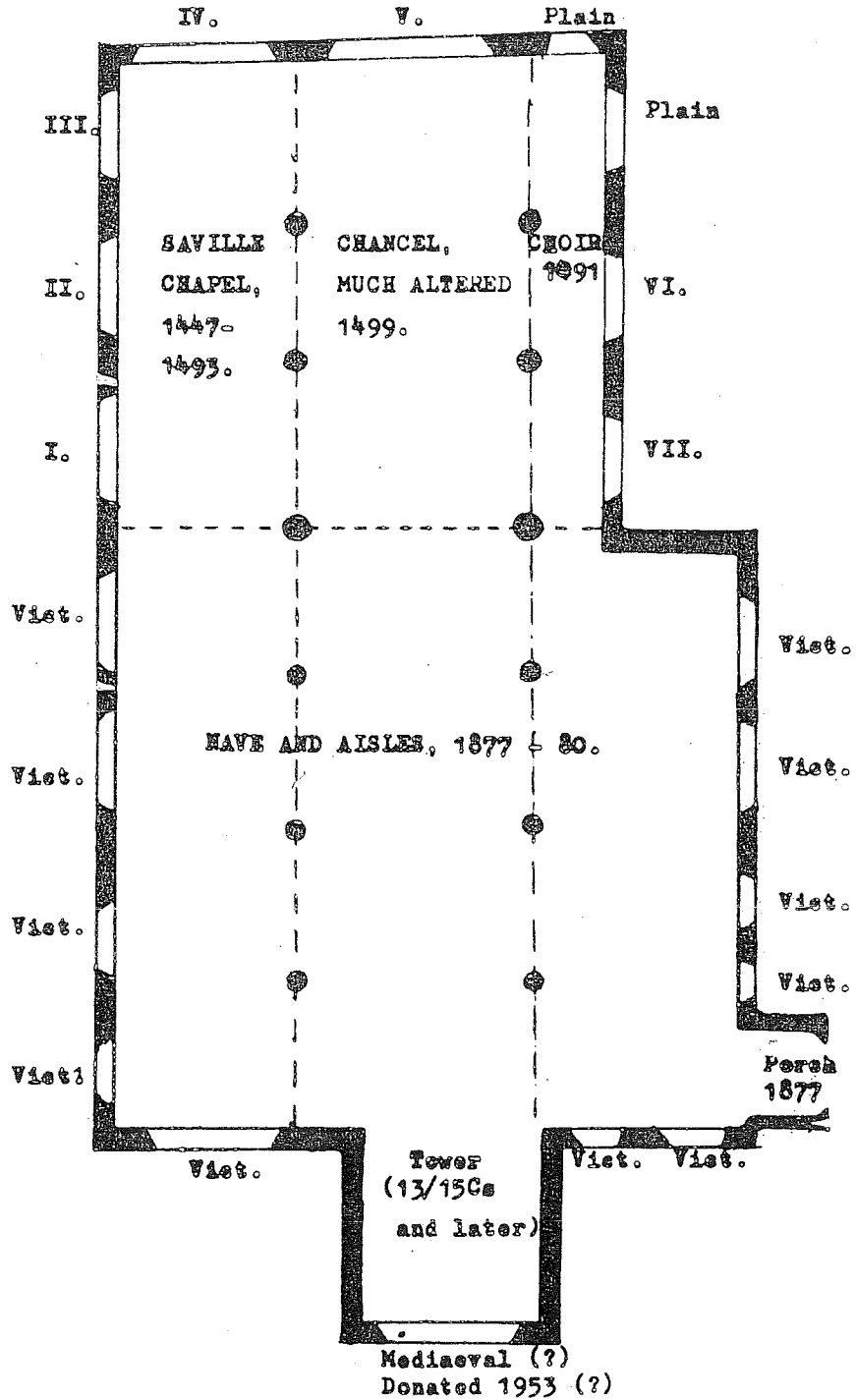
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of the requirement for the degree of Bachelor  
of Philosophy of the University of York  
by  
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ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS, THORNHILL.

PLAN OF THE GLASS.

Viet. = Victorian glass.



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MS Harl. 4399; ADD.MS.22937; ADD.MS.25594; Cotton Vitellius CXIII; Egerton 615; ADD.MS.34193. (See printed sources.)

Glover, Norroy King at Arms; Heraldic Visitation of Yorkshire 1584-5, (see appendix). BM MSS Harley 1394; 1415; 1420; 1487.

Seddon J.P. Watercolour drawing of the top part of Light 1 of window II, and of a Fleur de Lys fragment; in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept., of Prints and Drawings. D1715-1896; D1716-1896.

Tracings of the Glass; there are three distinct groups:-

1. Tracings found at Thornhill during the course of the present study, arguably by Burlison and Gryll, dated immediately prior to the Victorian restoration of 1877-80.
2. Tracings apparently in the same series as the above, though covering much of the same glass. Definitely by Burlison and Gryll. In the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings; numbered E 1950-1952 to E 1965-1952; Also 1969-1952.  
With regard to the above, see detailed list appended.
3. Tracings by the Rev. J. Fowler F.S.A. of window III only; published with his articles in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 1870 (see below). The original hand-coloured tracings appear to be no longer extant.

Vestry Accounts; the churchwardens' general account for various years between 1672 and 1788, contained in two volumes now kept in the vestry safe, catalogued RCHM. Material relating to the history of the glass is abstracted and appended to the present paper.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present paper is to provide materials and information relating to the history and present state of the mediaeval glass contained in seven windows of the parish Church of Thornhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In addition, it is hoped that the catalogue will make clear the extent of Victorian restoration of the glass.

The Church of St. Michael and All Angels occupies an ecclesiastical site of considerable antiquity. Discoveries made during extensive work on the church in the nineteenth century testify to Saxon origins, and the Domesday Book makes reference to a church and priest at 'Torni' (Tornil) in Yorkshire.<sup>(1)</sup>

The present building dates variously from the thirteenth, fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, as indicated in the plan above, and the various reconstructions and extensions are obviously important in that they probably account for the fragmentary state of some of the surviving glass. It should be noted that the Tower, which is the earliest surviving masonry, contains one window in which there is mediaeval glass not discussed in this paper. It is believed that the panels concerned were donated to the church by the then Dean of York in 1953, and consist of fragments of fourteenth century glass from York Minster, arranged decoratively without iconographic significance.<sup>(2)</sup>

A mediaeval Nave and Choir evidently existed in the fourteenth century. The Choir underwent a number of alterations during the course of the fifteenth century, of which the earliest known is the construction of the North Choir, or Savile Chapel, which can be dated 1447.<sup>(3)</sup> A vanished inscription in the plain window at the East end of the South Choir (recorded by the Heraldic visitations) states that it was built in 1491, by the Rector, Robert Frost, as a chapel of the Holy Trinity. The Chancel underwent very extensive alteration, completed by 1499, when it was clerestoried and arched, and had a new East Window (the Jesse). This work was also at the instigation of Frost. In the seventeenth century, a monument was erected to Sir George Savile (d.1622) against the North wall of the Savile Chapel, partially blocking the Western light of window III.

In 1777, the mediaeval Nave was demolished, apparently on account of its deteriorated condition. It is unfortunate that no church records



survive from this date to suggest what might have been done with any remaining glass, though Witaker<sup>(4)</sup> quotes from an earlier source which provides some suggestive descriptions dealt with in the catalogue below. The mediaeval structure was replaced with a Georgian building, linking choir and tower, which survived until the nineteenth century, when it too was torn down.

The Georgian structure remained until the late nineteenth century, when the architect G.E. Street was commissioned to carry out extensive alterations in the church, which included the building of a new nave in the Decorated style, and the construction of a vestry leading off the South Choir. It was during the excavations accompanying this work that much of the archaeological evidence for the antiquity of the site was discovered.<sup>(5)</sup> It was at this time, too, that the masonry of window III in the Savile chapel was dismantled, and the whole window re-assembled a foot or two further to the East. This opened up the first light, hitherto blocked up by the monument to Sir George Savile. It seems that new glass was provided for the reinstated opening, and the original contents must have been either discarded when it was first blocked up, or scattered through the church.<sup>(6)</sup> The Victorian architecture can be loosely dated 1877, though it would appear that some work must have continued after that date.

More or less simultaneously with the reconstruction work, the London firm of Burlison and Gryll<sup>(7)</sup> was commissioned to provide new glass for the Nave, and to inspect and restore the mediaeval glass remaining in the Chancel and Choirs. Mr. Grylls visited the church in February 1877 for the purpose of inspecting the glass, and in June sent a report to the Rector in which he evidently included a detailed account of the state of the glass in addition to the firm's proposals for its restoration.<sup>(8)</sup> It is unfortunate that this report appears to be no longer extant among either the church records or the papers of the Saville family, to which part of it was sent.<sup>(9)</sup>

Burlison and Gryll did, however, leave records which have proved of considerable value to this paper. During the course of the present study, rolls of tracings were found in the Church which evidently show the glass in a number of windows as it was prior to restoration. It would appear from the internal evidence, and from comparison of the tracings with

others by Burlison and Gryll now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, that these records must have been made, if not actually in situ, then as the panels were removed from the windows, and before the arrangement was touched. Their main value for the present paper is that they clarify considerably the extent of the new glass inserted into the windows by Burlison and Gryll. They increase the certainty with which 'antiqued' glass can be distinguished from mediaeval, even in the less accessible windows, and also, provide one with more authentic material for iconographic study. Further reference to these tracings is made below, and in an appendix.

The exact date of the restoration of the glass is unknown, but it must be assumed to have been in progress during the years 1877-80.<sup>(10)</sup> This was the major work done on the glass, and in the text below, unless otherwise indicated, the word 'restoration' may be taken as referring to the work of this period.

Some restoration work has been done on the glass since the nineteenth century. During the second World War, some glass, including the Jesse, was removed and stored in a local mine, and some minor repair work seems to have been carried out by a Leeds firm on its reinstatement.

In 1953, work was done on the East window of the Savile Chapel by the Glaziers workshop of York Minster. No records were kept, but it appears that the work was confined to repairing of leads and the filling of gaps, all done in situ.

Lack of certainty as to what was done on this last occasion is hampering, but not unduly so. In what follows, this uncertainty, and that which surrounds the deprivations of anonymous village glaziers over the centuries,<sup>(11)</sup> may usefully temper any overly precise assertions.

#### Note on Major Sources

Tracings. The tracings referred to above are obviously of considerable value and are extensively referred to in what follows. They provide pre-restoration pictorial evidence for the state of windows II, IV and V.

Whitaker (See bibliog.) 1816. Provides useful information on the state of the glass, and gives inscriptions which would otherwise have disappeared unrecorded. Quotes from a description of the church of 1702 (apparently no longer extant). His account is "... an abridgement of it, with some additions from more ancient sources, as well as modern information." <sup>(12)</sup>

Unfortunately, Whitaker does not give references, or distinguish in his text between information of varying dates, and this diminished his reliability.

Fowler. (See bibliog.) 1870. Gives a cursory account of most of the mediaeval glass reserving special attention for window III (of which one light was blocked at his time of writing). He provides tracings of the four panels visible to him, of which the originals are no longer extant.<sup>(13)</sup> The published prints are, however, most useful in clarifying the pre-restoration state of the window.

Heraldic Visitations. (See appendices). It seems probable that these were used by the restorers in the reconstruction of inscriptions. They also provide information on the vanished heraldry of the church.

Parish Magazines. (See bibliog.) Few copies extant. Essential information on the course of the architectural reconstruction of the church, and on the proposals made by Messrs. Burlison and Gryll.

Vestry Accounts. (See bibliog.) Not of major value, in that they cease before 1777, and do not, therefore, provide information with which to supplement Whitaker's account of the mediaeval nave. Items referring to the glass are abstracted and presented in an appendix, as an indication of the kind of continuous work which must be taken into account when discussing the original situations of various panels.

Iconoclasm. The fragmentary state of some of the windows, particularly of window V (the Jesse), before reconstruction, may possibly be accounted for by the assumption that some destruction took place during the occupation of the Church by Parliamentary forces during the Civil War. An account of the fighting around Thornhill is contained in a letter from Col. Fairfax, given in an appendix to this paper.<sup>(14)</sup> Such a possibility must remain uncertain, however, pending the doubtful emergence of confirmatory evidence.

#### Corrosion

It will be noted throughout the catalogue below that reference is frequently made to the poor state of much of the glass. It is plain that some form of corrosion has caused considerable damage. The poorest glass of all is to be found in window IV, in which whole panels are virtually

unreadable owing to the disappearance of enamels and stains alike. The tracings are invaluable in this matter, giving an indication of the amount of detail clearly visible to the restorers, which has since disappeared.

There are a number of ways of accounting for the severity of the decay. In the case of window IV, it may be that the glass itself was poorly fired in the first place, and that this has contributed. One cannot exclude the possibility that some form of acid cleaning was used by the restorers, and that some traces of it remained after the reinstatement of the glass.

The most probable cause, however, would seem to be the system of heating lately used in the church, which utilised a coke boiler. The tendency of such systems to produce acidic deposits is well-known, and the consequent hypothesis that much of the corrosion must have taken place during the present century is supported by certain comparatively recent photographs by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, which show panels of window III in much better condition than at present.<sup>(15)</sup>

#### Arrangement

In the catalogue, the heading Conservation will be used to distinguish discussion of the state of panels and of any historical alterations to their content. Iconography will be used generally to include comparative notes, information not easily classified under other heads, and discussion of iconographic antecedents where possible.

Notes will be interpolated at the end of each section.

#### Acknowledgements

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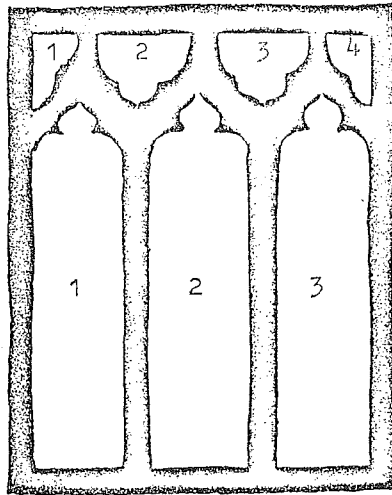
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Notes to Introduction

1. See Haigh (bibliog.), Nuttall (bibliog.), G. Stephens, On Runic Stone discovered at Thornhill. Yorks. Arch. Journ. Vol.8, 1877.
2. This gift probably took place on the occasion of the restoration of some of the glass by York Minster Glaziers' workshop.
3. East end of the Savile chapel, including window IV (which was rebuilt) and possibly window III, extensively altered 1493.
4. Whitaker, L et E. p.318.
5. See Note 1.
6. Some of the fragmentary canopies now in window VII (q.v.) may have come originally from window III.
7. Research on the activities and practices of this firm is still in progress. The period of activity seems to be from 1868 to 1953, operating first from 23, Newman Street off Oxford Street, and from 1927, from 36 Gt. Ormond Street, WC.1. It is doubtful whether further records relating to Thornhill are extant.
8. Parish magazines, 1877, March and June Nos. 3 and 6.
9. The bulk of the Savile family papers relating to the date in question would appear to be now in the Nottinghamshire Record Office. Reference to the index does not reveal the report, but the quantity of material is very large, and further cataloguing may yet find it.
10. For these dates, we rely on the parish magazines, which at this period are only extant for the years 1876-8.
11. Fowler, p. 78, complains of the village glazier.
12. Note 4.
13. A note to Fowler's article indicates that copies of the tracings were to be placed in the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, where they are no longer to be found.
14. York Minster Library, Civil War Pamphlets, 1648.
15. E.g. The plate of the resurrected Christ in window III shows some detail now vanished, and, incidentally, shows that the head of the figure, which has also now vanished, must have gone in recent times. (See index to plates.)

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CATALOGUE OF THE GLASS



WINDOW I. Third from the East in  
the North Choir. (Savile Chapel).

Historical Sources:-

(?)Dodsworth & Glover - Heraldic records

Whitaker - Loidis at Elmete

Fowler - Y.A.J. 1870

Nelson - Ancient Painted Glass in  
England. <sup>(1)</sup>

There are no tracings showing the  
condition of this window prior to  
restoration.

As indicated above, we lack pictorial evidence for the state of this window before 1877, and in the written accounts there are discrepancies which suggest that little reliance can be placed on them. At present, the three main lights contain quarries against which are LEFT Mary, CENTRE Crucifixion, RIGHT St. John; in addition there is a shield at the foot of each light (see plates). Dodsworth provides some evidence that two of the shields existed when he wrote, but does not give the location (Appendix II). Glover mentions all three (Appendix I). Neither Glover nor Dodsworth were concerned to record the figures.

Whitaker's account of 1816, which may or may not be an eyewitness account (see bibliography), describes Lights 1 and 3 as they are at present, but Fowler's later (1870) account describes only one figure, which one must suppose to be St. John, as being in the centre light. This is confusing enough, but the situation is rendered still less clear when one finds Nelson, writing after the restoration by Burlison and Grylls, apparently describing two windows, in one of which there is a male saint in the centre light (as Fowler), and in the other of which are Mary, Crucifixion, St. John, as at present in window I.

The situation is partially clarified by the assumption that Nelson was writing without having seen the church, and that he confused two descriptions, one pre - and the other post-restoration. He does, in fact, acknowledge a debt to local Archaeological Journals, <sup>(2)</sup> and it is most probable that Fowler's article came to his attention.

In the following descriptions, iconographic matters will be discussed separately.

#### TRACERY

Panel 1. H. 27 cm. W. 32 cm.(approx.) (Pl. 1). - Shaped as diagram; fern foliation with five petalled flower, gold, in centre.

Panel 2. H. 27 cm. W. 32 cm.(approx.) (d/o). Fern foliation with sunburst or. centre on a black circle.

Panel 3. H. 27 cm. W. 32 cm.(approx.) (d/o). Fern foliation with fleur de lys or. centre in circlet or. on a black circle.

Panel 4. As panel 1.

Colours and techniques (all 4 panels). White glass and black enamel used matt. Yellow-stain.

Conservation. In reasonably good condition. Close inspection of these tracery compartments was not possible during the present study, and it is uncertain whether or not this glass has been restored.

Date. On the basis of the evidence of the inscription in window II, the framework of window I can likewise be dated 1447, and therefore these tracery compartments can be ascribed to the same date, since the shape of the bordering indicates that the glass was made for openings of these dimensions. Restoration is a possibility, but it seems unlikely to have been complete.

Iconography. The actual devices in panels 2 and 3 are common enough in York work and that of elsewhere. As with the tracery panels of window II, these can be compared with similar panels surviving at the tops of windows in Sheriff Hutton Church, Yorkshire. (North Aisle.)

#### MAIN LIGHTS

Quarries. (see plates 3,4,5 for detail). Behind the figures and shields in each of the main lights are diamond-shaped quarries with strap-work in yellow-stain, bearing running foliation branching in loops from a central stem running up the light. In lights 1 and 3 the design is of Oak leaves and acorns; in light 2, a design of flowers and pointed leaves is substituted. (3)



Colours and techniques. The whole is executed in trace enamel on clear glass, with yellow-stain strap-work. The quality of the enamel is of some assistance in determining the degree of restoration of the quarries.

Conservation. Apart from one or two gaps, the designs in all three lights seem complete. One must assume, however, that some restoration has taken place, since quarry glass is particularly vulnerable to disintegration and it is rare for a complete quarry design to survive. Close inspection reveals some differences in the quality of the enamel trace-lines, that which is a lighter brown being similar to the enamel used by Burlison and Gryll in identifiable restoration work elsewhere in the Church, and to the enamel used by them in the making of the Victorian windows for the Nave. On this basis, it is probably that at least one third of the quarries are Victorian.

Date. The mediaeval quarries need not necessarily be dated according to the structure of the window, since quarry glass is notoriously easy to transfer from window to window as necessity requires. The actual design is unhelpful. Probably early fifteenth century.

Iconography. The design of oak leaves and acorns on the one hand, and the flowers on the other, appear to be authentic, since Fowler mentions elements of both designs in the background to the centre light. In support of the point made above, that the glass may not be original to the window, it is worth mentioning the entry in the Churchwardens' accounts for 1681-2, where reference is made to the purchase of "17½ foot of old glasse" and of 41 quarries. This old glass may have been plain, but it is not impossible that it may have comprised the quarries in window I and/or some of the fragments now in window VII. (4)

FIGURES AND SHIELDS. (Pl. 1). (Shields also Pls. 3,4,5.)

LIGHT 1. The Virgin Mary. H35 cm approx. Armorial. The Virgin stands facing half right, nimbed red, with a blue robe over which is a white mantle with gold flowers. Her feet project from the gown, and on each is another flower. The shield is - paly sable and argent, on a bend gules three stars of six points or. (Dransfield.)

Colours and techniques. White glass, black trace enamel, yellow stain sparingly used on e.g. flowers of BVM's robe. Pot-metal colours for nimb, blue robe. The stars are leaded into the bend of the shield. The paled ground of the shield has a fine foliation, scratched out of black enamel on the sable, abraded white on white on the argent (see plate

Conservation. The figure of the Virgin is at least partly authentic, though parts of the lower robe and feet may be late. As noted above, she is described by Whitaker,<sup>(5)</sup> but not by Fowler, and this may imply that she was removed in the interim and only returned by Burlison and Gryll, who, in their actions concerning other windows, show themselves aware of the value of earlier descriptions of the glass. In the opinion of the present writer the shield is restoration on the basis of Glover or Dodsworth.

Date and Iconography will be dealt with below.

LIGHT 2. Crucifixion. H. 35 cm approx. Armorial. (Pls. 1 & 2). Christ on the Cross crowned with thorns and with a red nimb, head to one side. Drapery round waist. The cross rises from a small mound of herbage, and bears 'I.N.R.I.'.

Shield - Quarterly Savile and Thornhill, (see plate) with a label of three points.

Colours and techniques. White glass, brown enamel trace and wash. In fact, it seems that the colours here are also a form of enamelling, arguing a late date.

Conservation. In very good condition. As indicated above, this figure of Christ is nowhere recorded, and inspection confirms the documentary probability that it is entirely Victorian. The shield is also restoration. It was described in detail by Glover,<sup>(6)</sup> who may be the source used by Burlison and Gryll, but not recorded by Whitaker, who mentions only the shield in light 3.

Date. 1877-80.

Iconography. See below.

LIGHT 3. St. John the Evangelist. H. 35 cm. approx. (Pl. 2a) and armorial. (Pl. 5). St. John stands facing half left, a book with clasps held in the left hand, his right hand to his face. He is robed in red with a white mantle decorated with gold flowers, similar to that worn by the BVM in light 1. He has a red nimb, yellow hair, and, unusually, a small beard. The shield is - argent, a fess gules between three eagles displayed sable. (Leeds)

Colour and techniques. White glass, with yellow stain for hair, beard, gown etc.; black enamel, trace and matt. The shield shows signs of a

foliate diaper similar to that found on the shields in lights 1 and 2, and it probably was the model for these two last.

Conversation. The figure is vouched for by both Whitaker and Fowler, and the shield is described by Glover, Dodsworth and Whitaker. St. John is extensively damaged, though relatively complete. The red of his inner gown is much faded, and there are a number of small cracks, which are not impact breaks, but which are suggestive of either very poor manufacture or, of the glass having been exposed to fire at some stage. The latter possibility is slightly strengthened by the existence of some similar cracks in the glass of window III (q.v.), but historical evidence for a conflagration is lacking unless we regard the occupation of the church by Parliamentary forces as having resulted in some form of iconoclasm. (See appendix, Letter of Col. Fairfax.)<sup>(7)</sup>

DATE of the main lights.

From the foregoing it is clear that only the figure of St. John, the Leeds shield, and parts of the figure of the Virgin can be considered original. As with the quarries, one cannot assume the glass to be contemporary with the mullions, but the consequent date of 1447 is by no means impossible. St. John has a coloured nimb leaded separately from his head, and this might be regarded as suggestive of an earlier date, since this is primarily a fourteenth century characteristic. However, as indicated by Rushforth, it is occasionally found in fifteenth century glass. E.G. in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, also dated 1447.<sup>(8)</sup>

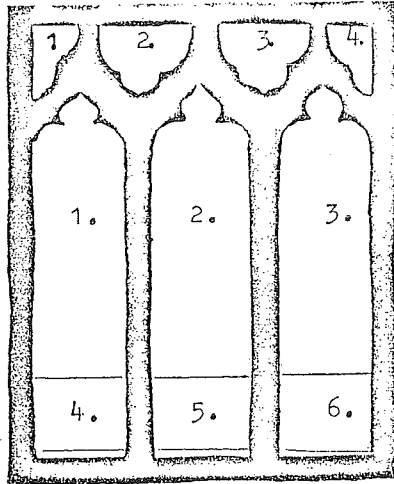
ICONOGRAPHY. If one assumes that the restorers, Burlison and Gryll, were dealing with a window containing St. John, and a fragmentary Virgin, then the reconstruction of the central crucifixion would appear to be iconographically valid. The form of the crucifixion involving the three figures is one of the commonplaces of mediaeval art, an iconographic staple which persisted, changing little, over the centuries. The source of the arrangement is the Gospels (John Ch. 19 v. 25-7) where the words of Christ to Mary and to John are recorded. The relative positions of Mary and John on the right and left hands of Jesus, respectively, is probably, as Mâle suggests,<sup>(9)</sup> consequent on the identification made in the middle ages of Mary with the Church and (a lesser probability) of John with the synagogue. The former identification is incontrovertible, the latter a possibility. Cp. Isidore of

Seville,<sup>(10)</sup> who states directly that Mary is the figure of the Church. Gregory the Great also remarks, concerning John, that on another occasion, where he allows Peter to precede him to the tomb, he may be considered as representing the synagogue.<sup>(11)</sup> Representations of the Church and Synagogue beside the cross were frequent in the art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, having, as Mâle suggests, a possible origin in the 'Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae' attributed to Augustine.

In the present window, the figure of St. John is unusual in that he has a small beard executed in yellow-stain. The tradition of representing him as beardless, in recognition of his youth, was too firmly established during the whole of the middle ages for this fact not to cause some doubt here. The possibility of a mistaken identification must be weighed against that of a craftsman's error; the present writer inclines to the latter.

NOTES:- Window I

1. Nelson op.cit. 1913. p.223ff. (Bibliog.)
2. Nelson op. cit. preface.
3. In Fowlers description of this window, both the oak-leaf and the flower design are mentioned, but as both being in the centre light, i.e. combined.
4. See appendix containing extracts from the Churchwardens accounts.
5. Whitaker op.cit. p.320.
6. See Appendix on Glover (Appendix No. I)
7. The letter of Colonel Fairfax (Charles Fairfax) is contained in York Minster Library's collection of Civil War pamphlets, dated 1648; (catalogued by date.) The matter of fire and/or iconoclasm is a dubious one. It is known that the church was occupied as a base for operations against Thornhill hall, which was in Royalist hands, but the Fairfax family as a whole had a reputation for considerable restraint in religious matters. Concerning this period, it would be interesting to know more about the affiliations of Joshua Witton, rector in 1648, who was one of the signatories of another pamphlet in the same year (April) (Y.M.Lib) "An unanimous attestation of Gods Blessed Truth revealed in his word..." etc., in which he described himself as 'Minister of the Gospel at Thornhil.'
8. Rushforth op.cit. p. 29n1. Le Couteur 109, 111, 121.
9. Mâle XIII C, Tr. Nussey, London, Fontana 1961 p. 188ff.
10. Isidore (quoted Mâle) Allegor., 138/9.
11. See Mâle op.cit. p.191 n2. ref Gregory the Great.



WINDOW II. Second from the East in the North Choir. (Savile Chapel.)

Historical Sources:-

Whitaker - Loidis and Elmete.

Fowler - 1870 article in Yorks.

Arch. Journ.

Tracings of the three main lights and two central tracery compartments, presumed to be by Burlison and Gryll, circa 1877;- i.e. before restoration.

(Pls. 6, 10, 14, 20, 23.)

This is the first window described of which one can attribute the restoration to Burlison and Gryll. Three large rolls exist, illustrated in plate 6, covering panels 1; 2 & 5; 3. The latter is a little shorter than the others. Two additional tracings exist covering tracery panels 2 and 3 as they seem to have appeared in 1877. Panel 2 is still very much as shown in the tracing, but panel 3 is now completely different and the contents as shown in the tracing have disappeared altogether.

As a group, the tracings are an invaluable aid to the study of the glass, it being evident, for reasons mentioned in the introduction, that they predate the actual work of restoration carried out by Burlison and Gryll. One further historical 'pre-restoration' drawing exists. It is a water-colour drawing by J.P. Seddon, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated September '68. It shows the top half of panel 1 in the main light group, but is on such a small scale as to render its value doubtful.

The descriptions provided by Whitaker<sup>(1)</sup> and Fowler<sup>(2)</sup> are most inadequate, and their deficiencies arise in part from misapprehensions regarding the subject matter of the three main panels. Whitaker, (possibly quoting his earlier, unidentified, source) describes panels 1, 2 and 3 incompletely and assumes all three to represent Joseph and Mary, with the infant Jesus sometimes appearing twice in the same panel. Fowler, complaining of the inaccuracies of Whitaker's account, believes the panels to represent 'incidents in the life of some female saint'.

It now seems clear that this is a "Three Marys" window, of a kind particularly popular in the later fifteenth century, showing the three

daughters of St. Anne, derived from apocryphal sources, and their offspring. A general note on the iconography of this subject will be appended to the descriptions of the panels.

#### TRACERY

Panel 1. H. 36 cm. W. 30 cm. approx. (Not illustrated.) Opening shaped as diagram. Many pointed estoile or sunburst, with surrounding fern-like diaper.

Colours etc. Yellow-stain, black enamel. Diaper scratched out of black.

Conservation. Reasonably good condition. Diaper faded.

Date. As window overall.

Iconography. Comparable with similar work in the north aisle of Sheriff Hutton Church, Yorks.

Panel 2. H. 36 cm. W. 47 cm. Trinity Shield. (Pls. 8 & 10) The shield is gold ground, with a finely scratched running diaper, charged with the symbolically arranged inscription 'Pater non est Filius' etc. (see plates.), in silver with black-lettering. The shield is supported left and right by two angels.

Colours and techniques. White glass, black enamel and yellow-stain. The ground of the shield seems to have been stained a dull yellow, and the fine diaper then scratched out of it, this subsequently being stained a lighter gold.

Conservation. In good, readable condition. The tracing shows this panel as it is now, and one must assume that the restoration was limited to releading using thinner leads.

Date. As window overall, see below.

Iconography. As pointed out by Fowler, the Trinity Shield is a popular fifteenth century device for symbolising the theological relationships between the members of the Trinity. Additional iconographic references are included in the notes. <sup>(3)</sup>

Panel 3. H. 36 cm. W. 47 cm. Resurrection Shield. (Pls. 9, 10, 11).

A gold shield bearing the Resurrection Lamb, nimbed, with cross-staff and banner, supported by two angels, as in panel 2.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, black enamel.

Conservation. This panel presents something of a problem. There is no tracing showing it as existing before the restoration of the late 1870's, but another tracing does exist (Plate 10) of a tracery opening of similar size and shape, with different contents (including a now vanished crowned head of Christ), amongst which can be discerned part of one of the supporting angels, now evident. It is probably, therefore, that this tracing represents the condition of the panel as found by Burlison and Grylls, and that they removed fragmentary remains in order to reconstruct another heraldic panel similar to 2. Close inspection being impossible during this study, it is not possible to say for certain what pieces of original glass were used, but it is very likely that parts of the angels are Victorian. <sup>(4)</sup>

Date. Probably at least partly mediaeval, taking into account Burlison and Grylls' habit of re-using mediaeval glass wherever possible. The slight lack of coherence visible on the shield suggests that the lamb may be authentic. The remainder Victorian?

Iconography. As suggested elsewhere, the fifteenth century sees the marked emergency of religious, as opposed to secular heraldry, and examples abound of shields of the Wounds of Christ, of the Trinity, and of the Instruments of the Passion. <sup>(5)</sup> It is uncertain what fragments used by Burlison and Gryll in the present panel are original, but it is quite possible that the restoration is accurate in that evidence did exist for there originally having been a Resurrection Shield.

Panel 4. H. 36 cm. W. 30 cm. approx. Sunburst - as Panel 1 (Not illustrated)

#### MAIN LIGHTS

Panel 1. H. 170 cm. W. 43 cm. S. Mary Cleophas, her husband, and four children. (Pl. 7, 12, 16, 17). The six figures stand beneath a canopy of three bays supported on pillars. Three crocketed gables rise to finials above round arches which enclose quatrefoils; groining and hanging bosses are visible beneath.

S. Mary Cleophas stands centre facing front with a child on each arm; the one on the left is in the act of receiving what seems to be some kind of fruit from the other. On the ground before them are two more



children; that on the left apparently holding a whip, with a top before him, the one on the right, with his hand resting on a wooden structure. All these figures are nimbed. Behind Mary, to the left, is the decayed head of a figure wearing a cap. Visible at the top of the panel is a diapered background in blue.

Colours and techniques. White glass; trace enamel used for outlining heads etc. yellow-stain extensively used for hair and garment decoration. Pot-metal blue used on the background and part of Mary's robe; murrey for the cap worn by Alphaeus; pot-metal red used as filling here and there.

Conservation. All these figures are somewhat faded, but the only one which has virtually disappeared is Alphaeus. The tracings are invaluable for assessing the extent of restoration:- re-leading has been carried out using very much thinner leads (Fowler, in his article, complains of the thickness used formerly, and of the practice which had been adopted by local glaziers of aggravating the situation by painting over the outside of leads.)<sup>(6)</sup> Mary and the child held in her right arm are unchanged apart from the sealing of a break with superimposed glass near the latter. The child held on the other arm has a Victorian foot. The child in the left foreground is doubtful, having at least the lower portion of his robe in Victorian glass, though the head is authentic. The fourth child has also been partly retrieved from a jumble; the lower part of his gown consisted of fragments (including the inscription 'hib...' in red) and has been restored. His head faces right in the tracing, and has been reversed so that enamelling is now on the inside. Fragments (including the inscription '...honi...' in red)<sup>(7)</sup> have been removed from the lower part of the panel.

Date. The inscription at the foot of the window gives a date of 1447, and it seems reasonable to ascribe all the glass to this date. Comparisons with York glass, suggestive of an earlier date, might be explained on the basis of the continued use of a popular cartoon. (See below.)

Iconography. The persons represented are S. Mary Cleophas, her husband Alphaeus, and the four children, James the Less, Jude, Simon and Joseph the Just - the latter being the 'Barsabas' of Acts i.23. According to the apocryphal legend, St. Anne Married first Joachim, by whom she had the Virgin Mary, then Cleophas, producing Mary Cleophas, and finally 'Salomas', producing Mary Salomas who married Zebedee and who is represented in panel 3. There are a number of comparable windows, of which the one in the South Choir of York Minster will be referred to below.<sup>(8)</sup> Extremely interesting for the purpose of comparison are the

windows of All Souls College, as described by Hutchinson. In the relevant panel there, the youthful apostles are shown with the emblems of their martyrdom (apart from Joseph the Just who has no known attribute). In Thornhill, however, no attributes are visible, and we have instead only "attributes of infancy".<sup>(9)</sup> The object on which the child in the right foreground leans is unclear, but may originally have been a seat. Further matters of iconographic interest are discussed in the general section below.

Panel 2. H. 172 cm. W. 43 cm. Joachim, St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus. (Pls. 7, 14, 15). Joachim stands in a similar position to that of Alphaeus. St. Anne stands right, wearing a peaked blue head-dress. Before her on the left stands the young Virgin Mary, richly dressed, hands crossed upon her breast, crowned. In the foreground stands the Infant Christ, hand raised in blessing, with the other hand holding a cross-staff with resurrection banner. The whole is under a canopy similar to that in panel 1, and there is a similar background to the figure group, this time coloured red.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, trace enamel. Pot-metal colours used e.g. 'murrey' on Christ's robe and on Joachim's cap. Enamelling is used on pot-metal for decorative effect, e.g. on the upper portion of the Virgin's inner gown (blue).

Conservation. In good readable condition apart from the head of Joachim of which one can see nothing except the faint outline of his hand on his beard. However, the panel has been significantly restored as follows:- fragments have been removed from the position of Joachim's hand on the shoulder of the Virgin; the head of St. Anne is repainting, as is the portion of her gown against which the head of Christ's cross-staff appears, (this being a point of importance for comparisons of this panel with that in St. Martin's, Coney Street, York - see below); the crown of the Virgin is restoration work, as is the lowest portion of her gown; the legs, torso and cross-staff of Christ have been restored from a jumbled state, and are probably repainted; the background has been rearranged, and may possibly have suffered some damage since the 1870's restoration. As with the other panels, thinner leads have been substituted for the gross lines shown in the tracings.

Date. 1447, as remainder of window.

Iconography. Instances of this kind of 'Holy Family' panel are to be found particularly in York, there being, in York Minster, a window of very similar design, and in St. Martin le Grand, Coney Street, a single panel which in design and execution approximates very closely to the present panel. Attention is drawn particularly to the Coney Street panel, since it seems very probable, when due allowance is made for alterations in the Thornhill panel caused by restoration, that they were prepared from the same design by the same workshop. Also, it is possible that some of the fragmentary glass in the South aisle of St. Denys' Church in York may be from the same source.<sup>(10)</sup> Further Iconographic notes on the subject are included below.

Panel 3 H. 170 cm. W. 43 cm. Maria Salomas, Zebedee, and children.  
(Pls. 7, 18, 19). Mary, nimed, stands facing half left, holding the infant St. John on her arm. The infant St. James stands at the foot of the panel on the right. The nimbed John holds a book, with the talons of the Eagle visible close by. St. James holds a staff with a small gold knob and wears a hat on which there seems to be a small shell. Behind and to the left of Mary was the head of Zebedee, wearing a similar cap to the husbands in panels 1 and 2. There is a blue diapered background behind the heads, and the figures stand on a pedestal. The canopy is of similar design to those in panels 1 and 2, and has a red background. Thus it is clear that canopy and subject panel backgrounds alternate in opposition.<sup>(11)</sup>

Colours and techniques. White glass, trace enamel, yellow-stain. Pot-metals used as in other panels. The yellow-stain is here used mostly on the inner surface of the glass.

Conversation. In good, readable condition, apart from the head of Zebedee. Restoration accounts for much of the quality, as follows:-

Mary - top half of head restored, chest area reconstructed, blue gown modern.

St. John - his gown reconstructed from a jumbled state.

St. James - much altered; the staff re-assembled; the gown virtually all reconstruction; the head has been turned round so that it now faces left, with the yellow-stain on the inner surface.

Zebedee - his cap is Victorian.

The tracing of panel 3 ends a few inches short of the foot of the panel as it now stands, and close inspection of the glass confirms that this lower portion, including the pedestal, is a careful reproduction on the

lines of panel 1. Elsewhere in the church, especially with regard to Window V, an incomplete tracing seems to indicate incompleteness in the window at the time it was made.<sup>(12)</sup>

Date. Victorian restoration as indicated. The remainder 1447.

Iconography. 'Maria Salomas' is the apocryphal third daughter of St. Anne, and her two children are here represented with their attributes, which is curious, considering the absence of such attributes in panel 1. The major part of the iconography can safely be left to the section below.

ICONOGRAPHY of the 'Three Marys' subject.

Windows representing the 'Holy Kindred' (die Heilige Sippe) became common throughout Europe during the fifteenth century, apparently as an extension of the cult of St. Anne and of the Marian cult. As indicated above, the basis for the legend of even St. Anne is apocryphal,<sup>(13)</sup> and the accretion of the remainder of the legend is one of the more interesting phenomena of the later middle ages. Rushforth, discussing Mâle,<sup>(14)</sup> suggests that the story of the three Marys and their saintly offspring was ultimately due 'to a desire to reconcile the mentions in the Gospel of the "Brethren" of Jesus with the idea of the perpetual virginity of Mary...' M.R. James, in the Journal of Theological Studies (1934) dates the inception of the legend in the form found expressed in many fifteenth century windows as '...late in the eleventh century'. He points out that from the twelfth century onwards, genealogical verses are frequently to be found in MSS, embodying the basis of the story, that given in the Golden Legend (in the chapter on the Nativity of the Virgin) being quoted as a typical example:-

"Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias

Quas genuere viri Ioachim, Cleophas, Salomeque..."

The means whereby the third husband of St. Anne, Salome, changed from the female Salome of Mark xv.40 and xvi.1. is the main concern of Dr. James article.<sup>(15)</sup>

It was quite common, in the fifteenth century, for the various sons of Maria Salome and Maria Cleophe to be depicted with their attributes, as they in fact are at All Souls College<sup>(16)</sup> - where St. Simon carries the saw of his supposed martyrdom etc. (cp. the Holy Family window in Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York.) The absence of such attributes

in panel 1 above is made a little more puzzling by the presence, in panel 3, of St. John's book and the staff and shell of St. James. It is quite possible, however, that attributes did exist at one time, but have been destroyed, the present objects being substitutes - the 'top' in the lower part of the panel is particularly doubtful.

Mention has already been made of stylistic similarities between window II and other work extant in York. The Coney Street panel, and window 17 in the South Choir of York Minster are particularly worth studying in this respect. The Goodramgate window, while similar in design, is not quite as close as the other examples in other respects. However, there is sufficient evidence to assert that window II is York work, and sufficient also to indicate the popularity of the subject. On this last point, the remarks of Mr. Knowles in 'The York School of Glass Painting' may be considered relevant.<sup>(17)</sup>

Panel 4. H. 30 cm. W. 43 cm. Decorative filling panel (Not illustrated)

Twelve squares of white glass with gold strapwork border; in the centre of each is a device - a cluster of spikes (average 16) radiating from a core decorated with gold. The panel has a border L & R of small rectangles on which a crown decorated with gold foliation is repeated between alternating red and blue.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and trace enamel. Pot-metal blues and reds in the border.

Conservation. No tracing exists of this panel, or of its companion in light 3, and this is hardly surprising. It is very faint, but probably only partly mediaeval. It seems that the restorers 'antiqued' their replacement glass by putting a thin wash of dull colour on the outer surface. If this observation is accurate, then only parts of the border may claim to be mediaeval.

Date. 1877-80, with some mediaeval glass as indicated, dated possibly 1447.

Iconography. Negligible - it is difficult to argue from this kind of decorative detail, but it is worth mentioning that similar work is to be found in York glass, as, e.g., in All Saints, North Street, where, at the foot of the Eastern most window in the North Aisle there are rectangles bearing a simpler, but similar, device. Analogues of the border are also to be found in York, but it is of a very common fifteenth century type with stylistic roots in the fourteenth century.

Panel 5. H. 30 cm. W. 43 cm. Donor Panel. (Pls. 20 and 21)

The background and borders to this panel are as found in 4 and 6. On the right, facing right, a knight kneels with his hands uplifted in prayer. He is in full armour, with his helmet before him. On his surcoat are quartered the arms of Savile and Thornhill, without tincture. Behind him is a lady also kneeling and facing right, richly dressed with jewels and butterfly head-dress. The arms of Savile also appear on her gown. Between the two figures is a lectern with an open book upon it. Behind the lady is an area of floor with some red tiling.

Colours and Techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, trace enamel, pot-metal red and blue for floor tiles and border. The figures themselves are executed entirely in trace enamel and yellow stain.

Conservation. This panel as the illustration shows, is much faded and in generally poor condition, although the glass itself is not severely corroded. There is a tracing in existence (1877?) and this shows that one or two gaps - e.g. the Knight's torso - have been filled with new glass; this would seem to render the armorial quarterings suspect, but they are in fact described by Whitaker (1816).

Date. 1447.

Iconography. The identification of these two figures is based on the discussion of the inscription at the foot of the window, which is given below. They are Sir Thomas Savile of Thornhill, Elland and Tankersley, and his wife Margery.<sup>(18)</sup> Sir Thomas was son to Sir Henry, who became the first Savile of Thornhill by marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Simon Thornhill.

Panel 6. As panel 4.

INSCRIPTION. Across the foot of the three lights of window II runs a consecutive inscription reading:-

"Orate p: ani' Thom. Savill/militis qui hanc capellam fieri fecit/anno domini MCCCCXLVII."

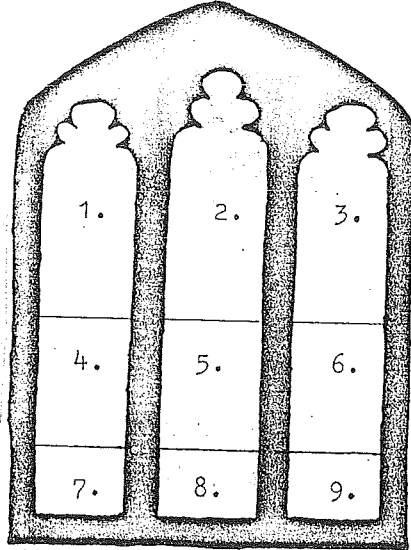
The Parish magazine for March 1877<sup>(19)</sup> records the discovery by Mr. Grylls of the central part of this inscription, which had, in fact been recorded by Whitaker. At the time it was thought that the 'militis' must be the first Savile of Thornhill, but by the time restoration work took place, and the portions of inscription in lights 1 and 3 were re-made,

it must have been realised that there existed a reasonably accurate record in the Heraldic Visitations e.g. Glover's visitation of 1584-5, (Appendix I). The will of Sir Thomas Savile, dated 1449, in which a number of bequests are made to the church, is appended to this paper.

NOTES ON WINDOW II

1. Whitaker; Loidis et Elmete (1816) p. 320.
2. Fowler; Y.A.J. Vol. 1 1870 p.70.
3. Other examples are numerous; cp St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York, where the shield is held by one of the Orders of Angels in the South aisle; it does not, however, have a script, being too small. Cp. Woodforde; Norwich School of Glass-painting pp.37, 121, 124.
4. This likelihood is based on the opposing unlikelihood of Burlison and Gryll's having found sufficient pieces of mediaeval glass elsewhere in the Church to complete these figures.
5. See Rushforth op.cit. p.257.
6. Fowler op.cit. p.78.
7. These fragments of inscription probably related to others originally in L.V of window IV, now vanished. Since the colour is enamelled, their date is late.
8. Window 17, South Choir.
9. The absence of specific attributes of martyrdom etc. is a little unusual, particularly in view of the presence of such symbols in panel 3. Cp. Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York; 'Holy Family' window.
10. Much of the St. Denys' glass referred to is amongst the fragments now in the lower half of the East window of the South Aisle. In the Easternmost window in the South Wall, however, are a number of angels supporting a vesica containing the BVM, and the drawing of these has a particular affinity with the Coney Street panel and the glass of window II.
11. A scheme also adopted in window III (1493). See Fowler p.77.
12. Compare window V, where the rolls of tracing are abbreviated, giving no indication of any of the panels now seen in the foot of the window. E.g. 'David' is not shown - and it is possible to prove, from London sources, that the figure of David was an entirely new creation of the restorers.
13. Protevangelium Jacobi; Pseudo-Matthew; Gospel of the Nativity of Mary; see M.R. James - Apoc. N.T. p.38ff.
14. Rushforth p. 198ff; M&L iii 217ff.
15. M.R. James - 'The Salomites' Journ. Theol. Stud. 1934 p.287ff.
16. See Hutchinson - Mediaeval Glass at All Souls p. 27ff. and plates.
17. J. Knowles - York School of Glass-Painting S.P.C.K. 1936 p.159ff.
18. (?) Margaret.
19. Dewsbury Public Library. (Bibliog.)





WINDOW III. Easternmost in the North  
Choir (Savile Chapel.)

Historical sources:-

Whitaker; 'Loidis et Elmete' 1816.

Fowler; Yorkshire Archaeological  
Journal 1870.

Nelson; Ancient painted glass in  
England 1913.

There do not appear to be any  
tracings of this window by Burlinson  
and Gryll.

When Whitaker wrote about this window in 1816 he described only the second and third lights, making no reference at all to the first.<sup>(1)</sup> Fowler, however, took the trouble to indicate that it had been blocked up by the erection in 1622 of a monument to Sir George Savile against the North wall of the chapel. Having described the contents of lights two and three, Fowler then went on to speculate as to the original contents of Light one, deciding that panels 1 and 4 would probably, (on the assumption that they would have been iconographically related to 2, 3, 5, 6) have contained a 'Death of the Virgin' and an 'Annunciation'.<sup>(2)</sup> During the major reconstruction of the church in the late 1870's, of which the Burlison and Gryll restoration of the glass was a part, this first light was opened up by the expedient of taking down a large portion of the North wall and moving the entire window Eastwards a foot or two.<sup>(3)</sup> It seems clear that the newly opened light was then filled with glass painted by Burlison and Gryll, using Fowler's article as a guide to subject matter.

Nelson (1913) is confusing on this matter, for he describes light 1 as still blocked up. It is fairly evident that he cannot have visited the Church, and that his description must have been based on Fowler's pre-restoration article.<sup>(4)</sup> In his preface he does, in fact, acknowledge indebtedness to local archaeological journals for information regarding those churches which he was unable to visit.

Panel 1. H 98 cm. W. 43 cm. approx.(?) Death of the Virgin. (Pl. 23).

The main scene takes place under a tall canopy with small figures in niches L & R. The Virgin, nimbed with part of a blue robe showing lies on a bed extending across the panel. She holds a rod. Behind the bed are two figures, the nearer of whom may be intended as John. Before the bed is a male figure seated on the ground holding a book, probably intended as Peter. The background is red.

On the pillars are two figures; St. George armed and killing a dragon on the left, and St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ on the right.

The canopy is of three arches with hanging bosses between, a gable supported on each arch, with crocketed finials. Behind is a large architectural feature, above which some background shows blue. The two pillar figures each have a small double arch with hanging boss above them.

Colours and techniques. Considerable use of yellow-stain and enamel on white glass. Pot-metal colours are used for the red and blue backgrounds, with a diaper design scratched out of black. The Virgin's robe and that of Peter (murrey) would also seem to be pot-metal.

Conservation. In good condition. Some of the glass is corroded, and may well be mediaeval - e.g. St. Christopher, and parts of the canopy; for Burlison and Gryll appear to have made a practice of re-using appropriate mediaeval fragments wherever possible. The rest, however, is nineteenth century; presumably inserted when the light was reopened.

Date. 1877-80, for reasons advanced on the previous page, and on the basis of internal evidence.

Iconography. There is no Biblical authority for this scene, and the present conjectural reconstruction is rooted in apocryphal sources, of which the Golden Legend, with its detailed account and various suggestions for the age of the Virgin at death, is one of the most important.<sup>(5)</sup> There seems little need to analyse the present reconstruction further, except to note that it follows a fairly late mediaeval form, with Christ absent, and that the arrangement may represent some degree of contamination from the iconography of the Birth of the Virgin; but whether this contamination affected a supposed mediaeval original referred to by the restorers, or the restorers themselves, is impossible to say.

Panel 2. H.105 cm. W. 43 cm. approx. Assumption of the Virgin. (Pl.22 & 29  
poor photo.)

A vesica shaped golden mandorla containing the Virgin, robed and nimbed, with long hair. Her gown is decorated in gold, and her hands are clasped in prayer. The mandorla has a rim with designs representing precious stones, as found throughout window IV. There are four supporting angels, robed in white with extended wings. In their present condition they are demi-figures. The background to this part of the panel is blue, and pillars rise to L & R.

These pillars support a canopy which, like that in panel 1, consists of three gables with hanging bosses; the upper part, however, differs. The centre light is a little taller than the other two, and the additional space is occupied by a further three gables, smaller, and supported on pillars and buttresses rising from the main canopy structure. The background visible behind the canopy is red.

There are two figures on the canopy pillars, set slightly higher than their counterparts in panels 1 and 3. On the left is St. John, holding the poisoned chalice. The right-hand figure is blurred, and the present writer has been unable to make out a satisfactory attribute.

Colours and techniques. Mostly white glass and yellow-stain, the latter used on the outside of the glass in parts, and very extensively on the mandorla. The mediaeval enamelling used to indicate features, the groining of canopies etc. seems to be brownish, and not unlike that used by Burlison and Gryll in clearly identifiable restoration work about the church; this causes some difficulty, (minimised in panels 2,3,5,6, for which there are tracings by Fowler, - of more concern in panels 7,8,9) in distinguishing between mediaeval glass and slightly corroded Victorian glass. (6) Red and blue pot-metal is used for the two backgrounds mentioned, with some diaper work scratched out of black.

Conservation. In fairly good condition. Enamel trace lines have faded considerably, but are still, for the most part, visible. With regard to restoration work, Fowler's 1870 tracings of this window are invaluable. They seem to show the Assumption scene as it is now, (apart, possibly, from the background, which does not emerge clearly) and the internal evidence seems to confirm that this is mediaeval glass. The main part of the canopy is also as seen in the tracing, apart from a section above the left hand bay which is shown as blank. The upper part, supported on pillars, is, however, restoration work, and so is part of the figure of St. John.

Date. This panel is mostly mediaeval; dated as window overall, see separate section on dating below.

Iconography. Again apocryphal. The story of the Death, Funeral, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin has been attributed to Melitus, an early Bishop of Sardis. It was popularised in the 6th century by Gregory of Tours, and received its greatest impetus, as far as late mediaeval iconography is concerned, from Voragine's Golden Legend, - extensively quoted by Fowler in his discussion of this window.<sup>(7)</sup> In essence an attempt to complete in an appropriate way what the scriptures neglected, this iconographic cycle obviously owes much to that of the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. Although an immensely popular subject, as the many representations show, it was classed by the Church as merely a pious belief, rather than dogma, and was only officially proclaimed by Pius XII in 1950<sup>(8)</sup>

Panel 3. H. 97 cm. W. 43 cm. approx. Coronation of the Virgin. (Pl.22,28)

The Virgin is seated on the left, robed in white and blue, nimbed and crowned, with her head inclined to the E. and her hands crossed on her breast. Christ is seated on the right; cross-nimbed, and robed in white and red facing half W. In his left hand he holds a cross-staff with resurrection banner, his right hand is blessing. He too is crowned. There is a red background as in panel 1.

Above is a canopy of design similar to that in panel 1, with a blue background.

As in 1 and 2, there are two niche figures beside the canopy; on the left is St. Laurence with the gridiron, on the right is St. Stephen carrying stones and with one stone striking him on the head.

Colours and Techniques. Pot-metal blue and red for the backgrounds mentioned and the robes of Christ and the Virgin. The rest is white glass and yellow-stain with enamel trace lines.

Conservation. In poor condition. The pot-metal colours have corroded, and enamel trace lines have faded, leaving e.g. the head outlines somewhat blurred in yellow-stain only. In addition, there is an extensive area of cracking around both main figures, reminiscent of the fire-cracking to be found in parts of York Minster. Similar cracking does occur in panel 2, but to a much lesser extent.<sup>(9)</sup> The restoration work, as indicated by the tracing, seems to have been confined to the upper parts of the canopy and

its background, and to the niche figure of St. Stephen. The latter evidently replaced an angel, visible in Fowler's tracing immediately above and to the right of Christ's head. It is possible that this angel may originally have been displaced from the left side of the panel, where his role would have been to be in the act of placing the crown on the head of the Virgin.

Date. Largely mediaeval, as window overall.

Iconography. The sources are as for panel 2. With regard to the coronation, Réau suggests that the later history of the iconography represents the progress of 'Mariolatry' as a popular cult, in that initially the Virgin is crowned by an angel, then by God the Father, then by the Trinity assembled, as at Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.<sup>(10)</sup>

Panel 4. H.69 cm. W.43 cm. approx. Annunciation. (Pl. 24)

The angel stands on the left robed in red and white, a chaplet of flowers on his head, a staff in his right hand, scroll in left reading "Ave Maria..." etc. The Virgin stands on the right turning towards him from a prayer desk, her hands raised. She is robed in red and blue, and nimbed. Above and between these figures, the dove of the Holy Spirit flies down towards the Virgin. There is a blue diapered background, and a truncated canopy of three gables with two hanging bosses between, serving as a base for panel 1 above.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red and blue for robes and background, the latter with running diaper scratched out of black. The rest is white glass with yellow-stain and trace enamel lines. Some of the yellow-stain, particularly on the reading desk, seems to have been applied without trace-enamel outlining, and this may have been done by the restorers to produce the slightly blurred effect characteristic of the mediaeval glass where such outlining has disappeared.

Conservation. In good condition. Again by Burlison and Gryll. There is little corrosion, and one would hesitate to describe any of the glass as mediaeval, except, perhaps, for parts of the pillars supporting the truncated canopy. Again, it seems a reasonable assumption that this panel was reconstructed by the restorers when light 1 was reopened, on the basis of the suggestions contained in Fowler's article.

Date. 1877-80, for reasons advanced in the introduction to this window, and on the basis of internal evidence.

Iconography. The study of a Victorian reconstruction is not necessarily fruitful from the point of view of mediaeval iconography, particularly as in this instance we have no idea what original was followed, if any, nor do we have any notion of the amount of care taken. It should suffice to say that the arrangement conforms to that of the fifteenth century, as does the technique.

Panel 5. H.69 cm. W.43 cm. approx. The Nativity. (Pl. 25,30).

The canopy and pillars are as in panel 4. Mary sits on the left robed in white and gold, nimbed, with the Saviour on her knee. She has a loose head-covering. From the Fowler tracing it would seem that the child was suckling, and held a small orb in one hand, but this is no longer clear. In the foreground, a figure in a blue robe, presumably Joseph, is crouched over a staff. The Ox and the ass are visible in the right hand part of the panel, separated from Joseph by what seems to be the bed on which the Virgin is seated. Behind is a fence of wattles, and above is the star of Bethlehem, set in the red background.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal for the background and for Joseph's robe; elsewhere, white glass and yellow-stain with trace enamel. As the panel is now, Joseph has a red cap, which is also pot-metal.

Conservation. In poor condition. There is considerable corrosion, and the enamel trace lines of Joseph's face and beard have entirely gone. The increased number of lead lines as compared with Fowler's tracing indicate a number of breakages since 1870. There has been some re-arrangement of the glass, especially in the lower right-hand part of the panel, which was aimed at clarifying the area before the ox and ass, where a trough now appears. There is some cracking of the glass, similar to that found in panels 2 and 3. Most of the glass in this panel is mediaeval, with the possible exception of the head of the Virgin and parts of the background. The head of the Virgin has been in position since at least 1870, and there is no account of repainting of the glass earlier than the late 1870's, so perhaps she ought to be given the benefit of the doubt.

Date. Mediaeval, dated as window overall, see section below.

Iconography. The iconography of the Nativity is a complex mixture of the scriptural, the apocryphal, and the exegetical. This panel could be said to show the influence of the 'Meditationes Vitae Christi' of Nicholas Love in that the setting seems to be in the open air. The

'Meditationes...' give the scene as taking place in the gap between two buildings, and not in the stable of Luke's gospel. The woven fence seen in the background is common as a means of establishing the outdoor locale, and is used for that purpose in many scenes.<sup>(11)</sup>

The presence of the ox and the ass at the Nativity stems from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, and Anderson states that they were regarded as essential witnesses to the Birth from the 4th century onwards, deriving extensions of their rôle in the sermon of the Pseudo-Augustine, the Golden Legend, and the Meditationes.<sup>(12)</sup> The basic function of the beasts is to express the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah that 'The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib; but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider,' (Isiah i.3.)<sup>(13)</sup>

In the fifteenth century, there were distinct ways of representing the figures in the Nativity. In the more important works of the period, Anderson suggests that the influence of the vision of St. Bridget of Sweden (1370) is strong in that the Virgin kneels and the child radiates light.<sup>(14)</sup> Malvern is an obvious example of this type. The present panel, however, seems to be an example of an earlier form, with the Virgin seated on a bed, which nevertheless 'co-existed' with the other during the fifteenth century.

In terms of the growth of the Marian cult it is interesting to note Anderson's suggestion that such a representation as here might have been deemed 'heretical' in some quarters, since the bed could imply pain or weariness in the Virgin - human traits which were increasingly discounted in the increasingly popular mythology.

Panel 6. H.70 cm. W.43 cm. approx. The Resurrection. (Pl.26,27,31 - details 32,33)

Christ emerges from the tomb, centre. The positions of his feet are not clear. He is apparently robed in dark red. The right hand is raised in blessing, in the left a cross-staff with resurrection banner. The head is missing, apart from the upper segment of a nimbus.<sup>(15)</sup> About the tomb are four soldiers, three of them asleep, the fourth, on the extreme left, awake and astonished. The background is blue, and there is a truncated canopy as in panels 4 and 5.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal for the background mentioned, in which there is an area of red immediately to the left of the Christ figure, also pot-metal. Christ's robe is 'Murrey' pot-metal(?), probably

Victorian glass 'antiqued' by Burlison and Gryll. The remainder is white glass and yellow-stain with trace enamel, used most extensively on the outlines of the soldiers and their weapons.

Conservation. Not in good condition, but quite readable. The head of Christ has disappeared since Fowler's day, and probably since the restoration also, since Burlison and Gryll would surely have supplied another. Christ's robe is recent, and may be 'antiqued' glass. The centre bay of the canopy has been restored - (when Westlake published Fowler's tracings again in 1886 he drew in the missing bay on the analogy of the Nativity canopy, but by that date the actual restoration would have taken place<sup>(16)</sup>). It is unclear whether the background was patched with red in Fowler's day.

Date. Three-quarters mediaeval, dated as window overall, see below.

Iconography. Actual descriptions of the Resurrection of Christ are not scriptural, as there were no recorded witnesses, and the biblical tradition centred rather on the scene of the three Marys at the tomb, which led directly to the 'Quem quaeritis...' tradition in early church liturgy, with its eventual influence on the drama of the day.

The earliest detailed description would seem to be that of Ephraim the Syrian, who asserted that Christ left the tomb and went directly into the sky.<sup>(17)</sup>

It is suggested that early Christian artists shrank from portraying the resurrection out of humility, and concentrated on the 'Quem quaeritis...' scene instead. Certainly, representations of Christ leaving the tomb do not occur, as far as the present author is aware, earlier than the 11th century. Réau quotes a possible early example in a miniature in the Munich Gospel coming from the scriptorium of Reichenau, but without date.<sup>(18)</sup>

The watchers at the tomb are regarded as a necessary refutation of Jewish insinuations with regard to the authenticity of the resurrection, one of them at least being shown awake as a witness to the event. One can see the influence of the contemporary drama in the way in which these individuals are often caricatured in art, as they were on stage. The Townley play, in which the soldiers are posted by Pilate, sleep, and thereafter invent tales of the abduction of the corpse by a thousand armed men, is a good example of the kind of local tradition which the present panel probably reflects.<sup>(19)</sup>

Panel 7. Sainted Bishop. (Pl. 23 only)

Not illustrated separately. The Bishop is seated on a wide throne,



facing half right; he is robed in white with what appear to be gold monogram 'Y's'. He is nimbed and mitred, and has a crozier held in his right hand. There is a border on each side of this panel consisting of crowns between alternating red and blue rectangles, as in the lower panels of window 2.

Colours and techniques. The only pot-metal colour is in the rectangles in the border. The rest is yellow-stain and enamel on white glass.

Conservation. In good condition, with some apparent corrosion. There is some reason to think that this panel is entirely nineteenth century, in that one of Fowler's notes indicates the existence of only the Bishop in panel 9, and specifically refers to the absence of figures in panels 7 and 8. It is possible, however, that some mediaeval glass was re-used by the restorers. Considerable skill was evidently used in harmonising the new glass with the old in panel 9, and it is possible that parts of the glass have been 'antiqued' by the use of acids.

Date. 1877-80, with cognisance of the possibility mentioned above.

Iconography. See under panel 9.

Panel 8. Sainted Bishop. (Pl. 35)

The description is entirely as for panel 7, except that the Bishop faces front, and holds the crozier in the left hand.

Colours and techniques. As for panel 7.

Conservation. The remarks made about panel 7 apply here, with the addition that part of the inner gown of the Bishop, with a fretted design, seems to be mediaeval. Also, the border may have one or two original fragments.

Date. 1877-80 as panel 7.

Iconography. See under panel 9.

Panel 9. Sainted Bishop. (Pl. 34)

As in the other panels, the Bishop is seated on a wide throne; this time he faces half left and has the crozier in his left hand. The border is similar.

Colours and techniques. As in panels 7 and 8.

Conservation. In fairly good condition, though much faded in parts. The lower part of the gown, particularly, is much faded. Fowler,<sup>(20)</sup> followed by Nelson,<sup>(21)</sup> mentions the existence of this figure in his 1870

article, but does not trace it. He describes only '...the figure of a bishop seated, on white glass with brown and the yellow-stain...' and says that only part of the figure remains. Whitaker<sup>(22)</sup> mentions a bishop at the foot of window III, and says that he carried a cross. He may have been mistaken in this, or possibly the cross was lost, and a crozier substituted at the restoration. The conclusion is that part, at least, of this panel is mediaeval, and the present writer would regard the three pieces of glass comprising head, torso, and right hand to be fairly certainly so. Parts of the rest of the panel may also be mediaeval, assembled from fragments surplus to other windows, but again it is difficult to be certain owing to the skill with which the work of reconstruction and harmonising was carried out.

Date. Partly mediaeval, as indicated above. See section on dating below.

Iconography. If we accept the reports of both Fowler and Whitaker, then we must regard the bishops in panels 7 and 8 as largely fabrications designed to fill awkward space at the foot of window III. The sainted Bishop in the present panel has, however, some claim to being original. An identification does not seem possible on the basis of present information. A possibility is that the figure represents St. William of York, particularly if Whitaker's note of a cross-staff was correct, but this is no more than speculation. It is worth noting that there are a number of similar subjects in fifteenth century glass, as in All Saints, North Street, York, where at the foot of the East window of the chancel there is a Trinity with God the Father seated on a wide settle similar to that in panel 9. Also, there is a comparable piece of glass, depicting a bishop, in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

DATING. In the inscription in the East window of the Savile Chapel (window IV) as supplied by Glover and Dodsworth,<sup>(23)</sup> it is said that William Sayville "enlarged this Quayre at his cost att the oversight of... Sir John his nephew...", and the date given is 1493. It seems probable that window III was constructed as part of this extension, differing as it does in design from the two square-headed windows in the North wall. There is, however, no necessity of assuming the mediaeval glass to be of the same date. The uncertainty as to the fate of any Nave glass there may have been, and the added possibility that 'old' glass may have been introduced into the church from another building (see appendix IV), make precise statements as to the original position of the glass in all the

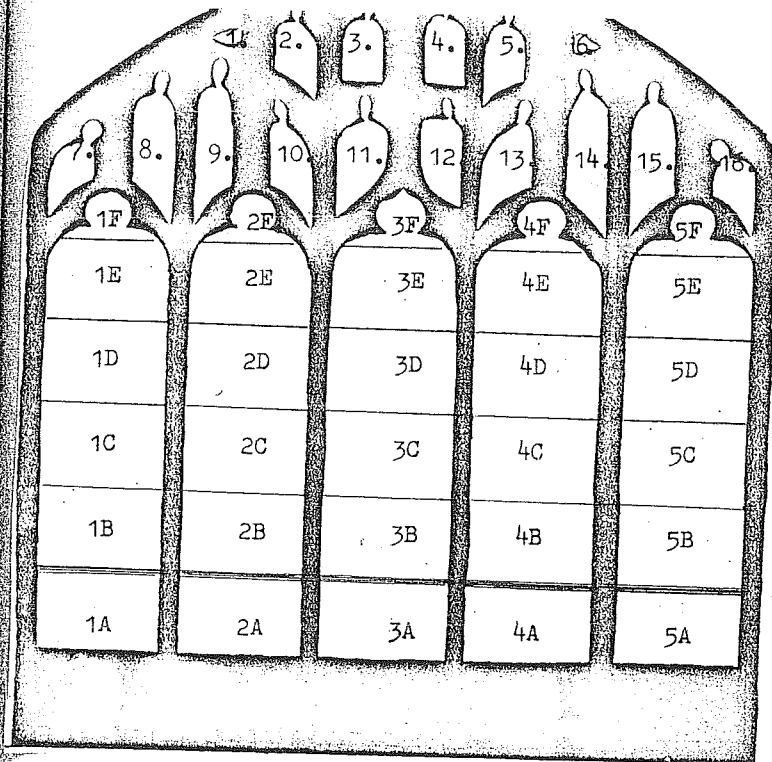
side windows impossible. On the other hand, the existence of a Chantry of Our Lady in the Church, founded by Sir John Savile, and probably therefore in the family Chapel, makes the presence of an iconographically related window likely.<sup>(24)</sup>

Stylistically, there is a relationship discernible between windows II and III, of which the former can be reasonably dated mid-fifteenth century and probably contemporary with the window masonry of 1447. But it is largely a matter of similarly alternating backgrounds and general technique which might very well be the result of careful copying by a later artist charged with the task of producing a new window of design not too dissimilar from the existing glass. It is true that one detail in particular, the space-filling rough circles of enamel, coloured with yellow-stain, which appear on the seat of the bishop in panel 9, appears also beneath the figure of the child Christ in the centre light of window II, - but this kind of decorative detail is not a reliable guide. It also appears at the heads of lights 2, 3 and 4 in window IV, where it seems to be indisputably an integral part of the original scheme, and were one to use it as a guide to dating it would favour a later dating of window II rather than an earlier dating of both III and IV.

In the end, firm dating seems unrealistic. Westlake comments on the stylistic archaism of some of the Thornhill glass,<sup>(25)</sup> and it is felt that window III may be an instance. Internal evidence on the matter of whether or not the glass was made for the window openings in which it now finds itself is inconclusive, largely on account of restoration work. The present writer regards the 1493 date as probable.

NOTES: WINDOW III

1. Whitaker op.cit. p.320
2. Fowler op.cit. p.72ff.
3. See Parish magazine, March 1879. The only copy of which the writer is aware is in the possession of Mrs. B. Nuttall, 14 Red Hall Avenue, Leeds. (See bibliography.)
4. Nelson op.cit. p.230ff.
5. Cp. Réau - Iconographie de la Bible NT. Chapter on the cycle of the Dormition of the Virgin.
6. It should also be noted that Burlison and Gryll exercised considerable skill in antiquing their glass.
7. Fowler op.cit. p.71ff.
8. Réau ibid.
9. Compare similar cracking mentioned with regard to windows I & III.
10. Réau ibid ff.
11. Anderson.
12. Anderson op.cit.
13. Cp. Fowler's remarks concerning the occasional identification of the Ox and the Ass with the Old and the New Law. Fowler op.cit.p.108.
14. Anderson op.cit.
15. Plates 26 and 27 are included to show the extent to which corrosion has advanced in recent years. They are by the R.C.H.M. & the author (1971) respectively, and indicate that the head of Christ is a comparatively recent loss.
16. Westlake; History of Design in Painted Glass 4 Vols. 1886 III 95ff.
17. Réau op.cit. NT 538ff.
18. Ibid. 544.
19. With ref. to the Mystery Plays, it is interesting to note a possible reference to Thornhill in the Wakefield Plays (No. 13) in which the Shepherds, at nearby Horbury, are referred to as going to the "crokyd thorne". YAS XV p.100.
20. Fowler op.cit. p.72n2.
21. Nelson op.cit. p.230.
22. Whitaker p. 320.
23. See appendices and window IV.
24. See appendices - will of Sir Thomas Savile.
25. Westlake op.cit. III 95ff.



WINDOW IV. The East window of the Savile Chapel in the North Choir.

This window has a number of features requiring some alteration of the system of description hitherto adopted. The transverse lines in the diagram represent the modern glazing bars, and will be used to indicate panels on the grid system given. These bars do not, however, represent the mediaeval panels except in the case of the bottom row which contains the five donor panels. In effect, the 'subject panels' are the full height of the light above the donor panels, and the above divisions may be thought unnecessarily confusing. However, they do represent the sections in which the window was restored in the 1870's, and every effort will be made to clarify the relationships.

In addition, the window is not merely a collection of related subjects, but one coherent subject spreading across the five main lights in such a way as to render the mullions interruptions rather than an organising framework for the design. Consequently, the discussion of the iconography is left until the catalogue has been completed, although passing reference will be made to matters of particular iconographic note under individual panel headings.

As will be indicated below, the mediaeval glass has been much broken and is in a decayed condition, and it is a matter of great good-fortune that we possess complete tracings of all five lights and of some of

the tracery lights, made before restoration work was begun. These are the tracings referred to in the text below. The London (V & A) tracings are, as indicated elsewhere, more in the nature of cartoons, showing the glass in a rationalised state, with gaps to show the requirement for new (Victorian) glass. They omit light 2.

TRACERY LIGHTS. (Pl. 36 to 40)

The tracery compartments of window IV contain twelve figures, apparently all of Saints, and two sunbursts. The two smallest compartments (1 & 6) do not seem to contain any figures. Identification of these figures is difficult, as there is extensive corrosion evident on much of the glass, though considerable assistance is afforded by tracings of eleven compartments which were found in the church, and which are evidently by Burlison and Gryll.

The tracings show four compartments at least as having been plain when the work was done (St. Andrew being divided between two traced compartments), and since the window now has a relatively full complement of tracery Saints, some of them may be assumed to be Victorian. Unfortunately, this paper is not in a position to say precisely which; the recent corrosion, which both mediaeval and Victorian glass is believed to have suffered, combines with the present difficult viewing conditions to create uncertainty. It is hoped that a forthcoming restoration of the glass may clarify matters.

The following catalogue is necessarily somewhat abbreviated.

1. Not evident.
2. Sunburst.
3. Male saint, with attribute (James the Less?)
4. Male saint, carrying a book and a pole-axe. Identifiable with tracing, (Matthias?) (Jude?).
5. Sunburst, as 2.
6. Not evident.
7. Saint (with tonsure?).
8. Saint Andrew, with saltire cross. Reassembled from two compartments by the restorers; see plates.
9. St. James the Great, with shell and staff.
10. Female saint? In very poor condition.
11. Saint, with a spear, top somewhat confused.
12. Saint with staff. (Christopher?)

13. Saint with cross-staff.
14. Nimbed figure of a saint. Not plain.
15. Saint with book and axe. Cp.4.
16. Saint with (?) saw. (Simon?).

The thematic relationship between intercessory saints in the tracery and the salvation of the souls below seems obvious. Elsewhere, the possibility of a relationship between window IV and the content of Deguileville's 'Pilgrimage of the Life of Man' is discussed, but the possibility of there being a link between the tracery compartments and explicit references in the poem to the martyrdom of saints is a slender one.

Colours and techniques are the same in each tracery compartment. Yellow-stain is very extensively used with trace-enamel drawing. In most compartments there are signs of much small detail which has, for the most part, become unreadable; at the feet of a number of the Saints were a variety of objects, including, commonly, small buildings (churches) and animals. (See plates.)

Date. Mostly 1493, contemporary with the main lights of the window. As indicated above, some of the glass must be Victorian, but a secure indication must await closer inspection.

LIGHT 1. Panels in ascending order.

Panel 1A. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. A donor figure. (Pl. 55,56).

A kneeling figure, facing S., robed, with a purse (?alms-purse)<sup>(1)</sup> hanging at his side. He is praying. Before him is a prayer-desk with an open book, apparently supported on a low table. Behind the figure and N. is an alcove with signs of a curtain rail and hangings, some chequered floor-tiles. About the head of the figure is a scroll, of which the text is now illegible, but which was recorded by Whitaker in 1816. (See below). To the left of the panel is a pillar, with small crocketed finials, supporting a recessed cusped arch which, in fact, extends over the donor figure in all five lights, being supported by a similar pillar in panel 5A, thus cutting off the donor panels from the main subject above.

Colours and techniques. As with the rest of the window, white glass and yellow-stain predominate. Enamel trace-lines used for outlines. The only strong colour in the panel is on the robe which is 'murrey', apparently pot-metal. Traces of the drapery design suggest the use of abrasion.

Conservation. In poor condition. This statement holds good for most of the panels in window IV, and the causes of the severe corrosion evident throughout will be discussed in a separate section below. The head is very much gone, as is the detail of the background draperies. As noted, the scroll is illegible, but Whitaker records it as reading "In te Do...vi" - for "In te Domine speravi."<sup>(2)</sup> The area to the S. of the figure is, however, in reasonable condition. Restoration:- The last area named, containing the prayer-desk etc. The 1870's tracing shows that there was a jumbled area extending up the S. side of panels 1A and B. In 1A there were fragments of drapery, an area of ruby glass, and five heads and shoulders in a group, four female and one male, praying and looking upwards. These last have since disappeared. They may have been from window IV, or, more likely, from the remains of an Acts of Mercy window in the Church, - discussed in the section on window VII. In addition, the tracing shows the head as clear, and the design on the drapery background. In general, one can say that the apparent contrast between the condition of the glass in the 1870's and today is extreme, and requiring special explanation.

Date. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  nineteenth century, as indicated; the rest mediaeval, dated 1493 as the window overall in the section on dating below.

Iconography. It seems clear that the figure represents William Sayvile, the donor of the window mentioned in the inscription that runs above all the bottom panels. He "...enlarged this Quayre at his cost att the oversight



of..." Sir John Sayvile, his nephew. It is possible that he was not alone in donating the window and that all those mentioned in the inscription were involved. He is robed in what is probably lawyers garb.<sup>(3)</sup> It seems clear from comparison with the other donor panels that, when perfect, there must have been a devotional figure to which the donor was praying. In A5 a similar gap was filled by the restorers, (on the basis of some remaining evidence) with a Trinity, but here there was no clue as to what the figure may have been. It is worth noting here the similarity of arrangement between all the donor panels in window IV and a donor panel of Flemish glass now in the Victoria and Albert Museum - 6914/1860.<sup>(4)</sup> This point is discussed further below in connection with the provenance of the glass.

Panel 1B. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. Two souls approaching St. Peter (Pl. 41,42).

(Note: the head and shoulders of St. Peter are in panel 1C above.) Two souls, clad in shrouds, stand on the right, male to the N. female S. the female's shroud is caught into a distinctive top-knot above her head.<sup>(5)</sup> They face each other, with St. Peter between. The male is reaching up to have his hand grasped by the Saint. Traces of architectural background, and some herbage on which they stand.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, and enamel trace.

Conservation. In poor condition apart from the female soul and the lower part of the male. Restoration:- the last two areas named and some of the herbage at their feet. The female soul was evidently restored on the analogy of some of the others in lights 3, 4 and 5. She is a good example of the brownish enamel trace lines used by Burlison and Gryll throughout the church. The tracings show her position occupied by a jumbled area (see panel 1A) which included part of a wing of St. Michael, now returned to its correct position. They also show the extent of corrosion, the architecture and herbage being much clearer.

Date. As window overall. Some nineteenth century glass as indicated.

Iconography. See panel 1C and section on iconography of the window as a whole.

Panel 1C. H.34 cm. W. 48 cm. St. Peter at a gate. (Pl. 41,42)

An archway with round headed windows either side, all with radiance emerging. In the archway, St. Peter, tonsured, but without nimbus; bearded and robed, greeting two souls, one of which is restored (see 1B). His head is turned slightly S, and he carries the keys of his office. The

architecture is decorated with designs representing precious stones. Above the arch is a parapet supporting a gable with windows and part of an angel N., the rest of which is in 1D.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and white glass. Pot-metal blue for Peter's robe. Some enamel trace, much faded.

Conservation. In poor condition, although better than many panels in the window. As elsewhere, the trace-lines indicating architectural mouldings etc. have largely gone, and the remaining yellow-stain has blurred.

Restoration:- apparently very little, though some of Peter's robe may have been patched. The tracing shows the usual marked contrast of clarity, and also reveals two small heads peering through the North window.

Date. Mediaeval c.1493. Evidence below.

Iconography. Peter is often represented with a single key, but here the plural 'claves regni coelorum...' is observed (Matt.xvi.19). Rushforth indicates that the tradition of representing him with short, curly hair and beard stems from early Christian art.<sup>(6)</sup> The tonsure is usually taken as indicating that he was the first of the Clerical order, but, as Rushforth again notes, there was an early tradition referred to in the seventh century, of regarding it as a reference to the Crown of Thorns.<sup>(7)</sup>

Panel 1D. H.38cm. W.48 cm. Architectural facade with windows and two angels. (Pl. 43 1877 tracing only).

The angel, lower left, is demi - the rest being in 1C. He is robed and blowing a trumpet. Traces remain of another angel directly above on a parapet. (Playing a lute?). There are three windows; lower right, ogee arched with two heads peering out; centre, square headed; lower centre, round-headed. Before the latter is a banner, much corroded, but showing the wounds of Christ. It is on a cross-staff rising from gables in 1C.

Colours and techniques. White glass and yellow-stain. Some pot-metal red where a dome rises into 1E.

Conservation. In poor condition. The upper angel has suffered particularly, as has the architecture. The lower part of the ogee window is restoration. The tracing confirms the wounds of Christ banner and, besides indicating the contents with clarity, shows two more heads at the foot of the square headed window. The round-headed window is shown to have contained two lights of quarry glass, with tracery.

Date. Mediaeval 1493. Evidence below.

Iconography. The iconography of musical angels is so diffuse and the examples so numerous as to require little detailed attention here. The Biblical sources are such texts as Revelations xiv. and the Gospels of the Nativity. Of particular comparative interest are the angels in the windows of the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick, described by Hardy in 'Archaeologia' 1909, (8) which will be referred to again. The banner of the wounds of Christ is of particular interest for the iconography of the window as a whole. The representation of the wounds as horizontal gashes exuding drops of blood in yellow-stain finds a parallel in Malvern. (9) The emblem was popular in the fifteenth century, particularly in heraldic form, often with hands, feet and heart arranged on a shield. A literary development of the theme which did influence iconography was the description of the wounds as wells, from which flowed grace, pity etc. Rushforth gives a brief relevant bibliography. (10)

Panel 1E. H.39 cm. W.48 cm. Summit of architectural facade, with two angels. (Pl. 43).

Across the top of all five lights a parapet extends on which various figures are standing or sitting. This is evidently the goal of all the resurrected souls making their way up the various staircases shown below, and is intended to represent the summit of the Holy city. Over the top of this parapet extends an arch, supported on pillars in 1E and 5E, decorated with jewel motifs. Golden radiance seems to pour down from under this arch. In 1E are two angels, both robed in white. On the left one plays a (?) trumpet; on the right is another, apparently standing on a ledge above a red pinnacle rising from panel 1D.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and enamel trace; some pot-metal - red on the pinnacle and on one angel's wings; blue on the other's wings.

Conservation. Considerably corroded, particularly the architecture, and the trumpet. Nothing, however, seems to have been restored, unless some of the estoiles visible in the tracing have been returned to what would seem to be their rightful place in the 'F' panels. (See below).

Date. Mediaeval 1493; evidence below.

Iconography. See iconographic section below.

Panel 1F. H.27 cm. W.48 cm. (cusped). An angel. (Pl. 43)

In each on the five lights the cusped section at the head is occupied by an angel standing on the 'arch' mentioned in 'Panel 1E' above.

In 1F the angel is robed, facing half N. and playing a harp.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and trace enamel.

Conservation. In moderately good condition. Apparently original.

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. (?)Revelations xiv. See window V tracery panel 7.

LIGHT 2. Panels in ascending order.

Panel 2A. H.36 cm. W.47 cm. A donor figure. (Pls. 57,58).

A kneeling figure, possibly female, faces S. The arrangement is similar to 1A, with an alcove behind screened by curtains. There is a scroll, now illegible, above the head, and, it seems, a prayer desk before. The figure is praying to an image, or perhaps an apparition, of the Assumption of the Virgin; the outline of the vesica being visible in yellow stain, and signs of the four supporting angels.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and black enamel. Pot-metal red and blue on the curtains.

Conservation. In very poor condition. The donor figure is very much corroded as is the image of the Virgin. The tracing makes clear the original content, and shows a number of alien fragments, since removed and made good. The aureole of the Assumption stands, as Whitaker noted, 'on three greeces';<sup>(11)</sup> it is unfortunate that during the present study (23.5.71) the lower part of this image was broken out by a stone thrown from outside the Church.<sup>(12)</sup>

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. Probably 'Dame Alice', mother to William Sayvil in panel 1A, on the assumption that she would take precedence over the other 'Alice', wife of William's nephew, John. Comparison should again be made with the Flemish donor panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The iconography of the Assumption has been dealt with in the section on window III. Whitaker reads the scroll as "Esto mihi grata Virgo Super Astra levata."<sup>(13)</sup>

Panel 2B. H.35 cm. W.46 cm. Michael weighing souls. (Pls.44,45 & 46 detail).

Michael, winged and feathered in red, stands centre, holding a balance in his left hand in one pan of which is a small naked soul. On the other pan swings a demon, which Michael is fending off with the end of a cross-staff held in the right hand. To the N. two souls clad in shrouds are moving towards St. Peter in 1B. Behind the Archangel part of the outer wall of the Holy City is indicated.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red with enamel markings for Michael's body and wings. Yellow-stain for hair, staves, demon, etc. The wall of the city is indicated apparently by thin lines scratched out of a light wash of enamel.

Conservation. In fairly good condition, but largely because of restoration. The Archangel's torso has been re-assembled and partly repainted; the right hand scale pan is new; the cross-staff is re-made; the midribs of the two souls to the N. is new. The mediaeval glass is in poor condition; indeed, without the tracing it would be difficult to read the panel, let alone make out such details as the demon, which is now just a blur of yellow-stain.

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. St. Michael is, of course, the patron of Thornhill parish church, and his appearance here is typical of the fifteenth century conventions of representing him. One has only to compare the panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum (C 45-1919) of the same subject to note the similarity of the iconography.<sup>(14)</sup> As Mâle suggests, the mythology of the weighing of souls after death extends back to the Egyptians, and the Fathers of the Church made early use of the imagery.<sup>(15)</sup> The role of the devil in attempting to sway the judgement by fair means or foul is recounted in the Golden Legend.<sup>(16)</sup> On the fundamental association of St. Michael with the dead, Mâle quotes his frequent association with cemetery chapels, and with fraternities instituted for the purposes of burying the dead, and also the explicit reference in the mediaeval offeretory in the Mass of the Dead, "Signifer Sanctus Michael repraesentet eas in lucem sanctam."<sup>(17)</sup>

Panel 2C. H.39 cm. W.47 cm. Crowd scene below, with four figures being greeted by an angel above. (Pl. 44,45).

This panel seems to represent two of the routes upwards towards the summit of the Holy City. The logic would seem to be that having been weighed, and having passed through Peter's gate, souls proceed upwards by various routes. In this panel, the blurred heads of about thirteen individuals are visible in the lower part, apparently moving right; they are within the outer wall of the city. Above them, on another stairway (?) an angel is greeting a triple-crowned figure, presumably the Pope, behind whom is a King and two other individuals. To the S. of the greeting angel a ladder extends upwards, on which part of another angel is discernible.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and trace enamel. Pot-metal red, blue and green on the dress of the individuals on the upper stairway.

Conservation. This is one of the many panels in the window in which one cannot be certain of the accuracy of the arrangement as it now stands.

Some things are clearly restored: - the two Northern individuals with the King and Pope, and the gown of the King - but even when these are taken into account it remains uncertain whether the somewhat jumbled system of stairways rising across the five lights bears any close resemblance to the original design.

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. This will be dealt with in the main section on Iconography below. For the moment it will be sufficient to note for special attention the fact that at least one of the lower group of figures is tonsured and the fact that the Pope appears to be receiving the offer of a short cut to a higher level.

Panel 2D. H.38 cm. W.47 cm. Stairway with angels and souls. (Pl.47 tracing only).

This stairway rises from S. to N. Lower right is an angel in a doorway, robed and nimbed. He seems to be standing on the ladder rising from 2C. On the stairway are three figures, two tonsured. The uppermost is holding the hand of the angel in another doorway top left. In the bottom left hand corner of the panel is the head of one of the individuals in 2C. In the centre is a figure with clasped hands looking onto the stairway, from a window.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and trace enamel. Pot-metal blue on the figures on the stairway.

Conservation. In poor condition, and considerably restored. The figures on the stairway are reconstructed. The tracing shows two tonsured figures and a canopy fragment. The figure looking onto the stairway, centre, is also recent, though it may have been removed from elsewhere. Where it now is, the tracing has a fragment showing six tonsured heads - which may have some significance for the overall iconography of the window. The tracing also makes visible a small window near the upper angel with yet another figure within, wearing curious headgear with a (?) flowering crest - possibly intended as an angel of a specific order?

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. See section on the general iconography of the window. (18)

Panel 2E. H.40 cm. W.47 cm. Seated trinity figure and angels. (Pl.47 tracing only).

A bearded figure seated facing half S. wearing a red robe trimmed with

gold and a triple crown. To L. & R. are angels on blue glass, a total of five according to the tracing. Above is the decorated parapet extending across the window.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and enamel. Pot-metal red for the gown of the central figure. The angels seem to have been drawn in enamel on a pale pot-metal blue.

Conservation. The trinity figure is fairly clear, but most of the architectural detail is blurred and confused. The angels are not clear enough from the ground for it to be certain that they are the same angels shown in the tracing, so they may be restored. Judging from their apparent good condition at the time of the tracing, however, it seems unlikely. If they are original, then the whole panel may be said to be more or less intact.

Date. 1493, evidence below.

Iconography. To be dealt with below. It is worth noting that the angels, as seen in the tracing, seem to be carrying scrolls with markings, which would be intended as music. Indeed, the three on the right seem to be singing. The obvious comparison is with the angels in the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, which have scrolls on which actual music is decipherable.<sup>(19)</sup> No such care has been taken here, however, but an artistic link is not inconceivable.

Panel 2F. H.26 cm. W.47 cm. (Cusped). An angel. (Pl. 47)

Cp.1F. In this panel the angel is facing half S. and is blowing a horn.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain with enamel trace lines.

Conservation. In moderately good condition. Apparently original.

Date. 1493, as window overall.

Iconography. As the other 'F' panels. It is worth noting that the parapet on which all these angels at the top of the window stand is crested with fleurs de lys, which may be intended as an emblem of the Virgin and so be related to the iconography of the window as a whole.<sup>(20)</sup>



LIGHT 3.

Panel 3A. H.37 cm. W.48 cm. approx. A donor figure. (Pl. 59,60).

A kneeling figure facing S, under a pavilion (green). The figure is in armour and is praying. Before him is a lectern on which is an open book. Below that blurred remains which indicate a helmet with crest resting on the ground. A scroll issues from the mouth, now undecipherable apart from the word 'creatura' partially derived from Whitaker whose reading is given below.<sup>(21)</sup> To the left of the pavilion was an angel, of which only blurred traces remain. Above was a small building, possibly a church is yellow-stain. Animals are visible lower left. To the right of the pavilion is the object of the donor's devotion - a severely corroded 'Christ of Pity' emerging from the tomb bearing scourges and spear, under a canopy supported by angels.

Colours and techniques. The only pot-metal is the green of the pavilion. Like the rest of the glass it is much corroded, but remains of a quaterfoliate pattern can be seen; it is unclear whether this was obtained by flashing or, more likely, abrading the surface of the pot-metal. The rest of the panel is executed in a combination of trace enamel and yellow-stain.

Conservation. As must be clear from the above, the condition of this panel is also poor. The above reading results from the clarification provided by the pre-restoration tracing, without which the 'Christ of Pity' figure is extremely difficult to decipher. In places the glass has become almost crystalline and is in imminent danger of falling out. The loss of detail is well illustrated by this panel and by panel 5A. The helmet is shown in the tracing as bearing the Thornhill crest,<sup>(22)</sup> and the knight wears the Savile arms on his breastplate. The angel to the left of the pavilion seems to have been supplied in part by the restorers, using old glass, for the tracing shows a rural scene in miniature, with two figures loading sacks at a mill. An identical fragment also appears in the tracing of 5A, and since its blurred remains are now in the latter panel, it seems likely that it was inadvertently traced twice in two locations.<sup>(23)</sup> The scroll reading supplied by Whitaker is:- "Domine miserere mei, quia creatura tua sum."<sup>(24)</sup>

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. The chief iconographic interest in this panel lies in the figure to which the donor is praying. It is highly probable that depiction of the Christ of Pity has reference to the so-called Mass of St. Gregory. It was a very common subject in the fifteenth century,

considerable indulgences being attached to the recitation of certain prayers before such an image of the Saviour, showing the wounds of his Passion. Rushforth notes a probable instance at Malvern, <sup>(25)</sup> now fragmentary, and his exposition of the iconographic background is contained in his most interesting article on "The Kirkham Monument in Paignton Church, a study <sup>(26)</sup> in mediaeval iconography, and in particular of the Mass of St. Gregory."

Panel 3B. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Souls rising from the grave. (Pl. 48 tracing only).

A figure, naked apart from a shroud knotted over the head as described elsewhere above, rises from a grave on the left, hands held before in prayer. The grave has a decorated stonework rim. On the right another figure can just be discerned emerging with hand extended. Some herbage is visible, and the masonry of the outer wall of the Holy City is in the background.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and trace-enamel. The masonry is shown by means of light lines scratched out of a dull wash of colour. <sup>(27)</sup>

Conservation. The tracing shows this panel as a confused jumble, and on this basis one can suggest what inspection confirms, namely that the left hand soul is a restoration, the one on the right at least partly original. The latter was originally cut off by fragments of coloured glass, now removed. Other fragments were also removed from the centre of the panel. An important item revealed by the tracing is the presence of a stream of water flowing along the wall of the City from R to L. This is also present in panels 4B and 5C. The significance will be considered in the general iconographic section following the catalogue.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. This will be included in the general section below. As an additional note on shrouds, it is worth mentioning the example of the type illustrated by Rushforth (fig. 113). <sup>(28)</sup>

Panel 3C. H.34 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Angel greeting souls. (Pl. 48 tracing only)

The central figure is an angel, nimbed in a white robe with gold waist cord, greeting several persons arriving from 2C, the foremost of whom is tonsured. The angel is holding him by the hand. From the arrangement

of the architecture it would appear that the angel is standing on a ladder which represents a curtailment of the route towards the summit of the City. Another figure stands above and behind him, also an angel with red wings, in a doorway at the head of the ladder.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red for the latter's wings. Otherwise yellow-stain and trace enamel on white glass.

Conservation. This panel, like many in this window, is by no means to be relied on. If the reconstruction was based on the condition of the glass represented in the tracing, then it may seem reasonable enough, in spite of the poor condition of what remains. However, even when one has noted that the second angel has been restored from a jumbled state, and that other extraneous fragments have been removed, there remain doubts about the validity of the relationships between the remaining pieces of glass. In particular, the hand held by the angel may or may not belong to the tonsured head adjacent to it, but it certainly does not belong with the gown shown below it; the wings of the angel may not be authentic; the second angel need not necessarily be such at all.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. The angel greeting the tonsured soul and offering a shortened route upwards is, if the arrangement is authentic, of considerable iconographic interest. The possibility of a link with an English translation of Deguileville's 'Pilgrimage of the Life of Man' cannot be ignored.<sup>(29)</sup> The suggestion is that of Dr. P.A. Newton of York University, and it and related possibilities will be discussed below in the general iconographic section.

Panel 3D. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. An angel on a balcony. (Pl.39 tracing only).

The angel, with wings displayed, is on a balcony which is led up to from the left by a stairway. He is blowing a horn. Above his head a similar balustrade is visible, above which are the remains of a number of heads of persons moving upwards, presumable from panel 2D, although there is no such stairway in that panel at the necessary position. Two windows with emerging radiance are visible.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and trace enamel.

Conservation. In poor condition. The above reading partially supplied by the tracing, which shows the heads on the stairway more clearly. None appear to be tonsured.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. This is very much an intermediate panel, and can be left for the general section below.

Panel 3E. H.39 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Trinity Figure. (Pl. 49 tracing only with detail Pl. 50)

As the panel now stands it reads as follows; centre is a trinity figure as in light 2, facing half left, with a red robe, triple crown etc. the inner gown is blue and the beard yellow; the hands are raised. A row of small arches extends behind, and those to the right appear coherent with three small figures on blue glass - angels singing from music as in light 2;<sup>(30)</sup> there are also two angels on blue glass lower left, and two upper left.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal reds and blues for robes etc. The angels are executed in trace enamel on pale blue pot-metal, with yellow-stain on blue for the wings; yellow-stain also used for beard, decoration etc.

Conservation. The restoration of this panel was extensive, and, in the present writer's opinion, critical in terms of the iconographic interpretation of the whole window. When the tracing was made, the lower one-third, and the right hand one-third of the panel were as they are now; i.e. there were two angels lower left, the lower part of a red gown with gold trimming, and the three figures on blue glass top right. An area covering rather more than the top left quadrant of the panel was a jumble containing a number of interesting fragments which have since disappeared altogether. Among them was a head of a youth or child, presumably Christ since his nimble appears in the tracing to be crossed (see Pl. 50). He held a small bird, and this may have come from a panel depicting one of the apocryphal Infancy miracles. Other fragments suggested that the child may have been held by an adult.

It seems clear that Burlison and Gryll removed this entire fragmentary quadrant and replaced it with glass of their own making, using panel 2E as a guide. It has not proved possible to inspect this glass closely, but what can be seen of the condition of the glass through binoculars tends to confirm this view.

Iconography. The major question concerning the panel is whether the restoration was accurate or not. The original existence of only a trinity figure is, in the opinion of the present writer, rendered somewhat doubtful by the contents of panel 4E - the Virgin Mary triple-crowned, and

since this is a matter which concerns the iconography of the window as a whole, further consideration and clarification is postponed until the general section below.

Panel 3E. H.27 cm. W.48 cm. approx. (Cusped) An angel. (Pl. 49)

An angel, nimbed, with a gold cap and collar and with his wings displayed, plays a lute and sings. Three estoiles above. Fleurs de Lys on the parapet before him.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain predominant, trace enamel.

Conservation. In reasonable condition, apparently original.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. See panel 1F. Also window V tracery panel 17.

LIGHT 4

Panel 4A. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Donor figure. (Pls. 61,62)

A kneeling female figure faces South, robed and wearing a head-covering. Her robe is open revealing a decorated inner gown. Before her is a prayer-desk and text, and a scroll issues from her mouth with the words "Ora me..." decipherable. (Whitaker's reading given below). To the right an image of the Virgin and Child is just visible. By reference to the tracing one can see that the Virgin is seated and that she holds the nude child-Christ on her knee. The rest of this panel is executed very much on the lines of panel 2A. (See plates.)

Colours and techniques. White-glass, yellow-stain and trace enamel. Pot-metal blue and green are used for hangings forming part of the background to the panel, with yellow-stain used on the blue. Though corroded, it is possible to discern what seem to be abraded designs on the gown and hangings (quatrefoliate).

Conservation. In poor condition. The figure of the donor is much corroded and the tracing reveals the precise extent of the deterioration since the nineteenth century. Much detail, such as the little dog visible behind the donor, or the crucifix at her throat, has disappeared altogether. The inscription recorded by Whitaker was "Ora mente pia pro nobis Virgo Maria".<sup>(31)</sup> The panel does not seem to have required restoration by Burlison and Gryll.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. As the other donor panels. The lady represented is presumably another of those mentioned in the inscription immediately above.<sup>(32)</sup> The image of the Virgin may have a more general iconographic significance in the window as a whole, as may the image of the Assumption in light 2. The existence of an altar to Our Lady in the Chapel probably influenced the choice of subjects in the glass to some extent, and this will be discussed below.

Panel 4B. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Two rising souls. (Pl. 51 tracing only)

Similar to panel 3B. The reading here depends almost entirely on the tracing for clarification of the few blurred remains of the painting. Two figures in shrouds rise from tombs of which the lids are cast aside. Beyond them flows the stream of water (R to L) continuous with that

described in 3B, and above rises the masonry of the outer wall of the City. The figures face left. One covers his eyes, the other cups an ear, evidently signifying hearing the summons of the trumpets above.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow stain, trace enamel.

Conservation. As must be evident from the above, this panel is in extremely poor condition. Hardly a suggestion of the trace enamel remains, and the yellow-stain exists only as a blur on the crystalline surface of the glass.

It does not seem that this panel was restored, and indeed if the condition as recorded by the tracing is accurate, restoration would have been superfluous.

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. See general section below.

Panel 4C. H.35 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Angel and other figures. (Pl.51 tracing only).

A (?) stairway rises from left to right; nothing below it. Half-way up an angel stands facing half right sounding a trumpet; behind him is an arch with radiance emerging. Left of centre a female head peers through a window, while to the right at least one figure can be seen moving out of the panel up the stairway.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and trace enamel. The latter is now very faint. Pot-metal blue is used for the robe of the figure moving off right. A piece of glass has been either annealed or, more probably, merely glued over a crack in the female figure at the window on the left. It is unknown at what date this was done.

Conservation. In poor condition, similar to that of panel 4B. The tracing may be significant as regards iconography, for it shows that no fewer than four persons are moving off right, having emerged onto the stairway from an archway which is now virtually gone - all four appear to be female.<sup>(33)</sup> The upper part of the female figure at the window on the left is restoration; the tracing shows her head as cut off by some robe fragments which have probably been placed in window II.

Iconography. See discussion of window as a whole, below.

Panel 4D. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Figures against architectural facade. (Pl. 52 tracing only)

This panel is very difficult to read and the following results from

a judicious collation of the information remaining in the panel itself with those parts of the tracing which have obviously remained the same.

In the centre should be the figure of an angel, wings extended, blowing a trumpet to the left. He is presumably standing on a balcony. Left is a small head at a window. Above right is another figure, standing on a balcony, apparently reaching over to grip the hand of persons on a lower level, of whom there are at least two.

Colours and techniques. White-glass with yellow-stain and trace enamel. Pot-metal colours (B and R) used for the robes of the figures lower right, but these may simply be fragments pressed into service.

Conservation. In very poor condition. It is difficult to tell from the present state of the glass whether or not Burlison and Gryll replaced any. Again one must draw attention to the remarkable deterioration in the visibility of detail since the tracings were made. (34)

Date. 1493 as window overall.

Iconography. See general section below.

Panel 4E. H.36 cm. W.48 cm. approx. S. Mary 'Imperatrix'. (Pl.52 tracing only)

The Virgin Mary, robed in red and with waist length hair emerging from under a triple tiara. She is seated, facing slightly North. A trumpeting angel to the left; another to the right bending over an area (not now plain) which did, (and probably still does were close inspection possible), contain heads of the Saved emerging from a stairway. The usual 'spiky' radiance is seen emerging from under the 'Lintel' that runs over all five lights.

Colours and techniques. Usual predominance of Yellow-stain. Trace enamel and pot-metal red and blue, the latter for an angel's wings.

Conservation. Poor condition, as rest of window. Comparison with the tracing reveals some restoration work, notably the angel to the left of the Virgin, of which there was a trace of one wing in 1877, the remainder of the figure being missing. Corrosion is again much in evidence.

Date. 1493, apart from the angel mentioned above, and possibly some fragments of the BVM's torso, which are Victorian.

Iconography. The most important aspect of this panel is the identification of the main figure as the Virgin Mary. It is vital to the iconographic



discussion of the window as a whole, though it does, in fact, cause a number of difficulties. Not the least of them is the lack of symmetry in the present arrangement of the window. Whereas the three robed figures at the heads of lights 2,3 and 4 were previously identified as Trinity figures, it is now clear that we have two 'Trinity' figures and the Virgin Mary, all triple crowned, but with no sign of a Dove. Among the questions raised by this asymmetrical design is whether or not the restorers were correct in constructing the robed figure at the head of the centre light, (35) and also whether or not panels 2E, 3E and 4E occupy their rightful positions. It must be admitted that the present writer has no very satisfactory conclusion to offer, but a number of suggestions are made in the general section on Iconography, below.

Panel 4F. H.27 cm. W.48 cm. approx. (Cusped) An Angel. (Pl. 52)

An angel, robed in white, faces North and plays a harp. Seven fleurs-de-lys on the parapet before him.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain and trace enamel.

Conservation. In reasonably good condition.

Date. 1493.

Iconography. See below.

LIGHT V

Panel 5A. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Donor figure. (Pl. 63 tracing only)

A Knight, armed, with the arms of Savile on his breastplate, kneels on a cushion under a pavilion. Before him is a prayer desk with text, and beside it a helmet with the Thornhill crest. The pavilion flies a banner which bore the arms of Savile also, (now very faint). The figure faces South, and prays to a Trinity group, with God the Father holding the Crucified Christ with the Dove of the Holy Spirit in attendance. A scroll issues from the mouth of the Knight, now very faint, but reading originally (Whitaker), <sup>(36)</sup> "Miserere mei Deus, Spiritus, pater et filius." The panel originally had much surrounding detail, now very faint or, indeed, invisible, such as an angel supporting the pavilion to the left, hunting and farming scenes etc. They are visible in the plate of the Thornhill tracing. There seems also to have been a supporting angel beside the Trinity group.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain predominating. Enamel used trace and matt.

Conservation. In poor condition. Reference to the Thornhill tracing illuminates this panel considerably. The Trinity group is Victorian. It is missing from the tracing, and Whitaker too records its absence apart from a portion of a foot. The reconstruction was obviously on the basis of the Donor scroll.

Date. 1493 except for the Trinity group as indicated.

Iconography. As for other donor panels in this window. See also general iconographic section below.

Panel 5B. H.36 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Resurrected souls. (Pl.53 tracing only)

In this panel there were three figures emerging from graves, one male, two females. One of the women is naked; the other two are partially draped in their shrouds. They are all facing North, the direction in which they must then proceed to St. Michael and St. Peter. They are surrounded by herbage.

Colours and techniques. Extensive yellow-stain with trace enamel.

Conservation. In very poor condition. The description given above relies entirely on the Thornhill tracing for its clarity, since the panel is now virtually unreadable except in its broadest outlines. It is not thought that there has been any restoration of this panel.

Date. 1493.

Iconography. See general section below. It might be added that this panel is the commencement of the 'story' of the window, in that from it souls proceed left to the weighing and to St. Peter's gate, and thence upwards to the Holy City.

Panel 5C. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Resurrected soul and others. (Pl. 53 tracing only).

The upper left-hand quadrant of this panel is readable and contains parts of a stairway, rising left to right, which began in 4B/C. On it are three (female?) figures being greeted by an angel, of which the head is in 5D above. The remainder of the panel is not now easily readable, but the contents can be made out with the aid of the tracing; they are - a male figure rising from a grave amid herbage similar to (and continuous with) that in 5B; a river flowing steeply between the herbage and the wall of the City; a small window with a head visible within, in the upper right-hand quadrant of the panel. Right is a pillar with an eagle. (See plate.)

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain predominating, with trace enamel.

Conservation. In poor condition. The trace enamel has almost entirely disappeared apart from on the group on the stairway. Apparently not restored.

Date. 1493.

Iconography. See below. Also see panel 5B.

Panel 5D. H.38 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Architectural facade and angels. (Pl. 54, tracing only).

Part of the facade of the Holy City with an angel, centre, all blue, blowing a pipe from a balcony. Another angel above right. Part of the angel from panel 5C below left (q.v.). As elsewhere in this window, the architectural arrangement is highly suspect.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain predominating, with trace enamels, blue pot-metal for the central angel etc.

Conservation. In poor condition. Restored. The restoration seems to have been restricted, however, to the removal of obviously alien fragments. These include a head (female and hooded), possibly fourteenth century, which is in the tracing but no longer in the glass. Also, an initial 'h', apparently in red enamelling (?) was removed. This last may be the

same as that drawn by J.P. Seddon. (See window II.)<sup>(37)</sup> An attempt was also made to rationalise the disconnected parts of the architectural facade.

Date. 1493 for the most part, as indicated above.

Iconography. See general iconographic section below.

Panel 5E. H.37 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Musical angels. (Pl.54 tracing only).

A complex panel. At present, two angels are discernible, but reference to the tracing reveals three more which are now entirely faded. Top left was an angel, red, playing a pipe; beside him is another, with raised hands. Below, left and right, were two more, one with blue body, the other with blue wings. Another figure, nimbed, to the left of the panel, may have been a resurrected soul.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain predominates again. Trace enamel for figure outlines. The two upper angels are drawn entirely on pot-metal red and blue.

Conservation. In poor condition, as indicated in the description above. The panel does not seem to have been restored, as what seems to have been the original glass was in situ at the time of the survey incorporated in the tracings.

Date. 1493.

Iconography. See general iconographic section below.

Panel 5F. H.27 cm. W.48 cm. approx. (Cusped) An angel. (Pl. 54)

An angel in white robe with blue wings, plays a pipe facing South. Before him on the parapet are ten fleurs-de-lys. (?) A bell hanging from his waist.

Colours and techniques. Yellow-stain, trace enamel, pot-metal blue.

Conservation. As tracing, i.e. probably original. In fairly good condition.

Date. 1493.

Iconography. See below.

#### INSCRIPTION

Two lines of script, white on black, reading across all five lights immediately above the donor panels. (See diagram). As it now stands, the inscription is partly original glass, partly supplied by the restorers.

The authenticity is not in question, though some words supplied by the restorers differ slightly from the original. The remains of the original were recorded by the tracings, and fuller versions can be seen in the appendices concerning the visits made by Dodsworth and Glover.

"Pray for the good prosperitie, mercy and grace of William Sayvile, oon of the companye of Grayes Inn and for the soul of Syr John Sayvile and Dame Alice his wief, fadyr and modyr to the sayd William, and for the good prosperitie, mercy and grace of Syr John Sayvile and Dame Alice, which William Sayvile enlarged this quire at hys cost at the oversight of Syr John his nevew, the whiche worke was finished in the year of our Lord 1493."

The crucial date would seem to be on Victorian glass, but its accuracy is attested by Glover & c.

An appendix on the Saville family gives further information as to the Donor, whose father was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1455 and 1461, and M.P. for Yorkshire in 1450 and 1457.

ICONOGRAPHY

Window IV is not, as occasionally hitherto described, a Doom window. It lacks a number of the traditional elements of the mediaeval Doom. The 'story' of the window does not include damnation except as a brief reference, with the demon swinging on one of the scales of Michael's balance, and the emphasis is on Salvation, all the movement being in an upward direction, towards the heights of the 'Holy City' which spreads across all lights.

Briefly, the resurrection of the dead at the sound of trumpets from the heavenly battlements is depicted in the lower right part of the window. Resurrected souls in their shrouds move left across the foot of the five lights towards Michael, and thence to St. Peter at his gate. Thus far the glass is, generally speaking, trustworthy. Thereafter, souls proceed upwards diagonally by means of stairways which cross the architectural facade of the Holy City; the organisation of the glass is here very suspect. As indicated in the catalogue, the overall amount of Victorian glass is not large, but the extent of reorganisation of the mediaeval glass renders some apparently interesting detail suspect e.g. it would appear that there is a preponderance of female souls in the right hand half of the window (beneath the figure of the Virgin), but it is no longer certain that such was the original design.

At the head of the window, in lights two, three and four, are the three red-robed figures, of which the left (Christ) and the right (The Virgin) are in the tracings and therefore probably authentic. The centre figure was reconstructed by Burlison and Gryll on the basis of evidence (parts of a red robe)<sup>(38)</sup> which remained, and which is shown in the relevant tracing. At present, therefore, we have an asymmetrical arrangement consisting of two members of the Trinity and the Virgin Mary. Such an original plan seems most unlikely.

Among the possibilities are the following:- (a) that there should also be a dove of the Holy Spirit with the robed Trinity figure at the head of the centre light; this would not improve the symmetry, but is not inconceivable; (b) that the panel containing the Virgin Mary belongs in the centre light, and that a Dove may be missing from that also. This is unlikely on the basis of internal evidence.

Of the two inadequate explanations, (a) is perhaps preferable; one must bear in mind the possibility of iconoclasm having taken place, in which a central image of God the Father might be expected to have suffered. Such hypothetical iconoclasm, taking place, possibly, during the Parliamentary occupation of the Church (see appendix),<sup>(39)</sup> might go some way towards accounting for the condition of window V before restoration.

The overall theme of window IV could, then, be stated as that of the Resurrection and Salvation of the soul through the Passion of Christ, symbolised by the banner of the five wounds flying from a pinnacle of the Holy City in light one. It seems necessary, however, to go further, and to suggest that the window is, in some measure, a celebration of the intercessory powers of the Virgin Mary and of the Christian Martyrs represented in the tracery. The presence of the figures themselves and the manner in which the fleur-de-lys emblem is scattered profusely throughout the window suggest this strongly. Bearing in mind that the Savile Chapel was the site of an altar to the Virgin, the iconography of windows II, III and IV might be seen as relating to that fact; certainly, the progress of mariolatry throughout the fifteenth century does not render such an explanation of the window unlikely.

A further possibility, not excluded by the above remarks, is that the content of window IV may be derived in part from the long devotional poem 'Pelerinage de la Vie de l'homme' by Guillaume Deguileville.<sup>(40)</sup> English translations of this work, in prose and verse, were extant and popular in the fifteenth century.

Early in the poem,<sup>(41)</sup> the chief character, the pilgrim, dreams of the Holy City, represented in the manuscript drawings as a golden mediaeval city surrounded by high walls.<sup>(42)</sup> The vision is detailed, and includes references to the deaths of Martyrs who died for the love of Christ, and who thus enter the Holy City by force. Elsewhere in the vision, the Doctors of the Church are seen guiding pilgrims as to the means of entering the city; the Augustines and other religious orders are seen making wings and flying over the wall; most particularly, Benedictines and Franciscans are seen being aided over the wall by means of ladders and knotted ropes respectively, supplied by St. Benet and St. Francis.<sup>(43)</sup> It seems highly probable that the scene in panel 3C, in which apparently tonsured souls are greeted by an angel on a ladder which seems to offer a curtailed route

to the summit of the Holy City, is derived, if not directly from the poem, then from some form of contemporary rescension of the content. It is unfortunate that the suspect arrangement of the glass does not afford any greater certainty in this matter.<sup>(44)</sup>

There is a faint chance that a manuscript of the poem may have been in the possession of the Savile family. A MS of the English prose version was in the library of Henry Savile of Banke in the sixteenth century; a different and not very close branch of the family, indeed, but with sources for his manuscript collection which included the northern Monasteries. A possible connection with Thornhill exists in the form of the Nettleton family, prominent in the village. Savile of Banke is known to have used one John Nettleton as his agent in the purchase of many MSS, but the matter is complex, requiring clarification as to which branch of the Nettleton family this man belonged to.<sup>(45)</sup> It is most unlikely that any such direct link between the poem and the donor of window IV will ever be proven.

Among the unresolved points connected with this window must be included the question of workmanship. In the opinion of the present writer, there is little doubt that the execution of the glass was in the hands of a York workshop, though the quality of even the drawing is not high, and has not so far found a comparison among extant York work. The design, however, is unusual in English glass of that date, and may well derive from a continental model. The scheme of the artist takes as its basic unit not the single panel, or even the single light, but the window in its entirety. English glass retained longer than its continental counterpart the mediaeval characteristic of encapsulating images in a series of panels which made a narrative or symbolic whole. In spirit, if not in execution, window IV is much closer to the representational ethic of Renaissance glass-painting, in which, as mentioned earlier, the mullions no longer provide an organising framework for the design but are seen as interruptions to the continuity of the whole.



NOTES: WINDOW IV

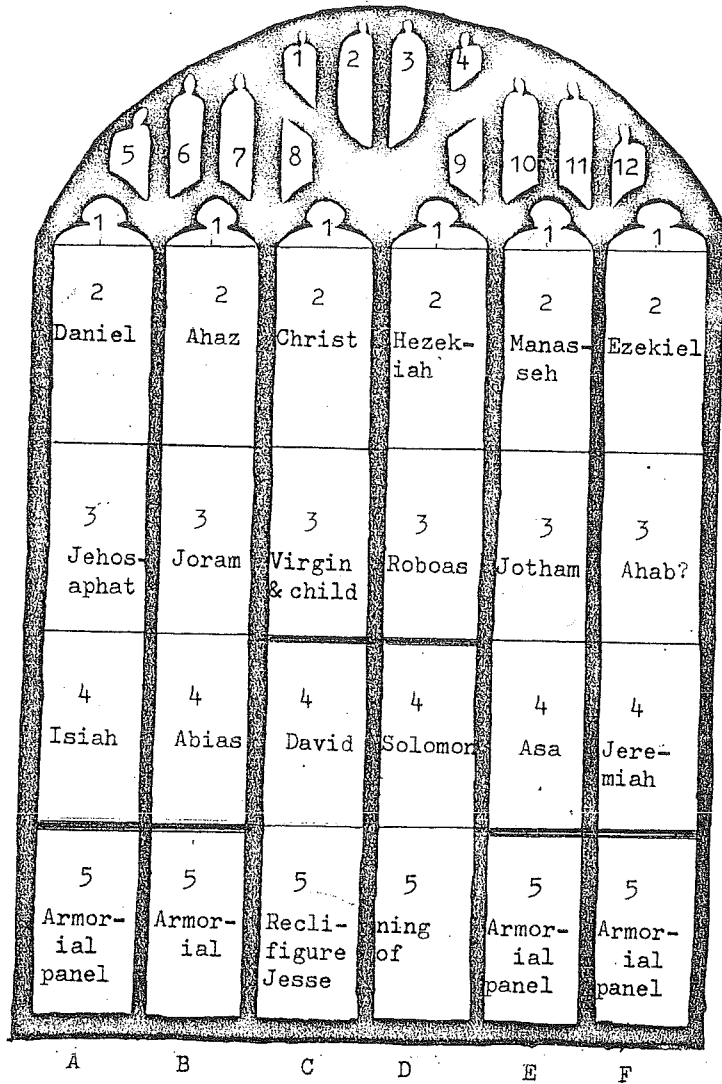
1. Figures similarly robed are to be seen as weepers on the tomb of Sir Thomas Savile (d.1449) in the Chapel.
2. Whitaker, 'Loidis et Elmete' (1816) p.320. Whitaker was much criticised, particularly by Fowler, for his somewhat idiosyncratic interpretations of some of the windows, but nevertheless his approach seems to have been more adequate than Fowler's, particularly with regard to these inscriptions, for which he is the only source.
3. Cf. Fig.99 p.172 in E.R. Suffling's 'English Church Brasses' (London 1910).
4. This panel is illustrated in Rackham's Guide to the collection of Stained Glass' in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Plate 40. London 1936. ~~Also this paper Pl. 64.~~
5. This appears to have been a convention of the period. Cp. the memorial brass to
6. Rushforth p.97.
7. Ibid. and cp. also Mâle i.251. Also Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth in a letter to Nechtan;? (Ceolfrid; A.D. 642-716) -  
"Neque vero ob id tantum in coronam adtondemur, quia Petrus ita adtonsus est; sed quia Petrus in memoriam dominicae passionis ita adtonsus est." Bede Hist. Eccl. V.xxi. Quoted Rushforth.
8. Archaeologia vol. lxi. p.583.
9. Rushforth p.367.
10. *ibid.* ff.
11. Whitaker *op.cit.* p.320.
12. The fragments have been retained and a repair may be effected in the course of a projected restoration of the glass in the near future.
13. Whitaker *ibid.*
14. Illustrated in Rackham, *op.cit.* fig. 30.
15. Mâle i.413 ff.
16. G.L.i.22.
17. Mâle *ibid.*
18. Note possible relationship of the tonsured figures with poetic influence on the iconography of the window. See below.
19. See Hardy *op.cit.* Archaeologia lxi. p.583.

Notes: Window IV Cont....

20. This matter is discussed further below, in relation to the existence of an altar to the Virgin in the Savile Chapel: see appendix containing the will of Thomas Savile.
21. Whitaker op.cit. p.321.
22. A torque from which emerges the head of a maiden, surmounted by a thorn bush in allusion to the name.
23. This seems the only likely explanation, though it must be admitted that this point is uncertain. See the relevant London tracings (Plates).
24. Whitaker. op.cit. p.321.
25. Rushforth op.cit. p.310.
26. Rushforth - Transactions Exeter Arch. Soc. XV (1927).
27. Compare panel 13 in window VII.
28. Rushforth op.cit. fig.113.
29. The poem existed in English in two versions in the fifteenth century; a prose version, dated about 1413 and tentatively attributed to Hoccleve, and a poetic version, dated 1426, composed at the command of the Earl of Salisbury, which is attributable to Lydgate, but which is probably only partly his. See 'Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine' ed. W.A. Wright, Roxburgh Club 1869. Also 'The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man' (Lydgate's version) ed. Furnivall, EETS 77, 1899. See also Watson, 'The MSS of Henry Savile of Banke', London (Bib. Soc.) 1969, Introduction and catalogue entry for F.16v (60).
30. These singing angels probably extended across the tops of all three centre lights, their present absence from panel 4E being probably the result of restoration.
31. Whitaker op.cit. p.321.
32. Presumably "Alice", wife of Sir John Sayville, nephew to William Sayville, the main donor of the window.
33. If this detail were trustworthy, it might throw some light on the original design of the window, but unfortunately, the arrangement, as with many panels in window IV, is suspect.
34. See introduction, Corrosion.
35. Panel 3E.
36. Whitaker op.cit. p.321.
37. This fragment seems to have been of late date, probably to be associated with other fragments removed from window II, but visible in the tracings.

Notes: Window IV Cont....

38. Visible in the detail of this panel, Pl. 50, in the lower right quadrant.
39. See also introduction, Iconoclastm.
40. See Bibliog. for MSS and editions consulted.
41. Reference is here made to the 1426 English poetic version attributable, at least in part, to Lydgate.
42. The best instances are seen in e.g. B.M. MS. Harl. 4399 XVC and BM Add. MS. 22837.
43. Add. MS. 22937, f. 2a1/2a2.  
MS. Harl. 4399, f. 1b2/2a1.
44. Other details in the vision could be interpreted as having relevance to the design of window IV e.g. the angel who slays all who wish to enter the city, a symbolic representation of the necessity of death before salvation, could be represented in St. Michael. Also, reference is made to St. Peter offering admission by a wicket gate. The arch in panels 1B/C may be intended to represent this.
45. See Watson, The Library of Hen. Saville of Banke, for an interesting introductory discussion of the provenance of the MSS.



WINDOW V

The Great East window; a Jesse tree in six lights, with a tracery of 12 compartments containing the orders of angels with three additional figures.

Main sources:-

Tracings by Burlison and Gryll c. 1877.

Whitaker op.cit. 1816.

Fowler op.cit. 1870.

Charlesworth, Church Guide.

Close inspection of the Jesse window is not currently possible and in its present complete state it is very difficult to distinguish visually between the mediaeval and Victorian glass. We are fortunate in possessing two groups of tracings made by Burlison and Gryll which clarify the extent

of restoration. The Thornhill and London tracings are by no means mutually exclusive - many of the same panels are covered by both groups. It would seem that, as with window IV, the two groups of tracings represent two stages in the work preparatory to restoration, the Thornhill group representing the glass as found in situ, and the London group showing the fragments rationalised and with cartoon sketching to indicate the requirement for new glass. The Thornhill group is the more complete, consisting of six rolls extending from the head of each light down to the red line indicated in the diagram above. There is very good reason to believe that the absence of tracings below the line indicates absence of glass in 1877. (The London group does include some cartoons for new figures below the line, notably Jesse, David and Solomon in which one or two pieces of old glass are indicated, but they probably came as fragments from panels above the line.)

TRACERY. (Pls. 77,78) (The numbering system is the same as that used in the nineteenth century tracings. Measurements given are of the maximum height of openings, including any lobes, and of the maximum width.)

No. 1 H.29 cm. W.19 cm. John the Baptist. A robed demi-figure with long hair carrying a book on which is the lamb.

Colours and techniques. (Note; the tracery was not accessible to close inspection during the present study, and remarks on technique should be regarded as tentative.) Blue pot-metal robe with (?) enamel shading; the book and lamb in enamel trace with yellow stain.

Conservation. The figure is complete, occupying about half the opening, the rest of which is plain glass. The head and part of the robe are restorations of the 1870's when all but the glass in the lower right-hand corner of the opening had fallen out.

Date. Late 1870's and mediaeval. The former as indicated above. The mediaeval glass in the window as a whole is probably of one date and, indeed, of one hand. Evidence for the mediaeval dating will therefore be given later.

Iconography. This is the only representation of the Baptist in the Church. In its tracery position it is practically invisible from the ground. The pre-restoration tracing gives no suggestion of a camel-skin robe, as found elsewhere. The lamb, as almost always, is carried on the left arm,<sup>(1)</sup> and has

reference to the salutation "Behold, the lamb of God..."<sup>(2)</sup> It is typical of the fifteenth century that the lamb is carried on a book, rather than in a medallion as earlier.<sup>(3)</sup> Cahier suggests that this is in order to indicate the Baptist's role in demonstrating the accomplishment of the prophecies.<sup>(4)</sup> No Resurrection banner is visible, but there may have been one originally.

No. 2 H.51 cm. W.20 cm. An Angel. A full-length standing figure facing half to the S. with two wings displayed; a feathered body; left hand raised.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby with light enamel markings for feathers, facial outlines etc.

Conservation. The figure is now complete and in good condition. In the 1870's however, part of the head and the upper parts of both wings were missing.

Date. Mostly mediaeval, as window overall.

Iconography. This figure represents one of the nine orders of Angels. A discussion of the general iconography of the Orders is reserved until the account of window 7, which contains the probable remains of a main-light series. It is worth saying here, however, that in the present tracery series the attributions made are not final, since the various emblems of the Orders were either not carefully assigned when the window was made, or were confused during the nineteenth century restoration.

On the basis of colour, this figure probably represents the Seraphim,<sup>(5)</sup> normally six-winged, here, apparently with two,<sup>(6)</sup> though the leading around the legs suggests that two more may have been folded about them. The colour red can be taken as representing fire, a regular attribute of the order; at St. Neot's Cornwall, St. Michael's, Spurriergate in York, and in the mullion carvings in the Beauchamp Chapel the Seraphim are shown with flames.<sup>(7)</sup> The fire, in turn, can be taken as love, as suggested by the (partly supplied) inscription at All Saints, North Street in York:-

'(Sera)pbyn amore (ardent)es (et Deum circumambulantes.)'<sup>(8)</sup>

The raised hand(s) is indicative of praise, for the hierarchic place of the Order is in the presence of God.<sup>(9)</sup>

No. 3 H.57 cm. W.19.5 cm. An Angel. Standing as No. 2. holding an open book on his chest. He has an ermine collar and a black cap; the body is feathered. To the N. of his feet is a small wheel.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby for the body, with light enamel markings for feathers, facial outlines etc. Yellow-stain used on the hair and on the wheel.

Conservation. Before restoration, the main lead lines of the body were intact, but there was no head; there was no open book, though a gap of the right size and shape did exist in the torso; there were gaps in the wings. The wheel did exist in part and has now been completed. Thus the figure is very considerably restored.

Date. 1870's and mediaeval as window overall.

Iconography. The reconstruction was probably accurate in that it gave this figure the attributes commonly associated with the Cherubim, closely linked with the Seraphim in the first of the three major hierarchies as given in the Golden Legend.<sup>(10)</sup> These attributes are the skull-cap, connected with learning,<sup>(11)</sup> and the book of knowledge. The wheel, which Réau regards as belonging to the Thrones, is probably not out of place, since it may refer to the 'wheels' mentioned in connection with Cherubim in Ezekiel X.<sup>(12)</sup>

No. 4. H.29 cm. W.19 cm. A male figure. Beardless, robed and collared with the head slightly on one side and the hands raised, he appears to be looking downwards.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby, white glass, and yellow-stain.

Conservation. This figure is almost totally reconstructed by the nineteenth century restorers. In the 1870's only confused fragments of red robe with part of a hand were visible.

Date. Mostly 1870's with some fragments of mediaeval glass dated as window overall.

Iconography. Unknown. The restoration is correct in not completing this figure as an angel, since it would duplicate one of the orders and add to the already severe imbalance of the arrangement. Charlesworth mentions a Saint Nicholas as being in the tracery, but may have been intending the figure of the Baptist.<sup>(13)</sup>

No. 5. H.18 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. Demi-figure facing front holding either two axes or an axe and a small banner. Helmeted.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby and green with some yellow-stain.

Conservation. This figure is mostly original glass in good condition, though somewhat reconstructed. The green is modern i.e. 1870's.

Date. As window overall.

Iconography. The lesser orders of angels are not always readily identifiable without inscriptions since their attributes are variable,<sup>(14)</sup> particularly in the late mediaeval period. Either this figure or No. 12 might reasonably be identified as Powers, being armed. The usual attribute, a defeated demon, is here not evident. At All Saints North Street in York the angel whose inscription reads 'Potestates...' (partly supplied), carries a banner with a large sun on it,<sup>(15)</sup> an attribute conceivably more appropriate to Dominations, as in No. 11.

No. 6. H.52 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. A full-length figure, frontal with the head turned up to the N; circlet with cross-diadem on the head; robed, the left hand holds (?) a trumpet and the right hand a vessel.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby for the robe with some enamel indicating drapery folds; hair and diadem in yellow-stain. Wings in blue and green pot-metal.

Conservation. The figure is now in good condition, and largely original apart from the wings which were restored 1870's.

Date. Mostly mediaeval, as window overall.

Iconography. Probably Virtues. These can be variously represented. In Malvern they are shown holding a chrismatory, and in the Beauchamp Chapel there is another instance of this mode. In All Saints North Street an angel with the inscription 'Virtutes...' (partly supplied) carries a spear.<sup>(16)</sup> What makes the present identification probable is the similarity of the Thornhill figure to another in the Beauchamp Chapel, carrying a long-necked bottle held to the shoulder. Bartholomew the Englishman's chapter on 'How Angels be described' says of the Virtues, "They are sayde to have Phylls with sweet smelling things, for by dooing of them our wounds are brought to grace of health."<sup>(17)</sup> In the clerestory series at Malvern there is another Virtue similarly represented.<sup>(18)</sup> Rushforth instances further examples at Antwerp, in a fifteenth century altar painting, and at Ahausen, in a scene of the coronation of Mary attended by the nine orders.<sup>(19)</sup> Chatwin has doubts about Bartholomew's explanation of the bottles, and thinks that they may well be an emblem of the miracles of the seven angels of the wrath of God in the Apocalypse; he



adduces angels shown in illuminated MSS in support of this view but does not identify the source.<sup>(20)</sup>

No. 7. H.49 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. A full-length frontal figure with a feathered body, bearing a staff in the left hand and a harp in the right.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal blue and green, with some use of yellow-stain. Trace enamelling for feathers, facial outlines etc.

Conservation. It seems that only the head and staff are original, though the harp may be also since in the tracing its position is obscured by heavy lead-lines. The body has been made up with modern blue glass.

Date. 1870's and mediaeval as window overall.

Iconography. Possibly one of the Order of Angels, with a staff denoting the role of messenger.<sup>(21)</sup> The harp, if original, casts doubt. Chatwin, in discussing Dominations, notes one carrying a harp,<sup>(22)</sup> but it is possible that this was not an attribute peculiar to any Order, and the main Biblical source for angels with harps is certainly not specific:- "And I heard a voice from Heaven as the voice of many waters and as the voice of a great thunder; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps." (Rev. xiv.).

No. 8. H.29.5 cm. W.18.5 cm. St. Anne instructing the Virgin. Two figures. The Virgin as a child standing to the N, nimbed, clad in a blue robe and holding a book, facing half S. St. Anne, without nimb, clad in a red robe with a hood and veil, apparently aged, leaning towards the Virgin.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red and blue for the robes with enamel drapery shading and facial outlines. Yellow stain on the Virgin's hair and on the outer circuit of her nimb.

Conservation. This subject is in good condition, and has not been restored since at least prior to 1870, and possibly not at all. The tracing shows the figure complete and all that was done in the nineteenth century was to add a surround of plain glass to fill the opening.

Date. As window overall.

Iconography. See window II for additional material relating to St. Anne. As indicated, there is no scriptural foundation for this scene and, indeed, none for Anne herself until the second century Protevangelium of James,<sup>(23)</sup> which marks her first appearance. She did not become popular until the

emphasis on the Marian cult which developed in the 5th century. The popularity of Anne in England is a late mediaeval phenomenon, conceivably linked, as Rushforth suggests, with the marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in 1382.<sup>(24)</sup> It seems probable that the 'instruction' scene is a thirteenth century invention.<sup>(25)</sup> It contradicts the Golden Legend story which has it that Mary was presented in the Temple aged three, and there received her instruction. Rushforth suggests, however, that there may have been some notion of her having learned her letters before presentation, thus accounting for the various examples which have letters of the alphabet visible on the book. There is no consistency in this however. Anne is here veiled, as at York and Malvern, but the ermine decorated head-dress suggested by Rushforth as regular in English glass is absent,<sup>(27)</sup> perhaps not surprisingly considering the possible foreign origins of the glass discussed elsewhere.

No. 9. H.50 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. A full-length winged figure, apparently seated, facing half to the S. Green feathered body. Traces of an object on which he is sitting.

Colours and techniques. Modern green pot-metal with enamel markings and some yellow-stain.

Conservation. The figure is complete and in good condition. It seems, however, that some of the mediaeval glass on the body was replaced with modern, probably for the sake of uniformity of colour. The seat, if such it is, is rather faint, even though it seems to have been somewhat restored. The wings, too, have been slightly made up.

Date. 1870's and mediaeval as window overall.

Iconography. The identification of the figure as a Throne is tempting on the literal grounds that he may be seated on one. However, the object is no longer clear enough to be certain of without close inspection. Thrones are sometimes shown with a wheel symbol or with scales as at Malvern,<sup>(28)</sup> but such are not the rule, as indicated by the panel at All Saints, North Street in York where the figure identified by Dr. Gee as a Throne has neither of these.<sup>(29)</sup> Thrones are members of the first hierarchy, with Seraphim and Cherubim, and the present identification is made the more likely by the adjacent position of these three and, indeed, by the raised hands of the figure, again possibly signifying praise.

No. 10. H.50 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. A full-length frontal figure, crowned and clad in a robe trimmed with ermine; two wings; a sword and a sceptre held in the left and right hands respectively.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal ruby with enamel shading for the robe; white glass and enamel for the ermine; yellow-stain used on sceptre, crown etc.

Conservation. The figure is in good condition and it would seem that only a small part of the lower gown is modern. The appearance has been improved, as elsewhere, by thinning the leads.

Date. As window overall.

Iconography. Probably a Principality. Rushforth points out that they execute the commands of the Dominations, and hence have a princely crown and a drawn sword. This is the case at Malvern.<sup>(30)</sup> At All Saints North Street the appropriate figure is crowned and wears ermine, but carries a cross and sceptre.<sup>(31)</sup>

No. 11. H.50 cm. W.19 cm. An Angel. Facing half to the N. wearing a richly embroidered golden robe; crowned; in the left hand an orb, in the right hand a banner, red, with a small sun/star as charge. A full-length figure with two wings.

Colours and techniques. The most extensive use of yellow-stain on any of the tracery figures; used on the gown and crown; embroidered design outlined in black enamel. Wings, pot-metal blue. The banner, apparently pot-metal red with the charge - yellow-stain and enamel on white - leaded into it.

Conservation. Good condition; almost entirely original apart from, possibly, the gown about the waist and parts of the wings.

Date. Mostly mediaeval, as window overall.

Iconography. Probably a Domination, though it is just possible that No.'s 10 and 11 are interchangeable. Dominations usually wear royal robes, often bearing a sceptre. They are normally crowned, unless they are armed, as occasionally. At All Saints, North Street the Domination carries a sword, but still has richly embroidered garments and a crown.<sup>(32)</sup> The banner bearing the star of six points finds analogy in the representation in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, where a domination holds a large, twelve pointed star across his body. As Chatwin indicates, the allusion is to the

Nativity, and he suggests that the association with Dominations is based on Numbers xxiv v.17 and 19; "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel... Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion."<sup>(33)</sup>

No. 12. H.29 cm. W.20 cm. An Angel. A demi-figure facing half N. with a red, feathered body; helmeted; holding a cross-staff across the body; blue wings.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red with enamel markings; pot-metal blue. Yellow-stain on helmet and on staff.

Conservation. In good condition. The figure is mostly original, but some parts of the wings and, notably, the cross-staff, were restored in the 1870's. The tracing has a plain staff without cross, but it is possible that the restoration was accurate.

Date. Mostly mediaeval, as window overall.

Iconography. Probably an archangel, not merely by elimination, but because they are sometimes represented like Michael, armed for their function of fighting demons. Michael is also frequently shown with a cross staff (cf window IV). At All Saints North Street an Archangel is shown leading (?) souls, carrying a trumpet.<sup>(34)</sup>

MAIN LIGHTS. (Individual photographs of all the main light figures are not available to illustrate the following catalogue, but between plates of the glass and plates of the various groups of tracings, most of the material is covered, and any divergence between the state of the glass and that of the tracings is carefully noted. Iconography will be dealt with separately from the catalogue.)

LIGHT 1.

Panel 1A. H.30 cm. W.49 cm. Head of light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

Each light has at its head a vine-blossom or bud, in this case green.

Colours and techniques. Brown enamel for the vine, and, presumably, pot-metal for the flower, though close inspection was not possible.

Conservation. In good condition. In the Thornhill tracing there is a large gap to the right, which has now been filled. (Burlison and Gryll.)

Date. 1499 and 1870's as indicated.

Panel 2A. H.108 cm. W.49 cm. Daniel. (Pl. 77).

Apparently seated, Daniel looks up to the right towards the middle lights. He wears a blue cap, a red robe with a green collar, and his hands are at chest level. As with the other figures, he is framed by a loop of the vine. By his head a scroll reads 'Daniell'.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal blue, red and green, with brown enamel used in varying intensities for features, hair, vine etc. Black enamel used for the inscription.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing only.) In good condition. The figure is very much as it was in 1877. The tracing shows a number of gaps in the red robe and in the vine which have now been filled with new glass by Burlison and Gryll.

Date. Mostly mediaeval, 1499.

Panel 3A. H.109 cm. W.49 cm. Josaphat rex. (Pl. 77).

This figure, wearing cap and crown, sits with legs crossed facing towards the middle lights. He has an ermine cape, with patches of murrey. His arms and part of his clothing above his knees, are green. His left hand points, while his right holds on to the vine above his head.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals used for the clothing and the legs, with enamel shading for drapery lines. Enamel variously used for hair, features, ermine marks etc. Mostly brown. The crown seems to be in yellow-stain.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing only.) In good condition, but restored. The Thornhill tracing shows the torso as confused, and part of an arm missing. One or two gaps and breakages are also seen. Burlison and Gryll may have used only mediaeval fragments for the restoration,<sup>(35)</sup> however, and thus it seems reasonable to regard the figure as almost entirely mediaeval.

Date. 1499 (see above.)

Panel 4A. H.108 cm. W.48 cm. Isiah. (Pls. 79,80).

The figure stands facing half to his left, his right hand holding the vine by his side, his left pointing upwards. He wears a blue gown, with a white inner garment, and a blue hood; gold decoration is visible on the hems.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal blue, white glass, yellow-stain on the decorations of the garments, and enamel for features etc.

Conservation. (Thornhill and V & A tracings.) In good condition, but heavily restored. The Thornhill tracing of this panel covers only the upper 53 cms, and is extremely confused. It shows part of the torso of the present figure, with the hands in their modern positions. A portion of a head is also visible, facing North, i.e. opposite direction to Isiah. It seems that this fragment was reversed and used as part of a reconstructed head. (This is supported by the similar configuration of the glass for this portion of the head, visible in the V & A tracing.) Other extraneous fragments shown included angels wings and canopy fragments, presumably now in window VII, and part of the leg of Solomon now in D4. There was no scroll, and the identification is therefore that of the restorers, Burlison and Gryll. The London tracing is evidently in part a cartoon for the completion of the panel.

Date. Probably mostly mediaeval, 1499. But it seems likely that the glass below waist level (i.e. below 53 cms from the top of the panel) is mainly Victorian.

Panel 5A. H.109 cm. W.49 cm. approx. Armorial panel. (Pl. 77).

Armorial escutcheon, Savile quartering Thornhill, surmounted by a helm on which is a torque with a female head, crowned, topped by a bush - the crest of Thornhill. The whole is surrounded with mantling and rests on a small hill.

Colours and techniques. White glass, with yellow stain for the hill, crown. Pot-metal green for the bush (?), though this is not certain. The late dating makes it likely that the colours of the charges are enamels.

Conservation. In good condition. This panel is entirely Victorian. (See immediately below.)

Date. 1870's.

NOTE ON THE ARMORIAL PANELS. Such panels are found at the foot of each of main lights 1, 2, 5, 6, and all are Victorian, entirely the creations of Burlison and Gryll. Mr. Gryll's report on the Jesse window, which is, apparently, not extant, but which is referred to in the Parish Magazine for June 1877,<sup>(36)</sup> notes the absence of figures in panels 5A,B,C,D,E,F, and suggests that they were originally filled with donor figures. His intention was to replace the plain glass with angels holding passion shields, but this was never carried out, and we have instead the armorial panels. That this is so is suggestive, in that one of the armorial panels is recreated as recorded in detail by Glover, who may therefore have been the source of the restorers' inspiration. (See appendix.)

LIGHT 2.

Panel 1B. H.31 cm. W.46 cm. Head of light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

As panel 1A, but here the vine bears a red fruit, with green leaves.

Colours and techniques. Brown enamels, red and green pot-metals.

Conservation. Good condition. Slightly restored in that some gaps evident in the Thornhill tracing have been filled.

Date. Mainly 1499.

Panel 2B. H.108 cm. W.46 cm. 'Achaz rex'. (Pls. 77,81).

The figure of 'Achaz' or Ahaz faces to his left. He is dressed in a red cloak with a blue inner garment trimmed with gold. His right hand holds the vine above his head, next to his identifying scroll. He wears a blue and murrey cap with crown, and has yellow hair.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal red and blue for the garments; also murrey for part of the cap. Yellow-stain used for the crown hair, and the extensive gold ornamentation about the chest. Brown enamel for most of the drawing.

Conservation. (Thornhill and V & A tracings.) Good condition; slightly

restored. The scroll is original. The Thornhill tracing shows only a few gaps in this figure, the only major one being in the red gown below waist level. Again the London tracing would seem to be partly cartoon.

Date. Mostly 1499.

Panel 3B. H.108 cm. W.46 cm. 'Joram rex'. (Pls. 77,82,83).

The figure stands facing North, i.e. away from the centre lights, and is the only figure to do so. He is dressed in white with green sleeves, and shoes of murrey. He is crowned and has yellow hair. His right hand holds the vine while his left points generally upwards.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal green, white glass, yellow-stain for hair and crown.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing of only top 35 cms; full length V & A tracing/cartoon). In good condition. Mostly restoration below the level of the neck. The Thornhill tracing has a blank of 71 cms below this level, arguing an absence of glass when it was made. The head is good, only a few surrounding pieces having been restored. The scroll is original, assuring the identification. The London tracing would appear once more to be a cartoon.

Date. Mostly Victorian. Head dated 1499.

Panel 4B. H.108 cm. W.46 cm. Abias rex. (Pls. 77,80,84).

The figure of Abias stands facing South; he has a cap and crown similar to that worn by Ahaz in 2B. He is dressed in murrey with a green cape. A heavy chain lies across his chest. He has white sandals. His name appears on a scroll, and the vine, particularly luxuriant here, bears a fruit.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals for the garments; some yellow-stain for the crown etc. Elsewhere, enamel used with varying degrees of heaviness for trace lines, drapery shadings, etc.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing, badly torn.) In good condition, but heavily restored. The Thornhill tracing shows a panel only 73 cms in height, with nothing below waist level. Above that level the figure was intact apart from one or two surrounding gaps and a missing part of the left arm. The remainder of the figure, about 35 cms, was supplied by Burlison and Gryll. The scroll is original.

Date. About 50% mediaeval, 1499, as indicated above. The remainder Victorian.



Panel 5B. H.108 cm. W.46 cm. approx. Armorial panel. (Pl. 85).

(See notes on armorial panels above.) An escutcheon with per pale, Argent, a bend Sable with three owls of the field, and Argent, a chief Or, six fleurs de lys, Azure, 3,2,1. (Savile/Paston.) Mantling as in 5A, and a helm surmounted by an owl. The panel is evidently intended to refer to the marriage of Sir John Savile (d.1504) to Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir William Paston.

Colours and techniques. As suggested above, the fact that this panel is modern, and at the same time difficult to close inspection, makes remarks on technique tentative; but here the fact that the fleurs de lys are leaded into the field separately suggests pot-metal with enamel drawing. Yellow-stain is also used extensively.

Conservation. In good condition, as might reasonably be expected of Victorian glass.

Date. Late 1870's. (See panel 5A, above.)

### LIGHT 3.

Panel 1C. H.30 cm. W.47 cm. Head of light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

As panels 1A & B, a flower, blue and green.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals with enamel used for the vine.

Conservation. Good condition, slightly restored. The Thornhill tracing shows two broken fragments, now replaced.

Date. Mostly 1499.

Panel 2C. H.107 cm. W.47 cm. The Risen Christ. (Pl. 77).

The figure of Christ is seated facing front, cross-nimbed and bearing the orb. He is crowned with thorns, and wears a murrey robe which lies loosely on his knees leaving his chest bare. His right hand is raised, showing one of the wounds, and one is also visible on his right foot. (37)

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal robe, with enamels, mainly brown, used for shading in the body and folds of drapery; some yellow-stain.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing.) In good condition. This figure would appear to be largely original, only the face and a few of the adjacent pieces of glass being missing in the tracing. These were supplied by Burlison and Gryll.

Date. Mainly 1499, as indicated above.

Panel 3C. H.107 cm. approx. W.47 cm. Virgin and Child. (Pl. 77).

Mary, crowned and nimbed, and with long, flowing hair, is seated facing front, holding the Child Christ on her right arm. She is dressed in murrey with an outer gown of blue, and a white cloth upon her knee. The Child Christ is nude, and is reaching right, to where the left hand of the Virgin holds a pear-like fruit.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals for the robes, brown enamels in various intensities for drapery shadings, trace lines etc. Small amount of yellow-stain.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing only.) In good condition, slightly restored, above the waist. Below the waist, entirely restoration. In the former, only the head of the child Christ (missing in the tracing) has been replaced. The Thornhill tracing shows only the top 72 cms of the panel, and the inference is that there was no painted glass below this point in 1877.

Date. Mediaeval 1499, and Victorian, as indicated above.

Panel 4C. H.108 cm. W.47 cm. approx. 'David rex.' (Pls. 86,87).

The figure of David is robed in red, blue and green and wears a cap with crown. He holds a harp to his left. His scroll is above his head.

Colours and techniques. Dating and the inspection of the London tracing/cartoon suggest the possibility that some of the colours here are enamels, but this is not certain at present.

Conservation. (V & A tracing only). The absence of a Thornhill tracing suggests the absence of glass at the time when light three was traced. This figure is, in fact, almost entirely restoration. The absence of David, Solomon and Jesse from the window was noted in Mr. Gryll's report of 1877, when he undertook to supply these figures from 'ancient example'.<sup>(38)</sup> However, two pieces of glass are old. The upper right, and the lower corners of the harp are marked on the cartoon with the legend 'old glass'. Whether they originate from Thornhill or not is not likely to be provable.<sup>(39)</sup>

Panel 5C. H.108 cm. W.47 cm. approx. Reclining figure of Jesse. (Pls.89,90)

This panel contains only the upper torso and head of Jesse, the remainder of the reclining figure being in panel 5D at the foot of the fourth light. Jesse lies on a couch, propped on one elbow, with his

eyes closed. He is bearded and is dressed in blue and murrey, with a red cap. The vine emerges from his chest, and there is a single green and purple flower in the panel.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals for the robes, though the murrey may turn out to be enamel. Brown enamels for trace lines, drapery shading etc. Yellow-stain on the decorations of the couch.

Conservation. (V & A tracings only). This panel, and its companion, 5D, are entirely Victorian. As noted above, reference was made in the Parish magazine for June 1877 to the absence of a figure of Jesse from the window, the present panels must therefore be by Burlison and Gryll; i.e. the V & A tracings are, in fact, cartoons.

Date. c.1878?

LIGHT 4.

Panel 1D. H.28 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Head of light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

Similar to the heads of the other lights; here there is a flower, coloured.

Colours and techniques. Red, blue and green; pot-metals, with enamel for the adjacent vine.

Conservation. Apparently unchanged since the pre-restoration tracings, i.e. probably original.

Date. 1499.

Panel 2D. H.108 cm. W.48 cm. approx. 'Ezechias rex'. (Pls, 91,92).

The King, robed in red and blue, is crowned and has a gold chain across his shoulder similar to that of Abias. He has a pointed beard, and his hands grip the vine above his head and at his side. He faces the figure of Christ in 2C.

Colours and techniques. As elsewhere in this window; pot-metals for the robes, with trace and wash enamel and yellow-stain for details.

Conservation. (Thornhill and V & A tracings.) The Thornhill tracing has only the top 73 cms of this figure, being blank below the waist level. As elsewhere, this argues absence of glass at the time (1877), and one can confidently attribute the lower part of the present panel to Burlison and Gryll. Some work was also done on the upper part, but only to the extent

of replacing missing parts of the robe and vine. The figure is about 50% restored.

Date. 1499 and Victorian, as indicated above.

Panel 3D. H.108 cm. W.48 cm. approx. (?) 'Roboas rex'. (Pl. 93).

The figure stands facing the Virgin and Child in panel 3C. He is robed in murrey and ermine, and his blue-stockinged legs are visible. He has golden hair and is in the act of doffing his crown, held in his left hand; his right holds the vine.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals for the robes, enamel trace and wash as elsewhere for features, draperies etc. More yellow-stain than in most other Jesse panels, on the crown, hair etc.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing only.) This figure is rather more than 50% restoration. The Thornhill tracing shows only the upper 77 cms of the panel, and even in that there are large gaps where parts of the gown and vine are missing. (See plates.) The lower 40 cms, therefore, can be attributed to Burlison and Gryll, together with some other patching. Charlesworth identifies this figure as Josiah, but it is not clear why he does so. The scroll in the tracing is clear, and the restorers have followed it.

Date. 1499 and Victorian, as indicated above.

Panel 4D. H.107 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Solomon. (Pls. 87,94).

Solomon sits facing front, robed in red and green, with a cap and crown. On his right knee rests a model of a building, white, inscribed 'Templum Salomonis'. There is no other scroll in this panel.

Colours and techniques. Brown enamel wash and trace as elsewhere, with a small amount of Yellow-stain, e.g. on the temple. The colours appear to be pot-metals, but considering the late date, it is possible that some are enamels.

Conservation. The figure of Solomon is in very good condition, as befits a complete reconstruction of the 1870's. There is a specific mention of the absence of any figure of Solomon in the parish magazine for June 1877,<sup>(40)</sup> and Burlison and Gryll evidently set out to supply the deficiency. The figure well illustrates their method of working, for though it was at first thought to be an entirely new creation, it is now evident that they re-used as much mediaeval glass as possible. The upper third of the figure,

apart from the face, comes from light 5 (see 5E), while his left knee comes from 4A. (q.v.). The remainder seems certainly Victorian.

Date. 1499 and Victorian as indicated above.

Panel 5D. H.107 cm. W.48 cm. Legs belonging to the figure of Jesse. (Pls. 89,90).

Robed as 5C. The legs of Jesse project from light three. His identifying scroll is above, with a fruit of the vine.

Colours and techniques. As 5C.

Conservation. Good condition. Entirely restoration. See 5C.

Date. 1878?

#### LIGHT 5

Panel 1E. H.30 cm. W.48 cm. Head of Light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

As in other lights, a fruit or flower.

Colours and techniques. Blue and green pot-metals; brown enamels.

Conservation. Good; slightly restored in that the Thornhill tracing shows one or two broken fragments and a piece of alien glass, all of which have now been replaced.

Date. Mostly 1499 as indicated.

Panel 2E. H.110 cm. W.48 cm. 'Manasseh'. (Pl. 77).

The bearded figure of Manasseh stands facing the centre lights, robed in blue with a gold chain about his neck, wearing a red cap with crown.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metal blues and reds, with extensive enamel drapery shading on the gown; as elsewhere, much use of brown enamel for the vine, trace lines etc. Yellow-stain extensively used for decorative detail.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing.) This figure is slightly restored, but would seem to have been ninety per cent intact before restoration. Gaps in the vine; the left leg; both hands; - these are the most obvious pieces of new glass. The scroll above the figure was incomplete, (Manass...), and remains so.

Date. 1499, with Victorian glass as indicated.

Panel 3E. H.110 cm. W.48 cm. (approx.) 'Jotham'. (Pl. 77).

A full length figure with the identifying scroll 'Jotham', robed in green and blue with ermine trim. He grasps the vine and faces the centre lights.

Colours and techniques. Again somewhat suspect. The late date of the glass makes it possible that some of the colours are enamels. Apparently - pot-metal green and blue, with wash and trace enamel as in the other panels.

Conservation. (Thornhill tracing.) This figure is almost entirely Victorian. The Thornhill tracing shows blanks of 35 and 33 cms respectively at the top and bottom of this panel, and the intervening 39 cms is shown as a confused jumble of red drapery, vine fragments, ermine, with one hand visible. It seems that some of these fragments were re-used by Burlison and Gryll. No scroll is visible in the tracing, so the identification is also Victorian.

Date. Almost entirely Victorian, as indicated above.

Panel 4E. H.109 cm. W.48 cm. Asa. (Pls. 97,98).

Asa, robed in white, blue and red, with a heavy gold collar, stands facing the centre lights. He is beardless, and has a cap and crown.

Colours and techniques. As elsewhere in this window, pot-metals for the colours with brown enamel and yellow-stain - the latter used sparingly.

Conservation. (Thornhill & V & A tracing.) Another heavily restored figure, or so it would seem from the absence of all but the upper 37 cms from the Thornhill tracing. It should be noted, however, that this roll of tracing ends with this partial panel, but though it is possible that a missing portion might record more original glass, the fact that the other rolls end at points beyond which it is known that glass was missing makes this unlikely.

The glass that is shown in the Thornhill tracing was not, in fact, used by the restorers for the figure of Asa. Instead, it was removed and used in panel 4D for the upper third of the figure of Solomon. The V & A 'tracing' is in fact a cartoon for what is virtually a new figure. Without close inspection one cannot tell whether any old glass was used or not, though the legs may possibly come from material recorded in 4F by the Thornhill tracing.

Date. 1877-80, with possibly some mediaeval glass.

Panel 5E. H.110 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Armorial panel. (Pl. 99).

Armorial scutcheon bearing argent, a chevron gules between three trefoils slipped azure, (Frost), surmounted by a helm with crest of a man's head with laurel wreath. Mantling in red and white.

Colours and techniques. Pot-metals for red, blue, etc. Yellow-stain for ground. Black trace enamel.

Conservation. In good condition. As with the other armorial panels, the glass is Victorian. (See references in panels 5A & B). Glover does record the arms of Frost in the present window, and he would seem to have been the source for Burlison and Gryll.

Date. 1877-80.

LIGHT 6.

Panel 1F. H.31 cm. W.48 cm. Head of light, cusped. (Pl. 77).

As in other head of light panels; here, a fruit, red.

Colours and techniques. As elsewhere. Pot metal red, with trace and wash enamel.

Conservation. Good. Almost as tracing.

Date. 1499.

Panel 2F. H.107 cm. W.48 cm. 'Ezechiell'. (Pl. 77).

Ezekiel, apparently seated, faces front wearing a pale brown robe with blue sleeves and blue undergarment. He has a cap of murrey and green. He is bearded, and has both hands raised to chest level.

Colours and techniques. Brown enamel trace and wash, pot-metal blue, murrey, green. The parti-colours of the cap being leaded separately.

Conservation. In good condition. It would appear, however, that this figure too is extensively restored. Thornhill and London tracings exist. From the evidence, the whole of the panel below neck level is by Burlison and Gryll, as are parts of the vine surrounding the head. The V & A 'tracing' is a good example of the manner in which the restorers worked, being, in fact, a combination of tracing and cartoon. The material of the Thornhill tracing (i.e. head with pieces of vine) is reproduced, and the remainder of the panel lightly sketched in with glaziers outlines marked. Identification is accurate.

Date. Head, and parts of upper vine, 1499. Remainder, Victorian.

Panel 3F, H.108 cm. W.48 cm. approx. 'Ahab rex'? (Pls, 100,101).

Identification doubtful (see below). A crowned figure facing up towards the centre lights, robed in blue trimmed with gold, sleeves and feet murrey.

Colours and techniques. As elsewhere, trace and wash enamel, pot-metal blue, yellow-stain, again sparingly used.

Conservation. (Thornhill and London tracings.) In good condition, very considerably restored. The London tracing is the same kind of combination of tracing and cartoon as was noted in panel 2F above. The Thornhill tracing shows that the original head has been re-used, but the rest of the panel in 1877 was a jumble of fragments. Quantities of red drapery have been removed; the vine fragments, presumably re-used. Amongst the fragments in this tracing were shown three pieces of inscription reading...

1. ...mast' ... 2. ...for:y:gud... 3. (inverted) ... doubtyd..(?faint). It seems probable that these pieces may have been used in a reconstruction of the inscription running across the foot of the window.

The Thornhill tracing has an identifying scroll reading 'Ahab rex'; and this must be regarded as original, though Charlesworth identifies (41) Uziah.

Date. Mediaeval and Victorian (1499-1878?) as indicated above.

Panel 4F. H.108 cm. W.48 cm. approx. 'Jeremiah.' (Pl. 77).

The figure of Jeremiah stands with one hand above his head, facing towards the centre lights. He is robed in murrey, with a green hat and belt. His identifying scroll is above his head.

Colours and techniques. The glass is probably late, and the green may be an enamel. Otherwise, pot-metals and trace and wash enamel, as elsewhere.

Conservation. In good condition. This panel is evidently a complete reconstruction; the fact that no V & A tracing/cartoon exists does not cast doubt on this, since, as noted elsewhere, both sets of tracings are incomplete. The Thornhill tracing for this area of glass shows a jumble of fragments, mostly of vine and drapery. At the foot was a pair of draped legs, since removed and given to Asa in panel 4E. It is probable that the other fragments were also re-used in this way, though not (apart from the vine) in panel 4F.



Date. Victorian, 1878-80?

Panel 5F. H.109 cm. W.48 cm. approx. Armorial panel. (Pl. 77).

Per pale, azure charged with a cross or and a pallium; vert three white stags with gold antlers. (Rotherham.) Croziers, cross and Mitre behind.

Colours and techniques. Modern glass, and therefore in some doubt failing close inspection. Pot-metal blue and green with yellow-stain. Dark enamel trace.

Conservation. See panels 5A and B for modern date of this glass. In very good condition.

Date. Victorian 1878-80.

INSCRIPTION AND DATE (Pl

A continuous inscription runs across the foot of window V. It is given below with / marking lead lines and // marking mullions.

"Pray/for/:y:gud\*/e pperity/mercy & grace//of Robert ffrost/̄ccellor to ye/  
...btyd\*//Prince Arthur/1st sonne/of King/Henry VIIth//who was/late parson/  
of this/church who//hath made new/est window/& also cle/rstoried//  
& archede this/quire/...../yere of/grace 1499."

As was noted in panel 3F, above, the two pieces of inscription marked\* above are probable original, having been removed from that panel by the restorers. The rest is probably entirely Victorian. None of the Thornhill tracings extend to the foot of the window, and so we have no way of knowing whether they neglected to record a fragmentary inscription that may have remained, or whether no inscription remained at all, apart from the fragments in 3F already mentioned. The present writer favours the latter possibility, particularly since the inscription as it now stands reads like a rather free rendering of the version recorded by Dodsworth in his Church Notes (see appendix); the wording is not entirely the same, but the date, 1499, is verified and may be regarded as dating all the mediaeval glass in the window.

An appendix containing biographical information on the donor, Robert Frost, rector of the Church from 1484 to 1498 is included with this paper. Frost was a man of many appointments, holding thirteen posts in

the twenty-seven years from 1484 to 1511, six of them simultaneously. His work in clerestorying, and arching the choir, and in renewing the East window was extensive, and was probably begun during his rectorship, 1499 representing the date of completion. Frost had earlier (1491) donated another window, the Easternmost in the South Choir, which is now plain. No information remains as to hypothetical earlier contents of the great East Window, but some of the contents of the South Choir window are to be found in window VII.

ICONOGRAPHY.

The Iconographic roots of the tree of Jesse are scriptural and are basically two; the prophecy of Isiah (II 1-3) "Egreditur virga de radice Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet", and the genealogy attributed to Christ by S. Matthew. More immediately, discussion of instances in glass has tended to centre on the mid-twelfth century window at St. Denys as possibly the earliest example, though opinion since Mâle inclines to a more complicated view of the iconographic origins of the mediaeval representations. (42)

In the earliest representations of the prophecy in art, a stem is seen rising from Jesse and terminating in the seven Gifts of the Spirit, which are referred to in the words following those of Isiah above. (43) Gradually, the figures of Christ and the Virgin are introduced, (44) and the personnel proliferate in a manner consonant with the information supplied by S. Matthew, with, in addition to the genealogical antecedents of Christ, additions from amongst the prophets which may express influence from contemporary Prophet Drama. This material is well covered in the work of Watson, but there is as yet no comprehensive iconographic study of the Jesse tree extending beyond the twelfth century.

Such an extension is well beyond the scope of the present paper and what follows is mainly designed for future reference.

It is as well to clarify what emerges from the catalogue, namely that the arrangement and identifications of the figures in the Thornhill Jesse are a little suspect. The reconstruction of the figures of Jesse, David and Solomon without evidence was, considering the nature of the subject, altogether reasonable. Slightly more dubious are the reconstructions of the figures of Isiah (Light 1, though only the position is dubious, since the window would surely have contained an Isiah originally), Jotham and Asa (Light 5), and Jeremiah, (Light 6). Otherwise, the positions of the prophets and the antecedents relative to each other are probably accurate, with the prophets occupying the outer lights at the corners of the window.

Apart from the prophets, Virgin and Child, and Christ, the remainder of the personnel come from the second group offered by S. Matthew, namely

the antecedents of Christ who lived after Jesse, but before the Babylonian Captivity.

That Christ appears twice is interesting, but not unknown. His presence in the arms of the Virgin, untouched by the vine, may, indeed, have originated as a reference to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>(45)</sup>

The provenance of the glass is obscure. The present writer feels, however, that, contrary to Westlakes general remarks on the 'English' quality of the glass at Thornhill,<sup>(46)</sup> the Jesse at least should be singled out as being of markedly different origin to the glass in the other windows discussed in this paper. It seems highly probable that the design, and perhaps even the execution, were in the hands of a workshop well-acquainted with continental workmanship. The present writer has not yet seen comparable work, but on the level of colouring, naturalism and conception, window V seems to stand far closer to work such as that of Arnoult de Nimegue or Engrand le Prince at Beauvais than to contemporary English work.

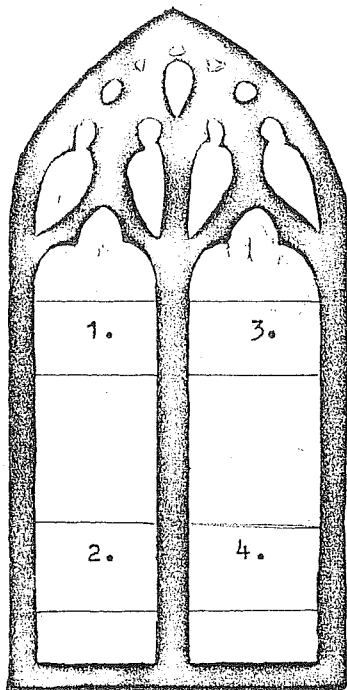
Considering the Court connections of the Donor, Robert Frost, it is likely that the window was executed by a London workshop in close touch with the continental traditions.

NOTES TO JESSE TRACERY

1. Cahier notes some examples in lead found in the Seine, in which the Baptist holds the lamb on his right, but he offers the intriguing explanation that this results from a failure on the part of the masons making the mould to appreciate the complexities of reversed images. Cahier p.22-3.
2. Joh. 1:29.
3. Cf. Rushforth p.88.
4. Cahier p.23 "On lui fait quelquefois porter l'agneau sur un livre, comme pour dire qu'il lui a été donné de montrer l'accomplissement des prophéties."
5. Cf Réau op.cit. p.39ff 'Introduction general'. Also Chatwin, Archaeologia 1927 p.319.
6. Cf. Isiah 6;2.
7. Chatwin op.cit. p.319.
8. See E.A. Gee 'The painted glass of All Saints Church, North Street, York' P.171. The inscription is partially supplied by Dr. Gee.
9. It may be worth noting that Réau refers the iconographic origin of Seraphim back to certain early Hittite steles showing six-winged goddesses. Réau op.cit. p.33ff - with reference to the work of M.von Oppenheim, "Der Tell Haláf" Leipzig 1931.
10. Golden Legend V. 185ff.
11. Cp. All Saints North Street (Henceforward ASNS) in Gee op.cit. p.171.
12. Cf Chatwin op.cit. p.319.
13. T. Charlesworth "Guide to the Church of St. Michael's and All Angels, Thornhill" 1940. (Dewsbury Public Library.)
14. Réau op.cit. p.39ff.
15. E.A. Gee op.cit. p.173 Pl.XXXIV.
16. Gee ibid. p.173.
17. Quoted Chatwin, Archaeologia 1927 p.325.
18. Rushforth p.251ff.
19. Ibid. p.206.
20. Chatwin op.cit. p.323.
21. Cp ASNS in Gee op.cit. p.174 Pl XXXV.
22. Chatwin op.cit. p.323.
23. M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament p.38.

NOTES TO JESSE TRACERY - Cont....

24. Rushforth p.116.
25. Ibid. Rushforth makes reference to the 'Instruction' scene in MS Bodl. Douce 231, published in his article in 'Mediaeval England', Oxford 1924, fig. 315 p.499.
27. On this matter cp. Gee op.cit. p.155 Pl XXb.
28. Rushforth p.210.
29. Gee p.172.
30. Rushforth p.210ff.
31. Gee op.cit. p.172.
32. Ibid.
33. Chatwin op.cit. p.321.
34. Gee op.cit. p.173.
35. As will be noted below, Burlison & Gryll made considerable use of isolated fragments, gained from the reorganisation of the upper panels in the window, in the reconstruction of the missing lower panels. Every effort has been made to identify such re-used fragments, but it is probably inevitable that some should have eluded the writer. To that extent, therefore, there should remain a tinge of doubt concerning some fragments, only to be dispelled by close inspection.
36. Copy in Dewsbury Public Library.
37. It is in keeping with the late mediaeval date that the "gifts of the spirit" are not represented.
38. Parish Magazine June 1877, Dewsbury Public Library.
39. The words "old glass" are just visible in two places in the right-hand margin of plate 86.
40. Note 38.
41. T. Charlesworth op.cit.
42. Newton op.cit. p.189. Réau N.T. p.129ff.
43. Watson. Iconog. tree of Jesse, pp.82,83 Pl.I/85,86 Pl.II.
44. Watson p.90ff.
45. Réau. N.T. P.129ff.
46. Westlake, History of Design in Painted Glass 1886, iii 95; - quotes Fowler and reprints Fowler's tracings of window III.



WINDOW VI

Historical Sources:-

Whitaker, in *Loidis et Elmete*  
1816.

Window VI, of two lights with seven main tracery compartments, is one of the more enigmatic windows with which the present paper has to deal. The tracery compartments appear to be filled with fragments, as is the case with window VII, but it is regretted that an upper projection of the organ casing nearby effectively prevents close examination. The main lights are filled with modern quarries, in which are inserted four panels of old glass, as in the diagram. These panels consist of old white glass in which are inserted in turn fragments forming parts of figures. Of these, only one, in panel 2, is definitely mentioned by Whitaker, although there are possible references to others.

Again, Whitaker's account lacks precision, since it is unclear whether his remarks represent his own observations or the contents of his, unidentified, historical source.<sup>(1)</sup>

The following brief catalogue is particularly unsatisfactory with regard to iconography, since firm identifications cannot be made. Dating is also imprecise, and stylistically based, since there is no extant documentary evidence to provide 'termini'. There is, however, the missing inscription to the East window of the South Choir, (1491), recorded by Dodsworth<sup>(2)</sup> (see appendix), which may be regarded as suggestive.

Panel 1. Fragmentary. Nimbed figure. (Pl. 102).

There are five pieces of glass comprising this figure, leaded directly into modern quarries. The nimbed figure appears male, has long flowing hair, and a white robe. He appears to be carrying an arrow, of which the flights are visible. Above his head a curious structure branches out into three lobes which are apparently feathered.

Colours and techniques. White glass, trace enamel. Yellow-stain is used on the branches, and on blue glass on the lobes to give a greenish tint.

Conservation. In good condition. It is not, however, certain that all these pieces of glass belong together, and the juxtaposition of the 'lobes' and the figure is particularly doubtful.

Date. Uncertain. Late fifteenth century, possibly early sixteenth. The possibility that this may have formed part of the contents of the East window of this Choir suggests a date of 1491, which is not inconceivable.

Iconography. Again uncertain. It is possible that this figure was an angel, perhaps forming part of the fragmentary 'Angel Choir' mentioned by Burlison and Gryll.<sup>(3)</sup> (See window VII), though the arrow is then hard to account for. It is more likely that this formed the representation of a Saint. St. Sebastian is a possibility, particularly if the structure above may be regarded as part of the tree to which he was frequently shown as tied.

Panel 2. Fragmentary. Angel playing a harp. (Pl. 103).

The angel faces front with wings outstretched, before him is a triangular instrument, like a harp, which is laid flat. His two hands are playing.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and trace enamel.

Conservation. Quite clear, though the enamelling has faded here and there. At first sight the instrument appears to have tuning keys, but the plate makes it apparent that it is, in fact, surrounded by stylised clouds. The glass surrounding the figure is severely pitted.

Date. Uncertain, but possibly similar to that of the angels in light 1 of window VII.

Iconography. Possibly part of the design of the supposed orders of angels window in the Church. On angels with musical instruments, see window V, Tracery No. 7. Whitaker clearly mentions this figure as having been in



the North side of the Nave,<sup>(4)</sup> (presumably he is here quoting from his 1702 'survey of the church' and therefore means the mediaeval Nave.)

Panel 3. Fragmentary. Two heads. (Pl. 104).

Both heads are set directly into modern quarries. The lower and larger is that of a figure in armour, nimbed and helmeted, with a feather atop the helmet. Mail and shoulder plates are visible. There is a gauntleted fist which is apparently a part of this figure, holding part of a staff.

The second head is immediately above, and is no more than a face, with flowing hair.

Colours and techniques. White glass and yellow-stain, the hair of the upper head being executed in a darker stain than elsewhere. Also trace enamel.

Conservation. In good condition, though both heads have suffered a number of breaks which have been repaired.

Date. Possibly 1491 for the armoured head. Otherwise late fifteenth century, early sixteenth. (see below).

Iconography. Whitaker mentions 'an angels face, the body destroyed' in his description, and this may account for the upper head, though not very satisfactorily.<sup>(5)</sup> In the opinion of the writer, this head is later in style than that below.

The lower head may very well be that of St. George, and the position of the hand holding the portion of staff is suggestive of the common representation of the slaying of the dragon. The dedication of the Chapel was recorded by Dodsworth and Whitaker as being "... in honore Sanctae Trinitatis, beatissimae Mariae Virginis nec non sanctorum martyrum Georgii & Katherinae et omnium sanctorum."<sup>(6)</sup> The donor was Robert Frost, who was still rector in 1491, the date of donation. (See appendix re. Frost.) Frost also donated the Jesse window, but later in life, when he had risen to the rank of King's Counsellor.

Panel 4. Fragmentary. A Dragon. (Pl. 105).

The creature is depicted on three large and two very small pieces of glass, and is relatively complete, lacking only part of the hindquarters, and part of the forepaw. One wing is visible, and the beast is facing right. About its neck is a loop embroidered material, which extends above its back like a pair of reins.

Colours and Techniques. White glass and yellow-stain with black enamel.

The hairy body of the beast is executed in black enamel streaks with darker yellow-stain in the interstices.

Conservation. In good condition, not very much pitted. The presence of the loop of material argues the original existence of a figure holding the beast on a leash.

Date. Uncertain. Late fifteenth century, early sixteenth.

Iconography. A number of saints, particularly those of Brittany, were associated with dragons and depicted bringing about the pacification or overthrow of the beasts. St. George springs to mind immediately, but the loop of material, and indeed, the attitude and style of execution of the supposed St. George in panel 3 above, do not recommend this identification. Whitaker records a St. Margaret, 'trampling on a serpent with a staff in its mouth...' as having been in the mediaeval Nave,<sup>(7)</sup> but this does not seem to sort well with panel 4 in its present state. There are so many variants on the St. Margaret legend that a representation in which she leads (or is led) by the Dragon/devil on a stole is not impossible. But the dragon here is rampant, and far from downtrodden.

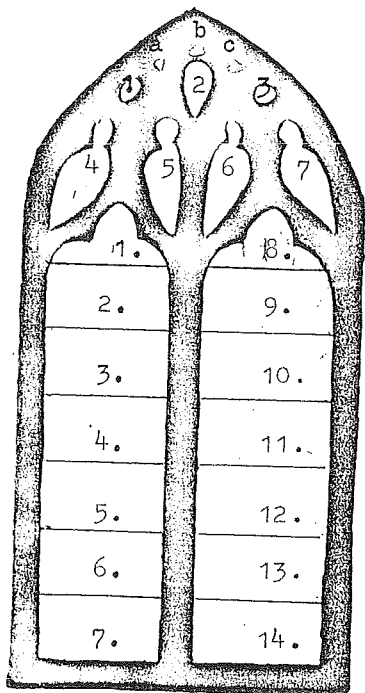
Amongst the other possibilities there are few Saints whose veneration extended beyond the localities where their miracles took place, unless they happened to be Biblical, like S. Martha, who was frequently shown in armour with a dragon on a leash.

One Saint of whom the veneration did extend into England, in spite of a localised Breton origin, was Armel, or Armagillius. He was reputedly a British Saint who crossed to Brittany in the fifth century. His miracle supposedly occurred at the monastery, now known as St. Armel des Boscheaux, where he subdued a monster by binding it with his stole and then caused it to leap to its death from a mountain, (Mont St. Armel.) There is considered to be evidence that Henry VII, returning from exile, believed himself to owe his preservation from shipwreck to St. Armel. There is at least one clear representation of the Saint in stone in the Henry VII chapel, Westminster, where the Saint holds a dragon by a scarf or stole which is attached to its neck.<sup>(8)</sup> Mr. Green F.S.A. has identified one of the painted figures on the Romsey reredos as Armel, and lists a number of other instances of the occurrence of the Saint in English church art.<sup>(9)</sup>

Whether or not the veneration extended as far North as Yorkshire, and, particularly, to Thornhill, must occasion some doubt. The identification of panel 4 as the remains of an Armel is tempting, but must await the improbable emergence of further evidence.

NOTES - Window VI

1. Whitaker, Loidis et Elemete p.318ff.
2. Dodsworth's Yorkshire Church Notes Y.A.J. Viii p.488.
3. Parish Magazine 1877 No. 3 (March) Dewsbury Public Library.
4. Whitaker op.cit. p.319.
5. ibid.
6. ibid. and appendix re. Dodsworth, who was probably Whitaker's source.
7. Whitaker op.cit. p.318.
8. R.C.H.M. Report London Vol. 1 p.7 (63b, 65a) Pl.211.
9. Arthur Green F.S.A. - The Romsey Painted Wooden Reredos; Arch. Journ. XC, 1933, part 2, p.306ff.



Historical Sources

Whitaker 1816

Fowler 1870

WINDOW VII. Third from the East in the South Choir. (Pl. 106).

A window of two lights with seven large tracery compartments, three small.

This window is composed entirely of fragments, and none of the panels read coherently. The panel divisions are therefore arbitrary and supplied by the existing glazing bars, which probably date from the restoration of the 1870's.

It seems clear that this window was glazed with glass from various parts of the church, particularly other windows in the South Choir, and possibly from the mediaeval Nave. Historical references enabling one to identify various fragments in the other positions are few and doubtful. Whitaker quotes a general survey of the church, which he says was made in 1702 when the mediaeval nave was standing, but does not give its author or whereabouts, and the present writer has been unable to find out either. Whitaker's account claims to be an abridgement of the original, and his descriptions of glass are not as clear as might be wished.<sup>(1)</sup> Fowler does not refer directly to window VII, but some of his mentions of other glass are suggestive.

That these fragments were gathered together during the major restoration by Burlison and Gryll seems evident. It is true that there is a scratched inscription on the outside of a piece of glass in panel 4

reading "Thos Wadson glaser Oct 4 1826 ... (?) man and gardener by trade.", -  
but this can probably be taken to refer to work carried out on that parti-  
cular area of glass in another situation.

TRACERY

The tracery has seven main openings, with three smaller ones above as indicated in the diagram. The contents are fragmentary, evidently having been gathered at some time or times from various parts of the church. Some of the glass is evidently to be associated with some of the panels in the main lights below, and there is insufficient material for iconographic consideration except in relation to this latter material.

- (a) Not plain. Possibly fragments of foliation.
  - (b) Canopy fragments. See main lights.
  - (c) Not plain; part of a rod or staff in yellow-stain.
- 
1. Not plain.
  2. Four figures (originally at least five?) facing left, robed in white and stain - one in brown enamel. (? from window IV).
  3. Not plain.
  4. Canopy fragments.
  5. Fragments of architecture, a hand, drapery.
  6. Angel blowing a (?) trumpet, canopy fragments. (?from window IV). The glass is reversed with the painting on the outside.
  7. Angel blowing a pipe, facing left.

Colours and techniques are similar to those in the main lights; white glass, brown enamel trace lines, and considerable use of yellow-stain.

Conservation. The condition of the individual fragments varies considerably, but the four larger compartments are the most readable.

Date. Fifteenth century. Can probably be included under remarks on the dating of the main light fragments.

MAIN LIGHTS

LIGHT 1.

Panel 1. Angel and canopy fragments. (Pl. 106).

The angel is in white with gold hair and wings, possibly holding a staff. The canopy fragments are referred to henceforward as Type A, and are inverted or on their side. Type A is also to be found in panels 2, 8 and 9 of this window and is more fully described under panel 2.

Colours and techniques. White glass and yellow-stain, some enamel trace, some blue pot-metal.

Conservation. Fragmentary as indicated. The angel is very faded.

Date. There is no adequate documentary evidence for dating any of the fragments in this window. In this panel the canopy fragments can probably be dated with those in panel 2 as very early fifteenth century, and the angel with the angels in panel 3 as somewhat later. (See below.)<sup>(2)</sup>

Iconography. See panels 2 and 3.

Panel 2. Canopy fragments. (Pl. 106).

A canopy of three bays, Type A, with the centre bay a variant. There are three gables; 1 and 3 are almost complete and enclose a quatrefoil roundel; the line of the gables is concave, arguing that they are the top part of an ogee curve. They are heavily foliated in gold, the foliations rising to a crocketed pinnacle. The centre gable is broken and inserted; instead of enclosing a roundel, the cusped arch of the gable extends almost up to the pinnacle, and faint rib-vaulting is seen within. A number of small fragments make up the space.

Colours and techniques. White glass and yellow-stain, enamel trace lines. The only fragment of pot-metal is blue, above the left gable.

Conservation. Fragmentary as indicated, though efforts were obviously made to complete the canopy. In good condition, though the right gable is more faded than the rest.

Date. The present writer has not seen canopies entirely comparable with type A, but would suggest a date very early in the fifteenth century. They cannot be definitely associated with any of the groups of figures in window VII, and their form, reminiscent of the heavily crocketed gables

of the fourteenth century, suggests an earlier date than appropriate for other types of canopy in the window, which are mostly of common York varieties current from the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

Panel 3. Fragmentary, including six heads. (Pl. 107).

The heads are probably all those of angels, since the one on the right can definitely be associated with a wing fragment behind. All the heads are finely drawn; four have flowing golden curls, two wear white head coverings tied beneath the chin with hair escaping at the side. Only two heads at top centre are on the same piece of glass. Surrounding fragments include portions of robe and pieces of canopy, apparently of the type found in window III, none of them coherent.

Colours and techniques. All the faces are executed in fine enamel drawing, with the hair in yellow-stain; great care was taken over the enamel markings on the latter. Amongst the other fragments are two pieces of pot-metal 'murrey', three of blue, none readable. These, and other heads in light 2, represent the best drawing in the church.

Conservation. Fragmentary as indicated. The heads are, however, in good condition, apart from the second from the right, of which the features have disappeared. There is no reason for regarding this glass as other than genuine.

Date. Early fifteenth century, partly on internal evidence. Also, similarities with glass in All Saints Church, North Street, York, suggest that these heads may be from the same workshop. The relevant All Saints glass is the Orders of Angels window, dated by Dr. Gee between 1410 and 1420.<sup>(3)</sup> The heads in this panel need not necessarily be contemporary, but a date between 1410 and 1440 seems not inappropriate.

Iconography. The existence of fragments of heads, wings and feathered bodies in panels 2, 3, 9 and 10 of window VII is a matter of iconographic significance which will be largely dealt with here. It seems probable that all these fragments came originally from a series of panels depicting the Orders of Angels, and also that this was, somewhat unusually, a main light series. The Parish magazine for March 1877 makes reference to the report of Mr. Gryll on the state of the mediaeval glass, and refers to his discovery that there had been an 'Angel choir' in some part of the Church.<sup>(4)</sup> We are not told the situation of the fragments of glass concerned, but presumably they are the same as those in window VII referred to above. Reference is also made to the corroborating discovery of fragmentary inscriptions reading 'Virtutes' and 'Troni'. The former is no longer extant,



but there is in panel three a part of an inscription, much decayed, the rest of which is in panel 4, which might be construed as the latter.

No evidence remains for identifying any of the fragments in panels 2, 3, 9, 10 with any particular order of angels, apart perhaps from the caps worn by two heads in panel 3 and all three in panel 9. This type of head-gear, close-fitting with the hair escaping at the side, was regarded by Mr. Knowles as a York peculiarity,<sup>(5)</sup> but it has since been clearly shown to be a common item of mediaeval dress. There are examples of its being worn by Angels in All Saints North Street, York; on the West front statuary of Wells Cathedral; in Great Malvern Priory Church. There are numerous instances of its being worn by various classes in Queen Mary's Psalter, and Rock quotes a prohibition on its use by clergy except when undertaking journeys.<sup>(6)</sup> In the context of orders of angels, therefore, it may be intended, as Rushforth suggests, to signify travel with a divine message, and be appropriate to the Order of Angels.

Main light series of the Orders of Angels are no longer regarded as the rarities they once were; besides Malvern, examples exist in York in All Saints, North Street and St. Michael's, Spurriergate.

Mention was made above of similarities between the Thornhill glass and that in the Angels window in All Saints, and it seems probable that the same workshop produced the work in both the relevant windows, if at different times.<sup>(7)</sup>

The iconographic source of the Orders of Angels in Christian art has been ascribed to Dionysos the Areopagite, but it seems probable that the early Greek treatise 'On the Celestial Hierarchy' was to some extent an arrangement of older material arising in part out of Jewish apocalyptic literature e.g. the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Moses and the ascension of Isiah.

The presence of an Orders of Angels series in the church is easily accounted for by the dedication, and, as at Malvern, St. Michael is one of the patron saints. It is under St. Michael's date - September 29th - that the Golden Legend discusses the Orders (V.185ff).

Panel 4. Fragmentary. Feathered Legs. (Pl. 108 lower)

This panel contains some nine feet and half-dozen legs on five pieces of glass. The legs are feathered and probably belong to the heads in panel 3 above, and some attempt has been made to link them. The remainder

of the panel is made up of indecipherable fragments of which the most noteworthy is top right, being the decayed inscription mentioned under panel 3 above.

Colours and techniques. The legs and feet in white glass and enamel trace. Some pot-metal red top; fragments with yellow-stain below.

Conservation. Fragmentary as indicated. Otherwise the pieces are in good condition.

Date. Probably as the heads in panel 3.

Iconography. These limbs are probably part of the Angel series discussed under panel 3 above.

Panel 5. Canopy Fragments (Pl. 106).

'Type B' fragments. There is no complete canopy structure, and some of the pieces are upside down or on their sides. Originally the canopies would seem to have had a large number of minutely worked niches under narrow crocketed gables. Two groups of three survive in this panel. In addition, there are two fragments of glass top right which are probably from the quarry background to window I, and lower left is a fragment on which is (?) an armorial bend charged with a rose, both without tincture. (Cp panel 7.)

Colours and techniques. Canopies; white glass and enamel trace with slight use of yellow-stain on shadowed interiors. The rest similar.

Conservation. Fragmentary. In fair condition; some of the enamel trace gone.

Date. Fifteenth century, possibly late. Later than type A in panel 2, and similar in some respects to the canopies in window II dated 1447, although the latter would seem to be cruder.

Iconography. The number and kinds of canopy fragments in this window suggests that they may have come from a number of windows, probably in the Nave. One might argue the likelihood of some form of Iconoclasm having taken place, since canopies frequently remain where their subject panels are destroyed, e.g. in Sheriff Hutton Church, Yorkshire. (8)

Panel 6. Canopy fragments; two heads etc. (Pl. 109 upper).

The canopy fragments are of Type B, as in panel 5. Below are two heads. One, a man's, has long gold hair and is turned to the left; he has a grey cowl and a blue robe. The other also faces half-left and wears a cap. Other fragments include part of an angel's wing and an ermine collar.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and enamel trace. Pot-metal blue for the man's robe, and a small fragment of red on the right.

Conservation. In good condition. The man's robe may be a restoration.

Date. 1410-40, on the basis of similarity with the drawing in panels 3, 10. Again, this dating is tentative.

Iconography. The head with the cap is very probably another in the series of angels discussed above. The other may also belong to the same group, or to the group of heads to be seen in panel 12.

Panel 7. Armorial, with other fragments. (Pl. 109).

Amyas impaling Lacy; per pale without tincture a bend with three roses and seven pellets, 3,3,1. Surrounding the shield are other fragments, mainly canopy type B, with, to the right, the legs of a figure of Christ, showing the wounded feet.

Colours and techniques. White glass and enamel. Some fragmentary patches of yellow-stain, which is also used to represent blood around the Wounds. It is worth noting that the white ground of the shield is marked out in circles (see plate 109), apparently by abrasion.

Conservation. Fragmentary as indicated, but, apart from some canopy fragments, the individual pieces are not much corroded.

Date. Fifteenth century.

Iconography. The legs of Christ probably come from a representation of the Trinity originally in the W. window of the Choir, now plain, with the wounded Saviour held before God the Father with the Dove in attendance.<sup>(9)</sup> The use of yellow-stain for the wounds is typical of the fifteenth century, and is also found on the banner in panel 1D of window IV.

LIGHT 2.

Panel 8. Fragmentary; angel and canopies. (Pl. 106).

Within the cusping is part of an angels head, wearing a bonnet as in panel 3, with wings visible behind. Below are parts of three canopy gables of type A, as seen in panel 2.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, enamel trace.

Conservation. Fragmentary, but in reasonable condition. Part of the central gable may be recent, since the yellow-stain is of markedly

different intensity.

Date. Angel, as those in panel 3, canopies as those in panel 2, i.e. 1410-40 and early fifteenth century, respectively.

Iconography. Largely dealt with under the above-mentioned panels.

Panel 9. Canopies. (Pl. 106).

This panel contains parts of three canopy gables. They are of type A, though slightly modified in that the heavily foliated gables do not enclose a roundel. Instead it seems that the line of the arch follows that of the gable to the peak, with delicate foliate cusplings, and groining visible within. Between the three gables are two buttresses rendered in splay. Above and behind them is an architectural background consisting of numerous niches on a pediment.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and enamel trace. There is also some ruby pot-metal used for filling in two long, narrow strips.

Conservation. Fragmentary, but in reasonable condition. The two strips of Ruby imply that the present arrangement of three gables has been carefully reconstructed by the restorers from more than one panel.

Date. Again the retained similarity to fourteenth century canopy technique is interesting, particularly in the conjunction of heavily foliated gable with splay buttresses, and so a date very early in the fifteenth century seems probable.

Iconography. See panel 2.

Panel 10. Three Angels. (Pl. 108).

Three heads of angels wearing white head-coverings as in panel 3. The one on the right is the most complete and has in addition a cowl and cape fastened with a jewel.<sup>(10)</sup> Also in the panel are fragments showing parts of wings and feathered body, presumably belonging to the heads. (See panel 11.) To left and right are remains of pillars, and on each, at slightly differing heights, is the small crouching figure of a dragon.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain (wings, dragons, etc.), trace enamel, and some pot-metal ruby used as filling material around the head of the leftmost angel.

Conservation. Fragmentary. There is no guarantee that any of the pieces came from the same panel, but the heads of the angels seem most likely to

have done so. The condition is good.

Date. 1410-40, as the heads in panel 3.

Iconography. From the drawing it is clear that these heads are to be associated with those in panel 3, though the style of wing and body fragments is slightly different in that, in panel 10, they are solidly coloured with yellow-stain. However, if the supposed main light series of the Orders of Angels existed, as seems probable, the difference could be attributed to that between Orders. (See panel 3.)

Panel 11. Parts of wings & miscellaneous. (Pl. 106).

Six fragments of wing and/or feathered body, belonging to the angels above in panel 10. A pair of feet, ankles fringed with feathers. Part of a robe, bottom left, on what seems to be a figure pedestal. Part of a pillar left.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain, black enamel trace. Some pot-metal red and blue top left, used as filling material.

Conservation. Fragmentary. In reasonably good condition.

Date. The fragments relating to the possible Orders of Angels series, 1410-40.

Iconography. Largely dealt with under panels 3 and 10. The portion of robe and pedestal, bottom left, may just possibly be from window II.<sup>(11)</sup>

Panel 12. Fragmentary. Various heads, canopies etc. (Pls. 110/112.)

There is a total of thirteen heads in this panel. Twelve are grouped together on seven fragments in the centre of the panel. The thirteenth is above and to the left, being apparently the figure of a nun, with part of the torso visible. Of the twelve heads, most seem secular, apart perhaps from two female heads, one of which has related hands holding a (?) crutch and loaf. The other fragments are mainly canopies Type B.

Colours and techniques. White glass, trace enamel and yellow-stain. Pot-metal blue is used as filling material in two places, and may have been part of a robe.

Conservation. In good condition apart from some of the upper canopy fragments. In fact, the condition of the heads is so good as to warrant some suspicion, but Whitaker's reference, mentioned to below, seems to vouch for the integrity of this glass.

Date. Fifteenth century. A more precise dating may be possible by comparison with York material, but for the present it is suggested that the early part of the century is likely, partly on the basis of similarity with the 'Angels' series in the same window, and on similarities of detail with glass in the Orders of Angels window at All Saints North Street in York - particularly the style of drawing of the hair in the two rightmost heads.

Iconography. Whitaker (1816) in his description of the Church, of which one is never sure when it represents an eyewitness account, when a recension of an earlier description already referred to - has the following to say concerning the Nave:-

"In the third window, eastward, on his (North) side, were three figures, of which one was naked, excepting a kind of vest about the waist, kneeling, and begging of a person nobly attired in scarlet, with a gold fringe; his purple train supported by a servant, and another person standing by with a loose mantle thrown over his shoulders. Above this, in the same light, was one nobly habited in scarlet, with gold fringe, like the first, and sitting at the end of a building, with a servant sitting by, and stooping to a large wicker basket, whence he supplies his lord with largesses (of bread), which he distributes to the people around him..."<sup>(12)</sup>

It is evident that these scenes represent two of the Corporal Acts of Mercy, clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, probably from a complete window similar to that in All Saints North Street. The heads in panel 12 must be the remains of these two panels, perhaps combined. There is no certainty that a Corporal Acts window existed at Thornhill itself, since there are enigmatic references in the Churchwardens' accounts to the purchase of 'old glass' (see appendix IV), which might refer to odd panels purchased from other churches.

Panel 13. Fragmentary: limbs, architecture etc. (Pls. 110/112).

In the upper part of this panel is a jumble of limbs (about ten feet are visible in all), some are clothed and shod and evidently belong to secular figures; there is a bare foot emerging from a robe on the right. In the same area there is a fragment showing black and white floor-tiling with the foot of either a pillar or a crutch. Other fragments include pieces of canopy, part of a building with square windows lower left, and part of an armorial torque, the rest of which is in panel 14.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain; black enamel used in trace and in scratched out block for the flooring. The building (left) is not dissimilar to parts of the holy city in window IV where pale mortar lines are scratched out of a slightly darker wash.

Conservation. The 'limbs' referred to are in very good condition. There is a marked contrast in the state of glass between this area and the torque which extends into panel 14 which is probably the result of poor manufacture of the latter.

Date. Fifteenth century, with the same considerations as expressed with regard to panel 12. The torque, which is firmly datable, is dealt with under panel 14.

Iconography. See panels 12 and 14.

Panel 14. Armorial torque without shield; fragments. (Pls. 110/111.)

A torque of two strands, white and gold, now enclosing fragments including; canopy fragment type B; three bare feet on one piece of glass; and a (?) staff. Part of the black interior surround of the missing shield remains and on the upper part (in fact in panel 13) is the word "ffrost" (pl. 111) Remaining fragments indicate that when complete the torque was set in a rectangular surround with quatrefoils and fruited foliations occupying the corners. Amongst the fragments outside the torque is (left) part of a robe with the toes of a foot emerging.

Colours and techniques. White glass, yellow-stain and black enamel trace. The interior of the torque was a matt of black enamel (apart from the missing shield) and the word "FFrost" and a fine running diaper were scratched out in white.

Conservation. As suggested in panel 13, the state of the glass of the original torque is somewhat corroded. Other fragments are also poor, although, as elsewhere in the church and particularly in the other panels of this window, some of the staining is due to the deterioration of the glazing bars.

Date. The torque can be firmly dated by the word "ffrost" as being 1491; (see below).

Iconography. The torque, with its original shield, formed the armorial of the rector Robert Frost, donor of the East window of the Chancel (V). Whitaker records a "...torse arg. and or, a chevron gules between three trefoils azure." as being in the East window of the South Choir (now plain), together with the following inscription (now vanished):-

"Orate pro aia' Domini Rob'ti frost quondam rectoris istius  
Ecclesie ac etiam pro animabus parentum et benefactorum eius,  
qui quidem Ro= bertus fieri fecit istam capellam in honore Scae  
Trinitatis, beatissimae Mariae Virginis necnon Sanctorum Martyrum

Georgii & Katherinae & omnium Sanctorum A<sup>o</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> MCCCCLXXXI."

This inscription is also recorded by Dodsworth (1619). See biographical appendix re. Robert Frost. Apart from the torque and its vanished shield, the contents of the East window of the S. Choir as donated by Frost, are conjectural, but considering the dedication of the chapel, probably included a trinity, the remains of which may be in panel 7.



NOTES - WINDOW VII

1. Whitaker, Loidis et Elmete p. 318.
2. None of the heads found in window VII can be conclusively associated with either of the two main types of canopy fragment found. The relative datings must therefore, be regarded as tentative.
3. E.A. Gee, The painted glass of All Saints, North Street, York. p.173ff and plates.
4. Parish magazines in Dewsbury Public Library.
5. Knowles, York School of Glass Painting, p.54ff.
6. Rushforth op.cit. p.
7. The similarities with the All Saints glass are more in matters of facial drawing than in anything else, there being insufficient material remaining at Thornhill for a comparison of cartoons. One of the numerous possibilities affecting discussion of this glass is that it may not have been originally intended for Thornhill, - the Orders of Angels series 'discovered' by Burlison and Gryll may, in fact, have arrived in the Church in an incomplete state initially. It is known that "old glass" was bought for the Church. (See appendix - vestry accounts.)
8. Canopy pinnacles survive at the tops of some lights in the North wall, and elsewhere it is common to find such fragments remaining where the main glass has gone, Cp. Wychnor, Staffs N. wall.
9. Note Appendix - Robt. Frost - Inscription from the S. Choir West window recorded the dedication.
10. As noted in the discussion of the tracery compartments of window V, different jewels were assigned by the iconographic tradition to the different Orders of Angels, and these are frequently an aid to identification. In this window, however, insufficient material remains for comparison.
11. As noted, the restorers found it necessary to re-make a pedestal on which the figures in light 3 of window II stand.
12. Whitaker op.cit. p.319.

APPENDIX I

Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire 1584-5

A number of MSS exist, of which four, in the British Museum, have been consulted, the most relevant being MS Harley 1394. The following is taken from Foster's edition, page 474ff.

In ecclesia de Thornhill

11. Paly of 4 sable and argent, on a bend gu. 3 mullets of six points or.
12. Quarterly. 1 & 4 Arg. on a bend sable, 3 owls of the 1st membered or. with a label of three points arg. Savile.  
2 & 3 Gules 2 bars gemelles & a chief arg. a label of three points of the first.
13. Argent a fesse gules between 3 eagles displayed sable.
14. Savile, impaling, argent, on a pale sable a luce's head coupé erect or. Gascoigne.  
  
PRAY FOR THE GOOD PROSPERITY, &C., OF WILLIAM SAYVILE, ONE OF THE COMPANY OF GRAYES INNE, AND FOR THE SOULES OF Sr. JOHN SAYVILE, AND DAME ALICE, HIS WIFE, FATHER AND MOTHER TO THE SAID WILLIAM, AND ALSO FOR THE PROSPERITY, MERCY, AND GRACE OF Sr. JOHN SAYVILE, AND DAME ALICE, HIS WIFE, Wch WILLIAM SAYVILE ENLARGED THIS QUIRE AT THE OVERSIGHT OF THE SAID Sr JOHN, HIS NEPHEW, Wch WAS FINISHED Ao MCCCCXCIII., IX. HENRY.
15. Savile (with the label of three points) impaling argent fretty sable, an annulet for difference.  
  
ORATE PRO ANIMA THOMAE SAYVILE, MILITIS, QUI HANC CAPELLAM FIERI FECIT A. MCCCCXLVII.
16. Savile, (with a label of three points for difference) impaling, Gascoigne.
17. Savile, impaling, argent, a cross patoncée voided gules.
18. Savile, impaling, argent, a chevron azure.
19. Lozengy, argent and sable, on a bend of the last three crescents of the first. 'Gargrave', impaling, sable, a fesse crenellée between three bears heads erased argent. 'Levett.'
20. Azure, bezanty, on a fesse gules three leopard's faces or. 'Freston,' impaling, argent, 3 cinquefoils gules between 2 cottises sable, a crescent for difference, Amyas, "Freston quartereth Amyas, and should not be in pale."
21. Argent, 2 bars gemelles sable, on a chief of the first three mullets pierced sable. "THOMAS METALEY (JOHANNES, FILIUS EIUS.)"
22. Argent, 3 cinquefoils in bend between 2 cottises sable. Johes. Amyas.
23. Sable, a bend gules fimbriated...between 6 martlets or.
24. Sable, a lion rampant argent. "Verdon."
25. Gules, three birds argent. "Atherton."
26. Quarterly, 1 & 4, Sayvill, with a label of three points. 2 & 3. Gules, 2 bars gemelles, and a chief argent (a label of three points of the first). Thornhill impaling argent, fretty sable.

27. Argent, a chevron gules between three trefoils slipped azure, Frost, impaling, argent, three cinquefoils in bend between 2 cottises sable.
  28. Sable, an escocheon within an orle of 6 (10) martlets argent. Rashdale.
  29. (Sealwise) Argent, a chevron gules between three trefoils slipped azure. Crest, over mantling gules and ermine, on torse, argent and azure, a man's head coupé ppr., crined and bearded argent, between 2 branches azure.
- ROBERT FROST, CHANCELLOR TO PRINCE ARTHUR, SONNE TO KING HENRY VII.

APPENDIX III

Robert Frost, rector of Thornhill 1484-1498, donor of the East Window of the Chancel (Jesse) and of the East Window of the South Choir, (vanished.)

See:- Pedigree given in YAJ vol.VI.p.426 (Dodsworth's Church Notes.)  
Inq.P.M. Hen.VIII. P.R.O. lists and indices Vol 23.C.142.  
J.W. Walker, YAJ Vol 24.p.37ff. (Walker writes on Sandal Magna church where Frost was also Rector, and includes extensive biographical information, which is, however, derived in large part from the next two sources:-

Emden, Biographical Register of the University of Oxford. Oxf.1958.  
see also his volume on the University of Cambridge.

J and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis.

See also Testamenta Eboracensia IV.187n.-derived also from the above.

What follows is a brief outline of material to be found more fully in the above sources, particularly in Emden, who gives the primary sources in detail.

SON OF Thomas Frost (of Ackton?), one of at least four brothers.

His mother is believed to have been a daughter of John Amyas, one of a family of some importance in Sandal and Netherton. A Bachelor of Canon Law, he supplicated for the degree of Doctor at Oxford 1506-7. His appointments were as follows:-

1484-1498	Rector of Thornhill.
1486-1489	Rector of Tankersley.
1487-1502	Archdeacon of Winchester.
1489-1499	Warden of free Chapel of Kingston, Isle of Wight.
1491-1507	Canon of York, Prebend of Bole.
1497-1506	Archdeacon of Stowe.
1497-1500	Canon Lichfield, Prebend.Gaia Major.
1499- ?	Canon of St. Paul's, London.
1500-1507	Preb.Pipa Minor, Lichfield.
1502- ?	Warden S.Joh.Bap. Hospital, Lichfield.
1511- ?	Vicar, Sandal Magna, Yorks.
1495- ?	King's Counsellor.
1499-1502	Chancellor to Prince Arthur.

The above is mainly from Emden. Venn records a Frost at Cambridge, identifying him with our donor, but Emden and Venn disagree on place

of burial, suggesting Sandal Magna and Wakefield respectively.

Walker, (above), records three other donations of glass besides the two windows in Thornhill, these being mainly of arms and inscription, to:- Parish Church at Woolley; Warmfield Church; Tankersley Church. It seems clear, however, that Thornhill was the main recipient of his generosity in this field.

APPENDIX IV

Church records relating to the glass 1672 - 1788

These are contined in two volumes of accounts kept in the vestry safe. The entries relate to the expenditures and receipts of individual churchwardens, overseers for the poor, overseers of the highways, constables etc. There is also an annual Churchwardens General Account in which entries relating to the glass occasionally appear and it is these which are quoted below. Only the more significant entries are quoted, and a number of regular items, e.g. an average of 6/8d annually paid for unspecified repair of windows, can be taken for granted. The account for 1681 is given at some length as being of some interest.

Vol. 1. "Thornhill Booke of Accompts." "...bought in ye year 1672."

	£	s.	d.
1674-5 Glazing (unspecified)		7	2
1675-6 Glazing (unspecified)		7	6
1679-80 Glazing and pointing (unspecified)		17	1
1681-2 Wm. Stephenson 20 yds of gutter		15	0
John Walker for 30 days @ 12d per day	1	10	0
ffor (?hair) and poynting the windows			6
John Snowden for 60 stone of lead	6	0	0
casting 34 stones of old lead @ 4d		11	4
5 dayes for laying the lead		10	0
soldering etc.		6	0
ffor 11½ foot of new Glasse		5	9
ffor 17½ foot of old Glasse @ 3d per foot		4	4
ffor a pan' of glasse mending		3	0
for 41 quarries putting in		3	5
(other entries relating to work on the structure)			
1685-6 ffor the church windows glazing and poynting			
and some places soldering in ye leads	12	4	
1690-1 To John Walker for taking downe the window for			
slateing it, for slates, laths, nayles etc.		9	4
1716-7 ffor 45 foot of square glass @ 9d p foot	1	13	9

	£	s.	d.
1722-3 spent when they lett(?) ye windows		5	0
for 48 foot of glass at 9d p foot	1	16	0
Glaziers dinners 3 days		1	6
for ale when the window was doing		5	0
for 52 bars of iron for ye windows		8	4
<u>Vol. 2.</u>			
1761 paid to the glazier as by bill	1	1	0
1763 ffor a new window putting up ...	1	1	4
4 mullions and bringing them from Flockton		3	0
Glazier	1	11	0

After 1770 the Churchwardens' General Account ceased to be entered in this volume. The individual accounts continue to appear, and in them there are references to the General account in the "Church Book". It seems that this volume has not survived, unless at some point it fell into private hands. This is particularly unfortunate since, as noted elsewhere, the demolition of old nave can be dated about 1777, and one might have expected to find at least some references to the windows, it not an explicit reference to what was done with any old glass there may have been in the structure.

APPENDIX V

Will of Sir Thomas Savile Kt. M.P. for Yorkshire in 1439

York Reg. Test.ii.204.

Printed, Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Vol 25, p.6.

In the feast of St. Edmund, Archbp. of Canterbury, after the feast of St. Martin in Winter, 1449, I, Thomas Savyll, knight, sound of mind, make my testament. First I bequeath my soul to God, the Blessed Mary, and St. Michael and all Saints, and my body to be buried in the parish church of Thornhill near the grave of Margaret my wife. I bequeath for my mortuary my best horse with the better trappings; to the church of Thornhill one suit of vestments, viz. for priest, deacon and sub-deacon, of yellow cloth, with a cap...

...I bequeath to buy a table for the high altar xls to the light before the crucifix xls; for my funeral and burial and to make a tomb over me and my wife iiii marcs, for a chaplain to celebrate for me, my wife, and ancestors in the church of Thornhill on the altar of St. Mary near my tomb for vi years after my decease xxiiid ....

The Tomb of Sir Thomas and his wife is in fact in the Savile Chapel, and is an alabaster tomb chest with eighteen weepers, much mutilated. The reference to the altar of the Virgin nearby is interesting, and may be of importance when one considers that the Virgin provides a thematic link between three of the windows in the chapel.



APPENDIX VI

Letter of Colonel Charles Fairfax concerning the siege of Thornhill Hall by Parliamentary forces 1648.

(York Minster Library, Civil War Pamphlets, 1648)

( 5 )  
little prize: The breach was our side, in not rendering the powder, but chiefly, for that one of them took out a pistol, and many marched with their moneys, therefore it is confessed some lost their cloaths, for which caule the Governour and Bonifant refuse to send the eleven Troopers, or render themselves prisoners according to engagement. Sir, I cannot at present enlarge my selfe more, then all humble respects to my Noble good friends being there, and your servant

C. Fairfax.

This 21. of July, 1648.

Thornhill.

Sir,

WE thirst after no mans blood, but desire that God will scatter the people that delight in warre. I doe therefore, as here Comanded for settlement of these parts, and prevention of insurrections and tumults, demand of you the hould wherein you now are, together with your armes, to be forthwith delivered into my hands for the use of the King and Parliament. If this motion be rejected, expect hostilities, and the Lord looke upon each of us according to the sincerity of his heart, as we desire our peace, to the greatest honour both of God and the King.

Thornhill the 16. of July, 1648.

C. Fairfax.

Sir,

IN answer to your demands I return, That we are equally with you desirous to prevent Christian blood-shed. But to your demand of the horse, we answer, that we may not part with our Loyalty, but together with our blood; we were Comanded hither by our Lawfull Superiour, and may not in honour or duty part hence, without their order. But if you please to suffer a Messenger from us to go to the Governour of Pontefract Castle, at his return you may expect to hear a further answer from.

Sir,

Your servant Thomas Pauldes.  
To Colonel Fairfax, Commander in cheif in Thornhill Town.

Sir,

( 4 )

Sir,

Being ordered with about 500 of my Regiment of foot, accompanied with 200 of Col. Sir Henry Cholmleys horse, to march to Thornhill garrison, I intended to have been there last Saturday night, but too much of that day was spent in pacification of the soldier, that exclaimed for pay, (and indeed they are gallant men, if they were not too clamorous.) It was past nine next morning before we came thither, we possessed our selves of the Church, and Parsonage house, (a stones cast from the hall) without opposition, sent them the summons, to which we have these answers, and replies here inclosed, we intended that day only to take a view, but it proved an engagement. Very opportunely came to our assistance four Troops of horse, and two of Dragoons sent by Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, we fell on the work, entered the barns, stables, and malt-houle, within the fould, but without the Mote; it was a very sharp dispute betwixt one and six; we spent most of our ammunition, viz. four barrells of powder, sent presently to York and Leeds for more; we have about twelve men slaine, and thirty wounded, whereof a few of them mortally. On Monday we cut off their fresh waters, then set work-men to draw out the Mote. And on Tuesday towards night completed the work; Sir Henry Cholmley then come to us, we sent them that last summons, appointed Hostages, & Treators; had a Rendition upon articles to this purpose, That they should deliver to Sir Henry Cholmley, and me, the house and armes. Only the Governour and Maior Bonifant to have their horses and swords, as likewise a horse to one Jennings, a fourth country man, who was one of their Treators. They were to send us eleven of those Troopers of my Lord Generals Regiment (surprized at the ferry.) And the common souldiers only to march away with his apparell, An hour before their march (which was seven at night) meerly by accident the fire from their own party took hold of their powder, blew up part of the house, slew 4 or five of theirs, but none of our men, and miserably scorched about seven or eight more, and the same flame hath consumed all the buildings. I account it a mercy that it was done by themselves, and cannot be objected against us, some few armes the souldiers refused, but got

little

APPENDIX VII

A list of the extant tracings of the glass made by Messrs. Burlison and Gryll during the 1877-80 restoration of the windows.

1. Tracings found in the Church 1971.

It would seem that this group of tracings was the first made, and that it shows the glass as it was found by the restorers, with all alien fragments in place. From the fact that the tracery compartments of windows IV and V are included one can conjecture that the work was done with the glass removed onto a bench, since they would otherwise have been very difficult to access. The tracings show parts of windows III, IV, and V. The tracing paper is glued onto stiff backing rolls, and has been hand coloured. Many of the rolls are extremely dirty, and have been torn during their sojourn in the vestry.

From their presence in the Church one might suspect that they were deliberately left by the restorers as a record of the original state of the glass - an unusually advanced step for the period. Even if this is not the case, it is a pity that they were forgotten to the extent that they were not made available to the 1953 restorers.

Window III Three rolls, covering the whole of each light apart from the bottom-most panels in lights 1 and 3.  
Two small pieces, apparently of the two large tracery openings.

Window V Five large rolls, covering the whole of each main light.  
Eleven small pieces, dealing with various tracery openings.

Window VI Six large rolls, one for each light; not, however, all the same length. The diagram of the window indicates the length of each roll.  
One large roll, with the separate tracings of the tracery compartments pasted to it.

None of these tracings is inscribed with the name of the firm, but the association with the other group, which is clearly attributable to Burlison and Gryll, is felt to be almost self-evident on the basis of style, as well as probable in terms of the fact that theirs was the only recorded restoration of the period. They do not resemble Fowler's tracings of window IV as far as one can tell from the printed version.

2. Tracings in the Victoria and Albert Museum. (E1950 to 1965 - 1952)  
(Deposited by Mr. Harry Gryll 1931.) (& E1969-1952)

This group of tracings appears to illustrate an intermediate stage in the restoration. The alien fragments of glass in various panels have been removed, and obviously related pieces have been reconstructed together jigsaw fashion. These tracings, then, show what Burlison and Gryll thought to be the original state of the windows with gaps to be filled with their new glass. Some of the tracings, particularly of the Jesse are obviously cartoons for the completely missing figures at the foot of the window, with a few fragments of mediaeval glass incorporated here and there, as in the David panel.

This group of tracings is in good condition.

Window V Four rolls, only, covering the whole of lights 1,3,4,5.

Window VI Thirteen panel-sized pieces showing single figures amid the vine - indicated in the text above; two panels being required for the single reclining Jesse.