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**The Glass in the Quire Clerestory of Tewkesbury Abbey**

by G. M. Rushforth
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THE GLASS IN THE QUIRE CLERESTORY OF TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

By G. McNEIL RUSHFORTH, F.S.A.

(Plan and Plates I—IX).

WHEN Tewkesbury Abbey Church was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1875-1879 the fourteenth century glass in the seven windows of the quire clerestory was not touched, as the available funds did not suffice for such an extensive repair. But as a temporary precaution they were protected by plate glass on the outside. Though this saved them from destruction, or at any rate from serious injury, it did not arrest the decay of the leading, and by 1923 their state had become critical, and the Abbey Restoration Committee decided that they should be releaded without further delay. I was invited to become their honorary adviser, and to give a general supervision to the work; and the intimate knowledge of the glass which I thus gained is the justification for the present paper. The work was entrusted to the firm of C. E. Kempe, Ltd., and I may take this opportunity to express my satisfaction and admiration at the way in which it has been carried out. Mr. Walter E. Tower has devoted himself to the task with untiring zeal. Throughout he has shown the right amount both of courage and of discretion; and he has spared no trouble and omitted no precaution to ensure that, so far as possible, the correct solution of the problems involved should be reached and carried out in the best way.

The windows as we found them were in the condition in which they were left by the releading of 1818-1820.¹ As

¹ Mr. W. G. Bannister informs me that the Churchwardens' accounts of these years give the details about the releading and the provision of new painted glass.
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THE DONOR

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in other cases of similar operations about the same period (e.g. in Great Malvern Priory Church) the work had been carried out with what we now regard as want of care and even of ordinary intelligence. There can have been no systematic scheme for replacing the principal figures after releading in the lights from which they came; and they were sometimes mixed up, so that the two halves did not correspond. The formal parts of the windows—the canopies, borders, tracery designs, etc.—were often disordered and scattered; and no attempt had been made to preserve them when imperfect, for the fragments were often used to augment the miscellaneous jumble with which whole panels were filled. For either then, or at some earlier restoration, the remains of painted glass of various dates in windows of other parts of the church had been collected and used as patchwork to fill gaps in the quire windows. Moreover, some missing parts had been made good with modern painted glass, bad in colour and incongruous in design.

It was unthinkable that this state of confusion should be perpetuated and the glass releaded as it was found. Accordingly the present opportunity has been used to remedy, so far as is now practicable, the errors of the past, and at the same time to do what was possible to reconstitute the design where this had been lost or disordered. In carrying out these objects the following principles were adopted.

(I) No new painted glass was used. Heads of figures that were lost remained blank, and the missing parts of their drapery were made up in outline or block of plain coloured glass. In the same way the setting of the figures and other formal parts of the window design, such as the coloured backgrounds, canopies, ornamental borders, scroll work in the tracery lights, etc., were completed when defective with plain coloured or toned white glass. The form of the missing parts was either self-evident, or
was traced from corresponding perfect parts; while the colour was decided by the existing fragments of the figure or its setting, or else by the regular alternations of the colour scheme.

(2) Modern insertions of incongruous glass of a bad period were removed; notably two heads in the east window, the lower half of a figure in the middle window on the south side, and some coats of arms at the bottom of that and the next window. Scattered about the windows were a number of patches of crude blue and yellow, which were also taken away.

(3) An attempt was made to reconstitute the original design wherever this was possible and the evidence for it clear. Every part of the original design was essential to the decorative effect of the whole, especially in providing the proper balance of white and coloured parts. It was therefore important to restore the original decorative scheme. In order to understand this it will be necessary to explain briefly what that scheme was, and what were the subjects which filled the windows.

The principal lights contained a continuous series of full length figures of prophets, patriarchs, kings, and historical personages connected with the church. The figures in the east window, the subject of which was the Last Judgment, were more varied in composition. But all alike were set against coloured backgrounds, under rich but light-toned canopies containing much white glass; while below they were relieved against panels of white delicately ornamented quarries which formed the background to a continuous series of richly framed heraldic shields. The tracery openings were filled with conventional designs of two types, which also contained a large amount of white glass; but the rose or wheel of the east window had a special treatment, its subject being the Coronation of the Virgin.

Let us now consider the pictorial scheme of the windows,
and its meaning. Like most great works of the Middle Ages it forms a unity; for though, as we shall see, the windows fall into two sections, they were obviously all executed about the same time, and form parts of a single conception. Just as, in the rather later great east window of Gloucester Cathedral, the Coronation of the Virgin is attended by the company of heaven and earth—angels, apostles, saints and historical persons connected with the church;\(^1\) so here the Doom, the end of the New Dispensation, is attended by the prophets, patriarchs and kings of the Old, the spiritual and historical ancestors of Christ, and also by the heads of the great family which had founded

![Fig. 1.—TEWKESBURY ABBEY. Plan of the Quire Windows.](image)

the church and monastery of Tewkesbury, and remained so closely connected with it. An echo or extension of the last element is found in the continuous series of heraldic shields which were set at the bottom of the lights below the figures. All but a few have disappeared, but it seems from the evidence of a record made when the set was more complete that most, if not all, of them represented relations or connexions of the great family.

It will be convenient to refer to the windows by letters (A to G), moving round the quire from north to south, so that the westernmost window on the north is A, the east.

\(^1\) Transactions, xlv (1922), pp. 296, 300 ff.
window is D, and the westernmost on the south is G (fig. 1). The lights are numbered from left to right, light I being that on the extreme left of a window.

The glass has all the characteristics of windows of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The sacred figures are robed in the conventional long tunic and mantle, each of a different colour, depending on the alternation or variety demanded by the general scheme of the window, especially of the beautifully diapered backgrounds. The tones of the figures, as usual in the earlier fourteenth century glass, are sometimes rather heavy and opaque; but a definite effort after greater lightness and brilliance of effect is shown, not only by the white mantles of some of the figures, but also by the use of much silvery white glass and yellow stain in the canopies and ornamental borders. Characteristic of the period is the use of a beautiful green, never more beautiful than here. Both pot metal yellow and stain are freely used; the former in the larger masses, such as draperies, the latter in the minor decorative parts. Though the coloured surface, especially of the reds, had sometimes decayed, the pieces of glass were generally well preserved, and signs of corrosion were rare.

There are some differences in the canopy designs between the three windows of the apse and the four western ones. The backgrounds of all the canopies, by the way, are red, except the alternate green ones in C and E. In the three apse windows, the principal feature of the canopy spires is a traceried window alternately green or red in C and E, but all green in D. In windows A, B, F, and G, the spires have each a pair of narrower windows, green in every case. Most of the canopies have ogee arches surmounted by an ogee-shaped crocketed gable, though in the east window (D) the arch is semicircular. But in C the cusped semi-circular arch is surmounted by a straight-sided crocketed gable enclosing a decorated roundel. In B, (pl. VII) the lower parts of the canopies had vanished,
and on the evidence of some fragments (now incorporated with them) these were made up on the pattern of those in C, though one might have expected them to correspond to that of the opposite window, F. The tracery lights of the two sets of windows are also treated in a quite different way. Those of the western set (A, B, F, G) are filled with white vine-scrolls on red backgrounds (Pl. VII). Of the apse windows the two side ones (C and E) have their principal tracery lights filled with gold or green roundels set on white quarries, while the east window has a special treatment with the Coronation of the Virgin.1 These differences seem to suggest some break in the execution of the windows; but the interval, if it existed, can only have been a short one, for no alteration of style or technique is discernible, and minor details, such as some of the border designs, are repeated in both halves. We may regard them as practically contemporary, though the presumption is that the work began at the east end.

Of the minor details the most important are the designs of the outer borders of the main lights. The most frequent are sinuous white stems, from which spring either yellow vine leaves, or white quatrefoil flowers, or brown leaves of oak, all on red grounds. The latter are specially used with the figures of kings. There is also a red band studded with small gold quatrefoils, and in B and F there is a border of white fleurs-de-lis on a red ground. The east window is peculiar in having heraldic borders of the contemporary royal arms, viz. France and England quarterly, in the following form. Three quarries and two half-quarries of gold (pot metal) fleurs-de-lis, set between

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1 It may be noticed that while the architectural framework of the four western windows is varied, that of the apse windows is the same, except that the wheel of the east window is replaced by three elongated quatrefoils in C and E. Prof. Freeman (Essay on the origin and development of window tracery in England, Oxford, 1851, p. 119) compared the east window with that of Portishead church, Somerset.
triangular pieces of blue, alternate with three gold leopards set between pieces of red glass, both being of square shape. The design of the panels with heraldic shields at the bottom of the lights is dealt with later.

Let us now survey the windows in turn, beginning with the East Window, the centre of the scheme, and the most individual in its treatment. The Doom, the subject of the principal lights, was distributed as follows (Pl. I). The central figure is Christ seated and displaying the Five Wounds. On the right of the Judge is Mary, also seated; on the left stands a figure, probably the Archangel Michael. The two outer lights contain the Apostles with John the Baptist, in two groups. Below the first four lights are four scenes on a smaller scale, the two central ones (i.e. in lights II and III) representing the rising of the dead, the two outer ones their ultimate destinies, those in I, on the right of the Judge, being the saved, and those in III the lost. The corresponding space in V is occupied by a kneeling figure on a different scale. The subject of the rose or wheel which fills the top of the window is the Coronation of the Virgin with attendant angels.

At some time the figure of Mary and the group of apostles behind her had been exchanged, and the first obvious step was to put this right. In the same way the groups of the saved and the lost, which had also been exchanged, were restored to their original places on the right and left of the Judge respectively. The minor restorations will be noted in the description of the separate lights, which we will now begin. All the backgrounds are blue.

I. In front of the group of apostles stands the Baptist (his red nimb is new) in a yellow mantle lined with red, raising his left hand towards Christ and holding in the right a disc or medallion on which was depicted the Agnus Dei, now partly obliterated. Behind are the heads of six apostles, some fragmentary; and all had to be straightened
and some missing nimbs supplied. To the right of the Baptist are Peter (new green nimb), with remains of his keys, and (probably) Andrew. To the left is some green drapery.

II. The figure of Mary (purple-pink mantle with blue border and green lining over a yellow dress; blue shoes) had lost its head (perhaps an instance of iconoclasm), and was disfigured by an ugly modern substitute, made according to Bennett, "by Mr. Collins of the Strand."¹ This has now been removed and replaced by toned white glass. The red nimb with its pearl edging is original. Mary raises her left hand towards her son, and the other holds and displays the right breast—the mother’s appeal. Like Christ she is seated on a rainbow (red, yellow, green) as queen of heaven.

III. The Christ (red pearl-edged nimb with gold floriated cross), robed in a purple mantle (blue border and green lining), is generally well preserved. The Five Wounds were displayed, the right hand having also the gesture of benediction, or rather utterance; but the wound in the (right) side, revealed within the folds of the mantle, is lost and patched with an old but alien piece of yellow glass, instead of the dull pink in which the flesh tone of faces and bodies is regularly represented.

IV. The lower part of this figure is fairly preserved, but the upper half was ruined, making its identification difficult. The lost head had been filled, at the same time as that of the Virgin, with a modern bearded face (probably intended for the Baptist),² which has now been removed. A fragment of the original red nimb remained. The lower half of the figure shows that it was barefoot and clothed in a long green tunic with horizontal yellow stripes. Remains of this striped tunic and its sleeves existed among the fragments of the upper half, showing that it covered the

¹ History of Tewkesbury, p. 141, note. He gives the year as 1828.
² But Bennett (see above) calls it "the prophet Joel."
whole figure. It could not, therefore, be an apostle, e.g. John the Evangelist, who, in any case, like the Baptist, was already accounted for in the side groups. Substantial fragments of wings on the same scale were found in the upper half, showing that we have to do with an angel; and these have now been set as if on the shoulders. It was thought well not to attempt any further reconstruction, and the body remains a mass of fragments among which may be noted on the left the right hand pointing downwards, and above it part of a cord with knots at intervals (yellow stain), suggestive of a scourge or, possibly chain of a censer. At the top of the lower half of the figure there was inserted in the striped tunic a triangular piece of red diaper background, which probably replaced some original object of that shape. As the colour was incongruous, this red insertion was removed, exactly as it was, to the vestry window and replaced by miscellaneous fragments. When we ask, who was the angel, and what was he doing, one recalls the occurrence in Dooms of Michael weighing souls. The scales might explain the triangular insertion, but its shape and position might also suggest the cloth containing the small figure of a soul (sometimes several) held by both hands of an angel presenting it to God. If the fragment of cord which we noticed in the upper half really belongs, it is hardly likely to represent a censer, for the motive would be inadequate. The scourge is more probable, for two or more angels bearing the instruments of the Passion are regular adjuncts of Doom scenes.1 But I cannot give any example of a single angel so employed, nor is there any trace here of the other instruments, particularly the Cross.

1 The general design of the window is illustrated by a late 13th or early 14th cent. wall-painting in St. John's Church, Winchester (see F. J. Baigent in *Journal of British Arch. Assoc.*, ix (1854) p. 5 and pl. 3). To the right of Christ, seated, displaying the five wounds, kneels Mary (crowned) with left hand raised and the right holding her right breast. On either side stands an angel holding the cross and scourge (left) and the column and spear (right) respectively. Beyond are the two groups of seated apostles raising their hands towards the judge, and two angels blowing trumpets.
In fact the evidence is insufficient for a decision, and we must leave the angel's identity and action an open question. The unusual dress of a striped tunic has a remarkable parallel in an early fourteenth century window of St. Nazaire, Carcassonne, where in a Doom the angel bearing the cross and crown of thorns wears a yellow tunic with horizontal green stripes. A similar tunic is worn by a small St. Michael spearing the dragon in the top tracery light of the east window of the north aisle in the church of All Saints, North Street, York, only that the alternate stripes are white and yellow. The glass is of the first half of the fourteenth century.¹

V. The six apostles are arranged more formally than those in II, in two rows. The head of the foremost one on the right is lost, and had been replaced by that of a fourteenth century lady, no doubt the wife of a donor from some other window, which has now been set in the vestry window. The other heads are perfect. In the front row is Paul with his right hand on the hilt of his sword. He wears a green tunic and yellow mantle lined with red and fastened in front by a blue clasp. At least two of the other apostles are beardless.

We now come to the small scenes below (Pl. II). It will be noticed that they are symmetrical, the two panels of the resurrection being flanked by those representing the lost and the saved. They are so well preserved that it is almost inconceivable that there was a fifth panel of the same set, which has been destroyed. Each group is framed by a masonry arch, springing in two cases from animal heads, (white or stain) with a line of battlements above. The

¹ Mr. Walter E. Tower called my attention to the York case. D. J. Shaw, An Old York Church, Allhallows in North Street (York, 1908), plate facing p. 130. Mr. A. J. Knowles of York tells me that though the figure is much restored, there is no doubt about the costume. Dalmatics are often represented in glass and elsewhere as ornamented with horizontal stripes; and they also appear on other garments in some of the early 14th cent. Bible pictures of the Holkham MS. edited by Dr. M. R. James for the Walpole Society, vol. xi (1923), pl. vi and ff.
backgrounds are blue. The two panels of the rising of the
dead are almost identical, and might have been traced
from one another. The scene is a cemetery, where we see
three white grave-crosses standing in the green grass, and
coffins or tombs (yellow), out of which the dead are rising.
In one case the lid bearing a long cross stands loose.
Several of the risen dead are not free from their shrouds
which are marked with a cross crosslet on the forehead.¹
The last figures on the right in either case are a bishop with
a pope wearing the tiara (light II) and a king (III). Above
each group flies an angel blowing a trumpet. They differ
only by their colouring, the one in II having gold wings
(one lost) and a purple-pink garment, while the other has
pink wings and a yellow garment. Their nimbs are red.
The saved in I are a group of nude figures looking upwards
to the right with raised hands. The first one still has his
shroud clinging to his head. The two behind him are
bishops in gold mitres. The scene of the lost (IV) who are
moving to the right (i.e. away from Christ), is more com-
plicated. An angel (the face lost, gold wings, red and
yellow drapery) with outstretched arm and sword of flame
(red) is driving away three nude figures, two men (one
beardless) and a woman whose body is white, while the
men have the usual dull pink flesh-tint. The last is on her
knees, and with raised hands looks back in vain appeal,
perhaps to Mary. All, encircled by a chain, are being
dragged along by a devil whose hideous beaked face looks
out of a green hood.

The corresponding space in light V is occupied by some-
thing quite different, the figure, apparently, of a woman,
nude, kneeling in the attitude of prayer. (Pl. III). The

¹ These crosses on shrouds are often represented in funeral or resurrection
scenes, e.g. a painting in Chalgrove Church (Oxon.), Archaeologia, xxxviii
(1860), pl. xxiii, and in glass at Leicester, Arch. Journal, lxxv (1918), pl. x.
They were made of metal, and specimens have been found in cemeteries.
Archaeologia, xxxv (1853), pl. xiii; xxxvi, pl. xxi; Proceedings of the Soc.
Ant., 2nd Ser. xx, p. 169; xxi, p. 16.
question arises whether this panel, interfering as it does with the general design, formed an original part of the window, or has been brought from elsewhere. The only reason for such transfer would be to supply the place of a destroyed fifth small Doom scene, which, as we have pointed out, is improbable. We may, then, accept it as representing the donor of the glass kneeling, stripped of all earthly trappings, at the judgment seat of Christ.\textsuperscript{1} The scale and setting of the figure naturally isolate it from its surroundings, for she is a contemporary person, not belonging to what may be called the sacred history of the rest of the window. The body has been damaged in parts, e.g. most of the breast and left arm have been renewed in plain white glass, and the legs with the knees have disappeared. The background consists of horizontal diapered stripes alternately blue and white, the former being twice the width of the latter. An alien strip of red inserted in the middle behind the figure has been replaced by blue glass. The colour stripes have been restored where missing in front of the figure, and the lost bottom part has also been made up with blue fragments. The space is bounded on the left by what may be a panelled wall or pier (the lower part is lost) finished at the top by battlements as if in continuation of those above the Doom scenes, but "returned" in perspective, and so connecting this subject with them. That it is in its original place is shown by the way in which it is impinged upon by the curled end of the scroll in front of the kneeling figure inscribed with her prayer or appeal. Only the last word of this remains—\textit{thus}; and

\textsuperscript{1}This quite unusual way of representing a donor recalls the naked effigy of herself which Isabella Countess of Warwick, the heiress of the Despensers, ordered for her tomb in the quire, and which may have been suggested by it. Nicolas, \textit{Testamenta Vetusta}, p. 239. Bennett, \textit{Tewkesbury}, 164. In the Musée Lapidaire at Bordeaux the late 13th century incised effigy of the wife of Roger de Leyburn, seneschal of Gueyenne, represents her as naked, but decently covered by a shield of her husband's arms. As is well known, the soul in medieval art is represented as a naked (sometimes sexless) child.
in trying to complete the sentence I can think of no more appropriate or likely words of the required length than those of Psalm cxv, 16: *O Domine quia ego servus tuus* (cxvi, 14, of the English version: "Behold, O Lord, how that I am thy servant").

The subject of the rose which occupies the top of the window (Pl. IV) was the Coronation of the Virgin, appropriate in a church dedicated to her, and in any case the scene which medieval religious art regularly used to express the consummation of the story of the Incarnation and Redemption. The scene itself occupies the central quatrefoil, the figures being charmingly painted in white and yellow stain against a blue background edged with gold. Eleven of the red petals had blue roundels containing angels (white and stain), two of which were censing, and the others were playing musical instruments. Three were lost, and have been restored in outline or block, and those which were imperfect have been completed on the same principle. Below the roundel in the narrower part of the petal is a gold five-petalled rose, and there is another in the cusped head. The topmost petal, however, is occupied by a seated figure of God the Father (the face lost; blue nimbus, gold mantle over white), giving His blessing to the scene. Below Him the usual rose is replaced by a flaming gold star. The spandrel openings between the ends of the petals and the outer circle are effectively filled with plain green glass, of which, however, only a few are original, intended, perhaps, to produce the effect of a red rose against its green foliage. The censing (in yellow) and trumpeting (in white) angels in the other tracery openings are also set on red gold-edged backgrounds and have blue nimbs. Beneath the former are flesh-coloured bearded faces.

The northern window of the apse (C) is the best preserved of what may be called the prophetic windows, and provided the clue to the original arrangement of the
whole set (Pl. V). The centre was filled by a king, the remains of his name showing that he was Solomon. The two outer lights were occupied by two of the Major Prophets, Jeremiah and Daniel, and the two intermediate ones by (no doubt) two Minor Prophets, though the name of only one was preserved, Joel. The prophets with variety of gesture, turn towards the centre, and some hold the books of their prophecies in the hand enveloped in the folds of the mantle. The backgrounds are alternately blue and red. The names below the figures of these windows are in gold letters on a black ground, but propheta inscribed on the scroll held by some prophets is in white or flesh-coloured letters. The characters are “Lombardic” ones, i.e. the early Gothic type which began to be replaced by the later Gothic or black letter in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Figs. 6 and 7 illustrate the fact that some of the figures are mere repetitions with varieties of colour. Compare Solomon and Rehoboam in the central lights, and the prophets in C IV and V with those in E I and II.

Window C. Light I. The prophet has a red nimb and yellow mantle lined with green over a purple pink undergarment. The lower part of the figure was confused, and has been made up with modern glass. He held a purple book in his covered left hand and points to it with his right. Below on a straight label is ✠ Ieremia:

II. Prophet. Green nimb and yellow mantle with green lining over white tunic. The right hand holds a scroll with [proph]et[a]. The lower part of the figure with the name was lost and has been made up. This head, unlike all the others, is in white and yellow stain; perhaps an old repair.

1 The motive of the veiled hands (velatis manibus) was adopted from the court ceremonial of the Roman Emperors in Early Christian art to express the reverence with which sacred persons or objects should be approached or handled. Here it is little more than a conventional survival.
III. A king with gold crown in purple pink mantle lined with green over yellow tunic. The kings are not nimbed. His right hand holds a sceptre (white) with gold foliated top, and his left rests on the neck band of his tunic, a familiar motive in thirteenth and fourteenth century art. His hands are covered with white gloves. The lower half of the figure was ruined, and has been made up in outline. But some fragments survive of the name: Salomo[n] rex.

IV. Prophet with yellow nimb and white gold-edged mantle lined with pink over green, pointing with his left hand to a yellow book held by his right which is covered by the mantle. Pink shoes. Below is Iohel propheta. This figure is fairly perfect.

V. Red nimb, white gold-edged mantle lined with red over a green tunic and pink shoes. The right hand is raised and open, the left holds a scroll with prop[heta]. Below is ✡ Dan[iel].

The contents of the southern window of the apse (E) had been much altered, for it had two kings (in II and IV) and three prophets. The lower halves of the two kings had been exchanged. Fragments of the name of Rehoboam under one of the kings showed that he probably belonged to this window as the successor of Solomon in C. The other king was removed to take the central place in window F, and there has been substituted for him the remains of a prophet from B IV. The names and identity of the prophets are lost, but the outer pair must have been Isaiah and Ezekiel. The backgrounds are alternately blue and red (Pl. VI).

I. Prophet (red nimb, yellow mantle lined with green over red tunic, yellow shoes) turning to the left and holding a purple book in his covered right, to which he points with his left hand. Below has been set propheta.

II. Prophet (blue nimb) green mantle lined with white over yellow tunic, pink shoes) also turning to the
east. He raises his open right hand. On the left is a scroll with [proph]eta. The lower half of this figure had been lost, and is made up in modern glass.

III. King in gold crown and white mantle lined with red over a yellow tunic. Embroidered purple shoes. His right hand holds a sceptre (white) with gold foliated top, and the left rests on the neckband of his tunic. The hands are cased in white gloves. Below is Roboam rex.

IV. Prophet (to left). Blue nimbo, green mantle lined with red over yellow tunic. Red shoes. His uncovered right hand holds up a book of the same flesh colour. The left has a scroll with prophet. The lower part was lost, and has been made up in modern glass.

V. Prophet (looking to the left). The face is lost, but has a red nimbo. Yellow mantle lined with green over a red tunic and yellow shoes. His right hand is raised and open, and the left held a scroll with prop[h]eta. The lower half of the figure had disappeared and has been restored in outline.

The larger tracery lights of these two windows have green or yellow roundels set on white flowered quarries edged with red, producing the effect of trellis work. The smaller openings have red roundels with white conventional foliage on a black ground. All the lights have ornamental borders of stain.

The middle windows on either side (B and F) had suffered more than any others of the series. Three figures were represented only by scattered fragments, and, with one exception, not much more than the upper halves of the others had preserved their form. The canopies also, especially of window B, were damaged and defective. The gaps had been made up with large insertions of alien though ancient glass, and in window F the restorers of 1820, besides filling the base of the lights with new heraldic shields, had inserted in light IV a copy of the striped green and yellow garment of the archangel from the east window.
Under these circumstances it was obvious that some of the figures would require more extensive reconstruction than had been necessary in the other windows. The alternative would have been to leave some of the lights in a state of meaningless confusion, interrupting the continuity of the ordered series on which so much of the decorative effect of the whole depended. It was therefore decided that, not only those figures of which only halves survived, but also those which were completely ruined, should be reconstructed on the principle explained above (p. 290). In every case existing fragments formed the basis or nucleus round which the new work was built up; and in the rare cases in which the form of the figure was lost, the reconstruction was a tracing from a suitable perfect figure. The scattered fragments were thus restored to a life and meaning which they had lost, and the results have justified the procedure; for the original decorative scheme of the whole set of windows is now re-established, and the values of the more or less perfect portions have been enhanced by the fact that they once more form part of a continuous and coherent series or design. At the same time, those who care to examine the lights closely will have no difficulty in distinguishing the old glass from the new unpainted pieces.

The series of prophets and kings was continued in these two windows, David being transferred from F to what was probably his original position in B, as the predecessor of Solomon in C. The fourth king, who replaced him in F (the superfluous one in E, mentioned above), though he has lost his name, is presumably Abijah, the successor of Rehoboam; for where it was not possible to represent all the royal ancestors of Christ, the first four were taken. Thus in a Jesse Tree window (thirteenth century) in Chartres Cathedral, which has room for only four kings, the names are David, Salomon, Roboam, Abias.1 As the two

1 Bulteau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (2nd ed. Chartres, 1901), iii, p. 211.
apse windows (C and E) provided only four Minor Prophets, it might be supposed that the rest filled the eight lights on either side of the two kings in B and F. But it cannot have been so, for two fragments of names, in the characteristic gold letters on a black ground, were discovered, one of which is obviously the first part of *Samuel*, preceded, it will be noticed, by a cross like the names of the Major Prophets in the outer lights of C. We may suppose, then, that the corresponding outer lights of B and F were also occupied by sacred personages of great importance, whom we may describe as Patriarchs. The other fragment gives us . . . on:ph . . . . As there is no Minor Prophet whose name ends in on, it may be suggested that the complete inscription was *Aaron propheta*. If Aaron appeared as the type of the priestly office of Christ, Moses would not be omitted. The fourth figure may have been Abraham or Melchizedek, but no trace of any other name could be found.\(^1\) Perhaps the two rulers, Moses and Samuel, were balanced by the two priests, Melchizedek and Aaron. The consequence is that there was room in the four windows for only eight of the Minor Prophets.

*Window B* (north side of quire). The backgrounds are alternately blue and red. The greater part of the canopies in the first three lights, and the lower halves of those in III and IV, had disappeared, and have been reconstructed or completed in outline, the available fragments being incorporated in their proper places. Much of the borders has also been supplied in the same way (Pl. VII).

Light I. The prophet (looking towards the right) has been reconstructed on the pattern of one holding up a book (green) in his covered left hand, and pointing to it

\(^1\) At Chartres, in lights below the northern rose, the priests, Melchizedek and Aaron, are the pendants to the kings, David and Solomon. Moses and Aaron are also two of the figures in the apse windows (Bulteau, *Monographie*, iii, pp. 213, 216, 217). A series of statues in the north portal has Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du xii\(\text{e} \) siècle en France* (3rd ed., Paris, 1910), p. 184 and fig. 95.
with the right, the characteristic long forefinger of which is old, as is a good deal of the white gold-edged mantle (lined with yellow), and the yellow shoes. The tunic is red and the nimb yellow. Below, as having belonged to one of the outer lights, has been set the second name fragment referred to above, to which a detached A of the same series has been prefixed, so as to read A[ar]on p[ropheta].

II. Prophet (to right) found in III as an upper half-figure. The face is lost, but the yellow nimb remains. Green mantle lined with red, drawn over the head, yellow tunic and pink (flesh coloured) shoes. The mantle covers the raised left hand, and the right holds a scroll, which is modern like the lower part of the drapery.

III. King David, transferred from F III. Half the face is lost. He wears a gold foliated crown, a yellow mantle lined with green over a red tunic, and purple shoes. His right hand holds a harp (white and stain) and a scroll inscribed with Dav[íd], to which he points with his left. The lower half was ruined and has been made up.

IV. Prophet (to left), transferred from II. Green nimb, but the head is lost. Yellow mantle lined with green, fastened on the left shoulder with a blue brooch or clasp. White tunic and pink shoes. The right hand is raised and open: the left holds a scroll with prop[heta].

V. Prophet (to left) largely made up with modern glass. Red nimb, green mantle lined with red over white tunic, parts of which are old, like the red shoes. The right hand holds up a yellow book, the left has a scroll.

Window F (south side of quire). Alternate blue and red backgrounds.

I. Prophet (looking to the right) transferred from B V. The face is lost. Yellow mantle lined with blue, and drawn over the head which has a green nimb. Green tunic, parts of which are old, though the lower half of the figure is mostly made up. He holds up his left hand enveloped in the mantle, and has a scroll (now blank) in
the right. Below has been set (though with no suggestion as to the identity of the figure) the fragment described above of the name ✡ Sam[uel].

II. Prophet (to right). The figure, which was found in this light is fairly preserved, though the face is lost. The white mantle, lined with red, is drawn over the head, which has a yellow nimbus. Yellow tunic. He raises his open hand, and holds in his right the remains of a scroll inscribed propheta.

III. King, transferred from E II. The upper half is intact. Gold crown, yellow mantle lined with red, over green tunic. Of the white-gloved hands, the right is raised with the gesture of address, and the left holds a sceptre with a three-leaved head (all white). The name inscription is lost, but we may assume that it was Abias rex (see above).

IV. Prophet (to left). The upper half, which is fairly complete, was found in light I. Blue nimbo, white gold-bordered mantle lined with green, over yellow tunic. He holds a blue book in his covered right hand, and points to it with the left (notice the long forefinger). The lower half is made up.

V. Prophet (to left) largely made up with modern glass. Red nimbo, white mantle lined with red, over green tunic. He holds up a green book in his right hand and has a scroll in his left. Parts of the bottom of the white mantle and of the skirt of the tunic are old.

The tracery lights of these two windows are filled with red grounds on which are scrolls of white vine plants starting from centres formed by yellow flowers (but in B there is one green and one red). In the second of the lower lights of B had been inserted a shield with the arms of Mortimer, now removed to the vestry windows as it was too small to belong to the heraldic series in the quire.

1 Similar designs of white vine sprays on red are found at Wells in the tracery of the Chapter House windows (c. 1320) and elsewhere in the Cathedral.
We now come to the two westernmost windows which, though the formal setting (canopy and tracery design), being continuous with that of the others, shows that they belonged to the general scheme, contain figures of a very different character (Pls. VIII, IX.). These are eight (for there are only four lights) men in armour of the early fourteenth century, whose heraldic surcoats show that they represent the family, or succession of families, which held the honour of Gloucester and were lords of Tewkesbury, from Fitzhamon, the founder of the abbey church, down to the two husbands of Eleanor, the last of the De Clares, viz. Hugh Despenser the Younger who was executed in 1326, and William Lord Zouche who died in 1336. In one sense, as we have said, they appear as attendants on the great scene, just as in the bottom tier of lights in the great east window of Gloucester Cathedral the historical kings and ecclesiastics are in attendance on the Coronation of the Virgin. But the fact remains that they are not represented in any devotional or suppliant attitude, but stand, almost defiantly, in the panoply of war with their hands on their swords, in much the same guise as the sepulchral effigies of the period. As most of these persons were buried in the church, and several of them just below these windows but, so far as we know, without effigies or monumental tombs, the intention may have been that these portrait figures should take the place of sepulchral effigies and serve the same purpose, viz. to be a permanent memorial before God and the Church of those whose souls were prayed for in the quire below.1 Anyhow the series is, so far as I know, without a parallel at this period, and we must come down to the end of the Middle Ages to find a set of portraits of a great family standing upright in the windows of a church.2

1 Westlake, History of design in painted glass, ii, p. 34.
These figures were first described and figured by John Carter in his "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting," published in 1787. They then occupied the same positions as they do to-day, and were substantially in the same condition. The greater completeness which they show in the plates is, no doubt, partly due to the eighteenth century draughtsman. By 1924 the lower halves especially had become a good deal disordered, and required a certain amount of straightening, reconstruction, and supplementing with plain toned or coloured glass. Though Fitzhamon, no doubt, occupies his original place of honour in the easternmost light of the window on the Gospel or north side of the quire, the others do not seem to be arranged on any principle, and have probably been moved at some time or other, like the kings and prophets. But it was not thought desirable to alter an arrangement which has existed for at least one hundred and fifty years, except in the case of lights III and IV of the south window (G), where the colour backgrounds and the attitude of the figures showed clearly that they had been exchanged.

The figures stand, with legs rather wide apart, the right hand holding a spear, and the left resting on the hilt of the sword, the scabbard of which is decorated with patterns in black and white or stain. The faces, boldly drawn on the flesh-coloured (i.e. dull pink) glass, are almost exactly alike, and have no claim to be likenesses. Two in the north window have perished. The armour represents the transition or compromise between mail and plate, characteristic of about the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In some the development of plate is more advanced than in others, but the artist was probably familiar with both types, and has reproduced them for the sake of variety. The armour, in fact, is more or less contemporary with the glass, and is applied to the Norman Fitzhamon as

1 Vol. ii, plates opposite pp. 23 and 32.
2 Druitt, Costume on Brasses, pp. 150 ff.
much as to the latest of these personages, Lord Zouche, who died in 1336. Its varieties and details deserve a separate study, but I have summarised in a note the comments of that careful antiquary, Albert Way, from his MS. collections in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. Attention may be called here to the 'ailettes' fixed behind the shoulders of all the figures. These appendages, usually painted with the arms of the wearer, but here in plain colours (pink, blue, or yellow), generally appear on monuments only in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), but their occurrence in a picture of the Louterell Psalter shows that they may have lasted to that of Edward III. We will now briefly review the contents of the lights.

North Window (A). (Pl. VIII). The backgrounds of the figures in the first three lights (counting as usual from left to right) are green, but that of the last is red. The rule is that the backgrounds should be all of one colour (as in the east window), or of two alternate colours. It is difficult to think that the red background in IV is original, unless it were intended thereby to distinguish Fitzhamon as the founder of the church; yet where it touches the nearly

1 Way's notes on Tewkesbury are dated April 1837. He calls attention to the differences in the armour, e.g. Fitzhamon has more plate than some others, and the spurs are of a later and improved fashion: in all the rest they are attached by the single thong, which was the earliest mode. No two are exactly alike: e.g., there are five forms of bascinet. The camail in several cases is replaced by a gorget of small overlapping plates. In one there are attached to the head piece four horizontal bands of plate which reach just below the chin, where succeeds the ordinary camail. All have ailettes, but without arms, and the colours have no significance. All the mail is of the later kind. The gauntlets are formed of numerous plates. In several, the only other appearance of plate is the poleyn and a shinpiece over the mail defending the front of the leg. All have poleyns. In three cases mail is entirely discarded, and the legs are entirely covered by plate, which is hinged. In two the lower part of the thigh is covered by something in longitudinal bands, somewhat like the gambeson that we find on effigies of earlier date, which in both is dark green. Probably a gamboised covering for the thigh. In one there are round plates over the armpits and elbows, all the rest being mail.

perfect upper half of the figure there are no signs of it being an insertion. It may be noted that its pattern—quatrefoils in squares—is more formal than the flowing conventional foliage of the three green backgrounds.

I. This figure (face lost) is almost wholly in mail. The arms on his surcoat, gules three clarions or, show that he represents Robert (sometimes called Fitzroy or Consul), natural son of Henry 1, son-in-law of Fitzhamon, and Earl of Gloucester. He is the only one of these eight personages not buried in the abbey, for his grave was in the Priory Church of St. James at Bristol, which he had founded.

II. The face is lost and had been replaced by the head of a fifteenth century angel, now removed to the vestry window. The surcoat has the arms of De Clare: or three chevrons gules. As there are four De Clare figures in the two windows, there are no means of identifying the individuals with certainty; but owing to the proximity of the earlier persons in the pedigree this may well be Gilbert (1180-1230), the first De Clare Earl of Gloucester.

III. One of the best preserved of the series. The surcoat had the Despenser arms: quarterly argent and gules fretty or, over all a baston sable, so there can be little doubt that this is Hugh Despenser the Younger, the first husband of Eleanor De Clare. It is less likely to be their son Hugh.

IV. The arms on the surcoat: azure a lion rampant or, are those attributed to Robert Fitzhamon (died 1107), the founder of the abbey, the first lord of Tewkesbury and ancestor in the female line of the later lords. The fact that his body was moved from the Chapter House to a grave in the quire in 1241 may have had something to do with his inclusion in the series of portraits.

*South Window* (G). (Plate IX). The backgrounds are alternately blue and green.
I. A fairly preserved figure with a De Clare arms on the surcoat.

II. The surcoat has the arms: guules ten bezants (i.e. gold coins or roundels) of William Lord Zouche of Mortimer, the second husband of Eleanor De Clare, who died in 1336.

III and IV are De Clares. The three in this window no doubt represent the Earls of Gloucester, Richard (1222-1262), Gilbert (1243-1295) 'the Red Earl' and husband of Joan of Acre, and Gilbert (1291-1314) the brother of Eleanor De Clare, who fell at Bannockburn.

The tracery lights of these two windows are filled with the same design as we saw in B and F, viz. vine scrolls (white) starting from central ornamental roundels (yellow) and set on a red background. They were in fair condition, and some of the roundels were recovered from other windows to which they had strayed.

It might almost have been expected that, as the kings and prophets were identified by their names inscribed below them, so these portraits, particularly those of the four De Clares, should be distinguished by their names. There was no trace of such 'in situ.' But among the fragments of lettering found in B were two, with gold 'Lombardic' letters on a black background hatched with white lines, which made up the name HVGO, while a third with the same characteristics had the letter H. It is highly probable that these come from the name of Hugh Despenser, and it might have been under his figure. It is also possible that somewhere in the seven windows there was a dedicatory inscription, for two other fragments, with gold letters on a plain black ground, made up the word fenest[ram] while two more belonging to a different inscription, the black background being elaborately diapered in white, may conjecturally be completed as . . . . . [Hug]o fen[estram]. . . . or fenestras.

It may be that all these fragments came from windows
outside the quire; and, in any case, their origin and meaning were too uncertain to allow of them being re-set as parts of the design of any of the quire windows, and they can therefore now be seen in the vestry window.

We have now to consider the panels at the bottom of the lights, below the figures. As we have indicated above, there can be no doubt that these were occupied by a complete series of armorial shields set in framed colour backgrounds on fields of white quarries delicately ornamented with flowers in outline. A perfect example of these panels was to be seen in the first light of window E, with the Despenser arms, but probably not 'in situ'; while in the second light of the opposite window C there was another, which, however, had lost the contents of its shield. Lights IV and V of the east window contained two more with the arms of D'Amory and Munchensi, but the quarry backgrounds had disappeared; while in the first light were the remains of a shield with the abbey arms, but without any setting.\(^1\) Throughout the windows, mostly in the lowest parts, there was a large number of scattered quarries, and also portions of the characteristic frames formed by the intersection of a quatrefoil and a lozenge or diagonal square. They may be compared with the similar frames of shields in the great east windows of Bristol and Gloucester Cathedrals, dated about 1320 and shortly before 1350 respectively.\(^2\) All these fragments were used in making up the forms of the lost panels, the missing parts being supplied in plain coloured or toned white glass, and the shields filled with the miscellaneous fragments previously scattered about the bases and other parts of the windows. It may be added that the

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\(^1\) The other coats described by Mr. Were in the first four windows (*Transactions*, xxvi, 168 f.) were really only miscellaneous fragments made up into patterns.

bottom panels of windows F and G contained no old glass, having been filled (apparently about 1820) with modern coats of arms, which have now been removed.\textsuperscript{1}

The existence of this continuous series of shields (33 in all) is confirmed, and some information as to their contents given, by a list printed in James Bennett’s *History of Tewkesbury* (1830) “from an ancient manuscript in the possession of a literary friend” (p. 359). The manuscript cannot be traced, but the internal evidence suggests that we may accept the list as recording what was to be seen in the quire windows before or at the restoration of 1720;\textsuperscript{2} possibly even before the Civil War. It may be worth while to reproduce it here (making any obvious corrections) in order that it may be seen what it amounts to. The name is given without the blazon when the latter is well known.

East window [D]. 1. Berkeley. 2. Despenser. 3. England; gules three lions passant guardant or. 4. Despenser. 5. Gules a cross engrailed or within a bordure argent. Tewkesbury Abbey.

Window G. 1. Argent on a bend gules three buckles or, within a bordure vert charged with eight eaglets displayed of the second [unidentified].\textsuperscript{3} 2. Gules fretty or. Audley. 3. Barry of twelve argent and azure. Munchensi. 4. Undy of six argent and gules, a bend azure. D’Amory. 5. Azure a lion rampant guardant or. Fitzhamon.


\textsuperscript{1} Those in F were the arms of the sees of Rochester, St. David’s, Bangor, Carlisle, and Wells. Those in G attempted to display the heraldry of the De Clare and their successors.

\textsuperscript{2} Bennett, *Tewkesbury*, p. 360.

\textsuperscript{3} The Worcestershire family of Cassey bore these arms without the bordure.
In the other four windows [viz:—B, C, E, F].
1. Gules a lion rampant or within a bordure of the second. Talbot. 2. Argent three fusils conjoined in fesse gules. Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. 3. Clare. 4. Paly argent and azure, on a bend gules three eagles displayed or. Grandison. 5. Argent on a bend azure three lions’ heads erased or. [Sir John Burys (Papworth p. 246)].

One thing is evident from an examination of these shields, and that is that nearly all of them belong to the family of the lords of Tewkesbury, or to their relations and connexions, down to about 1340 or the next few years. Thus the members of the Royal house of Plantagenet would come in through the marriage of Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, with Gilbert de Clare. I have attempted to make this clear by the annexed pedigree. How far any or all of these persons were also benefactors of the church we do not know, but the idea of commemorating the great family, which had such a special interest in the abbey, and those who were allied to it would be a sufficient motive. That each coat of arms stands for an individual is shown by the fact that there are two of Despenser (no doubt for Hugh, the husband of Eleanor
De Clare, and his son and successor Hugh) and four of De Clare, corresponding to the four De Clare Earls of Gloucester in windows A and G. One of them might even represent Ralph de Monthermer, second husband of Joan of Acre, for we know that while he was Earl of Gloucester he sometimes used the De Clare arms. On the other hand, the shield of Morley impaling Despenser points to the marriage of Thomas Lord Morley (1354-1416) with Anne daughter of Lord Edward Despenser (1336-1375) which must have taken place long after the date of the windows, which as we shall show, were finished before Lord Morley was born. It has, then, been introduced from some other part of the church to fill up a gap in the series; and it is possible that shields which do not seem to fit into the family pedigree may have come here in the same way, for the glass contains abundant evidence of patching with material taken from both fourteenth and fifteenth century windows outside the quire. In the same way the arms of Beauchamp of Warwick may belong to the period of the marriage of Earl Richard with Isabella Despenser in 1423. A few, however, may be due to the fact that they represent persons of local importance, such as Thomas Lord Bradeston, who was Constable of Gloucester Castle and probably the donor of the east window of the Cathedral. The family of Tracy, again, provided several sheriffs of the county in the fourteenth century; and the Talbots were also a family of importance in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire at the same period. Sir John de Bures or Burys, whose arms come last on the list, was a Gloucestershire landowner who held part of the manor of Boddington under the lords of Tewkesbury, with other manors, and also had important family connexions. He died in 1350, his daughter and heiress, Katherine, having married in 1329 Giles Beauchamp son of Walter Beau-

1 Ld. Howard de Walden, Some Feudal Lords and their seals, p. 9.
2 Complete Peerage (1893), vol. v, p. 371.
champ of Powick, the arms of whose family also appear in the list. The inclusion of the Abbey arms might be easily explained; only, as we shall see, there is some doubt whether it belonged to the original series.

Three of the surviving shields together with a fragment of the royal arms were already in the east window, and the Despenser panel has now been added, restoring it to what was certainly its original situation. They stand in the following order. (Pl. II).

I. Tewkesbury Abbey. Gules a cusped (not engrailed) cross or. The old list and later descriptions add a bordure argent, but if this ever existed no trace of it has survived. The original curved edge of the red field survives on the sinister side, and the white bordure may have fitted on to this. But if it was not there, then the shield was smaller than those of the rest of the series, and must have come from elsewhere. On the whole the probabilities are rather against a bordure in the fourteenth century, for it does not appear even in the fifteenth century abbey seal. It may be noted that the absence of the characteristic frame is another point against including the shield in the quire series, and in favour of its being of a smaller size and without a bordure. For the sake of uniformity, however, the shield has been set in a frame of the regular pattern, and, without interfering with the original portion, it has been enlarged by the addition, not of a bordure argent, but of a border of miscellaneous white glass.

II. Despenser. Brought from E I as already mentioned. The original background within the frame is red. Bennett's list has a Despenser shield in this place.

III. Bennett's list gives the old royal arms of England with the full blazon. There was found in this panel,

v, pp. 582, 585. For these references I am indebted to Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley.

2 Transactions, xxiii (1900), p. 287.
just above a modern made-up shield which occupied its centre, the sinister upper quarter of the royal arms as used from the time of Edward III, viz.:—France and England quarterly. The quarter, which is complete, is not blazoned in colour, but the leopards are drawn "in trick" or outline on yellow glass, a common practice in the earlier half of the fourteenth century to avoid the difficulty of cutting out and inserting small figures or shapes in the glass of shields. Examples may be seen in some of the shields in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral.¹ This quarter belonged to a shield of the same size as the surviving ones of the series, and is therefore in all probability part of the original shield in this place. We may suppose that the author of Bennett’s list saw only the same fragment, and described it with the blazon which it ought to have had. The point is of some importance for, as is well known, Edward III was the first to quarter the French royal arms when he proclaimed himself king of France in 1340. The glass, then, must have been painted after 1340. But, even if the shield did not belong to the window, the same date is proved by the vertical borders of the main lights which also display "France and England quarterly" in the form of gold fleurs-de-lis alternating with three leopards set on blue and red backgrounds respectively. (See p. 294).

IV. Barry of twelve argent and azure (red background) De Munchensi. Sir William de Munchensi married Aveline aunt of the first Gilbert de Clare, whose sister-in-law Joan Marshall married Sir William’s (nephew and) heir, Warine de Munchensi. Their daughter and heiress married William de Valence Earl of Pembroke, whose daughter Isabel was the second wife of Ralph de Montmer the husband of Joan of Acre and temporarily Earl of Gloucester during the minority of Gilbert De Clare III. The importance of the De Munchensi succession is shown

by the fact that Aymer de Valence (d. 1324), the brother of Isabel, took his arms from it with the addition of a border of martlets.

V. Barry undy of six argent and gules, a bend azure (green background) Roger Lord D’Amory (d. 1322) third husband of Elizabeth De Clare the younger sister of Eleanor. These last two coats are recorded by Bennett’s list in window G.

Having now surveyed the windows we may sum up the evidence which they contain as to their origin and date.

If we knew the year when the quire clerestory was finished the answer to the question would be fairly certain, for it is improbable that the windows were left for long without their filling of painted glass; though in this case the troublous times through which the Despenser lords of Tewkesbury passed between 1320 and 1330 might have stopped the work. But we have no record about these operations. The historical considerations which may help to a solution have been set out by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley in the Transactions xxv, 46-8, and in an address which he gave in the church on the occasion of the Octo-centenary celebration in 1923.¹

Everything points to Eleanor, the senior coheiress of the De Clares, as the centre of interest; and the Despenser and Zouche figures in the two portrait windows can hardly be other than her two husbands, for it is unlikely that her son Hugh, a living person, would appear in this company of deceased ancestors. If we can accept her as the supplicant figure in the east window, the glass must have been due to her initiative, and she will be the donor. (Pl. III, p. 289).

But the new royal arms in the east window show that the glass is later than 1340, and therefore cannot have been put up by Eleanor herself, who died in 1337. Her intentions, we may suppose, were carried out by her son Hugh Despenser (d. 1349), who with his wife, Elizabeth

¹ Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard, Oct. 27, 1923.
Montacute, lies in the sumptuous tomb under the northern arch of the apse.

But how much later than 1340? It seems that the only evidence for this is to be found in the series of armorial shields. We would draw special attention to those of De Warenne and Fitzalan, which seem to refer to the marriage of Isabel, daughter of Hugh Despenser the younger and Eleanor De Clare, with Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, whose mother, Alice De Warenne, was the sole heiress of the great family of the Earls of Surrey and Sussex. Now this marriage was annulled in December 1344 in order that the Earl of Arundel might contract a new alliance with the daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster. It is difficult to imagine that the Fitzalan and De Warenne shields would have been included after the dissolution of the marriage. If so we may assume that the windows were finished at latest some time before the last months of 1344.

We have mentioned that the quire windows were found to include a certain amount of alien glass of various dates, which had been imported from various windows in other parts of the church to serve as patchwork for filling up gaps. Much of this was very fragmentary; but in some cases enough was preserved to make the original design intelligible or to give the fragment, e.g. a complete head or face, independent value. As the effect and meaning of these fragments was almost entirely lost at the height of the quire clerestory, and as they added nothing to, or even interfered with, the general design of the windows, the restoration of which was one of our objects, it was decided to remove them, and collect them, properly classified, in a small window, fairly near to the eye. The eastern window of the vestry, which is on the south side of the quire, was chosen for the purpose, and the glass has been arranged in the two lights and the quatrefoil tracery.

1 Complete Peerage, (2nd ed.), i, p. 243.
opening. The following is an inventory of the principal items. Unless otherwise stated, they are of the fourteenth century. The places where they were found in the quire windows are indicated in square brackets.

The tracery opening has a shield of Mortimer's arms [B tracery] (the inescutcheon argent is the original white diapered glass) set on fragments of scroll-work (black and white) of early fourteenth century character, and a few flowered quarries.

In the tops of the main lights are two sections of a Jesse tree. The vine stems with their leaves and clusters are in black and white (but two leaves in the second section are stained) on a blue diapered background. In the middle of each is a half length figure, that in light I [F, V] being a bearded prophet turned to the right, in yellow cap and mantle over red, holding up with his right hand a scroll (white letters on black) inscribed Amos ιρε[thet]. The figure in II [B, III], turning to the left, is also in yellow and red, but the face is lost. He holds below him a scroll inscribed (black letters on white, and smaller than those of Amos) Abraham . . . . Below him are some inscription fragments, apparently from the same window, among them being Ioehel p[ . . . ] [C, IV]; Ι[on]a[s]; and . . . . el (Daniel or Ezekiel).

Light I. Below Amos is a cusped canopy arch (vaulted inside) surmounted by a band of battlements (all in white black and stain) [B, V]. Remains of red background. Under it have been set the triangular red insertion found in the archangel of D, IV, and below this the fragments of an archbishop in a yellow chasuble with pallium, blue maniple, and remains of his cross and alb. Around are minor fragments: a small animal with a hump, probably a grotesque like one below having a human face (stain) in a white hood; the mitred head of a bishop; and the lower half of a small figure in a tunic with yellow hose and shoes, standing, apparently, under a canopy against a.
black and white diapered background. Of a late date is a fragment with initial K (left) tied to some other letter by a tasselled cord.

Light II. Below the Jesse fragment is a frame of the combined square and quatrefoil shape containing a seated angel (to right; yellow nimb, white drapery, green wings) holding a white scroll. Red background [B, V].

Two small fragments showing a dog hunting (black and white) and part of a horse.

A number of heads [some were in E, V] including a bishop, two male faces, one rather large, and two ladies in early fourteenth century head-dresses. The larger of these came, as stated above, from D, V.

Two fragments, perhaps from a Nativity, with a man playing on a pipe, and a sleeping dog or sheep.

Part of a man in plate armour.

Lower part of a small figure mowing with a scythe (white black and stain). Perhaps from a set of the months (June).

A fifteenth century gold-feathered angel holding a scroll inscribed *misericordia*.

A fifteenth century crowned head of Christ (to right), with cross-nimb [F, IV]. Perhaps from a Coronation of the Virgin.

At the bottom of the light are the inscription fragments above referred to (p. 313): *Hugo* and *fenestram*. Above, near the framed angel, is an H like that of the first name, and two other fragments, but apparently from different inscriptions: ... o: f ... and ; fen[estram].

In the south-west window of the vestry are hung up two panels of miscellaneous fragments and five roundels (three have the characteristic white roses), for which room could not be found elsewhere.

In concluding this paper, I should like to express my obligations to the Vicar of Tewkesbury, Canon E. F. Smith, for the unfailing courtesy which has so much facilitated
my researches; and, for the same reason, to Mr. W. G. Bannister, the verger and sacristan of the church, who has also freely placed the stores of his knowledge at my disposal.
Plates I-IX, Sydney Pitcher, Gloucester

Tewkesbury Abbey: East Window—The Doom
TEWKESBURY ABBEY: EAST WINDOW—SMALL DOOM SCENES

I
The Saved
(Arms of the Abbey)

II
The General Resurrection
(Despenser Arms)

III
The Lost
(Arms of Edward iii)

IV
(Arms of Munchensi)
TEWKESBURY ABBEY: EAST WINDOW—THE ROSE AND TRACERY LIGHTS
Tewkesbury Abbey: Window C—Solomon and Four Prophets
TEWKESBURY ABBEY: WINDOW E—REHOBOAM AND FOUR PROPHETS