THE REPRESENTATION OF ANGELS AND ANGELIC ORDERS FROM THE LATE MIDDLE AGES THROUGH THE REFORMATION c. 1450 - c.1650

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Mary Agnes Murphy BA, MA (Leicester)

Department of History of Art and Film

University of Leicester

January 2010

Mary Agnes Murphy:

The Representation of Angels and Angelic Orders from the Late Middle Ages Through the Reformation c.1450 -c.1650

Abstract:

The field of angelology is vast. This thesis investigates the artistic representations of angels from the Late Middle Ages through the Reformation, from c.1450 to c.1650. This is achieved by a careful selection of material which demonstrates how the angelic form mutated in response to the religious and political changes experienced in England during this time. Thus, attention has been focussed on three main areas that form the components of this study:

Chapter one investigates the integral role that angels played in the late-medieval Catholic belief system, drawing on primary and secondary literature to demonstrate how scholars viewed angels and specifically, how they categorised and differentiated the various orders of angels. Chapter two examines four case studies of representations of the angelic hierarchy at a local and national level, in different media, in order to evaluate how the doctrine surveyed in chapter one was manifested in artistic practice, with special attention to how angels were depicted on the eve of the Reformation.

Chapter three examines the Reformation in terms of angelology, with particular regard to the European and English reformers' views on the artistic representation of these celestial creatures, from the beginnings of religious change to the era of the Commonwealth. The hypothesis that angels were not represented on tomb monuments in the Elizabethan period is tested, by investigating the counties of Leicestershire and Rutland, looking at the monuments of the period c. 1550-c.1650. This chapter also addresses how the English responded to the call of the iconoclasts and investigates whether angels were treated in the same conceptual and ideological category as the saints, or if they managed to survive.

I shall contend that despite the changes to Christianity in England, during the period of concern for this study, angels continued to be part of the faith as demonstrated by their continued portrayal in art and sculpture.

Acknowledgements

List of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

PART I –Late Medieval England: The Primary Texts and Secondary Sources

Introduction

The word angel comes from the Greek *angelos* and the Hebrew *mal'ak*: both words meaning messenger. The field of angelology is huge and very diverse. This thesis concentrates on representations of the Nine Orders of Angels, otherwise known as the Celestial Hierarchy: this was a system by which early church writers and medieval theologians distinguished and classified different types of angels. The thesis deals with the depiction of angels from the late Middle Ages through the Reformation, from c.1450-c.1650, assessing if and why the political and religious changes in England affected their artistic representation. This chapter introduces the topic by addressing how the iconography of angels developed, (both named and anonymous), together with contemporary sources, by beginning with a brief history of their appearance in western art, from the earliest forms up to the late Middle Ages. It then proceeds to investigate whether the textual sources provided clear guidance for artists - and their patrons- in late-medieval England, in representing angels.

Glenn Peers, in his recent study on *Representing Angels in Byzantium* devotes some time to a discussion of the origins of angels in art. He argues that angels were "elusive creatures" with whom "Christian artists encountered a representational dilemma".[1] Compared with representations of Christ or the saints, angels did not have lives or histories from which information about their physical appearance could be gathered. Artists generally overcame the problem by consulting the Bible because it was a sacred

---

[1] Peers, G, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2001, p. 16.

source of information that could provide descriptions of angels.[2] However, they did not always do this, and as a result they "developed an iconography of angels that commemorated angelic appearances on earth, most often using wings to indicate the symbolic quality of these appearances".[3]

Wings are synonymous with angels and they are perhaps the most recognisable feature when identifying an angel in art. Yet the origin of this distinctive characteristic is debated. The two schools of thought are: first, that the idea of the winged messenger is based on representations of pagan deities of the ancient civilizations of Greece, Rome and Assyria or, second, that the text of the Bible itself was the main source of inspiration.

Artistic representations of Nike, Greek goddess of victory and Hermes, messenger of the Greek gods, showed these deities with wings. (Hermes is particularly relevant given that the word angel comes from the Greek word for messenger). Creatures from mythology, such as harpies and sirens, were depicted as combining the human form with birds' wings. Other pagan influences include the winged spirits or geni, who guarded the palaces of Ancient Asyria that date from c.900-600 BC. [4] Called *Karibu*, they were perhaps forerunners, and etymologically the origin, of the Cherubim, the angels who guarded the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Solomon.[5] These creatures took various forms, sometimes human-like with wings or animal heads and human bodies with wings.

---

[2] Peers, p. 16.
[3] Peers, p. 16.
[4] Rushforth, G. McNeil, *Medieval Christian Imagery as Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church Worcestershire, Together with a Description and Explanation of all the Ancient Glass in the Church*, Oxford, 1936, p. 25.
[5] Guiley, R.G, *An Angel in Your Pocket*, London, 1999, p. 27.

In his book *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, David Keck informs us that

Christian angels were formally depicted as men, in accordance with scripture. Peers

elaborates this point in his work, explaining that the earliest known depiction of an

angel in human form is from the third century, an Annunciation scene in the Catacomb

of Priscilla in Rome.[6] Wings appeared soon after the conversion of the Emperor

Constantine and legalisation of Christianity within the empire with the declaration of

the Edict of Milan in 313AD. [7] The theory of the development of the pagan messenger

translating into the Christian religion is plausible given that in order to Christianise the

Roman Empire, parts of the former pagan religion were re-interpreted to give Christian

meaning. Wings soon became the distinguishing feature of angels, as did bare feet, in

order to tell them apart from the saints, though this was not always the case. France saw

the first smiling angel in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, angels were

depicted as children by German and French artists.[8] Rushforth reports that the "first

important appearances [of winged angels] are in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore,

Rome (chancel arch, c. 440) and of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (c. 500)".[9] Due to

their celestial nature, angels were thought by some early church leaders to be bordering

on being idolatrous, but the Second Council of Nicea in 787 allowed the "veneration of

images" to include them.[10]

An examination of Biblical texts later in this chapter will assess their influence as a

source for depicting angels in art. Peers suggests that "because of the lack of full

descriptions in scripture of the members of [the] hierarchy, the iconography of the

---

[6] Peers, pp. 21-22.
[7] Keck, D, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1998, p. 30.
[8] Keck, p. 30.
[9] Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 25.
[10] Keck, p. 30.

winged youth was employed to represent any angelic being".[11] This suggestion will be tested later. It can be said that the idea of the Christian winged messenger developed its own identity with the Bible as its source, though it had a common ancestor in pagan models, and therefore, both schools of thought are correct. [12]

Wings gave angels their identity but they also developed characteristic attributes through their clothing. In western art before the thirteenth century, the costume of angels was based on the Roman toga or contemporary medieval costume.[13] In Byzantine art, angels were shown wearing imperial clothes, the clothes of imperial soldiers, or mass vestments that were adapted from imperial clothes. The West was aware of these Eastern traditions by the trade links and through the Crusades.[14]

In the West, the iconography of angels was employed as part of the decorative scheme of the great cathedrals, both inside and out. Inside, they appeared in the roof, in stained glass, on screens, on tombs. Their functions varied from shield bearers to players of musical instruments. Such appearances will be examined in the second chapter. Material concerns also affected the popularity of angels. For example, to fit in with the architectural scheme, the iconography of angels was useful because "the angular shape of the wings [...] made their form appealing to artists seeking a subject to decorate spandrels in arched galleries".[15]

---

[11] Peers, p. 41.
[12] Peers, pp. 35-36.
[13] McNamee, M.B, 'The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 54, no.1, March 1972, p. 264.
[14] McNamee, p. 264.
[15] Keck, p. 30.

The exact relationship between doctrinal texts and the development of the iconography of angels in art requires further consideration. This chapter therefore analyses the documentary evidence (both primary and secondary material) which underlies the representation of angels in late medieval art, with a view to assessing if the textual information which was available to patrons and advisors, working individually or in collaboration with each other, provided full guidance for the depiction of angels, at a national level in cathedrals as well as at a local level in parish churches. Before addressing the primary material, some mention of important works of scholarship in the field of angelology need surveying and analysing.

Previous Scholarship on Medieval Angelology

David Keck, in his *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, analyses the literature about angels, (more so than their depiction) including: the birth of angelology and the use of scripture in substantiating this new branch of theology; scholasticism and the changes to angelology that came with advent of universities; views of angels by the different religious orders such as the Dominicans and Franciscans; the role of angels in the medieval church and how they influenced the lives of the population. This section of my chapter will be reliant on Keck's work, to provide an overview of angelology before the Reformation. Another important work which will be employed here is Steven Chase's *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*.[16] Chase's volume discusses, in some depth, many treatises written about angels by the main scholars of the medieval era: as his title suggests, the works discussed by Chase

---

[16] Chase, S, *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*, New York & Mahwah, 2002.

concentrate on the theological, spiritual and mystical elements of the celestial beings, rather than their artistic representation.

How Many Angels Can Dance on the Head of a Pin?

No study of angels would be complete without a mention of the famous question: how many angels can dance on the head of a pin? Dr. Philip Schewe of the American Institute of Physics offered an answer to this perplexing question in 1995. The point of a pin measures 1 atom, equal to 10^{10}m. The size of an angel was defined as the smallest possible size, 10^{35}m, taken from the idea that space breaks down at a distance scale of 10^{35}. So the number of angels able to fit on the point of a pin is calculated by 10^{10}m divided by 10^{35}m. This equals 10^{25} or 10,0000, 0000, 0000, 0000, 0000, 0000 angels![17] The importance of the question, however, is not, of course, the modern scientific answer, but is two-fold for us: first, whether the debate ever existed at all in the Middle Ages as post-Reformation commentators mockingly claimed, in a bid to ridicule aspects of scholastic theology; and second, it is pertinent to the debate about the physical manifestations of angels and how this discussion influenced artistic depictions.

The origins of the debate are obscure but are very often attributed to the Angelic Doctor, Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), called the Angelic Doctor for his work on angels. It is not without reason that he is credited as the author of the enquiry because he asks in question 52 of his *Summa Theologica* of 1268, whether an angel is in a place? He answered no. To the question can an angel be in several places at once, he replied yes.

---

[17] The New York Times http://www.nytimes.com/learning/students/scienceqa/archive/971111.html accessed 1/5/2005.

Whether several angels can be at the same time in the same place? Yes again.[18] So the movement of angels was discussed by Aquinas but he does not ask the question of how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. In a letter to the editor of *The Times*[19] in response to earlier questions as to origins of the debate, the angelologist and German scholar M.O'C. Walshe described a fourteenth-century manuscript called *Swester Katrei,* the authorship of which is unknown and wrongly ascribed to Meister Eckhart, the German Dominican mystic and possible heretic.[20] The German reference reads:

Tûsent sêlen sitzent in dem himel ûf einer nâdelspitze.[21]

This translates as "a thousand souls sit in the heavens on the point of needle" and thus there is no mention of angels.[22]

Even with the wrong translation, this may be the earliest form of the question but it is not posed in the form that post-medieval commentators knew it. David Keck attributes its origin to "Rabelais's parody", but provides no evidence to support this claim. [23] In fact, the earliest mention of the question seems to be found in William Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, presented in 1638.[24] Chillingworth was a prominent Oxford theologian with mixed convictions, as he was raised a Protestant, converted to Roman Catholicism after Jesuit instruction and then abandoned his new faith and reverted back

---

[18] Aquinas, T, *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, Part I QQ 50- 74*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, London, 1922, pp. 26-29.

[19] *The Times*, Nov 20, 1975; Issue 59557; col G, PG.17.

[20] Howard, P, *Words Fail Me*, London, 1980, p. 23.

[21] MacDonald Ross, G, 'Angels', *Philosophy,* 60, 1985, p. 495. MacDonald Ross refers to *Deutsche Mystiker*, Franz Pfeiffer (ed.), vol.2, Leipzig, 1857, repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1962), p. 474.

[22] *The Times* and Howard, p. 23. Howard suggests that "doctors declare that in heaven a thousand souls can sit on the point of a needle" but there is no mention of doctors in the German text.

[23] Keck, p. 109. In an email discussion between Keck and me, he suggested that the parody was perhaps located in Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. (See Rabelais, F, *The Complete Works of François Rabelais*, trans. Frame, D.M, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1991). Reading of the text proves this is not, in fact, the case. Email sent 11/6/2005, reply received 6/8/2005.

[24] Marshall, P & Walsham, A, 'Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World', in Marshall, P, & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 1.

to his old.[25] *The Religion of Protestants* was written not to defend either branch of Christianity, but rather to "maintain the right of free inquiry and the necessity of personal conviction,"[26] as well as in "answer to a book entitled mercy and truth, or charity maintain'd by catholiques, which pretends to prove the contrary".[27] This was *Mercy and truth maintained by catholiques* written by the Jesuit, Edward Knott to challenge the Protestant view of the path to salvation.[28] Chillingworth argues that Protestants are viewed by Catholic theologians with disdain because they are unconcerned with philosophy and metaphysics and because they "dispute not eternally […] whether a Million of Angels may not sit upon a needle's point"?[29] Clearly meant to mock medieval Roman Catholicism and its belief in angels, this is the earliest reference in English to the question about angels on a needle's point. Joseph Glanvill continued the sarcasm in his book, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* of 1661, a book that criticised "Aristotle […] and Cartesian physics and psychology".[30] Glanvill writes: "he that said a thousand [angels] might dance on the point of Needle, spake but grossly; and we may as well suppose them to have wings, as a proper Ubi."[31] Glanvill does not name the person to whom he refers to as 'he'.

The theme of the question did not appear again until 1791, when Isaac D'Israeli wrote in his book about literature and philosophy, *Curiosities of Literature*:

---

[25] Chernaik, W, 'Chillingworth William (1602-1644)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=5308 accessed 06/05/05.

[26] Chernaik, W, 'Chillingworth William (1602-1644)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=5308 accessed 06/05/05.

[27] Chillingworth, W, *Religion of Protestants A Safe Way to Salvation Salvation or an Answer to a Booke Entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity Maintain'd by Catholiques, Which Pretends to Prove the Contrary,* Oxford, 1638, Aldershot, 1972, p. 12 of preface.

[28] Chernaik, W, 'Chillingworth William (1602-1644)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=5308 accessed 06/05/05.

[29] Chillingworth, p.12 of preface.

[30] Burns, W.E, 'Glanvill, Joseph (1636-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition http://www.oxforddnb.com/artiscles/10/10790-article.html?back accessed 06/05/05.

[31] Clarke, S.R.L, 'Where Have All the Angels Gone'? *Religious Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, June 1992, p. 222. Also, Glanvill, J, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing: The Three 'Versions'*, 1661, Hove, 1970, p. 100.

> The reader desirous of being merry with Aquinas' angels may find them in Martinus Scriblerus, in Ch, VII who inquires if angels pass from one extreme to another without going through the middle? And if angels know things more clearly in the morning? How many angels can dance on the point of a very fine needle, without jostling one another?[32]

Martinus Scriblerus was the collective pseudonym for Pope, Arbuthnot and Swift. Martinus Scriblerus certainly wrote about Aquinas and the metaphysics of angels, but examination has proved there to be no mention of the question in any of the authors' collected works.[33] MacDonald Ross, writing in the *Philosophy* journal, believes that the quotation is merely a "jibe against Aquinas"[34] and should be taken in jest. Yet Howard suggests that the question "seems to have been an embellishing invention of Isaac D'Israeli".[35] This is most likely, given that D'Israeli, writing in the eighteenth century continues, like his predecessors, to mock the medieval scholastics. He appears to have taken Chillingworth's enquiry and probed deeper and sarcastically by adding the movement of dance, which is the form of the question which is familiar to us today.

Although the issue of angels on a needle's point may be an Enlightenment jibe, it is important to stress that Hylomorphism (whether angels were composed of form and matter) and the movement of angels were topics debated in the Middle Ages by renowned theologians including Bernard, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Duns Scotus and the anonymous author of the *Summa Sententiarum*.[36] For example Bonaventure "saw the doctrine [of hylomorphism] as an essential element of proper Christian theological and philosophical reflection [...] Aquinas sees the metaphysics as fundamentally

---

[32] Disraeli, I, *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. 1*,* London, 1881, p. 64.
[33] Kirby-Miller, C, ed, *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works and Discoveries of Martin Scriblerus,* New Haven & London, 1950, pp. 122-124.
[34] MacDonald Ross, p. 499.
[35] Howard, p. 21.
[36] Keck, pp. 109- 110.

mistaken".[37] Most of the theologians agreed that angels existed in a place.[38] There was a variety of opinion regarding the questions whether angels could coexist in a mathematical point, and if it is possible for several angels to be in the same place at the same time. Bonaventure argued that more than one angel wasn't allowed in the same place. Aquinas agreed with this, but Duns Scotus disagreed with both of them, suggesting that "spirits can coexist in places."[39] Keck writes that the "depictions of angels hovering in the air or walking on the ground appeared throughout the Gothic cathedrals, [and therefore would have invited] questions about the precise location of angels".[40]

As far back as the twelfth century, theologians were asking questions about the physics of angels. The seventeenth-century sources show Protestant ridicule of genuine medieval debates. They dismiss a perfectly sensible medieval question about the material existence and spatial occupation of angels. As Keck has shown, the debate was not about angels dancing but rather about the spatiality, bodily makeup, and the very nature of their existence. The concept of the invisible angelic messenger was a point of interest and philosophical debate during a period spanning centuries.

The Angelic Hierarchy

Another key issue of relevance to the representation of angels in the late medieval and early modern periods is the angelic hierarchy. Several important texts were available in the Middle Ages which referred to the angelic hierarchy, or organisation of angels that

---

[37] Keck, p. 94.
[38] Keck, p. 110.
[39] Keck, p. 111.
[40] Keck, p. 110.

became known as the Nine Orders of Angels.[41] A hierarchy of angels is, in essence, the idea of putting the different types of angels together in a graded system, ranked according to their proximity to God and their function. The idea that there are different types of angels, though not necessarily in a hierarchy, is a very ancient one that is not Christian in foundation, but contained within the Hebrew Bible and Jewish Apocryphal texts. This work will analyse how this suggestion of a hierarchy became apparent in the Christian tradition, in the works of various theologians, with a view to establishing if these pre-Christian and Christian texts were at all influential to medieval artists in portraying angels in art. In doing so, important questions shall be raised. The obvious starting point is whether there is a basis for an angelic hierarchy in the Bible. What do the Bible and the Apocrypha tell us about the physical appearance of angels?

The Bible and Apocrypha: The Basis of an Angelic Hierarchy?

The word angel occurs 216 times in the Bible, including the Apocrypha. It occurs 117 times in the Old Testament and 99 times in the New Testament. A Roman Catholic Bible was consulted because it contains more books than the Protestant Bible. Books that Protestants would consider Apocryphal appear in the Catholic Old Testament.[42] In the Old Testament, angels' roles range from announcing the birth of a child to being

---

[41] Keck, pp. 53-58.
[42] The first half of this thesis investigates the representation of angels before the Reformation and therefore a Roman Catholic Bible was used. Chapter three will discuss the reformers' views of angels in relation to the Bible. However, it should be pointed out at this stage that the books that the reformers later removed from the Old Testament are Tobit, Judith, Maccabees 1 and 2, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Baruch. The New Testament books remained the same.

members of the Heavenly court. In the New Testament, they are involved in the life of

Christ and the establishment of the early Christian Church.[43]

The names of different kinds of angels are mentioned in the Bible. Some have been

designated as types by the Biblical authors, some by later theologians. These ideas will

be explored later in this chapter. Due to the sheer number of references, the different

sorts of angels located in the Bible have been summarised below, beginning with the

cherubim, as they are the first order to be mentioned.

Table 1-1: Biblical references for angels[44]

ANGEL TYPE	OLD TESTAMENT REFERENCE	NEW TESTAMENT REFERENCE
Cherubim	Gen 3:24, Exo 25:18-22, Exo 26:1-31, Exo 36:8-35, Exo 37:7-9, Num 7:89, 1 Sam 4:4,2 Sam 6:2, 2 Sam 22:11, 1 Ki 6:23-35,1 Ki 7:29-36 1 Ki 8:6-7, 2 Ki 19:15, 1 Chr 13:6, 1 Chr 28:18, 2 Chr 3:7, 2 Chr 3:10-14, 2 Chr 5:7-8, Ezra 2:59, Neh 7:61, Psa 18:10, Psa 80:1,Psa 99:1, Isa 37:16, Ezek 9:3, Ezek 10, Ezek 11:22, Ezek 28:14 Ezek 41:18-25, Dan 3:54	Heb 9:5
Seraphim	Isa 6:2-8	No references
Thrones	No references in relation to angels, only the seat of God	Col 1:16
Dominations	Dan 7:27	Col 1:16, Eph 1:19-22
Authorities/Virtues		Eph 1:19-22
Sovereignties/ Principalities		Col 1:16 Col 2:9-10 Eph 1:19-22
Powers		Col 1:16,

[43]Chase, p. 12.
[44] *The Jerusalem Bible*, London, 1966, 1967, 1968, here after referred to as JB. I have referred to a specific Bible (the 1968 edition) and so for ease of referral, I have included page numbers.

		Col 2:9-10 Eph 1:19-22
Archangels	*Gabriel* Dan 8:15, Dan 9: 29-23, *Michael* Dan 10:13 *Raphael* Tob: 12:15	Thes 4:16 *Michael*: Jude 9, Rev 12:7-8 *Gabriel*: Luke 1:11-26
Angels	Numerous references that do not necessarily refer to a type of angel	Numerous references that do not necessarily refer to a type of angel

It is important at the outset to realise that at no point in the Bible is there reference to the different types of angels as part of an organised system of ranking. Nor indeed do their names appear together in one verse. Thus, while there are foundations for the names of the different orders in the Bible, there is no solid basis for, or evidence of, an angelic hierarchy. In any case, none of the named orders is actually referred to as an order of angels, apart from the Archangels. Indeed, "scripture gives no specific doctrine of angels, nor does it give the exact relation of angels to humanity or to God".[45]

There are very few Biblical references to the physical appearance of angels. However, there are some for a few of the different types. There is a substantial amount of information concerning the Cherubim. The Fall of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3: 24) is the first instance when we read about the Cherubim and how God:

> banished the man, and in front of the garden of Eden he posted the cherubs, and the flame of a flashing sword, to guard the way to the tree of life.[46]

Also, when Moses received instructions from God on the building of the sanctuary (Exodus 25: 17-21):

---

[45] Chase, pp. 13-14.
[46] JB, p. 8.

Further, you are to make a throne of mercy, of pure gold, two and a half cubits long, and one and a half cubits wide. For the two ends of this throne of mercy you are to make two golden cherubs; you are to make them of beaten gold. Make the first cherub for one end and the second for the other, and fasten them to the two ends of the throne of mercy so that they make one piece with it. The cherubs are to have their wings spread upwards so that they overshadow the throne of mercy.[47]

Perhaps the most physically prescriptive description comes from Ezekiel's Punishment (Ezekiel 10: 3-15):

When he ordered the man in white to take the fire from under the chariot, between the cherubs, the man went and stopped by the wheel; one cherub stretched his hand towards the fire which was between the cherubs, took some and put it into the hands of the man in white, who took it and went off. I then saw that the cherubs had what seemed to be a human hand under their wings. I looked; there were four wheels at the side of the cherubs, one wheel at the side of each cherub, and the wheels glittered as if made of chrysolite. All four looked alike, and seemed to be one inside the other. They went forward four ways and kept their course unswervingly, moving the way they faced and never swerving off their course. Their bodies, their backs, their hands, their wings and the wheels – the wheels of all four - were covered in eyes all over. I heard that the wheels were called 'galgal'. Each cherub had four faces: the first face was the face of the cherub. The second face the face of a man, the third face of a lion, the fourth the face of an eagle.[48]

We also learn about the appearance of Seraphim in the vision of the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 6:1-8), in which he:

saw the Lord Yahweh seated on a high throne; his train filled the sanctuary; above him stood seraphs, each one with six wings: two to cover its face, two to cover its feet and two for flying.[49]

There are no Old Testament descriptions of the appearance of the Thrones, Authorities/Virtues, Powers or Sovereignties/Principalities. These are only mentioned in

---

[47] JB, p. 87.
[48] JB, p. 1181-1182.
[49] JB, pp. 979-980.

the New Testament by St. Paul in regard to their relationship with Christ; Paul states

that they are below Him and that He is head of all creation. Paul writes (Colossians

1:16):

> For in him were created
> all things in heaven and on earth;
> everything visible and everything invisible,
> Thrones, Dominations, Sovereignties, Powers.[50]

Moreover, in explaining the triumph and supremacy of Christ (Ephesians 1: 19-22),

Paul notes that:

> How infinitely great is the power that he has exercised for us believers. This you
> can tell from the strength of his power at work in Christ, when he used it to raise
> him from the dead and make him sit at the right hand, in heaven, far above every
> Sovereignty, Authority, Power, or Domination, or any other name that can be
> named, not only in this age but also in the age to come.[51]

Archangels appear in both the Old and New Testaments. They are mentioned by name

as Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. The prophet Daniel hints that Gabriel may have wings

in his vision (Daniel 8:15 and 9: 20-23):

> As I Daniel, gazed at the vision and tried to understand it, I saw someone
> standing before me who looked like a man. I heard a voice cry over Ulai,
> 'Gabriel, tell him the meaning of the vision!' He approached the place where I
> was standing […] Gabriel, the being I had seen originally in a vision, flew
> suddenly down to me at the hour of the evening sacrifice. He said to me,
> 'Daniel, you see me; I have come down to teach you how to understand.[52]

The term 'angel' is frequently found in the Old and New Testaments. The NT is more

useful than the OT in explaining the physical appearance of angels. Here, angels are

---

[50] JB, p. 257.
[51] JB, p. 247. A footnote on this page mentions that these names are the "orders of the angelic hierarchy in Jewish literature".
[52] JB, pp. 1246-7.

given specific roles in the life of Christ; for instance, the angel (or angels, depending on the Gospel account), who rolled away the stone from in front of the tomb after Christ's Resurrection. Matthew describes the angel's face as being "like lightning, his robe, white as snow"[53] (Matthew 28:2-4). Mark describes a "young man in a white robe"[54] (Mark 16:5). Luke describes "two men in brilliant clothes"[55] (Luke 24:4-5). However, the Book of Revelation gives an interesting insight into the bodily features of angels, such as the items they hold in their hands. These include the angel who carried the "seal of God"[56] (Revelation 7:2); seven trumpets given to seven angels,[57] (Revelation 8:2); and the angel with incense and a "golden censer"[58] (Revelation 8:3). There is also the angel "wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head; his face was like the sun, and his legs were pillars of fire. In his hand he had a small scroll, unrolled"[59] (Revelation 10:1-2). John "saw another angel, flying high over head"[60] (Revelation 14:6), which would suggest that angels have wings, an important part of their iconography. Their clothing is most vividly described, as the seven angels were "wearing pure white linen, fastened round their waists with golden girdles"[61] (Revelation 15: 5-7).

It is clear that there is great discrepancy, in the Old and New Testaments regarding the physical appearance of angels. On the one hand, in the Old Testament, the Seraphim and Cherubim appear as frightening creatures. On the other, in the New Testament, angels appear as men. It is fair to suggest that only the names of the orders of angels are clear, and that a comprehensible, physical description is only given to the Seraphim and

---

[53] JB, p. 44.
[54] JB, p. 69.
[55] JB, p. 110.
[56] JB, p. 326.
[57] JB, p. 327.
[58] JB, p. 327.
[59] JB, p. 328.
[60] JB, p. 331.
[61] JB, p. 332.

Cherubim, Archangels and Angels. Even then, they do not appear all together in a particular passage or verse as a coherent list so as to constitute a hierarchy. Ultimately then, there is no real evidence of an angelic hierarchy in the Bible. Nevertheless, in evaluating the source in terms of its usefulness and influence on the artists of the late Middle Ages, the Bible would certainly have been readily accessible and the fact that the descriptions of angels are sometimes very clear leads one to believe that such textual reports would have aided artists and patrons in envisaging and depicting the celestial hierarchy.

Furthermore, the Bible would not have been the only sacred text available. The Apocrypha as a source of inspiration for depicting different types of angels should not go unnoticed. These were books that were not included in the Bible, for various reasons including heresy and the fact that many were written long after the events being described or prophecies were already fulfilled. Rushforth asserts that the "idea of an organised hierarchy of angels seems to have originated in the Jewish Apocryphal literature (e.g. *Book of Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Moses*, *Ascension of Isaiah*) […] and Pseudo-Dionysius [who is discussed later] only arranged much older material".[62] The *Ascension of Isaiah* dated c.150-200 AD, details Isaiah's visions of the seven heavens and the angels that dwell there around the throne of God.[63] Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael are mentioned (40:1).[64] There is no mention of the different types of angels. The *Apocalypse of Moses* dated around the fourth century AD details what happened to Adam and Eve after they were expelled from the Garden of Eden. [65] Some of the types are included. The Cherubim appear as part of the chariot of God

---

[62]Rushforth, p. 204.
[63] Early Christian Writings http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/ascension.html accessed 30/3/09.
[64]The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.
[65]The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09
and http://wesley.nnu.edu/biblical_studies/noncanon/summaries/apoc-moses-notes.htm accessed 30/3/09.

(22:3).[66] Michael is described as "blowing with his trumpet" (22:1),[67] as well as angels "with censers and frankincense" (33:3).[68] The Seraphim "with six wings" (37:3) are mentioned.[69] Examination of both texts reveals that despite stating some of the orders by name, there is no mention in either text about a chain of command: neither contains an organised hierarchy. The *Book of Enoch* has proved to be the most useful source as it is entirely devoted to the discussion of angels. R.H Charles suggests a date of 130-100 BC for this text.[70] He also suggests that many authors contributed to its makeup.[71] It has been described as the most "notable extant apocalyptic work outside the canonical Scriptures".[72] The book is full of references to angels as the "children of heaven" who "lusted after" the daughters of men and thus became fallen angels, as well as the angels who praise God, and are in his company and enjoy his favour. It has never been part of the canon of the Roman Catholic Church due to its heretical descriptions of heaven and views of angels.[73] St. Jerome stated that because there was only one heaven, the *Book of Enoch* could not be included as it said that heaven was divided into many spheres.[74] Enoch describes his journeys through Heaven, Earth and Sheol (the underworld), which were led by angels.

---

[66] The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.
[67] The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.
[68] The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.
[69] The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.
[70] Charles, R.H, trans., *The Book of Enoch* London, 1917, 2004, p. xiv.
[71] Charles, p. xv.
[72] Charles p. vii.
[73] Prophet, E.C, *Fallen Angels and the Origins of Evil*, Corwin Springs, Montana, 2000. In this book, Prophet explains that Church fathers including St John Chrysostom and Augustine, who themselves produced treatises about angels, argued that as angels were purely spiritual beings, they could not have mated with the daughters of human men, as Enoch would have it. Subsequently, the book was deemed to be heretical (p.68). Interest in the Book of Enoch has been revived in recent years due to the finding of a copy of it among the Dead Sea Scrolls (p.69).
[74] Guiley, p. 34.

The book was available in the early Christian era.[75] However, it seemed to disappear thereafter, until an explorer named James Bruce (b.1730) found three copies in Abyssinia in 1769.[76] Through lore, the book was "regarded as so sinister and blasphemous that a Christian could endanger his soul just by reading it".[77] Elizabeth Coatsworth believes that the *Book of Enoch* may well have been known in the Anglo-Saxon era because manuscripts Junius 11 (Oxford Bodleian Library) and the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (BL, Cotton Claudius B iv, 11v) appear to show the iconography of the Ascension of Enoch as described in the Book of Enoch, although this has not and cannot be proven.[78] As Coatsworth herself notes, "much of this detail could have been transmitted through biblical exegesis and homiletic literature rather than from direct knowledge of I Enoch itself".[79] The angels are portrayed as having wings, are dressed in robes and are bare-foot.

The names and activities of many angels are recorded but physical descriptions of angels are scarce; for instance: "their garments were white [and their rainment], and their faces shone like snow".[80] Yet the different orders of angels mentioned in the Bible and by later Christian writers can also be found here:

> Round about were seraphin, cherubin and orphannin [Thrones]: and these were they who sleep not, and guard the throne of his glory.[81]

Further,

---

[75] Coatsworth, E, 'The Book of Enoch in Anglo-Saxon Art' in Powell, K & Scragg, D, eds., *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England,* Cambridge, 2003, p. 139.
[76] Prophet, p. 68. Prophet explains that the easiest way to cut its circulation was not to have it copied by scribes, given that the era was before the invention of the printing press.
[77] Flem-Ath, R & Wilson, C, *The Atlantis Blueprint*, London, 2001, p. 182.
[78] See Coatsworth's essay for a discussion of the Old English Hexateuch among others, pp.135-150.
[79] Coatsworth, p. 150.
[80] Charles, Enoch: LXXI1:2 Earlier Visions of Enoch, p. 93.
[81] Charles, Enoch, LXXI:7, p. 94.

He will summon all the hosts of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphin, and Ophannin, [Thrones] and all the angels of power and all the angels of principalities and the Elect One, and all the other powers on the earth (and over the water).[82]

These quotations are useful because they cite the names of some of the orders in one verse, which may have potentially have influenced later Christian writers in formulating their own versions of the angelic hierarchy. Unfortunately, though the *Book of Enoch* offers an interesting insight into pre-New Testament visions of angels, we cannot say for certain that the book was available to medieval artists and therefore able to exert an influence in depicting the celestial hierarchy in art.

The Establishment of an Angelic Hierarchy

Having seen that the different types of angels were mentioned in Biblical and Apocryphal sources, this chapter now progresses to the works of the early Christian writers who wrote about angels. Steven Chase explains that the early Church Fathers including Saints Cyril of Jerusalem (c.315-c.386), Gregory of Nyssa (c.335-395), Jerome (c.340/2-420), Ambrose (c.340-397) and John Chrysostom (c.349-407) all based their writings about angels on scripture but varied in the names and order within the hierarchy. For example, in descending order, Jerome and Ambrose ranked the angels thus:[83]

---

[82] Charles, Enoch, LXI: 10, p. 80.
[83] Chase, p. 19**.**

Table 1-2: Varying hierarchical orders from Early Church Fathers

Ambrose	Jerome
Angels	Archangels
Archangels	Angels
Dominions	Thrones
Powers	Dominions
	Powers
	Cherubim
	Seraphim

It would seem therefore that there was an interest in grouping together the different orders of angels. This could be explained by the curiosity of some writers regarding the spiritual qualities of angels (from the Patristic period onwards), coupled with "Neo-Platonist metaphysical notions of emanation from and return to "the One" (hen) and of the mediating qualities of intelligences between humanity and the gods".[84] Also, just as there was a hierarchy within the men of the church on earth, the writers encouraged the discussion of a parallel hierarchy of heavenly creatures.

Despite not being the first theologian to write about the different kinds, Dionysius the Areopagite's[85] (or Pseudo-Dionysius, called Dionysius in the thesis from now on) arrangement of the hierarchy became the "best known and most complete attempt at describing the hierarchy, and his symbolic theology influenced at a fundamental level perception of and approaches to angelology from the sixth century on".[86] This influence continued to the late Middle Ages, amongst medieval artists and patrons, as will be shown in part two of this thesis.[87]

---

[84] Chase, p. 18.
[85] Chase, p. xx.
[86] Peers, p. 5.
[87] Chase, on p.xx explains further: "The influence of the Pseudo-Dionysius was much enhanced by the fact that his texts were received into the patristic period as if they were the authentic works of Dionysius the Areopagite, the disciple of Paul […] The erroneous association with Paul the apostle gave the work an aura of apostolic authenticity".

The identity of the writer is disputed. He is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as the Greek man in the crowd who listened to St. Paul speaking before the Council of Areopagus. A convert to the Christian faith and possibly the first bishop of Athens, he has been identified as the author of the work on the *Celestial Hierarchy*. However, this is highly unlikely given that this work was written by a Neo-Platonist and has been dated to the sixth century.[88] Thus, his identification remains a mystery. He is also the author of *The Divine Names, The Mystical Theology* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*.[89]

Dionysius defines a hierarchy as: "a sacred order, a state of understanding and an activity approximating as closely as possible to the divine".[90] Its aim "is to enable beings to be as like as possible to God and to be at one with him".[91] The argument and structure of Dionysius' work is that a hierarchy of angels provides harmony and order. Just as there is a hierarchy within the church on earth, there is also a hierarchy in heaven. The idea of a hierarchy can be found in scripture.[92] This further explains why there was an interest in grouping the orders together. Power and Perfection are recurring themes in the text. At every holy level, the higher order has more power than the lower. Those who are ranked in the highest order are called angels because of their close proximity to God and therefore are able to "make known the enlightenment proceeding from the Deity".[93] There is evidence of the influence of Neo-Platonic theory in his

---

[88] Keck, p. 55.
[89] Chase, p. xx.
[90] Luibheid, C, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, New York & Mahwah, 1987, p. 153.
[91] Luibheid, p. 154.
[92] Luibheid, p. 145. Dionysius explains further: "To the best of our abilities, we should raise our eyes to the paternally transmitted enlightenment coming from sacred scripture and, as far as we can, we should behold the intelligent hierarchies of heaven and we should do so in accordance with what scripture has revealed to us in symbolic and uplifting fashion."
[93] Luibheid, p. 159.

prose. This is especially evident in the idea of a hierarchy that is made of nine parts. These nine parts are then grouped together into divisions of three sections.[94] This notion of a "triple triad" had not been written about before in a Christian context but was not the invention of Dionysius.[95] He credits this idea and the orders that belong to each triad to Hierotheus, his "famous teacher".[96]

Andrew Louth explains that:

> Proclus tells us that Iamblichus[97] had 'three triads of intelligible gods' in the 'intelligible hebdomad', which is very close to Denys' three triads of angels (who are also intelligible beings, that is, belonging to the realm of intellect or *nous*), and even earlier Porphyry (whose disciple Iamblichus had probably been) comments on one of the Chaldaean hymns (or oracles): This oracle gives knowledge of the three orders of angels: those who perpetually stand before God; those who are separated from him and who are sent forth with a view to certain messages and ministrations; those who perpetually bear his throne […] and perpetually sing.[98]

The division into three parts should not go unnoticed given the sacred, symbolic meaning of the number in Christianity, as it represents the Trinity. Dionysius classifies the types of angels in descending order as follows:

Table 1-3: Angelic classification and hierarchy from Dionysius [99]

Top Triad:	Seraphim Cherubim Thrones
Middle Triad:	Dominations/ Dominions Authorities/Virtues

---

[94] Louth, A, *Denys The Areopagite*, London & New York, 1989, p. 37.
[95] Luibheid, p. 160.
[96] Luibheid, p. 160.
[97] Proclus (c.412-c.485) was a Greek Neo-Platonist philosopher and Iamblichus (c.425-325) was an Assyrian Neo-Platonist philosopher.
[98] Louth, p. 37.
[99] Luibheid, p. 167.

	Powers
Bottom Triad:	Principalities
	Archangels
	Angels

The names of the Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Powers and Principalities are those mentioned by Enoch, though not in that order (see p. 29). As discussed earlier, the *Book of Enoch* was available in the early Christian era. Although Dionysius makes no mention of it, it is possible that he or Hierotheus may have studied it and perhaps influenced them in putting together the hierarchy.

We can see that Dionysius' hierarchy differs from those of Jerome and Ambrose in both number and order of angels. Ambrose does not include the orders Thrones and Principalities, as Dionysius does. Jerome does not include the Principalities or Virtues. We can suggest therefore, that Dionysius was evidently aware of the Church Fathers' tradition of the orders of angels, but that either he, or someone before him, added the names of the other angels that make up his hierarchy of nine angels.

Dionysius discusses each triad in turn. For ease and flow of narrative, I have grouped together the information as translated by Luibheid and presented this in the form of tables. The table below is a summary of the attributes of the premier triad. The top triad is always around God. They are permanently united with Him and need no intermediary. They directly receive the enlightenment of God. The cherubim and seraphim have many wings and eyes. Each member of this triad has equal status.[100] Their names "indicate their similarity to what God is".[101] The characteristics of this

---

[100] Luibheid, p. 160.
[101] Luibheid, p. 162.

premier triad are purity, contemplativeness and perfection. Indeed, they imitate "as far as possible, the beauty of God's condition and activity".[102]

Table 1-4: The Premier Triad[103]

NAME OF ANGEL	HEBREW MEANING	ROLE/SIGNIFICANCE
Seraphim	Fire-makers/carriers of warmth	Circle around the divine things, power to purify
Cherubim	Fullness of knowledge and outpouring of wisdom	Power to know and see God/receive gifts of his light/contemplate divine splendour in primordial power
Thrones	No meaning given except to note that they are close to God	Separated from what is superior/always in God's presence/receive divine wisdom/ free from passion and material concern

The table below summarises the attributes of the middle triad. This triad "manifests its conformity to God" and as such contains the following three attributes: Purification, illumination and perfection. [104]

Table 1-5: The Middle Triad[105]

NAME OF ANGEL	MEANING OF NAME	ROLE/ SIGNIFICANCE
Dominions	Free from earthly tendencies	Above any abject creation of slaves and innocent of any dissimilarity, strive towards the true sovereignty, i.e. God. Reject empty appearances
Powers	Masculine and unshakeable courage in all its Godlike activities	Look towards God
Authorities/Virtues	None given but they are likened to God's authority (their creator)	Are of equal order to the Dominions and Powers so as to receive God in a harmonious and unconfused way. Do no harm to their inferiors

---

[102] Luibheid, p. 165.
[103] Luibheid, pp. 161-2.
[104] Luibheid, p. 167.
[105] Luibheid, p. 167.

The table below summarises the attributes of the third triad. The second triad is in charge of the third triad. The third triad look after human hierarchies so that they might bring them back to God. [106]

Table 1-6: The Third Triad[107]

NAME OF ANGEL	MEANING	ROLE/SIGNIFICANCE
Principalities	Possess a godlike and princely hegemony with a sacred order most suited to princely power	Lead others to the principle above all principles (i.e. God), like a prince, manifest God
Archangel	No meaning given	Relationship with principalities = returns to chief principle i.e. God and receives his mark Relationship with angels = bring about unity. They interpret the divine enlightenments received from the first powers then pass them on to the angels who then pass them on to humans
Angel	Close relationship with humans	Close to the earth

Chapter fifteen of Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy* is perhaps the most relevant for my investigation. He describes angels as "flaming wheels […] burning animals […] and men who are somehow aglow".[108] Moreover, Dionysius attempts to further our understanding of the images of angels by giving them a human guise. He believes that the following body parts and stages of life have an affinity to bring us closer to human perfection: eyelids, eyebrows, adolescence, youth, teeth, shoulders, arms, hands, heart and feet. Dionysius talks about wings as a separate entity from the rest of the body. They are fixed to the feet of angels and aid them as they climb to heaven. [109]

---

[106] Luibheid, p. 171.
[107] Luibheid, p. 169.
[108] Luibheid, p. 183.
[109] Luibheid, p. 185.

After writing about the outward appearance of angels, as a human form, Dionysius describes their clothing and any equipment they might use, shown with their symbolic meaning in the table below.[110] Furthermore, he does not attribute these features to individual orders. He describes them as a group. This would have been useful for medieval artists but would not have aided them in distinguishing the orders from each other by appearance:

Table 1-7: Clothing and Equipment[111]

CLOTHES/ACCESSORIES/ NON-HUMAN GUISE	SYMBOLIC MEANING
Shining and fiery robe sometimes called "white"	Divine form, fire
Priestly vestments (holy stole)	Guide spiritually to the divine and mysterious sights and consecrate one's whole life
Cinctures (girdles)	Control over their generative powers, gather unity among the angels
Sceptres	Royal power and sovereignty with which they guide the achievement of everything
Spears, axes and swords	Discriminating skills amid the unlikeliness of things, sharp clarity, efficacy of their powers of discernment
Geometrical and architectural equipment	Building and bringing to completion, uplifting the ranks to God
Instruments	Judges of God on humans, discipline, righteousness and freedom

Dionysius talks about angels and their associations with metals, minerals and multi-coloured stones. They are associated with gold, electrum and silver, symbolic of their incorruptibility and radiance.[112] The association with multi-coloured stones would prove to be of particular interest in later centuries when Gregory the Great (discussed later on in the thesis) associated a gemstone with each order of angel. The multi-coloured stones have the following meaning. For Dionysius, white stones symbolized light, red

---

[110] Luibheid, pp. 186-187.
[111] Luibheid, pp. 186-187.
[112] Luibheid, p. 188.

symbolised fire, yellow symbolised gold and green symbolized youth.[113] Dionysius associates angels and their spiritual qualities with other forms such as animals, rivers, chariots and winged wheels. [114]

Dionysius' discussion of the hierarchy of angels is grounded in theology and explains the background of the Nine Orders, their physical appearance in human form and their accessories.

The Influence of Dionysius' Hierarchy

Medieval theologians expressed an interest in the structure of Dionysius' hierarchy. These included St. Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I, c.540-604), Isidore of Seville (c.560-636), Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), Bonaventure (1221-1274) and Thomas Aquinas (1225/7-1274). Many discussions of the angelic hierarchy are found in the 'Index de Angelis' in the *Patrologia Latina* from the second to the twelfth century.[115] Some challenged the order, others were content to elaborate further on the spiritual attributes of each order. In the case of Gregory and Bonaventure, they went one step further and totally reorganised it. Most recently, these hierarchies have been examined by many authors in a collected book of essays entitled *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry: Their Function and Significance* (2008).[116] As the title suggests, this book is concerned with the philosophical aspects of angels and not with their artistic depiction.

---

[113] Luibheid, p. 188.
[114] Luibheid, pp. 188-9.
[115] Keck, p. 54.
[116] Iribarren, I & Lenz, M, eds., *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry: Their Functions and Significance*, Aldershot, 2008.

C.A Patrides illustrates that there were three main schools of thought regarding the arrangement of the Nine Orders. The table is adapted from Patrides' information:[117]

Table 1-8: The arrangements of the angelic hierarchy

DIONYSIUS AQUINAS BONAVENTURE	GREGORY (in Homilia) BERNARD	GREGORY (in Moralia) ISIDORE OF SEVILLE
Seraphim Cherubim Thrones	Seraphim Cherubim Thrones	Seraphim Cherubim Powers
Dominations Virtues Powers	Dominations Principalities Powers	Principalities Virtues Dominations
Principalities Archangels Angels	Virtues Archangels Angels	Thrones Archangels Angels

Judging from the table, it appears that the Seraphim and Cherubim are always ranked first and second and therefore their placing within the hierarchy is not disputed. Archangels and angels are ranked eighth and ninth. The discrepancy lies with the remaining five orders. In every case though, "the hierarchies of angels ultimately allowed Christians to contemplate not only transcendent, atemporal stability and permanence, but also the proper hierarchical ordering of society and the church".[118]

However, although the names may be the same but in a different order, "a small number of thinkers would alter their arrangements of the hierarchies to suit their own purposes. Michael the Scot, who was in the service of the Emperor Frederick II, placed the cherubim (who represent knowledge) above the seraphim (who represent love) because he valued knowledge over love. On the whole however, such alterations were rare".[119]

---

[117] Patrides, C.A, *Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature*, New Jersey, 1982, p. 13.
[118] Keck, p. 12.
[119] Keck, p. 57.

Nevertheless, it is interesting that an individual's agenda could influence the ordering of such details.

The opinions of the scholastics varied not just in the ordering of the hierarchy, but also on the position within it of the fallen angels, who most theologians believed left their seats free for the saints.[120] For instance, Bonaventure felt that "the angels who did not fall were confirmed in their original hierarchies which had been established by nature and were now made permanent by God's gift".[121] In contrast, Peter Lombard "argues that while the angels at the moment of creation were unequal in their will and wisdom, they were only established in the hierarchies through their confirmation by God's grace".[122]

Apart from Dionysius, Gregory the Great's arrangement of the orders of angels was the other major authority for the medieval period.[123] Gregory left a great legacy of commentaries on ecclesiastical issues. Of particular interest to us are his homilies, particularly *Homily 34 of 40 on the Gospels* (590-591). This is a commentary on Luke 15:1-10. It is the parable of the Lost Sheep in which Jesus recounts that there will be more joy at the repentance of one sinner than of ninety-nine righteous people. Gregory writes: "We know from sacred scripture that there are angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, thrones, cherubim and seraphim. Nearly every page of scripture testifies to the existence of angels".[124] He acknowledges his debt to

---

[120] Keck, p. 26.
[121] Keck, p. 24.
[122] Keck, p. 25.
[123] Keck, p. 57.
[124] Hurst, D.D, trans., *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, Kalamazoo, 1990, p. 285.

Dionysius, basing his own hierarchy on the latter's work and calls him "an ancient and venerable father".[125]

Gregory deals with the idea that angels are messengers but states that "the word 'angel' is the name of a service, not of a nature".[126] The archangels are the most important messengers. Michael displays "wonderful courage" and his name means "who is like God". Gabriel means "strength of God" and Raphael translates as "healing of God".[127] Gregory differs in his arrangement of the hierarchy and does not explain the functions of all the orders. For instance, he does include the functions of the archangels or angels.[128] He agrees with Dionysius on the function of the other orders but adds that the Seraphim have a "unique closeness to their creator".[129] Also, the Thrones, meaning seat in Latin, function as the seat of God, through which he can make his judgements.[130]

Gregory assigns a gemstone to each order. The influence of Dionysius is evident in Gregory's work, given the association of gemstones with angels by Dionysius. However, Gregory fails to tell us which stone belongs to which order. Nonetheless, this passage became very influential on artists depicting the orders of angels, as will be seen later in the thesis. He writes:

> The angel which was first created was told by the prophet, You were the seal of likeness, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty; you were among the delights of God's garden […] Every precious stone was your covering, carnelian, [red/yellow] topaz [white or colourless] and jasper, [red/yellow/brown/dark green], chrysolite, [brown/yellow/green] onyx [black/white] and beryl [white/blue/yellow/green/pink], sapphire [blue], carbuncle

---

[125] Gregory the Great, p. 292.
[126] Gregory the Great, p. 286.
[127] Gregory the Great, p. 287.
[128] Gregory the Great, pp. 288-9.
[129] Gregory the Great, pp. 288-9.
[130] Gregory the Great, p. 288.

[red/grey/brown/coal] and emerald [green]. He gave the names of nine stones, since there are nine ranks of angels. The first angel was adorned and covered with these nine since when it was set ahead of the whole multitude of angels, it was more illustrious in comparison with them.[131]

We will see later in this thesis if the colour of the gemstones affect the pigments used in the representation of angels. Another instance of gemstones is the testimony of St. Umilità of Faenza (1226-1310), an Italian mystic, wrote a number of sermons detailing her conversations with angels. In *Sermon Four: On the Holy Angels*, she provides us with an account of the physical appearance of her guardian angels, which relates to Gregory's assessment of their appearance:

> She is called the angel Sapiel, a name that reason reveals as meaning divine wisdom [...] She is adorned from head to toe with precious stones, and her garment is of every colour, for my angel has been blessed with great power [...] the other angel is one of the Cherubim, who have six wings and who sit upon the highest throne, and whose power from the angelic order of the highest magnitude is exulted above all others [....] She is the angel Emmanuel.[132]

This is an interesting insight into appearance of angels. One of the angels seems to fit in with Gregory's idea of the association of angels with precious stones. The other has six wings, in keeping with the Biblical account of the Cherubim. Although this thesis is not concerned with the issue of gender in relation to angels, this quotation does offer an insight into the sex of angels. Whilst the named archangels of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael were referred to as 'he' in the Bible, St. Umilità's guardian angel is clearly female.

---

[131] Gregory the Great, p. 286.
[132] Chase, p. 152.

Angelology: The science of the scholastics

There was always an interest about angels before the twelfth century, as is evident by the sheer number of works concerning angels. This fascination was grounded in scripture but noticeable changes were seen, manifested as a curiosity by the scholastics in the spiritual and metaphysical qualities of angels. Abelard (1074-1142), in his treatise *Sic et Non* of c.1122, asked many questions, including those on their creation and intellect. His discourse was influential on later scholastics. Bernard found his work difficult to deal with, given that it was so new and radical as he had been used to relying on the word of the Church Fathers.[133] These changes were important because they demonstrated that angelology was departing from its monastic origins and moving into a wider scholastic forum.

By the twelfth century, angelology began to spread outside of the major epicentre of Paris, to urban schools, in tune with the economic and social conditions of the time. For it was about this time that the great cathedrals of Europe were being built, on a wave of economic and social prosperity.[134] Angels were now being discussed in relation to the works of pagan philosophers and their place within the universe. As such, angelology was no longer a branch of theology, it became a science in itself.[135]

Keck informs us that "by the thirteenth century, angelology had become a required formal part of the theological curriculum at the University of Paris, and Bonaventure, Aquinas, and their fellow scholastics were required to develop complex angelological

---

[133] Keck, p. 78.
[134] Keck, p. 79.
[135] Keck, p. 83.

systems."[136] This is a very clear statement of the ubiquity of angelology. This is further reiterated in the works of Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor:

> [His] writings constitute the most complete picture of the roles of angels in the Middle Ages because the thirteenth century was the most important of all medieval centuries for angels. [...] [The thirteenth century] produced the flowering of medieval angelology. Both in popular practice and scholastic understanding of angels, intellectual, social, and economic developments combined to produce a Christian century complete with angels.[137]

This new way of thinking is evident in the work of Thomas Aquinas. In his treatise entitled *Of the Angelic Decrees of Hierarchy and Orders*, questions 108-116 of *Summae Theologica* (1267-73), he has many queries concerning the nature of angels, earning him the title of Angelic Doctor. Yet he did not describe the outward appearance of angels. Some mention of the theology of this most celebrated champion of angelology is required. He agrees with Gregory on the meaning of the names of the orders but disagrees in terms of their ranking. He questions whether the grades of the orders are properly assigned. He thinks not. For example, Thrones should be above the Seraphim and cherubim, because Thrones means seats and one cannot get closer to God than being the seats in which he rests. Also, "knowledge comes before love and intellect is higher than will".[138] Therefore the Cherubim should come before the Seraphim. The reason for the discrepancy between Dionysius and Gregory is the ordering of the ranks by St. Paul. In his letter to the Ephesians 1:20-21 he writes ranking them from the bottom up: "Principality, Power, and Virtue and Dominion",[139] as Dionysius would later write. However, to the Colossians (1:16) he writes "Thrones, or Dominations, or

---

[136] Keck, p. 3.
[137] Keck, p. 6.
[138] Summa Theologica http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/FP/FP108.html accessed 07/11/2005.
[139] Summa Theologica http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/FP/FP108.html accessed 07/11/2005.

Principalities, or Powers", as Gregory would suggest.[140] Aquinas thus debated the hierarchies of Dionysius and Gregory but came to settle on the one designated by Dionysius.

What becomes apparent is the importance of angels to the different religious orders, particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans. Indeed, the Rule of Saint Benedict, the text book by which the religious lived their lives, mentions angels on numerous occasions, thus illustrating that they were a part of the religious life. [141] It is also of no surprise that Keck devotes a whole chapter in his book to the Franciscan order as Bonaventure, a Franciscan, wrote extensively about them and also given that St. Francis of Assisi founded the order, a man who received the Stigmata from a crucifix that took the form of a seraph in 1224.[142] Aquinas, on the other hand, was a Dominican and even though both he and Bonaventure agreed on the arrangement of the orders, following the Dionysian model, they still critiqued the rationale of such ordering.[143]

Another follower of the hierarchy of Dionysius was Jacobus de Voragine (1230-98) the Dominican Archbishop of Genoa, who wrote the *Golden Legend*, *(Legenda Aurea)* in 1260, recording the lives of the saints.[144] He "composed his work according to the calendar of the church year."[145] Angels feature prominently in the *Golden Legend* with regard to the lives of the saints but the Nine Orders feature as part of the chapter about St. Michael the Archangel and it is for this reason that the entry on St. Michael should

---

[140] Summa Theologica http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/FP/FP108.html accessed 07/11/2005.
[141] Keck, p. 117.
[142] Keck, p. 124.
[143] Keck, p. 57.
[144] The *Golden Legend* was translated into English by William Caxton in 1483.
[145] Keck, p. 155.

be noted here.[146] Furthermore, it may contain information that could help us in deciphering the iconography of the case studies of chapter two. De Voragine tells us that Michael has made himself apparent on earth throughout the centuries, most notably his first appearance on Mount Gargano in 390 AD.[147] He is not always alone in appearing to men. He has been accompanied by the hierarchy of angels.[148] He further informs us, although rather late in offering a clarification, that "the word hierarchy comes from hierar, sacred, and archos, prince, hence sacred prince". [149]

De Voragine informs us that St. Michael was associated with the synagogue but is an established Prince of the Church. "Michael is interpreted as meaning "Who is like to God?" and it is said that when something requiring wondrous powers is to be done, Michael is sent, so that from his name and by his action it is given to be understood that no one can do what God alone can do: for that reason many works of wondrous power are attributed to Michael." His various attributes include: Defender of the elect against the anti-Christ, victory against evil angels in Heaven, won the body of Moses in fight with the devil, divided the Red Sea, brought plague on the Egyptians, brought the Israelites to safety in the Promised Land, will bear the standard of Christ, dead will rise at his call at Last Judgement, will present the wound-inflictors of the Passion on the Day of Judgement, will kill the anti-Christ on Mount Olivet and receives the souls of the saints and escorts them to Heaven.[150]

---

[146] St. Michael was a popular figure in the Middle Ages. This idea is explored by Richard F. Johnson in his book *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend*, Woodbridge, 2005. Johnson explores Judaic and Christian texts relating to St. Michael, as well as English manuscripts concerning legends about him and details of apparitions. The life is found in De Voragine, J. trans. Ryan, W.G, *The Golden Legend: Readings of the Saints (in 2 vols) vol. 2*, Princeton N.J, 1993, pp. 201-2, hereafter referred to as JDV 2.
[147] JDV 2, p. 201.
[148] JDV 2, pp. 203-5.
[149] JDV 2, p.203.
[150] JDV 2, pp. 201-2.

De Voragine follows Dionysius' ordering of the hierarchy and also divides it into triads. The first, called epiphany (higher apparition), encompasses the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones. They are close to God with no intermediary, and are wholly turned to him. They have an equivalent in a royal court, as the king's ministers, because they work in immediate contact with him. They act as Chamberlains, counsellors and assessors.[151] The second, called Hyperphany (middle apparition), encompasses the Dominations, Virtues and Powers. They are the leaders and rulers over the universe of men. Their equivalents in a royal court are those who deal with government, such as the commanders of the militia and law court judges. The angels in this hierarchy are closest to God and need no intermediary.[152] The third, called Hypophany (lowest apparition), encompasses the Principalities, Archangels and Angels. Their sphere of influence is fixed and limited.[153] They have a human equivalent in a law court as minor officials such as bailiffs or prefects, those who are in charge of a particular part of the kingdom. They are "leaders and rulers over the universe of men as a whole".[154]

The attributes of the orders according to de Voragine can be summarised thus: [155]

Table 1-9: Attributes of the orders according to de Voragine

ANGEL	FUNCTION OR ATTRIBUTE
Seraphim	Afire with love
Cherubim	Perfect knowledge
Thrones	Seats. God sits in them to rest and he allows them to rest in him
Dominations	Preside and command (Zech. 2:4)
Virtues	Work miracles
Powers	Get rid of obstacles and drive away opposing powers (Tobit 8:3)
Principalities	Have authority only in one province like the princes of Persia (Daniel)

---

[151] JDV 2, p. 203.
[152] JDV 2, p. 203.
[153] JDV 2, p. 203.
[154] JDV 2, p. 204.
[155] JDV 2, pp. 203-5.

Archangels	Rule over multitude of people such as one city
	Announce great events
Angels	Have single person placed in their charge. Make minor announcements

To sum up, the *Golden Legend* would have been useful to the medieval artist in terms of explaining the hierarchy and the roles of the different orders: however, it did not include descriptions of the appearances of angels.

Medieval theologians were less concerned with the physical appearance of angels and were much more interested in their spiritual attributes. Dionysius' hierarchy was extremely influential, to the extent that writers of great reputation including John Scotus Eriugena and Hugo of St. Victor, wrote commentaries on his work. Alan of Lille wrote his own treatise about the Celestial Hierarchy. Thomas Gallus wrote a commentary about the Song of Songs, with reference to angels.[156] These works are important in terms of assessing the theology of and spiritual attributes of angels but they do not attempt to suggest what physical attributes angels may possess, in order to aid and influence an artist to portray these celestial beings in their ranks.

However, the text of the *Six Wings of the Cherubim* which was available in the Middle Ages and manifested by artistic means in the *Speculum Theologie*[157] did have some influence. The title, *Six Wings of the Cherubim* is very misleading given that it is actually about the Seraphim and not the Cherubim. Lucy Freeman Sandler is wrong in her attribution of its authorship to Alan of Lille.[158] Chase informs us that "thanks to the work of Professor Grover Zinn we know that much of Section One of the treatise is borrowed almost entirely and verbatim from a portion of Hugo of St. Victor's (c.1096-

---

[156] See Chase's extant volume for translations of these works.
[157] Freeman Sandler, L, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*, London, 1983, 1999, p. 80.
[158] Freeman Sandler, p. 80.

1141) *De arca Noe morali*, or *On the Moral Ark of Noah*, found in PL 176:622C-626B".[159] The author of the second section is unknown. [160] An image of a cherub is found in the *Psalter of Robert de Lisle*, executed before 1339.[161] In keeping with the text, the artist has accredited each feather that makes up each wing with a spiritual meaning. For instance, the five feathers that make up the first wing symbolise confession, integrity, endurance, humility, and simplicity.[162] The angel stands on a wheel, which incorporates the Seven Acts of Mercy. Together with the virtues located on the wings, this image served as a model for Christians on how to lead a virtuous and good life.[163]

---

[159] Chase, p. 121.
[160] Chase, p. 122.
[161] Freeman Sandler, p. 17.
[162] Chase, pp. 132-135.
[163] Freeman Sandler, p. 80.

Fig 1-1 Cherub
Folio 130 verso of the Psalter of Robert de Lisle
Source: Freeman Sandler, p. 81.

The artist clearly meant to represent a cherub and not a seraph, because of the inclusion of wheels, which were associated with the Cherubim as mentioned in Ezekiel's punishment (Ezekiel 10:3-15) as cited earlier (see p.23). The inclusion of a cherub in the de Lisle psalter demonstrates an interest in the properties of angels by both theologians and the laity.

In summary, Keck notes that it was Dionysius' hierarchy that became the definitive reference point because he "provided his followers with an apostolic (and hence authoritative) interpretation of a number of confusing passages and points about Scripture. Indeed, his authority determined what was and what was not an angel. Therefore, "by the early Middle Ages, the celestial hierarchy of the nine orders of angels, however they were arranged, had become part of the traditional teaching of Christian theology." [164] Yet despite the debate about the arrangement of the hierarchy and the spiritual attributes of angels, it is important to emphasise that very little is said by theologians about what angels actually look like or their specific physical attributes.

Other Texts

Our case studies in the following chapter examine representations of the angelic hierarchy in England, and so vernacular texts may also have been important sources for wealthy patrons and artists looking for information on how to portray the celestial hierarchy.

The first of these is *On the Properties of Things, Book II, (De Proprietatibus Rerum: incipit liber secundus. De proprietatibus Angelorum tam bonorum quam malorum*) by

---

[164] Keck, p. 56.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus. He wrote his treatise on angels between 1230 and 1250. In it, he describes what angels look like and how they dress. Jean Corbechon translated the work into French in 1372 and John Trevisa (c.1340-1402) translated the work into English in 1398. It is unlikely that these translations were widely known.[165] However, there is nothing to suggest that the works were not known in their original Latin. Therefore, an expansive treatise on the iconography of angels such as this could have exerted influence upon the medieval artist. However, at no point does Bartholomaeus Anglicus state what the individual angelic orders look like, rather, the descriptions of angels should be understood in general terms. The treatise begins with a reference as to why angels are depicted with wings:

> Peyntoures peyntith aungels with winges in swiftenes of fliȝt; þiwinges is betokened þe swift werchinge of aungels, and so simple men knowiþ þe swift werchinge of angelis bi þat maner of peyntinge. And for þe same cause in old tyme poetes peyntide þe winde wiþ wynges.[166]

Bartholomaeus Anglicus divides their physical appearance into different sections: their bodily features and human characteristics, clothes, and what they might hold in their hand such as measuring tools and writing equipment. Regarding their physical appearance, angels have:

> longe lockes and crisp here, […] Peyntoures makeþ to hem noseþirles and nouȝt wiþouten cause, for þey voideþ vices and synnes as it were stinkinge þinges, and loueþ vertues as swete smelles […] þey haue mouþ, tunges, and lippis; and tunges, for þey telleþ to vs be priuitees of God, as it were spekinge, and þey þep alwey busy and brennynge in þe preisinge of God; and þey þep ipeyntid berdles,

---

[165] Sutton, A.F, & Visser-Fuchs, L, 'The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville' in Smith, L & Taylor, J.H.M, eds, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*. London and Toronto, 1997, p. 257.
[166] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, trans. Trevisa, J, *On the Properties of Things, De Proprietatibus Reum, A Critical Text*, vol.1, Oxford, 1975, p. 59.

for to take consideracioun and heede þat þey passith neuere þe staat 3outhe, noþir wexiþ feble in vertues, noþir failiþ for elde. Me seiþ þat þey haueþ teþ. [167]

Thus angels have long locks and crisp hair, nostrils, mouth, tongue, teeth and lips, are beardless and youthful. Other human body parts include:

armes and hondis [....] herte and brest, [....] ribbes and sides, lendes and þ3hes [....] Feet þey haueþ, but as it were alwey bare, for þey meuynge of here affeccioun to God-ward is sequestrid of alle dedliche liking. [168]

Bartholomaeus Anglicus admits his debt to Dionysius in explaining the clothing of angels. He explains that angels wear fiery red clothes and golden girdles. He writes:

As Denys touchith in fine Ierarchie [....]Þey buþ icloped in fury red cloþis, for þey buth iwrappid in þe 3t and mantel ofþe knowinge and loue of God. Þey buþ igurd wiþ goldone gurdeles, þey buþ so iclipped with þe habit of vertues þat þey neuer slidith to vice noþir to synne. [169]

The influence of Dionysius can be seen again by the list of items that Bartholomaeus Anglicus believes angels might hold in their hands, such as swords, sceptres, building and measuring equipment and sweet-smelling phials:

Þey beriþ in hondes3erdes and ceptres […] swerdes and speres […] Anþey beþ iseye [to] haue trolles and honginge plomettes and measures and towels [of] workmen, [...] Þey haueþ in hondes redes, lynes, and measures […] And haueþ phials with swete-smelllinge þinges. [170]

Other items of interest include writing equipment such as ink horns and pens as well as weapons of battle, or indeed musical instruments such as harps and trumpets. All these

---

[167] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 64.
[168] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 64.
[169] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, pp. 64-65.
[170] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 65.

items are mentioned with the view of praising God and with the aim of bringing man to eternal salvation:

> Also þey bereþ pe[n]ars and inkehornes and oþir instrumentis of writte[r]s [...] Þey þeþ arayed in armes and wepen of batayle and of were [...] And þe[y] harpiþ, for þey þat beþ worthi to be comfortid by here help and preieres falleþ nou3t into þe sorwe of despeire and wanhope. Þey berith trumpis in hondis, for þey clepiþ and comfortiþ and excitiþ vs to profite alwey in goodness.[171]

Another important English text is the discussion about angels between Dives and Pauper. *Dives and Pauper* is an important contemporary source of the pre-Reformation era. Written between 1405 and 1410, it deals with a broad range of ecclesiastical and social issues.[172] The text is made up of a dialogue (or debate) between Dives, a rich layman, and Pauper a preacher. This passage below is particularly relevant to the thesis because it is a fifteenth-century discussion as to why angels are represented the way they are. The men, like Bartholomaeus Anglicus, discuss the physical appearance of angels and items of interest that might be on their person. They begin the discussion by assessing the difficulty facing artists in portraying a spirit that has no body. This difficulty is overcome by painting angels in the guise of young men:

> DIUES: Qhy been aungelys peyntyd in lyknesse of 3onnge meen, sythyþey been but spyritys and han noone bodyis? PAUPER: Þer may noo peyntour peyntyn a spyryth in his kende, & þerfore to þe betere representacyoun þey been peyntyd in þe lyknesse of man queche in soule is most acordaunt to aungelys kende.[173]

In terms of facial features, angels do not have beards. They do have curly hair, as their hair is considered holy. Other descriptions include towels worn around the neck, wings

---

[171] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 65.
[172] Barnum, P.H, ed., *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1976, p. 9 of introduction.
[173] Barnum, p. 95.

and the fact that they stand on wheels and trundles and carry weapons of war in defence

of the humans whom they protect:

> Þey been peyntyd lyke ʒongge meen wytouten berdys in token þat þey been endeles [...] myghty and stronge. Þey been peyntyd wyt curl heer in tokene þat here thoughtys and here loue been seth alwey in ryght ordre [...] Þey been also peyntyd wyt towalyis abouten here nekke in tokene þat þey been alwey redy to seruyn God and mankende at Godys byddyng [...] Þey been also peyntyd fedryd and wyt wenggys in tokene of lyghtheid and delyuerhed in here werkys, for in a twynk of oon eye þey mown been in heuene and in erthe, here and at Rome and at Iherusalem. Þey been also peyntyd wyt qheelys and trendelys vnder here feet in tokene þat þey meuen and reulyn þe rounde bodyis, þe qheelys and þe cerkelys abouyn in heuene and þe cours of planetys, as seyʒ pe Phylosfre [...] Sumytme þey been peyntyd armyd wyt swerd, spere and sheld in tokene þat þey been redy for defendyn vs from þe fendys þat ben besy nyght and day to lesyn us.[174]

In summary, *Dives and Pauper* would have been very influential on the medieval artist,

by explaining the various characteristics of angels. These attributes are fairly similar to

those found in the text of Bartholomaeus Anglicus. The human form and wheels are

mentioned by Dionysius. Written more than 220 years later, it is distinctly possible that

the author of *Dives and Pauper* was aware of *On the Property of Things* and added

other attributes to the list.

Another important English text that describes the appearance of angels is the text of *The

Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, by Reginald Pecock. It contains a

discussion of the representation of the Cherubim. Pecock (c.1392-1459) was bishop of

Chichester and author of several works. He wrote at a time of great religious and

political unrest, when Wycliff and his Lollard followers translated the Bible into

English. Pecock did not endorse the views or beliefs of the Lollards. He was

undoubtedly aware of the emphasis Lollardy placed on having religious works in

---

[174] Barnum, pp. 95-96.

English and, in order to be able to argue against their convictions, he deliberately studied their work. As a result, he himself published in the vernacular, in the hope that this would counter the spread of Lollardy. This misjudged act would lead to his downfall and subsequent accusations of heresy resulting in his books being burned.[175] He was "the only bishop before the Reformation to lose his see as a heretic."[176] Unsurprisingly, his work appeared in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. His entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography records that:

> By 1443 Pecock was a feoffee in a transaction of land associated with the foundation of a new chapel and hospital dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the Nine Orders of Angels at Isleworth, Middlesex [...] While bishop of St. Asaph, Pecock continued to be associated with a network of powerful courtiers and London citizens, particularly through the transactions associated with the foundation dedicated to the Nine Orders of Angels.[177]

In *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* of c.1449-1455, Pecock writes of the descriptions of Cherubim as in the Temple of Solomon.[178] Thus the defence of such an image may be on the grounds that:

> Not withstonding that God seide tho wordis to the Iewis, *Thou schalt not make to thee eny graued thing*
>
> . c.[179]

---

[175] Scase, W, 'Pecock, Reginald, (b. c.1392, d. In or after 1459)',*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition,http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/21749accessed 21/09/06.

[176]Scase, W, 'Pecock, Reginald, (b. c.1392, d. In or after 1459)',*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/21749accessed 21/09/06.

[177] Scase, W, 'Pecock, Reginald, (b. c.1392, d. In or after 1459)',*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/21749accessed 21/09/06.

[178] Indeed, his writings may be taken into consideration in the third chapter of this thesis, when the topic of the representation of angels was discussed at the Reformation.

[179] Pecock, R, Babington, C, ed., *Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy, vol. 1,* London, 1860, p. 137.

. c. it is writun, that Salomon made in the temple ij. ymagis of cherubyn of tree. Therefore open it is that thei were graued, and hem he couered and clothid al-aboute with plate of gold. And also he ordeyned the wallis of the temple to be graued with diuerse grauyngis, and he ordeyned to be graued ther yn ymagis of cherubyn and ymagis of palme trees and othere ymagis boocing and seemyng as thou☐ thei were going and passing out of the wal. Also in the dooris of the temple he graued in a greet out-boocing ymagis of cherubyn and ymagis o

. c. Also in the veil which

. c.[180]

Whilst Pecock only describes the appearance of one of the Orders, he discusses it within the context of its scriptural reference. With this in mind, a source such as this may be useful in explaining how the order of Cherubim came to be viewed by the Protestant reformers, given that God, according to the scriptures, had ordered that their image be made.

The *Biblia Pauperum* (c.1460)[181] and *The Mirour of Mans Saluacioun,* (A Middle English Translation of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*) (14th century) were major sourcebooks and inspiration for the representation of Biblical stories in art and sculpture of the Middle Ages. They depict angels in stories from the Bible in their pictorial representation but they do not discuss angels or the hierarchy. Neither do they explain the physical attributes of angels.

In summary, it may be said that there was a wide variety of textual sources in Latin and Middle English available to aid late-medieval English artists in representing the angelic hierarchy. These sources varied from Biblical texts to near-contemporary discussions such as those by Bartholomaeus Anglicus and in *Dives and Pauper*. The hierarchy of

---

[180] Pecock, pp. 138-9.
[181] Henry, A, *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*, Aldershot, 1987, p. 4. A date of c.1460 is given for its printed form but it existed in manuscript form in the twelfth century.

angels established by Dionysius laid the foundations for debate among theologians about the very existence and nature of angels. The theology of angels studied by prominent theologians such as Thomas Aquinas added to the interest shown in angels in the Middle Ages, but did not elaborate on what angels actually looked like. While Dionysius did describe angels as in the guise of humans, together with their clothing and emblems, it was not until the theologians of the late Middle Ages that there was debate about their actual outward appearance. Analysis of the texts showed that these descriptions and attributes were frequently common to all angels and not to any particular order. While they would have been useful to the artist and patron in the late Middle Ages, it is clear that there was no set of rules or handbook on how to represent the angelic hierarchy.

In the following chapter, some case studies of representations of the angelic orders in the late Middle Ages will be assessed, in order to see if there is a homogeneity to the representation of angels, with no differentiation between the orders, as seen in the primary and secondary material.

PART II - The Angelic Hierarchy in Art & Sculpture of the Late Middle Ages

Introduction

Examination of the primary textual sources in Part I has shown that the authors wrote about angels in terms of their costume, facial features and their attributes. In these descriptions it was noted that the attributes were, by and large, common to all angels and not ascribed to any particular order. As such, the texts did not offer adequate practical guidance on how to represent the angelic hierarchy. There were, of course, numerous late-medieval examples of representations of angels, in a wide variety of media, including manuscript illumination, painted panels and stained glass. One fundamental question which will be examined is whether the angelic hierarchy was consistently depicted in late-medieval art, and whether, in practical terms, artists adhered to accepted formulae, such that we can readily differentiate one order from another. For this part of the thesis, an overview is given of some examples of angels and the Nine Orders throughout England. Four case studies will then be investigated to determine the level of consistency of depictions of the Nine Orders between different examples, as well as assessing the reliance on textual sources by patrons and artists.

Angels and the Angelic Hierarchy in England

Angels appeared extensively in the Late Middle Ages as part of the decoration of illuminated manuscripts. An examination of Kathleen Scott's *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490 volumes I (Illustrations and Text) and II (Catalogue)* revealed many examples of angels featuring in scenes of the life of Christ; they appear, for example, in depictions of the Crucifixion

where they can be seen collecting blood in chalices from the wounds of Christ, for example, in B.L. MS Add. 58078 (Wyndham-Payne leaf) of c. 1405-1410.[182] They are also to be seen in scenes of the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, particularly the Annunciation. For instance, Archangel Gabriel appears on fol. lv of MS 17250 of the *Llanbebig Hours* (of the late fourteenth century), displaying a feathered body and bearing lilies.[183] Other named archangels can also be found in manuscripts. Michael appears on fol. 6 of MS Harley 7026, the *Lovell Lectionary*, c.1450-1460, holding a shield in his left hand and a sword in his right hand, about to slay Satan in the form of dragon with seven heads.[184] Also, Michael can be seen thrusting a spear with his right hand into the head of a dragon, whilst holding a shield in his left hand on fol. 25v of the *Neville Hours* (of the late fourteenth century).[185] Raphael appears only once in B.L. MS Add. 50001, c. 1420-1430, together with Michael and Gabriel, on fol. 108v.[186] The Nine Orders can be found in a manuscript from Anwick Castle, British Library Loan MS 82 forming part of the decoration of a border, c.1396-1407.[187] A search of the British Library Catalogue also revealed a depiction of the Nine Orders in Ms Burney 3 fol. 5v. They form part of letter 'L', at the top of the page. Below them are scenes of the Fall of Angels and Old Testament scenes.[188] There appears to be no symbolic importance for their inclusion, which is most likely to be for decorative purposes. The British Library also contains *The Queen Mary Psalter* (of the first half of the fourteenth century) which contains an image of nine angels in nine compartments. Although they are not labelled,

---

[182] Scott, K, L, *A survey of Manuscripts Illuminate in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, vol.1 Text and Illustrations*, London, 1996, fig. 103.
[183] Scott, vol. 1, fig. 28.
[184] Scott, vol. 1, fig. 60.
[185] Scott, vol. 1, fig. 99.
[186] Scott, K, L, *A survey of Manuscripts Illuminate in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, vol.2 Catalogue*, London, 1996, p.173.
[187] Scott, vol. 2, p. 47.
[188] British Library: Historiated Initial With Scenes from Genesis in the Bible of Robert de Bello http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/burnmanucoll/h/011bur000000003u00005v00.html accessed 05/05/09.

they appear on the same page as prayers to Raphael and perhaps we can suggest that because of their number, they could be the Nine Orders.[189]

Angels also appeared in the stained glass windows. For example, they can be seen in the glass of King's College Chapel, where they function not as the Nine Orders, but rather as messengers, which is their traditional role.[190]

There are many examples of representations of angels depicted in art throughout the country, in different media. However, the point of this study is to gauge the level of consistency in the way the angels were depicted as well as to assess the occurrence of the Nine Orders and how carefully they were differentiated. The following table details the major examples of the angelic hierarchy in England known to me, in chronological order. The literature for each example is extensive and can be found in the footnotes. They have been chosen because they demonstrate three key factors: first, that representations of the angelic hierarchy were produced in a variety of media, including manuscript illumination, painted panels on roodscreens and sculpture; second, that the majority of them were labelled; and third, that such representations were not confined to one geographical area of the country.

Table 2-1 - Examples of the angelic hierarchy in England in the Late Middle Ages[191]

---

[189] Warner, G, *The Queen Mary Psalter, miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century*, London, 1912, plate 300.
[190] See Wayment, H, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge, a Description and Commentary,* Oxford, 1972 & Wayment, H, *Kings's College Chapel Cambridge The Side-Chapel Glass*, Cambridge, 1988.

[191] For the Queen Mary Psalter, see Warner, G, *The Queen Mary Psalter, miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century*. For Wells, see Hope, W.H St. John, 'The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church', (with suggestions as to the identification of some of the images by W.R. Lethaby), *Archaeologia*, vol. 59, 1904, pp. 143-206; Sampson, J, *Wells Cathedral West Front: Construction, Sculpture and Conservation*, Gloucestershire, 1998. *Cathedral Church of St. Andrew Wells A Guide to the Statuary of the West Front*, Wells, 1951; Cockerell, C.R, *Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral, with an Appendix on the Sculptures of Other Medieval Churches in England*, Oxford &

PLACE	MEDIA	DATE	LABELS
Queen Mary Psalter	Manuscript illumination	Early 1300s	No
West Front of Wells Cathedral	Stone sculpture	c.1394	No
St. Michael Spurriergate, York	Stained glass	c.1400s	Yes
All Saints, North Street, York	Stained glass	c.1410-20	Yes
St. Edmund's Church, Southwold, Suffolk	Painted roodscreen	c. 1451-1528	Yes
Malvern Priory, Worcestershire	Stained glass	c.1485	Yes
Exeter Cathedral	Wall painting	c.1500	Yes
St. Neot's Church, Cornwall	Stained glass	c. 1508-1544	Yes

The Queen Mary Psalter will not be examined as a case study because it is earlier than our examination begins. The west front of Wells Cathedral contains a wealth of imagery, including saints and angels, most recently examined by Jerry Sampson in 1998. The angels are not labelled and have weathered considerably and much detail has been lost and therefore would not be a good example to study. The glass of St. Michael Spurriergate and All Saints, York has been heavily restored and therefore any analysis could not be totally accurate if the glass is not in its original position as a result. The angels in the tracery lights of the windows in the church of St. Neot in Cornwall are labelled and their names are written on scrolls above their heads. Exeter, Southwold and Malvern (which features Gregory's gemstones), have been analysed already, but they, along with all the examples in the table will be used as comparisons because they

---

London, 1851. For St. Michael Spurriergate York, see Rushforth, G. McNeil, *Medieval Christian Imagery.* For All Saints, North Street, York, see Gee, E.A, 'The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York, *Archaeolgia*, vol. 102, 1969, pp. 151-202. For Southwold, see, Lillie, W. W, 'Screenwork in the County of Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. 30, pp. 120-126; for Malvern Priory, see Rushforth, G. McNeil, *Medieval Christian Imagery,* for Exeter Cathedral, see Rushforth, G. McNeil, 'Wall Painting: The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: Exeter Cathedral', Devon *and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, vol. 17, 1933, pp. 99-104. For St. Neot, Cornwall, see Rushforth, G. McNeil, 'The Windows of the Church of St. Neot, Cornwall', reprinted from the transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society, vol. 15, 1937.

provide excellent criteria against which the four case studies I have chosen can be carefully scrutinized.

<u>Case Studies</u>

The four I have selected include, first, a clearly labelled example, painted on a roodscreen; second, a sculptural programme generally accepted as a representation of the angelic hierarchy; third, the largest example known to me of a scheme of sculptured angels from the Middle Ages and a final example drawn from Leicestershire, with angels represented in different media. My four case studies will involve a critical examination of the iconography, with a view to ascertaining three things: first, if they are in fact representations of the Nine Orders, second, if they are consistent with the textual descriptions, and thirdly, the extent to which the Nine Orders were prominent in the visual arts on the eve of the Reformation.

Fig 2.1 Nine Angels, Queen Mary Psalter

Source: Warner, plate 300
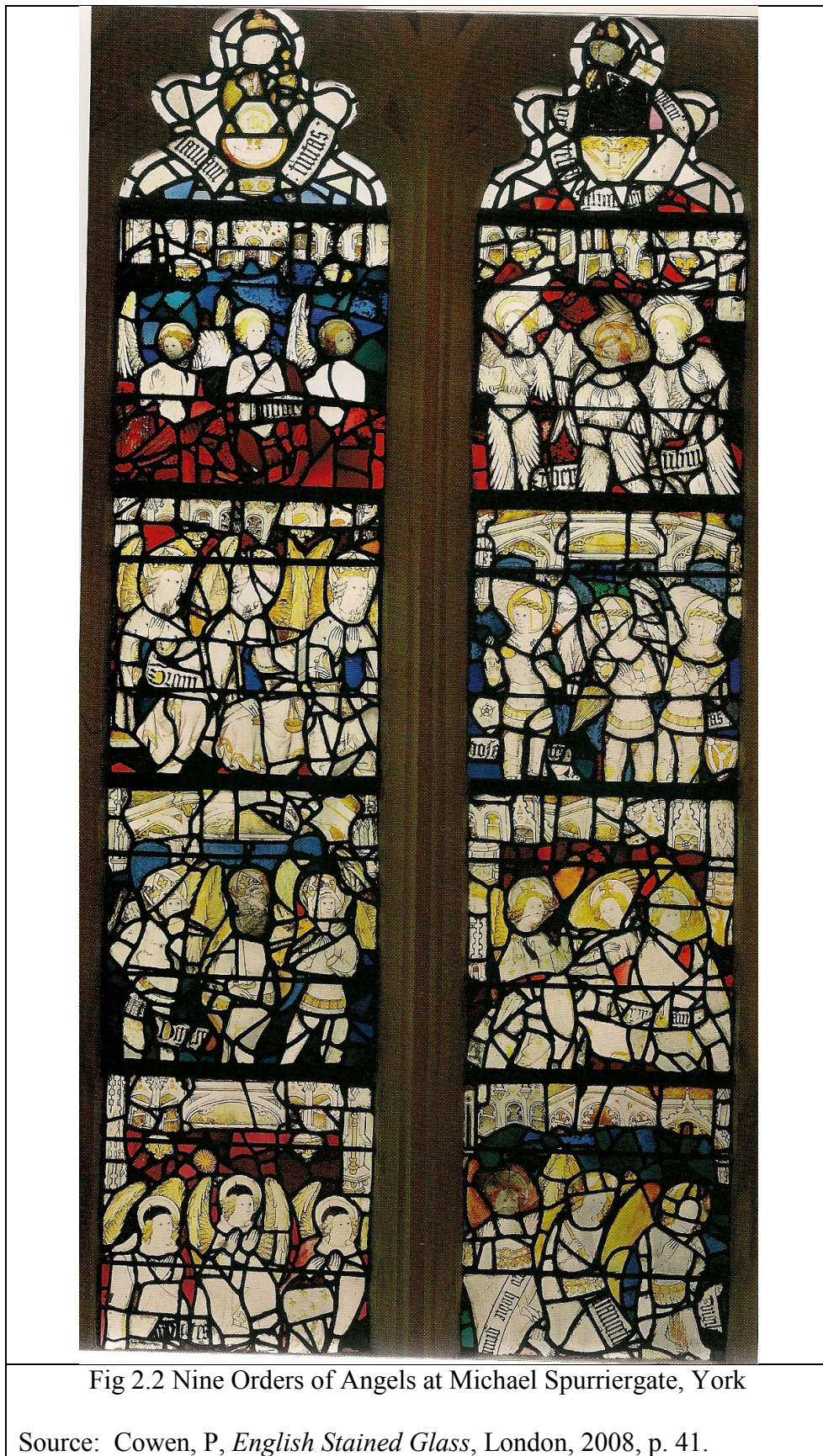
Fig 2.2 Nine Orders of Angels at Michael Spurriergate, York

Source: Cowen, P, *English Stained Glass*, London, 2008, p. 41.
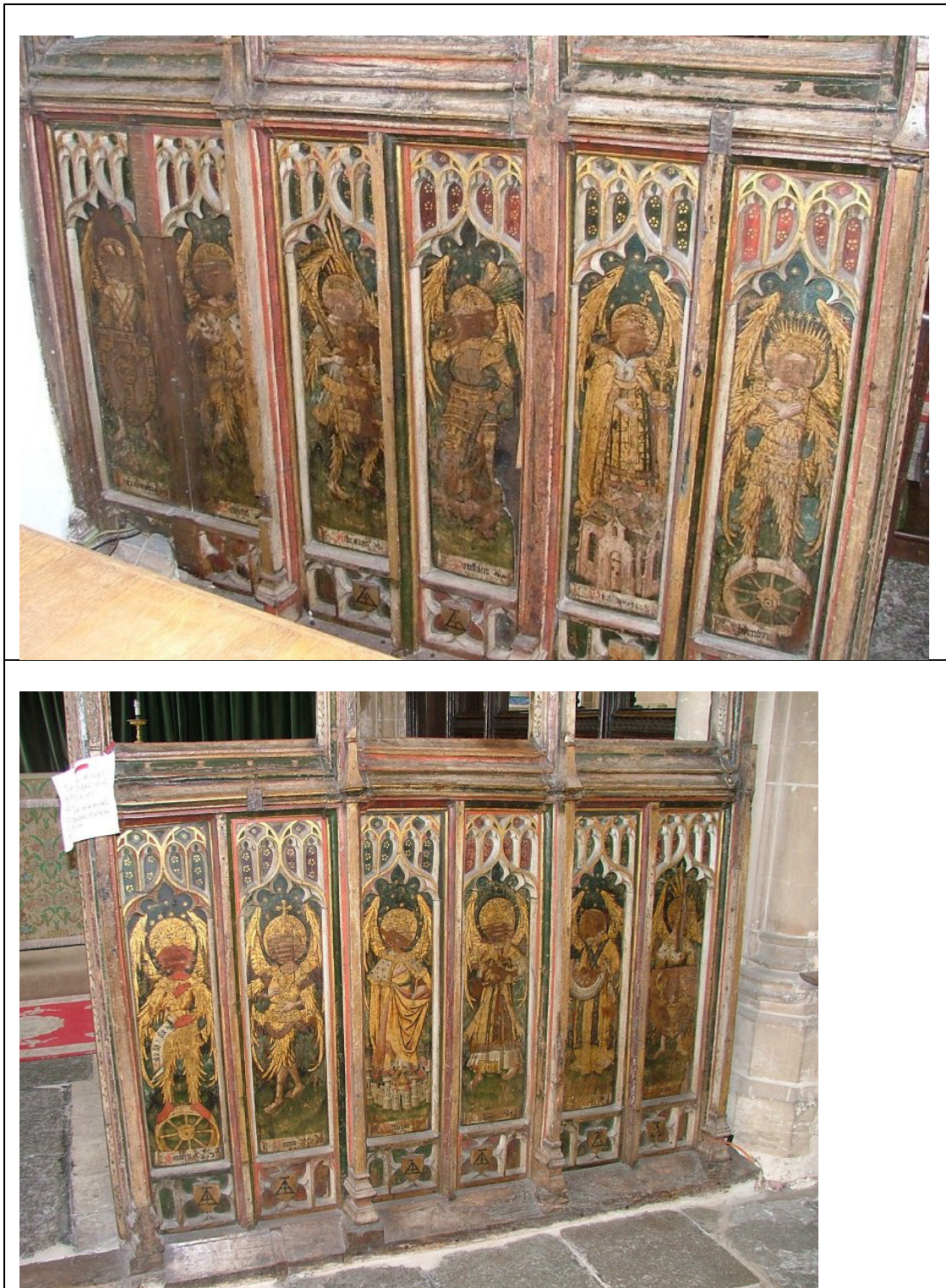
Fig 2.3 Nine Orders of Angels, Southwold

Top: North screen: left to right: Trinity, Gabriel, Archangels, Powers, Domination, Cherubim

Bottom: South sreen: Left to right: Seraphim, Thrones, Principalities, Virtues,Angels, Shield of Eucharist

Source: www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/southwold

Fig 2. 4 Nine Orders of Angels, Exeter Cathedral Wall Painting

Source: Swanton, M, ed., *Exeter Cathedral: A Celebration*, Devon, 1991, p. 95.

Case Study A: St. Michael and All Angels, Barton Turf, Norfolk

The Roodscreen paintings as an example of the Celestial Hierarchy

<u>**Introduction**</u>

The first case study is a roodscreen in the church of St. Michael and All Angels in Barton Turf, Norfolk. There are two roodscreens at Barton Turf, one depicting angels and the other depicting kings and saints. The angel roodscreen has been chosen as a case study because it is clearly datable and there are contemporary inscriptions in Latin, above each figure on the panelling, which identifies each of the angels as a depiction of one the Nine Orders of Angels. As such, it will be an invaluable 'control' for the other case studies. We shall proceed to examine this roodscreen's iconography to determine whether the images identified on it correlate to the textual sources about the celestial hierarchy. We shall then be in a better position to examine schemes where the figures do not have contemporary labels to identify them.

A roodscreen was a very common yet important feature in Pre-Reformation churches because it acted as a partition on two levels: firstly, on a practical level, it divided the nave from the chancel; secondly, on a spiritual level, it divided the laity from the clergy. It supported the crucifix with statues of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist at the sides. The positioning of the roodscreen, close to the altar, is crucial to our understanding of the positioning of the angels. Simon Cotton, in his analysis of the construction and dating of roodscreens, has explained that renovations to churches in the Middle Ages saw narrow chancels being replaced with wider ones in order to give a better view of the altar because during this period, the use of the chancel was becoming

increasingly important to the priest and congregation in the celebration of Mass.[192]   In

1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council the doctrine of 'Transubstantiation' was established,

fixing the point in the Mass at which the bread and wine consecrated by the priest

miraculously became the true, physical body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Canon 1 of the Council states that:

> There is one Universal Church of the faithful outside of which there is
> absolutely no salvation. In which there is the same priest and sacrifice, Jesus
> Christ, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar
> under the forms of bread and wine; the bread being changed (transsubstantiatio)
> by divine power into the body, and the wine into the blood, so that to realize the
> mystery of unity we may receive of Him what He has received of us.[193]

The doctrine was reinforced by the introduction of a new feast, Corpus Christi (Body of

Christ), in 1264.[194]   As a result of these dogmas, emphasis was placed on the area where

this divine act took place: in the parochial context, this was the altar in the chancel. The

clergy and the laity were divided by the roodscreen which was intended to separate the

laity from the priest in the act of Consecration. (Some laity were able to access the

chancel). The congregation could hear the priest and could see the process at least in

part through the open work tracery above the painted panels. The ancestry of the

roodscreen is the veil found in a synagogue, which, as in a church, separated the priest

from the laity.[195] The book of *Exodus* (26:31) records Yahweh's instructions to Moses

to construct and furnish a sanctuary. The veils were to be brightly coloured and

---

[192] Cotton, S, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk-Their Construction and Painting Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 40, part 1, 1987, p. 44.

[193] Medieval Source Book: Twelfth Ecumenical Council Lateran IV: 1215 www.fordham.edu/halsall.basis/lateran4.html accessed 10/04/2007.

[194] For an extensive study of this subject, see Rubin, M, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991.

[195] There are many influences on the building of Christian church but the most relevant here is the relationship between Christianity and Judaism. As Christianity's roots lie in Judaism, it is not surprising that the two faiths share not only a spiritual heritage, but also an artistic one.

decorated with images of Cherubim:[196] "purple stuffs, violet shade and red, of crimson stuffs, and of fine twined linen; you are to have it finely embroidered with cherubs".[197] The artists of the late Middle Ages would have been aware of this tradition from the Bible and perhaps could have adapted it for the decoration of roodscreens, with images of the Nine Orders.

W.G Constable, in 1929, undertook a major survey of the roodscreens in East Anglia. In analysing the iconography, dating and patronage of the screens, he remarked that there were five hundred and seventeen screens still decorated with colour in Britain. Of these, one hundred and sixty five were located in Norfolk and of these, one hundred and four still contained figures.[198] It is unclear why a disproportionate number managed to survive the hands of later iconoclasts in Norfolk in comparison to the rest of the country. Their survival is likely to be a result of widespread resistance in rural areas to religious change which affected imagery and thus may reflect a profound religious conservatism in the county.[199] Comparing the screens with each other in terms of style and technique led Constable to argue that the vast majority dated from 1450-1530, a time when Norfolk was a prosperous county because of the wool trade.[200] The issue of patronage of screens as an expression of faith and piety was examined by Eamon Duffy. He maintained that the average parish church enjoyed an injection of money in the

---

[196] Bond F. B, & Camm, D.B, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts, vol.1*, London, 1909, p. 4.
[197] Exodus 26:31.
[198] Constable, W. G, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', in 4 parts, *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 1, January- June 1929, p. 141.
[199] We shall examine the issue of iconoclasm in East Anglia later in this thesis, with particular reference to one iconoclast, William Dowsing, who wrote a diary detailing his activities. See Cooper, T, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing*, Woodbridge, 2001.
[200] Constable, part 1, p. 143.

fifteenth century, of which one output was the building of roodscreens by wealthy patrons.[201]

J. Gunn produced a comparison of the iconography of a number of screens in 1852. This merely consisted of a table mentioning the presence of the Nine Orders at Barton Turf, as well as other iconography such as saints and apostles on screens in Norfolk. [202] However, the biggest study was carried out by W.W. Williamson, who catalogued the iconography of Norfolk roodscreens in his paper of 1957 entitled 'Saints on Norfolk roodscreens and pulpits'.[203] This paper has been very helpful in assessing the iconography and the appearance of the same subjects on different screens. It gives valuable information on the size and number of panels. The width of the chancel arch determined the length of the screen and therefore the number of panels. The panels are always balanced, with the same number on the north and south side. The total number of panels varies: from six, e.g. at South Lynn; to eight e.g. at Loddon; twelve e.g. at Barton Turf and Belaugh; to fourteen e.g. at Marsham; and even sixteen e.g. at Litcham.[204] The subject matter of the screens across Norfolk includes apostles, male and female saints, donors and patrons, prophets, kings of England and the Latin Doctors. A depiction of St. Michael the Archangel can be found on the screens at Greeshenhall and Ranworth, where he can be seen with a spear and dragon. At Filby, Wellingham and Elsing he is shown weighing souls and at Binham he holds a spear. [205]

---

[201] Duffy, E, 'The Parish, piety, and patronage in late medieval East Anglia: the evidence of rood screens', in French, K, Gibbs, G.G & Kumin, B.A, *The Parish Church in English Life 1400-1600*, Manchester, 1997, p. 133.
[202] Gunn, J, 'A synopsis of the paints upon some of the rood-screens in the county of Norfolk with explanatory notes, *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 3, 1852, pp. 18-23.
[203] Williamson, W.W, 'Saints on Norfolk Roodscreens and Pulpits', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 31, 1957, pp. 299-346.
[204] Williamson, pp. 332-3.
[205] Williamson, p. 317.

In recent years, Simon Knott has surveyed the majority of churches in Norfolk and Suffolk, cataloguing the artefacts, including roodscreens.[206] From these studies, we can be sure that there is only one labelled depiction of the Nine Orders in Norfolk, and that is our case study at Barton Turf. However, across the border in the county of Suffolk, there is a screen with the names of each of the Nine Orders inscribed at the bottom of each panel, at the church of St Edmund in Southwold, Suffolk.[207] This screen, made up of twelve panels, also includes three other angels: Gabriel, an angel with the shield of the Trinity and the angel with the shield of the church. We shall cross reference to this screen in our case studies. It is likely, therefore, that the subject of the Angelic Hierarchy was always a rather unusual and esoteric one on roodscreens. However, C. Woodforde has examined the subject of angels in stained glass windows of Norfolk churches and has shown that there are numerous representations in the tracery lights of several churches in this area, such as Salle, Narborough, Harpley, and Martham.[208] Again, we shall draw on them. It is likely the subject of the angelic hierarchy was always a rather unusual, esoteric one on roodscreens.

---

[206] See http://norfolkchurches.co.uk and http://suffolkchurches.co.uk. I am indebted to Simon Knott for allowing me to include a selection of his photographs in this thesis.
[207] Lillie, *Screenwork*, pp. 122-123.
[208] See Woodforde, C, *The Norwich School of Painting in the Fifteenth Century,* London, New York & Toronto, 1950, pp. 128-148 for an extensive comparison of angels in stained glass windows in Norfolk churches.

Fig 2.5 Photograph of Roodscreen, Barton Turf

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Diagram to illustrate labelled orders of angels and female saints on the roodscreen of St. Michael and All Angels at Barton Turf, Norfolk

a	b	c	d	e	f
St Apollonia	St Citha	Powers	Virtues	Dominations	Seraphim
Female Saint	Female Saint				

Chancel

Altar

Nave

g	h	i	j	k	l
Cherubim	Principalities	Thrones	Archangels	Angels	St Barbara
					Female Saint

N E S W
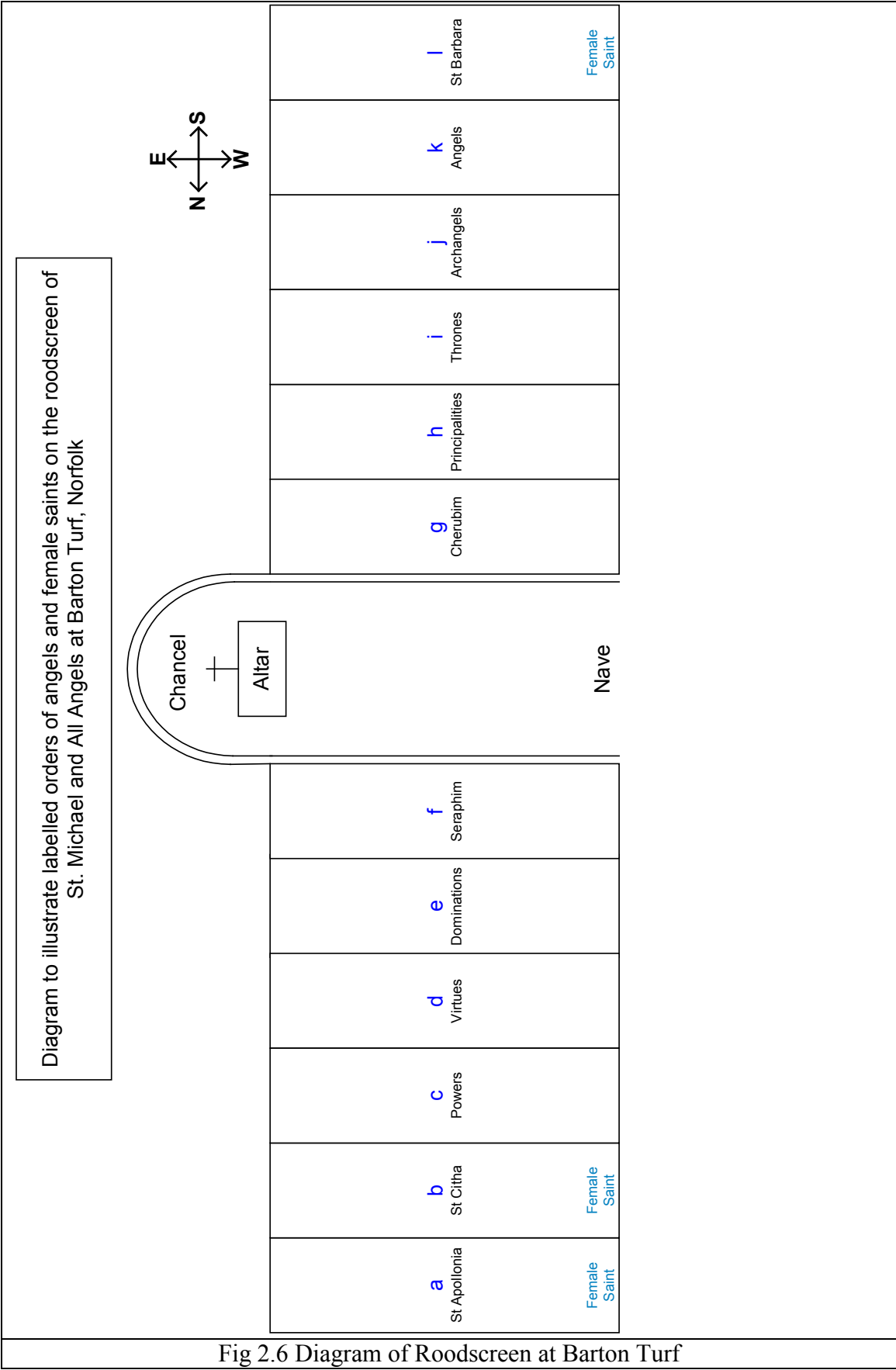
Fig 2.6 Diagram of Roodscreen at Barton Turf

Literature devoted to the screen at Barton Turf includes a detailed examination by John Gunn.[209] My research in the library of the Society of Antiquaries revealed some previously unpublished pencil drawings of the screen by George Young Warble.[210] Between 1862 and 1863, he toured the churches of East Anglia, and visited Barton Turf, producing drawings with notes beside each figure, detailing the colours on the screen. This nineteenth-century record is invaluable as documenting the appearance of the screen before later restorations and conservation. The screen was restored most recently in the 1970s.[211]

Commission, Influences and Dating

There is no documentation to tell us who commissioned the screen or to indicate when it was constructed. The commission may have come from a wealthy female donor, given the inclusion of three female saints, perhaps the donor's patron saints, although this is purely speculative, given the absence of documentary evidence on this matter.[212]

In trying to determine the date, an early error in judgement occurred by Rev J. Gough Poole, a former vicar of Barton Turf. He suggested to a group of archaeologists from the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society visiting the church in 1920 that it was

---

[209] Gunn, *Illustrations for the rood screen at Barton Turf*, Norwich, 1869.

[210] Wardle Drawings, (Society of Antiquities of London). Copies of these drawings can be found in Appendix A at the end of this thesis.

[211] Research in the Church of England Record Centre revealed that a coat of linseed oil was applied to the screen by a well-meaning gentleman whilst spring cleaning in the church in 1971. Such actions lead to a full restoration of the screen by Pauline Plumber who removed the linseed oil and white over-paint. Holes created by beetles and woodworm were filled in. The restoration was completed in 1981. See Barton Turf, St. Michael and All Angels, Norwich Diocese, Care File. CERC.

[212] Eamon Duffy in 'The Parish, Piety, and Patronage in late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Roodscreens', p. 136, directs the reader to the work of Simon Cotton: Cotton, S, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk-Their Construction and Painting Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 40, part I, pp. 44-54. Cotton searched wills in the Norfolk Record Office for evidence of patronage and painting dates for screens in the county. In regard to Barton Turf, he found no evidence of the patron. See Cotton, S, Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk-Their Construction and Painting Dates', p. 46.

built before 1387 and that "the screen was painted some thought by Italians and some by others".[213] Cotton argues that recent analysis points to c. 1440, or even earlier due to known renovations of the church.[214] As a comparison, the other screen at Barton Turf, in the south chapel, contains a figure of Henry VI who died in 1471, which suggest that the latter screen at least was completed after that date.[215]

The date of our screen can be analysed comparatively: comparisons can be made to other Norfolk screens in terms of the fact that the figure on the panel appears to be facing the one beside it, as if in conversation. This is not unique to the Barton Turf screen. This idea is found throughout Norfolk, for example at Ludham, Hempstead and Tunstead. Lasko and Morgan argue that the figure-style of the screen is similar to the depiction of Archangel Gabriel in the Annunciation at St. Michael at Plea (fig. 2.7).[216] They believe, and Duffy agrees with them, that the "same artist or workshop must have been involved".[217] There is good reason to suggest comparisons, particularly with the liturgical vestments, between Gabriel and the Domination at Barton Turf and the fact that both are holding sceptres. Gabriel has long slender fingers and blonde, curly hair, which appear similar to all the angels at Barton Turf, but his eyes, nose and chin are sharper. The facial features appear more refined at Barton Turf. The treatment of feathers is remarkably different, Gabriel's being much bigger. Despite the existence of

---

[213] In 1920, the vicar of Barton Turf, Rev J. Gough Poole remarked to a group of visiting archaeologists from the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society to the church that it was that was built before 1387 and that "the screen was painted some thought by Italians and some by others", Norfolk Archaeology vol. 21, 1923, pp. 4-5.
[214] Cotton, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk-Their Construction and Painting Dates' p. 46 & 54. For the same opinion, see also Cattermole, P, Cotton, S, 'Medieval Church Buildings in Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 38, 1983, p. 276. They explain that "there was a major 15th century campaign here; the notable paintings on the roodscreen, which suggests a date for the completed church, is dated to c.1440 on stylistic grounds". In fact, they use the screen to date the rebuilding of the church.
[215] Cotton, p. 46.
[216] Lasko, P, Morgan, N.J, eds., *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520*, London, 1973, p. 49.
[217] Duffy, 'The Parish, Piety, and Patronage', p. 153.

some similarities, Duffy, Lasko and Morgan's assessment of the works being by the same hands are not entirely convincing.

In any case, as Lasko and Morgan admit, it is very difficult to date the Annunciation panel itself. They suggest chronological ranges between c.1420-1430 and c.1440-1450. Pamela Tudor Craig has suggested that there was a Norwich school of painting that executed the work, and has dated it to c. 1435, because of its similar style to the screen at Ranworth. She also explains that influence in style for Norfolk screens may have come from the importation of Flemish Books of Hours.[218]   The generally accepted parameters for dating this screen are, therefore, c. 1420-50.

---

[218] Tudor-Craig, P, 'Medieval Panel Paintings from Norwich, St. Michael at Plea, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 98, no. 642, Sept. 1966, p. 334.

Fig 2.7 Annunciation panel, at St Michael at Plea

Source: Lasko et al, p. 40.

We can agree with Cotton that the likeliest date for the screen at Barton Turf is c.1440, for several reasons. My analysis here is deeply indebted to my conversations with Dr.

Tobias Capwell of the Wallace Collection, who has given me guidance on the date of the armour represented.[219] Firstly, the hairstyles of the kneeling figures beside the angel belonging to the order of Angels, display "the classic bowl-cut, which was worn in England until around 1460 at the latest, but most fashionable types discarded it after around 1450" (fig 2-5).[220]
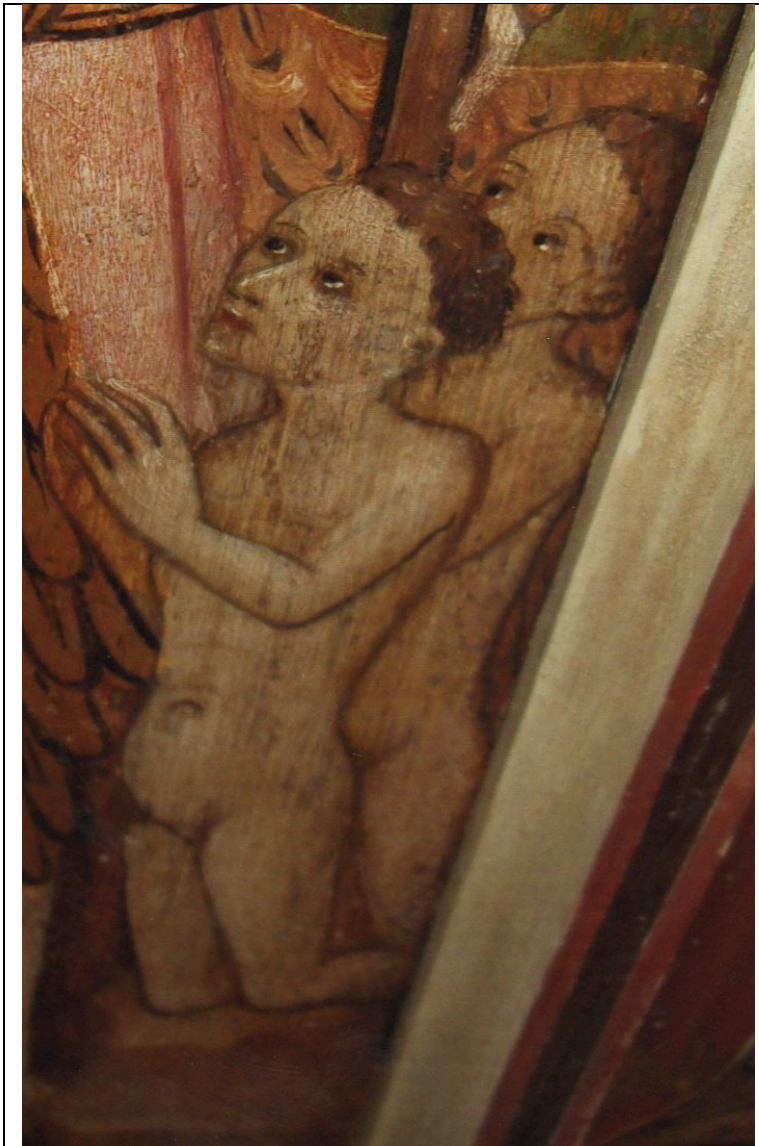
Fig 2.8 Detail of naked figures at feet of Angel

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

---

[219] Dr. Capwell granted permission to be quoted in extenso.
[220] Email from Dr Capwell, received 1/6/09.

Secondly, the inclusion of large belts of plates (called 'arse-girdles' in contemporary sources) also agrees with this date. Dr. Capwell writes:

> On the continent these went out of fashion very rapidly after around 1450. The English continued to wear them later however. But, the ones with pendant bells are more specifically early, and I would be surprised to find them worn anywhere after 1450 at the absolute latest. The bells type was especially popular in the Low Countries and the German Empire c. 1410-40 (fig 2-6).[221]

Fig 2.9 Detail of Principality at Barton Turf

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

These belts with bells can also be seen on the figure of the "Knight Fighting Giant" in Cotton MS. Nero Eii part 1 fol. 124 British Library (Fig 2-7).

---

[221] Capwell, 1/6/09.

Fig 2.10 Detail of belts of plate with bells from Knight Fighting Giant Cotton

MS. Nero Eii part 1 fol. 124 British Library
Source:

Constable had suggested that the armour seen on the angels labelled 'Power' and 'Archangel' identifies the panels as being painted after 1480.[222] However, Capwell argues that the armour:

---

[222] Constable, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 2, January-June 1929, part 2, p. 211.

is of the style popular in the 1430s and 40s. It is characterised by the longish skirt of plates, with an early form of 'tasset' [armour which protects the legs]. The fact that the plates of the skirts overlap downwards rather than upwards is an earlier rather than later feature, restricted quite definitely to the first half of the C15th. The general plainness of the armour, without very much fluting, scalloping, etc. points to the 1430s and 40s as well. The one place where the cut of the plates becomes a bit fancier is on the poleyn (knee) wings, which have been given an attractive, flower-petal cut. This is also typical of English armour of the 1410-40 period. The archangel [...] also has a simple disk or 'roundel' guard on his right elbow. Roundels on the couters (elbow plates) were rapidly going out of fashion by the 1440s, and I would certainly not expect to see them on full armour like these by 1450. The Power [...] is wearing a helmet that is of vital importance in the dating of the work. It is an early sallet, a type of helmet that came into use no earlier than about 1430. It's an early form though, in shape still similar to its predecessor the bascinet, with a pointed apex, so purely on the basis of the helmet shape I would not put the work later than around 1440. Also, he is wearing the helmet with a separate bevor, a shaped plate that protects his throat and chin. These came into use in the mid 1430s, and not before. So you see we can narrow the time frame from both directions. Also, another nice stylistic point is the depiction of the exposed collar of the 'city' angels' padded arming doublet, the garment worn under the armour. This image compares very well with a depiction of King Henry VI in Sir Thomas Holme's Book of Arms (MS Harley 4205 fol. 8, British Library, c. 1445-50) (fig 2.10).[223]

Dr. Capwell also suggests that the armour of both the Power and Archangel is similar ("although more detailed") to the "images of men-at-arms on the altarpiece in the St. Saviour chapel in Norwich Cathedral, which was painted in England in around 1440" (fig 2.11) . Also the "same sort of armour, guilt bands, long skirt, simple gauntlets and all is also found in William Bruges' Garter Book" (MS. Stowe 594 fol. 5v, British Library, c. 1430-40) (fig 2.12).[224]

On the assumption that the armour in the paintings is up to date in style as it appears to be, which is not something that can be taken for granted, but seems likely, given the very great interest in armour evinced by the painter or painters, a c.1440 date seems

---

[223] Capwell, 1/6/09. Scott dates this manuscript 1445-1450. Scott, vol. 2, p. 243.
[224] Capwell, 1/6/09. Scott dates this manuscript before c.1430-1440, Scott, vol. 2, p. 241.

most probable for the screen. It is probable that the craftsmen were working from models of armour familiar to them and the congregation.

Fig 2.11 Detail of armour of Archangel- roundels and poylens

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.12 Detail of armour of Power-salet

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.13 Detail of exposed collar of Archangel's padded arming doublet

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.14 Henry VI in Sir Thomas Holme's Book of Arms

Source: (MS. Harley 4205 fol.8, British Library) [225]

[225] http://www.bluk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&llllD=21960

Fig 2.15 Altarpiece in the St. Saviour Chapel, Norwich Cathedral

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. Tobias Capwell, detail of men-at-arms

Fig 2.16 William Bruge's Garter Book

Source: (MS. Stowe 594 fol.5v, British Library) [226]

---

[226] http://bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&lllID=5333

An analysis of the screen

Turning to an analysis of the screen, it is divided into two parts: six panels on the north side and six on the south. (A total of twelve panels is not coincidental, due to the fact that twelve is a sacred number in Catholicism e.g. twelve apostles, twelve tribes of Israel, twelve patriarchs. However, as mentioned earlier, this is not unique to this screen). The screen shows three female saints with halos and nine winged figures with halos. There are no reasons to doubt that the inscriptions are contemporary with the screen. It was common practice to include inscriptions in such work: The Wardle drawings mentioned earlier include the inscriptions, as do those of Gunn in his analysis.[227] Then, the same inscriptions were visible in the nineteenth century. The names of three female saints are written in the singular, as they represent an individual. However, for the winged figures the name of an order of angels is written in the plural, despite there being only one depiction per order. Considering that the panels face the congregation, a great many of whom would not have been able to read at the time the screen was painted, we should ask why they are written in the plural form. This is most likely because the images were meant to depict a typology, showing what one of each order looked like. In considering the relationship between orality and literacy, aural and visual, Dave Postles has suggested that the fact that the inscriptions are plural may indicate that they serve as symbolic images, not to be read, but to be recognised, thus making it easier for other examples of the Nine Orders to be recognised elsewhere.[228]

---

[227] Gunn wrote that all that was decipherable of the inscription 'Seraphyn' was 'phyn', which would indicate a level of decay of the screen in1869. See Gunn, *Illustrations*, p.7. This is still the case though overpaint removal shows a little more.

[228] I am indebted to Dr. Dave Postles of the University of Leicester in assisting me on this issue. Email sent to Dr. Postles, 30/11/09, reply received 30/11/09.

Although the names correspond to the order of Dionysius' hierarchy, they are not in the same order that he listed them, if the screen is read from north to south. Furthermore, none of the hierarchies as proposed by St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Dionysius or St. Gregory the Great suggest that the order of Powers, represented by the first angel on the north screen, is the highest ranking order. Moreover, whichever way the screen is read, left to right, or right to left, the hierarchy does not correspond to Dionysius' or any others' arrangement. Nor does it correspond if read from the centre outwards to north and south. As a result there are discrepancies between the depiction of angels at Barton Turf and the ordering in the literary sources discussed in Chapter One. However, the placing of at least two of the orders seems quite deliberate here. If one was to cross-reference to the screen of the Nine Orders at Southwold, one would see that the ordering of the angels is different to that at Barton Turf, nor does it follow the arrangement of any of the hierarchies. Without the contemporary documentation, it is very difficult to explain why the angels at Barton Turf were painted in that particular order. It may be something as simple as a donor preference.

The entrance into the chancel is flanked by the Seraph to the north and the Cherub to the south. This seems clearly to relate to the fact that the seraphim and cherubim are closest to God in Dionysius' hierarchy (and indeed, in every other theologian's hierarchy, one or other is first and second out of nine). So here, they are the closest to the altar because they are the highest order, and therefore closest to the place of the act of Consecration.

Looking at the panels as whole, we see that the faces, including those of the saints are all fairly pale. The angels' faces are youthful and are without beards, in accordance with the writings of Bartholomeus Anglicus and *Dives and Pauper*. All the angels have

blonde, wavy or curly hair. Curly hair is mentioned in *Dives and Pauper* as a feature of angels. Rhoda-Gale Pollack, who has written extensively about angelic imagery in the English Mystery Cycles. She suggests that golden wavy hair as depicted on some angelic schemes was probably similar in mystery plays: [229]

> An entry in the Bridge House Rentals that pertains to the expenses incurred in preparation for a pageant held on London Bridge in 1464 lists "three pounds of flax bought and used in the likeness of hair for Angels and virgins 9 d". Several lines above that entry, the account mentions "one ounce of Saffron used for dying the flax to make the hair for angels and children 10 d".[230]

All the angels have wings, of which there is great variation in scale and colour. Prior and Gardner long ago suggested a source for artistic representations in mystery cycles:

> a peculiar garment feathered all over [that] fits close to the limbs, giving the appearance of feathered tights. It may be that the angelic host was regarded as a sort of heavenly bird, but rather we think such a dress had been devised for the mystery plays of the fifteenth century.[231]

The earliest example in England of feathered garments is on the west front of Wells Cathedral, on the angels identified as a Principality. Pollack informs us that:

> We have evidence from records that cyclical productions were performed in Beverley in 1377, York and London 1378, Coventry in 1392 and in Chester somewhere between 1375-85: therefore, it is possible the artist or artists who created the angelic figures at Wells could have been inspired by the feathered costumes worn by theatrical angels in the mystery cycles.[232]

---

[229] Pollack, R-G, 'Angelic Imagery in the English Mystery Cycles', *Theatre Notebook*, vol. 29, 1975, pp. 124-138.
[230] Pollack, p. 138.
[231] Prior, E. S, & Gardner, A, *Medieval Figure-Sculputre in England*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 516.
[232] Pollack, pp. 134-5.

Apart from feathers, we also find at Barton Turf angels wearing liturgical vestments, which would also have been seen in the mystery plays as well as in church services.[233] Dionysius wrote that angels wear priestly vestments, particularly holy stoles, in order to indicate that they have dedicated their existence to Him. (Diagrams of the different liturgical vestments worn by the members of clergy follow this discussion, giving an explanation for each vestment, which can be referred to when mentioned further on in the thesis). Liturgical vestments are the most common clothing on depictions of angels in the Middle Age, particularly in England.[234] However, it is important to point out that the very notion of an angel wearing ecclesiastical clothes is certainly not an English invention; rather it

> does not become a commonplace iconographic device in Western art until the late fourteenth century, and that, even then, it was most extensively and consistently employed only in Flanders and in parts of Germany, France, northern Italy, Spain and Portugal which were most influenced by Flemish art.[235]

McNamee's examination of Flemish paintings reveals that when angels are shown in scenes depicting the life of Christ, they are universally depicted wearing vestments for the celebration of Mass. This has lead him to conclude that the "vested angel in Flemish painting, and in painting elsewhere that was influenced by this especially Flemish convention, does symbolize the mass".[236]

Malachi 2:7 states:

---

[233] Pollack, pp. 130-1.

[234] M.B McNamee has carried out extensive research in the area of angels depicted in priests' vestments, in his paper 'The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting', *Art Bulletin,* vol. 54, no.1, March , 1972, pp. 263-78. For a discussion on the origins and descriptions of liturgical vestments, see, Macalister, R.A.S, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History*, London, 1896.

[235] McNamee, p. 263.

[236] McNamee, p. 263.

For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.[237]

This suggests that the priest is taking on the traditional role of the angels, as a messenger of God. Furthermore, we must look at the role given to angels during the medieval Mass. For Mass in Ordinary Time, angels featured when the priest said:

Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes:
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.
Bene+dictus, qui venit, in nomine domine. Hosanna in excelsis.

 And so with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominations and with all the company of the heavenly host we sing a hymn of glory, saying without end:
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Saboath, heaven and earth are filled with your glory. Hosanna in the highest.
Bles+sed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.[238]

In the Canon or Still Mass, angels are called upon to carry the sacrifice of the bread and wine on the altar in the church to God's altar in heaven:

Supplices te rogamus, onmipotens Deus, jube hace perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectus divinae majestatis tuae.

 We suppliants ask that you, almighty God, command these things to by carried by the hands of your holy angels to your altar on high, in the sight of your divine majesty.[239]

Thus, angels play an important role in the Mass, praising and offering up the Eucharist. This analysis is consistent with McNamee's assessment, that the depiction of angels wearing vestments symbolise the Eucharist, the most important institution in the Roman

---

[237] Peers, p. 86.
[238] Barnwell Barnwell, P.S, Cross, C, Rycraft, C.A, eds., *Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: The Use of York*, Reading, 2005, pp. 154-5.
[239] Barnwell et al, p. 159.

Catholic faith. As such, it is not surprising to find some of the angels clothed in this way. McNamee asserts that "there is complete consistency in the way the vested angels are represented by Flemish artists: they are always dressed in the vestments of deacons and subdeacons of the mass".[240] We shall see if this is the same in our case studies.

---

[240] McNamee, p. 263.

ARCHBISHOP

MITRE
- Headdress
- *mitra simpler:* white linen/silk, no decoration
- *mitra aurifrigiata:* embroidery but no precious metals/stones
- *mitra pretiosa:* precious metals and stones

APPAREL OF THE AMICE
- Embroidered patches on amice

PALIUM
- "Y" shaped woolen vestment

CHASUBLE
- Oval-shaped principle vestment
- Velvet/silk/gold cloth
- Hole in centre for head
- Decorated by orphreys
- Usually "Y" cross

ORPHREY OF THE CHASUBLE
- Embroidered edges of chasuble

DALMATIC
- Sleeved tunic with slits either side
- Fringes on slits, lower hems and ends of sleeves
- Fringing different than left-sided only for deacons
- Embroidered all over

PRIMATIAL CROSS
- Cross-headed staff

AMICE
- Medieval
- Rectangular white linen with strings sewn at each end to cross over breast
- Decorated with apparels
- Turned down, like collar
- Mostly concealed

GLOVES
- Richly embroidered & jeweled
- A large stone on back of hand
- Protect against the cold

MANIPLE
- Decorated band of linen
- Worn over the left wrist
- Buttoned/sewn in permanent loop
- Used to wipe away perspiration

TUNICLE
- Smaller, simpler version of dalmatic
- Made of wool/silk
- Worn beneath dalmatic

STOLE
- Narrow strip of embroidery
- 270-300cm by 5-7.5cm
- Worn between alb & chasuble
- Pendent perpendicularly on either side of the breast
- Hung down in front

APPAREL OF THE ALB
- Embroidered patches on alb
- Above the lower hem
- Front, behind, back, breast, each cuff, encircling head aperture

BUCKSKINS or SANDALS

Buckskins
- Elaborately decorated knee-length boots

Sandals
- Like modern ankle shoes
- Worn only by bishops to celebrate the Eucharist

ALB
- Long, white, tunic
- Linen/silk/gold cloth
- Plain/decorated

Fig 2.17 Archbishop's vestments

These figures are based on diagrams and descriptions by Houston and McAlister.

Fig 2.18 Priest's vestments – Version A

PRIEST B

APPAREL OF THE AMICE
- Embroidered patches on amice

AMICE
- Medieval
- Rectangular white linen with strings sewn at each end to cross over breast
- Decorated with apparels
- Turned down, like collar
- Mostly concealed

CHASUBLE
- Oval-shaped principle vestment
- Velvet/silk/gold cloth
- Hole in centre for head
- Decorated by orphreys
- Usually "Y" cross

ORPHREY OF THE CHASUBLE
- Embroidered edges of chasuble

TONSURE
- Part-shaven head
- Some religious orders

ALB
- Long, white, tunic
- Linen/silk/gold cloth
- Plain/decorated

MANIPLE
- Decorated band of linen
- Worn over the left wrist
- Buttoned/sewn in permanent loop
- Used to wipe away perspiration

STOLE
- Narrow strip of embroidery
- 270-300cm by 5-7.5cm
- Worn between alb & chasuble
- Crossed over the breast and secured there by girdle of alb
- Hung down in front
- Sometimes without chasuble

APPAREL OF THE ALB
- Embroidered patches on alb
- Above the lower hem
- Front, behind, back, breast, each cuff, encircling head aperture

Fig 2.19 Priest's vestments – Version B

PRIEST C

MORSE
- Brooch, used to fasten cope
- Gold/silver/wood with overlays
- Often enamelled and jewelled
- Variety of shapes

COPE
- Oval shaped cape worn over the shoulders
- Fastened by morse
- Silk/velvet/gold cloth
- Processional vestment, but also worn for Mass.

GIRDLE / CINTURE
- Narrow band of silk/cotton/linen
- Approx 4 yards
- Fastened around waist to secure alb
- Tassles

ALB
- Long, white, tunic
- Linen/silk/gold cloth
- Plain/decorated

ORPHREY
- Embroidered edges

APPAREL OF THE ALB
- Embroidered patches on alb
- Above the lower hem
- Front, behind, back, breast, each cuff, encircling head aperture

Fig 2.20 Priest's vestments – Version C

DEACON A

AMICE
- Medieval
- Rectangular white linen with strings sewn at each end to cross over breast
- Decorated with apparels
- Turned down, like collar
- Mostly concealed

APPAREL OF THE AMICE
- Embroidered patches on amice

STOLE
- Narrow strip of embroidery
- 270-300cm by 5-7.5cm
- Worn between alb & chasuble
- Crossed over the breast and secured there by girdle of alb
- Hung down in front
- Worn here without chasuble.

ALB
- Long, white, tunic
- Linen/silk/gold cloth
- Plain/decorated

MANIPLE
- Decorated band of linen
- Worn over the left wrist
- Buttoned/sewn in permanent loop
- Used to wipe away perspiration

APPAREL OF THE ALB
- Embroidered patches on alb
- Above the lower hem
- Front, behind, back, breast, each cuff, encircling head aperture

Fig 2.21 Deacon's vestments – Version A

DEACON B

APPAREL OF THE AMICE
- Embroidered patches on amice

ORPHREYS OR CLAVI OF THE DALMATIC
- Orphreys - embroidered edges
- Clavi - embroidered or decorated vertical bands

DALMATIC or TUNICLE

Dalmatic
- Sleeved tunic with slits on either side.
- Fringes only on left sleeve & along the left slit
- So deacon not impeded when serve during Mass

Tunicle
- Smaller, simpler version of dalmatic
- Wool or silk
- Worn by sub-deacon at Mass

AMICE
- Medieval
- Rectangular white linen with strings sewn at each end to cross over breast
- Decorated with apparels
- Turned down, like collar
- Mostly concealed

APPAREL OF THE ALB

MANIPLE
- Decorated band of linen
- Worn over the left wrist
- Buttoned/sewn in permanent loop
- Used to wipe away perspiration

APPAREL OF THE DALMATIC
- Embroidered patches on dalmatic

ALB
- Long, white, tunic
- Linen/silk/gold cloth
- Plain/decorated

APPAREL OF THE ALB
- Embroidered patches on alb
- Above the lower hem
- Front, behind, back, breast, each cuff, encircling head aperture

Fig 2.22 Deacon's vestments – Version B

The Panels

Having considered the age and style of the roodscreen, the individual panels will be examined. The screen will be analysed from north to south, rather than in accordance with any theologian's hierarchy, as we have established that the positioning of the angels does not follow a particular hierarchy. The female saints depicted on the first and

second panels of the north screen and the sixth panel of the south screen will be briefly discussed.

Powers

We begin with Power, reading the panels from the left to right, because the angels are not in any hierarchical order. He is identified by the inscription 'Potestates' (fig 2.23). This representation of the order of Powers faces the Virtue on the right (the fourth panel). He is dressed from head to foot in armour, which is silver and gold gilt-plated. He wears a green cope over his armour, fastened by two morses. He has four wings, orange in colour, two pointing upwards behind his back and two protruding from behind his thighs. A halo surrounds his head with a wreath and flower on his helmet. The wreath appears to be made up of feathers because it looks to be the same texture as the wings. His left hand holds a palm, but it could also be a scourger. His right hand holds a chain, which leads the eye to the bottom of the panel, where the chain is linked around the neck of a demon. The *Golden Legend* (1260) mentions the angel who "bound a demon and cast him into the bottomless pit".[241] This comes from the book of Revelation when John "saw an angel come down from heaven with the key of the Abyss in his hand and an enormous chain. He overpowered the dragon, that primeval serpent which is the devil and Satan, and chained him up for a thousand years. He threw him into the Abyss."[242]

The Power is standing on this demon, which bares its teeth at the Power. From the belly of the demon, a second demon's head emerges. The demon's eyes are focussed on the

---

[241] JDV 2, p. 205.
[242] JB, p. 336, Revelations 20: 1-3.

Power, its right hand clasped around the chain, pulling it as he tries to break free. The expression on the Power's face is one of calm and he is almost smiling, although the mouth is partially obscured by the salet.

Fig 2.23 Inscription: Potestates	Fig 2.24 Detail of Powers
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007. The inscription is located at the top of the panel at Barton Turf. This is the case for every inscription at Barton Turf.	

The concept of a Power standing on a demon (and sometimes holding a chain) is an interesting one, particularly as this is not the only instance of it within Norfolk. Local

examples exist in the stained glass windows at Martham, Narborough and Salle.[243] Elsewhere, labelled examples of Powers wearing plate armour exist at Malvern, Southwold (fig 2.3) and St. Neot, although these are all later than Barton Turf.

J.G. Gunn and W.W. Williamson identify this figure of Powers at Barton Turf as St. Raphael.[244] They do not say why they come to this conclusion but they may be referring to Raphael's journey with Tobias, which is mentioned in the *Golden Legend* (where Raphael is not specifically named). Here, Jacobus de Voragine writes of the "angel who bound a demon in the desert of Upper Egypt". [245] The only reference to a demon being "bound and shackled" by Raphael is in the Bible.[246] Whilst this identification of Raphael might seem plausible because it accords with some textual sources, it is actually most unlikely because Raphael belongs to the order of Archangels, not to the Powers. The inscription clearly reads 'Potestates' (Powers): if Raphael were intended, he would certainly have been identified as such.

Virtues

This angel (fig 2.25), fourth from left on the north screen, is identified by the inscription 'Virtutes'. He is bare-foot, points to his neighbour in the fifth panel (the Domination) and has four blue wings, two above his head and two behind his thighs. Feathers cover his whole body, to the wrists and ankles. A girdle is tied around the waist. He wears a short, white tippet which has the appearance of an amice, with a cowl neck, which is fastened by a morse. A brown cloak or cope drapes down to the floor. This Virtue seems to be dressed like a priest. His hair is golden and placed upon it is a highly

---

[243] Woodforde, pp. 128-148.
[244] Gunn, J, *Illustrations*, p. 9 and Williamson, p. 317.
[245] JDV 2, p. 207. See also, JB, pp. 531-2, Tobit 8:1-3.
[246] JB, p. 531, Tobit 8:1-3.

elaborate hat, surrounded by a halo. Pollack suggests that this Virtue is a simplified image of a bishop, because of the cope that sets off the headdress. [247] However, I cannot agree with this assessment. His vestments are for more in keeping with those of a priest, rather than a bishop (see diagrams 2.13–2.16). Also, I do not agree that the crown looks like a mitre. Furthermore, a bishop's attribute is a staff or crook, as opposed to a septre, which is an attribute common to all angels. The crown and sceptre may imply that this angel is dressed in a quasi-regal manner, but the liturgical vestments suggest that he more likely to belong to the ecclesiastical order, rather than royalty.

---

[247] Pollack, p. 130.

Fig 2.25 Inscription: Virtutes

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Dominations

This angel, (fig 2.27) the fifth on the north side, is identified by the inscription 'Dominaciones'. He is bare foot, with long slender toes and is standing on a raised platform from the ground. He has four orange wings, two at waist height and two above the head. There are black marks on the wings, like dots. His left hand is raised in a gesture to the Seraph on the right in the sixth panel. Like the Virtue, his right hand holds a sceptre. (A sceptre is held by the archangel at St. Neot).[248] He has a halo and wears a triple crown. Rushforth informs us that this crown is sometimes seen on the Virgin Mary, for example at Goodramgate in York. However, it is more usually "associated with the Pope, but commonly used [in the Middle Ages] at least outside German spheres of influence, to represent the crown of the Emperor and Pope alike. In was in fact, the symbol of the two highest earthly dignitaries".[249] He mentions depictions of the '*Pageant of Richard Beauchamp*' of c.1485-1490 to illustrate this.[250] The three tiers may represent the Trinity.

He is different in iconography to the Domination at Southwold, who carries an orb surmounted by a cross in his left hand and a chalice with a host in the right hand. A similarity may be seen in the liturgical vestments, as the Domination at Southwold

---

[248] Rushforth, *St. Neot*, p. 12.
[249] Rusforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 202.
[250] Dillon V, St. John Hope, W,H, *The Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, K.G, 1389-1439*, London,1914, p.iii. See also pp. 68-69. The illustrations show the Emperor Sigismund and his Empress wearing triple tiaras. They are not exactly the same as the tiara as the Domination at Barton Turf, but the idea is very similar.

wears a cope and chasuble. At Exeter, the Dominations wear ermine, as well as black caps, but we must recall that Exeter is a later example.

The Domination at Barton Turf wears a white amice, with a red chasuble and a gold strip containing seventeen jewels running down the front. There is elaborate fringing on the bottom of the garment. As the triple-crown is similar to the papal tiara it may be that this angel is a representation of a pope. This was first suggested by Gunn in his description of the figure as wearing "papal vestments".[251]

---

[251] Gunn, 'Synopsis', p. 18.

Fig 2.27 Inscription: Dominacōnes

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.28 Dominations

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

A pope may have been used as the basis of this depiction as there is no physical description of a Domination by any of the theologians or in any of the Biblical

references to the order. The *Golden Legend* is the most useful in providing us with help in identifying this angel. It informs us that the job of the order of Dominations is to preside and command and be in charge of those inferior to them. As a job description, this is similar to the role of the pope in the Catholic faith. Whilst the vestments can perhaps be said to be quasi-papal, the tiara does make a good case for this figure to be a representation of the pope.

Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of this panel is the scratch marks on the face. However, it is not the only angel to be treated this way (see the Seraph). The question must be asked: Of all the orders, why would a Domination (or indeed a Seraph) be chosen to have the face scratched out? It is most likely that the face was scratched out because of the papal connections, as it would have been deemed offensive to the early Reformers, and later Puritans.[252] Yet why would they go to the trouble of only scratching out a face when we know that other images of the angelic hierarchy and saints were smashed and destroyed throughout the country? The screen is made of wood and therefore very easy to destroy. Surely, the images of the saints should also have been destroyed? St Citha, depicted in the second panel on the north side, is an obvious symbol of the Catholic faith as she holds a rosary and therefore would also have been offensive to hard-line puritans, but this panel has not been defaced. Iconoclastic puritans such as Williams Dowsing and his followers (See chapter 3 for Dowsing's comments on angels) would have viewed little difference between the depiction of a saint or an angel and would have been equally ready to deface either, but the vandal of the Domination may have been satisfied simply by defacing an image of papal symbolism rather than

---

[252] We shall address this issue and grievances against papal authority later in this thesis.

one representing the wider religion.[253] As a result, while the scratches are most likely acts of vandalism, they were probably not committed by puritan hands. The damage could have been done shortly after 1534, when papal authority was rejected by Henry VIII.[254] The damage suggests a slightly perfunctory defacing, perhaps by rather unenthusiastic parishioners, doing the bare minimum to meet royal or Episcopal requirements. Local people might well have resented having to deface objects with which they had grown up and may have been donated by their ancestors. On the other hand, it may be that committed reformers might have been stopped in the act. Or alternatively, the defacing may have been demotic and inconsistent being just confined to two neighbouring figures. In the region of East Anglia, these figures are not alone in having their faces scratched out. The Serah and Cherub at Southwold appear to be defaced also (fig 2.3).

Seraphim

The sixth angel (fig 2.29) from the left on the north side and therefore closest to the altar is identified by the inscription 'Seraphyn'. He wears an ermine tippet (associated with royalty and thus symbolic of his place as a prince of the Heavenly Court), fastened by two morses at the shoulder. A similar tippet can be seen on the figure of Gabriel, Principalities and angel holding the shield of the Eucharist at Southwold (fig 2.3). He also wears an ankle length blue-green cloak. He has a red body and feathers, which extend to the wrists and ankles. He has six red wings, two at thigh level, two behind his back and two above his head. The colour of the wings and feathers is likely to be

---

[253] The specific conditions and principals of iconoclasm in Norfolk will be discussed later in this thesis. See chapter three.
[254] For further discussion of iconoclasm during Henry's reign, see Duffy, E, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven & London, 1992.

symbolic of the ardent love of the Seraphim, said to be on fire with the love of God, according to Dionysius. The number of wings fits with Isaiah's description of them.[255]

His left hand gestures to the Domination in the previous panel. His right hand holds a censer (also known as a thurible). Censers contained hot coals in which incense was burned. We recall Isaiah's vision of the Seraphim (Isaiah 6: 5-7):

> The Temple was filled with smoke [...] Then one of the seraphs flew to me, holding in his hand a live coal which he had taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. With this he touched my mouth and said: 'See now, this has touched your lips, your sin is taken away, your iniquity is purged'.[256]

---

[255] See chapter one, p. 23.
[256] JB, p. 979-80.
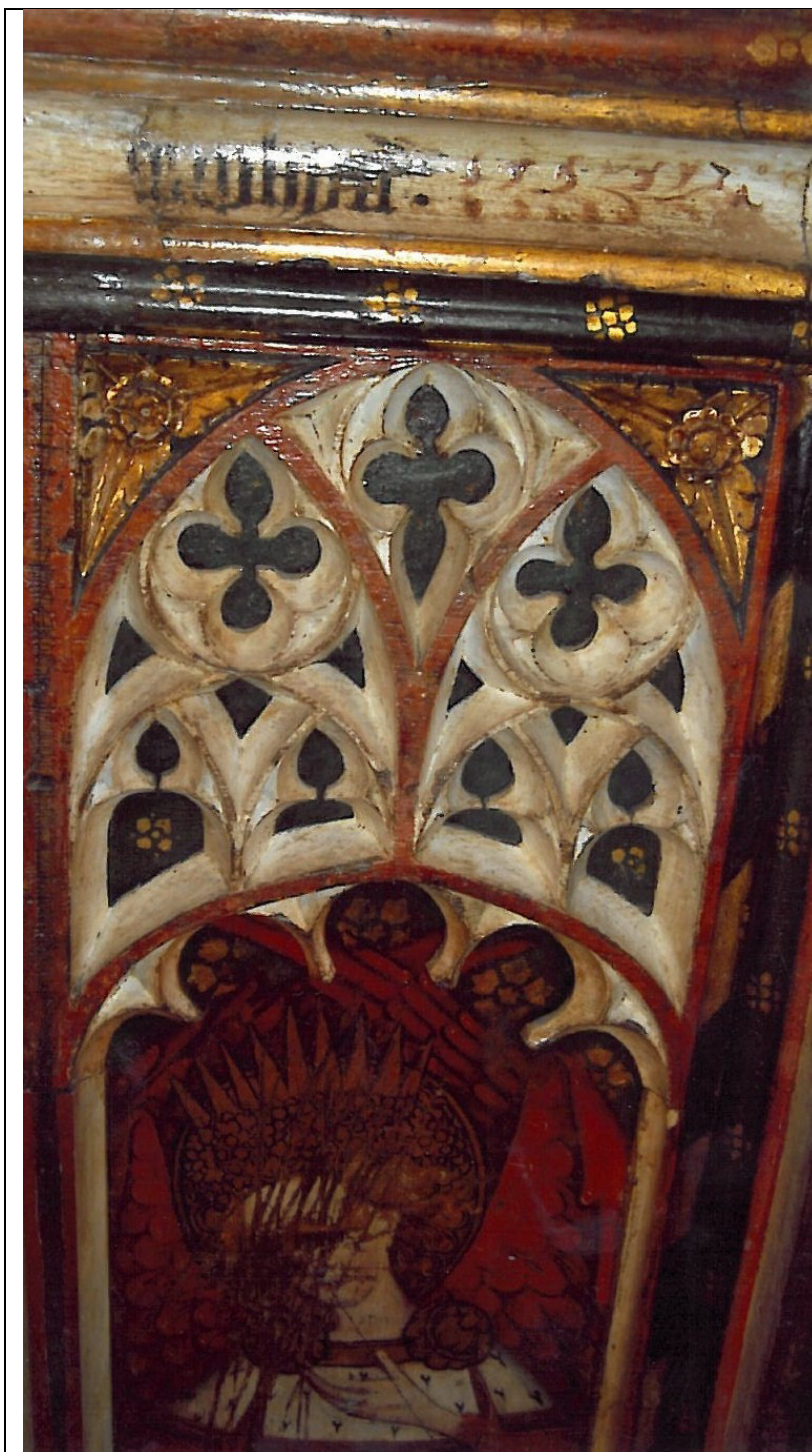
Fig 2.29 Inscription 'serphyn'

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.30 Seraphim

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Censers were swung by deacons from a chain to create smoke, over the altar at the beginning of Mass and before the consecration of the Eucharist. The rising incense was symbolic of the prayers of the faithful, saints and congregation alike, being offered up to God. It appears that the textual source, in this case, the Bible, fits with the painted description of the Seraphim.

Censers are seen elsewhere in representations of other angels, for example, the angel labelled 'Virtutes' at Southwold and St. Neot's.[257] At Southwold, the Seraph has a red face, hands and feet and his body is covered with golden feathers. The red in this instance, as well as Barton Turf, most likely symbolises fire, as the primary sources inform us that the Seraphim are on fire with the love of God. He stands on a wheel, which is normally associated with the Cherubim (fig 2.3). (This idea will be discussed further in case study B).

He has golden hair and bare feet in accordance with the primary texts. Flowers adorn his hair, from which a hat of nine points protrudes. This cannot be a coincidence. It is most likely to symbolise the Nine Orders that make up the Celestial Hierarchy. It stands to reason that he would be wearing it as his order of Seraphim is the highest, and therefore above all the other orders. However, the representation of the order of Thrones wears a similar nine-pointed crown, as discussed later in this section.

Like the angel to his left, the Seraph has his face scratched out. The censer would have been another Roman Catholic idea anathema to the Puritans, but no more than the Rosary held by St Citha that has survived without vandalism. It is possible that the same

---

[257] Lillie, p. 123.

vandal defaced this panel as well as the Domination but the depiction of the Seraphim does not contain papal imagery and it is harder to suggest a reason for this act of vandalism.

Cherub

Fig 2.31 Inscription: Cherub

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

We move now to the south of the screen. The first angel we encounter is that which is

labelled 'cherub' (fig 2.31). Facing the Principality on the right, this Cherub has six

golden wings, two behind his head, two behind his back and two at thigh level. His body is covered in feathers, again extending to the wrists and ankles. These wings are unique in the screen in that they are covered with eyes, in accordance with the Biblical description of the Cherubim: "Their bodies, their backs, their hands, their wings, and the wheels- the wheels of all four- were covered in eyes all over".[258] These eyes are very detailed, showing brows, lids and pupils. Cherubim with feathers covered with eyes can also be seen in the stained glass at Banningham in Norfolk. [259] Of the major examples covered in table 2-1, this is the only instance of the Cherubim to be depicted in this way. For instance, at Southwold they stand on a wheel (fig 2.3) and at Exeter, they wear black skull caps and hold books, symbolic of their attribute, which is knowledge (fig 2.4).

Fig 2.32 Cherub

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

The cherub's hands are raised in adoration and prayer. His hair is golden, surmounted by a cross-diadem with seven spikes, most likely in reference to the symbolism of the number seven in Roman Catholicism e.g. seven Sacraments, seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven Deadly Sins. Eleven smaller spikes or rays are located underneath this first

[258] JB, 1181, Ezekiel 10:12-14.
[259] Woodforde, p. 130.

layer. Below this ornate, golden crown is a feathered headdress, protecting the head. He has a blue cope that falls to the ground, which he stands on, rather than the ground. His feet are bare and he has long, slender toes. He wears a tippet of ermine held together by two morses at the shoulder.

Principalities

The second figure on the south screen can be identified from the inscription 'Principatus' (fig 2.33). This Principality, facing the Cherub on the left, carries a palm in his left hand, a symbol of Christ's triumph over death and often associated with martyrs. It is different in shape and colour to the one held by the Power.
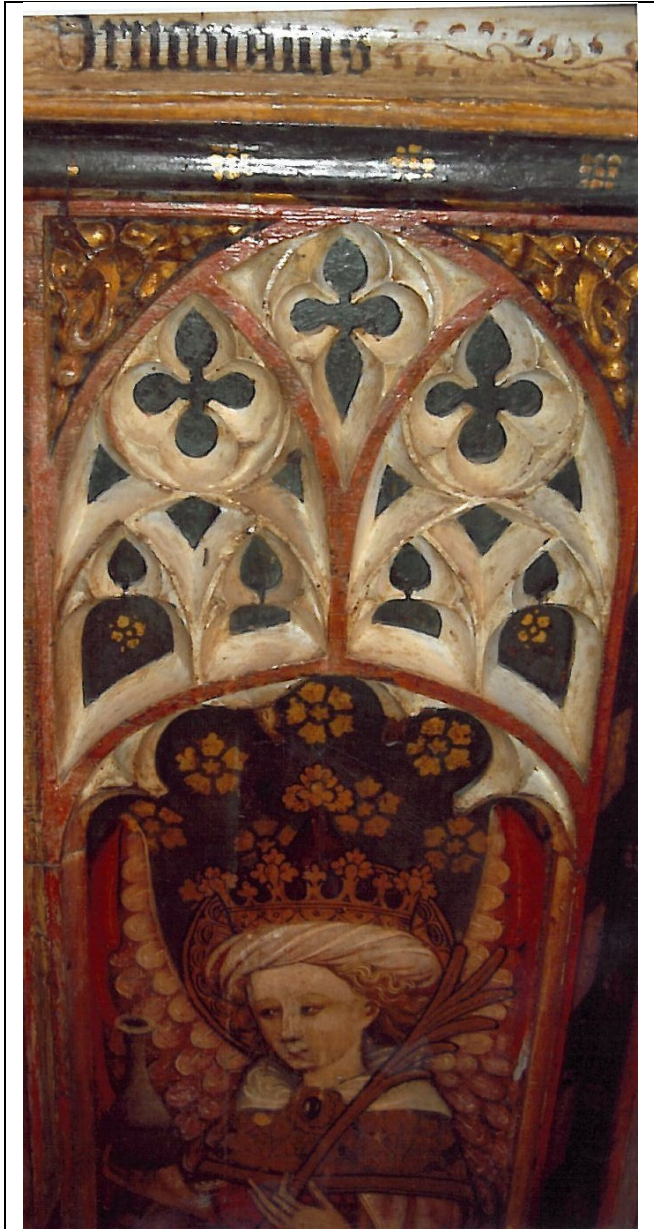
Fig 2.33 Inscription Principatus

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

His right hand holds a vessel, perhaps for wine and thus symbolic of the Eucharist and blood of Christ. This is pertinent to the placing of the screen before the altar. Vessels are held by the Archangels at Exeter (fig 2.4).[260] The vessel may be a representation of the phials of sweet smelling things as mentioned by Bartholomaeus Anglicus but he did

---

[260] Rushforth, 'Wall Painting', p. 103.

not assign this attribute to the Principalities alone, nor any order of angels for that matter.[261]

His body has red feathers that extend to the wrists and ankles. Red feathers can also be seen on the Seraphim at St. Michael Spurriergate, York (fig 2.2). He has four obvious pink wings, two behind his back and two at thigh level. However, he may well have six wings as it appears as though a wing is protruding from the legs, above the knee. His cope is pink and has very detailed edging. He is bare-foot and standing on the lining of the cloak. A belt of five bells is around the waist and there may possibly be more underneath the cloak. He wears an amice and tippet, fastened at the neck by a morse. He has golden hair, surmounted by a turban-like structure and crown and a red structure in the middle. This headdress is not unique to Barton Turf and is perhaps just an aristocratic adornment for the head. Rushforth explains that it "was probably a foreign fashion, for it is worn by some of the ancient heroes and heroines in the frescoes of the Castle of Manta in Piedmont" but is also found on the brass of Sir Thomas de Quentin (1481) at Harpham, Yorkshire.[262] As we have dated the screen to be c.1440, the later depiction of this headdress on the brass demonstrates the continued fashion of such headdresses. The headdress is clearly not clerical but the rest of the attire suggests that this figure is quasi-ecclesiastical.

---

[261] See Chapter one, p. 52.
[262] Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 51.

Fig 2.34 Principalities

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Thrones

This angel, (fig 2.35) third on the south screen, is identified by the inscription 'Troni'. There is evidence of scratches which have repaired in conservation. This Throne, who faces the archangel on the right, is dressed in a white amice, and blue chasuble, fastened by a morse at the neck. The chasuble has a green inner lining and is adorned by jewels at the cuff and bottom edges. He has golden feathers to the ankle and six green wings with black dots. Two of the wings are folded above the head, two behind the back and two behind the legs at thigh level. His right hand holds a pair of scales, symbolic of justice and righteousness, also seen with the angel labelled as 'Throne' at Southwold (fig 2.3).[263] His left hand holds a throne that rests on clouds. His long, slender, bare feet stand on the lining of the chasuble. His hair is golden, adorned by a structure of clouds and nine spikes, most likely to symbolise the Nine Orders. The background is red with yellow flowers.

W.W. Williamson has suggested that this Throne should instead by identified as St. Michael.[264] This cannot be correct. The thinking behind the identification is evidently that St. Michael is often portrayed in art of the Middle Ages with a pair of scales with which to weigh the souls of the dead at the Last Judgement. However, St. Michael belongs to the order of Archangels, and it would seem far more likely that his representation in the church dedicated to his name appears in the panel of the screen showing an Archangel, as discussed later. The scales may represent the weighing of sins against virtue. Scales can also be seen with the Throne at Malvern.[265] However, scales are also seen in the hand of the Archangel at Southwold (fig 2.3). Despite the

---

[263] Lillie, p. 123.
[264] Williamson, p. 319.
[265] Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 211.

discrepancy of the iconography of this representations, the authors of the primary texts all agreed that the order of Thrones functions as seats in which God can sit to make judgements. Therefore, as this angel holds scales in one hand and a throne in the other, the artist clearly intended this depiction to reflect the role of a Throne as a seat of justice.
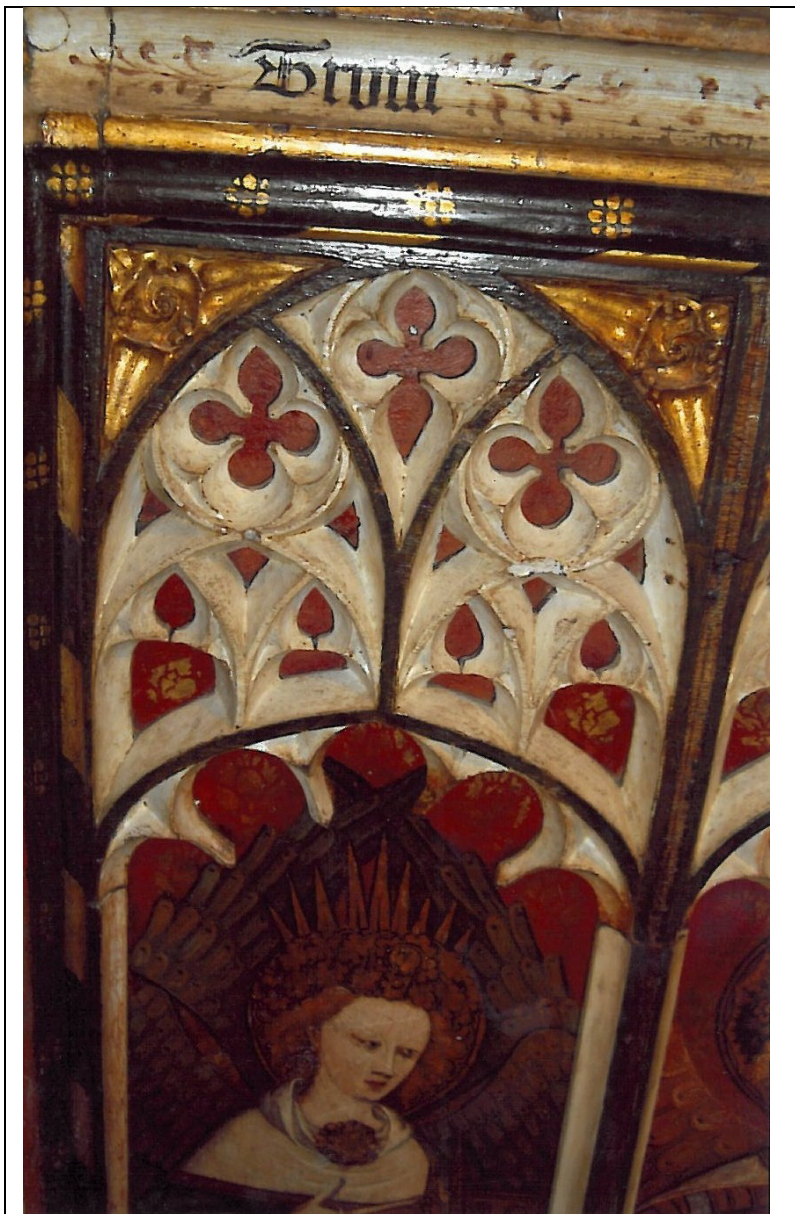
Fig 2.35 Inscription: 'Troni'

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.36 Thrones

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Archangels

Fig 2.37 Inscription: 'Archangeli'

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

This angel, in the fourth panel from left on the south screen (fig 2.37) is identified by the inscription 'Arhangeli'. He has two golden wings behind his back decorated with black dots on them. He has a pink cope, with green inner lining, fastened by two morses at the chest. His left hand holds a sword that points downwards. In his right hand he holds a sceptre. He has golden hair and is dressed in armour with a hip-belt with bells on it but no helmet. He wears a wreath on his golden hair displaying three large flowers, perhaps symbolic of the Trinity. He is encircled by an elaborate halo. Archangels wearing amour and standing inside a fortress can also be seen at Southwold (fig 2.3). The Archangel at St. Neot's holds a sceptre.[266] At Exeter (fig 2.4) they wear crossed stoles. [267]

Of all the archangels mentioned in the Roman Catholic version of the Bible (Michael, Gabriel and Raphael), the archangel portrayed here is most likely to be Michael, given that the church is dedicated to him (together with all angels). No other representations of St Michael are in the church. The angel is looking at the Throne to his left.

---

[266] Rushforth, 'The windows of the church of St. Neot, p. 12.
[267] Rushforth, 'Wall Painting', p. 103.

He is not bare footed but stands in a fortress or castle. According to the *Golden Legend*, the role of an archangel is to protect major towns or cities. This adds to the argument that this is St. Michael, the archangel, because it is mentioned in the *Golden Legend* that St. Michael appeared at a fortress, Mont St. Michel in France.[268]
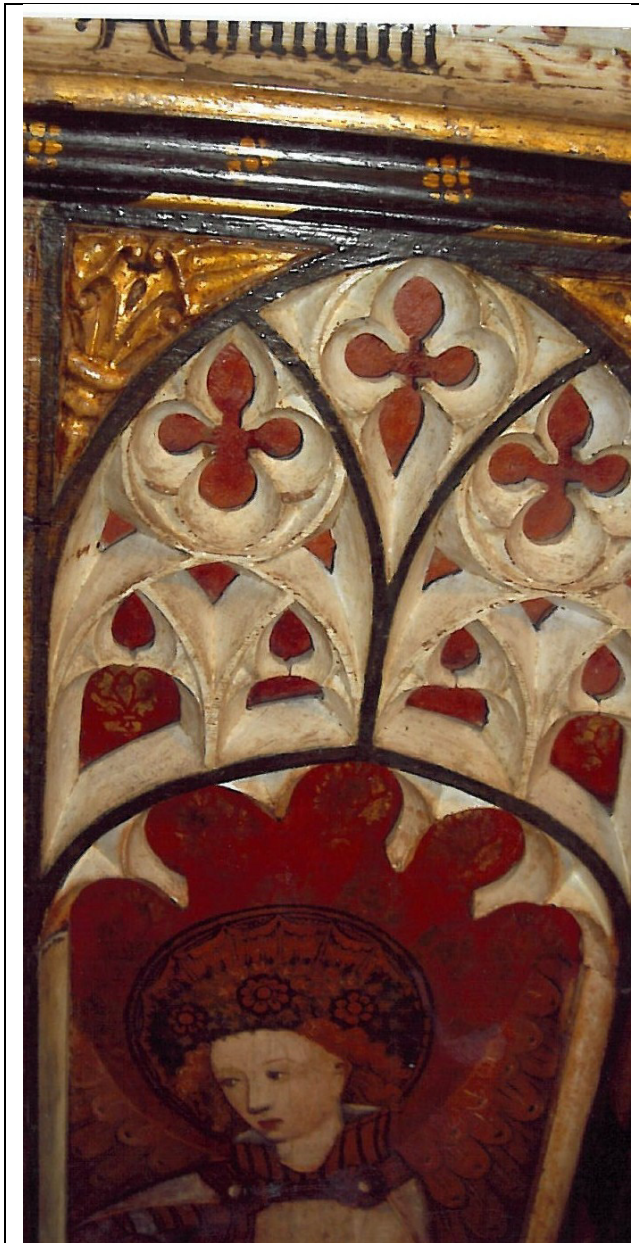
Fig 2.38 Inscription: Arkangeli detail

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

---

[268] JDV 2, pp. 201-3.

Fig 2.39 Archangels

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Angels

This angel (fig 2.40) is the fifth from the left on the south side and is identified by the inscription 'Angeli'. Scratches that have been filled in during restoration can be seen on his face. He is dressed in a pink garment and has four golden wings, two behind his back, and two behind his legs or waist. The right leg of the angel is visible. It is covered to the calf by golden feathers, although the feet are obscured. He holds a spear in his left hand while his right hand points to St. Barbara on the panel on the right. There appears to be a shield with a cross on it around his waist.

Fig 2.40 Inscription: 'Angeli'

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 2.41 Angels

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Two naked men kneel to the right of the angel, their hands in prayer, asking for the intercession of the prayers through the angel. They appear to be kneeling on rocks. The angel's hair is golden and is surmounted by an orle and halo. According to Dionysius, the order of Angels, the lowest in the hierarchy, is assigned the role of looking after humans. Therefore, the inclusion of two people at the feet of the angel, clinging to him and gazing up at him, correlates to Dionysius' description. Similar to this idea is the Angel at Southwold (fig 2.3) who holds children in a white sheet.

The female saints

St. Apollonia (d. 246)

The first panel on the north screen is identified by the inscription 'Scā Apilonia'. Apollonia was a virgin martyr of Alexandria who lived during the reign of the emperor Decius. During a period of intense persecution, she refused to renounce her faith and was tortured by executioners who "beat out all her teeth" before she threw herself into a bonfire. Her inclusion in the screen is perhaps attributed to the *Golden Legend*: "She was wreathed with the flowers of chastity, sobriety, and purity, and stood like a sturdy column strengthened by the Spirit of the Lord, perceived by the Lord for the merit and virtue of her faith, admired by the angels, and offering a spectacle and example to men".[269] She has long, blonde hair, a halo and is holding a tooth in pincers in her left hand, symbolic of her martyrdom. Her right hand holds a book with a clasp. Her cloak is red with ermine, held together by two morses and her dress is decorated with ornate flowers, perhaps in reference to her entry in the *Golden Legend.* Depictions of St.

---

[269] JDV 2, pp. 268-9.

Apollonia are also found at Horsham, Ludham, Lessignham and at St Augustin's, Norwich.[270]

St. Citha

The inscription above this female saint on the second panel on the north side identifies her as 'Sca Citha'. St. Citha (1218-72) was an Italian servant who had a great following in East Anglia in the Middle Ages.[271] Keys, which dangle from her right hand with a purse, became her traditional attribute because she was a servant and housekeeper and patroness of finding lost items. A Rosary hangs from her left wrist. Her story is not included in the Golden Legend, however, "many miracle stories were told of her, including the attribution to angels of the baking of her loaves while she was rapt in ecstasy".[272] Thus, her inclusion in the screen is most likely because angels are recorded as having assisted her in her daily life. She is adorned by a halo and simply dressed in kerchief on her head, a dress, cloak, morse and an apron. St. Citha is also depicted at Denton, North Elmham and St. James, Norwich.[273]

St. Barbara

'Scā Barbara' as she is labelled on the sixth panel of the south screen carries her traditional attribute of a tower in her right hand. She faces the Angel. Her inclusion in the screen is most likely because angels are recorded as rescuing her from her pagan

---

[270] Williamson, p.310.

[271] For the documentary sources about St. Sitha, Suthcliffe, S, 'The Cult of St. Sitha in England: An Introduction', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 38, 1993, pp. 83-9.

[272] Farmer, D. H, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edition, Oxford, 2003, p. 558. St Citha has also been referred to St Sitha or St Zitha but despite variation of spelling it is the same person. In an email exchange with Prof. Caroline Barron, Prof. Barron suggested St Citha's inclusion in the screen was most likely due to her popularity in East Anglia, appearing on several screens in the region and Devon. Email sent 23/4/09, reply received 24/4/09.

[273] Williamson, p. 313.

father, who was furious at her conversion to Christianity. [274] He went on to imprison her in a tower and murder her. Traditionally, the tower should have three windows, symbolising the Trinity. However, perhaps due to space limitations, the tower is shown in three sections instead. Her life is not recorded in the *Golden Legend*, but it is located in Caxton's translation.[275] St. Barbara is also depicted at a number of other churches in Norfolk such as Denton and Thornham.[276]

The female saints appear to have been included not just because they were popular but because sources tell us that angels featured in their lives. The saints served to make up the extra three panels to make twelve in total.

Conclusion: The Nine Orders?

The inclusion of contemporary inscriptions of the names of each order of angels above each panel proves that this screen *does* depict the Nine Orders of angels. However, if the figures had not been labelled, there would be difficulty in assigning them to the correct order of angel. As we have seen, the textual sources vary in the attributes prescribed for each order and there was no textual consensus as to how each order should be depicted. The labelling of the orders at Barton Turf enables us to definitively state that the Nine Orders are depicted. Their clear identification will be useful comparatively for our following case studies.

---

[274] Gunn, *Illustrations*, p. 12.
[275] St. Barbara's life is not recorded in de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. However, it can be found in William Caxton's translation into English of the *Golden Legend* of 1483. This is interesting because of the date, as it later than the screen. This suggests that the artists or patrons were familiar with the life of St. Barbara, perhaps from other sources. The text of Caxton's book reads that: an angel "clad her with a white vestment". See Medieval Source Book: The Golden Legend http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume6.htm#Barbara accessed 01/12/09.
[276] Williamson, p. 310.

Case Study B: The Beauchamp Chapel

The Sculptures surrounding the East Window: A pre-Reformation example of the Angelic Hierarchy?

<u>**Introduction**</u>

My second case study comprises the scheme of angels in what is arguably the most important fifteenth-century English chantry chapel. Here, angels are sculpted round the East Window of the Beauchamp Chapel, Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick, c. 1443-1447. They form one of the largest schemes of angels in England and have been identified as an extensive sculpted representation of the angelic hierarchy, in spite of the fact that there are no identifying inscriptions.

<u>**The Documentary Sources**</u>

The Beauchamp Chapel was built on the south east corner of the collegiate church of St Mary in Warwick, in accordance with the wishes of Richard Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick. Beauchamp (d. 1439) was a man of great wealth who was "at the centre of affairs of state in England for four decades and who was renowned throughout Europe [...] He enjoyed the high office under the three Lancastrian kings".[277]

---

[277]I am indebted to Prof. Richard Marks for allowing me to read and quote from his forthcoming paper on the Beauchamp Chapel, to be published in the Harlaxton Symposium: *Entumbid Right Princely: The Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick and the Politics of Interment*, Harlaxton final version as at 28/7/09, p. 1. His high offices included taking charge of the education of Edward VI.
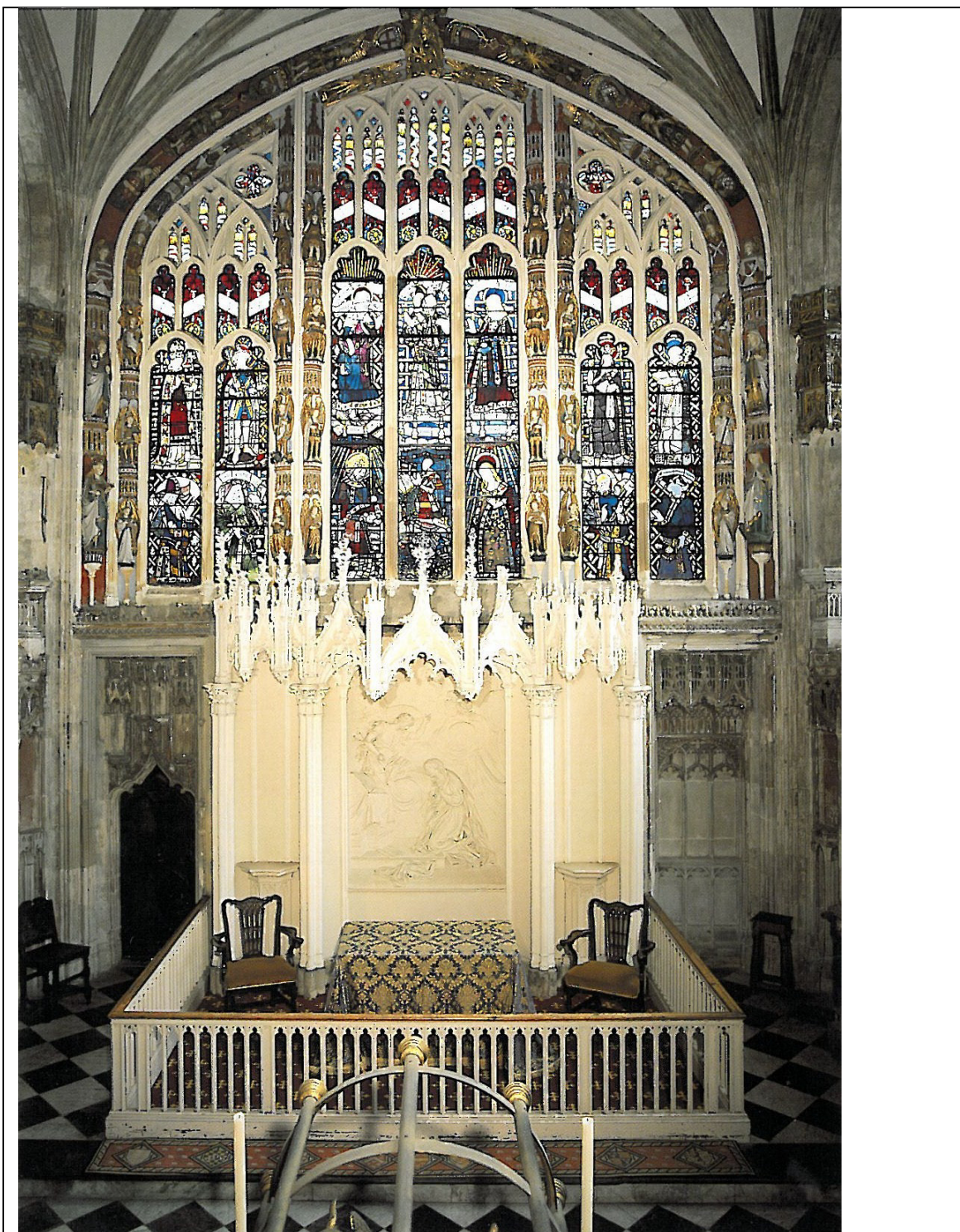
Fig 3.1 The East Window and reredos of the Beauchamp Chapel

Source: Brindley, D, The Collegiate Church of St Mary Warwick: The Beauchamp Chapel, Shropshire, 1997, p. 1.

The circumstances surrounding the erection of the chapel were that in 1437, two years before his death, Beauchamp made a will which stated that:

I will, that when it liketh to God that my Soule depart out of this World, My Body be entered within the Church Collegiate of Our Lady in Warwick, where I will, that in such Place, as I have devised (which is known well) there be made a Chappell of our Lady, well, faire, and goodly built, within the middle of which Chappell I will, that my Tombe be made.[278]

The literature on the Beauchamp Chapel is immense. The earliest documentary evidence for the adornment of the chapel can be found in Beauchamp's will and in the various summaries of the now lost accounts. Sir William Dugdale printed extracts from the will and accounts in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* in 1656.[279]

The Earl's Tomb

The earl's tomb, which depicts images of weepers and angels, lies directly beneath an image of Our Lady, depicted as Queen of Heaven, located in the vaulting. Details of those who made the tomb are noted by Dugdale, including "Will. Austen Citizen and Founder of London" who gilded the "Images of Angells" for the tomb.[280] The angels are made of bronze and display little variation in their depiction. They each have one pair of wings and wear liturgical vestments of a cope fastened by a morse.

---

[278]Chatwin, P.B, 'The Decoration of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, with special reference to the Sculptures', *Archaeologia,* Vol. 78, 1928, p. 313.
[279] Dugdale, W, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, London, 1656, pp. 354 -360.
[280] Dugdale, p. 354.

Fig 3.2 Angels on tomb of Richard Beauchamp

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

Stained Glass: Angelic Musicians

We are fortunate to have copies of the contracts and accounts that relate to the stained glass, upon which Dugdale commented. There is a great deal of scholarship on the glass.[281] It has been restored in some places and not replaced in its original position. The second and third row of tracery lights of the East Window contain fourteen angels, all painted red, with wings, white amices and some with cross diadems. They stand on yellow wheels and hold scrolls of sheet music. The colour red may suggest that they are

---

[281] For extensive examinations of the stained glass, their iconography and music see the following: Buckle, A, 'Music and Liturgy, Patronage and Authority: The College of St. Mary, Warwick in the Later Middle Ages', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2008, White, G.M, 'The Iconography of the Stained Glass of the Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's, Warwick', *Journal of Stained Glass*, vol. 19, no.2, 1991-3, pp. 133-163; Chatwin, P.B, 'Some Notes on the Painted Windows of the Beauchamp Chapel', Warwick, *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for the year 1928*, vol. 53, 1931, pp. 158-166; Hardy, C.F, 'On the Music in the Painted Glass of the Windows in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick', *Archaeologia*, vol. 59, 1909, pp. 583-614; Winston, C, 'The Painted Glass in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 21, 1864, pp. 301-318.

Seraphim, because theologians identified them as being on fire with the love of God; yet the wheel might suggest that they are Cherubim. Such confusion was demonstrated earlier in chapter one with the incorrect identification of the Seraphim in the *de Lisle Psalter* (see p. 48). Charles Winston refers to the angels as Seraphim, and states that the scrolls are similar to those held by depictions of musical angels in the north and south windows, detailing the music and lyrics to the *Gloria in excelsis*.[282] These angel musicians play a wide variety of musical instruments and the majority are feathered. Some are clothed in liturgical vestments but all have two pairs of wings, sometimes extended above the head, sometimes covering the legs. All are bare-footed. Given the attention to detail of the instruments, it is highly unlikely that these figures form part of an angelic hierarchy. The music however, does seem to be in praise of Our Lady. The remaining words in the scrolls in the East window contain the phrase "pro nobis" which could be found in two antiphons of Our Lady, "Ave Maria" and "Regina Coeli".[283] This music is in keeping with the representation of Our Lady in the vault above the earl's tomb.

---

[282] Winston, p. 305.
[283] Hardy, C, p. 590.

Fig 3.3 Angels from the windows of the east end, south side

Source: Brindley, D, The Collegiate Church of St Mary Warwick: The Beauchamp Chapel Shropshire, 1997, p. 7.

Our Lady in the Vault above Richard Beauchamp's tomb

Fig 3.4 Our Lady, Queen of Heaven

Source: Brindley, D, The Collegiate Church of St Mary Warwick: The Beauchamp Chapel Shropshire, 1997, back cover.

This image of the Blessed Virgin (fig 3.4) depicts Her as Queen of Heaven. She is crowned and stands on a crescent moon surrounded by an aureole. She also wears a gold dress, with a red mantle and Her long blonde hair flows down below Her

shoulders. She holds a sceptre in Her left hand and an orb in the right. Bede writes that England began to celebrate Mary as Queen of Heaven from c.725 and that processions were held in Her honour in this role.[284] There was a long standing tradition within the Roman Catholic Church that Our Lady was crowned after Her Assumption. Biblical references are also relevant to Her identification in the role of Queen of Heaven.

St. John's visions, written in the Book of Revelation, (12:1) showed "a great sign appeared in Heaven: a woman, adorned with the sun, standing on the moon, and with the twelve stars on her head for a crown."[285] Previous scholars, particularly P.B. Chatwin, whom we shall discuss shortly, have failed to notice the parallel between the image in the vault and St John's vision. Although not all the iconography in the vault fits the description, there is a moon and an auroele to represent the sun. The orb and sceptre are symbols of Her majesty. This image may have a bearing on the rest of the iconography of the chapel, given its prominent position in the building, above the tomb of Richard Beauchamp.

The Reredos

Below the East window is a reredos of 1735, which replaced the original that was destroyed by the Puritan Col. Purefoy during the Civil War.[286] The present scheme shows an Annunciation scene, which echoes what was originally there in terms of subject matter. The documentation states that:

---

[284] Sumpter, G, 'Lady Chapels and the Manifestations of Devotion to Our Lady in Medieval England', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2008, p. 5.
[285] JB, p. 329.
[286]Details of iconoclasm of the chapel can be found in *Mercurius Rusticus or the Countries Complaint of the Barbarous Outrages Committed by the Sectaries of this Late Flourishing Kingdom*, 1685, pp. 70-71. The reredos itself is not specifically referred to, rather Purefoy "beat down and deface those Monuments of Antiquity", p. 70.

> Kristian Coleburne, Peinter dwelling in London, doeth covenant to paint in most finest, fairest and curious wise, four Images of stone ordained for the new Chapell in Warwick; whereof two principall Images, the one our Lady, the other of St. Gabraell the Angell; and two lesse images, one of St. Anne, and other of St. George.[287]

The Virgin Mary and Gabriel are clearly mentioned and perhaps saints Anne and George were meant to stand in the two empty niches on either side of the reredos. [288]

The Sculptures surrounding the East Window

Designer, Sculptor and Style

There is no documentary evidence for the designer or executant of the East Window sculptural programme. We can suggest that the iconographic programme of the chapel glass and sculpture may have been the executors of Richard Beauchamp's will, identified by Dugdale as Thomas Huggeford, Nicholas Royde and William Berkswell.[289]

Chatwin follows Prior and Gardner as to the identity of the sculptor responsible for the East Window scheme. They suggest John Essex of London, or his workshop because of the similarity to the carved freestone figures and bronze angels on Richard Beauchamp's tomb. [290] Christian Coleburne is an unlikely candidate because the height of the angels around the east window is uniform and the empty niches would suggest bigger figures.[291] Chatwin suggests that John Massingham, a carver, was responsible for the pattern of the effigy of Richard Beauchamp, and he or someone possibly in his

---

[287] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 330.
[288] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 330.
[289] Dugdale, p. 354.
[290] Prior & Gardner, p. 414 and Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 314.
[291] Prior and Gardner, p. 414.

workshop, designed the patterns for the weepers and small angels on the tomb. He adds further that the "same feeling in the workmanship, the arrangement of the drapery and the flowers on the garments is apparent in the sculptures on the east window.[292]

The angels on the east window will be analysed in greater detail later. However, at this point, it can be suggested that the drapery is not similar, but the inclusion of a flower as a morse around the neck of the tomb angels is similar to those of the flowers found around the waist of the angels whom Chatwin calls Dominations: E, F, G, H (fig. 3.18).

Lawrence Stone informs us that:

> it has been claimed that there is documentary evidence to show that a great deal of the sculpture was done by John Massingham, but this is unfortunately incorrect.[293]

He also suggests that the sculptures are:

> very close in style to the Canterbury kings and the two statues at All Souls, and evidently come from the same workshop, if not from the same hand.[294]

Without the documentary evidence, it is difficult to identify the sculptor or workshop.

The angels are carved from limestone. Chatwin informs the reader that:

> all the figures that stand vertically- those on the jambs and mullions- are carved independently and placed in their niches; those above form part of the arch stone themselves, and were carved in position. In the case of the former there is a groove cut down the back made to fit over a bead which runs down the centre of the hollow. Each figure is fastened by being hooked up; there is an iron strap across the groove in the back of the figure which hangs over a hook fixed in the centre of the stonework. The bead acts as a guide when hanging up the figure and also keeps it straight. [295]

[292] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 315.
[293] Stone, L, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth, 1955, 1972, p. 207.
[294] Stone, p. 208.
[295] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 329.

141

The angels are roughly half the size of the saints. This may be for purely practical purposes in order to distinguish the earthly from the celestial personages and in order to fit the scheme into the space available.

The sculptures were repainted at various times, most recently in the 1970s. We should understand therefore that we are not looking at the original medieval paint and keep this in mind throughout the analysis.[296]

Dugdale omitted any mention of the East Window scheme. Richard Gough was the first to devote attention to it. He described the window in his *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, vol. 2, part 2* of 1796 and in his *Description of the Beauchamp Chapel* of 1804, giving the same narrative in each instance:[297]

> The East window is composed of arches of mouldings filled with figures. In the outermost on the North beginning from the bottom a female saint crowned holds a sword in her right hand, an open book in her left.
>
> Another holds in her right hand, a tower of two stories.
> Above these, angels hold A. two chevrons G. and Beauchamp.
> An angel stands with a censer.
> Arms in a garter under a coronet, Beauchamp quartering chequè a chevron Erm.
> An angel standing holds in his left hand a globe.
> St. George's cross in a garter under a coronet.

---

[296] Most recently, the angels were restored in the 1970s under the direction of Miss Ingner Norholt. There was much controversy over the repainting of the background of the sculptures. Correspondence in the Church of England archives reveals that Miss Norholt painted the area white when it should have been blue. Scientific tests proved the existence of medieval pigments under a layer of eighteenth century paint, indicating that the sculptures have been repainted at different times over the centuries. The issue was eventually resolved and the backgrounds painted blue, in accordance with the original colouring. See The Beauchamp Chapel, Collegiate Church of St Mary: Coventry Diocese. Care File CERC.

[297] Gough, R, *Sepulchral Monuments in Britain*, London, 1796, pp. 123-124 & Gough, R, *Description of the Beauchamp Chapel*, London, 1809, pp. 19-20.

In the centre the Deity in glory holds a globe.

On the other or South side in a garter under a coronet old France and England.
An angel standing with a star on his breast.
In a garter under a coronet chequè the chevron Erm.
An angel standing habited in a green vest, Beauchamp quartering chequè the chevron Erm. impaling G. a chevron Erm. between eight crosses patee A.
An angel holding a maunch.
A female saint holding in her left hand an alabaster box, her right hand elevated.
Another female saint elevating her hands in prayer, at her feet a dragon.
On the inner moulding, beginning as before on the North side:
An angel holding in his left hand a censer.
Another feathered, holding in his right hand a sword erect.
Another holding in his right hand a dart, the point downwards.
Another having on his breast G. a cross florè A.
Another having on his breast an open book.
Another standing in armour, as St. George, a cross in his left hand.
Two others feathered standing on each side of the Deity in the centre.
Another feathered holding a launce across his beast in his left hand.
Another feathered holding as it seems an harp.
Another holding G. a saltire A. perhaps Neville.
An angel standing in drapery, holding in his left hand a palm branch.
Another similar seems to hold in his left hand a pilgrim's staff.
Another holds a crosier.
Up the two middle bars are eight angels in pairs:

With feathered legs, robe, hands on breast.
1._____holding an open box.
2._____ _____a sword in his left hand, spear in his right.
2._____ _____a sceptre.
3.}
3.}
      with four wings, hands elevated and spread.
4.}
4.}
On the other bar, 1. 1. as before, 2. .2. as before, except that one has a demon under him. 3. 3. 4. 4. as before.

It should be noted that Gough does not describe the angels as being part of a hierarchy

or assign them any form of rank or order.

Purpose

We should perhaps ask why angels would be included in such a scheme in the first place. The answer lies in the purpose of the chapel itself: as a chantry, that is a place in which to say mass for the soul of the deceased. The prayers for the *Absolution for the Dead* from the *Use of York* offers an interesting insight into why angels would appear here:

> Subventie sancti Dei, occurite, angeli Domini, suscipientes animam eius offerentes eam in conspectus altissimi. Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinu Abrahae angeli deducante te.
>
> Bring help, O saints of God, speed, angels of the Lord, bearing his soul, offering it up in the sight of the most high. May Christ who called you receive you, and may angels lead you to the bosom of Abraham. [298]

This quotation explicitly defines the role of angels in death, in carrying the soul to heaven, to be presented to Abraham (the greatest of all of the patriarchs).

Further examples are

> Deus, cui omnia vivunt, et cui non perteunt moriendo corpora nostra sed mutantur in melius, te supplices deprecamur, ut quicquid anima famuli tui vitorum tuaeque voluntati contrarium, fallente diabolo et propria iniquitate atque fragilitate, contraxerit, tu pius et misericors abluas indulgendo, eamque suscipi jubeas per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum deducendam in sinibus patriarcharum tuorum Abraham scilicet amici tui et Isaac electi tui atque Jacob dilecti tui.
>
> O God, for whom all things, live, and for whom our bodies, when they die are not destroyed, but are transformed into a better [estate]: we suppliants beseech you that whatsoever wrong and defiance of your will the soul of your servant may have conceived, through deception of the devil and by its own iniquity and fragility; that you being just and merciful may wash away in forgiveness and bid that [his soul] be carried by the hands of your holy angels to be placed in the bosoms of your patriarchs, that is to say of Abraham your friend, and Isaac your chosen, and Jacob your beloved.

---

[298] Barnwell et al, p. 167. The idea of angels bearing the soul of the deceased to Heaven to be received into the bosom of Abraham is found in the Bible Luke 16:22. See Keck, p. 204.

Fac, quaesumus, Dominae, hanc cum servo tuo N. defuncto misericordiam, ut factorum suorum in paenis non recipiat vicem, qui tuam in votis tenuit voluntatem: ut sicut hic eum vera fides junxit fidelium turmis, ita cum illic tua miseratio societ angelicis choris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Show, we beg you, O Lord, this mercy towards your departed servant N. that he should not receive requital of his deeds, who in his prayers kept your will, so that, just as here true faith joined him to the army of the faithful, so in the other [world] your mercy may ally him with angelic choirs.[299]

Angels were clearly important in the deliverance of the soul to Heaven. Their inclusion as part of the decoration chapel therefore ties in with the function of the chapel, to serve as a chantry.

An Angelic Hierarchy? An Analytical Examination of Chatwin's Interpretation

The sculptures surrounding the East Window, presumably completed c. 1443-9 (fig 3.1) are images of saints and angels. [300] The first time the sculptures were described as an angelic hierarchy was in 1850-1851, by J.G Waller.[301] He wrote that they were an "admirable and most interesting series of sculpture representing the celestial choir [....] it is, probably, a unique instance in this country. Some difficulty exists in rightly assigning each figure to its proper order, as very little arrangement is preserved".[302] P.B Chatwin, however, offered a detailed survey in 1927 in his article 'The Decoration of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, with special reference to the Sculptures': his identifications have not been challenged. Chatwin concurred with Waller that the

---

[299] Barnwell, et al, pp. 168-169.
[300] This is an approximate date, considering that the roof was on by 1447 and the windows completed by 1449. See Stone, p. 207.
[301] Waller did not describe all the angels in his commentary on the iconography of what he believed to be the Nine Orders. His assessment was split into three sections, each one a discussion of the premier, middle and third triads, over a period of two years in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: Waller, J.G, 'Christian Iconography and Legendary Art. The Heavenly Host Part 1: First Order- Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1850, pp. 487-492; Part 2: 'Second Order- Dominations, Virtues, Powers', January to June 1851, pp. 617-61; Part 3: 'Third Order- Principalities, Archangels, Angels', July, 1851, pp. 22-27.
[302] Waller, Part 2, pp. 618.

sculptures did indeed represent the angelic hierarchy and it is to his work that scholars now turn. Chatwin acknowledges the difficulties in the identification process and we shall now scrutinize his assessment to see if the angels do indeed represent the angelic hierarchy. We will follow his descriptive analysis, discussing each order in the sequence that he describes them.

The primary literature discussed in chapter one is crucial to the identification of these angels, particularly Dionysius' hierarchy and the *Golden Legend*, which are mentioned by Chatwin as sources of information.[303] Chatwin (and Lawrence Stone later) uses the work of John Colet to justify his identification of the angels.[304] However, Colet wrote only about the spiritual qualities of angels, and not their physical appearance, after 1491. This was over forty years after the chapel was finished, and therefore, his treatises could not have been consulted as a source, making them irrelevant to Chatwin's argument.

An overview of the Iconography

Chatwin notes that none of the angels or saints has a nimbus.[305] The faces, including those of the saints, are all fairly pale and the faces are youthful and are without beards. All the angels have blonde, wavy or curly hair. These depictions show a knowledge of the textual sources, in particular Bartholomeus Anglicus and *Dives and Pauper*, and there are similarities with the depictions at Barton Turf.

---

[303]Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 316.
[304]Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 320 & Stone, p. 207. For Colet's treatise, see Colet, J, trans. Lupton, J.H, *Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*, London, 1869.
[305] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 329.

Other features seen on many of the angels at Warwick include the holding of swords and books, wearing armour and crowns and standing on what may be water (although there are conflicting views as to whether it is water or not. Chatwin uses McNeil's assessment of the water as being the "waters which were under the firmament" in Genesis 1:7.[306] Yet in the discussion notes at the end of Chatwin's article, E.E Dorling disagreed and viewed this 'water' as clouds, as was seen with angels in many manuscripts.[307] These wavy lines cannot properly be identified as either clouds or water because there are no textual sources to support either claim).

---

[306] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 320.
[307] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 333.

Reredos: Annunciation: 1735 replacement of original Annunciation scene

The figure shows a plan of sculptures arranged in an arch/horseshoe shape around the East Window. Labels include:

- Empty Niche Possibly St George or St Anne
- Angel holding Shield of Toney family
- St Mary Magdalene
- St Margaret
- Angel holding shield of Neville family
- Archangel Gabriel
- Angel of the Nativity
- Censing Angel B
- Angel holding Shield of Beauchamp impaling Berkeley
- Domination D
- Virtue B
- Domination B
- Coat of arms Newburgh
- Coat of arms with garter of royal arms
- Domination A
- Throne C
- Architectural canopy
- Cherub
- Domination G
- Power D
- Virtue E
- Architectural canopy
- Seraphim
- Domination E
- Principality B
- Virtue D
- The Almighty and 3 tiny gold angels
- Coat of arms within garter cross of St George
- Power A
- Throne C
- Architectural canopy
- Seraphim
- Domination H
- Principality A
- Virtue C
- Architectural canopy
- Cherub
- Domination F
- Power C
- Virtue F
- Coat of arms Despenser
- Power B
- Virtue A
- Domination C
- Angel holding Shield of Beauchamp family
- Angel holding Shield of Latimer family
- Archangel Michael
- Angel of the Expulsion
- Censing Angel A
- Angel holding Shield of Maudit of Hanslope
- St Barbara
- St Catherine
- Empty Niche Possibly St George or St Anne

Fig 3.5 Plan of Sculptures Surround the East Window, According to Chatwin

(The reredos is situated underneath the window)

There are thirty eight angels in the scheme. Chatwin asserted that thirty of these figures represented angels from the Nine Orders. He writes: "Of the thirty figures representing the Hierarchies of Angels, there are fourteen on the jambs and arch moulds and sixteen

on the mullions: the latter are in duplicate, so we have, with different emblems, twenty two (fourteen and eight) to allocate to one or other of the Nine Orders described by Dionysius".[308] The remaining angels are assigned a specific function such as bearing shields or holding censers. Four outstanding figures are saints: Margaret, Catherine, Mary Magdalene and Barbara, who will be discussed later.

At Barton Turf there are nine figures to represent the Nine Orders. At Beauchamp, according to Chatwin, there are twenty two figures to allocate into the Nine Orders, which is not possible mathematically, although Chatwin does not seek to assign an equal number of angels to each order. Dionysius informs us that we do not know the number of angels in existence, let alone in any order or triad and it is not unreasonable to suggest that the number of angels in each order is varied.

Chatwin writes that:

> it was not the case, as suggested by Waller, that the arrangement was not thoroughly considered. While trying to fathom the meaning of the arrangement of figures one must bear in mind that each one was so placed as to convey a carefully reasoned story. Whenever a figure representing some particular order of angels is out of the position in which one would normally expect it, there can be little doubt that the modification is deliberate and made with some set purpose. [309]

We have no documentation to confirm that the patrons stipulated that the sculptures of the window were to represent a particular story, let alone the hierarchical order, or that there were any such purposeful modifications in their arrangement. Chatwin pictures the

---

[308] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 316.
[309] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 316.

Dean of the church supplying information on how to portray the celestial orders but this is pure speculation.[310]

Important questions need to be asked of Chatwin's analysis: First, why did he make a distinction between the thirty angels said to form the hierarchy and the seventeen remaining angels? Second, how did he make this distinction? Third, how did he decide on the allocation of twenty two specific angels to the Nine Orders?

In order to answer these questions it is necessary to examine the iconography of the sculptures surrounding the East Window in detail.

God the Father Almighty

Fig 3.6 God the Father Almighty

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

At the top of the scheme, in the centre, a bearded God the Father is depicted in an aureole (fig 3.6). He holds an orb in his left hand, in contrast to Our Lady (in the vault) who holds one in Her right hand (fig 3.4). Three golden angels are apparent above, who function as stops to the arches of the vault above His head. The number may allude to

---

[310] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 315.

the Trinity, given that the other two persons that make up this holy union do not appear, namely the Son and the Holy Spirit. He is painted gold. At his feet at right angles are two golden angels, whom Chatwin refers to as 'Thrones'. They will be discussed in due course.

Seraphim
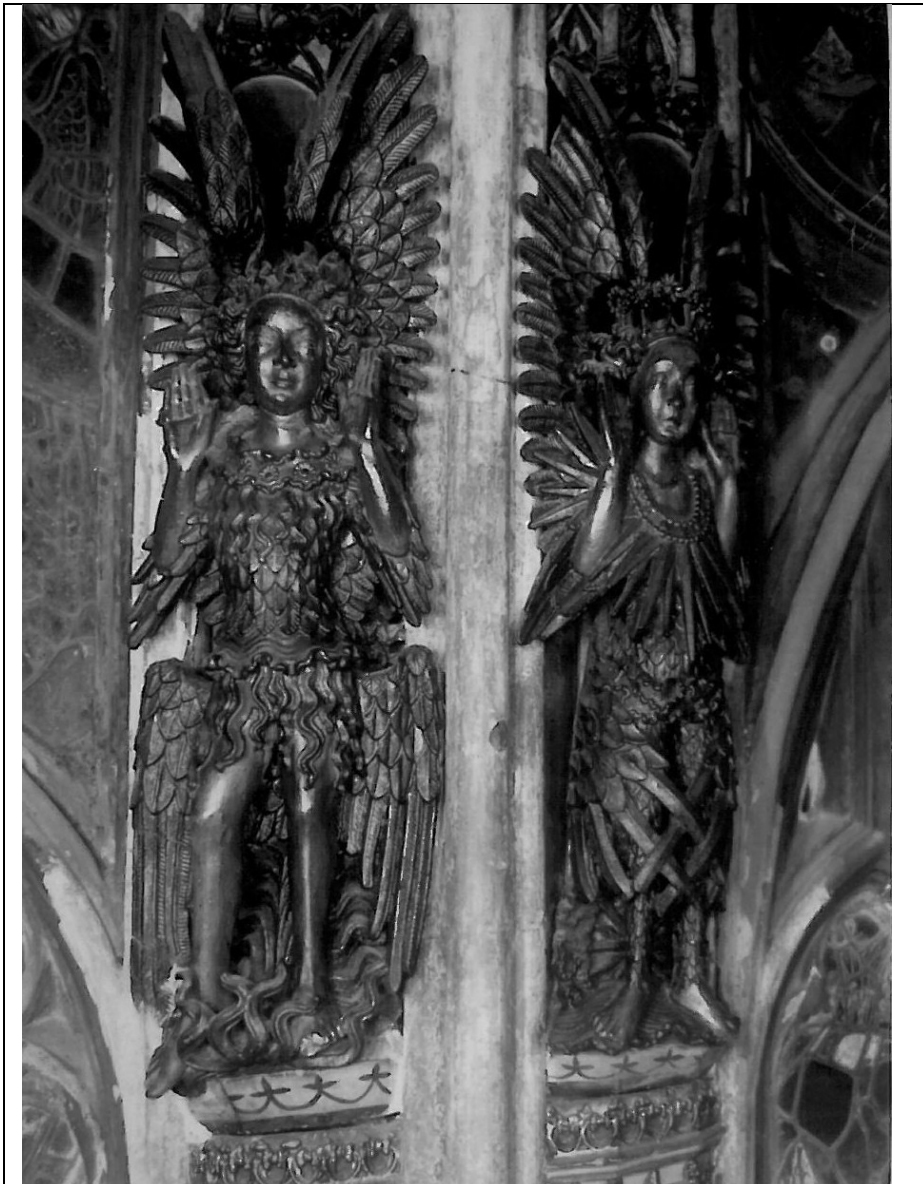
Fig.3.7 Seraph and Cherub

Left: Seraph A and B/Angel with flames
Right: Cherub A and B/Angel with wheel
Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Care File. CERC

Let us first examine the figures identified by Chatwin as Seraphim A and B (fig. 3.7). Chatwin maintains that two figures of 'Seraphim' are located "on the inside at the top of both mullions". As seen in Part I, theologians agreed that the Seraphim were the highest order of angels, and that they were on fire with the love of God. It stands to reason therefore, that they should be placed closest to God. They have six wings, according with Isaiah's account of them in the Bible. They have feathered bodies and are bare-footed, both common characteristics of many of the angels here. A collar of flowers is at the neck. A band of clouds with a flower-like structure is around the neck. A girdle, which Chatwin calls water, is tied around the waist and the wings are extended above the head. Flames seem to be apparent at their feet and flames on their heads. The flames correlate with the fire of love which the Seraphim are said to have for God.

Chatwin justifies his identification of the 'Seraphim' because flames are seen with the Seraphim in the stained glass at Malvern, St. Neot's, Cornwall and St. Michael Spurriergate, York.[311] While these later examples of the angelic hierarchies do depict Seraphim standing in flame, it is not necessary for there to be flames present in the depiction of the Seraphim. We have seen the contemporary example of labelled Seraphim at Barton Turf which does not contain flames.

Both figures have raised hands. Chatwin argues that this is further support for an identification of these angels as Seraphim because the Seraphim of the *Queen Mary Psalter* also have their hands raised (2.1). However, the nine angels that appear in the Queen Mary Psalter are not identified by inscription and can only be presumed to be the Nine Orders because there are nine angels represented. Furthermore, four out of the nine

---

[311] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 319.

angels in the Queen Mary Psalter have both hands raised and four have one hand raised. There is no consistent theme of raised hands being an identifying feature of Seraphim, or any of the other Nine Orders. In any event, even according to Chatwin, the combination of fire and raised hands can also be found at Warwick. This figure of a 'Seraph' is completely different to the labelled Seraph at Barton Turf, who grasps a censer and is adorned by a tippet and elaborate halo with nine protruding spikes (fig 2.30).

Cherubim

According to Chatwin's interpretation, the Seraphim and the Cherubim stand beside each other (fig 3.7). As the second members of the premier triad, according to Dionysius, the Cherubim are in the position one would have anticipated had the order been portrayed correctly.

Like the Seraphim, the two bare-footed figures identified by Chatwin as 'Cherubim' A and B, (fig 3.7) appear in mirror image on top of the mullions. This time, they face outwards, rather than towards one another. Chatwin identifies them as standing on water. They are crowned with star-like flowers and have feathered bodies, with almost scale-like features. Their hands are raised in adoration, like the angels Chatwin calls Seraphim. A ring of spikes forms a star shape around the neck. According to Chatwin, a star is not commonly associated with Cherubim. However, he said it could also be seen with the Cherub at Barton Turf. Close inspection of the Cherub at Barton Turf reveals that this is not the case. Aside from the feathers, there are no common attributes shown by 'Cherubim A and B' at Warwick and the labelled 'Cherub' at Barton Turf.

Tied around the waist is a girdle of clouds. One pair of wings is extended above the head. The wings which cover the legs are formed in criss-cross manner, of which the "long quill feathers are separated".[312] This is the only instance of this manner of wing representation in this scheme thus making these angels quite distinct. However, it is not the only occurence of this in the country. The 'Seraph' on the west front of Wells Cathedral has similarly fashioned wings.[313]

A wheel-like structure is present behind their legs, which might be thought to confirm their identification as Cherubim. This attribute is found in Ezekiel 10 in which we have the most vivid description of the order of the Cherubim: [314]

> I saw then saw that the cherubs had what seemed to be a human hand under their wings. I looked; there were four wheels at the side of the cherubs, one wheel at the side of each cherub, and the wheels glittered as if made of chrysolite…..Their bodies, their backs, their hands, their wings, and the wheels- the wheels of all four- were covered in eyes all over. I heard that the wheels were called galgal.[315]

Despite the Biblical evidence, however, wheels are not always associated with the Cherubim in medieval visual material: as we have seen in chapter one, the image of the

---

[312] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 319.
[313] See the literature on Wells after table 2.1.
[314] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 319.
[315] JB, pp. 1025-1026.

Fig 3.8 Queen Mary Psalter: Angels standing on wheels

Source: Warner G, Queen Mary Psalter, London, 1912, plate 300.

cherub from the *de Lisle Psalter* is actually a depiction of a seraph. Two out of nine unidentified angels in the Queen Mary Psalter also stand on wheels (fig 3.8). Moreover, on the screen at Southwold, the Seraph and the Cherub each stands on a wheel (fig. 3.9). It is important to note that the examples of angels at Southwold can only be confidently identified as the Nine Orders because the names of the orders are inscribed at the bottom of each panel of the roodscreen. Further, we will see that this is not the only wheel with an angel at Warwick.

The 'Cherubs' at Warwick do not characterise knowledge and wisdom associated with the order of Cherubim. The occurrence of wheels together with the orders of Cherubim and Seraphim elsewhere would suggest that this attribute can belong to either order, and

is not specific to one. Chatwin's identification of these angels as Cherubim is far from certain.

Fig 3.9 Southwold Seraph and Cherub

Left – Seraph and Right Cherub [each identified by a contemporary inscription]
Source: http://www.simonknott.co.uk/suffolkchurches/southwold

Thrones

Fig 3.10 Chatwin's 'Thrones'

Left: Throne/Angel standing on throne
Right: Throne/Angel standing on fire
Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 60.

Jacobus de Voragine tells us that their name means seat and God sits on them in judgment and to rest (see p. 43). Two 'Thrones' (fig 3.10) as identified by Chatwin, stand in the inner hollow at the feet of God the Father, to the north and south. This position, right next to the Almighty, should belong to the order of 'Seraphim', as the highest order. While this does not necessarily mean that Chatwin is incorrect in his identification of the figures, it does not support his view that a strictly hierarchical order is portrayed. It could be argued that this proximity to God is undermined by their awkward position at the head of the window, rendering them less easy to read, and less significant.

They are carved in relief, with scale-like legs and have feathered bodies and limbs. Their appearance is immediately noticeable because they are painted in gold and not in polychrome like the rest of the scheme, although this may not be the original colouring. They are crowned and their hands are raised in adoration to God above them, in a similar pose to the angels Chatwin identifies as 'Cherubim' and 'Seraphim'. They have two pairs of wings, one of which extends above the head, the other partly concealing the legs. Their feet are bare.

Chatwin believes that their wings are touching the Godhead in a similar arrangement to that of the angelic hierarchy seen at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.[316] However, the angels at Windsor were made later than those at Warwick and so cannot be directly compared. He suggests that the arrangement of the 'Thrones' could be an adaptation of the passage from Exodus 15, detailing the Cherubim of the Ark, noting "the cherubim

---

[316] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 320.

shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy seat with their wings".[317]

This is highly unlikely, given that the biblical passage clearly refers to the order of Cherubim and so patrons and artists would have no need to substitute one order for another.

The angel to the north/left stands on a throne. The inclusion of a throne in the depiction of this order is not uncommon and labelled examples are at Barton Turf and Exeter (the Exeter example is later, c.1500.) In addition, an unlabelled angel in the Queen Mary Psalter is shown in front of a throne (fig 3.11). The inclusion of this attribute, as at Barton Turf, renders this identification certain.

Chatwin asserts that this figure to the south/right stands on fire but that it is not to be confused with the Seraphim. He relies on the ninth chapter of the book of Daniel which explains that God's throne was "like the fiery flame". [318] However, if there are two 'Thrones', as Chatwin believes, why have they been given different attributes? Chatwin does not explain why the Thrones are not represented as duplicates, like the 'Seraphim' and Cherubim. The south/right Throne is almost identical to the depiction of what Chatwin identifies as a Seraph. The lack of any reason why this figure should be classed as a Throne rather than a Seraph tends to render Chatwin's identification doubtful.

---

[317] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 321.
[318] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 320.

Fig 3.11 'Throne' in the *Queen Mary Psalter*

Source: Warner, plate 300

Dominations

The order of angels Chatwin refers to as 'Dominations' presents a major problem because of their sheer number: eight in total. Chatwin does not address the issue why this order was so extensively represented. The diagram shows that they are placed in various positions in the scheme with no discernable pattern. Some of the 'Dominations'

(and also 'Powers') are separately carved figures attached to the mullions, whilst others are those carved integrally with the window embrasures. This would possibly undermine their identification as all of the same. At least it might generate problems for the programmes designer. (This is also the case for the 'Powers' discussed below). It is therefore, important to discuss each 'Domination' in turn.

Domination A/Angel holding a star

Fig 3.12 Domination A/Angel holding a star

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 61.

'Domination A' (fig,3.12) is in the outer hollow of the arch on the south, above the mullion. He has a scale-like feathered body with two pairs of wings that nearly cover the thighs. He is crowned by a band, on which leaves and three flowers rest. A star or flower-like structure also features as an object on which he stands, bare-footed. At its centre there are flames, according to Chatwin, which he uses at least in part to positively identify the Domination. While more than one order may be associated with the same symbol, flames are not usually associated with any order other than the Seraphim. Chatwin uses flames as a symbol of a number of orders (Seraphim, Thrones, Dominations) which undermines his whole argument that this scheme is a coherent hierarchy of the angelic orders.

 Chatwin believes this one is the "most striking" of the examples of Dominations. The eye is drawn to the enormous star he is holding at his chest, which virtually conceals him, thus making him quite distinct. There are twelve points to this unusual feature. Chatwin states that the star is "plainly the Star of Bethlehem", which guided the Magi to the Christ Child. It also refers to Balaam's vision in Numbers 24:17-19: "There shall come a star out of Jacob [...] Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have a domination". For Chatwin, this angel represents Christ and the beginning of His work on earth. [319] He further supports the view that this angel belongs to the order of Dominations by citing the Nine Orders in the window of St. Michael, Spurriergate (fig 3,12). There, a star can be seen above the angels labelled dominations.[320]

---

[319] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 321.
[320] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 321.

However, there is no star present in the representation of the Dominations at Barton Turf, Southwold or Exeter. Nor does the Warwick angel wear a cap as these do.
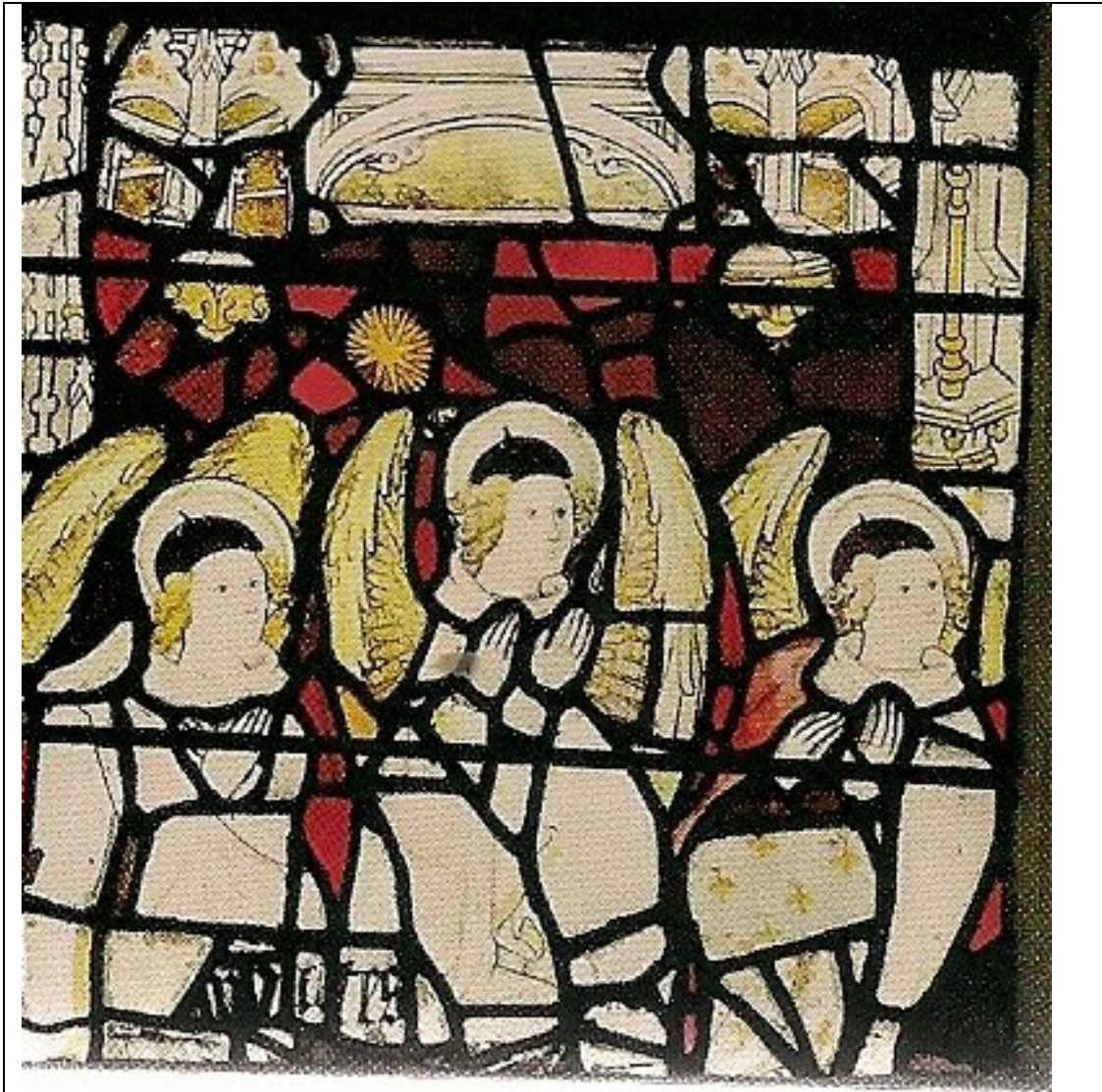
Fig 3.13 St. Michael Spurriergate, York: Dominations

Source: Cowen, p.41.

In any event, the identification of the star in this sculpture as the star of Bethlehem is not supported by any textual reference linking the Dominations to the Magi. As there is no textual source to provide information as to the purpose of the angels at Warwick we can only guess at why a star has been depicted with this angel. It may be a cross

reference to the star (and aureole) by which Our Lady as Queen of Heaven in the vault is surrounded. This idea would be in keeping with the chapel serving as one dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as the stained glass and Beauchamp's tomb have already demonstrated. In any case, Chatwin's identification of this figure as a Domination seems highly conjectural.

Domination B/Angel Standing on wheel and holding Cross-staff

Fig 3.14 Domination B/Angel Standing on wheel and holding cross-staff

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 60.

This 'Domination B' (fig 3.14) is in the outer hollow, underneath and to the right of 'Domination A'. All the angels have scale-like feathers on their legs, either to the knees or ankles, except this one. Attempts have been made to show muscular definition of the legs. It has three pairs of wings; one pair above his head, one hanging from shoulders so as to cover the arms, the other hanging from his thighs. In his left hand he holds a large cross-staff that has a banner on it and his right hand holds a closed book.

The cross-staff is important to our identification of this angel: cross-staffs (as opposed to crosiers which were carried by bishops) were borne by archbishops, and were symbolic of their authority.[321] Furthermore, it is not a processional staff, as these were made up of two parts, and the adjoining mechanisms of a knop and outer collar are not evident here.[322] Medieval cross-staffs did not have extra additions such as this banner, and so some form of adaptation by the designer or sculptor has been made here. Chatwin states that there is a banner similar to the cross staff carried by Christ in images of the Resurrection and the Harrowing of Hell, and contained within is a "fiery star".[323] Notwithstanding the presence of an archbishop's cross-staff, this figure does not wear liturgical vestments.

The book is closed and has "a cross within a ring, and a star-shaped aureole of four points" although this is not clear on the illustration.[324] We have already seen stars mentioned above. His hair is not well defined and is somewhat fuzzy. He wears an

---

[321] Macalsiter, pp. 124-5. An example of this can be seen on the effigy of Archbishop Warham in Canterbury Cathedral. See Collinson, P, Ramsay, N & Sparks eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford, 1995, fig.116. See also in the same book, Wilson, C, 'The Medieval Monuments', in Collinson, P, Ramsay, N & Sparks, M, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 451-510, for a discussion of the tombs.
[322] For further discussion and comparisons of the processional staff, See also Bourke, C, 'A Medieval Processional Staff at Cloyne', *Archaeology Ireland*, vol.23, no.1, issue no.87, Spring 2009, pp. 8-12.
[323] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 322.
[324] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 322.

ornate collar of jewels around his neck, is crowned and is cross-legged. This is a rather unusual stance and there are no other angels in the scheme to stand in such a fashion including any of the other Dominations identified by Chatwin. We have seen wings crossed but not legs, such as on the angels identified as Cherubim.

Chatwin argues that this 'Domination' represents the flying angel of the Apocalypse as mentioned in the Book of Revelation, who revealed that God's judgement was to come.[325] He argues that the stance of the legs suggests flight but this is purely speculation. The Book of Revelation does not state what order of angel is flying. An alabaster painted relief of St. Michael, c. 1430-50 shows the saint about to slay a multi-headed dragon, with a pair of scales hanging from his left wrist (fig 3.15). What is interesting about this depiction of St Michael is not just the fact that he is feathered or wears a cope like many angels at Warwick but that his legs are crossed like 'Domination B'. This pose is reminiscent of medieval tomb effigies of cross-legged knights. De Voragine explains that the middle triad of the hierarchy are commanders of the militia and so it is possible to portray a Domination as a knight, but given the similarity with the alabaster painted relief of St. Michael, this figure may equally be an archangel or a member of a different order of the middle triad. (Although this figure carries an archbishop's cross-staff, it was not uncommon in the Middle Ages for members of the clergy to also be warriors).

---

[325] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 322. The passage in the Bible refers to angels who announce the day of Judgement: "Then I saw another angel, flying high overhead, sent to announce the Good News of eternity to all who live on earth, every nation, race, language and tribe".
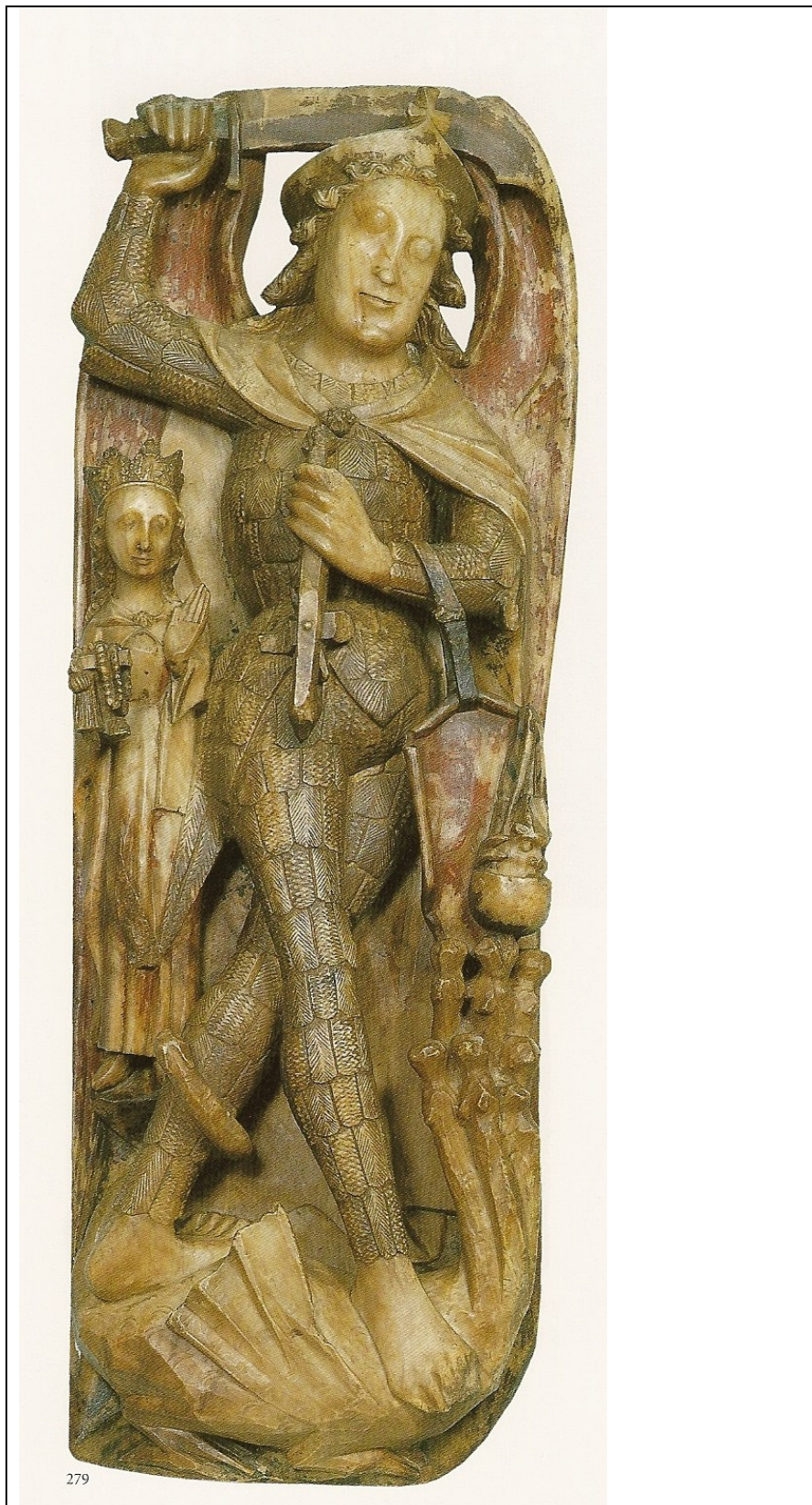
Fig 3.15 St. Michael, Victoria and Albert Museum

Source: Marks, R & Williamson P, *Gothic: Art for England*, London, 2003, p. 394.

He also stands on a wheel, which we have already mentioned belongs to a number of orders, such as the Cherubim and Seraphim. Chatwin believes that 'Domination A', through the 'Star of Bethlehem', represents the "beginning of Christ's work on earth", and that Domination B, due to an association with wheels and the Gospels, represents the finished work of Christ.[326] He contends that while wheels are mainly associated with the Cherubim they can belong to any order. This is contrary to the vision at Ezekiel 10 in which wheels are only associated with Cherubim.[327] It appears, therefore, that Chatwin has ignored this evidence in order to allocate this figure to the order of Dominations.

Domination C/Angel holding open book

(See overleaf).

---

[326] Chatwin, 'Decoration', pp. 323 & 322.
[327] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 319.

Fig 3.16 Domination C/Angel holding open book

Source: Chatwin, Decoration, plate 62.

Chatwin argues that another 'Domination', C, (fig 3.16) is represented in the inner hollow on the north. This angel is clothed in priests' vestments of an alb and a cope with a decorated border, fastened by a large square jewelled brooch. He wears a black skull cap and his wings are extended above his head. De Voragine states that the middle triad of the hierarchy, as well as being commanders of the militia, are also law court judges. Thus, Chatwin could be right in his identification of this angel as a Domination:

he argues that the black skull cap that the angel wears is symbolic of Divine Law.[328] However, whilst black skullcaps are certainly worn by Dominations in the windows of St. Michael's, Spurriergate (see earlier, fig 3.13), they are also worn later by the Cherubim at Exeter (fig 2.4), where they are labelled and so black skull caps cannot be an attribute for this order alone.

Chatwin argues that the cap may refer to a biblical passage, (Daniel 7:9-14) which describes Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days and the Son of Man: "the throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire [...] thousand thousands ministered unto him, [...] the judgment was set, and the books were opened". Furthermore, he cites "And the kingdom and dominion and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and all dominions shall serve and obey him." [329] There is no mention in this passage of black skull caps but there is mention of wheels and books. In all likelihood, the dominions referred to do not mean the order of Dominations, rather earthly dominations or dominions, ruled by human princes, in contrast to the heavenly kingdom. Indeed, the citations are more relevant to the attributes of wheels and books than they are to skull caps. Chatwin himself acknowledges that books may be symbolic of the Cherubim as their attribute is divine knowledge. The Cherubim are labelled at Exeter holding books and at Southwold with a wheel.

While it may be the case that not all the figures at Warwick with wheels or holding books necessarily represent the Cherubim, Chatwin's problem of allocating angels to a

---

[328] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 323.
[329] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 323.

particular order based on attributes which could easily refer to a different one is again evident here.

Domination D/Angel playing a harp

On the opposite side to 'Domination' C is 'Domination' D. This figure plays a harp (fig 3.17) which is the only representation of musical instruments in the sculpture, though they feature prominently in the glass in the chapel: two angels playing harps can be seen in the glass in the eastern sections (fig 3.2). All these angels have cross-diadems on their foreheads but the angels in the glass have feathers and this 'Domination D' wears an alb and chasuble, a further example of liturgical vestments. This may be a reference to Dionysius' ecclesiastical order although it may equally simply denote a musical angel.

Chatwin suggests that this angel may be one of the angels playing the harp referred to in the Book of Revelation chapters 5 and 14, but does acknowledge that this is only a "tentative suggestion".[330]

---

[330] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 323.

Fig 3.17 Domination D/Angel playing harp

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 62.

While this is a potential identification, it does not explain why there should be only one musical instrument-playing angel in the entire sculptural scheme, nor does it explain why Chatwin should identify this angel as a Domination. The information regarding the

harpists of the Book of Revelation provides no evidence either. The figure may be intended to relate to the angel musicians in the stained glass. Bartholomeus Anglicus wrote that angels in general, not a specific order, carry musical instruments, including harps. We cannot, therefore, say that 'Domination D' belongs to any particular order. Instead he is probably an angel musician, giving praise to the Deity and Our Lady, like the angels in the glass.

Domination E,F,G and H/ Angels with books and sceptres

Two pairs of what Chatwin describes as Dominations stand near to the top of the mullions, below what are identified as Cherubim and Seraphim. He states that "these figures are in pairs, the reverse replicas appearing on each mullion".[331] He follows Waller's lead in describing them as Dominations. Their bodies are feathered with bare feet and they stand on (Chatwin's identification of) water. Both sets wear girdles studded with flowers. Two pairs of wings appear folded at the back. The angels with the books open wear a cross diadem, amice and cope. Chatwin believes that they hold the book with the Seven Seals from Revelation.[332]

The biblical reference (Revelation 5 and 6) refers to scrolls, not books, and how they were broken. There is no mention of sceptres or Dominations. One set (fig 3.18) E and F has a closed book, exposing the seals; the other holds it open with a sceptre across it, G and H (fig 3.18). Sceptres are mentioned in the textual sources as attributes of angels but they are not specific to any one order. They can also be seen at Barton Turf, held by the angel labelled Domination but also by the angel labelled Virtue.

---

[331] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 324.
[332] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 323.

Fig 3.18 Chatwin's Other Dominations

Left: Dominations G and H /Angels with closed book
Right: Dominations E and F/ Angels with open book with sceptre across it
Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Coventry Diocese. Care File. CERC

Chatwin writes that the "sceptre, [...] with the star, occurs in Balaam's prophecy (Numbers xxiv.12)".[333] Chatwin has given the wrong reference and it is actually verse 17 which reads "a star from Jacob takes the leadership, a sceptre arises

---

[333] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 323.

from Israel".[334] There is no mention of the word domination in this verse, which undermines Chatwin's identification of this angel. The sculptor appears to intend that these angels stand together. From this, I concur with Chatwin that they represent the angels holding the Seven Seals. However, I do not agree that they are Dominations because the biblical evidence is not conclusive, nor is the attribute of the sceptre, which, as the textual sources demonstrate, can be assigned to any order of angels. As has been noted above, the use of books is more commonly associated with Cherubim.

Powers

Chatwin then deals with the Powers, although this order should in fact have been dealt with after the Virtues according to the usually accepted order of the hierarchy of Dionysius. By dealing with the figures in this manner, Chatwin's own interpretation is not ordered consistently with the Nine Orders.

Chatwin contends that there are four representations of this order. No 'Power' is placed next to each other and they are scattered in location around the mullions of the window. However, there are two common features to all. Firstly, they are standing on a beast, or as we shall see in some cases, two beasts. Jacobus de Voragine informs us that the order of Powers have the ability to overcome evil spirits, so this may be in reference to de Voragine's description of them. Secondly, they all wear some form of body armour and carry swords. This is the first time in the scheme that so many angels are represented with the same attribute.

---

[334] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 173.

Power A

One of the angels identified by Chatwin as Powers, 'Power A (fig 3.19) is similar in stature and style to 'Domination A'. He has a feathered body and bare feet. Of interest to note are his legs, which are bare of feathers from the knees down, like 'Domination B'. In fact, this is the case for all those identified by Chatwin as Powers. His feathers reach upwards, in an aureole shape. He has curly hair. In his left hand is an orb (also seen with the Deity and Our Lady) complete with cross, and his right hand holds a sword. Clouds are shown around the neck and waist. However, the angel looks like he is wearing skirt armour at the waist and these 'clouds' look like part of it. The feathers on the body are larger than those on other angels and scale-like. He is standing on a demon. His face and stance are very commanding. Chatwin suggests that this figure could be St. Michael in the guise of a Power.[335] The sword, commanding disposition and the demon at his feet indicated to him that this could be a representation of the Archangel.

(see overleaf).

---

[335] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 324.

Fig 3.19 Power / Angel with sword and Orb, standing on demon

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 61.

We have referred to an alabaster of St. Michael, c. 1430-50 (fig 3.15) above in relation to Domination B which shows the saint about to slay a multi-headed dragon. St. Michael is commonly described in this manner in the textual sources. As a result, Chatwin may be correct to describe this angel as St. Michael. The Power labelled at Barton Turf is depicted standing on a beast but without a sword. It is possible therefore that this figure could either be St Michael or a Power but as St. Michael belongs to the order of Archangels it is not possible for him to be portrayed as a Power. This contradiction is further evidence of Chatwin's attempt to manufacture an allocation of

the angels at Beauchamp into the Nine Orders. In any event, as four of the so called 'Powers' have swords and armour, any of them could theoretically could represent him.

Power B/ Angel in chain mail

Another 'Power' (B) (fig 3.20) close by stands with a demon's head crushed between his feet. He holds a sword in the right hand, a sceptre in his left. This angel wears a crown of flowers, his wings are folded back and he wears a thick necklace. He has a feathered body but is dressed in chain mail. He also had protective plate armour on his knee caps.

(See overleaf).

Fig 3.20 B/Angel in chain mail

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 60.

Power C and D

The remaining two 'Powers' (C and D) are similar to each other in their position located on the outside of the mullions. On the masonry of the mullion to the left of Power D there may be traces of original paintwork (see fig 3.21). They have feathered legs, wear

armour on their elbows and hold swords. They wear ornamentally bordered mantles. Chatwin asserts that a tasselled cord is used to fasten the clothes.[336]
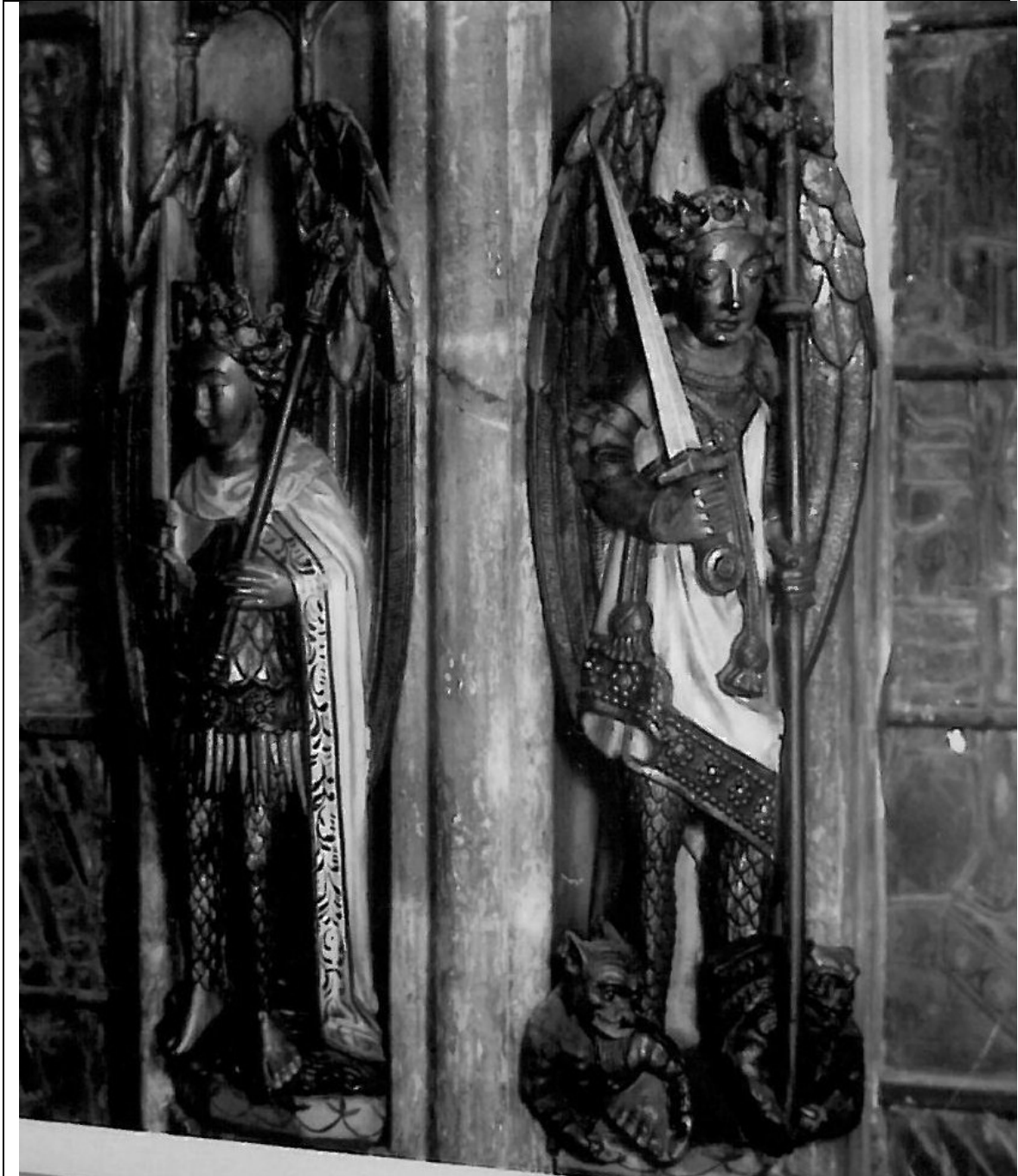
Fig 3.21: Left: Principality A and B and Right: Power C and D

Left: Angel with cope, sword and sceptre
Right: Angel with sword, cross- staff and beast

---

[336] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 324.

Waller suggests that this 'Power' is wearing "the archiepiscopal pall".[337] This garment is usually worn by the Pope but can be worn by archbishops and bishops.[338] He may have arrived at this opinion by the shape of the garment. However, palls or palliums always include five crosses and none are visible here. Waller is unsure of the rest of the attire but in my view, the garment is a dalmatic which would suggest that these angels are depicted as archbishops. Further to this argument, they each hold a cross staff, like 'Domination B', whom we have already noted is at least in part depicted as an archbishop. They have one pair of wings.

They are placed beside the Principalities on the mullions. Chatwin states: "the reason is fairly obvious, Principalities and Powers go together almost naturally".[339] However, while these orders form part of the same triad in the writings of Gregory the Great (in Homilia) and Bernard of Clairvaux, they do not form part of the same triad in the Dionysius' accepted hierarchy and so cannot be said to go together as easily as Chatwin suggests. There is nothing to suggest that Chatwin follows the ordering of Gregory the Great or Bernard of Clairvaux but if he had, one would have expected him to deal with the Principalities after the Dominations and before the Powers.

We do see armoured angels identified by an inscription as Powers at Barton Turf (fig 2.24), Southwold (fig 2.3) and Exeter (fig 2.4). The common features of armour and swords, can be seen as examples of attributes taken from written primary sources, including Dionysius, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Dives and Pauper*, though they did not

---

[337] Waller, part 2, p. 619.
[338] See Collinson et all, fig. 112, effigy of Archbishop William Courtney (d.1396) and the upper effigy of Archbishop Chicele, fig. 113 for illustrations of this vestment.
[339] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 325.

tell us which order of angel could wield a sword. Whilst Jacobus de Voragine may point us in the right direction in terms of their ability to deal with evil, manifested in the portrayal of devils, the attributes of war are seen elsewhere in this scheme, and without a label, we canot say for sure if these angels represent the order of Powers.

Virtues

Virtues, which one would have expected to be discussed by Chatwin before the Powers, all have scale-like feathers covering the legs down to the ankles. Chatwin argues that there are no fewer than six representations of Virtues at Warwick. Two stand opposite one other in the arch mould and two figures are at the bottom of each mullion. [340] Why Chatwin believes there to be so many of the same order is open to question. Attributing a number of angels to one particular order is reminiscent of Chatwin's assessment of the angels which he identifies as Dominations. He claimed there were eight, but never explained the reason why there should be such a large number. As discussed above, Chatwin's conclusion that there are eight Dominations is unlikely to be correct as some of the figures could just as easily have been part of a different order in the hierarchy, or not part of the hierarchy at all. The same is true of the six figures identified as Virtues by Chatwin.

Virtue A/Angel with censer and incense boat

(See overleaf)

---

[340] Chatwin, 'Decoration', pp. 325-326.

Fig 3.22 Virtue A/Angel with censer and incense boat

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 61.

'Virtue A' stands alone in the north arch. He is wearing a very ornate dalmatic, the vestment of a deacon. He has curly hair, and is crowned. An ornamental band decorates his neck. His wings extend high above the head and the figure has bare feet standing on

what Chatwin calls water. His right hand holds a censer and his left hand holds a boat which contains more incense. Censers are held by the Virtue at Southwold and the Seraph at Barton Turf, both labelled examples of the angelic hierarchy. Chatwin has overlooked the fact that this is not the only angel in the scheme to hold a censer. (There are in fact two others, which he dismisses as not belonging to the Angelic Hierarchy. These are investigated later).

Chatwin believes this angel is the Angel of the Apocalypse as the angel mentioned in the Book of Revelation (8:2-5) holds a censer: [341]

> Next I saw seven trumpets being given to the seven angels who stand in the presence of God. Another angel, who had a golden censer, came and stood at the altar. A large quantity of incense was given to him to offer with the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar that stood in front of the throne; and so from the angel's hand the smoke of the incense went up in the presence of God and with it the prayers of the saints. Then the angel took the censer and filled it with the fire from the altar, which he then threw down on the earth; immediately there came peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, and the earth shook. [342]

It is possible to see why Chatwin arrived at his opinion as the biblical texts mention an angel with a censer. However, there is no mention of Virtues in this passage. We know from de Voragine that Virtues have the ability to perform miracles and this is not easily shown here.

Due to the fact that there are three angels in the scheme that hold censers, it is not possible to say that this one is the angel of the Apocolypse. A far more likely explanation is that he is a deacon, as he is dressed in a dalmatic, a traditional dress for

---

[341] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 325.
[342] JB, Revelation 8: 2-5, p. 327.

deacons, and by holding a censer, he performs the duty of a deacon to cense and purify the altar.

Virtue B/ Angel with bottle, standing on wheel, wearing black skull cap

Fig 3.23 Virtue B/Angel with bottle, standing on wheel, wearing black skull cap

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 61.

On the south side opposite Virtue A, 'Virtue' B (fig 3.23) is also represented wearing the dalmatic of a deacon. He is bare-footed and standing on water. His wings are folded back and his right hand is placed on his breast. There is a bottle in the left hand which

Chatwin believes may be an allusion to healing, or the seven angels of the wrath of God in the Apocalypse.[343]

If the purpose of the bottle were for healing, this would support Chatwin's view that this figure is a Virtue. However, the same cannot be said if the bottle represents the seven angels of the wrath of God. If this was the case, perhaps one might expect to see seven symbols or attributes to be presented here.

Chatwin refers to Batholomeus Anglicus in relation to angels and sweet smelling things but this passage does not assist in identifying the angel as there is no reference to the order credited with holding "phyals with sweet smelling things, for by dooing of them our wounds are brought to grace of health."[344] In fact, the angel labelled 'Principality' at Barton Turf holds a similar vessel in the same hand.

Virtue B is standing on a wheel and wearing a black skull cap. Black skull caps are symbolic of divine law which is associated with all of the orders of the second triad. As a result this figure could be a Domination, Virtue or Power. Furthermore, Cherubim are associated with divine knowledge and the labelled Cherubim at Exeter also wear black skull caps. The presence of a wheel in the depiction also points to this angel being a Cherub as does its positioning in the second place closest to God.

Virtue C and D/Angel with Crismatory Box

---

[343] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 325.
[344] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 325.

Fig 3.24 Left: Virtue D, Right Virtue E

Left: Angel with crismatory box
Right: Virtue E /Angel with hands crossed on breast
Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Care File. CERC

Two 'Virtues', C and D, (fig 3.24, D left) stand at the bottom of the mullions. They have feathered bodies. They are bare-footed and stand on water. They have two wings and a cross-diadem is placed on their foreheads. They wear copes, worn by bishops and priests, and orphreys decorated with flowers. Waller suggests that the box they hold is a reliquary, to hold the relics of dead saints.[345] Chatwin suggests they hold a chrismatory. A chrismatory is a box that holds the three holy oils: oleum catechumenorum (for baptism), chrism (for baptism, confirmation and ordination) and oleum infirmorum (for blessing the sick). These holy oils are used at four of the seven sacraments and have to be consecrated by a bishop. The boxes held by these figures are open and the three oils are clearly visible inside. Chatwin appears to be correct is his assessment of the box. A Chrismatory is also held by the Virtue at Malvern.[346]

There is nothing in the iconography of the figures which indicates that they are Virtues. As the figures are wearing liturgical vestments and holding a chrismatory, it is more likely that they are in fact part of the ecclesiastical order, possibly bishops, demonstrating the importance of holy oils.

Virtue E and F/ Angel with hands crossed on breast

Two further 'Virtues', E and F (fig 3.24, right) stand at the bottom of the mullions and have feathered bodies. They wear a belt which has four flower heads and they have three pairs of wings. They wear bands round the arms and neck and their arms are folded on the breast. Chatwin does not make the parallel between this 'Virtue' and the labelled Cherub at Southwold (fig 3.9), whose arms are folded in a similar fashion. Chatwin believes there to be no "actual emblem" on the Warwick Virtue and suggests

---

[345] Waller, part II, p. 619.
[346] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 326.

that: "the attitude, with the hands placed exactly as those of the Blessed Virgin in representations of the Annunciation, is meant to convey the idea of the 'miracle' of the Immaculate Conception".[347]

While the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception only became dogma in the Roman Catholic Church in 1854 it was a belief already held in the Middle Ages.[348] However the Blessed Virgin's hands are not placed in the same manner as what Chatwin calls Virtue E and F in every representation of the Annunciation. As a result it is possible that it could be a different representation of the Virgin such as the image of Our Lady at Her Coronation, as can be seen in the likely image of Our Lady in the stained glass.[349]

Any association with Our Lady is insufficient to demonstrate that this figure is a Virtue as it has no attributes by which to identify it. Chatwin is therefore unable to be certain that this is a Virtue, which he himself acknowledges by his reference to the lack of any emblem. However, the action of crossing of arms can also be seen on the Cherub at Southwold (fig 3.9). This 'Virtue' is yet another example of the employment of an 'attribute' to more than one order. Yet, without documentary evidence of the intention of the patron and / or artist we cannot know the purpose of this figure although it may be that it is intended to echo the iconography of the chapel as a whole, as one that is dedicated to Our Lady Queen of Heaven.

---

[347] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 326.

[348] The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception is very confusing because Pius IX reiterated what was already celebrated in the Middle Ages. The conception of Mary was hotly debated subject in the Middle Ages which proved controversial as some theologians debated that Our Lady was born free from Original Sin. I am indebted to Dr. Guy in advising me that the feast of Our Lady's Conception, celebrated on the 8th of December, was celebrated in England up until the Conquest of 1066, when it was repressed. It was reintroduced in 1087 or 1088, whereupon it attained official sanction at the Council of London in 1129. See Sumpter, G, 'Lady Chapels and the Manifestations of Devotion to Our Lady in England', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2008, pp. 6-7.

[349] White, p. 143: White believes that this female figure (which has been badly repaired), is likely to be Our Lady and that the central space was big enough to accommodate a Marian scene, which Winston "hints at", suggesting a "prominent piece of Marian symbolism". (Winston, p. 308).

Principalities

Principality A and B/Angel with sword and sceptre

There are, according to Chatwin, two representations of the Principalities in the mullions, A and B (fig 3.21 left). They stand next to the 'Powers' and are divided from the other angels in the springing of the arches, which carry the shields of the Beauchamp connections. They have feathered legs, bare feet and stand on water. Around the waist is a girdle of clouds and flower-like stars. They wear liturgical vestments, namely an amice and cope. A pair of wings is folded behind the back. The left hand holds a sceptre and the right hand holds a sword.[350] This is consistent with Jacobus de Voragine's assessment of Principalities in that they are rulers over one territory. We have seen sceptres with many other angels in this scheme, including 'Dominations G and H'(fig 3.18) and 'Power B' (fig 3.20).

They are crowned, which may add further weight to the identification. However, the vast majority of angels in this scheme are crowned. Sceptres and swords are used by Chatwin as identifying features of other orders, particularly Powers, and as a result there is no reason why these figures could not be identified as something other than Principalities. It may simply be the case that Chatwin was unable to identify any other figures as being Principalities. As they wear liturgical vestments it is possible that they may have been part of the ecclesiastical order.

Archangels

---

[350] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 326.

Below angels and shields in the inner hollows of the jambs, on opposite ends of the scheme, are, according to Chatwin, two of the three archangels named in the Bible. These are Michael and Gabriel. He makes no mention of Raphael in relation to the order of Archangels.

Michael/Angel with spear

Fig 3.25 Michael/Angel with spear

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 62.

The angel whom Chatwin identifies as Michael (fig 3.25) is portrayed with curly hair; he has a feathered body, bare feet with scale-like feathers down to the ankles and stands

on water. He wears a diadem cross. His mantle is worn over the forearm. His right hand holds a giant spear that points towards the ground. He has one pair of wings extended above his head in criss-cross manner and another facing downwards. His left forearm supports a small shield containing a depiction of a single Fleur de Lys. [351] It is supported by a strap and represents support for the English claim to the French throne. The figure does not portray attributes which are synonymous with any particular order and as a result it is difficult to identify as being part of any particular order let alone specific angel.

Michael was usually portrayed as a warrior prince conquering Satan in the form of a beast or dragon in accordance with Revelation 12. This is not the case here. There is no armour here, nor beast. It is more likely that Michael is one of the so called 'Powers' who appear in armour standing on devils, as Chatwin himself suggests. It would surely seem odd to have more than one representation of Michael in the same scheme. As discussed in the introduction to the section on case studies, Michael is usually shown either weighing souls or slaying a dragon, neither of which is present here. It is likely that Chatwin only calls him Michael because of his positioning in mirror image to the angel that he calls 'Gabriel'. He appears to allocate an order so as to make the angelic hierarchy fit.

Gabriel/Angel holding lilies

(See overleaf).

---

[351] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 326.
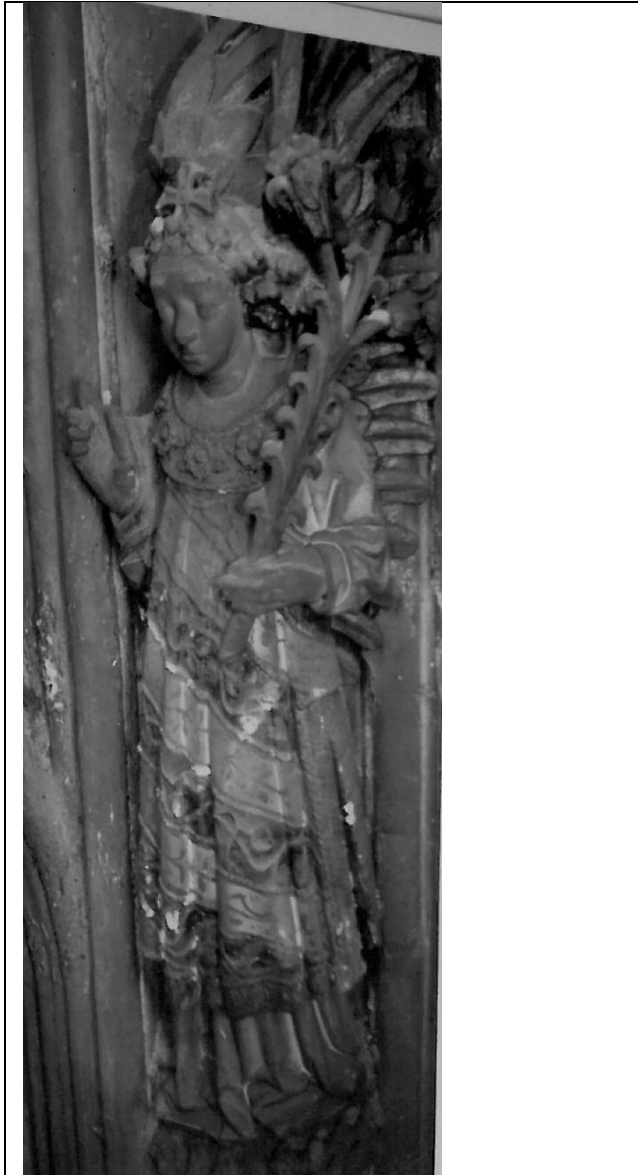
Fig 3.26 Gabriel/Angel holding lilies

Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Care File. CERC

The figure Chatwin called 'Gabriel' (fig 3.26) has his right hand raised in a traditional
pose of blessing. The left hand holds lilies, the traditional attribute of the Virgin Mary
and her purity. The association of lilies between Mary and Gabriel can be found in
Mirk's Festival I, (c.1450) in which John Mirk in his homily on the Annunciation,
described a "lyly [...] sette bytwx our lady and Gabryell."[352] He is dressed as a deacon

---

[352] Erbe, T, *Mirk's Festival: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)* part I, London,
1905, p. 109.

and wears an alb with a very decorative dalmatic. He wears a large cross-diadem on his head. His wings extend above the head. I believe we can agree with Chatwin in saying that this angel is that of Gabriel, who announced to Mary that she would become the mother of God. The attributes fit the documentary sources; a pose of blessing and lilies for Mary. Gabriel is also usually depicted in liturgical vestments. This fits in with the idea that the chapel is united in its iconography to its patron, Our Lady, who does not appear near Gabriel, but is represented in the glass and vault.

Angels

Chatwin identifies only two angels as belonging to the lowest order, called Angels. They are situated on the north and south sides underneath the angels whom Chatwin calls Archangels. Chatwin assigns these angels very specific roles. They are the 'Angel of the Expulsion' and the 'Angel of the Nativity'.

Angel of the Nativity/Angel with pilgrim's staff

The figure identified by Chatwin as the Angel of the Nativity (fig 3.27) to the south side has a feathered body. His left hand carries a staff. His right hand is raised and pointing upwards. Wearing ornamental dress, he has a wreath of flowers in his hair and his wings are folded on his back.[353]

---

[353] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 327.

Fig 3.27 The Angel of the Nativity/angel with pilgrim staff

Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Care File. CERC

However, it is hard to see how Chatwin arrived at his identification of this angel as that of the Nativity. There is nothing to distinguish him as the Angel of the Nativity, who announced the news of the Messiah's birth to the shepherds. For a start, his staff is not a staff, neither is it a crosier, nor processional staff, nor cross-staff nor shepherd's crook, which could allude to bishops and bishops looking after their flock of faithful

people. Furthermore, scholars believed that it was Gabriel who announced the news of the Messiah's birth to the shepherds.[354] We have agreed with Chatwin that Gabriel is already present in the scheme so it is unlikely that he would be represented twice. We must look further at the 'staff'. It is, in fact, a pilgrim's staff. Pilgrim's staves were associated with archangel Raphael. Chatwin has overlooked St. Raphael throughout the whole scheme.[355] Waller, indeed, believes this angel to be Raphael, due to the staff and that he is represented as a pilgrim.[356] A pilgrim's staff was mentioned by Gough (see pp. 143-4). I agree with Waller that this is archangel Raphael and is a far more convincing argument than Chatwin's for the 'Angel of the Nativity'.

The Angel of the Expulsion/Angel with sword and foliage

The 'Angel of the Expulsion', (fig 3.28) to the north side, has scale-like legs and a feathered body. A band of flowers garnishes the neckline of his garment. A girdle of clouds and flowers is tied around his waist. He wears a diadem, a flat band around his head that contains a large raised cross. His left hand contains the apple tree and together with the background of foliage of apple-trees, alludes to the Garden of Eden and the forbidden fruit.[357] There is a sword in the figure's right hand which Chatwin identifies

---

[354] Midgley, JB, *The CTS Companion to the Angels,* London, 2000, p. 36.
There is no reference to any angel of the Nativity in the Gospels. There are many references to angels in association with the early life of Christ. St Matthew's Gospel refers to "the angel of the Lord" (Mt 1:20) who appeared to Joseph in a dream telling him not to be afraid to take Mary as his wife. Again, he tells him to escape with the child and his mother to Egypt (Mt 1:13) and to return to Israel after Herod's death (Mt 1:19-21). Mark's Gospel does not record the infancy of Christ, but Luke names Gabriel as the "angel of the Lord" who foretold the birth of John the Baptist in an appearance to Zechariah. (Luke 1:8-21). Gabriel also appeared to Mary to forecast the birth of Christ. Luke refers to "the angel of the Lord" who announced Christ's birth to the shepherds, who is most likely to be the 'angel of the nativity'. It's logical to think that it was Gabriel who was that angel, given the previous announcements.
[355] The discussion notes at the end of the article take account of this fact, Chatwin, p. 334.
[356] Waller, Part 3, p. 25.
[357] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 327.

as being similar to that of a representation of the Angel of Expulsion in the Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral.

Genesis 3:24 records that after Adam and Eve had eaten the forbidden fruit, God expelled them from the Garden. He "posted the cherubs, and the flashing sword, to guard the way to the tree of life".[358] The figure's iconography matches the biblical account and Chatwin's identification of it by reference to the sword, although as swords are a common feature of the depiction of angels, it is really the apples which help identify this figure as the Angel of Expulsion. Chatwin is correct in this identification but he has ascribed the figure to the wrong order on the basis of the biblical evidence which makes it clear that the Angel of Expulsion was a Cherub. We can understand how Chatwin came to view these angels. From a typological perspective, the angel of the Nativity would complement the angel of the Expulsion; to do so would represent the idea that Eve, the first mother, was reborn in Mary.[359] This is logical when we consider that the chapel is dedicated to Our Lady.

---

[358]Genesis 3:24, JB p. 8.
[359] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 327.

Fig 3.28. Angel of the Expulsion/Angel with sword and foliage

Source: St. Mary's Warwick. Care File. CERC

Shield-bearing Angels

Chatwin argues that there are other angels present but that they do not belong to the Orders. This judgement is of great importance in determining if the whole scheme should indeed be considered as a representation of the celestial hierarchy.

These angels are positioned around the outer jambs, three on the south and three on the north, and act as shield-bearing angels for the Beauchamp family. They wear crowns and albs and are all ornately dressed. [360] In every case, no legs or feet are visible. They are all bust-length and are clearly different from the other angels depicted.

It is clear that all these figures are related as they are similar in appearance, allowing for some variance of size, and are all clearly designed for the same purpose. They have also been treated differently by Chatwin from what he labels as the Nine Orders. It may be that these angels act as supporters of the family emblems. However, this function does not detract from their role, along with the other angels, in helping to bring Richard Beauchamp's soul to paradise. Each is examined below.

Beauchamp

The wings are extended above the head. The shield is held at the breast. This angel has distinctive long hair, not seen on any other angels in the scheme and a different mason may have been responsible. He wears a stole.

Beauchamp impaling Berkeley

The wings are extended above the head. The large shield virtually conceals the entire body. He wears a stole.

---

[360] Chatwin, 'Decoration', p. 327.

Latimer

The wings are extended above the head. The small shield is held below waist level. He wears a stole.[361]

Fig 3.30 Beauchamp, Beauchamp impaling Berkeley and Latimer

Left – Beauchamp, Middle – Beauchamp impaling Berkeley, Right – Latimer
Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 63.

Neville

The wings are extended above the head. The shield is held at the breast. He wears a stole.

---

[361] See Morganstern, A. McGee, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, Pennsylvania, 2000, to compare angels on monuments.

Fig 3.31 Neville

Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 63.

Mauduit of Hanslope

The wings, though extended above the head, do not appear to be as tall as those of the other shield bearers. This angel is notably different because a feathered body is visible above the creases in his dress. A great deal of attention has been devoted to showing the creases in the drapery, which is more visible here than on any other angel. He wears a crown. This angel is closest in style to those within what Chatwin terms the Nine Orders given its size and the portrayal of feathers.

Fig 3.32 Mauduit of Hanslope and Toney

Top– Mauduit of Hanslope, Bottom – Toney
Source: Chatwin, 'Decoration', plate 63.

Toney

The treatment of the wings is similar to that of the angel bearing the shield of Maudit of Hanslope. The shield is held at the breast. A feathered body is just about visible. His drapery is ornately decorated around the neck. He is crowned. The style and craftsmanship is similar to the Angel of Expulsion.

From this brief examination we are able to tell that some of the angels are similar in style to the 'Nine Orders' but others are different. While the depiction of the angels referred to by Chatwin as the Nine Orders is not in my opinion an angelic hierarchy, it does appear that they are all part of the same scheme of angels, although the details of that scheme have been lost to us. As far as the shield-bearing angels are concerned, they serve the purpose of displaying the shields of the Beauchamp family and lead the Earl and the deceased members of his family to paradise.

Censing Angels

An angel with a censer stands on either side of the inner hollow beside St. Catherine and beside St Margaret (fig 3.33). Chatwin is very vague about the identity of these angels.[362] They wear a band on the forehead and are both dressed in an alb, stole and scarf. What is interesting to note is that these are the only two angels to wear their stoles crossed at the breast. This would indicate that they are dressed like priests. Indeed, "stoles worn outside the dalmatic [was] actual liturgical practice in some places in the Middle Ages."[363] Their feet are not visible.

---

[362] The discussion notes at the end of the article state that Chatwin had originally assigned these angels to the order of Archangels, but that "both figures were required as angels", Chatwin, 'Decoration', p.334. This was therefore a deliberate calculation to make up the thirty figures that he believed made up the Nine Orders.
[363] McNamee, p. 274.

Fig 3.33 Censing Angels

Left: Angel holding censer, wearing crossed stole
Right: Angel holding censer, wearing crossed stole
Source: Author's own photograph, 2007.

Chatwin does not pay attention to the censers as an attribute. In this he is inconsistent: the figure he identifies as 'Virtue A' (fig 3.22) also holds a censer, except that the 'Virtue A' holds it lower down and the censing angels hold them higher up. The censers still have the same function here as they do for the angel called 'Virtue A', the only difference being that these angels are dressed as priests and not deacons. The usage of the censer was not designated to the deacons alone and priests also used them.

Given the similarity in style and design between these angels and those of Chatwin's Nine Orders, these angels do appear to be part of the same scheme and as a result it is strange that Chatwin has discounted them and not others. It may be that they are depictions of angels in liturgical dress, or as members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

This completes our assessment of the angels, but there are other elements to the window which are worth briefly examining.

The saints

Four larger scale female saints are present: Mary Magdalene, carrying an alabaster jar; Margaret of Antioch standing on a dragon; Barbara, carrying a tower; and Catherine of Alexandria holding a sword[364] (fig 3.34). Chatwin pays little attention to the inclusion of these saints and fails to address why these particular saints would be included.

(See overleaf).

---

[364] Brindley, p. 8.

Fig 3.34 Female Saints

Far Left: St. Mary Magdalene, with an alabaster jar.
Mid Left: St. Margaret of Antioch, standing on a dragon.
Mid Right: St Barbara, carrying a tower.
Near Right: St Catherine of Alexandria holding a sword
Source: Authors own photographs, 2007

Due to the lack of textual evidence, the intention behind these figures is uncertain but as a guess, these saints may have been favourites of Richard Beauchamp, those to whom he was particularly devoted. As a general rule all saints are associated with angels and the saints here are all mentioned in the *Golden Legend* except Barabara (who was mentioned in the case study of the roodscreen at Barton Turf). Angels do not feature as part of the life of St. Margaret. Mary Magdalene and Catherine's entries include the mention of angels in ministering to them. Mary Magdalene was said to be "borne aloft seven times by angelic hands."[365] Angels tended to Catherine's wounds after torture.[366] However, in the absence of any evidence as to what the patron and / or

---

[365] JDV 1, p. 380.
[366] JDV 2, p. 337.

artist intended, it can not be stated with any certainty why these particular saints are portrayed.

The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy?

Dionysius wrote about an angelic hierarchy and also of an ecclesiastical hierarchy.[367] Given that the vast majority of angels in this scheme are vested in clothes of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, i.e. deacons, priests, bishops, archbishops and popes, I suggest that the scheme not only demonstrates a knowledge of Dionysius and the attributes that he accorded to angels in general, but that the angels may represent this ecclesiastical hierarchy as opposed to the Nine Orders. Keck states that some of the scholastics viewed the hierarchy of angels as a model for the ecclesiastical hierarchy and that "matching the order of angels with the order of clerics was common place" [in the Middle Ages].[368] Furthermore, Keck informs us that:

> following patristic traditions, Honorius of Autun, in the early twelfth century identifies each of the nine orders of angels with different groups of the church's history. Similarly, Bonaventure asserts that the "heavenly hierarchy is a model of the church militant". Thus, the hierarchy of seraphim, cherubim, and the other orders of angels indicates the appropriate character of the hierarchy of pope, archbishops and the other worldly church offices. [369]

> These orders can be summarised thus:

> One of the reasons why the angelic hierarchy can serve as a model for the ecclesiastical hierarchy is that the angelic hierarchy exists in perfect concord and benevolence. The higher angels do not denigrate the lower ones, and the lower ones are not jealous of the higher ones. Like many other theologians, Bonaventure declared that the hierarchy of the church ought to be just like this hierarchy. [370]

---

[367] See chapter one.
[368] Keck, p. 53.
[369] Keck, p. 43.
[370] Keck, p. 109.

Bonaventure's thoughts can be summarised in the table below, in his *Contemplation of the Moon which Symbolizes the Church Militant*:[371]

Table 3-1: Bonaventure and the Church Hierarchy

Heavenly Hiearchy symbolised by the Sun	Distinctions in the church militant		Distinctions in the church militant	
Thrones/ Seraphim	Perfect grades	Patriarchal (Popes and 4 Patriarchs of Constantinople Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch	Order of contemplative corresponding to the Spirit	Per modum sursumactorium, e.g. St. Francis corresponding to the Seraphim
Cherubim		Episcopal		Per modum speculatorim Preachers and minors
Seraphim/Thrones		Sacredotal (administer the sacraments)		Cistercians and Premonstratensians
Dominations	Illuminative grades	Deacons or levites (reading Gospel and offering the chalice	Order of clergy, corresponding to the Son	Bishops
Virtues		Subdeacons (reading the Epistle and preparing the chalice)		Priests
Powers		Acolytes (carrying candles)		Ministers (the first 6 clerical orders
Principalities	Purifying grades	Exorcists	Order of laity corresponding to the Father	Sacred princes
Archangels		Lectors (who dispel ignorance		Sacred consuls
Angels		Doorkeepers (who exclude the unclean or use to do so in the early Church)		Sacred people

---

[371] Iribarren & Lenz, pp. 25-26.

In light of this information, it seems likely that these angels do represent the ecclesiastical hierarchy, perhaps not in this exact order, but certainly in their membership.

A United Programme of Iconography?

The glass, vaulting, reredos, sculptures of the Earl's tomb and the sculptures that surround the East Window all feature iconography pertaining to Our Lady. This implies a unified scheme in honour of Our Lady.

Through leaving money or the construction of a chapel in his will in honour of the Virgin and a place to house his own tomb, Richard Beauchamp's chapel is testament to his Catholic faith and hope of the Resurrection. The chapel contains a significant amount of iconography of the citizens of heaven, including Our Lady, God the Father, saints and angels: holy patrons whom Richard Beauchamp hoped to join and thus become a citizen of heaven himself at his death.

Conclusions: The Celestial Hierarchy?

Despite no contemporary documentation of the sculptures surrounding the east window, there are contemporary textual or documentary sources which we can use to understand the figures surrounding the East Window at Warwick. I have conducted an examination of the sculptures with reference to Chatwin's assessment in an attempt to disprove Chatwin's conclusion that these sculptures represent an unlabelled depiction of the Nine Orders. I have diagreed with much of his assessment, and as a result, his ultimate

conclusion. Thus I have drawn up my own diagram to illustrate how the angels are depicted, detailing their attributes.

Reredos: Annunciation: 1735 replacement of original Annunciation scene

Empty Niche Possibly St George or St Anne

Angel holding Shield of Toney family | St Mary Magdalene | St Margaret

Angel holding Shield of Beauchamp impaling Berkeley
Angel holding shield of Neville family | Angel with RH raised & blessing lillies in LH | Angel with a staff in LH | Angel holding censer in RH

Coat of arms Newburgh
Angel holding vessel standing on a wheel
Angel playing harp
Cross legged angel holding cross staff & 9 spoke wheel

Architectural canopy | Angel with wheel, crisscross feathers & collar of spikes | Angel holding open book with sceptre across it | Angel holding sword RH processional staff LH standing on 2 demons | Angel with hands crossed on chest

Architectural canopy | Angel with flames at feet | Angel holding closed book | Angel with sword RH sceptre in LH | Angel holding open crismatory box

Coat of arms with garter of royal arms
Angel holding star
Gold angel hands raised

The Almighty and 3 tiny gold angels

Gold angel hands raised

Coat of arms within garter cross of St George
Angel holding sword & orb standing on a demon

Architectural canopy | Angel with flames at feet | Angel holding closed book | Angel holding sword RH processional staff (LH) standing on 2 demons | Angel holding open crismatory box

Architectural canopy | Angel with wheel, crisscross feathers & collar of spikes | Angel holding open book with sceptre across it | Angel with sword (LH), sceptre in RH | Angel with hands crossed on chest

Coat of arms Despenser
Angel dressed in chainmail holding sword & sceptre wearing helmet of head
Angel with incense boat and censer
Angel holding book, wearing black skullcap

Angel holding Shield of Beauchamp family
Angel holding Shield of Latimer family | Angel holding Shield of Mauld of Hanslope | St Barbara | St Catherine

Angel holding large spear (RH) shiled of Fleur de Lys (LH) | Angel holding sword in RH, foliage in LH | Angel holding censer in LH

Empty Niche Possibly St George or St Anne

Fig 3.35. My Interpretation of the Sculptured Angels surrounding the East Window of the Beauchamp Chapel

There are several points where Chatwin's analysis can be questioned. Firstly, the extremely odd positioning of each so called order, such as the 'Thrones' being above the 'Seraphim' is contradictory to Dionysius' teaching and the accepted order of the hierarchy. Chatwin appears at time to use different orders or ranking for the hierarchy e.g. Gregory the Great but without an explanation as to why he does so and why this is not consistently applied. Secondly, Chatwin uses sources to assist him in identifying members of particular order but on numerous occasions uses the same attributes to identify members of different orders. Indeed Chatwin goes so far as to ignore some iconography in order to enable him to allocate a figure to the order which suits his conclusion. On occasion, he definitively identifies some figures with few identifying characteristics as a member of a specific order. In some instances, Chatwin misidentifies some figures as angels, placing them in the wrong order, e.g. he misidentifies the Archangel Michael as an angel.

Chatwin's analysis cannot simply be accepted without demur: the figures at Warwick cannot be said to be a systematic exposition of the angelic hierarchy of Nine Orders. As such, the question may fairly be asked: what then do these sculptures represent? Without the contemporary documentation, this is something which cannot be answered with any certainty as there appear to be two schemes: one containing the shield-bearing angels and the other the remainder. This is on the basis that the two schemes are different in style, design and seemingly purpose. In my view it is clear that the shield-bearing angels serve to depict the family shields and thereby assist the other angels in the scheme in carrying Richard Beauchamp's soul to Heaven.

The remaining angels, in my view, form part of a larger work of art. There is a correlation between these figures and other iconography within the chapel which point to a veneration of Our Lady. Many of the angels stated by Chatwin to be part of the Nine Orders could equally form part of an ecclesiastical hierarchy to the glory of the mother of Christ. This is something which may explain the extent of variation of iconography seen at Warwick. Ultimately, the sculpted angels do not represent the angelic hierarchy, but form part of two schemes: for the glory of Our Lady and the glory of the Beauchamp family.

Case Study C: Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey:

An Example of the Angelic Hierarchy?

<u>**Introduction**</u>

As my third case study, I shall now consider what is arguably the most important chantry (but also multi-functional) chapel of the sixteenth century. Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey houses one of the largest collections of late medieval sculptural representations of angels in England. It is for this reason that these angels have been selected as a case study, together with the fact that they have never previously been analysed.[372] In 1502, the old Lady Chapel that was built by Henry III was demolished and the foundation stone for a new chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was laid in 1503. The chapel's function was as a chantry chapel for the king, his wife, mother and grandmother, to accommodate the shrine of King Henry VI, whom Henry VII wished to see canonised, and as a Lady Chapel.[373] Phillip Lindley believes that the sculptural programme as a whole was in place by April 1509 and that the designer of the scheme must have received considerable input from Henry VII himself.[374]

The angels in the chapel decorate the sculpted frieze that runs around the main and side chapels at triforium level. In 1992, Helen Dow described the frieze as "a moulding of

---

[372] The most recent research on the chapel is the book of essays edited by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer: Tatton-Brown, T & Mortimer R, eds., *Westminster Abbey The Lady Chapel*, Woodbridge 2003. Although there are many interesting essays contained within it, some are more relevant than others. Firstly, the essay by Condon M, 'The last will of Henry VII: document and text', pp. 99-140 in which she addresses Henry's desire for a chantry chapel to be built; Wilson, C, 'The functional design of Henry VII's chapel: a reconstruction', pp. 141-188, detailing how the chapel was built, and Lindley, P, 'The singular mediation and praiers of al the holie companie of Heven: sculptural functions and forms in Henry VII's chapel', pp. 259-293, which examines the sculptural iconography of the chapel.
[373] Lindley, 'Sculptural Functions', p. 260.See also, Perkins, J, *Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornament*, 3 vols, London, 1938-1952.
[374] Lindley, 'Sculptural Functions', p. 287.

heraldic half-angels *of various orders.*"[375] The purpose of this chapter is to test Dow's hypothesis, through a detailed examination of the history, function and analysis of the frieze and to see if 'these various orders' constitute the Nine Orders of Angels.

The 'survival' of such a wealth of angelic imagery could be explained by the fact that the Abbey was under royal patronage. The chapel had several functions including a place of coronation and burial for former kings and queens of England. As we have already noted in the case study of the Beauchamp Chapel, angels are included in a chantry chapel because of their relationship to the "Medieval Office of the Dead".[376] The *Use of York* mentions in the 'The Absolutions of the Dead', the prayers offered on behalf of the deceased person for the angels to bring the soul to the heaven and the bosom of Abraham. It is likely that there is a representation of Abraham above the 1st or 13th bay, given his prominence as the most important of all the Patriarchs.

Documentation

Unfortunately, no contracts or other documents regarding the building of the chapel survive.[377] However, the profusion of religious imagery in the church is testament to Henry VII's Catholic faith, demonstrated by perhaps the most important document that does survive from the time namely his will, from which an idea may be gleaned as to

---

[375] Dow, H, *The Sculptural Decoration of the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey*, Edinburgh, Cambridge & Durham, 1992, p .6. It should be noted that Dow does not specify say how many orders are shown, nor does she name them.

[376] Dow, p. 6.

[376] Dow, p. 52.

[377] See Wilson, C, The functional design of Henry VII's chapel: a reconstruction', pp. 141-188 pp. 141-188 for a discussion of the reconstruction of the chapel. Also, nineteenth-century drawings of the chapel by L.N Cottingham can be seen at the back of this thesis. Cottingham, L.N, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details and Views of the Magnificent Chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster Abbey Church; with the History of its Foundation and an Authentic Account of its Restoration*, in 2 vols, London, 1882 & 1829, found in Appendix B at the back of this thesis.

the origins of the iconography. He requested that after his death, ten thousand masses be said for the "remission of our synnes, and the weale of our soul".[378] Of these,

> xv bee saied in the honour of the Trinitie; MMV in the honour of the v woundes of our Lord Jhesu Crist; MMD in the honour of the v Joies of our Lady; *cccl in the honour of the ix orders of aungelles;* cl in the honour of the patriarches; DC in the honour of the xij Apostellis, and mmccc, which maketh up the hool nombre of the said x m masses, in the honour of All Sainctes.[379]

He also wrote that "I trust also to the singular mediacions and praiers of al the holie companie of Heven; that is to saye, aungels, archaungels, patriarches, prophetes, apostels, evaungelistes, martirs, confessours, and virgins. And specially to myne accustumed avoures I calle and crie, Sainct Michaell" [and other saints].[380]

Therefore, although the will does not explicitly state that representations of the saints, angels, archangels and holy people mentioned above should be included in the chapel, it nevertheless promotes a strong reason why they should be and the sculptural scheme almost certainly reflects, in a general way at the very least, his wishes.

Description and General Observations

There are five three-foot tall figures of saints and prophets in each bay (or section), standing in niches above the angel frieze in the chapel.   The Archangel Gabriel is the only archangel to feature in the scheme of statues in the seventh (central) bay with Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary. The angels, placed as a frieze below the triforium level, are found the whole way around the chapel and in the side chapels. They are always divided into groups of five, except for the west wall, which contains a longer

---

[378] Condon, p. 116.
[379] Condon, p. 116 (my italics).
[380] Condon, p. 112.

frieze of fourteen angels taking up most of the wall. The majority of the blocks are carved from Caen stone; those located in the bays (excluding the bigger ones on the west wall) each measure roughly 70 cm wide and 45 cm high, "with the highest point of the relief projecting up to 10 in. from the wall".[381] In most instances, the saints look down, as do some of the angels also. The angels are not full-bodied but appear as bust-length to the waist (and sometimes to the hips).

Aside from the religious iconography, there is also heraldic imagery that is a constant recurrence in the angel frieze. In between the angels in each bay, there is a crown, which sits above one of three symbols, important to the Tudor family and Henry VII. These symbols are:

The Tudor rose (an amalgamation of the rose of the House of Lancaster and the rose of the House of York, adopted by Henry VII on his marriage to Elizabeth of York).

The Fleur de Lys (representing the English claim to the French throne. It is also symbolic of the Virgin Mary).

The portcullis (family emblem of Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort).

These badges and crowns show spectacular variation in size, shape and design. There is no definite pattern as to the placing of these badges within the bay, except to say that at the triforium level, it is always a crowned Tudor Rose that begins each bay. The crowns are not so elaborate inside the side chapels. From the seventh bay onwards, after the second angel, and then for all the insides of the chapels, the crowns appear to be smaller when coupled with the Fleur de Lys. This may be because the Fleur de Lys is tall rather than wide and thus the crown must be accommodated.

---

[381] Galvin, C, Lindley, P, 'Pietro Torrigiano's Tomb for Dr Yonge', *Church Monuments*, vol. III, 1988, p. 48.

Previous Scholarship

Very little scholarship has been devoted to the angels in the chapel. Prior and Gardner wrote extensively about the figures, explaining that there are scrolls under the saints on which "the names would be painted".[382] It can be argued that if the statues of the saints were originally to have been painted, the angels would surely also have been. There are no scrolls underneath the angels. Of great interest are two similar angels discussed by Carol Galvin and Phillip Lindley in relation to Pietro Torrigiano's tomb for Dr Yonge. It was noted by Maxwell Lyte that "mutilated fragments of an elaborate stringcourse" were found attached to the back of a depiction of the head of Christ. These fragments were very similar in appearance to the angels in Henry VII's chapel. There are remains of a headless angel's right hand pointing to a Tudor Rose and another angel who has a feathered body.[383] Little remains of the feathered angel but the other angel is dressed in a loose garment with sashes across the chest to form an X shape.[384] Lyte suggests that these angels may have been models for the angels found at Westminster.[385] This would indicate the sort of object from which the sculptors could work. However, Galvin and Lindley think this is most unlikely given that no full-size stone model of "essentially minor" sculpture has survived from this period.[386] They suggest that the stone was meant to be used at Westminster Abbey but was rejected. They suggest that the feathered angel may have come from inside the North and North East Chapels because

---

[382] Prior & Gardner, p. 416.
[383] Galvin & Lindley, p. 44.
[384] Galvin & Lindley, p. 46.
[385] Galvin & Lindley, p. 48.
[386] Galvin & Lindley, p. 48.

they each have a cornice missing, to accommodate later monuments.[387] I agree with the assessment having examined the iconography of the angel. Feathered angels will be dealt with in more detail later in this section.

This angel also has the right arm raised slightly across the body. Angels with hands raised across the body are found on the friezes at triforium level and inside the chapels and are usually at the beginning and the end. Feathered angels do not occur in these positions. Galvin and Lindley are almost certainly correct in their suggestion that these angels were rejected and perhaps damaged during the carving of the stone. Therefore, they may well have been available to Torrigiano and thus reused behind the tomb of Dr Yonge.[388] Lyte is therefore probably wrong to suggest that Torrigano's angels were models for the angels in Henry VII's chapel as the evidence suggests they were instead rejects.

It is possible to suggest that the Nine Orders of Angels once featured in the glass of the West Window, together with the Apostles and Prophets.[389] The words "laudate nomen domini"[390] made up part of a scroll associated with the Prophet Jeremiah, that Micklethwaite thought might allude to the order of Dominations.[391] However, this is speculation. Although little remains, the Tudor Rose, Portcullis and Fleur de Lys adorned with crowns featured in the glass. Also, angels in the tracery that hold a Fleur de Lys and shields with the initials of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York were visible, in

---

[387] Galvin & Lindley, p. 48.
[388] Galvin & Lindley, p. 50.
[389] Lindley, 'Scultpural Functions', p. 278.
[390] Marks, 'The Glazing of Henry VII's Chapel' in Thompson B, ed. *Harlaxton Medieval Studies V: The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, Stamford, 1995, p. 165.
[391] Marks, p. 165.

1856.[392] It is reasonable to suggest therefore, that some of the iconographical programme of the sculpture was the same as that found in the glass, which would correspond to the idea of a united scheme of iconography, as seen in the Beauchamp Chapel.

Analysis

Moving now to an analysis of the angelic frieze, overleaf are diagrams which illustrate the position of every angel in the scheme, in terms of their iconography:

---

[392] Marks, 'The Glazing of Henry VII's Chapel', p. 161.

Bay 7 (G-2)

L   R

	L		R
5	X, Raised LH, Band on chest	5	Raised RH
4	Feathered, Girdle	4	Feathered, Girdle, X
3	X	3	X
2	Feathered, Girdle, X	2	Feathered, Girdle, X
1	Raised RH, X	1	X, Raised LH

Aisle to Window

Bay 6 (F-2)

5	X, Raised LH
4	Feathered, Girdle
3	X
2	X, Feathered, Girdle, no Head
1	Raised RH, Band on chest, Plain Tunic

Aisle to Window

Bay 8 (H-2)

5	Raised LH, X, Band on chest
4	Raised RH, X
3	Feathered, Girdle, X
2	Feathered, Plain Tunic
1	X, Raised RH

Aisle to Window

East Chapel

1	Sword RH
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	Morse, Band on chest
4	Feathered Girdle
5	Sword LH

North East Chapel

1	Sword RH
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	Morse, Girdle, Band on chest
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Sword LH

South East Chapel

1	X, Raised RH, Band
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	Morse, Band on chest
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Plain Loose Tunic, Raised LH

Bay 6 (F-1) / **Bay 7 (G-1)** / **Bay 8 (H-1)**

Bay 5 (E-2)

5	X, Raised RH, Band on chest
4	Feathered, Girdle
3	X
2	X, Feathered, Girdle
1	Raised LH, Band on chest

North Chapel

5	Raised LH, X
4	Morse, Band on chest
3	Feathered, Girdle
2	Feathered, Girdle
1	Sword RH

Bay 5 (E-1)

Bay 9 (I-1)

1	Raised RH, Band on chest
2	Elaborate Feathered, Girdle
3	Plain, gathered at waist
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Raised LH, Band on chest

South Chapel

1	Raised RH, Band on chest
2	X, Raised LH
3	Mostly destroyed
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Raised LH, X, Band on chest

Bay 9 (I-2)

1	Raised RH, Band on chest
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	X, Band on chest
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	X, Raised RH, Band on chest

R   L

Aisle to Window

Angel supporting Crown over shield of England & France

| R | Raised LH Looks to L |
| L | LH on Pilaster |

Plain loose Tunic, Gathering at waist

Plain Loose Tunic

Angel supporting Crown over shield of England & France

Bow on girdle at neck

Raised LH

| | LH across Chest |
| | Raised RH |

L R

North Aisle Chapel

1	RH Raised, X
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	X, Plain Tunic
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	X, Plain Tunic

Chapel containing tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots

1	Raised RH on Pilaster, Band on chest, Plain Tunic
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	Band on chest, X
4	Feathered, Girdle, X
5	Raised LH, X, Band on chest

North Aisle / **South Aisle**

Bay 4 (D)

5	Gathering at neck, Dagger LH
4	Plain Tunic
3	Feathered, Girdle
2	Morse
1	Sword RH

Bay 10 (J)

1	Raised RH, Band on chest
2	Elaborate feathers No bow on girdle
3	Plain Tunic Elaborate neckline
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Raised LH, Band on chest

Bay 3 (C)

5	Sash or X?, Raised LH
4	Morse
3	Feathered, Girdle
2	Morse
1	Sword RH

Bay 11 (K)

1	Sword RH
2	Morse
3	Feathered, Girdle
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Gathering at neck, Dagger LH

Bay 2 (B)

5	Raised LH
4	Feathered, Girdle
3	Plain Loose Tunic
2	Feathered, Girdle
1	Sword RH

Bay 12 (L)

1	Sword RH
2	Morse, ?Band on chest
3	Feathered, Girdle
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	Gathering at neck, Dagger LH

Bay 1 (A)

5	Loose Tunic, Raised LH
4	Feathered, Girdle
3	Loose Tunic, Band on chest
2	Feathered, Girdle
1	Sword RH

Bay 13 (M)

1	Sword RH
2	Feathered, Girdle
3	Morse, ?Band on chest
4	Feathered, Girdle
5	X, Raised LH

West End

12	X, Morse, band across chest
11	Chords on chest
10	X on chest
9	Bigger than others, sash / X Damaged nose
8	Plain Tunic, Similar to No. 4 Band across chest
7	Plain Tunic, Younger & smaller than others Smock band at neck
6	Big, Plain tunic, cloak over L shoulder
5	Plain Tunic, looks straight ahead, hint of a smile
4	Plain Tunic, Band across chest Similar to No. 3
3	Plain Tunic, Band across chest
2	Loose tunic
1	Band across chest

Fig 4.1 Plan of the angelic frieze in Henry VII's chapel (using words)

Using words to show positioning of the angels

Fig 4.2 Plan of the angelic frieze in Henry VII's chapel (using symbols)

Using symbols to show the positioning of angels

The angels' main forms of clothing and attributes are the following:

Sword and plate armour: overhead bays only, of which there is great variety in style;

Feathers and Girdle;

Crossed stole (X): in the manner of a priest the crossed stole is mostly used inside the chapels. Exceptions occur on 3C5 and 13H5;

Stole: worn diagonally from the right shoulder, in the manner of a deacon;

Cope and morse: processional vestments, not always used in the mass (not seen on angels with feathers and girdles);

Baton;

Gathering at the neck: amice, worn under the alb and alb/tunic;

Hand raised in blessing. [393]

The images below show some of the different types of representation:

Fig 4.3 Angel holding sword and wearing armour

---

[393] This description is confirmed by *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM) (England)vol. 1 in London*: *Westminster Abbey*, London, 1924, p. 59.

Fig 4.4 Angel holding sword and wearing armour

Fig 4.6 Angel with feathers, girdle and amice

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

Fig 4.7 Angel with crossed stole

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

Fig 4.8 Angel wearing a morse

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

Fig 4.9 Angel wearing a morse

Source: Photograph courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

It is apparent from the similarities of the photographs above that the same sculptor may have been responsible for several angels of a similar kind, e.g. the angels in armour and bearing swords. The attributes listed above show a familiarity with the primary sources of chapter one, notably liturgical vestments as mentioned by Dionysius and swords, as mentioned in *Dives and Pauper*. Also, liturgical vestments are worn, for example, by the Virtue and Domination at Barton Turf and the Archangel holds a sword. Numerous angels surrounding the east window of the Beauchamp Chapel hold swords, particularly those whom Chatwin calls Powers and Principalites. Therefore, the iconography of liturgical vestments and weapons of war can be found in other angelic schemes and is not unique to Henry VII's chapel.

It is important to note that these motifs do not always appear by themselves. The analytical text and diagrams show that very often one or more motifs appear on one

angel. For example, an angel who is feathered with a girdle will more than likely have a crossed stole if inside the radiating chapels rather than above bays. Two major distinctions are apparent here. First, there are angels that are dressed in liturgical vestments and second, there are angels clad in armour and holding weaponry. This might indicate that they represent soldiers of Christ and celebrants of the Mass respectively. The variety of liturgical vestments shows the different members of the clergy involved in the Eucharist, that is to say, priests and deacons. The inclusion of priestly costume may refer to the large quantity of masses requested by Henry VII in his will. As such, these angels may for their part, "assist" in these services. As the monks at the Abbey belonged to the Order of St. Benedict and had their own habit, they would have dressed in the traditional liturgical costume for Mass. Thus, such a variety of costume shows a detailed knowledge of the vestments worn on different occasions, including processions and Mass.

The armour consists of a breastplate, skirt of lames (which shows great variation among the different examples) and gauntlets. Angel no. 1 in bays 4 and 11 has a cloak draped over the left shoulder. This is not a common occurrence with angels of this kind in the chapel. In cross-reference to the saints above, the figure of St. George (bay 12) is particularly important to note because the armour is very similar to that worn by the angels in the bays, as is the sword held by St. George and the angels in the right hand, which may suggest that the same sculptor was employed to carve both figure-sculpture and the relief frieze of angels.

With regard to swords, none of the angels on the west wall or in the flanking side chapels hold a sword. It is an attribute only found at triforium level and never inside the

chapels. The sword pattern begins at bay 1, continues consistently to bay 7, breaks between 8, 9 and 10, and resumes at bays 11 to 13. By way of example, bays 8, 9 and 10 do not mirror bays 4, 5 and 6 on the opposite side of the chapel. Many of the angels dressed in this manner face the tomb of Henry VII. It is not unreasonable to suggest that they act as soldiers, guarding and protecting the tomb, in a similar vein to the angel who guarded the tomb of Christ until the Resurrection.[394]

There are numerous examples of angels with feathers and girdles. The feathers are pointed downwards on the elbows and are more elaborate, particularly at triforium level. The girdles are shown in different degrees of flamboyance. The feathers have differences on the body, arms and elbows. Yet, the motif of a large diamond-shaped morse at the breast securing a cope is only located at triforium level and never inside the chapels.

There is a theme of angels raising their hands. This gesture of blessing is featured both inside the chapels and at triforium level. Bays 8, 9 and 10 have the hands starting and finishing across the chest at the triforium level. Inside the chapels of bays 6, 7, 8, and 9, the raising of hands begin on the left- hand side of the chapel. The first angel's right hand is raised in blessing and the fifth angel's left hand is raised in blessing. The left side of Bay 5 (the North Chapel) has been destroyed. The opposite wall, (the right hand side), of bays 5, 7, 8 and 9, is harmoniously balanced. The first angel raises his right hand and the 5th angel raises his left, suggesting the beginning of diagonal symmetry. (Bay 6's right side has been destroyed but, again, the pattern was probably the same in the original frieze on the right-hand side, which is discussed later).

---

[394] Mt 28:1-8, JB, p. 44; Mk 16:1-8, JB, pp. 68-69; Lk 24:1-8, JB, p.110. However, Henry VII's tomb is not in the position it was intended to be. See Lindley, 'Sculptural Function', pp. 266-276.

West Wall synopsis

The west wall will be analysed first, then followed by the bays. On first glance, there appear to be twelve angels. Twelve would seem an appropriate number given that it has great symbolism in Roman Catholicism. However, closer inspection behind the choir stalls of 1725 of the Knights of Bath changes our understanding of this group. For, behind the Sovereign's stall on the left and behind the Prince of Wales' stall on the right, there is, in fact, an angel on each side with a crown and portcullis. The total number on the west wall is fourteen and therefore the layout is not dominated by apostolic symbolism.

The twelve visible angels are bigger in height than those at triforium level and in the lateral chapels. Each angel is touching the rim of the crown with his right hand and is either pointing to or holding the other crown with the left hand. They wear diadems or crowns and have similar wavy hair. Angels 5 and 9 are shown to the waist level and the rest are carved to the hip. Their wings are folded slightly inwards at the tips. They are bigger than the angels at the triforium level of the north and south aisles and are all tucked in to the frieze. (This is in contrast to the angels in the bays of the triforium level who appear to the hips but overhang the frieze, with a band, possibly meant to represent clouds, for support). All the wings are feathered. The crowns and royal badges differ in size and design, indicating that perhaps more than one sculptor worked on this area of the chapel. Whilst they may appear similar, no two angels are the same, with various facial expressions, making them all unique.

Great attention has been paid to the folds of the drapery, but this is true of the whole scheme. This can be cross-referenced to the saints in the niches above. For example, the clothing of saints Barbara and Edmund has been portrayed with realistic folds of gathered material, similar to all the angels along the west wall. All the angels are clothed in liturgical vestments of a priest or deacon. However, the male saints above, such as St. Thomas of Canterbury, are wearing more detailed liturgical vestments than the angels. This is most likely because the figures are shown full-length whereas the angels are only half-length.

What is interesting to note is the variety of vestments. All the angels wear an amice and alb. Some have a band across their chest, which indicate that they are wearing a cope (angels 1, 3 and 4). Angel 2 is wearing a plain tunic. Angel 9 wears a stole, diagonally from the shoulder, in the manner of a deacon. Angels 10 and 12 wear a stole, crossed at the breast, as seen for example on the censing angels in the Beauchamp chapel.[395] Angel 12 also wears a cope, fastened by a morse on the right. Angel 11 wears a cope fastened by cords at the neckline. Angels 3, 4 and 8 are similar in terms of dress. Angels 5 and 9 are similar to each other. Nine has a stole and is much bigger whereas 5 is slight in stature. The depiction of these vestments indicates detailed knowledge of liturgical vestments, which suggests that these may be representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

---

[395] The discussion of vestments earlier in this chapter showed that the stole crossed in this fashion over the alb was normally worn underneath the chasuble but could also have been worn this way, without the chasuble.

Fig 4.10 West wall angels 1 and 2

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 4.11 Angels 9 and 10

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 4.12 Angels 11 and 12

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Synopsis of the angels located at triforium level on the North Aisle

The number of angels is very important in determining if they belong to the Nine Orders. At present there are one hundred and four angels in the bays including inside the chapels and beneath the 'triforium'. Five angels to a bay is the consistent arrangement (conforming to the lights of the windows). In the other areas, including the west wall, side chapels and in between bays 4 /5 and 9/ 10, there are thirty, which gives a total of one hundred and thirty four angels in the scheme. Hypothetically, if we took into account the missing or damaged angels, originally there would have been one hundred and fifteen in the bays, thirty two in the other areas, giving a grand total of one hundred and forty seven. One hundred and forty seven does not divide equally by nine. Therefore, an equal number of representations of the Angelic Hierarchy is not possible in this chapel.

In the first bay, A, (fig. 4.13) angels numbers 2 and 4 are similar but 4 looks to his right. The wings of 2 and 4 converge downwards into points. In bay B, B3 and B5 are similar in appearance to A5. A1 and B1 hold swords in their right hands. The bay begins with the right hand holding a sword and the left hand raised. Thus the pattern set out earlier in the section emerges.

Fig 4.13 Bay 1 Triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007
Given the height of the triforium level, the angels are very difficult to photograph
clearly.

Fig 4.14 Bay 3 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 4.15 Bay 4 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007
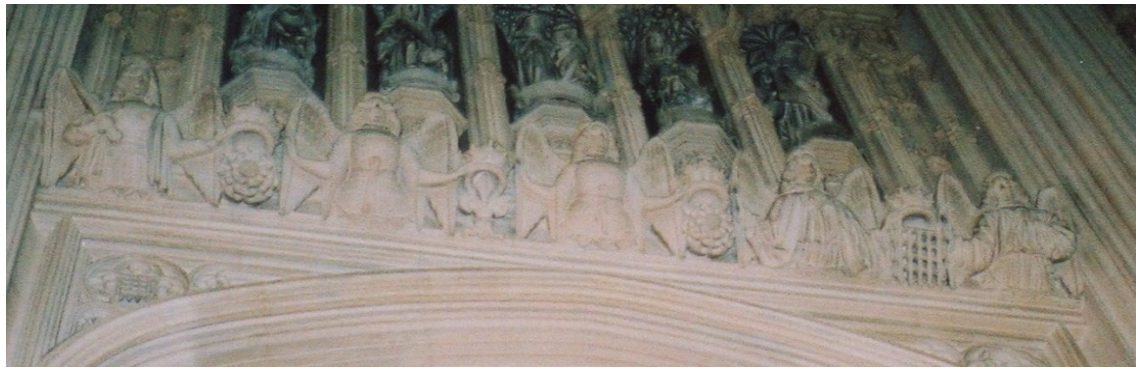
Fig 4.16 Bay 5 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

In the 5th bay, (fig 4.16) angel no. 5 wears a crossed stole and is taller than other angels with this motif. His left hand is raised in blessing. This in the first instance in the overhead frieze where two feathered angels are placed side by side. Angels 2 and 3 are very similar but 3 is slightly thicker in the waist and appears bigger all round. The frieze over this bay begins with an action in the right hand (holding a sword) and an action in the left hand (blessing) which ends the bay. There is an attempt at symmetry, balancing not across the bay with the same actions, but in the corresponding gestures with the opposite usage of the hands.

Looking at Bay 5's radiating chapel (North Chapel),(fig. 4.17) we find that the first angel on the left appears to be totally different from the rest in that the stonework is less decayed and a lot smoother, perhaps indicating a replacement. Similarly, angel 4's hand may be a replacement. A monument to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, (d.1628) takes up a lot of room inside this chapel. As a consequence, it would appear that the whole of the left hand side has been destroyed to make room for it. It is therefore likely that a frieze of five angels was in its place originally, to correspond to the surviving frieze on the opposite wall.

Fig 4.17 Bay 5 axial chapel (North Chapel), right-hand side

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

In the 6th bay at triforium level, (fig 4.18) the angels are roughly symmetrical in that for the first time, the first and fifth angels have the same motif, and are shown holding a sword. Mirror behaviour is seen here in that the first holds a sword in the left hand, whilst the fifth holds a sword in the right hand.
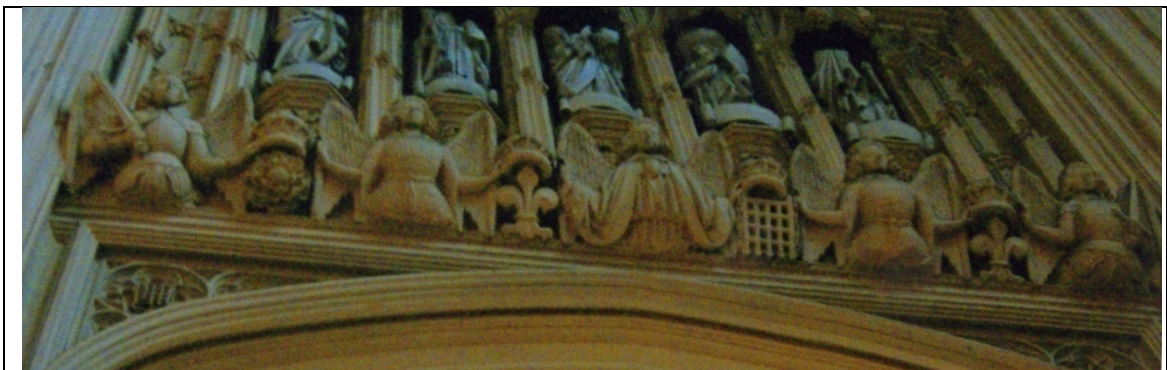
Fig 4.18 Bay 6 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Bay 6's axial chapel (North East Chapel) (fig 4.19) shows, on the left hand side, angel no. 2, which is now headless. Closer examination of the remaining body reveals that the representation of feathers was likely intended. The chapel contains a monument to John Sheffield, the 1st Duke of Buckinghamshire (d.1721) and his Duchess Catherine. It is

not unreasonable to suggest that the construction of the monument meant the destruction of a frieze of five angels to correspond to the surviving frieze opposite it.

Fig 4.19 Bay 6 axial chapel (North East Chapel), left-hand side

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007
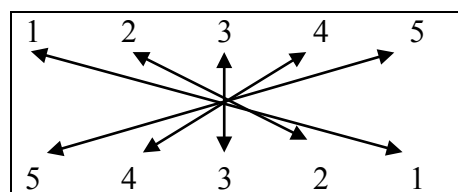
Fig 4.20 Diagonally symmetrical sculptures across the radiating chapel

The angels at triforium level of bay 7 are nearly symmetrical (fig 4.21). Inside the axial chapel (East Chapel) (fig 4.22) the heads are smaller. The royal badges inside the chapel are not symmetrical. The gestures are diagonally symmetrical. This aids us in assessing how the angels may have looked in the axial chapels of bays 5 and 6. The dress and gesture of each angel is the same. For example, angel no. 2 of each side of the chapel

has the same dress, with a crossed stole, feathers and girdle. Also, angels 1 and 5 on both sides look at the floor and have their right hands raised.

Fig 4.21 Bay 7 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

Fig 4.22 Bay 7

Top: Bay 7, axial chapel (East Chapel), left-hand side
Bottom: Bay 7, axial chapel (East Chapel), right-hand side
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007

Fig 4.23 Bay 8 triforium

In the 8th bay at triforium level, (fig 4.23), mirror image is only displayed in terms of action. The bay begins and ends with the angel blessing with his left hand, thus breaking up the pattern of the bays beginning with a sword in the right hand.

Fig 4.24 Bay 8

Top: Bay 8 axial chapel (South East Chapel), inside left-hand side
Bottom: Bay 8 axial chapel (South East Chapel), right-hand side
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007
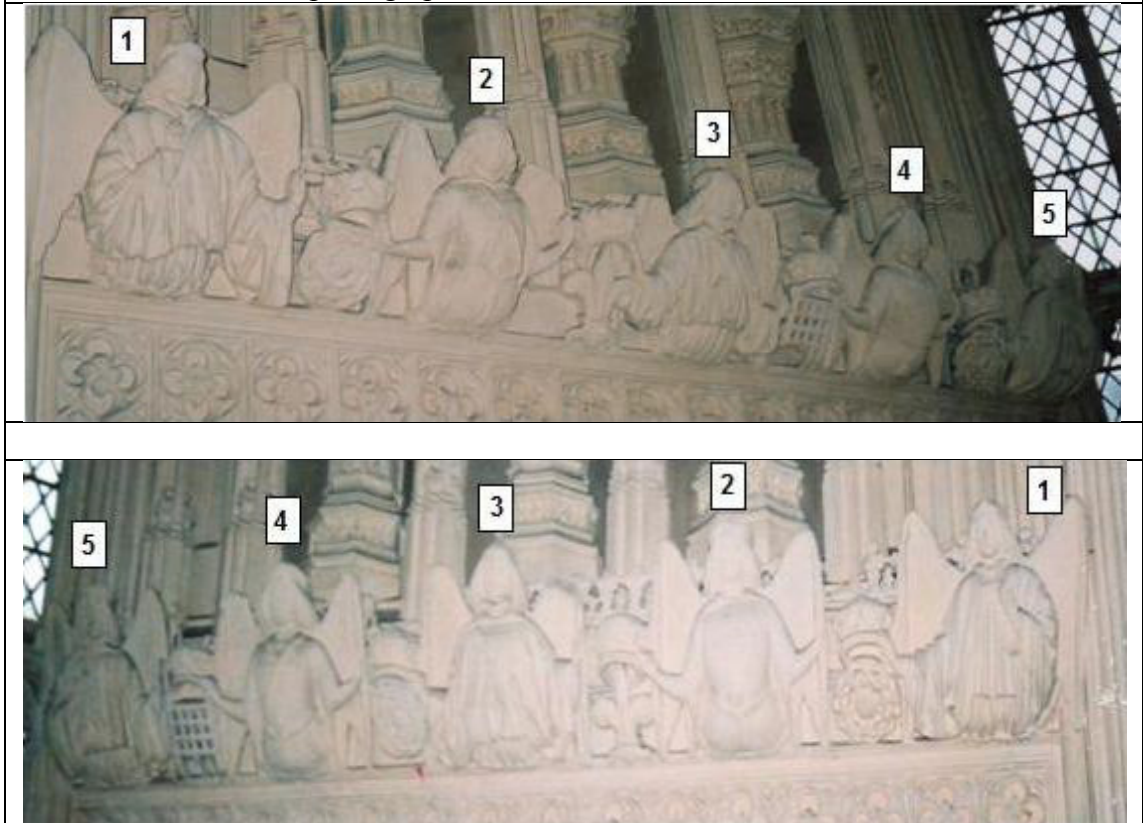
The left hand side of this axial chapel (South East Chapel) (fig 4.24) displays small heads on angels 1 and 5, which begin and end the frieze with the same blessing gesture. Three out of the five angels have a crossed stole. Angels 2 and 4 are badly deteriorated, possibly because the stone used to construct them was not Caen stone and may have been a cheaper alternative. They appear to have been cleaned at some stage, which may

also account for the deterioration. According to the plan, there appears to be diagonal symmetry, as in Fig 4.20.

With this diagonal symmetry in the inside of the side chapels, it is possible to suggest what the missing cornices in the 5th and 6th chapels looked like. They would have been the same, diagonally opposite.
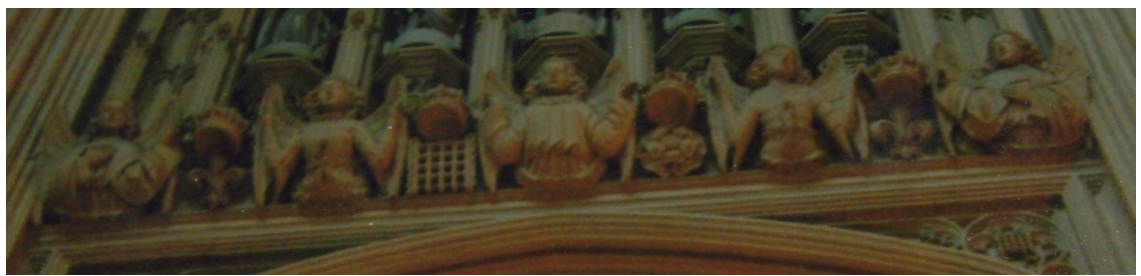
Fig 4.25 Bay 9 triforium

The angels above the 9th bay at triforium level are relatively well preserved (fig 4.25). They do not appear to have any broken or missing parts. They are shown from head to hip but they appear to be smaller than their counterparts in some of the other bays. The feathered angels in this bay are distinctly different from all those in the other bays because they are easier to make out and are elaborately detailed. The stone appears to be slightly darker in colour. I suggest that because their intrinsic detail is so dissimilar, they are most likely to have been made by a different mason from those previously discussed. Every detail of these angels is carefully defined; the fine curly hair, the

wings, girdles, tunics, feathers and faces. The feathers are very noticeable and elaborate, particularly those that point downwards on the left elbow. Angel 4 is feathered down to the wrists and is similar in appearance to angel 2. These angels have weathered the test of time better than the other angels in the chapel. They are sharper all round and all have similar chiselled noses. The actions of the first and last angel suggest symmetry and harmonious balance. They all indicate the crowns but do not actually support them. Angels 1 and 5 display the same action.

Inside the chapel (4.26) on the left, angels 2 and 4 are similar in that their chests stick out, reminiscent of an eagle's breast. The pillar belonging to Ludovic Stuart's monument has destroyed angel 3 with only part of a wing still remaining. The quality and preservation of the angels is much the same as can be found in the other chapels. However, their quality is certainly not the same as can be found in the frieze at triforium level of this bay, which is far superior in terms of detail and craftsmanship. The effect of this is that these angels are some of the most conspicuous within the chapel and are a testament to the obvious skill of the sculptors employed. The angels of the frieze on the west wall are equally noticeable for their quality albeit clearly sculpted by a different hand.

On the right hand side, all the angels on this side appear to have long faces and long, well defined, wavy hair. Angel 1 is bigger than the others but it is angel 2 that is distinctly different inside this bay (fig. 4.26, bottom). He looks like those found on the frieze of this bay, in terms of size and style, but he is bigger and more detailed with larger hands and defined wavy hair. He is feathered and wears a girdle and bow tied at

the waist. The girdle is elaborately twisted and it is almost possible to see the strands of thread that make up the girdle.

He has pointed feathers at the elbow, which are similar to those found on the angels in the frieze above. The upper body and arms are richly feathered.

Fig 4.26 Bay 9

Top: Bay 9 axial chapel (South Chapel), left-hand side
Middle: Bay 9 axial chapel (South Chapel), left-hand side detail
Bottom: Bay 9 axial chapel (South Chapel), right-hand side
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007

The chest does not, however, stick out like that of the other feathered angels in this inner bay. There is detailed beadwork around the neckline and a rim around the head, which may suggest that he is wearing some kind of band or crown. On top of this is a Patée formée cross. His obvious difference in size and detail would suggest that he is not meant to be placed here inside the bays and is perhaps a replacement.

Again, there is diagonal symmetry, as in Figure 4.20.

South Aisle: Synopsis of Bays 11-13
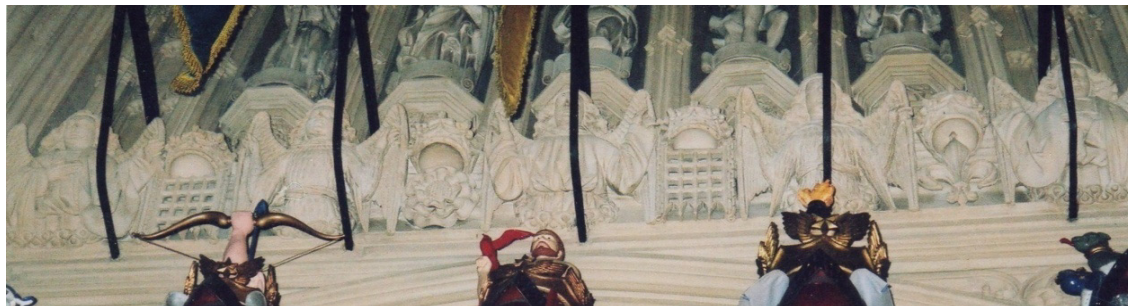
Fig 4.27 Bay 10 triforium

Source: Author's own photograph, 2007

The angels of the 10th Bay (fig 4.27) are very similar to the 9th, in that they are very elaborate and finely detailed, particularly in the treatment of feathers and clouds. These feathers only appear on the south wall of the chapel. Also, for the first time, there is a display of a girdle with no bow (angel 2). The fourth angel has an elaborately twisted bow. None of the angels touch the crowns, they merely point to them. Bays 9 and 10 do not contain any angels wearing a crossed stole. Given that triforium level angels of bays 9 and 10 are so different to the other bays in the chapel, it seems likely that the same sculptor worked on both bays 9 and 10. This bay begins and ends with an angel with his right hand raised and finishes with the left hand raised in blessing.
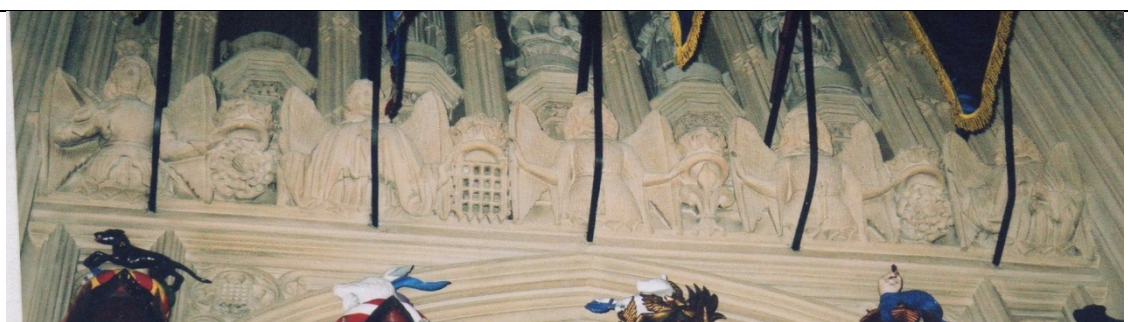
Fig 4.28 Bay 12 triforium

Fig 4.29 Bay 13 triforium

The eleventh bay again sees the beginning of the sword pattern, held in the right hand. Angels 4 and 5 are both feathered and girdled. This motif is repeated in the same position in the twelfth bay. In fact, the clothing and motifs are mirrored in bays 11 and 12 save for slight differences such as the inclusion of a cloak on angel 1. The second angel is distinctly bigger than the others in the bay.

It is important to note that despite the similarities in costume, no bay is exactly the same and *there is no diagonal symmetry across the bays* of the chapel. It is difficult to suggest why this is the case but perhaps it may have been due to issues of space. Indeed the shape of the chapel, particularly that it is not square due to the inclusion of radiating chapels at the east end, only makes it impossible to produce perfect balance and symmetry.

Table 4-1: Patterns 1st and 5th Angels Triforium Level

Patterns of First and Fifth Angels at Triforium Level	
Bays 1,2,3 and 5:	No.1 = Right hand holds a sword and wears armour No.5= Left hand raised in blessing
Bay 4:	No.1 = Left hand holds a sword and wears armour No.5 = Right hand holds a baton

Bays 6 and 7:	No.1= Right hand holds a sword and wears armour No.5 = left hand holds a sword and wears armour
Chapel Bay 7:	Inside: Diagonal symmetry.
Bays 8, 9 and 10:	No.1 = Right hand raised in blessing No.5 = Left hand raised in blessing
Chapels Bays 8 & 9	Inside: Diagonal symmetry
Bay 11:	No. 1 = Right hand sword and wears armour No.5 = Left hand holds a dagger (therefore similar to bay 4)
Bay 12:	No.1 = Right hand holds a sword and wears armour, No.5 = Left hand holds a dagger/baton
Bay 13:	No.1 = Right hand holds sword and wears armour No.5 = Left hand raised in blessing, and wears a crossed stole

The common theme running in the frieze is that in each bay, the first angel does something with the right hand and the fifth angel does something with the left. This is most likely to be for aesthetic reasons as there appears to be no scriptural evidence or theological reasoning for this.

North and South Aisles chapels

Fig 4.30 North and South Chapels

Top: North Chapel
Bottom: South Chapel
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007

There are five angels in the side chapels which now contain the bodies of Elizabeth I in the North Aisle end and Mary Queen of Scots in the South Aisle end. At the North Aisle's east end, the first angel holds onto the architectural pilaster with his left hand. This is replicated by the fifth angel in the South Aisle's west end whose right hand holds onto the pilaster and is an example of diagonal symmetry between these two chapels. The angels in both chapels have long, slender faces. The colouring is slightly brighter than in others, perhaps indicating that some sort of wash has been put over them, or they may have been cleaned.

Fig 4.31 Angels between bays

Left: Angels in between bays 4 and 5
Right: Angels in between bays 9 and 10
Source: Author's own photographs, 2007

These angels are of very high quality and it is likely that the same sculptor did both sets.

They are similar to those on the west wall, suggesting the same sculptor did all of these.

In support of this, the angels are alike in stature and costume. They are shown at waist

level and the garments are tucked into the frieze but do not overhang. In between the

fourth and fifth bays, the left hand of the angel on the right is holding onto the pilaster,

ostensibly to support its weight, as in the North and South Aisle end chapels. This is not

a motif found in the triforium level bays. In between the ninth and tenth bays, the wings

stretch on to the supporting architectural pier. The left hand angel's cloak is tied with

cords, and hangs down with two small tassels. Both point to the crown in between them

and both have opposite hands raised. The two angels supporting the crown over the coat of arms of England and France (as existed when constructed) wear plain tunics with an elaborate cloud at the waist and the wings are folded back, on both walls. The fact that the crown is missing in between bays 9 and 10 is probably not due to Puritan iconoclasm; given the imagery that has survived in this chapel, it is more likely that it was broken or damaged accidentally and never repaired.

Construction of the angels and workshop practice

The angels have been constructed in a similar manner throughout the chapel. The white wash applied to the sculptures has hidden the joint between blocks. Bays 1 to 8 and 11 to 13 and the west wall follow the same construction pattern; that is to say that the individual blocks are made of one angel, with one hand on a crown and a symbol (either portcullis, Fleur de Lys or Tudor Rose) as shown in the diagram (fig 4.33). In the bays, there are five blocks of stone per bay, each joined together, three of which are interchangeable. Given the number of angels, this leaves scope for at least thirty interchangeable blocks.

Fig 4.33 The construction of a block (end block)

Angel, inter-changeable motif of Fleur de Lys, Portcullis and Tudor Rose (as here)
Source: hand drawn by the author

There are definite distinctions in sculptural style. The separate styles can be divided thus:

West wall

Triforium level bays

Inside chapels

Trifoirum level bays 9 and 10

Angels in between bays 4 / 5 and 9 / 10.

In my opinion there are likely to have been at least four different sculptors and it is possible to identify the areas each sculptor was responsible for:-

The west wall and the angels in between bays 4 / 5 and 9 / 10 – These angels have a similarity in size, clothing and gesture;

The triforium level bays of 9 and 10 – The quality of detail and style are so different to the other carvings but are so similar in terms of their craftsmanship;

The friezes in the inside of the bays and the North and South Aisle end chapels – There is diagonal symmetry across these areas;

Triforium level bays – All of these angels vary in armour and liturgical vestments but are similar in style.

Aside from the similarities in the angels in the areas noted above, it must be the case that at least four or more different hands were employed in the scheme: it is simply too big and too varied for one sculptor and was completed within a tighter time frame than one man could have managed.

Conclusions: The Nine Orders?

The documentary evidence does not survive to give precise details as to how Henry VII's chapel was designed to look. Other writers have dealt with this issue by examining its function and then forming a reconstruction on this basis.[396] However, Henry VII's will gives great insight into his faith and devotions, which were ultimately materialised in his chantry chapel. His will mentioned the inclusion of masses to be said in the honour of the Nine Orders of angels. This was borne in mind during the examination of the chapel. Ultimately, the goal was to demonstrate if the sculptured angels in the chapel represented the Nine Orders.

---

[396] See Wilson, 'The Functional Design of Henry VII's Chapel: A Reconstruction', pp. 141-188.

The assessment of the frieze in the chapel has shown that there is a clear iconographic programme of angels sculpted in the chapel. This is in spite of the fact that there is a spectacular stylistic variation in the dimensions of the figures, shape and definition of the wings, royal badges, heads, clothing, facial expression and hand gestures of the angels. However, the fact that there are five figures to a bay means that it is very unlikely that any of the angels in the chapel represent the nine orders.

This is supported by an analysis of the individual figures. Logic dictates that there should be nine separate patterns in order to accommodate nine separate orders, yet there are far more than nine patterns present here. There is no distinction in terms of placing or position. It is therefore more likely, given the lack of symmetry in the triforium level bays and the sheer number of angels and patterns, that while these angels are differentiated, they are not the Nine Orders of the angelic hierarchy. While there is diagonal symmetry in the inside of bays 7 and 8, as would have been the case inside the chapels of bays 5 and 6 if the two destroyed friezes still existed, there is no evidence to suggest that diagonal symmetry is required in a depiction of the Nine Orders and the use of symmetry here is most likely to be of artistic, as opposed to iconographical, value.

Judging by the inclusion of swords, priestly vestments and girdles, it is highly likely that those involved in devising the scheme were aware of the writings of Dionysius, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Dives and Pauper* and other visual sources. Dow theorises that the angels represent various orders but as has been shown, this is not the case. However, if the programme does not explicitly display the Nine Orders, what is the role of the angels in the chapel? In the chapel their role, inclusion and function is three fold: First, they act as supporters, displaying the pervasive use of heraldry; Second, they act

as soldiers guarding the tomb of a king, in the manner of the angels who guarded Christ's tomb after the Resurrection; Third, they act as priests and deacons, in various ceremonial or processional roles and assisting in the celebration of the Mass, offering the Eucharist for the repose of Henry's soul. This would indicate therefore, that these angels function not as a celestial hierarchy, but rather, as a depiction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Whilst setting out to discover the identity of these angels, I also learnt about the procedures and methods in the workshops in which the angels were created. This has proved to be a useful by-product of my research in determining how the workshop functioned and how many sculptors were employed.

In conclusion, Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey functions in the same vein as the Beauchamp Chapel, as a chantry, a place for masses to be celebrated for the founder's soul. The scheme of angels is representative of Henry's faith. They feature not as the Nine Orders, however, but rather as different types of angels, with specific functions.

Case Study D: A Representation of Angels at a Parochial Level in Leicestershire

Angels appear in the roofs of churches throughout England and one such local example selected as my final case study is that of the parish church of St. Mary, Ashby Folville, Leicestershire. This model was chosen for its size, number of angels and range of iconography, which in turn demonstrates the function of these sculptures. Fig. 5.1 over the page demonstrates the positioning of each angel in the roof.

Very little is known about these sculptures and it is difficult to date them exactly, although we can suggest that they are contemporary with the original roof, from the perpendicular period, added with the clerestory. [397] This allowed more light and height and therefore more space for decorative works. The Tour Notes of the DAC Conference of 1983 held at the Leicestershire Record Office state that the "late medieval roof [is] uncommon in the diocese [...] Restoration took place in 1875 and in a long sequence between 1885 and 1913 [...] The architect for much of the work was John Ely of Manchester".[398] The sculptures were referred to by John Nichols in his *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*. He wrote:

> The nave has a rich roof wood-work, finely carved, and well preserved; the pillars tall and slender. At the bottom of the wood supporters of this roof are several well-carved figures (similar to those in Noseley church); some holding various musical instruments, and others plain shields.[399]

---

[397] I am indebted to John Clark of the University of Leicester for assisting me in the dating of this roof.
[398] DAC Conference 1983 Tour Notes, St. Mary's Ashby Folville, Leicestershire, Leicestershire Record Office.
[399] Nichols, J, *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, in 4 vols, vol. 3, part 1, London, 1798, p. 30.

Fig 5.1 Plan of roof angels, St. Mary's Church, Ashby Folville, Leicestershire
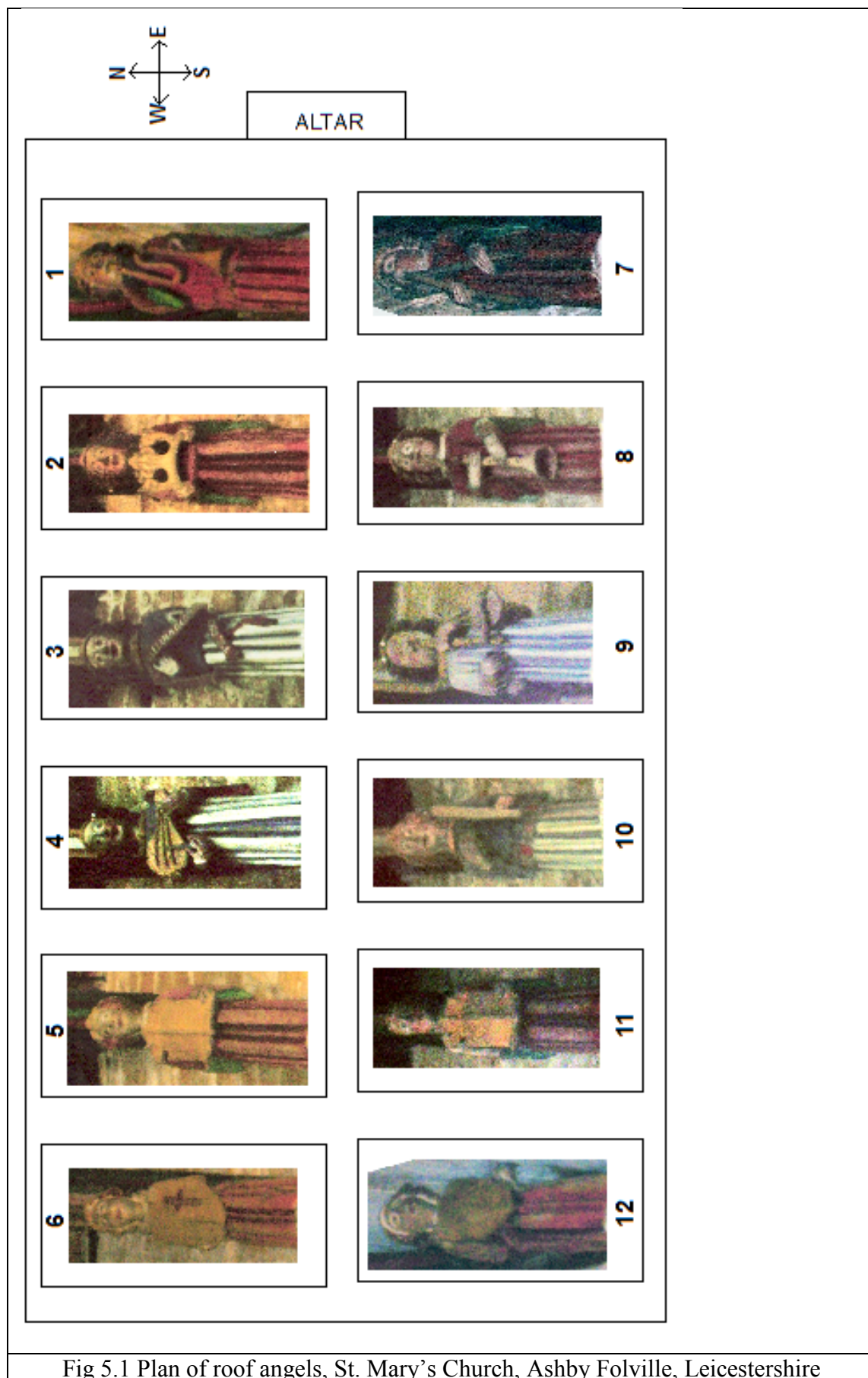
Nichols is careful not to label them angels. However, about Noseley, he writes:

> The beams of the roof are supported by carved angels, each holding a shield, on some of which are emblems of the Passion, on others the arms of Martivall &c.[400]

The angels at St. Mary's church, Noseley, are unpainted wooden sculptures. Like their contemporaries at Ashby Folville, wings are not evident. The angels rest on plain corbels, holding shields. An examination of the roof at Noseley clearly demonstrates that these are different to those at Ashby Folville, in terms of size, colour and function.

Fig 5.2 Roof angel holding a shield at St.Mary's Church, Noseley, Leicestershire

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

---

[400] Nichols, *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, vol. 2, part 2, London, 1798, p. 752. The Martivall were the first family to occupy the house at Noseley.

The roof of St. Mary's church at Ashby Folville contains twelve angels, six to the north and six to the south sides. This number suggests that these angels are unlikely to be representations of the Nine Orders.

The angels stand on corbels, which depict the faces of human and beasts. They all face forward and wear liturgical vestments consisting of an alb, girdle, amice and in some instances, a cope. The vestments on each figure finish at the ankles and the feet. Thus, the legs are not visible. They all have the same golden, wavy hair and are all wearing a small gold crown or tiara on their heads. The angels are approximately one metre in height. Close inspection reveals that some of the angels have white circles around their eyes. Pevsner suggests that the colour on the whole is "probably modern".[401] We can perhaps suggest that they were painted when the roof was restored, c.1885- 1913.

Musical angels in the scheme

Half of the figures are playing musical instruments. This is a common feature in the depiction of angels and there are many examples within significant buildings to demonstrate this.

As discussed in the case study of the Beauchamp Chapel, angels were often included in images of scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary as her cult grew in Europe. We can see how this has been demonstrated at Ashby Folville, as the musical angels are located in the church dedicated to her.

---

[401] Pevsner, N, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, New Haven & London, 2003 p. 86.

Turning to the figures in detail; angel no.1 is dressed in a red alb that has green inside the sleeves. Feathers are evident on the top half of the alb. He is playing an 'S' shaped trumpet and the left hand holds the bell yard. Angel no. 4 is playing a three-stringed musical instrument, which is difficult to identify. It may be a lute but because the right hand is holding a plectrum and lutes were only played with the fingers, it may also be a three-stringed oval fiddle or plucked rebec. [402] Angel no. 7 is playing a pair of duct flutes. Interestingly, his sleeves point down at the elbow, like wings. Angel no. 8 is playing the bagpipes; the left hand holds the chanter and the bag cover rests underneath the left arm. The blowpipe is at his lips. Angel no. 9 is playing a pipe and tabor. The top half of angel no. 10 is clothed by blue feathers. It appears as though the wings are folded inwards and point down at the sleeve. His left hand holds an Irish-style harp. The right hand is raised across the chest.

Other angels in the scheme

The other angels in the scheme are each holding different items.

Angel no. 2 holds a crown. Angel no. 3 holds a banner, the words on which read "Alleluia Glory to God", most likely a modern inscription. A surviving medieval inscription would most likely have been written in Latin. Angels numbers 5 and 11 are similar in terms of the objects that they hold; what appears to be a shield or a book with the spine exposed. Their vestment sleeves also point down at the elbow, like wings. Angels no. 6 and 12 are in mirror image in that they both hold a brown shield, with a

---

[402] Prideaux, E, K, 'The Carvings of Medieval Musical Instruments in Exeter Cathedral Church', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 72, 1915, p. 12.

red cross on the bottom left-hand corner (no. 6) and the bottom right-hand corner (no. 12) respectively.

There is no obviously discernable pattern to the iconography and little symmetry. Only nos. 6 and 12 and 5 and 11 are mirror images. However, there is symmetry in terms of the colour of the vestments:

1 and 7: red and green

2 and 8: red and green

3 and 9: blue and white

4 and 10: blue and white

5 and 11: red and green

6 and 12: red

The primary observation to make about these sculptures is their lack of obvious wings. Only two out of the twelve angels have feathers on the body (nos. 1 and 10) but some appear to have wings (nos. 5, 7, 10 and 11). This helps to identify that they are, in fact, angels. We cannot say for certain if these sculptures had wings when they were first carved. However, we can put forward some suggestions as to why they are not there now. It is not through lack of space that they are not evident. Indeed, if they originally existed, they could have been separately carved and would have extended outwards. They may never have been finished. It seems unlikely (though possible) that the wings were sawn off by later iconoclasts. Iconoclasm of angels will be discussed in chapter three. Or, perhaps, they may never have been there at all.

However, do angels need wings to be able to be called angels? All of the primary sources of chapter one showed that the authors said that angels have wings, but were these writings adhered to? I suggest not. There are other examples of contemporary musical angels in existence who do not have wings. For instance, the Victoria and Albert Museum contains in its collection a carved corbel of a musical angel playing a lute or gittern, said to have come form St. Mary's Church in Bury St.Edmunds, Suffolk.[403] The fact that this church is dedicated to the Virgin further illustrates my earlier point that musical angels were often to be found in churches whose patron is the Blessed Virgin Mary.

---

[403]Corbel- Victoria and Albert Museum   http:// collections.vam.ac.uk/item/084662/corbel/ accessed 30/11/2009.

Fig 5.3 Angel playing a lute,

Source: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/084662/corbel

The angels in the roof at Ashby Folville demonstrate the depiction of angels in a parochial setting. They hold shields, bear scrolls or play musical instruments. The inclusion of feathers help us to identify these figures as angels, and the lack of wings does not discourage us from identifying them as such.

<u>Angels on the monument to Ralph Woodford</u>

Fig 5.4 Monument to Ralph Woodford

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Also in the church, on the North side of the chancel, is a monument to Ralph Woodford of c.1485. Woodford inherited the manor of Ashby Folville from his grandfather, Robert.[404] Two woodsmen or greenmen support the coat of arms of Woodford and Folville. An angel stands on either side.

---

[404] Leicestershire Manorial Records: Ashby Folville, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1919-23, p. 469.

Fig 5.5 Shield bearing angels on the monument to Ralph Woodford

Left and Right: Shield bearing angels on the monument to Ralph Woodford

Source: Author's own Photograph, 2006

The angel to the left is dressed in an amice and alb. His feet are not visible. He holds a shield across his chest. A pair of large wings extend from the shoulders and extend to the thighs. Feathers are clearly visible on the wings. There appears to be a cross diadem on the head of wavy hair. The angel to the right is similar in appearance, wearing the same vestments and cross diadem. He is also holding a shield. The wings are treated slightly differently in that his wings appear to be folded inwards towards the head and thus less extended outwards as the other angel.

The lintel is made of a "frieze of demi-figures of angels".[405] That there are six angels in Pevsner's assessment is only true in part. He fails to recognize that the middle figure, in between angels nos. 3 and 4 is in fact, a representation of Christ, shown in a gesture of blessing, with his right hand raised. He is completely different in appearance to the angels who flank either side of him. He has no wings but he does have a halo, unlike the angels beside him. His hands have decayed. It looks as though he could be wearing a cope, secured by a morse at the breast.

The six angels that make up the lintel with Christ, three on either side of him, are all dressed in an alb and amice. They all have wings, folded inwards towards the head. Feathers are evident on angel no. 2. They are depicted to waist level and rest on small plinths. They are badly decayed and it is difficult to ascertain what they held in their hands.

---

[405] Pevsner, p. 86.

Fig 5.6 Demi Angel No 2

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 5.7 Jesus Christ

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Summary

The surviving representations of angels at Ashby Folville offer an interesting insight into the decoration of a parochial church. Neither the angels in the roof nor on the Woodford tomb depict the angelic hierarchy; rather they function as individually differentiated angels. In the roof, they form part of a choir with musical instruments and act as shield bearers. On the tomb, they intercede on behalf of the dead, taking the soul to the bosom of Abraham. The schemes at Ashby Folville demonstrate a variety of angels rather than a systematic representation of the Nine Orders of Angels.

Conclusion to Case Studies

This chapter looked at different case studies in order to evaluate the Angelic Hierarchy and examine the instances of its appearance. The Angelic Hierarchy did appear, but it can only be confidently identified where contemporary inscriptions survive. It is likely that the painters, artists or patrons exercised considerable independence in their depiction of the individual orders, which must be the result of the potential for confusion created by the variety of attributes in the textual sources. The vague and unspecific descriptions of the orders means that there would be considerable variation of forms and attributes where visually portrayed. It seems that angels were portrayed as different and particular types, rather than being singled out as belonging to an order. The lack of consistency in the textual sources was demonstrated in the visual arts by the lack of uniformity between the orders in the representations discussed. This relates to

the scholastic view that angels had individual personalities and functions, as discussed by Peter Lombard and Bonaventure.[406]

The vast majority of the angels discussed in the cases studies were depicted wearing liturgical vestments, symbolic of the Eucharist. Given the variation of these clothes, it seems that an ecclesiastical hierarchy was more likely to be represented in some instances, than an angelic one. In conclusion, I agree with Keck and his view of the representation of angels in the late Middle Ages:

> There seems to have been no consensus on the precise depiction of each of the individual orders. (In larger parts, this reflects the imprecise meanings attached to each order) [...] Given the diversity of medieval portrayals of the nine orders, it is perhaps more useful to consider each particular representation of the nine orders within its specific devotional or liturgical context, as Pamela Sheingorn has done for the Norwich alabaster of the Nine Orders (created in 1415). She correlates the iconography of the angels here specifically with the Sanctus; the preponderance of albs and amices in the depictions links the angels specifically with their liturgical roles.[407]

[406] Keck, pp. 99-105.

[407] Keck, p. 65. See Sheingorn, P, 'The Te Deum Altarpiece and the Iconography of Praise', in Williams, E, ed., *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, 1989, pp.171-182 and Rosenburg, A, Engel und Dämonen: Gestaltwandel eines Urbildes, Munich, 1967, pp. 137-141.

PART III – Reformation England

The Fate of Angels in Reformation England

Introduction

The two previous chapters established that angels were an integral part of late-medieval faith and that representations of the angelic hierarchy can only be securely identified where there are contemporary textual identifications. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how liturgical and confessional developments impacted upon this representational practice with the advent of the Reformation. This chapter's aim is to demonstrate that angels were more frequently represented than has been thought hitherto, and accordingly, it addresses the variety of factors that contributed to their continued ubiquity. Our discussion will begin by looking at the mutation of the representation of angels on the continent and if this bore impact in England. We shall briefly contextualise these changes in a summary account of the Reformation, and investigate the reception afforded to angels in England up to the outbreak of the Civil War.

The Development of Angelic Imagery Part II: The Mutations of Angels

Part I of the development of angelic imagery discussed in chapter one explored the origins of the winged celestial messenger in the visual arts, referring to the ancient models of Assyria, Greece and Rome, as well as descriptions of angels in the Bible. However, the advent of the Italian Renaissance, a movement that was concerned with the revival of the splendour of the ancient past of Greece and Rome, did much to change

the subject of iconography in general. The discovery of depictions of mythical creatures on the reliefs and sarcophagi that were located in the excavations of Roman buildings, for example, Nero's Golden House towards the later half of the fifteenth century, aided greatly in this process. Ancient motifs were rediscovered, such as the satyr, hippocampus, Cupid and the Bacchic child and among these, was the winged baby boy, which would be referred to as a putto.[408] Charles Dempsey has carried out extensive research into the development of the iconography of putti in his book *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (2001). Dempsey addresses the origins of the putto in relation to Renaissance art and identifies Donatello as the protagonist who brought the revived putti to the fore.[409] The first instance of putto in the round are the three winged baby boys executed in bronze that decorate his tabernacle of the Baptismal font in Siena Cathedral of 1429. [410]

---

[408] Semler, L.E, 'Antique-Work and Naked Boys: Animating the Tudor-Stuart Grotesque', *Parergon*, vol. 21, issue 1, 2004, p. 87.
[409] Dempsey, C, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, Chapel Hill NC, 2001 pp. 18-20.
[410] Dempsey, p. 18.

Fig 6.1 Spiritello, Tabernacle of the Baptismal Font, Siena Cathedral, 1429.

Source: Dempsey, p.19.

Yet it is difficult to define putti and their functions. Dempsey explains that winged babies in art were viewed as representations of love gods, called amorini or cupids. [411] Moreover, they embodied many kinds of spiritual beings and were called spiritelli, in Italian, meaning diminutive spirits or sprites.[412] L.E. Semler, has written about the depiction of these infants in English art in his paper, 'Antique-Work and Naked Boys: Animating the Tudor-Stuart Grotesque' and explains that the putto or spiritello was referred to in England as the 'little boye' or nakyd boye', which is different from the medieval angel and often referred to as Cupid. [413] In some instances, Cupid was being represented, but not in every case.

Sculpted Putti were first seen in England on the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey. The tomb was constructed by Pietro Torrigiano, a Florentine sculptor, before 1517. The choice of an Italian sculptor demonstrates the high level of English interest in the Renaissance. They were also seen in the work of Giovanni da Maiano, on the clock tower of Hampton Court.[414]

---

[411] Dempsey, p. 4.
[412] Dempsey, pp. 4-6.
[413] Semler, p. 86.
[414] Semler, p. 89.

Fig 6.2 Detail of Putti on the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York

Westminster Abbey

Source: Marks, R, &Williamson, P, eds., *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, London, 2003, p. 83.

There were many patrons who contributed to the popularity of putti in England, including Henry VIII, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas More. The German artist Hans Holbein was instrumental in adding to the popularity of putti. He used the motif to decorate the title page of Thomas More's *Utopia* in 1518 (fig 6.3). Nine winged, naked, baby boys adorn the border of the page, some holding spears, blowing trumpets and others gripping the text. Elizabeth McCutcheon documented More's interest in angels in her 1969 paper 'Thomas More, Raphael Hythlodaeus, and the Angel Raphael'. She explains that Raphael, the leading character in *Utopia*, has connotations of the archangel Raphael, who guided Tobit in the Old Testament *Book of Tobit*.[415] Despite *Utopia* being a secular text, in which More describes a perfect society, it does contain religious undertones. Although we are aware of the number of these infants, it is unlikely that they function as a subtle hint to the Nine Orders: rather, they are purely as a decorative

---

[415] McCutcheon, E, 'Thomas More, Raphael Hythlodaeus, and the Angel Raphael', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* vol.9, no.1 The English Renaissance, Winter 1969, pp. 85- 111.

motif. However, the naked boy without wings and blowing trumpets decorates More's *Epigrammata* of 1520 (fig 6.4) as well as Henry VIII's *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherum* (Defence of the Seven Sacraments) (fig 6.5) in 1521 and 1522, which will be examined later on in this chapter.[416] The usage of both winged and non-winged baby boys would suggest that the motif of the putti was popular in both forms. Semler suggests that these title pages contain four types of naked boy: shield bearers, figures in friezes, figures in vertical decoration, and as free-ranging decoration on the page.[417] Henry VIII continued to show interest in the naked boy as a decorative emblem, most likely because it was fashionable and popular on the continent. This trend was demonstrated by items at his court, seen for example on secular, mythological scenes on tapestries, particularly involving those of Bacchus. [418]

---

[416] McCutcheon, p. 92.

[417] McCutcheon, p. 94.

[418] McCutcheon. pp. 94-104. For further information regarding tapestries in the Renaissance, see the catalogue of the exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York in 2002: Campbell, T.P, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, New Haven & London, 2002.
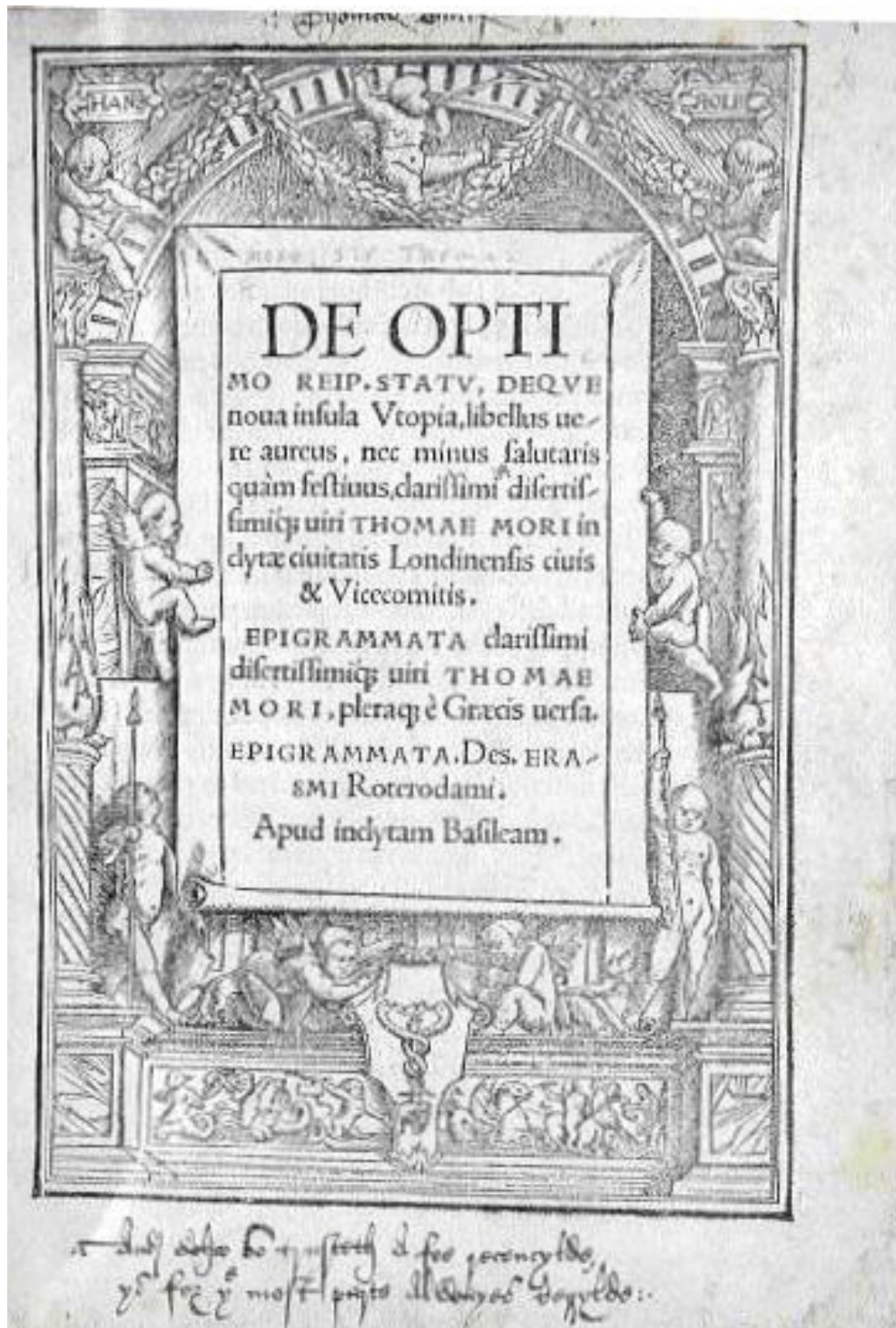
Fig 6.3 Title page from Thomas More's Utopia 1518

Source: The St. Thomas More Collection, Fall, 2007
http://www.bc.edu/schools/law/library/about/rarebook/exhibitions/thomasmore07.html
Accessed 9/11/09

Fig 6.4 Thomas More's Epigrammata, 1520

Source: More's Utopia, St. John's College, University of Cambridge
http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/pix/utopia.htm
Accessed 9/11/09

In comparing the case studies of depictions of angels in the fifteenth century as discussed earlier, together with the above putti, I suggest that, by 1520, a mutation of the winged, celestial being or spirit, had taken place in England. In fact, the winged celestial youth of the fifteenth century had regressed back to its artistic origins of

ancient Greece and Rome and the portrayal of the winged gods. This chapter is concerned with how angels were viewed by the reformers in terms of theology and their legitimacy in art and sculpture. After a preliminary discussion of the Reformation, the role of angels, together with their artistic representation during this turbulent time of political and religious change, will be analysed.

The Reformation: Background and An Overview of the Secondary Literature

The year 1517 marked a turning point in the Christian faith, for it was in this year that the German monk Martin Luther posted his ninety-five theses on the door of Wittenberg church, setting the wheels in motion for debates about religious enquiry and reform that would also involve discussion about angels. The Reformation in England was a gradual process which saw many changes in terms of theology and to the belief system, not least in terms of angelology and the representation of angels. One of the key issues about the reformation is that the reformers placed great emphasis on the Bible. The Reformation initially met with hostility from Henry VIII. However, by the end of his reign in 1547, the country had metamorphosed from one which was loyal to Rome, to one that saw the sovereign become both head of state and church. Further reforms would continue under Henry's son Edward VI (1547-1553), and then be reversed by Henry's daughter Mary I (1553-1558). A religious settlement under the Protestant umbrella would not be reached until the reign of Henry's other daughter Elizabeth I (1558-1603). Religious changes continued into the Stuart era and up to the outbreak of the civil war, where our assessment ends. The literature on the subject of the Reformation is analysed with a

view to learning about the reformers' opinions of angels and the artistic representation of these creatures. [419]

K. Harvey gives a very detailed examination of the views of English Reformers on angels during the Reformation, in her unpublished thesis, 'The Role of Angels in English Protestant Thought 1580-1660'.[420] Although Harvey expertly deals with the spirituality of angels, she does not analyse how angels were represented in art and sculpture. A book which is of particular interest and relevance to our study is *Angels in the Early Modern World*, a collection of thirteen essays edited by two respected Reformation historians, Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham. The essay topics are exceptionally wide ranging, from the Renaissance angel to the role of angels in the society of Puritan New England. Alexandra Walsham, in her very informative essay 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation' suggests that depictions of angels were a minor issue and not the main focus in the debate about "image-making and image-breaking".[421]

I have cited evidence for possible defacement of angels earlier in this thesis, in commenting on the representations of the Seraphim and Dominations on the roodscreen at Barton Turf. Yet, in order to evaluate Walsham and Marshall's views, an overview is given of what the Reformers said and wrote about angels.

---

[419] For further reference to the Reformation, see Collinson, P, *The Reformation*, London, 2003, MacCulloch, D, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*, 2009.

[420] For a very detailed examination of English Reformers' views on angels during the Reformation, see Harvey, K, 'The Role of Angels in English Protestant Thought 1580-1660', Unpublished PhD thesis, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge, 2004.

[421] Walsham, A, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', in Marshall, P & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 134. See also the reviews by Richard F. Johnson and Laura Smoller: Johnson, R.F, 'Angels in the Early Modern World. Book Review', *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 93, issue 4, October 2007, pp. 937-938 and Smoller, L, 'Angels in the Modern World. Book Review" *Renaissance Quarterly,* vol. 60, issue 4, Winter 2007, pp.1409-1411.

Peter Marshall, in his essay 'Angels around the deathbed: variations on a theme in the English art of dying', discusses the role of angels at the moment of death. He stresses that Reformation historians had not investigated what had happened to angels. He says that "angels continued to play a significant role in the imaginative representation and devotional management of death in post-Reformation England".[422] The notion of angels waiting at the moment of death to receive the departing person's soul and take it to the next life, was a common belief in pre-Reformation Catholic England. Marshall questions whether this medieval belief continued into the Reformation. The definition of Abraham's bosom is examined and Marshall suggests that it was redefined in the post-Reformation period as heaven, rather than a place of limbo for the predecessors of the church who lived before Christ.[423] This is an important concept in terms of the role of angels in death in the post-medieval period, given their prominent position in the prayers of the dead in pre-Reformation England. In contrast, they receive no mention in any of the burial services under Edward or Elizabeth, nor were prayers to be said at the hour of death.[424] Having given a brief overview of the literature, we now turn to the early reformers' views of angels, in order to see how the celestial creatures were viewed in the Reformation.

Early Reformers' Reformation of Angelology

Martin Luther wished to see an overhaul of the catalogue of errors and abuses within the Roman Catholic church, but he also addressed doctrinal issues that had been established by the scholastics of the Middle Ages. Luther's commentaries on biblical exegesis are

---

[422] Marshall, P, 'Angels around the Deathbed:Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying', in Marshall, P & Walsham, A, *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge,2006, p. 84.
[423] Marshall, 'Angels Around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying', p. 103.
[424] Marshall, 'Angels Around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying', p. 92.

extensive. Here, we shall consider his views on religious imagery and its legitimacy as part of church decoration and the question of adoration and idol worship, with particular reference to his arguments about angels.

Philip M. Soergel in his essay 'Luther on Angels', suggests that angels figure in Luther's works at "key points in his career," and that "angels were important to him throughout his life, and that they reveal, moreover, that he was often far more tolerant of medieval teaching concerning these spirits than was Calvin". [425] Soergel considers Luther's views on angels throughout his career, the common thread during the years being that at no point did he deny their existence. In his *Lectures on the Psalms* of 1513-15, before he published his ninety-five theses, Luther wrote that "Christ dwells among the ten choirs of angels," an idea of Franciscan origin, in praise of the Virgin Mary they may also have come from *2 Enoch*.[426] Luther wrote in keeping with scholastic teachings of angelology, addressing the influence of angels on mankind and their relationship with them. However, as time progressed, he began to question this influence and relationship.[427] In 1519, two years after the ninety five theses were published, Luther still believed in the company and veneration of the saints, as well as many other Roman Catholic traditions such as purgatory. He expressed interest in the notion of a guardian angel, particularly at the moment of death, in his 'Sermon on Preparing to Die', writing that:

> To this end he must call upon the holy angels, particularly his own angel, the Mother of God, and all the apostles and saints, especially since God has granted him exceptional zeal for this. However, he dare not doubt, but must believe that his prayer will be heard. He has two reasons for this. The first one is that he has just heard from the Scriptures how God commanded the angels to give love and help to all who believe and how the sacrament conveys this. We must hold this before them and

---

[425] Soergel, P.M, 'Luther on Angels', in Marshall P, & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 67. I am indebted to this paper for guidance on Luther's views about angels.
[426] Soergel, p. 69.
[427] Soregel, pp. 70-71.

remind them of it, not that the angels do not know this, or would otherwise not do it, but to make our faith and trust in them, and through them in God, stronger and bolder as we face death.[428]

This quotation shows the respect he accorded to angels and particularly the idea of a guardian angel. Yet his views began to change, particularly as he became sceptical about angelic visitors and visions. Keck writes that "Protestants would be more ambivalent than Catholics on this matter of angelic visitations".[429] We do not know exactly why, but we see a change in his thinking, from the early 1530s onwards, especially with regard to medieval scholasticism.[430] He writes that:

> Neither Gregory nor any angel has the right to set forth or teach in the church something which cannot be demonstrated from Scripture. I think I have sufficiently shown from their own writings that scholastic theology is nothing else than ignorance of the truth and a stumbling block in comparison with Scripture.[431]

Luther's works of the 1520s continue in this vein, with particular emphasis on the Old Testament and the function of angels in the governance of God's creation. Luther viewed angels' roles as guides and protectors but became increasingly sceptical about contemporary appearances of angels. It should be emphasised however, that he did not dismiss their existence outright.[432] One crucial demonstration of this was the sermon preached at Coburg on 29th September 1530, on the feast of Michelmas. In this sermon, he set out to renounce the old angelology and establish a new one; one that was not based on the traditional deeds of the archangel Michael, but one that would take account

---

[428]Luther, M,: Pelikan, Jaroslav J, Oswald, H.C, Lehmann, H.T, eds., *Luther's Works, Vol. 42: Devotional Writings I.* Philadelphia, 1999, c1969 (Luther's Works 42), S. 42:III-113. CD Rom. Hereafter referred to as Luther's Works.
[429] Keck, p. 194. Keck also informs us that "Keith Thomas records instances in early modern England in which different Protestants claimed both that angels still appeared and that spirits would manifest themselves no longer". See Thomas, K, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York, 1971, pp. 89, 127 & 590.
[430] Soergel, p. 73.
[431] *Luther's Works, vol. 32: Career of the Reformer II.* S. 32:III-257.
[432] Soergel, p. 73.

of his appearance in scripture, one that would "praise God and the work of all the angels he has created".[433] On the other hand, Luther expressed great interest in the devil and the fallen angels, expressing the view that good angels will always over-come Satan and his followers.[434] In his *Lectures on Genesis*, he suggested, however, that the Bible did not contain enough information regarding their fall, and as such, Christians should not speculate, and should be content with the knowledge that "there are good and evil angels and that God created all of them alike, as good".[435] Due to the lack of substantial information regarding the battle between St. Michael and the good angels against the devil with his fallen angels, Luther contended that medieval scholars "created accounts of 'nine choirs of angels' that fell from heaven in a 'very great battle' that lasted for nine days".[436] This is crucial to our understanding of the Reformation as a movement based solely on scripture, because here Luther suggests that exact evidence for angels and their activities and attributes had to be contained within scripture, and not be based on tradition, in order for them to be true accounts.

As Luther dismissed the teachings of the scholastics, it is pertinent to discuss his views on Dionysius and his hierarchy. In his *Lectures on Zachariah* published 1526, Luther writes:

> Here I omit what Jerome dreams up—that the angels did not know of the mystery of the incarnation. I also omit the hallucinations of Dionysius about the celestial hierarchy—that some angels teach others, that some are of very low rank, some of very high rank, and I don't know what all he writes so shamelessly as if he himself had seen it. Christ says, "Their angels … behold the face of My Father" (Matt. 18:11). Therefore it is God who illumines the angels and who uses their efforts. It is not true that some angels illumine others. However, because all of this takes place to

---

[433] Soergel, p. 74.
[434] Soergel, p. 74-76.
[435] Soergel, p. 78.
[436] Soergel, p. 78.

comfort an afflicted and terrified people, we had to give some attention to this nonsense.[437]

Writing in a very derogatory manner about Dionysius, Luther further adds insult to injury to Dionysius' views when in the 1530s, he gives his opinions on the Nine Orders and particularly the Seraphim and Cherubim. In the same breath, we learn that:

> As for the cherubim, it should be stated that frequent mention is made of them here and there in the Holy Scriptures. About them there is nothing in the Latin theologians except the statement that the term denotes fullness of knowledge. Among the Greek theologians there is Dionysius. They boast that he was a disciple of Paul, but there is no truth to this. He is full of the silliest prattle when he discusses the hierarchy of heaven and that of the church. He invents nine choirs, just like the spheres, assigning the seraphim to the highest rank, then, in order, the cherubim, the thrones, the dominions, the virtues, and the principalities; thereafter, in the lower hierarchy, the powers, the archangels, and the angels. Who does not realize that these are nothing but idle and useless human ideas?[438]

Luther completely rejects Dionysius' teaching of the Nine Orders, stating that he has invented the idea of a hierarchy. He acknowledges the existence of the Cherubim because of their appearance in scripture. However, he does not recognize an ordering of angels. Furthermore, he writes that:

> Then Dionysius maintains that in the ecclesiastical hierarchy there are bishops, deacons, subdeacons, lectors, exorcists, etc. Such prattle comes from one who is supposed to have been the disciple of the chief of the apostles and teacher of the Gentiles! Nevertheless, his authority is vaunted so highly that the puffed-up hypocrites claim all his statements were derived from divine oracles, although nowhere does he have a single word about faith or any useful instruction from the Holy Scriptures. Who told him that there were nine choirs? Why did the Franciscans later on add a tenth as a palace for the Holy Mother to live in? In short, these are trifles worthy for the papists to learn and admire after assailing the sound doctrine so stubbornly.[439]

---

[437] *Luther's Works, Vol. 20: Minor Prophets III: Zechariah*. S. 20:26.
[438] *Luther's Works, vol. 1: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*. S. 1:234.
[439] *Luther's Works, vol.1: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*, S. 1:235.

The important point here is that Luther has dismissed the tradition of the Nine Orders and questions why the Franciscans saw fit to add a tenth choir for the Virgin Mary. The attitudes quoted above mark a dramatic departure for Luther from his earlier praise of the Franciscan system of Ten Orders. Not only does he dismiss the idea of a hierarchy of angels, but he also rejects the idea of a hierarchy within the church. We can suggest that without a doubt, Luther was dismissive of any former tradition involving angels. He did not confine his views to the discussion of angelology, but also wrote about the artistic representation of angels, which is of major interest to this thesis. He paid particular attention to the Cherubim and Seraphim. We can suggest that this is because their existence and descriptions of their physical form can be found in the Bible, and thus would have been acceptable to Luther. We have seen that Luther wrote much about angels and their role as intercessors. In defining the difference between the Cherubim and a Cherub, Luther believes:

> So, then, I shall express my opinion about the term "cherub" so far as I have been able to form it as a result of my reading. It seems to me that "cherub" denotes the ruddy face which girls and boys have at an early age. Thus painters also depict the angels in the likeness of infants. By cherubim, therefore, you may understand angels who appear with a face that is not wrinkled or sad, but with a happy and friendly expression, with a chubby and well-rounded face, whether this be a human face or some other. And so "cherub" is a general term, which does not represent a particular name among the ranks of the angels, as Dionysius dreams, but refers to their appearance, because they show themselves to men with ruddy appearance and youthful face. This is also the opinion of the Hebrews, who say that   is an Aramaic word: is a servile letter, and denotes a handsome young man with a chubby and florid face; therefore the angels are called   because they have a florid face and are happy and charming, just as they are also generally depicted.[440]

With regard to the Seraphim, Luther suggested that:

> Likewise, "seraphim," from fire or brilliance, is also a general term for angels because of the nature of their appearance, as the passage in Num. 21:6 shows: "God sent among the people   , seraphim serpents," that is, burning or fiery ones. Therefore one may conclude that the seraphim are angels who not only are handsome and have a chubby face, like the cherubim, but are also endowed with

---

[440] *Luther's Works, vol. 1: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*, S. 1:235.

brilliance. In this way they are described in the Gospel as seated by the tomb of the Lord: "His appearance," says the text in Matt. 28:3, "was like lightning." Ps. 104:4 refers to the same thing: "Who makes His angels spirits and His ministers a flaming fire," that is, a brilliant fire. Thus it is stated in Luke 2:9 that when the angel came to the shepherds, the brightness of the Lord shone round about them. Such was also Christ's countenance on Mt. Tabor (Matt. 17:2). Such will be our countenances when on the Last Day we are raised for the glory which Christ has gained for us.[441]

We have seen in chapter one that wings are a major physical attribute of angels and Luther addresses the issue swiftly in his suggestion that angels do not have wings but cannot be shown without them for that is how they are shown in art:

> Moreover, what appears in the Books of Kings (1 Kings 6:29) about the curtains with cherubs also denotes the chubby and cheerful faces of angels with wings—not because the angels actually have wings, but because they cannot be depicted otherwise. Thus in Is. 6:6 the name cherub is given to the angel who comes flying with a glad and handsome face, the way they are depicted on tapestries. But if luster is added to express myself thus—the way the face of Stephen is said to have been glad and joyful, from whose eyes shone pure joy (Acts 6:15)—then they are called "seraphim." We can say in German that the faces "blow and glow".[442]

The quotation is misleading because the angel mentioned in the biblical text of Isaiah 6:6 is actually a Seraph, and therefore completely different in appearance from the order of Cherubim. (This has also been noted by the editors of the CD Rom, referred to as Luther's Works). However, what Luther seems to be saying here is that a cherub fits the description of the angel of Isaiah's vision because of its facial features but the facial features of the Seraphim can also be accorded to this angel. Luther does not mention other instances in which angels and their wings are mentioned in the same breath (for example, for the cherubim: Exodus 25:20, 37:9, Kings 6:27, 2 Chronicles 3:11-13, Ezekiel 10, and for the seraphim, Isaiah 6:2, nor does he mention the flying angel mentioned in Revelation 14:16). This probably indicates that Luther was less concerned with the physical appearance of angels and was more interested in their spiritual

---

[441] *Luther's Works, vol. 1: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*, S. 1:236.
[442] *Luther's Works, vol.1: Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5*, S. 1:236.

attributes. For him, angels had no need of physical wings, despite the Cherubim having wings as seen in the Bible. Yet, in order for them to be familiar to our human understanding, they were given wings in art so they could be identified.

These views would suggest that Luther still accorded angels a place within the Christian faith. However, what do they say about the legitimacy of angels? The Cherubim and Seraphim are biblically warranted as are angels as celestial creatures. Luther's problem was not with their function or existence, but rather that man could take it upon himself, particularly Dionysius, to suggest an arrangement of a hierarchy of angels. The revisions to his thinking are significant because they demonstrate the common thread that was woven throughout all of Luther's works: a reformation and dismissal of traditions, in favour of a belief system that was based purely on scripture. This way of thinking would impact on his contemporary reformers and the next generation, and would ultimately lead to the questioning of the legitimacy of images of angels. Let us now turn to other contemporary reformers, to see their views of angels, and if they correspond to those of Luther.

John Calvin and Other Reformers

John Calvin wrote extensively about angels in chapter fourteen of the first book of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* of 1536, but does not address how angels should be represented in art.[443] He wrote in Statement no.9: 'the angels are not merely ideas but actuality' and that

---

[443] For a selection of studies on Calvin, see Parsons, B, *John Calvin: A Heart for Devotion, Doctrine & Doxology*, Lake Mary, Florida, 2008; Helm, P, *John Calvin's Ideas*, Oxford 2004; Piper, J, *John Calvin and his Passion for the Majesty of God*, Nottingham, 1999;Cottret, B, *Calvin: A Biography*, Michigan, 1995; Hoekema, A.A, *Created in God's Image*, Michigan &Grand Rapids, 1986.

this point, which some restless men call in question, ought to be held certain: that angels are "ministering spirits" [Heb.1:14], whose service God uses for the protection of his own, and through whom he both dispenses his benefits among men and also carries out his remaining works [...] they are indeed, spirits having a real existence.[444]

Moreover, "since the angels are God's ministers, ordained to carry out his commands, there should be no question that they are also his creatures".[445] However, he believed that the study of angels was not particularly useful and that they should not be given the undue prominence that they had hitherto been accorded:

> The pre-eminence of the angelic nature has so overwhelmed the minds of many that they think the angels wronged if, subjected to the authority of the one God, they are, as it were, forced into their own rank. For this reason, divinity was wrongly attributed to them.[446]

In terms of imagery and speculation over the number of angels in existence, Calvin writes that such ideas are mysterious and should not really be debated. He does not doubt the existence of the Cherubim and Seraphim as they appear in the Bible:

> It is certain that spirits lack bodily form, and yet Scripture, matching the measure of our comprehension, usefully depicts for us winged angels under the names of the cherubim and seraphim, that we may not doubt that they are ever ready to bring help to us with incredible swiftness, should circumstance require it, even as lightening sent forth from heaven flies to us with its usual speed. Whatever besides can be sought of both their number and order, let us hold it among those mysteries whose full revelation is delayed until the Last Day. Therefore let us remember not to probe too curiously or talk too confidently.[447]

---

[444] McNeill, J.T, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* Volume I, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 169.
[445] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, p. 163.
[446] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, p. 162.
[447] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, pp. 168-9.

Calvin was probably reticent like Luther, because scripture could not reveal more about their 'number and order'. The number and rank of angels, in his view, must remain entirely speculative and not based on the tradition of medieval scholasticism.

Calvin stated that:

> No one will deny that Dionysius, whoever he was, subtly and skilfully discussed many matters in his Celestial Hierarchy. But if anyone examines it more closely, he will find it for the most part nothing but talk. The theologian's task is not to divert the ears with chatter, but to strengthen consciences by teaching things true, sure and profitable. If you read that book, you would think a man fallen from heaven recounted, not what he had learned, but what he had seen with his own eyes. Yet Paul, who had been caught up beyond the third heaven [II Cor. 12:2], not only said nothing about it, but also testified that it is unlawful for any man to speak of the secret things that he has seen [II Cor. 12:4]. Therefore, bidding farewell to that foolish wisdom, let us examine in the simple teaching of the Scripture what the Lord would have us know of his angels.[448]

Calvin's opinion on Dionysius' hierarchical arrangement of angels being divided into ranks is consistent with that of Luther: if the hierarchy were not locatable in the biblical text, then it should not be considered as part of the faith.

Regarding images, Calvin does not address the question of whether angels can be represented in art or sculpture. However, he gives an overview of images of God in general in chapter 11, point 12 of his *Institutes:* The functions and limits of art:

> And yet I am not gripped by the superstition of thinking absolutely no images permissible. But because sculpture and paintings are gifts of God, I seek a pure and legitimate use of each [...] We believe it wrong that God should be represented by a visible appearance, because he himself has forbidden it [Ex. 20:4] and it cannot be done without some defacing of his glory [...] Therefore it remains that only those things are to be sculptured or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing: let not God's majesty which is far above the perception of the eyes, be debased through unseemly representations [...] I can only say that even if the use of images contained nothing evil, it still has no value for teaching.[449]

---

[448] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, pp. 164-5.
[449] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, p. 112.

Calvin's angelological views can be summed up as follows: "we should not indulge in speculations concerning the angels, but search out the witness of Scripture".[450]

Other European reformers also wrote about angels. Although Zwingli's Sixty Seven Articles of 1523 do not mention angels, article twelve of the Belgic *Confessions of Faith* by Guido de Brès entitled "Of the Creation" stipulates that:

> We believe that the Father […] created the angels good, (Col 1:16) to be his messengers (Ps103:20, 34:8, 143:2) and to serve his elect (Heb 1:14, Ps 34:8): some of whom are fallen from that excellency, in which God created them, into everlasting perdition, and the others have, by the grace of God, remained steadfast, and continued in their primitive state (Matt, 25:31) […] We reject and abhor the error of the Sadducees, who deny the existence of spirits and angels (Acts 23:8).[451]

Guido de Brès suggests that when God created angels, they were all good, but over time some fell, from which they could never come back. Those who remained loyal to God remained in a "primitive state", meaning that they remained good and did not change from their original status at their creation.

In the *Second Helvetic Confession* of 1566, Heinrich Bullinger writes, in Chapter VII, Of the Creation of All Things: Of Angels, the Devil and Man, that:[452]

> Among all creatures, angels and men are most excellent. Concerning angels, Holy Scripture declares: "Who makest the winds, thy messengers, fire and flame thy ministers" (Ps. 104:4). Also it says: "Are they not all ministering spirits sent forth to serve, for the sake of those who are to obtain salvation?" (Heb.1:14). ….We teach that some angels persisted in obedience and were appointed for faithful service to God and men, but others fell of their own free will and were cast into destruction, becoming enemies of all good and of the faithful, etc.[453]

---

[450] Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 163.
[451] Cochrane, A.C, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the 16th Century*, London, 1966, pp.185 & 196.
[452] Cochrane, p. 220.
[453] Cochrane, p. 234.

The European reformers did not seek to deny the existence of angels because of the wealth of scriptural evidence: they accepted angels as creations of God, who ministered to His people, but generally felt that there was no need to get caught up in the debates of previous generations concerning their nature and numbers. In particular, they rejected the Dionysian system of hierarchy as unwarranted by scripture.

C.A Patrides writes that:

> Protestants could not, and did not, fail to see that the controversy over the Pseudo-Dionysius was an ideal weapon to direct against Catholicism. True, the Catholic Church never affirmed the numbers of angelic orders dogmatically; and so far, at least, the controversy did not affect doctrinal issues. But as Protestants aimed at dismantling all Catholic traditions, developments centred on the Pseudo-Dionysius afforded them a perfect opportunity to ridicule yet another venerable authority of the "Pontificians". Crucial in this respect was the Protestant conviction that the Dionysian orders lack Biblical support; for even if the Bible occasionally names all nine orders, it does not endorse any coherent scheme.[454]

Patrides thus asserts that the argument over Dionysius' hierarchy handed the Protestants an open opportunity to ridicule a Catholic tradition; one that was not affirmed in dogma and one that, in their view, lacked support from the Bible.[455] However, his opinion should be challenged: the reformers did not set out to destroy Catholicism, they aimed to purge the faith of all that they saw wrong with it and return it to primitive Christianity. Emphasis was placed on the Bible, rather than the traditions of the Church of Rome. One example of this emphasis was the question of the legitimacy of images relating to God.

---

[454] Patrides, *Premises and Motifs*, pp. 21-22.
[455] Patrides, *Premises and Motifs*, pp. 21-22.

Angels and Images: The Legitimacy Debate over Image versus Idol by the Early Reformers

The question of imagery as a form of idol worship is a very old one in Christian history that returned during the Reformation. As shown in chapter one at the Second Council of Nicea in 787, images, including those of angels were lawful because by declaring the holy nature of the image, the faithful would be declaring the holy nature of the person depicted, whether that be the three persons of the Trinity, saints or angels. The Protestant battle with religious imagery has been analysed by John Phillips in his book *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660* (1973).[456] More recently, Margaret Aston has surveyed the level of destruction in her book *England's Iconoclasts vol. I: Laws Against Images* (1988).[457] This book is useful in giving an overview of the level of destruction of images during the Reformation. The reason why the debate arose again after 1517 was that the reformers, basing their modifications on scripture, suggested that to portray the Godhead, and subsequently any celestial or earthly entity associated with Him, in artistic form, would be breaking the Second of the Ten Commandments, (the Decalogue), which appears twice in the Old Testament, the first in Exodus 20 and the second in Deuteronomy 5:1-23: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath" (Exodus 20:4).[458]

As the reformers tried to reform the Christian faith with an emphasis on Scripture, some asked the question whether images of angels contravened this commandment. As such, "visual representations of angels enjoyed at best a very uncertain status across much of

---

[456] Phillips, J, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1536-1600*, Berkeley, 1973.
[457] Aston, M, *England's Iconoclasts vol.1: Laws Against Images*, Oxford, 1988.
[458] JB, p. 81 & 194.

the Protestant world".[459] In terms of the reformers' views on religious imagery in the decoration of churches, Luther suggests that:

> Images, bells, eucharistic vestments, church ornaments, altar lights, and the like I regard as things indifferent. Anyone who wishes may omit them. Images or pictures taken from the Scriptures and from good histories, however, I consider very useful yet indifferent and optional. I have no sympathy with the iconoclasts. [460]

Although Luther does not refer explicitly to angels in this passage, we can gauge that Luther was not entirely against religious images or representations, nor was he highly in favour of them. Calvin on the other hand found them abhorrent. Calvin was very clear when it came to the question of representing God or the Trinity, particularly if depicted in anthropomorphic form. He viewed such images as idolatrous and he forbade their depiction. However, he did not explicitly refer to angels nor to whether they could legitimately be represented in art. Phillips informs us that for Calvin, "even if [images] were utilized as just a remembrance, images would evoke too much interest on the part of the worshipper".[461] In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin devoted a whole chapter to suggesting that "it is unlawful to attribute a visible form to God, and generally whoever set up idols revolts against the true God."[462] He suggested that the image of the cherubim on the mercy seat could not be used to defend idol worship and that those who "try to defend images of God and the saints with the example of those cherubim are raving madmen".[463]

As the main instigators of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin did not agree on the question of whether angels could be legitimately represented in art. What is becoming apparent in this analysis of the reformers' views on angels is that whilst they did not

---

[459] Marshall, P, & Walsham, A, 'Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World', p. 23.
[460] *Luther's Works, vol. 37: Word and Sacrament III*, S. 37:III-371.
[461] Phillips, p. 83.
[462] Calvin, *Institutes,* vol. 1, chapter 11, pp. 99-116.
[463] Calvin, *Institutes*, vol.1, p.102.

deny the existence of angels, the idea of a hierarchical scheme was totally objectionable. Luther and Calvin adopted a "back to basics" approach to the reform of Christianity, emphasising the importance of scripture rather than centuries of tradition. This was particularly evident in their attitudes towards angelology. On this point they could agree. However, as far as pictoral representation was concerned, there was no consistency. We shall see further in this chapter that, because there were no accepted guidelines from which to take their position, Protestant theologians continued to debate the issue well into the next century.

A discussion will now take place of the representation of angels in England during the Reformation, to see if the views of the reformers had an impact. This period will be addressed in order to assess how the political and religious changes affected images and theology of angels, beginning in the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII

There is little to be said of the representation of angels under Henry VIII since the changes in religion in England during the later part of his reign were largely constitutional, transferring the power of the church from the hands of Rome into the hands of the state. However, before his break with Rome, Henry wrote a treatise in *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, which earned him (and all his predecessors thereafter) the title of Defender of the Faith. On the title page, there are illustrations of winged and wingless putti, demonstrations of the mutation of angels from the full length anthropomorphic figures to baby-like figures. We can also suggest that at the Dissolution of the Monasteries between 1536 and 1541, there was a great deal of destruction of images, which would have included angels. It should be emphasised,

however, that these were not being singled out due to their inclusion in scripture, whereas images associated with shrines of the saints and superstition were selected.
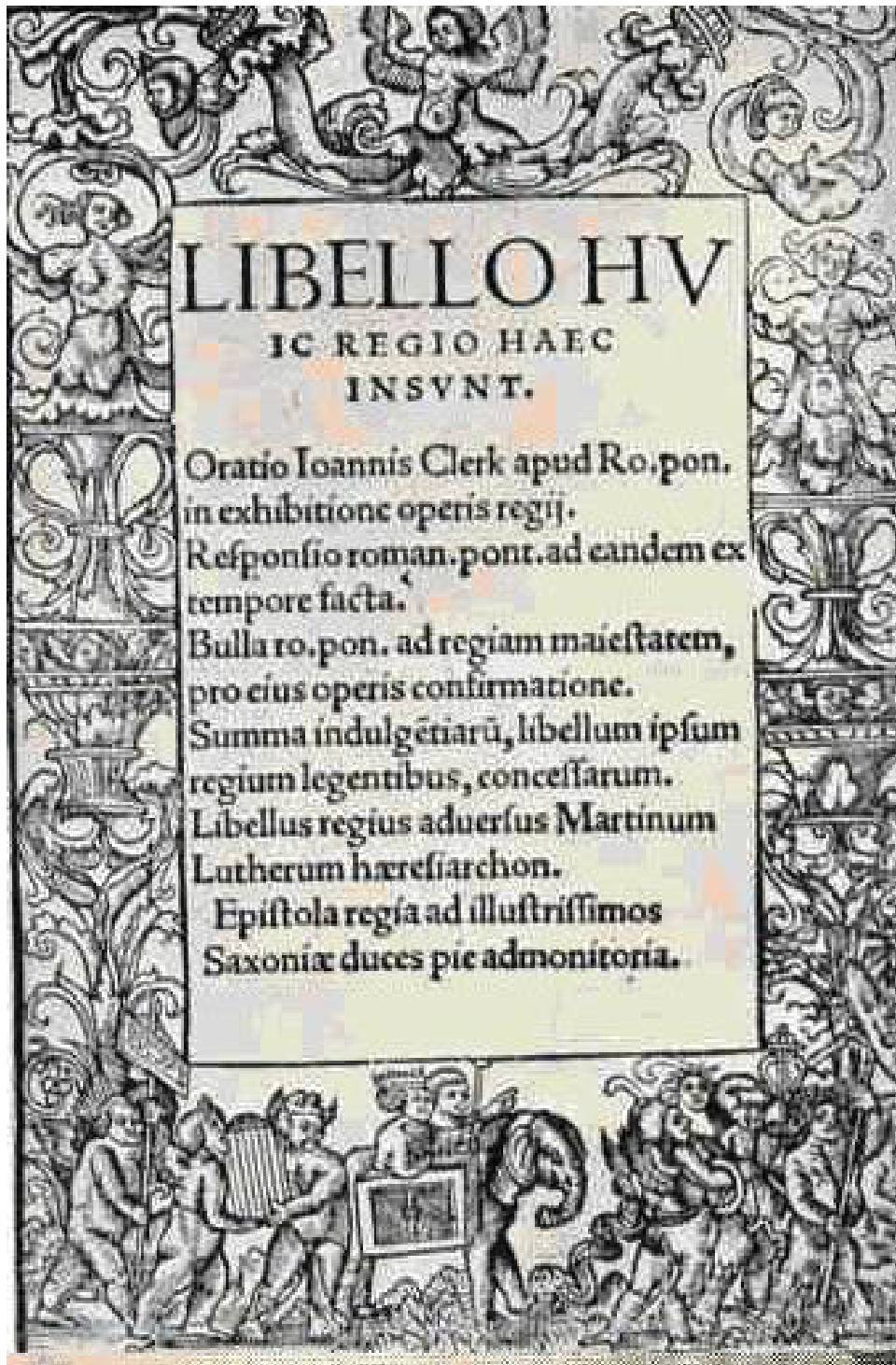
Fig 6.5 Libello – Defence of Seven Sacraments title page

Top: Defence of the Seven Sacraments title page

<u>Edward VI</u>

Notable changes regarding angels in England first occurred under Edward VI (1547-1553). There was further iconoclasm during Edward's reign but perhaps the most important change to the concept of angels within faith in England came with the emergence of a new form of worship using the *Book of Common Prayer*. Two editions were published under Edward, the first in 1549 and the second in 1552. From an artistic view point, winged baby boys did not feature on the 1549 edition, but they decorated the title page of the 1552 edition. This may just reflect the printer's preference or woodblock stock rather than any conscious ideological decision.

In terms of the theology of the texts, there are slight changes between the two editions where angels are concerned, but at no point does either evoke the help of the Nine Orders of angels, nor are they mentioned as a whole hierarchy. Only the Seraphim and Cherubim, Archangels, Angels and St. Michael appear in both books. It will be helpful to examine what was common to both books and then look at the differences and exclusions.

The Te Deum Laudamus, part of Morning Prayer, mentions the Seraphim and Cherubim. The wording is the same in the 1549 and 1552 editions:

We praise the, O God; we knowledge the to be the lorde.
All the earth doth worship thee, the father everlastyng.
To the all Angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein.
To thee Cherubin, and Seraphin continuallye do cry.
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.[464]

St. Michael was included and his feast day, together with that of All Angels, continued to be celebrated on the 8th of September. It would appear that he was still classed both as a saint and an archangel, because of his inclusion in scripture. The Epistle for his feast is taken from Apocalypse 12:

There was a great battayle in heaven, Michael and his Aungels foughte with the Dragon, and the Dragon fought and his Aungels, and prevailed not, neyther was their place found any more in heavē. And the great Dragon, that olde serpent, called the Devyll and Sathanas, was cast out, which Deceiueth all the world. And he was cast into the earth, & his aungels were cast out also with hym.[465]

The Gospel reading for that day continues the angelic theme, taken from Matthew 18:

Take hede that yee despise not one of these litleons. For I saye unto you: that in heaven their Aungels Doo alwaues beholde the face of my father, whiche is in heaven. [466]

Angels were mentioned in both editions, at the Sanctus during the Holy Communion Service:

Therefore with Aungels and Archangels & with all the holy companye of heavene: we laude and magnifye thy glorioufe name.[467]

---

[464] *The Book of Common Prayer* 1549, fol 169, *The Book of Common Prayer* 1552, no folio numbers available. This is the same in every instance for the 1552 edition of the Book of Common Prayer cited in this thesis.
[465] *The Book of Common Prayer* 1549, fol C. xivi.
[466] *The Book of Common Prayer* 1549, fol C.xibji.
[467] *The Book of Common Prayer*1549, fol. C.1c.The 1552 edition omits the word 'holy'.

Some changes are made between the books. An extra mention of angels is included in the 1552 edition that does not feature in that of 1549. This is part of the Morning Prayers, the *Benedicte omnia opera Domini Domino*, in which is said:

> O ye Aungels of the Lord, blesse ye the Lord: praise ye him and magnifye him for ever.[468]

During the prayers for the service of Matrimony in the 1549 text, God is called upon to bless the newly married couple and the Archangel Raphael is mentioned:

> And as thou diddest sende thy Aungel Raphael to Tobie, and Sara, Daughter of Raguel to their great comfort.[469]

However, by 1552, there is no mention of Raphael, Tobit or Sara. Raphael is mentioned only once in the Bible, in the Book of Tobit. In 1552, Raphael, Tobit and Sara have been replaced with Abraham and Sara.[470] The second 'Sara' is not the same person; she is Abraham's wife. Similarly, although he is not mentioned by name, Raphael is indicated in the book of 1549 in the prayers for the *Visitation of the Sick*. In praying for healing, the priest asked:

> Visite him, O Lord, as thou didest visite Peters wives mother, & the Captaines servante, as thou preservedest Thobie and Sara by the Aūgell from Daunger.[471]

Yet by 1552, the angel, Tobit and Sara have been completely omitted. We know that as the Protestant faith developed and the Bible's contents were reassessed, the Book of Tobit was considered to be apocryphal. I suggest that it was between 1549 and 1552

---

[468] *The Book of Common Prayer,* 1552.
[469] *The Book of Common Prayer,* 1549, fol. X.
[470] *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1552.
[471] *The Book of Common Prayer*, 1549, fol. xiii.

that this assessment took place because this is the time period between the two editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The inclusion of Archangels and Angels in the *Book of Common Prayer* suggests that the reformers accepted their existence because they were mentioned in the Bible. However, they did not dismiss the order of Archangels, just one of this kind, namely Raphael. As the *Book of Common Prayer* featured largely in the reformed ceremonies, the issue of whether angels were discussed within the ceremonies will be covered.

Examples of angels in sermons

We have seen above that angels, as spiritual individuals rather than a collective group of individual orders, continued to be part of the faith under Edward VI. Bishop Hugh Latimer preached along the same line as other reformers in acknowledging the role of angels in carrying out the work and will of God. In his sermon made on Christmas Day 1552 at Bexterly in Warwickshire, Latimer mentions angels in regard to their role in the birth of the Messiah, and announcing such news to the shepherds. He writes:

> the angels appeared visibly and in sight: by the which we shall consider, that whensoever or wheresoever the word of God is preached, there are the angels present, which keep in safe custody all those which receive the word of God, and study to live after it.[472]

Further, Latimer writes that the angels returned to heaven, to the sight of God "after they had done their message, to wait upon the Lord; ready to go and do all that which he

---

[472] Corrie, G, *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, Cambridge, 1845, p. 86.

would command them".[473] Here, Latimer clearly acknowledges the ancient role of angels as messengers. In the sermon preached on St. John Evangelist's Day at Grimsthorpe, 1552, Latimer writes of the role of angels, being "the first preachers. And here you may perceive what is the office of the angels of God, namely, to serve, to keep us; and therefore St. Paul calleth them, administratorios spiritus, "serving spirits".[474] In the same sermon, he writes about good and bad angels: the angel who announced Christ's birth to the shepherds was "a good angel, and he was already in the state of salvation [...] As for the other angels, the angels of darkness, the devil I say, they are without hope of salvation."[475]

Under Edward VI, angels remained part of the reformed theology. Their existence was not denied but their status was reassessed in the editions in the Book of Common Prayer. Most importantly, angels were included in the faith because of the scriptural evidence for them. At no point were angels prayed to as part of the hierarchy of Nine Orders, emphasising the continuing theme of scripture taking precedence over tradition.

Angels Under Mary I: The Manuscript of Robert Parkyn, "Off Hevin"

The accession of Mary I to the throne at the death of her step-brother Edward VI in 1553 saw the return of the former Roman Catholic faith to England, with the reinstating of the Pope as head of the church.[476] One exemplification of the return of Roman Catholic traditions was the re-emergence of the Nine Orders of Angels. This can be

---

[473] Corrie, p. 86.
[474] Corrie, pp. 86-118.
[475] Corrie, pp. 122-3.
[476] For further discussion on the religious policies of Mary I, see Duffy, E & Loades, D, *The Church of Mary Tudor. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700 series*, Aldershot, 2005; Loades, D, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553-58*, London & New York, 1979, 1991.

clearly observed in the work of Robert Parkyn, c.1520s-1569. He remained an obscure mid-Tudor parish priest until A.G Dickens discussed him from the 1930s onwards with regard to the Reformation at a local level in Yorkshire. [477] Parkyn was a priest at Adwick-le-Street in the West Riding who was chiefly "concerned with English history and literature, in particular with English mystical or contemplative writings".[478] Parkyn wrote most prolifically displaying his Roman Catholic sympathies under Mary I, whom he described as "this gratius Qweyne […] continewally preserving & mayntenynge wholly Churche".[479] He appears to have always championed the Catholic cause, both before and after the Marian reaction. This is clearly demonstrated by his inclusion of prayers by St. Thomas More.[480] He remained loyal to the crown, despite Edward VI's and Elizabeth I's Protestant reforms.[481] He has been described as someone who "exemplifies that unheroic submission to the commands of authority which characterized almost the whole of the English parish clergy throughout the vicissitudes of the mid-Tudor period. At the same time, he appears never to have changed his fundamental convictions".[482]

Parkyn's work is extensive and includes a *Life of Christ* (Bodleian Library MSS Eng. Poet. B.1 and Eng. Poet.e.59 in the of 1548-1555), as well as poetry, religious treatises, a narrative of the Reformation and copies of works by Richard Rolle, John Lydgate and St. Thomas More (Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Theol.d.15, of c.1545-65).[483] D.M

---

[477]Dickens, A. G, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', in Brooks. P, ed, *Christian Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp*, London, 1975, pp. 149.143.
[478] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 149.
[479] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 168.
[480] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 157.
[481] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p.149 & pp. 153-4.
[482] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', pp.153-4.
[483] Edwards, A.S.G, 'Parkyn, Robert (d. 1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/47143, accessed 16/5/05.

Loades, in his *The Reign of Mary Tudor* suggest that Parkyn's account "is one of the best sources for the study of the period outside London".[484] In his commentary on the reformation, Parkyn is clear in expressing his hostility to the changes made to church practice, beginning with the break from Rome over the 'Kings's Great Matter', Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon until the first year of Elizabeth I's reign.[485] For instance,

> in the yeare of our Lord God 1532 and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Kynge Henrie 8 thes grevus matters ensewynge first began to tayke roote; and after by processe of tym was accomplisshide and browghtt to passé in veray decade within this realme of Englande, to the grett discomforth of all suche as was trew Christians.[486]

Moreover, he explains the changes under Edward VI that:

> in the begynninge of the seconde yeare of his reigne, anno domini 1547on the Purification Day of Our Lady (vz. Candylmes Day), ther was no candylls sanctide, born or holden in mens' hands, as before tymes laudabile was accustomyde, but utterly omittyde [...] In the same Lentt all ymages, pictures, tables, crucifies, tabernacles, was utterly abolischide & takyn away furth of chuches within this realme of England. [487]

With regard to the 1552 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, Parkyn illustrates the changes to the belief in Holy Communion, from its former holding as the physical presence of Christ's body and blood in the form of bread and wine to its becoming a symbolic act of Christ's Last Supper. The Eucharist was now administered in the main body of the church instead of the usual quire. Bread was replaced with a white loaf that "such as men ussies in ther howsses with meat".[488] Furthermore, Parkyn states that:

---

[484] Loades, p. 103.
[485] See Dickens, A.G, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', *English Historical Review*, vol. 62, no. 242, January 1947, pp. 58-83.
[486] Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', p. 64.
[487] Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', p. 66.
[488] Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', p. 75.

as concernynge the naturall bodie and bloode of Our Saveyor Jesus Christe (saide the boyke also), thay ar in hevin and nott here in earth, for itt were aganst the trewthe of Christ trew naturall bodie to be in mo places then in one att one tyme. Oh, ow abhominable heresie and unsemynge ordre was this, let every man ponder in his owne conscience.[489]

Another of Parkyn's works is of direct interest to our study. Folios 210-217 of Manuscript AUMS 185: 'Robert Parkyn Papers' in the library of Aberdeen University contain his devotional works, which include *Prayer, fastynge and alms deyde, of 4 lyves, off the highest learnynge, of death, off hells, off hevin and off the most wholly and glorious trinitie.* These discourses are, described by Dickens as, to the best of his knowledge, "original compositions by Parkyn, however derivative their subject matter."[490] One of these essays in the Aberdeen manuscript, *Off hevin,* has never previously been published (see appendix C). *Off Hevin* (fols 215-216) has been dismissed by Dickens as of "minor interest," for which he gave no reason.[491] However, it is of major importance for this thesis. This is not only because of the subject matter but also the date at which it was composed, the fact that it was written by a Marian reactionary, and its evidence that there was an enduring interest in angels despite the Henrician and Edwardian reforms and iconoclasm. It was written between 1551-1555, but as this is a fair copy, the actual composition may possibly have occurred even earlier.[492] The subject matter of *Off Hevin* is eternal salvation in heaven in the company of the holy Trinity and the celestial hierarchy.

---

[489] Dickens, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', p. 75.
[490] Dickens, Dickens, A. G, *Tudor Treatises,* Wakefield, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series vol. 125, 1959. p. 20.
[491] Dickens, *Tudor Treatises*, p. 159.
[492] Dickens, *Tudor Treatises*, p. 159.

First the narrative is summarised. Parkyn assesses Heaven as a place and what man can do to get there in order to enjoy the company of Heaven's citizens, who include the saints and the Nine Orders of angels. At no point, however, does he mention what angels look like.

On folio 215r, between lines 1 and 3, Parkyn explains why, when and for what purpose Heaven was created:

  1 Heuyn (ie Hevyn) was the fyrst thing' thatt eu [er] (i.e. ever) god dyd mayke, he
  2 made itt nott for his owne selffe, butt he made itt for his
  3 angells and sanctt[es] and for all tham that shall be savide.[493]

 Parkyn's assessment of Heaven as the first of God's creations is in accordance with Genesis 1:1.[494] It was created for His angels and saints so that they would be saved, rather than for himself. No place on earth can compare to Heaven in terms of size or having the ability to give joy because it contains no human qualities such as suffering, poverty and sickness. There exists only love, charity and glory in the presence of the holy Trinity. Although God is in every place,

his trone and seatt is i[n] the glorius place of hevin W[hi]ch is unmo-
19 veable, i[n]co[m]mutable, eu[er] p[er]mane[n]tt and abydinge i[n] one staitte. And althowghe
20 thatt hevin is a place of all' yoie (i.e. joy) and glorie, yett all' the celestiall' creatures
21 ther beynge regardithe nott the place, butt only thay regarde the bownttiful-
22 nes and the fruition of the deitie. For the cleritudnes, nather the beawttie nea-
23 ther the glori[us] p[ro]spectt of hevin suffisyes nott an Angell' a sanctt or a sowlle
24 exceptt thay have the p[re]sence of the father the son[n]e and the holly gost ther crea-
25 tore for the creatures ther beynge & shall' be y^t (i.e. that) is to say Angell' and man, ye (i.e. the)
26 love is so fast fixide i[n] god thatt all' thing[es] is frustratte & nothinge regardyde
27 besyde god Amitie and gostlie love betwix god & the celestiall' creatures ma-

[493] AUMS 185: 'Robert Parkyn Papers', Special Libraries and Archives, University of Aberdeen: *Off Hevin*, fol. 215r. Hereafter referred to as Parkyn, *Off Hevin*.
[494] JB, p.5: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth".

28 kithe this sup[er]celestiall' & sup[er]naturall' Joye and glorie.[495]

In Parkyn's view, to be a citizen of Heaven, either angel, saint or soul is a wonderful

thing, as it is a place of joy, where the inhabitants are in the presence of the Trinity.

Such joy as this can only be attained by being a citizen of Heaven, because

31 as thay be and thatt no carnall eye before the gen[er]all' resurrection can not
32 beholde tham as thay be.[496]

The Trinity were the first of the celestial beings to inhabit Heaven. Indeed,

38 […] when hevin was made co[n]tinenttly god made the ix orders of an-
39 gells to be inhabitow[e]r[es] of the saide place, and to be partakers of the Joies of he-
40 vin of the glorius seatt of the deitie of the w[hi]ch orders of Angells some for p[r]ide
41 were expulsside w[i]t lucifer accordyn[n]ge to ther dysmeritt[es].

Thus the Nine Orders of angels were made so as to inhabit Heaven. The evil angels

were expelled with Satan. God created man to replace the fallen angels. Those who did

acknowledge God stayed in Heaven with Him. God sits on a throne in Heaven, despite

having the ability to be omnipresent. Mention is made on line 13 of fol. 215v that the

Virgin Mary is also in Heaven, body and soul.[497]

The rest of the treatise is taken up by a discussion of the Nine Orders of Angels. Parkyn

writes between lines 14 and 19 that:

IN hevin be
14 ix orders of angells. The Seraphins the Cherubyns the Trones the domina-
15 tions the p[r]incipatts the potestates the virtues the archangels & angells.

---

[495] Parkyn, *Off Hevin*, fol. 215r.
[496] Parkyn, *Off Hevin*, fol. 215r.
[497] McBrien, R.P, ed., *Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, pp .104-5: This Catholic belief was debated by scholars such as Bonaventure and Aquinas in the Middle Ages and only confirmed as dogma in 1950 by Pope Pius XII.

> 16 Thes 9 orders be devidede i[n] to the Ierarchies In the first Ierarchie be the Se-
>
> 17 raphins, the Cherubyns, & the trons. In the seconde Ierarchie be the Du[n]atio[n]s
>
> 18 the p[r]incipatts and the potestattes. In the thride (metathesis = thirde) Ierarchie be the vi[r]tutes the Ar-
>
> 19 cheangells and angels.[498]

From this quotation, we can deduce that he ranks them in descending order, the Seraphim being the top order, and the Angels being the last, which is in keeping with the medieval tradition of ranking the nine orders. We can also see that Parkyn follows the Dionysian model of grouping them into three 'Ierarchies' (hierarchies). We have seen that Dionysius' assembly of the Nine Orders was the most widely accepted of all the various theologians' arrangements. As Parkyn has followed Dionysius in dividing the orders into triads, it is important to address if those individual orders are assigned to the same triads as Dionysius. The following chart illustrates the triads of Parkyn and Dionysius side by side:

Table 6-5: Comparison of Dionysius' and Robert Parkyn's Hierarchies

Dionysius' hierarchy		Robert Parkyn's hierarchy (215 V: lines 13-216R)
I	Seraphim	Seraphins
	Cherubim	Cherubyns
	Thrones	Trones
II	Dominations	Dominations
	Authorities/Virtues	P[r]incipatts
	Powers	Potestates
III	Principalities	Virtues
	Archangels	Arcangels
	Angels	Angels

From the chart above, it is noticeable that the ordering of the hierarchy is the same until the dominations, after which the ordering changes. Parkyn does not follow Dionysius'

---

[498] Parkyn, *Off Hevin*, 215r.

hierarchy but instead opts for that of Gregory the Great in his *Homilia* (as well as later theologians including Bernard of Clairvaux).

What is important to note at this point is that, writing in the 1550s, Parkyn may well have known Luther and Calvin's dismissive views of Dionysius' arrangement of the Nine Orders of angels. As a practising priest and as his treatise detailing his commentary on the Reformation has shown, he would certainly have been well aware of the changes made with the introduction of the *Book of Common Prayer*. He seems to have felt at liberty to revive the former Catholic belief in the celestial hierarchy without having to address any of the reformers' objections. He was effectively reinstating traditional thinking rather than reporting on the Reformation, as Dickens implies when he calls him the last medieval Englishman.

Parkyn discusses each order in detail, explaining their meaning and rank in the ordering.

Seraphins [fol. 215v, 19-20]: are "above all' other ord[er]es of angells" and are "inflame[m]yde with the ardentt love of god."

Cherubyns [fol. 215v, 24-26]: "be of thatt excellence and so myche i[n] favo[u]r with god that yai (thai) have the cognition of the most glori[us] t[r]initie and dothe know sup[er]celestiall' thing[es].

Thrones [fol. 215v, 26-29]: "be of thatt v[er]teu that yai (thai) have receavide of god dothe know the riȝgttiusnes and Justice of god and the my[n]stration of it Wherfor dauid saithe Thow the w[hi]ch do sytte uppon the trones Judgynge the iustice (i.e. justice) of him".

Du[n]atons [215v, 30-31]: are the "begynynge &libiertie of the godheade Instructynge p[re]llait[es] to usse no tyran[n]ye."

P[r]incipaitt[es] [215v, 32-33]: show creatures below them how to "feare and love god" and "reduce & brynge ayayne the electyde thatt dothe fall to god."

Potestates [215v, 33-42]: "restrayne the envie and malitusnes of evill spyttes and donte comfort tham the whiche be i[n] spiciall' te[m]ptation". The most attention is paid to the roles of the potestates in aiding men to stay away from the deadly temptation of the devil, which can manifest in various forms, including "deispaire" or "blasphemy". The troubles of men's minds are so great that they would rather die then live. The potestates therefore exist to "coherce the malice of the devills te[m]ptation".

The virtues [216r, 1]: have the ability to perform "myracles and healynge of seak men".

Archangels [216r, 2-3]: "be above angells knowynge higher misteryes of the godheade than the angells do".

Angells [216r, 3]: "be the messyngers of god to man and kepers of man".[499]

Parkyn's assessment of the roles of each order is, again, more in accordance with Gregory than it is with Dionysius. The Seraphim (meaning ardent love) and Cherubim (meaning knowledge) are the only orders on which Dionysius and Gregory agree, in

---

[499] Parkyn, *Off Hevin*, 215v-216r.

terms of their roles in the hierarchy. The idea that the Thrones act as seats for God and carry out judgement comes from Gregory and later Jacobus de Voragine. Parkyn's appraisal of the dominations and principalities appear to be his own original opinion. This is surprising, given how utterly conventional and old-fashioned he otherwise seems. The evaluation of the Powers is in agreement with Gregory's in restraining evil spirits from tempting man. Archangels are discussed only in terms over being ahead of angels in the hierarchy. The function of angels as messengers between God and man seems to fit the opinion of Jacobus de Voragine, who believed each angel had a single person placed in their charge, a guardian angel, as well as according with the general belief that angels were messengers.

The overriding theme of this text is salvation and how to achieve it: the eternal reward in Heaven in the company of the celestial hierarchy is reiterated by Parkyn between lines 12 and 14 of folio 216r that "ther is a g[r]ett difference bitwixe a Angell' and a Seraphin as towchinge ther ioye & glorie in god, ther is also a grett difference bitwix a savide sowlle of the lower degre& ordre and apostle or a m[ar]tire The w[hi]ch be of a highe degre &ordre." Moreover, Joy will come to those who labour most spiritually in the lord and they will be "locatyde & sett amonge" each of the orders of angels:

Therfor thay
17 the w[hi]ch do labowre most sp[irit]ually i[n] the love of god shall have the most ioye &
18 rewarde i[n] hevin. For some shall be locatyde & sett amonge the Seraphins,
19 some shall' be emonge the Cherubyns, some shall' be amonge the tro[n]nes, su[m]
20 shall' be amon[n]ge the d[omi]nations, some shall' be amonge the p[r]incipatt[es], su[m] amonge
21the potestattes, Some amonge the vi[r]tutes, su[m] amonge ye [the] Archangells, And su[m]
22 amonge the angells. Eu[er]y man' shall' be i[n] ioye & glorie aft[er] ther des[er]vinge. ¶
23 in whatt a ioye and myrthe shall' the savide sowlle & body be in att the g[e]n[er]al
24 resurrection when the body and sowlle shall' be ionyde agayne to gether and
25 shall' go i[n] to eu[er]lastinge ioyes of et[er]nall' glorie. Whatt myrthe Ioie & glorie

26 shall' be amonge tholly orders of angells and sanctts When thay shall' meytt
27 to gether and thone to be w[i]t the other before the p[re]sence of god.¶[500]

As mentioned earlier, Dickens suggests that *Off Hevin* is by Parkyn's own hand and

notes that Parkyn does not acknowledge any debt to any other author here, as he does in

other prose.[501] Dickens believes that "nothing in this group of writings seems foreign to

his known sources or stylistic habits".[502] Parkyn elsewhere acknowledges various

theologians, marking them *Authoris verba,* including Vincent Ferrer, Gregory, Jerome,

St John Chrysostom, Augustine, Bede, Isiadore, Albertus, Aquinas and Bonavenure.[503]

What is interesting to note about this list of theologians is that they all wrote extensively

about angelology, which would suggest the range of the sources for Parkyn's treatise on

angels. We should ask then, what evidence can be detected of Parkyn's sources in his

text. Dickens contends that Parkyn's knowledge of the Nine Orders could have come

from "a number of treatises based on the Celestial Hierarchy of the Pseudo-Areopagite

Dionysius". Dionysius' name is suggested by Dickens as influencing Parkyn's *Off the*

most wholly and glorious trinitie, the text which follows *Off Hevin*.[504] Parkyn probably

knew about Dionysius through the works of "one of his favourite authors, Denis the

Carthusian".[505] Íde M. Ní Riain has recently produced the first translation into English

of the *Spiritual Writings* of Denis the Carthusian.[506] Whilst Dionysius' oeuvre on angels

is mentioned by Denis and the spiritual nature of angels is questioned, perhaps it is his

reference to heaven in his writings that is the most relevant piece of information to our

---

[500] Parkyn, *Off Hevin*, 216r.
[501]Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', pp. 158-159.
[502] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 159.
[503] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 156.
[504] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 159.
[505] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 159.
[506] Riain, I, trans., *The Spiritual Writings of Denis the Carthusian*, Dublin, 2005.

study. In the treatise, 'Contemplation of the heavenly Homeland and of the citizens above', Denis writes about the inhabitants of Heaven, who include men and angels:

> But you must also look long at the **glorious and joyful citizens** of this delicious region and heavenly kingdom; contemplate these privileged souls, secure now in eternal felicity and in the possession of all blessings. Think of the multitude and the greatness of these citizens. **Consider their distinction, their high offices, their special qualities; their choirs and ranks. There you have one single Church composed of men and angels, perfect in all holiness and justice; free from all sin, error and envy**. Just as they love God above themselves with a heartfelt, burning love, so too they love each other in God, with unchanging, **ardent and intimate love**. They rejoice with mutual joy to see each other and I cannot describe the ceaseless delight with which they see the glory given to others. But, contrary to what you might expect, those of higher degree have a greater love for their inferiors than these latter have for them: whatever God most high has decided and conferred is pleasing and delightful to each and all. Here, in this heavenly abode, you have supreme humility, utter peace, **total joy**.[507]

However, at no point does Denis discuss the Nine Orders, rather, he refers to angels as a general spiritual group. The ordering and assessment of the role of each order of angel in Parkyn's hierarchy follows that of Gregory the Great, not Dionysius. This would suggest that Gregory's influence as a major author of writings on the angelic hierarchy was retained long after Dionysius' hierarchy became standard, even into the Reformation. Moreover, it is clear that Parkyn was also directly influenced by Denis himself. This idea is demonstrated in the above quotation, which illustrates a direct link or correlation between the works of Denis and Parkyn. Their assessment of heaven is similar in both accounts, particularly, the use of the adjectives "joy" and "ardent" love, to describe the place.

Off Hevin is not the only text in the Aberdeen Manuscript in which Parkyn mentions angels. The Seraphim are written about in *Off the Highest Learning*, a treatise which

---

[507] Denis the Carthusian, p. 99.

examines man's quest for earthly and heavenly knowledge. Parkyn attributes the same qualities to the Seraphim in this text as he does in *Off Hevin*:

> Suche lovinge sowlles the which do burne in the ardentt fire of gostlie and godly love shall be locatyde & placide in hevin amonge the highest ordre of angells, the which be callyde the Seraphins, for thay do brene in the hevinly and celestiall love of the deitie, counted to god in amowrs. [508]

To sum up, it can be said that although Parkyn does not comment on the artistic representation of angels, we learn through his work that the Nine Orders returned to the religious agenda in England at the height of the Marian reaction.[509] He seems to carry on traditional mode of devotion, rather than a new form, as epitomised by the contemporary Council of Trent. Nevertheless, we must question how representative Parkyn's view is of other recusant opinion.

The last will and testament of Thomas Garlicke states that:

> In the name of God Amen: this thre and twentie day of Marche in the second and third yere of the Reigne of Philippe and Marie, &c. Witnessithe that I Thomas Garlicke, of Wodhowse within the pishinge of Normanton, husbandman, of goode memorie and hooll mynde, maikethe this my last will and testamente in maner and forme hereafter followinge. First I bequeathe my soull to almightie god the father and maiker of heaven and earthe and of all thinge that is in heaven and earthe, and the onelie Savior of all mankynde, and to or blessed Ladie sancte Marie the mother oure Savior Jesu Christe, the quene of heaven, And finallie to all the blessed company of heaven bothe Angelle and Archangelle, Apostlelle, Evangeliste, patriarches, prophette, confessors, m'ters and virgyns.[510]

[508]Dickens, *Tudor Treatises*, p. 62.
[509] Dickens, 'The Last Medieval Englishman', p. 153.
[510] Lumb, G.D, ed., *Testamenta Leodiensia: Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District, 1553 to 1561*, vol. 27, Leeds, 1930, p. 42.

By 1556, Mary Tudor had reigned for three years, by which time, many of the reforms undertaken by her father and step-brother were reversed. Thomas Garlicke's will is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, he commends his soul to God and other inhabitants of heaven, most notably, two orders of the angelic hierarchy: Archangels and Angels. As such, the inclusion of members of the orders of angels demonstrated a return to the former traditions. Secondly, Garlike came from Woodhouse, Normanton in Yorkshire, the same county as Robert Parkyn, which was an area of England that was fiercely opposed to the Reformation. [511]

This evidence from contemporary diary entries gives us an insight into funeral ceremonies of the era. Henry Machyn was a citizen and merchant-taylor of London who wrote a diary from 1550 to 1563. As an undertaker for the dead during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, his diary records funerary practices during the changes of the belief system in England. An entry of 1557 states that Sir William Portman, Chief Justice of England, had images of angels as part of his funerary decoration:

> The x day of Feybruary was bered at sant Dunstones in the West ser Wyliam Portman, cheyffe justice of Englande, with a Harold of armes, and a standard of armes, and pennon, and a cott armur, and a target, a helmett, and the crest a leberd-hed gold, with ij snakes [coming] out of ys mowthe, with a crosse peyche[fitchy] gulles; a [herse], and sword, and the mantylles of blake velvett, and ij grett wytt branchys fayre with schochyons of armes, and ij dosen of torchys, and the power men had go […] gownes, and iiij grett gylt candylstykes, with iiij p […] garnyshed with angelles, and armes, and penselles, and mo[ny]morners; and after came vj juges and vij sergantes of [the coif], and after all th ynes of the cowrte, ij and ij together; and the morrow iiij goodly masses songe, and a sermon mad.[512]

---

[511] Such opposition was demonstrated in Henry VIII's reign in 1536 by the uprising in York, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by Robert Aske. Among other social and political complaints, the main grievance of the rebels was the reforms of the church, particularly the dissolution of the monasteries.

[512] Nichols, J.G, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant- Taylor of London from AD 1550 to AD 1563*, London, 1848, pp. 1125-6.

An entry for 1558 states that:

[The xiv day of September was buried sir Andrew Jud, skinner, merchant of Muscovy, and late mayor of London, with a] […] pennon of armes, and a x dosen penselles […] skochyons, and a herse of wax of v prynse [pals, garnished] **angelles**, and a (blank) pormen in nuw gownes.[513]

He writes in 1559:

The vij day Feybruary was bered my lade marques of Wynchester at Bassyng; and ther was a herse of wax, and viij dosen penselles, and armes, and skochyons, and garnyshed with angelles and archangells and with baner-rolles, and a x dosen skochyons; and ther was grett cher mad [cheer made], and a grette dolle, boyth money and mett and drynke, and a grett dener, fysshe and flesse, and venesun.[514]

The common factor in each of these funerals is the decoration of the pall, the item made of velvet, quite often black, used to cover the herse or coffin. In every case, it is decorated with images of angels, and sometimes archangels. This demonstrates an interest in at least two of the Nine Orders in the last year of Mary's reign and the first year of Elizabeth's reign. It is necessary to investigate further to see if angels were accorded a place in the English belief system under Elizabeth I.

---

[513] Nichols, *The Diary of Henry Machyn,* p. 173.
[514] Nichols, *The Diary of Henry Machyn,* p.188.

The Elizabethan Settlement & the Treatment of Angels: Images & Idolatry

The accession of Elizabeth I (1558-1603) after her step-sister Mary brought about a religious settlement that would re-establish Protestantism as the dominant faith in England as declared in the *Thirty Nine Articles* of 1563. With this came a new perspective on the theology and representation of angels. In this section, I will be looking at how angels were viewed in the Elizabethan era, with a particular focus on the *Book of Common Prayer* and the question of the legitimacy of the depiction of angels in art and sculpture.

A new edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* was published in 1559 and was largely based on the former versions under Edward VI. Angels continued to be mentioned. They appeared again in the prayers at Matins, the Te Deum Laudamus, the Benedicte Omnia opera Domini Domino, the Sanctus at Holy Communion, readings for the feast-day of St. Michael and All Angels, which continued to be celebrated. The wording is virtually the same in these cases. The Archangel Raphael's omission from the marriage service and prayers for the Visitation of the Sick from the 1552 book was repeated in the 1559 version.

Elizabethan views of religious imagery are lengthily articulated in in the document called The Faith, Doctrine and Religion, Professed and Protected in the Realm of England, and Dominions of the same; Expressed in Thirty Nine Articles of 1563-72, by Thomas Rogers. These articles defined the Protestant religion in England. In regard to images, Rogers wrote:

The Romish Doctrine concerning Images, is fond, and not warranted by the holy Scriptures, nor consonant, but contrary to the same [...] Images are such an abomination to the Lord, as to make them among all men odious, he describeth the vanity of them by his prophets, as that, they are the doctrine of vanity.[515]

Rogers equates images of religious subjects with the old, Roman Catholic traditions and considers their manufacture to be associated with vanity and self-importance. While he addressed religious imagery, he also turned his attention to the representation of angels, declaring:

Of God himselfe, even of God the Father, and that in the likenes of an old man with a long white Beard, of the Sonne, in the Similitude of a man, hand on the Crosse; of the holy Ghost, in the shape of a Dove, of the wholy, holy and incomprehensible Trinity, with three faces in one head. Also of God his creatures, as of **Angels always with wings, sometimes with a pair of balance, as S.Michael**.[516]

Rogers is referring to the traditional, pre-reformation depictions of the Trinity and angels, which he considers to be unacceptable and idolatrous to the reformed *The Book of Homilies*.[517] The book was first published in 1547 under Edward VI and was written by Thomas Cranmer. Cranmer addressed issues such as good works and faith and preached against adultery and whoredom. A later edition written by Bishop John Jewel of 1562 and published again 1571, contained a sermon entitled *Homily Against the Perils of Idolatry*. In this text, religious images were most definitely considered idolatrous and angels were mentioned as part of the discussion. Jewel writes that:

And trueth it is, that the Iewes and Turkes, who abhorre Images and Idoles as directly forbidden by GODS word, will neuer come to the trueth of vs, and lie in their way. If they obiect yet the brasen serpent which Moses did set vp, or the **Images of the Cherubims**, or any other Images which the Iewes had in their Temple, the answere is easie. Wee must in religion obey GODS generall Lawe,

---

[515] Rogers, T, *The Faith, Doctrine and Religion, Professed and Protected in the Realm of England, and Dominions of the same; Expressed in Thirty Nine Articles*, 1625, p.125-6. I quote from the 1625 edition of these same articles.
[516] Rogers, pp. 125-6.
[517] See Aston, *Laws Against Images*, for further discussion.

> *which* **bindeth all men, and not follow examples of particular dispensation**, which bee no warrants for vs: els wee may by the same reason resume circumcision and sacrificing of beastes, and other rites permitted to the Iewes. Neither canne those **Images of Cherubim**, set in secret where no man might come nor behold, bee any example of our publique setting vp of Images in Churches and Temples.[518]

Jewel, who is attempting to refute contemporary Catholic suggestions that the presence of Cherubim in the temple provided a valid precedent for setting up images in churches, argues that all images relating to God are forbidden in the Christian faith, in accordance with God's word, as laid out in the scriptures. Although there is evidence for the images of Cherubim in the temple, they should not be considered as an exception to the rule: because images set up in churches are public, not private. Jewel's view suggests a complete ban on images in churches, but he does not mention if they should be banned in books.

The Book of Martyrs

The first example is taken from the title page of the 1563 edition of the *Book of Martyrs* or *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church* by John Foxe. The book was lavishly illustrated, detailing the death of early Christian martyrs and was particularly focussed on those Protestants killed under Mary I for their faith. Editions of the book appeared again in 1570, 1576 and 1583. The title page of every edition is the same (fig 6.6): An image of Christ as the judge at the Last Judgement, his right had raised in a traditional pose of blessing, his left hand pointing the way to all those who will be condemned. Dividing the page vertically in two, the images to Christ's left are those of the *persecuting* church. These images are that of the

---

[518] Homily Against the Peril of Idolatry http://library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/homilies/bk2hom2.html accessed 17/09/09.

celebration of Mass and associations of the former faith such as rosary beads and processions. Those on his right are images of the *persecuted* church. These images include those of Protestant martyrs burning at the stake and playing trumpets. If divided into two, the left hand side of the page contains images of the persecuted. Dividing the page horizontally into four quarters, the top quarter contains images of angels on either side of Christ; six on the left of the page, five on the right. They rest on clouds, wear girdles around their waists and blow trumpets.

Such imagery comes direct from the description of angels at the Last Judgement in the Book of Revelation. They hail the advent of the Lord at the Second Coming. Although the page illustrates Catholic and Protestant views, the uniting factor is the inclusion of angels. The stylistic format of using full-bodied angels with wings, as opposed to winged baby boys or putti, is reminiscent of the full-bodied angels discussed in the case studies of chapter two. It has been shown that belief in angels was acceptable because of their existence in the Bible and images of angels continued to be portrayed. Furthermore, it can be suggested that their imagery continued to be shown on later editions of Foxe's book demonstrating that they were not viewed by all people as idolatrous.
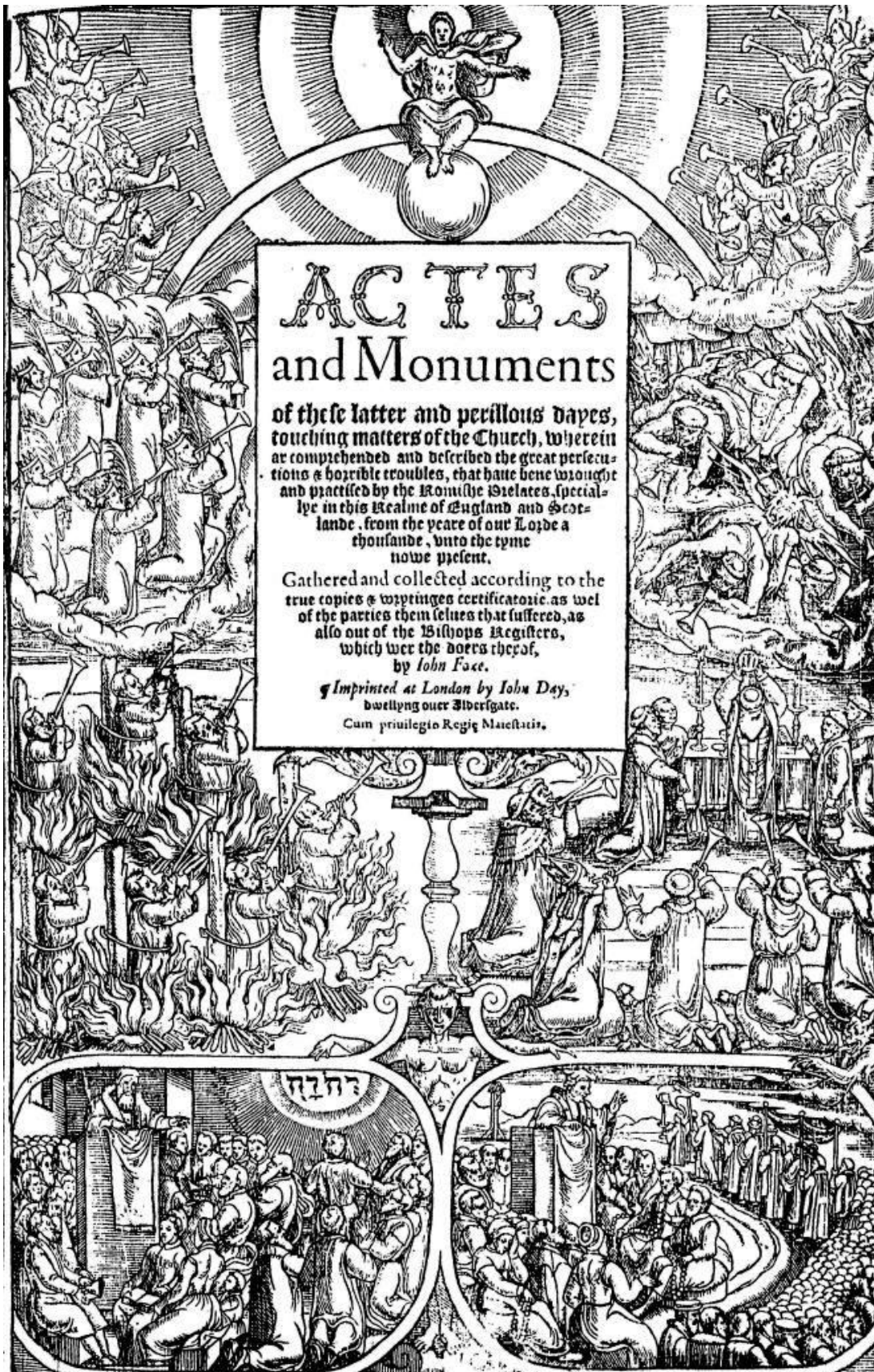
Fig 6.6 Foxe's Book of Martyrs: Acts and Monuments, 1563 edition

Source: Early English Books Online

<u>The ceiling of the church of St. Peter and Paul, Muchelney, Somerset</u>

Our second example of the representation of angels is the vaulted ceiling of the church of St. Peter and Paul in Muchelney, Somerset, of c.1600. There is very little scholarship on this particular art work, and there appears to be no surviving contracts to help us with the identification of the artist or workshop, or indeed patron. An analysis of the iconography may help us to decipher some of these issues. Edward Croft-Murray writes that this is an exceptional example of a painted ceiling because by the late Tudor period, they "are scarce […] Rich and intricate plasterwork had by now almost entirely replaced the simple coffered boarding of early Tudor times".[519]

---

[519]Croft-Murray, E, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837 Volume I Early Tudor to Sir James Thornhill*, London, 1962 p.30.
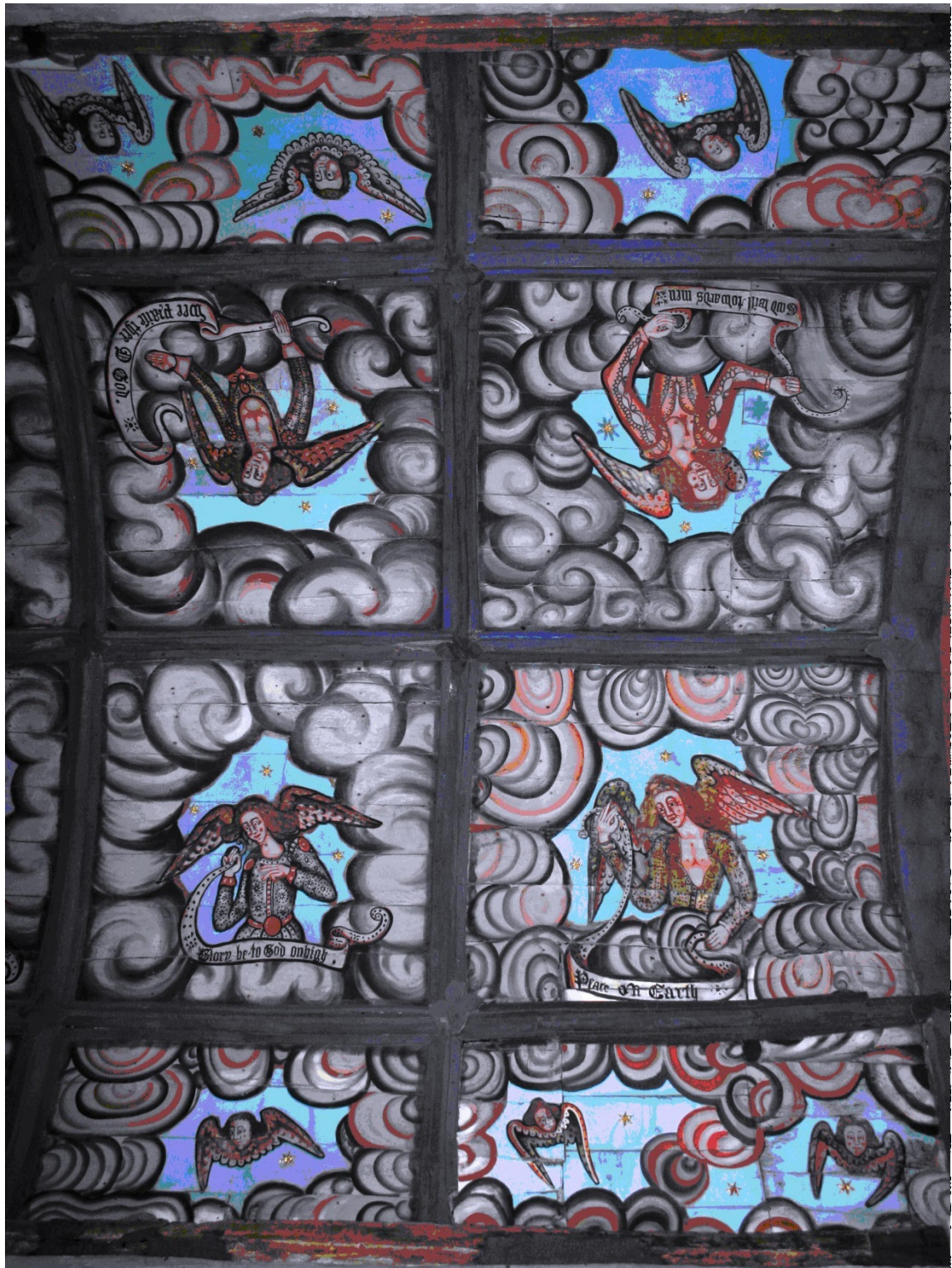
Fig 6.7 Angels on the ceiling of St. Peter and Paul, Muchelney, Somerset

Source: photo courtesy of Dr. P. Lindley

The ceiling displays angels with wings and holding scrolls. We have seen from the title

page of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* that the concept of a winged angel would not have been

considered unusual at this time. Here, the figures of angels are contained within individual sections of the divided vault. They are painted on a blue background with yellow stars, surrounded by swirling clouds. They are not quite full-bodied, shown from head to waist, a definite pre-Reformation iconographic format, as chapters one and two have demonstrated.

At first glance, the angels at Muchelney appear to be both male and female, but this needs closer inspection. There is the appearance of many angels who wear open-necked vestments, illustrating an exaggerated neckline and who are "portrayed with their bare bossoms exposed".[520] The exposure of the chest would have been considered blasphemous before the Reformation. On closer examination, these angels appear to be androgynous, demonstrating a continuation of the previous convention of androgynous or mostly male angels of the late Middle Ages. The named angels in the Bible are referred to as 'he', telling us that they are male. Whilst we have learnt that angels appeared in the Bible in the guise of men so that humans could understand them more, the baring of flesh is very daring and potentially scandalous. There is no obvious reason for this, yet it is curious as to why they were permitted to survive, and not considered blasphemous, especially as they have the words of scripture on the banners. Only the top half of their bodies are visible, and if the lower halves of their bodies were on show, their clothing would aid us in identifying their gender further. Their attire is similar to the fashions of both men and women of the Tudor age. The sleeves on some of the angels are similar to depictions of male and female attire but sleeves were easily detached and could go in and out of fashion. [521]

---

[520] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 153.
[521]Elgin, K, *History of Fashion and Costume: Elizabethan England*, Hove, 2005, p. 15.

Contemporary clothing on angels marks another departure from the old tradition of their attire, they are all dressed in different contemporary Elizabethan costume. As demonstrated in chapter one, pre-Reformation depictions of angels (whether of the hierarchy or not) were often clothed in vestments for the celebration of Mass. This difference is essential to see the sharp shift in representations of angels. Contemporary clothing would not have been offensive because it did not have any connotations of the old religion. Liturgical vestments however, were a reminder of Roman Catholicism and were symbolic of popery, which were considered superstitious. There was much debate on the wearing of liturgical clothing, about what should be worn, if it was in fact legitimate to wear them at all, and if they were considered too much of a reminder of the former faith. This debate first arose under Edward VI but came to the fore in Elizabeth I's reign. By 1600, the Vestments Controversy, as it became known, would have been largely settled, but to have angels depicted in liturgical dress would have been anathema and considered popish.[522]

The wings of each angel have been individually treated in terms of colour and arrangement of the feathers. They appear from the shoulder blades. The inclusion of wings (a pre-Reformation concept), is indicative of Luther's view as stated earlier, that wings are an integral part of the identity of angels and this is how they are represented in art. They each have a scroll. In most instances here, the scroll is held in the right hand of the angel. However, in one case, the scroll begins from the angel's mouth. The scrolls display words of scripture from the Old and New Testaments. For example, from the Old Testament, one scroll reads "from the rising of the sonne", taken from Malachi

---

[522] For a detailed discussion on the changes to ecclesiastical dress during Elizabeth's reign, see Primus, J.H, *The Vestments Controversy: An Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions Within the Church of England in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I*, Kampen,1960.

1:11,[523] Isaiah 59:19[524] and Psalm 113:3.[525] In some cases, they are the words spoken by angels in the Bible. For instance, one angel's scroll displays "Peace on earth", another "Good will towards men". These are the words spoken by the angel who announced the birth of Christ to the shepherds (Luke 2:14).[526] Those responsible for the commission of the ceiling were obviously well versed in scripture or well advised.

Fig 6.7 Detail of angel at Muchelney

Source: Photo courtesy of Dr .P. Lindley

---

[523] JB, p. 1142.
[524] JB, p. 933.
[525] JB, p. 691.
[526] JB, p. 1208.

Surrounding these angels are cherub heads, sometimes one per section of the vault, others have two. The treatment of the wings is slightly different in each case. Some point upwards, other downwards and some crossed downwards. This is a fine example of full-bodied angels with cherub heads together, illustrating the different conventions to portray celestial beings. However, underneath the chin of some these cherub heads, we can see what appear to be depictions of the fashionable collar called a ruff. These white collars were worn in Europe from the mid sixteenth century, by both men and women.[527]

Yet why decoration of a church on this scale was allowed in an age that generally saw the stripping and 'cleansing' of churches of their religious imagery is questionable. These angels were clearly inoffensive. Edward Croft-Murray believes that they "were probably excused by the scrolls which they hold, for painted texts were much encouraged by the Elizabethan church".[528]

But were there other instances of putti or angels in Elizabeth's reign? Professor Walsham has suggested that there was a "virtual absence (of angels) from monuments and brasses to the dead in the late sixteenth century, replaced instead by secular and pagan motifs transmitted by the European Renaissance and by a preoccupation with heraldry and other symbols of social status".[529] Wingless putti can be seen on Thomas Gresham's monument of 1579 at St. Helen's church, Bishopsgate, London, but we shall

---

[527] For a detailed study of Elizabethan clothing, see Arnold, J, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd*, Leeds, 1988.
[528] Croft-Murray, p. 31.
[529] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's long Reformation', p. 146. It should be noted that tomb monuments were not forbidden under Elizabeth. In fact, she explicitly forbade their destruction in the proclamation *Prohibiting Destruction of Church Monuments*, of 1560, explaining that they were a memorial to the dead and therefore not considered superstitious. See Hughes, P.L, Larkin, C.S.V, James, F, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations vol. 2: The Later Tudors (1553-1587)*, New Haven & London, 1969, pp. 146-147.

if this is an exception.[530]   However, the artistic representation of angels was to continue with the advent of the High Church movement, championed by Archbishop William Laud. Peter Sherlock claims in his book *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* that "angels disappeared in the 1560s and the full blown-cherubs that accompanied the tomb of Henry VII would not reappear for some decades".[531] We shall test this theory in relation to tomb monuments. (The Muchelney angels are different as they are on a ceiling).

There is evidence that some images of pre-reformation angels were permitted to survive. An account of church customs and rites before the dissolution of the monasteries was written in 1593. *The Rites of Durham* details the iconography of the stained glass widow depicting the Te Deum in Durham Cathedral before the suppression. The date of the glass is unknown, but the chronicler does tell us that:

> Also in ye southe end of the allei of ye Lantren aboue ye clocke there is a faire large glasse wyndowe Caulede the Te Deum wyndowe* veri fair glased accordinge as euy verse of Te deu is song or saide, so is it pictured in ye wyndowe verie fynly and cuiouslie wrowghte in flyne colored glass **wth all ye nyne order of Angells*, vizt Thrones, Dominations, Cherubins, etc. [vizt Thrones Dominac'ons, Cheurbims Seraphi Angells Archangells,** H. 45] wth ye pictur of Christ as he was vpon ye cross crucified, & ye blessed Virgin Marie wth crist in her armes as he was borne. [532]

---

[530] Lindley, P, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, Donnington, 2007, fig. 20.

[531] Sherlock, Peter, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, Aldershot, 2008, p. 134.

[532] *Rites of Durham, Being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the Suppression, 1593,* The Publications of the Surtees Society established in the year 1834, vol.107, Durham, London & Edinburgh, 1903, p. 32. Also, on p. 220, it is noted that : "Two or three of the tracery lights contained their original glass when this window was filled with the present Te Deum glass, and these lights have been included in the new glazing. [Nyne order of Angells] The three orders not named here are Principalities, Powers, Virtues".

As it is written in the present tense, we can gather that in 1593, the glass, which in all likelihood was medieval, was in situ and had not been touched by iconoclasts.

Therefore, in assessing the representation of angels in the Elizabethan era, neither angels nor cherubs disappeared from art and sculpture, even though they were discouraged by the Thirty Nine Articles. It was difficult for the reformers to get away from the fact that they were biblically warranted and this would account for their survival.

The Stuart era

The arrival of the House of Stuart to the throne of England and the accession of James I brought with it further changes and confusion to the protestant belief in angels. English views on angelic imagery remained mixed at the turn of the seventeenth century. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, warned that we should not "convey to them [angels] our confidence and trust that ought to be set wholly in God alone, and so slide into idolatrie".[533] William Bishop, a Catholic writer, was of the contrary opinion and suggested in 1604 that:

> An Image of a spirituall thing, may be drawnen not to resemble the nature of it, but to leade our understanding by such a similitude, into some better knowledge of that thing: so are Angels paynted like goodly young men with wings; to teach us that they be of an excellent pure nature, ever flourishing and most readie to dispatch with all expedition any imployment to which God sends them; and so may God the Father be pourtraited, as a goodly old grave man, sitting in his throne of majesite, attended upon by millions of Angels, (as he is described in Daniel 9.) to instruct us how he is eternall, infinit, wise and most redoubtable majestie: In either of the two latter sorts, we hold that God may be represented, and so in the seaventh generall Councell, the drawing of the Holie Ghost, in forme of a Dove, as he appeared, Mat.3. is approved.[534]

---

[533] Nowell, A, *A Catechisme or first instruction and learning of Christian religion,* 1570, p. 53.
[534] Bishop, W, *A Reformation of a Catholike Deformed*, 1604, p. 49.

He also suggested that:

If such things as have no bodelie proportion or shape, may not withstanding bee counterfeit and resembled in some qualities, why may not some propertie or action of God be in like manner represented?[535]

There appears to be much debate over the question of the legality of angels in visual form and that there was no consensus of opinion and much confusion among the reformers. Anthony Wooton responded to Bishop's text in 1606, arguing that images were, in fact, idolatrous stating that:

Your discourse of the divers representations intended by pictures, I passe over, as nothing to purpose. For the reason of our denying images, is not only because God can not be resembled, as being a spirit, and infinit, but principally, because he himself hath forbidden it, as a certaine occasion of Idolatry. This painting of Angels like faire yong men with wings, two or foure (by Origens and Theodorets rule) maketh them Idols, because they are meere imaginations.[536]

Wooton would not tolerate images of angels in any guise. Despite such opposition to the representation of angels in art, their spiritual qualities and theology were not forgotten. This is most noticeable in the works of two theologians of the era, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Hooker.

Andrewes wrote a series of sermons on the Nativity, in which he expresses many views on angels. He discusses the roles of angels and their importance at the beginning of the life of Christ. Andrewes' belief in angels agreed with the earliest Christian writers. He does not, however, explicitly write about the Nine Orders, though he does acknowledge a system of ordering for these celestial creatures. In his sermon on Christmas Day 1605, Andrewes discusses the text of Hebrews 2:16. The theme of the sermon is that God

---

[535] Bishop, p. 49: see Walsham, A, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 145.
[536] Wooton, A, A, *Defence of M. Perkins Booke, Called A Reformed Catholike: Against the cavils of a Popish writer, one D.B.P or W.B. [William Bishop] in his deformed Reformation* of 1606, pp. 557-8.

chose the corrupt nature of man and humanity over the glorious and immortal nature of

angels, demonstrating the importance of angels in the life of the son of God, who

became man and whose birth was announced by angels. Of angels, he writes that:

> they are spirits. (Heb.i.14);- Glorious Spirits, (Heb. ix. 5);- Heavenly Spirits,
> (Matt. Xxiv.36);- Immortal Spirits. Luke xx.36). For their nature or substance,
> Spirits; for their quality or property, glorious; for their place or abode,
> Heavenly; for their durance or continuance, immortal.[537]

Comparing men ("Abraham's seed") with the angels, he writes:

> who would stand to compare these with Angels? Verily there is no comparison;
> they are, incomparably, far better that [than] the rest of us[. .] They, every way,
> in every thing else, above and before us; in this, beneath and behind us. And we,
> unworthy, wretched men that we are, above and before the Angels, the
> Cherubim, the Seraphim, and all the Principalities, and Thrones, in this
> dignity.[538]

In Andrewes' sermons, angels are discussed in relation to Christ, in that His birth will

bring salvation to the world. For example, in the sermon of Christmas Day 1610,

Andrewes discusses the role of Christ: "A Saviour who is Christ, Christ the Lord [...]

Lord of men and angels, Lord of heaven and earth, and all the hosts of them".[539]

Another theologian of the era acknowledged the existence of angels. Richard Hooker, in

his *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* of 1593 talks about angels as being "heauenly

and diuine creatures; [...] which are spirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious

inhabitants of those sacred pallaces".[540] He goes further to explain that: "**as in number**

---

[537] Andrewes, L, *Seventeen Sermons on the Nativity*, London & Sydney, 1887, p. 4.
[538] Andrewes, p. 6.
[539] Andrewes, p.77.
[540] Hooker, R, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, 1593, p.9. (I have transliterated the text).

and order they are huge, mightie, and royall armies".[541] Although he does not explicitly accept the angelic hierarchy, he does acknowledge that the angels are placed in orders. Indeed, "consider the Angels of God associated, and their lawe is that which disposeth them as an **Army**, one in order and degree above the other".[542]

Richard Montagu in his *New Gagg for an Old Goose of 1624* defended the idea of a guardian angel and the legitimacy of praying for the intercession of angels and the saying of "Sancte Angele Custos, ora pro me" ('pray for me, holy guardian angel')".[543]

In regard to artistic representation of angels, some new images did emerge. John Cosin, in 1628, to the disgust of Peter Smart, erected fifty "glittering Angels" around the quire of Durham Cathedral, who wore "long scarlet gowns, with golden wings and guilded heads".[544] Smart considered these images to be the "worst of all" the religious decoration on the High Altar. According to Walsham, these images would have earned Cosin a four year prison sentence by order of the High Commission.[545]

Graham Parry has dealt with the subject of the revival of religious art, sculpture, music and architecture under the direction of Archbishop William Laud, within this High Church movement, in his book *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter Reformation*. He informs us that angels were particularly fashionable from the 1610s onwards.[546] Yet, through our discussion of the Elizabethan angels, Parry appears

---

[541] Hooker, p. 10.
[542] Hooker, p. 10.
[543] Montagu, R, *A Gagg for the New Gospell? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose*, 1624, Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 155.
[544] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 156.
[545] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 156.
[546] Parry, G, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, Woodbridge, 2006, 2008, p. 95.

to be incorrect in his dating of the popularity of angels. It seems, according to Parry that in the 1620s and 1630s, cherubs were "a favourite Laudian accessory", viewed as legitimate articles that could be incorporated into church decoration; they were seen on pulpits, in stained glass and in chancel roofs.[547] Laud evidently did not condone image worship but, in his view, the use of images was acceptable. [548] Under his own patronage, Laud saw to it that angels decorated schemes at the University of Oxford, on the central arch of the Canterbury Quad at St John's College and the roof of the sanctuary in Lincoln College Chapel. In 1634 he included angels as part of the scheme to decorate the stained-glass windows of the chapel of Lambeth Palace.[549]

Parry writes that by the 1620s, the Elizabethan *Homily Against the Peril of Idolatry* was not held in the same high regard as previously.[550] Parry maintains that by the 1630s, the church hierarchy no longer viewed cherubs with such disdain, and was "favourable to the beauty of holiness movement and all that implied for the use of imagery in decoration. The cherubs returned, and henceforth became ubiquitous, a sure sign of the High Church sentiment".[551] The dating of other works has shown, however, that they never went away. These cherubs, however, like their Elizabethan cousins, were as Parry quite rightly suggests, not like the pre-Reformation biblical description of the cherubim, but rather, they were modelled on the amorini of the sixteenth-century Italian art: mere baby faces with wings.[552] We proceed now to an examination of a selection of tomb monuments where these images can be found and test Walsham and Kemp's theories to

---

[547] Parry, p. 95.
[548]Spraggon, J, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 23-24.
[549] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 156.
[550] Parry, p. 95.
[551] Parry, p. 95.
[552] Parry, p. 95.

see if images of angels disappeared from tomb monuments in the late Elizabethan era but were resurrected in the seventeenth century.

Tomb Monuments of the Stuart Era

Despite some objection of artistic representations of angels, it seems that individual angels, as opposed to the angelic host, were considered less offensive to the reformers and iconoclasts if displayed on tomb monuments. Protestant theologians did not dispute the concept of a tomb, because there was scriptural evidence for it. Thus in allowing the memory of the dead to be preserved, the reformers allowed for "civil images" on tombs.[553]

Nigel Llewellyn explains that full length representations of angels appeared on monuments from c.1615 onwards. They formed part of a tableau vivant in which a figure of the deceased person was kneeling. An angel could be found on either side, drawing away a curtain that formed part of a canopy or *baldacchino*. The origins of this device are unknown but Llewellyn suggests that they could have come from a variety of sources, including the "curtained church pews of the gentry". Also, the concept of curtains being drawn back to reveal something was a familiar device, occurring in art works or in the case of drama, for example, Paulina revealing the statue of Hermonie in Shakespeare's *A Winter's Tale*.[554] It is also a format found on Italian medieval tombs and on Renaissance ones. In England, at least, this seems to be a new concept.

---

[553] Llewelyn, N, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 269.
[554] Llewelyn, p.129. For the text of the scene, see Orgel, S, ed., *Oxford World's Classics William Shakespeare The Winter's Tale*, Oxford, 1996, p. Act 5, scene 2, p. 225.

One example of this is the monument to Sir Robert Chamberlayne (d.1615) at St. Barholomew the Great, possibly constructed by Colt.[555] A full length angel stands on either side of the monument and with its right hand, exposes the effigy of the deceased figure, who is kneeling in prayer. Parry suggests that such representation was a frequent occurrence, "especially in the second decade of the century".[556]

---

[555] Parry, p.94.
[556] Parry, p. 94.

Fig 6.8 Monument to Sir Robert Chamberlayne

Source: Llewelyn, p. 133.

These distinctly male angels are featured as wearing a mix of classical and contemporary dress. They have two wings which extend above the head. Great attention

to detail has been paid to the depiction of the body, particularly the muscular form on the exposed leg of the angel on the left of the monument, together with the boot, which appears to be contemporary. An effigy of Edward Lamb kneels facing the right. The concept of a kneeling figure in the first instance was not new. Kneeling figures of weepers or family members had been seen on pre-Reformation monuments, an idea that continued into the Reformation era but was particularly seen before c. 1600, the difference being that the subject being depicted now knelt in prayer for his own soul, instead of others doing it for him.[557]

These full length angels, were seen from the early Jacobean period onwards, c. 1600. They replaced the images of saints and angels of the pre-Reformation. Other forms of iconography included cherubs, and nude putti, who were often represented as allegories of death, accompanied by skull and spades with which to dig a grave, or Labour and Rest. Other iconographic devices included fruit, personifications of the Christian Virtues (not to be confused with the angelic order of Virtues), grave diggers, demi-Gods, spades and skulls. Labour and rest were depicted as baby boys with spades.[558] Therefore, the putti did not carry any religious connotations of the former faith. They functioned to remind oneself of death.

---

[557] Llewelyn, p. 105.

[558] Esdaile, K, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840*, London, 1946, p 90. See also, Mercer, E, *English Art 1553-1623*, Oxford, 1962, p. 245. Mercer suggests that images of angels were permitted on tomb monuments because the Church hierarchy relaxed its persecution of Catholicism and saw no connection between these angels and those of Catholicism. See as well, Kemp, B, *English Church Monuments*, London, 1980, p. 71. Kemp suggests that "in general, cherubs represented the spiritual world of immortality, but in some cases they were depicted in symbolic poses or actions which signified death, such as resting on a spade or extinguishing a torch".

Another example of angels as part of the decoration of tomb monuments is the monument to George Hart (d.1587), and his wife Elizabeth Bowes, erected after 1603 at St. Botolph, Lullingstone, Kent.

Fig 6.9 Hart Monument

George Hart (d.1587), and his wife Elizabeth Bowes, erected after 1603, St. Botolph, Lullingstone, Kent
Source: Llewellyn, p. 202.

This tomb is a remarkable example in which there are three angelic forms of iconography on one monument. The first form is the full length angel standing near the stained glass window. The second is the putti who symbolise death; one holding a spade with which to dig the grave, the other kneeling on a skull. The third is the inclusion of two cherub heads, baby faces with wings underneath.

Other example where cherub heads feature as part of the decoration of a monument is on that of Mary Queen of Scots, in Westminster Abbey. The cherub heads are "studded into the coffering of the arched vault," and Parry suggests that these "must be some of the earliest cherubs in Protestant England, appearing several years before the emergence of the High Church movement".[559] This is an interesting concept because Mary Queen of Scots was Roman Catholic, which would imply that perhaps her tomb monument would display some form of Catholic iconography, despite being erected by her Protestant son, James I. However, as shown throughout this chapter, the cherub, with its biblical evidence, could be used as a motif on the tomb monuments of both Catholics and Protestants.

The virtues of angels were not necessarily always displayed in sculptural form on tomb monuments. They could also be seen in the written form, and used to convey the 'angelic' disposition of a person. For example, on the monument to Anne St. John (d.1638) at Lydiard Tregoze, Witshire, it is written:

> what here with in Sleeps for a while. Shal rise a Cherubim in which the wealth
> of Natures treasury (more beauty goodnes Vertue cannot dy) The love and glory
> of the Sex, the best of women, mothers, and of wives doth rest.[560]

The inscription suggests that Anne St. John typifies the angelic qualities of the Cherubim. It subtly hints that due to her nature, she will be like the Cherubim at the Resurrection. It is unlikely that any thought of the Nine Orders is intended here, given that Cherubim were mentioned in the Bible. Yet if this is the case, the inscription could also refer to the Seraphim, Archangels and Angels.

---

[559] Parry, pp. 95-96.
[560] Llewelyn, p. 290. See also Parry, p. 98.

Let us now examine some more examples of the manifestation of angels on tomb monuments, at a local, parochial level, in the counties of Leicestershire and Rutland. The point of this exercise is to test Walsham, Sherlock and Kemp's theory that angels largely disappear from tomb monuments under Elizabeth, but return in the seventeenth century.

Nigel Llewellyn surveyed the thirty-eight English counties in rank order of density (the number of post-Reformation monuments over of an area in square miles). He remarked that for Leicestershire and Rutland, there are 105 monuments over 832 square miles.[561] The number of monuments accounts for 2.8 percent of the national total.[562] Every Post-Reformation monument will not be examined, but rather those up to 1650, where angels feature as part of the decoration.

Leicestershire

Launde Abbey: Monument to Gregory Cromwell, 1551

Our first example is the monument erected to the memory of Gregory Cromwell, son of Thomas Cromwell, chief minister to Henry VIII from 1533 to 1540. The monument stands in the chapel of Launde Abbey, a former Augustinian priory of St. John the Baptist. Contained within the chapel is original medieval stained glass, an extraordinary display of alternation of saints and prophets which therefore would have been considered as offensive to most Protestant Reformers' eyes. Little is known about the commission of the tomb, but we do know enough about the Cromwell family and their

---

[561] Llewellyn, p. 8.
[562] Llewellyn, p. 9.

religious persuasion to be able to decipher the iconography. At the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s, when Cromwell undertook the survey of monastic wealth, he visited Launde and "is reputed to have indicated his own wish to create there a country residence for himself".[563] As the son of Thomas, Gregory was likely to share his father's views in reforming the Catholic faith in England. He was married to Jane Seymour's sister and so brother-in-law to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector of Edward VI.[564]

[563] Beavitt P, 'Geophysical and Building Survey at Launde Abbey', *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 69, 1995, p. 22.
[564] Pevsner, p. 198.

Fig 6.10 Monument to Gregory Cromwell, Launde Abbey, 1551

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Pevsner has described the monument as "one of the purest monuments of the early Renaissance in England".[565] It is made up of three distinct sections; the top pediment displaying three putti, the middle containing a coat of arms and inscription, framed by pilasters, and the bottom, containing empty space to hold an inscription, flanked by a putto on either side. The monument is made of stone from the local area but not made of a naked stone, as would appear at first glance. There are definite traces of blue and red paint. It is possible that the sculptor was Northern French or from the Netherlands, given the Northern European influence on the work. The piece has been well executed, shown by very competent under cutting. When this monument was erected in 1551, Edward VI was on the throne. There is no religious symbolism present here and therefore at this time, the iconography would have been considered non-offensive, to either side of the religious divide.

Examining the monument in sections, we see that at the top of the pediment, the three putti hold different items. Their inclusion demonstrates that as early as 1551, the wingless boy was employed not just as decoration to buildings or books, but also to monuments. They display no resemblance to their angelic cousins. The middle section contains a scroll above the coat of arms which reads 'fair et mon devoir'. Below the coat of arms is an inscription which reads:

Here lythe the body of Gregory Crvmwell
knight lorde Crvmwell who departed this lyfe the 4 daye of ivyle in the yerare
of our Lorde 1551

The bottom of the monument has no inscription but there does appear to be space for it; perhaps intended for Cromwell's wife and family, as mention of them is unusually

---

[565] Pevsner, p. 198.

excluded above. The lines to hold the inscription have been carefully mapped out, which would suggest that something was to be written there. The initials E.C are present in the entablature, perhaps those of his wife.

This monument is similar in design to three other monuments in the Leicestershire and Rutland areas, all executed after the Cromwell monument. These are the monuments to Ambrose Belgrave, in St.Peter's church, Belgrave, Leics, of 1571; Richard Neel, in the church of St Thomas à Becket in Tugby of 1574, Leics; Roland Durant, in St. Peter's church, Barrowden, Rutland of 1588. These monuments were all executed after the Cromwell monument, but contain no imagery of angels.

Fig 6.11 Monument to Richard Neel, 1574

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 6.12 Monument to Ambrose Belgrave, 1571

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 6.13 Monument to Roland Durant, 1588

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Bottesford, 5th Earl of Rutland, 1612

An example of the usage of 'angelic imagery' can be seen on the tomb of the 5th Earl of Rutland, who died in 1612. The tomb was executed by Nicholas Johnson at a cost of £150.00. The cherub heads can be seen in the coffering and two wingless putti can be seen flanking the monument, whom Pevsner refers to as "clumsy figures of labour and rest".[566] The figures also symbolise death, by standing on skulls, and holding a spade, with which to dig the grave.

---

[566] Pevsner, p. 106.

Fig 6.14 Monument to the 5th Earl of Rutland

Source: Author's own photograph, 2004

Fig 6.15 Detail of cherub heads in coffering of monument to 5th Earl of Rutland

Source: Author's own photograph, 2004

Fig 6.16 Detail of putto

Source: Author's own photograph, 2004

St Mary, Nevil Holt, Monument to Jane Thursby, 1631

The second example is the monument to Jane Thursby who died in 1631, located in the church of St. Mary, Nevil Holt.

Fig 6.17 Monument to Jane Thursby, 1631

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006
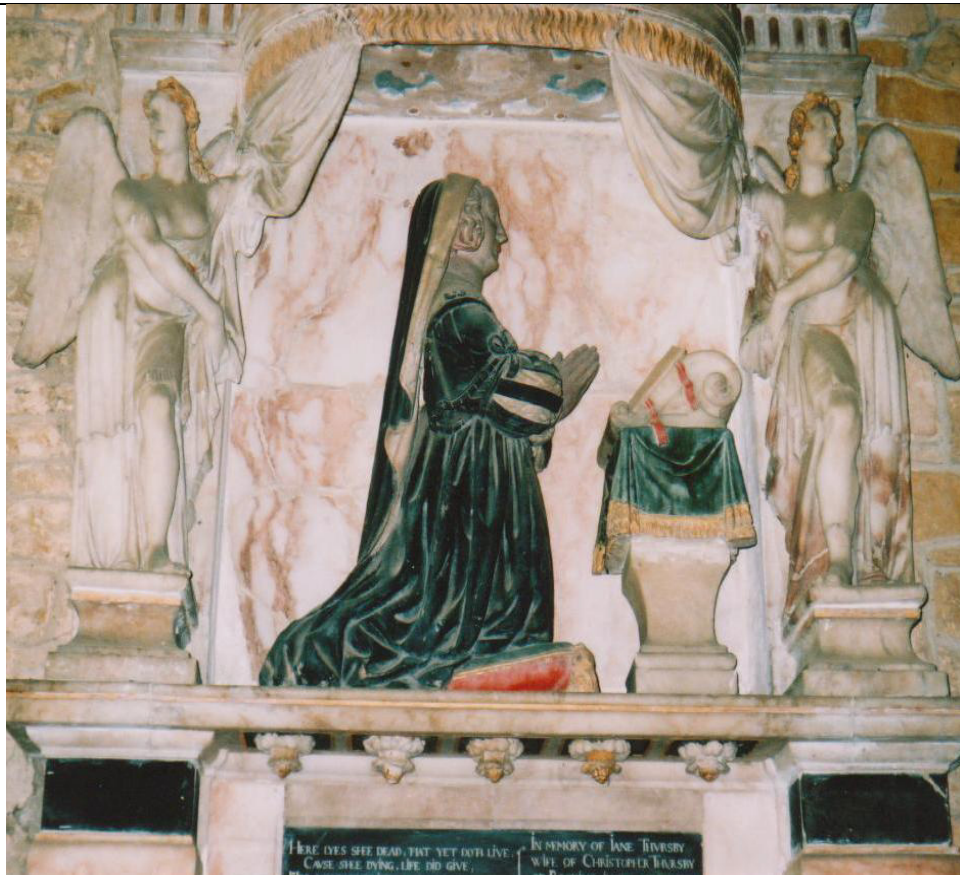
Fig 6.18 Detail of angels drawing back curtains of monument to Jane Thursby

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

The inscription on the monument reads:

HERE LYES SHEE DEAD, THAT YET DOTH LIVE, CAVSE SHEE DYING, LIFE DID GIVE.
HER VERTVOVS= LIFE PREPARD A WAY FOR THE PEACE OF HER LAST DAY: AND HER DEVOTION AT HER DEATH OPEN'D HEAVNE WITH HER BREATH THITHER WAS SHEE MAKING HAST,
WHEN SHEE PRAY'D AND LIVD HER LAST:
LEAVING BEHINDE THE WORLD TO SHAME,
THE GLORY OF A SPOTLESSE NAME SVRVIVING THVS, IN HEAVEN AND EARTH
BOTH IN HERSELF AND IN HER BIRTH.

IN MEMORY OF IANE THVRSBY

WIFE OF CHRISTOPHER THVRSBY OF BOCKING IN THE COVNTY OF ESSEX ESQVIER.

SHE DIED THE 10TH DAY OF OCTOIRE 1631, AND LEFTE BEHINDE HER 2 SONNES WILLIAM AND NEVILL

DAEFLEVIT FRACTER EIUS, CLEMENS NEVILL

An angel stands on either side of the kneeling figure of Jane Thursby, who is depicted kneeling at prayer. The angels hold a curtain back to reveal her figure. Immediately, we recall the examples discussed in the previous section, where angels are depicted in this manner. In this instance, particular attention has been paid to the folding of the drapery. Muscular definition of the arms and legs is highlighted, together with the attention to detail of the feathers on the wings, which was also seen on the examples of chapter three. The angels have blonde, curly hair, which is remincent of how angels were portrayed before the Reformation. The skull at the top of the monument serves as a memento mori, a reminder of death. A winged cherub head features at the bottom of the monument. [567]

This monument is virtually identical to the Chamberlyne Monument (fig 6.8) although executed some fifteen years later. Nonetheless, it shows the same format of two angels drawing back curtains and a kneeling figure.

---

[567] Research in the Church of England Record Centre revealed little about the monument. See Nevil Holt: St Mary. Leicester Diocese. Care File. CERC. However, we do know about the Nevil family and that some were recusants. Elliott, B, 'A Leicestershire Recusant Family: The Nevills of Nevill Holt' Part 1, *Recusant History*, vol. 17 (2), 1984, pp. 173-180; Elliott, B, 'A Leicestershire Recusant Family: The Nevills of Nevill Holt' Part 2, *Recusant History*, vol. 17 (4), 1985, pp. 374-385. Unfortunately, the article does not tell us if Jane was a recusant.

Monument to Thomas Nevil

Fig 6.19 Monument to Thomas Nevill

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Our third example can be found in the same church, a monument to Sir Thomas Nevil, father of Jane Thursby, who died in 1636. The inscription on his monument reads:

THIS MONUMENT ERRECTED IN MEMORY OF SR THOMAS NEVIL KNIGHT WHO HAD TWO WIVES JANE THE DAUGHTER OF TOBY HAVGHTON ESQ. HIS SECOND WIFE ELIZABETH FERNE SR JOHN FERN'S WIDDOW. BY HIS FIRST WIFE HE HAD SEAVEN SONNS, AND THREE DAVGHTERS, THOMAS. (WHO DYED AN INFANT) HENRY, WILLIAM, THOMAS, NEVILL, CLEMENT & GEORGE, DAVGHTERS DOROTHY, MARY & JANE HE LYTHE BVRIED IN THE VPPER END OF THE CHANCILL AND DYED THE 2d. DAY OF MARCH ANNO DONI: 1636
IN THE YEARE OF HIS AGE 81.

This monument displays two forms of spiritual creatures: Two wingless putti, with symbols of death, in the form of a skull and a spade with which to dig the grave are located at the top of the monument. A cherub head is located on either of inscription. These putti and cherubs are similar to the angels of Jane Thursby's tomb, in that they also have blonde, curly hair.
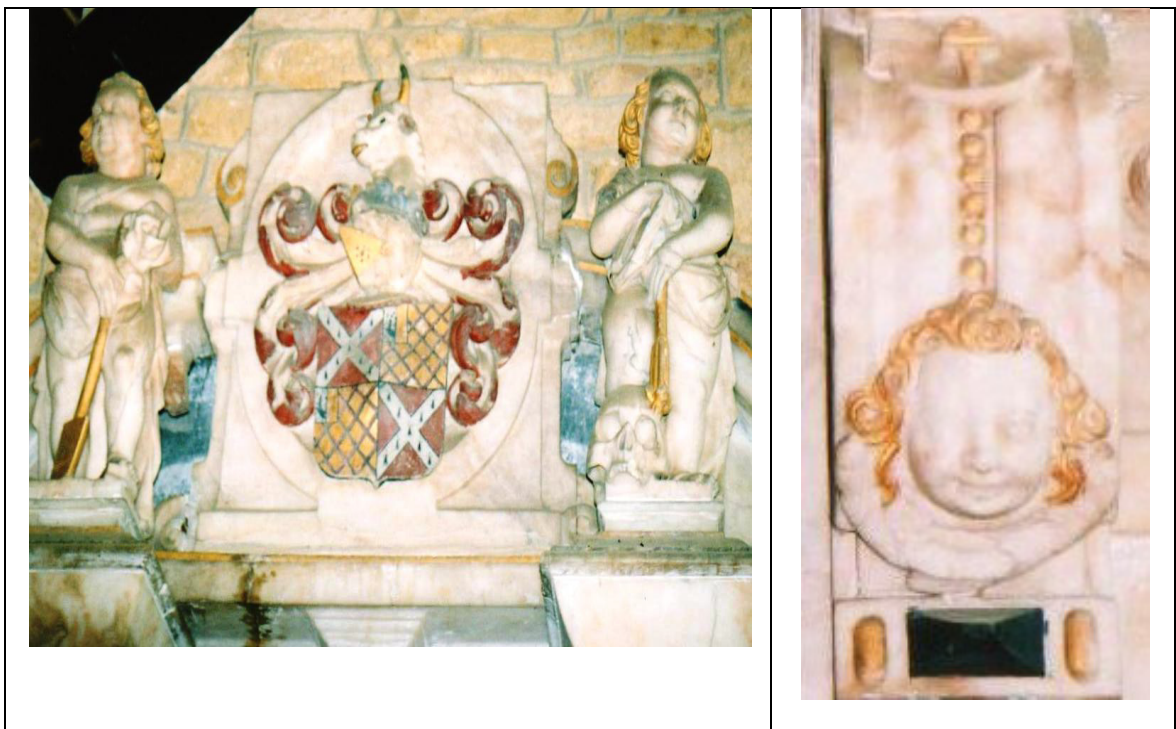
Fig 6.20 Detail of putti on monument to Thomas Nevil, 1636	Fig 6.21 Detail of cherub head on monument to Thomas Nevil
Source: Author's own photographs, 2006	

Prestwold: St. Andrew: Sir William Skipworth 1631

The fourth example is the monument to Sir William Skipworth who died in 1631.

Fig 6.22 Monument to Sir William Skipworth 1631

Source: Author's own photograph, 2009

The monument to Sir William Skipworth displays two forms of artistic representations of angels, cherub heads and putti, without wings. The monument is divided into three main sections. The top section contains the putti. One putto sits with his left hand resting on a skull. The other putto sits with his hand on a spade. Again, the putti display emblems of death.

In the middle section, there is elaborate coffering above the recumbent figures of Sir William Skipworth and his wife Margaret Cave. He is dressed in armour and she in contemporary dress which includes a ruff. There are twenty two figures of cherub heads that adorn the coffering. They each face a different direction. They have two pairs of wings; one at the chin, and another that extend above the head. They have blonde, curly hair; again, in keeping with the traditional pre-Reformation examples of angels. Some wings are painted gold, others green.

Fig 6.23 Detail of cherub heads in coffering of monument to Sir William Skipworth

Fig 6.24 Detail of putti on monument to Sir William Skipworth

One putto appears on each side of the inscription. It is difficult to ascertain what the putto to the left is holding. It looks like a shell. The putto to the right holds an hour glass in his right hand, symbolic of the passing of time and immortality. His left hand is missing and there appears to be the remains of a spade at his feet. Both putti wear a blue cloth. Further symbols of death appear below the putti, in the form of a book, spade and arrow that point to the right, to the recumbent figures. On the opposite side appears a timer, skull, bones and sickle.

In Leicestershire, we can say that there appears to be three types of representation of angelic form on the monuments: the full-length angel, putti and cherub heads. These are

all in keeping with the iconography of other monuments throughout England, as seen in chapter three.

Rutland

There are relatively few instances in Rutland of post-Reformation tomb monuments that display any kind of angelic form. It is interesting therefore that the two cases for the county exist in the same church. The church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Exton in Rutland is noted for having some of the finest examples of tomb monuments in England because of the range of monuments, from before and after the Reformation.

Exton: St. Peter and Paul: Monument to Anne, Baroness of Kinlosse

This monument to Anne, wife of Lord Bruce of Kinlosse, who died in 1627, is located in the west end of the north aisle. The monument is made up of a tomb chest which is raised on a plinth, columns with ionic capitals and heraldic shields. On top of the black marble base is the white marble effigy of Anne. She is dressed in a funerary shroud, with her left hand placed on her body, the right hand by her side. At her feet stands a pelican with a snake in his mouth. Her head rests on a pillow, on either side of which, is a cherub's head. Their heads have the appearance of a child, with wings at the neck. These cherub heads are distinctly different from those seen on William Skipworth's monument. This is most likely because of issues of space: the coffering in the Skipworth monument does not allow room for expansion of wings, as seen on the Baroness' tomb.

Fig 6.25 Monument to Anne, Baroness of Kinlosse

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

The inscription on the monument reads as follows:

ANNE, WIFE TO THOM: LORD BRVCE, BARŌ OF KINLOSSE, DAVGHTER OF SIR ROBERT CHICHESTER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH, OF AN ANCIENT FAMILY IN THE COVNTY OF DEVON: AND OF FRANCES ONE OF THE TWO DAVGHTERS AND CO-HEIRS OF JOHN LORD HARRINGTON, BARON OF EXTON SOLE HEYRE TO HER MOTHER:
A LADY ENDOWED WITH A NATVRALL DISPOSITION TO VERTVE, A TRVE VNDERSTANDING OF HONOR, MOST NOBLE BEHAVIOVR, PERPETVAL CHEEREFVLNESSE, MOST ELEGANT CONVERSATION, AND A MORE THEN ORDINARY CONIVGAIL AFFECTIŌ.
SHE WAS MARIED IV. YEARES AND IX. MONETHS & LEFT ONE ONLY CHILDE, NAMED ROBERT BRVCE.
WEAKENED BY THAT BIRTH, SHE DIED IN CHILDBED, THE XX. DAY OF MARCH, IN THE XXII. YEARE OF HER AGE. ANNO DOMINI MDCXXVII.
ERECTED AND INSCRIBED TO YE MEMEORY OF HIS MOST BELOVED AND MOST DESERVING WIFE BY THO: LORD BRVCE.

Fig 6.26 Detail of cherub head

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 6.27 Detail of cherub head

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

The Kelway Monument, St. Peter and Paul, Exton, 1551

The Kelway monument, located in the south transept, is dedicated to Robert Kelway, his daughter Anne and her husband John Harrington. Robert Kelway, a lawyer, died in 1581. At the top of the monument are three putti. The putto in the middle is standing on plinth which is inscribed with the words 'immortalitas.'The putto to the right stands on a skulll.

Fig 6.28 Monument to Robert Kelway

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 6.29 Detail of 3 putti on monument to Robert Kelway

Source: Author's own photography, 2006

Tixover, St. Mary Magdalene, monument to Roger Dale, 1623

Another example for Rutland is the monument to Roger Dale, of 1623. Dale and his wife can be seen kneeling in front of a prayer desk. Three cherub heads can be seen also, one above the prayer desk and one over the heads of the effigies of the deceased.
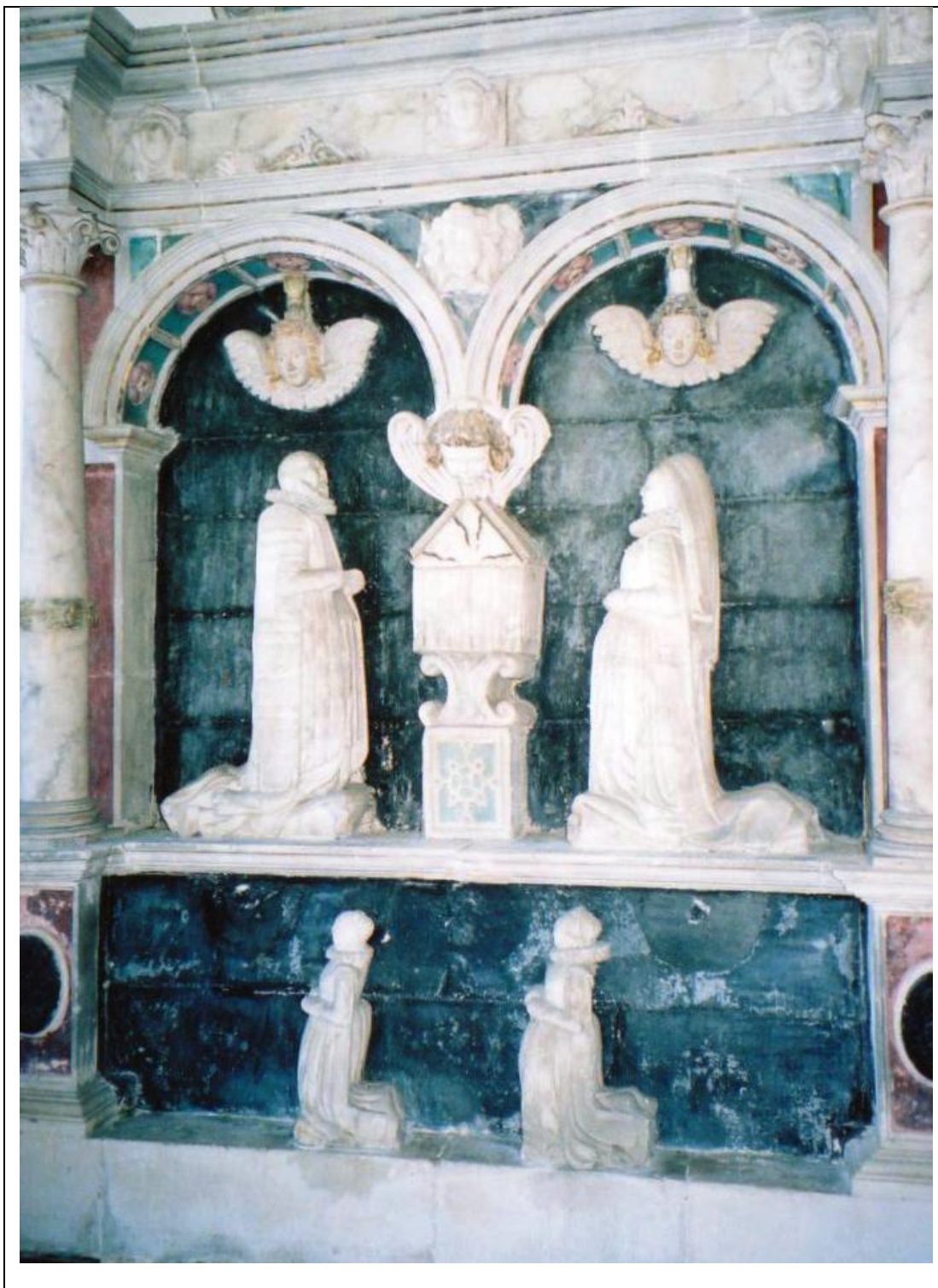
Fig 6.30 Monument to Roger Dale

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

Fig 6.31 Detail of cherub heads

Source: Author's own photograph, 2006

This survey was carried out in order to see the instances of angelic imagery in post-Reformation monuments in the local counties of Leicestershire and Rutland up to 1650, where this study of the representations of angels ends. There was evidence of putti and cherub heads; but the instance of the full-length angel only appears in Leicestershire, which demonstrates that this form of iconography may not have been favourable in Rutland. Furthermore, these examples show that Walsham and Sherlock were correct in their assessment that angels largely disappeared particularly on tomb monuments under Elizabeth and recurred in the early seventeenth century.

Parry writes that "one cannot say with any assurance that the choice of angels as part of the funerary iconography marks a High Church disposition, but there is a fair probability that such as the case. More definitive was the deployment of cherubs on the tomb".[568] We can agree with Parry's assessment, but we must not lose sight of the fact

---

[568] Parry, pp. 94-95.

that angels and putti had also be seen on monuments and as part of the decoration of churches, during the Reformation, including Elizabeth's reign. In view of this, the High Church movement under Laud, continued a long standing tradition of including the angelic form on monuments to the dead.

Having examined how angels were depicted on tomb monuments during the Stuart era, depictions of angels in other schemes will now be considered.

It has been demonstrated that there was an interest in the artistic display of angels from Protestants, seen at Muchelney and few tomb monuments. However, in the 1630s, there was a short-lived revival of the celebration of the Catholic Mass in certain areas, an outcome of which was the revival of the artistic representation of the orders of angels.

The memoirs of Fr. Cyprien de Gamache, preacher and missionary to Queen Henrietta Maria, the Catholic wife of Charles I, records details of the mission of the Capuchin friars to England. Translated from the original French, Fr. De Gamache documents that the chapel royal in Somerset House was finished in 1636 and that the queen gave orders that the first mass to be celebrated in it be one of great ceremony. The Capuchins duly obliged by employing the sculptor François Dieussart and he developed a machine that could display the Eucharist. It was

> about forty feet is height [...] the ascent to it was by six steps….Behind the altar was seen a Paraclete, raised above seven ranges of clouds, in which were figures of archangels, of cherubim, of seraphim, to the number of two hundred, some adoring the Holy Sacrament, others singing and playing on all sorts of musical instruments […] The first circle contained Angels larger than life, sitting on clouds, singing and playing on instruments: in the fourth and fifth rows there were Angels in the habit of deacons, some with censers, others with incense-boxes, some kneeling in the attitude of supplicants, others prostrate, pointing at the Holy Sacrament to their companions, all of them a size proportioned to the distance. In the sixth and seventh circles were seen children

with wings in various postures, like so many little Angels issuing from the clouds, playing together with gestures full of respect, some turned towards the centre, others showing the adorable Sacrament to the people, inviting them to rejoice and to adore it with them. In the eight and ninth circles appeared cherubim and seraphim among the clouds, surrounded with luminous rays, with extraordinary skill.[569]

Walsham suggests that such imagery was influenced by the Counter Reformation art of the Baroque on the continent.[570] It appears that this machine could have one of the first representations of some of the angelic orders in Dionysius' hierarchy, commissioned since the Reformation. Of great importance to note is that some of the angels are wearing the liturgical vestments of deacons. In chapters one and two, it was shown that angels wearing such attire symbolised the Mass. Since this machine held the Eucharist, the employment of vested angels as a decorative motif is very apt, given that the Mass was a celebration of the Eucharist. Further, those dressed as deacons recall the idea that the orders of angels depicted as wearing the liturgical vestments also represented the church hierarchy. It can be suggested that because the Seraphim and Cherubim are mentioned, perhaps others were included in the scheme. This encompassed a mix of the old tradition, together with the new. The inclusion of musical instruments and liturgical vestments demonstrated a return to the iconography of angels of the pre-Reformation era, together with the 'children with wings', which were most likely to have been putti.

This section of the thesis has demonstrated that images of angels were rare under Elizabeth and were more widely depicted in the early Stuart era. They were seen in two forms: the full-length angel and the putto. Both motifs showed no display of the former faith and were legitimate to be represented because of the Biblical evidence. However,

---

[569] Birth, T, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, vol.2, 1849, pp. 311-2.
[570] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 158.

the legitimacy question would rise again in the 1640s with the outbreak of the Civil War.

Angels and the Return of Iconoclasm

Whilst Laud saw angels and cherubs as lawful images, and commissioned their depiction, there was fierce opposition to the revival of any form of religious imagery in churches by the puritan section of society. This has been conclusively demonstrated by Margaret Aston in her book, *England's Iconoclasts*, (though she says little about angels). Julie Spraggon's *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil* War (2003) gives a detailed analysis of the destruction of all things considered idolatrous between 1641 and 1651.[571] She informs us that John Vicars, in his *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of making or having the Picture of Christ's Humanity* of 1641, argued against any representations of angels. As "meere spirits" they ought not, he says, to be given bodily form.[572] She cites many examples of the destruction of angels, one such instance being the desecration of angels at St. Mary Woolchurch that were re-fashioned later into "another different shape".[573] Re-fashioning of religious imagery was also seen in the example of the Cheapside Cross, one of the Eleanor Crosses, which was attacked in 1642.[574] George Abbot of the University of Oxford, had written in 1601 against its restoration, and felt that it should be replaced with "some pyramid or matter of mere

---

[571] Spraggon, J, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*, Woodbridge, 2003. This book is important because although much has been written on the subject of iconoclasm, this is the first volume which examines the iconoclasm of the 1640s in great detail. See Morill, J, 'Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War. Book Review', *The American Historical Review,* vol. 10, issue 1, February 2005, pp. 215-6 for a review of this book. Morill states the book is "sometimes worryingly imprecise in matters of detail" and as such, suggests that it would have been useful to examine what was not destroyed. See pp. 215-6. We can suggest that Morill has pointed out quite an important oversight by Spraggon because if she had addressed what was not destroyed, we would be able to see what religious iconography was permitted and seen as lawful and not idolatrous in the eyes of the Puritans.
[572] Spraggon, p. 35.
[573] Spraggon, p. 149.
[574] Spraggon, p. 42.

beauty, and not an Angel or such like".[575] These examples illustrate the fact that by the 1640s, the images of angels that had managed to survive the Reformation thus far were now in grave danger of being destroyed.

Futher examples of destruction of angels and the unpopularity of the Laudian reforms have been observed by Keith Lindley in his book, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (1997). He observes the troubled period from 1640 to 1646, in terms of the impact that the social and religious changes had on the lives of ordinary citizens in London. One such casualty of the destruction was the carved wooden angels on the altar rails of All Hallows, Barking on 21st November 1640. They were were sawn off and "carried before the Commons as an example of popish innovations".[576] The previous year had seen tension in the parish as some parishioners protested against images on the altar rails in the repositioning of the altar.[577] This example demonstrates the level of zealous feeling by the Puritan movement towards images of angels.

William Dowsing: The Bureaucratic Puritan?

We can gather a great deal of information about the destruction of images during this time due to the wealth of evidence left by one iconoclast in particular. William Dowsing (1596-1668) left a diary in which he detailed his destructive activities in Suffolk and Cambridge. As Margaret Aston stated, his name "has become a byword for Puritan destruction".[578] Trevor Cooper's edited book *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, has been invaluable in

---

[575] Spraggon, p. 43.
[576] Lindley, K, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London,* Aldershot, 1997, pp. 37-38.
[577] Lindley, K, pp. 37-38.
[578] Aston, p. 74.

assessing the amount of damage to angels in this period.[579] Dowsing was in the employment of the Earl of Manchester, with orders to carry out the instructions of the Parliamentary Ordinance of 26th August 1643:

An Ordinance for the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all Monuments of Superstition or Idolatry:

All Crucifixes, Crosses, and all Images and Pictures of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, and all other Images and Pictures of Saints, or superstitious Inscriptions in or upon all and every the said Churches or Chappels, or other places of publique Prayer, Church-yards, or other places to any the said Churches and Chappels, or other place of publique Prayer, belonging, or in any other open place, shall before the first day of November be taken away and defaced, and none of the like hereafter permitted in any such Church or Chappel, or other places as aforesaid.[580]

It is necessary to list the contents in order to demonstrate that in 1643, representations of angels were not included in the inventory of images to be destroyed. However, nine months later, a new ordinance was issued, on the 9th May 1644, called an *Ordinance for the further demolishing of Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition*. It decreed that:

The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all offences and things illegal in the worship of God, do Ordain, That all Representations of any of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any **Angel** or Saint, in or about any Cathedral, Collegiate or Parish Church, or Chappel, or in any open place within this Kingdome, shall be taken away, defaced, and utterly demolished; And that no such shall hereafter be set up, And that the Chancel-ground of every such Church or Chappel, raised for any Altar, or Communion Table to stand upon, shall be laid down and levelled; And that no Copes, Surplicesses, superstitious Vestments, Roods, or Roodlons, or Holy-water Fonts, shall be, or be any more used in any Church or Chappel within this Realm; And that no Cross, Crucifix, Picture, or Representation of any of the Persons of the Trinity, or of any **Angel** or Saint shall be, or continue upon any Plate, or other thing used, or to be used in or about the worship of God [...] And that all Copes, Surplisses, superstitious Vestments, Roods, and Fonts aforesaid, be likewise utterly defaced; whereunto all persons within this Kingdome, whom it may concern, are hereby required at their peril to yield due obedience [...] And the several Churchwardens or

---

[579] Cooper, T, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War,* Woodbridge, 2001.
[580] Firth, C. H, & Rait, R.S, *Acts and Ordinances of the Ingerregnum* 1642-1660, vol. I, London, 1911, p. 265.

> Overseers of the Poor of the said several Churches and Chappels respectively, and the next adjoyning Justice of the Peace, or Deputy Lieutenant, are hereby required to see the due performance hereof. [581]

Within nine months, a new ordinance had included angels on the roll of forbidden images. The types of representation mentioned are quite specific: images of angels, perhaps meaning in art and sculpture of the churches, but also their image on plates or anything connected to the service of worship. They were not the only form of imagery to be added to the list. Vestments and roodscreens were to be destroyed also. Neither Cooper nor Morill address the issue of why angels were added to the second ordinance. It seems that within the short time period between both edicts, angels were deemed particularly offensive and put into the same bracket of superstition as the saints.

Considering the dates of these orders, it is noticeable that the destruction of the images at All Hallows occurred in 1640, four years before the first ordinance, and five years before the second. Thus the example of All Hallows further reiterates the high level of feeling of wanting to destroy religious imagery, even before it became law to do so. Cooper suggests that Dowsing's anti-angelic activity is surprising. Dowsing had done most of his damage concerning angels before the second ordinance was issued by Parliament. Whilst Cooper suggests that Dowsing "stuck to the letter of the law," in destroying images included on the first ordinance, he was "acting well in advance of what was permitted", in destroying images of angels.[582] We can suggest that Dowsing was most likely acting upon his own personal beliefs and convictions about the legality of images of angels, considering them to be idolatrous.

---

[581] Firth & Rait, pp. 425-6.
[582] Cooper, p. 94.

Cooper's edition of the diary shows that Dowsing carries out his orders in Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex. The vast amount of destruction of images demonstrates the amount that had survived the hands of former iconoclasts of the previous generation. The diary also reveals the enormous numbers of angels represented in these areas of England. Dowsing cites the term 'angel' and cherubim in his text. He mentions cherubim quite frequently but it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether these belonged to a hierarchy or not, because he mentions angels separately. These angels and cherubim are located in various parts of the churches or chapels; in the roof or as a statue, made of wood or of stone. He destroyed both but was particularly annoyed if they displayed some form of symbolism on them. The survival of angels in roofs may be attributed to the fact that Dowsing may not have seen them in poor light but also because they were positioned so high up and therefore were not readily accessible.[583] (This may be why the sculptures of the angels in the roof of Ashby Folville have survived).

There are numerous diary entries in which Dowsing mentions angels, but the following examples are the most significant. Entries for the diary of 1643 include visits to Cambridge and records what he destroyed there at the colleges of the university as well as churches:

Peterhouse, 1643, December 21: "With officers and soldiers [...] we pulled down two mighty great angells, with wings, and divers other angels [...] and about a hundred chirubims and angells".[584]

---

[583] Cooper, p. 94.
[584] Cooper, pp. 155-6.

Pembroke Hall, 1643, December 26th: "We broak 10 cherubims".[585]

Queens College, December 26: "we beat down about 110 superstitious pictures, besides cherubims and ingravins".[586]

Jesus College, December 22: "We digged up the steps there, and brake down of superstitious, of saints and angells, 120 at least".[587]

John Morill calls Dowsing the "bureaucratic Puritan" because, he claims, he followed the letter of the law, removing only what was mentioned and leaving other articles untouched and thus preserved to this day.[588] Morrill argues that Dowsing's "principal targets were those pictures and images which would be a distraction to the worshipper."[589] However, Morill is wrong to suggest that Dowsing "only began to remove angels, organs, and holy water stoups after they were mentioned by name in a subsidiary Ordinance of May 1644".[590] Dowsing's diary entries prove otherwise. For example, several entries for 1644, before the second ordinance (the second ordinance did not come into force until May of 1644) demonstrate that Dowsing destroyed angels before it was lawful to do so, e.g. (All Saints, Trinity Street, January 1st): "we brake downe diverse superstitious pictures, and eighteen cherubims."[591] At Kesgrave, Jan 27: "We [...] gave order to take down 18 cherubims".[592] What is clear is that Dowsing was

[585] Cooper, p. 161.
[586] Cooper, p. 165.
[587] Cooper, p. 169.
[588] Morrill, J, 'William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm', in Cooper, T, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing*, p. 27.
[589] Morrill, 'William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm', p. 27.
[590] Morrill, 'William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm', p. 17.
[591] Cooper, p. 195.
[592] Cooper, p. 225.

no "bureaucratic puritan" in this regard. Convinced of his own righteousness, and therefore motivated by his own personal convictions, he justified his (illegal) actions on a visit to Pembroke Hall in 1643, (and thus before the second ordinance was published, taking matters into his own hands). Dowsing quoted the Bible and Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* to those who opposed him:

> We broak 10 cherubims. We broake and pulled down 80 superstitious pictures; and Mr. Weeden told me, he could fetch a Statute Booke to shew, that pictures were not to be pulled down; I bade him fetch and shew it and they should stand; and he and Mr. Boldero told me, the clargie had only to doe in ecclesiastical matters, neither the Magistrate, nor the Parliament had anything to doe; I told them I perceived they were Cuzen's [Cosin's] judgement, and told them I would prove the people had to doe as well as the clergie, and alledged, Acts i.15, 16, 23. (Calv. on Acts i.) The 120 believers had the election of an apostle in the rome [room, ie place] of Judas. I cited Calvin, and in his Institutions, in the poynt of ministers elections, and I told them Josiah's reforming religion (1 kings xxii. 21) with the other Godly reforming Kings of Judah proved it; and for the taking down of images, I told them the Book of Homilys did prove it, which they so much honored, and alledged, p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 23 against the Peril of Idolatry [and the Queens Injunctions]. Others alledged cherubims to be lawfull by scripture (Deut. iv. 12, 16 and vii. 5, 25, 26; xii.2) and that Moses and Solomon made them without any command. I deny'd it, and turned to Exod. xxv. 18, 22. Then they said, Solomon did make them without any order from God. I answered, he received a pattern from David, and read to them, I Chron. xxviii. 10, 11 to 18, 19. Weeden said, Reading Paul's sermons was better preaching then now is used, because it was not script[ural]. I told them, God saved by foolishness of preaching, not reading, and alleged, I Cor. i. 21; I told them if reading was preaching, my child preaches as well as they, and they stared one on another without answere.[593]

Dowsing uses the terms angels and cherubim without defining either; Cooper states "the distinction is not clear. Generally, Dowsing uses 'cherubim' for roof angels, though he is not always consistent."[594] Clearly both were offensive to him. For example, angels and cherubim are named separately in the same entry for March 9 at Grandesden Parva

---

[593] Cooper, p. 161.
[594] Cooper, p. 261.

[Little Grasden] "The steps and 43 cherubims we gave order to take down, and 2 angells, and 11 superstitious pictures we brake down".[595]

The difficulty in distinguishing whether he meant an angel or a cherub arises from the fact that he does not categorise them by reference solely to their location in the church, or how they are represented or indeed, what attribute they hold. For example, Wings are mentioned on Oct 1 relating to the visit to Parnham Hatchson [Hacheston]. In his diary entry for this visit, Dowsing recorded "there was 21 cherubims with wings, in wood".[596] Also, at Matthew's, Jan 29: "We brake down 35 superstitious pictures, 3 angells with stars on their breast, and crosses".[597] However, cherubim, not angels, are mentioned as having crosses. At Badingham, on Sept. 28, Dowsing gave the order to destroy "16 superstitious cherubims with crosses on their breast, all to be done, by the church wardens, by the 13 of October."[598] Again, at Cothie [Covehithe] on April 6, a warrant was left to destroy them within a fortnight because they were so high up and therefore could not be reached:

> There was many inscriptions of Jesus, in capital letters, on the roof the church, and cherubims with crosses on their breasts [...] All which, with divers pictures that we could not reach in the windows neither would they help us to raise the ladders. All which, we left a Warrant with the Constable to do, in fourteen days.[599]

---

[595] Cooper, p. 261.
[596] Cooper, p. 319.
[597] Cooper, p. 230.
[598] Cooper, p. 319.
[599] Cooper, p. 294.

Stars were not included on the list of forbidden images but crosses were. Chapter one has shown that stars were included in the representation of angels.[600] Such an idea was obviously anathema and offensive to Puritans. Cooper suggests that it is possible that Dowsing "only took down cherubim and angels when they were decorated with crosses and other unacceptable symbolism. This hypothesis would be an alternative explanation as to why at a few of his churches he did not request the destruction of angels".[601] However, there is not enough evidence to support this claim as Dowsing only mentions such attributes on a few occasions. Cooper himself acknowledges this when he writes that "it is difficult to avoid the impression that he regarded angels themselves as fair game".[602]

Angels existed in various forms of media throughout churches. For example, the "2 angells painted on the walls" of Uper Papworth [Papworth Everard] were mentioned in the entry for March 8 as being destroyed.[603] Examples of angels in the roof space include those at Cartling [Kirtling] March 23: "3 superstitious pictures, and 14 angells in the chancell, on the roof, which the Lord North's man promised to take off".[604] Those made of wood include those found at Stradbrook [Stradbroke] April 4: "8 angells off the roof, and 8 cherubims in wood, to be taken down".[605] An example of sculpture was at Laxfield, with the entry of July, 17 1644: "Two angells in stone, at the steeple's end".[606]

Dowsing was only one of many iconoclasts working for Parliament and other examples of iconoclasm of the same time period should be considered. New images of angels that

---

[600] See section relating to pre-Reformation examples of the angelic hierarchy.
[601] Cooper, p. 94.
[602] Cooper, p. 94.
[603] Cooper, p. 260.
[604] Cooper, p. 281.
[605] Cooper, p. 288.
[606] Cooper, p. 302.

were erected shortly before the ordinances could be seen in Canterbury Cathedral.

Richard Culmer, in his *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury: Shewing the Canterburian Cathdedrall to bee in an Abbey-like, corrupt, and rotten condition, which cals for a speedy Reformation or Dissolution*, of 1644, gives an account of a new font that was decorated with images and erected in the cathedral around 1444. He writes that:

> there hath been lately erected a Supersticious Font, with three Ascents to it, paled abut with high guilded, and painted iron bars, having under the Cover of it, a carved Image of the Holy Ghost, in the forme of a Dove, and round about it are placed carved Images of the twelve Apostles, and foure Evangelists, and of Angels, and over it a Carved Image of Christ, so that none can looke up in prayer there, but hee hall behold those tempting Images in the place of Divine Worship; against the Law of God, and the Doctrine of the Church of England.[607]

Fonts were clearly on the listed as forbidden on the second ordinance. The author also explains about the destruction of images in the cathedral by "Reforming Troopers" acting for the law and carrying out the instructions of "that Ordinance". Indeed:

> The Cathedrall men would not execute that ordinance themselves, they loved their Cathedrall Jezable, the better because she was painted, which painted Cathedrall Jezabel the recited Proctours Booke calls Morther church. But the worthy Major, and the Recorder of Canterburie put on that blessed worke of Reformation with their speedy warrent, according to that Ordinance. When the Commissioners entered upon the execution of that Ordinance, in that Cathedrall, they knew not where to begin, the Images and Pictures were so numerous, as if that Superstitious Cathedrall had beene built for no other end, but to be a stable for Idolls.[608]

We read in the second ordinance that it was the duty of Churchwardens or Overseers of the Poor, Justice of the Peace, or Deputy Lieutenant who were to carry out the destruction but the "Cathedrall men" of Canterbury would not destroy the artefacts. Culmer, it appears was of the Puritan persuasion, indicated by his referral of the cathedral as Superstious, and Jezable, implying that it was immoral for a house of God

---

[607] *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury:Shewing, the Canterburian Cathedrall to bee in an Abbey-like, corrupt, and rotten condition, which cals for a speedy Reformation, or Dissolution.* 1644, p. 3.
[608] *Cathedrall Newes,* pp. 20-21.

to contain so many images. Other examples of destruction at Canterbury include "many window Images or pictures in glasse" and "many Idolls of stone, thirteen representing Christ, and his twelve Apostles".[609] Of interest to us is the casualty of the "great Idolatrous window" had cost thousands of pounds, paid for by "Out-landish Papists". The window contained images of God the Father, the Holy Spirit, Christ, the Apostles, the Virgin Mary, who was depicted "in severall glorious appearences, as of the Angells lifting her into heaven." [610]

The iconoclasts working at Canterbury were clearly following the letter of the law in destroying the window with images of angels. *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury* offers us a contemporary account of iconoclasm, in conjunction with the work of Dowsing. *Cathedrall Newes* is also useful in demonstrating the opposition to such acts by those who were meant to carry out the deeds.

The different examples have shown that the views on iconoclasm were ambivalent. For instance, the parishioners of All Hallows were keen to destroy images of angels, as was Dowsing. Dowsing's actions can be distinguished as over-zealous in his eagerness to destroy angels before it became law to do so. Yet despite such actions, the question over the legitimacy of images of angels continued to be asked. One instance of this is the work of Edward Elton, pastor of St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, who in his treatise *God's Holy Minde Touching Matters Morall* of 1647 responded to the issue of whether angels were part of the ban on images as stated by the Second Commandment wrote:

> Not properly, because they cannot bee represented, but by borrowing the forme or shape of visible things, being spirituall; yet under the visible celestiall bodeies they are also comprehended.[611]

---

[609] *Cathedrall Newes,* p. 21.
[610] *Cathedrall Newes*, pp. 21-22.
[611] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 144.

This is a rather hesitant response. On the one hand, he suggests that they cannot be represented. On the other, he suggests that we can understand them better if they take physical form. Furthermore, the issue of the legality of the representation of the cherubim continued to be a matter of interest. Henry Hammond wrote about the cherubim in his *Several Tracts*, of 1646. His fifth tract is entitled *Of Idolatry*, in which he specifically wrote to counter Puritan views. The cherubim are recalled in relation to the Jewish faith and the decoration of the temple. He writes that:

> truly it seemeth very probable, that to the Jewes it was (whether by the force of the second commandment, or by some pracept elsewhere, or by the Traditions of the Elders I say not) conceived utterly unlawfull to have any such images, especially in their temples, or places of worship (unlesse in case of Gods particular command, as the Cherubim, and the brazen Serpent) yea not to bow in their presence in any place.[612]

However, the positioning of the decoration of the cherubim in the temple is of vital importance to our understanding of those puritans who viewed them to be idolatrous:

> The reason of this prohibition to the Jewes, is by [...] againe cleared to be, not for any naturall primitive fulfullnesse in an image of man etc. but only for caution, (and therefore within the vaile whither the eyes of the people were not permitted to enter, God himselfe appoints the Cherubims to be set up and Solomon graved Cherubims upon the wals of the greater house 2 Chron:3.7 in the body of the Temple I conceive, because none but the Priests did come in thither Luk:1.8,9) to hedge and keepe them from danger of falling into the Heathen worships, and upon the obligation o the words of that Text. Ex.:34.12, beware and lest it be a snare unto thee. And therefore tis farther resolved, that all those images were unlawfull to them.[613]

Henry Hammond viewed the imagery of cherubim to be legitimate, because they were found in the Jewish temple and were carried out by Solomon on the orders of God

---

[612] Hammond, H, *Several Tracts: Of Idolatry*, 1646, p. 26.
[613] Hammond, pp. 26-27.

himself. The location of the Holy of Holies behind the veil is interesting as it is out of public view and only accessible to priests. Therefore, conflict arises in that cherubim are not unlawful, but can only be portrayed in sacred areas away from public worship. Although a later view, it is consistent with that of Dowsing. Hammond further suggested that images of angels should not be worshipped or prayed to, but they could be used for "ornament" or "beauty" at home or in a church. [614]

Conclusion

In the period from 1517 to 1650, England saw major shifts and revivals in both theology and iconography of angels. The chapter began by addressing the mutation of angels in the Renaissance, in the advent of the re-discovery of the putti, and how this iconography filtered into the art and sculpture of early sixteenth century England. These putti had connotations of angels, and were described as spiritual beings, but they bore no relation to the iconography of the Nine Orders as seen our case studies of chapter two. These putti remained popular throughout the century, but were particularly prevalent during Elizabeth's reign.

At no point in the Reformation was the existence of angels ever doubted. The European and English reformers acknowledged the spiritual attributes of these celestial beings. Most disagreed entirely with the former tradition of the hierarchy of Nine Orders of Dionysius but second generation Protestants such as Andrewes and Hooker took note of systematic ordering of angels. In England, angels continued as part of the reformed faith with their inclusion in prayers in the various editions of the *Book of Common Prayer.*

---

[614] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 162.

Not surprisingly, the Nine Orders enjoyed a renewal in the work of the Yorkshire clergyman Robert Parkyn in the reign of Mary I, which saw the re-establishment of the former Roman Catholic faith. Angels continued to be debated in Elizabeth's reign, and representations of them appeared in churches. They were also seen on funerary monuments of the 1620s under William Laud and the High Church Movement. However, protestant thinkers persisted with the age-old debate on the legitimacy of the representation of angels. The recurring theme in the debate over the imagery of angels seems to have focussed on the cherubim in particular. Cherubim could, on a technical basis, be seen as lawful images because of their biblical origins, and the fact that their image decorated the walls of the Temple of Solomon. Zealous bouts of iconoclasm were seen throughout the Reformation but the most violent accounts hail from the era of the Civil War, seen in the contemporary documentation. Walsham suggests that "early modern Englishmen and women were no more starved of images of angels than they were of pictures in general".[615] I agree with this assessment but would suggest further that England was starved of images of the Nine Orders, but angels, as spiritual beings, never disappeared entirely during the Reformation.

---

[615] Walsham, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', p. 167.

CONCLUSION

This study on the representation of angels from the late Middle Ages through the Reformation 1450-1650 has shown that over a period of two hundred years, the concept of the invisible angelic messenger never left the English psyche, nor did their manifestation in the visual arts. Such depictions were not without question or abuse. What did change, however, was not the concept of the angel, but the position of the angel within the primary focus of this thesis, the Nine Orders of Angels.

Chapter one examined the primary and secondary sources pertaining to the representation of angels in the Middle Ages. It explored the origins of angels in art, and noted that the origins of the winged messenger lie in the representations of the winged messengers or guardians of the ancient civilizations of Assyria, Greece and Rome. It addressed how angels were viewed in the Bible and how a basis for a hierarchy was formed from these texts, according to Dionysius. It looked at how scholars viewed this idea of ranking angels into groups or triads and the many treatises that came from this. Dionysius' hierarchy was not the only one but it was the one which was held in the greatest regard. The chapter demonstrated that the subject of angelology was one of great interest to the medieval scholar and developed into an independent branch of theology. Whilst giving detailed information about the spiritual attributes of angels, few scholars revealed what angels actually looked like. As such, they were not particularly useful in aiding patrons and artists to depict angels in the visual arts. Some later scholars such as Bartholomeus Anglicus and Dives and Papuer did address the issue as to how they should be painted with particular attributes, however, they did not allocate them to a particular order.

Chapter two addressed case studies of supposed angelic hierarchies constructed in past scholarship. The identifications of some angels were problematic because it was found that a particular attribute was not specific to one order. As such, the chapter began by discussing a definite hierarchy of angels, confirmed by inscriptions. The roodscreen at Barton Turf therefore, served as a bench mark, of which we could judge the other case studies. During my research, I found some unknown visual sources for the roodscreen, that were drawn in the nineteenth century. The accompanying notes with the Wardle Drawings offered insight into the state of the panels before restoration in the twentieth century.

In the second case study on the angels surrounding the East window of the Beauchamp Chapel, I offered a new analysis of the angels, challenging previous studies, particularly that of P.B. Chatwin. The examination of his identifications of the angels offered an immediate problem as they were not labelled. Chatwin's identifications were questionable and flawed. Ultimately whilst it is possible to ascertain that the sculptures did indeed represent different types of angels, e.g. musical and shield bearers, they were not the Nine Orders as stipulated by Chatwin.

The case study of the angels located in Henry VII's chapel offered an interesting insight into the representation of angels in what is the most important chantry chapel of the sixteenth century. This was the first analysis to be carried out on the angels in the chapel. The sheer number contained within this scheme and the large variety of costume led me to conclude that the Nine Orders were not represented here. As a result of the investigation, discoveries were made about the masons and their workshop and construction methods.

The assessment of the angels located in the church of St. Mary in Ashby Folville in Leicestershire demonstrated that angels were often included in roof spaces. They did not display the Nine Orders but rather they had specific functions as shield bearers and players of musical instruments.

The individual schemes that were examined, together with cross-referenced examples showed a high level of inconsistency: not only with the textual sources, but also with each other. The most important theme running through these case studies was the fact that the majority of the angels were clothed in liturgical vestments, which symbolised the celebration of the Eucharist in the Mass. Due to the wide variety of vestments, it became clear that these angels were vested in the garments of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including popes, archbishops, priests and deacons. The idea of the ecclesiastical hierarchy reflecting that of the heavenly hierarchy was one that was explored by the scholastics in the Middle Ages and as such, was manifested in art and sculpture. These case studies demonstrate that on the eve of the Reformation, the concept of the angelic messenger was very much a part of the faith of the late Middle Ages. These angels decorated churches with such powerful imagery that people could look at them in awe and ask for their intercession with God.

Chapter three examined the impact of the Reformation on representations of angels. I have shown how the depiction of angels on the continent was highly influenced by the discovery of ancient artefacts during the Renaissance. Attitudes towards angels were examined from an English and European perspective. Luther's attitude changed from one of praise for these celestial creatures into one of distain. He dismissed the idea of an angelic hierarchy, as did Calvin. Yet there was one key concept that united both

reformers: the belief that angels did exist, and that the evidence for their existence was located in the Bible, the literal basis upon which the Protestant religion was founded. Attitudes towards angels was mixed in England during the sixteenth century, with various changes in the belief system under Edward VI and Elizabeth I, demonstrated by the *Book of Common Prayer*. The hierarchy of angels enjoyed favour in Mary I's reign, as seen in the manuscript of the recusant Robert Parkyn, who wrote in the manner and tradition of the scholastics concerning angels. This manuscript has never been published, but was of vital importance to this study.

The question of the legitimacy of angels was one which would be continually asked throughout the latter half of the 1500s and the first half of the 1600s. Walsham, Kemp and Sherlock stated that angels largely disappeared under Elizabeth I but reappeared on tomb monuments in the early seventeenth century. This hypothesis was tested by various examples, particularly tomb monuments in Leicestershire and Rutland, which proved Walsham, Kemp and Sherlock to be correct in their assessment. These examples offer a new perspective to the study of angelology in the post-Reformation era. The painted ceiling of angels and cherub heads at Muchelney seems to have been the exception to the rule. Representations of angels suffered much at the hands of the iconoclasts during the 1640s, when Parliament declared their imagery to be illegal, although some did manage to survive.

Based on the foregoing analysis, this thesis contends that the concept of the angelic messenger remained during and after the Reformation. More specifically, the Nine Orders of Angels disappeared from the visual arts, but individual angels continued to be

represented in the form of cherubs and putti, as inoffensive decorations on tomb monuments.

Appendices

Appendix A – WARDLE DRAWINGS

Fig 7.1 St. Apollonia

Fig 7.2 St. Citha

Fig 7.3 Powers

Fig 7.4Virtues

Fig 7.5 Dominations

Fig 7.6 Seraphim

Fig 7.7 Cherubim

Fig 7.8 Principalities

Fig 7.9 Thrones

Fig 7.10 Archangels

Fig 7.11 Angels

Sca barbara:

Fig 7.12 St. Barbara

Appendix B – COTTINGHAM DRAWINGS
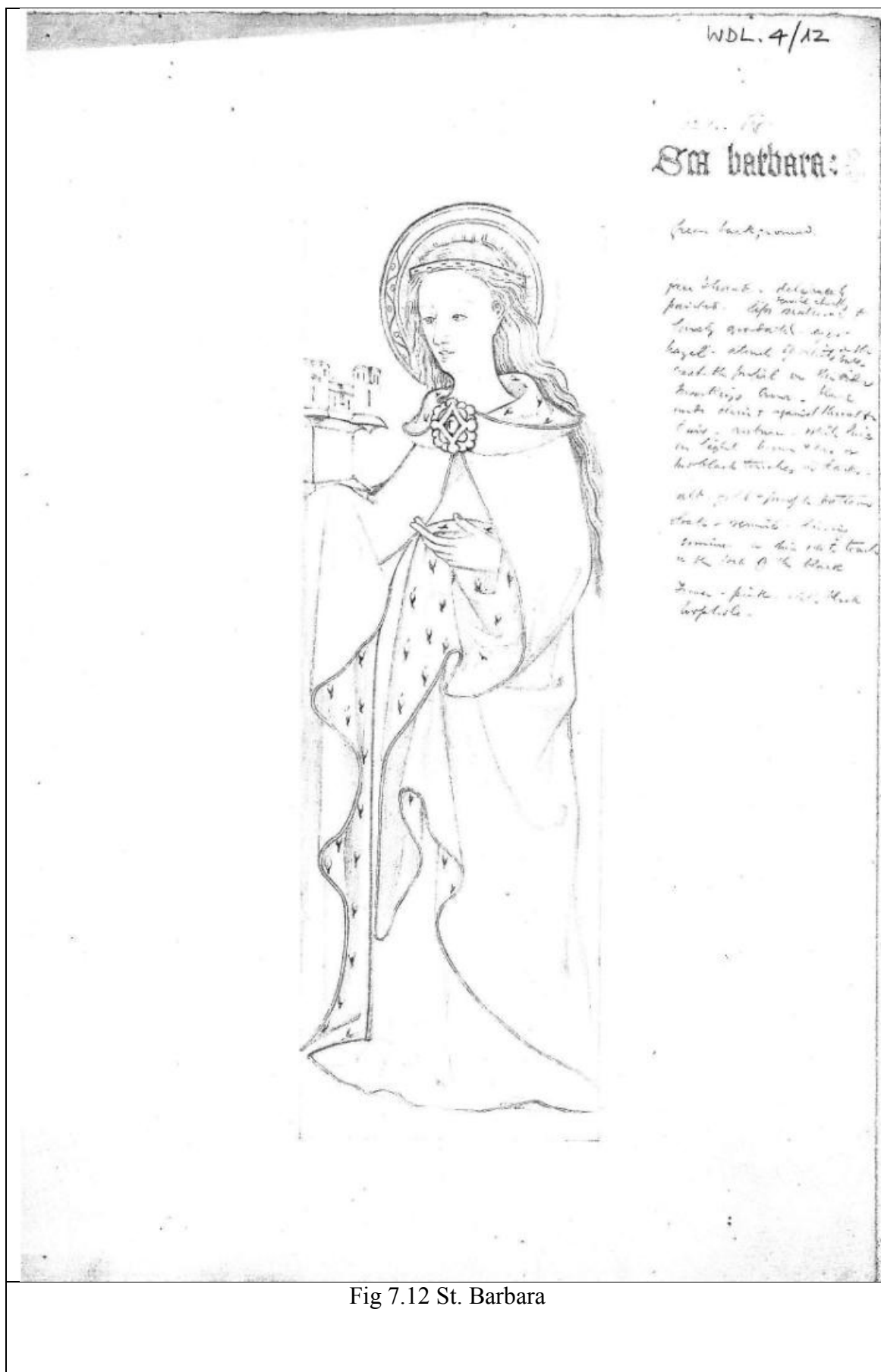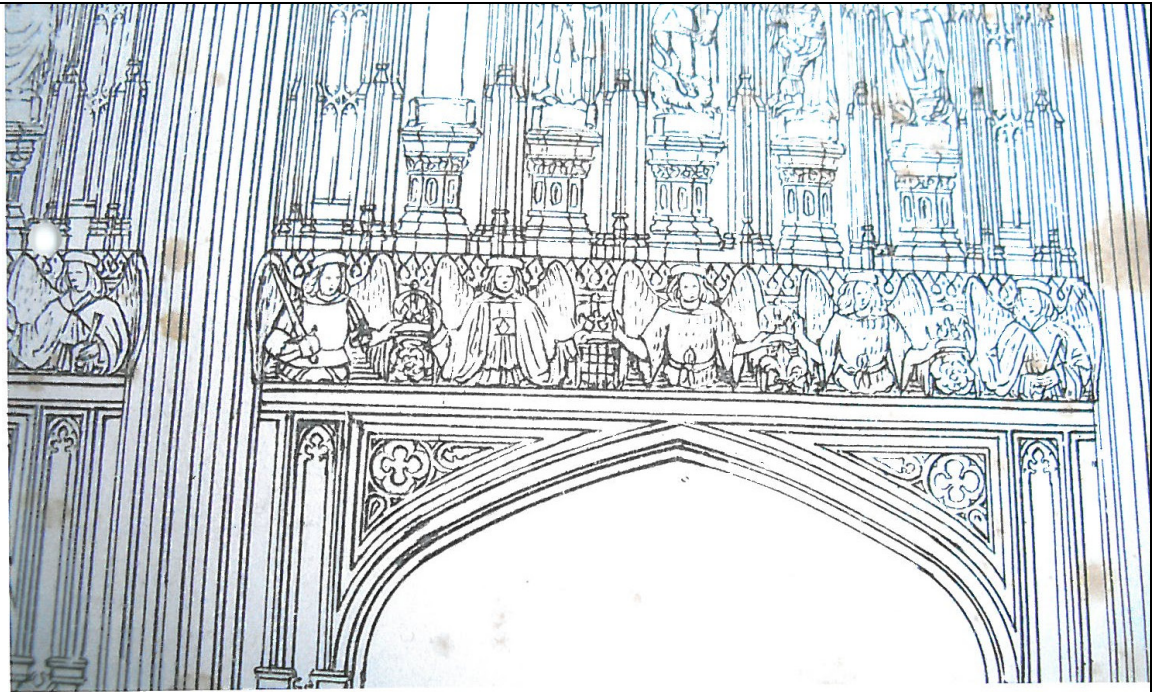
Fig 7.13 Angels of 12th bay triforium level

Source: Cottingham, L. N, Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details and Views of the Magnificent Chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster Abbey Church; with the History of its Foundation and an Authentic Account of its Restoration, in 2 vols, London, 1882 & 1829, vol. 2, plate 8

Fig 7.14 Angels of the 5th bay at triforium level

Source: Cottingham, vol. 2, plate 16

Fig 7.15 Angels on the West Wall

Source: Cottingham,vol. 2, plate 4

Appendix C – Off Hevin

... ther creatore blessinges in love ... oblessinge wt
god, And for the ... of the devill angells that fell to god god ...
... to restore the ... and places of the said devill spryttes, wherfor only
creatures that it ... it a sanct And all angells ... gave not ther
... and glorie of the place of glorie: But yai gave ther ... thorough the ...
... of the dolie or reson, thay gave a clere sight ... a then knowledge. So
... the bounttifullnes of god wt a ardent love. The celestiall in
habitow of glorie be that. Every man doth know ... said afore that the fa
ther and the sonne and the holly gost the ... and one god, and one god ... the
glorie be ... forme ... one place, And that the ... of the ... the second ...
... that ... god ... ... to the dolie, And moste it is
to be beleved that ... blessid lady sanct mary, mother of god ... god ...
... it ... lordes and ... above all creatures. The glorie be
ix ordres of angells. The seraphins, the cherubyns, the thrones, the domina
tions, the principates, the potestates, the virtutes, the archangells ... angells,
... ordres be devided ... to the hierarchies In the frst hierarchis be the se
raphins, the cherubyns, ... the thrones. In the second hierarchis be the dominations
the principates and the potestates; In the thrid hierarchis be the virtutes, the ...
the archangells and angells. The Seraphins be above all other ordres of angells
And thay be so inflammed with the ardent love of god that ther is nothinge
betwixe god and ... But only love. for the ardent love ... thay doth ...
... contemplates the ... love, wherfor contemplatius men wt do ...
in the goddis love of god shall be loved amonge Seraphins. The next
order is the Cherubins, and thay be of that ... and so ... is ...
with god that yai gave the cognition of the most glorie ... and doth know
... celestiall thing. The thrones be of that ... that yai gave ...
of god. doth know the ... and Justice of god. and the ... of it
Wherfor david saith ... wt do ... upon the thrones ... the ... of
... The dominations be of the frst order in the thrid hierarchis and thay be of frst
... that thay do show the ... liberties of the goddes ...
... to ... no tyranny. The principates doth show to ... creatures
how thay shold feare and love god, and do ... ... agaynst the ...
that doth fall to god. The potestates doth ... the ... and malice ...
of devill spryttes And doth comfort thay the ... ... toptation. the ...
toptation ... for men do ... ... it no ... wt doth ... out of ...
... of ... the ... of god, But the devill it ... to tempt ...
... be topted wt ... ... or ...
... or suche like. that it doth thanks the ... so ..., and doth
... ... that ... so troubled god rather dis than to live, ... so
... that some ... will nott ... ther mynde and for lack of ...
... that some ... self. wherfor god ... that ordere of potestates to refreshe ... ...
do ... thay ... wherfor god ... not a man to be more topted, than ...
... of the devills toptation. for god ... not a man to be more topted, than ...
is able to ... The virtutes be of the frst order ... the thrid hierarchis the virtutes

215 V

gayths power in doynge of myracles, and pealynge of seke men/ & the angels
goll be above angells knowyng furter mistoryes of the godhede than the an-
gell day/ & the angells be the messyngers of god to man and bopert of man/
and to supplye the rvynes of evill angells who fell frazedvng. god made man out
of nyston and fnrzvng vsoly praysed. & his appostells. & my chryst. & partles.
Conpessors and vyrgyns wyth many other gosshes. & other be ednzel. and although
that our soulls wch it now or shall be in povng be in mostin all ioys & glorie/
and that thay and the ordes of angells & shortly be rewardyd wyth ordes
Costaitis not pegardyng the inferiouitie nor superiouitie/ zyt thay be not all
of lyke xton. nor of lyke ioy & glorie. nor of lyke dignitie/ zyt all be rewardyd
for all be glorine & gline and all be in plasyngs ioys and blyss/ other it a gst
difference bytwyne a angell and a segraphin al towsynge ther ioy & glorie
in god, ther it also a gret difference bytwyne a payne sovlle of the lower degre
in god. and appostle. or a disyre the who be of a furst degre & ordre/ for thay who do
laboure most in the love of god. fulfillyng his wyll must have a furter reward
of god in povng than thay who wil labour nott to be of the pfection/ therfor thay
who wil do laboure most spyally in the love of god shall have the most ioys &
rewards in povng/ for some shall be lovalyde & sett amonge the segraphins,
some shall be amonge the cherubyns/ some shall be amonge the thonos, so
some shall be among the dnationes/ some shall be amonge the princpalits, so amonge
the potestattes/ some amonge the virtues/ some amonge the archangells. and so
amonge the angells/ but many shall be in ioys & glorie aftr ther desyrings/ D.
in what a ioys and myrthe shall the savide sovlle & body be in att the genll
resurrection whan the body and sovlle shall be ioynd agayn togethr. and
shall go into everlastynge ioyes of eternall glorie/ what myrthe ioie & glorie
shall be amonge thally. ordrs of angells and saintts whan thay shall most
togethr. and thone to be wt the other before the throne of god. D. what ioie
shall greatnest have to beholde the glorig father of povng and his sone the
borzay god and man/ and the glorig vsoly gost the thyrd pson & one god / D. what
myrthe, what peans, what love and charitie, what myrthe and ioys shall
mitte, whan the greator and the greatnest in povng. no tonges can tell no hert
be bitwyne the greator and the greatnest in povng. no tonges can tell no hert
can thinke, no poinne can wryte, what ioys & love gayths pvynde for thyn
that love gine/ to the wch ioys & eternall blyssyngs, whan his will it done,
& the vode enbrynge thealthe of the most vsoly & glorins trinitie/

Euery cristian man the whiche will be savide it bounde
to knowlege and to greate by form and studfast faith
to byleve that the father and the sone and the vsoly gost be thre p-
son and one god ommipotett. the wch only god dyd make & marke
povng and earthe. and all other thing in eartly in thang. & his vsoly fathr.
& his vsoly sone & his vsoly gost be sanctifide & blessid in ther owne selfe &
of ther owne selfe. nor no creature yea nothyng is sanctifide or blessed but
only by thang. of thang. and in thang. the father is good. the sone is goode. &

215 R

1 Heuyn (ie Hevyn) was the fyrst thing' thatt eu [er] (i.e. ever) god dyd mayke, he

2 made itt nott for his owne selffe, butt he made itt for his

3 angells and sanctt[es] and for all tham that shall be savide.

4 Hevin is a wondre myghttifull' & a large thinge, for itt is ou [er] (i.e. over) us, behynge

5 and before vs (i.e. us) and att eu[er]y (i.e. every) syde on us, and und[er] us beyonde the earthe beynde

6 rownde i[n] a circuytte above all' the sterres and the c[r]istalleyne hevin. ther is no

7 place above itt, and it dothe compasse all' other places, itt passithe all' in

8 magnitie or greattnes, excellynge all man[er] of places i[n] beawttie in brightt-

9 nes, an i[n] cleritudenes precellynge i[n] glorie all' t[er]erestriall' thing[es] paradisse t[er]-

10 restriall' nott withestandynge Ther is no place, no glorie, no Riches, no fe-

11 licitie, no Joye, no pleassure to be co[m]paryde to hevin. for itt is the seatt of

12 god, the habitacle of the deitie, in the wiche be many ma[n]sions repleattide

13 withe all' Joye and sup[er]celestiall' pleassure. In hevin is no tyme, no aige

14 no yowthe, no hungre thirste nor colde, no penurye, no pou[er]tie, no sorrow,

15 no troble, no cayre. ther is no seaknes, weaknes, te[m]ptation t[r]ibulation

16 nor an aduersitie. Ther is all' rest, all' peace, all' q[u]iettnes, all' love, all charitie,

17 withe et[er]nall' yoie (i.e. joy) felicitie and glorie. And althowghe thatt god be i[n] eu[er]ye

18 place ȝitt (the first character is ME yogh) his trone and seatt is i[n] the glorius place of hevin W[hi]ch is unmo-

19 veable, i[n]co[m]mutable, eu[er] p[er]mane[n]tt and abydinge i[n] one staitte. And althowghe

20 thatt hevin is a place of all' yoie (i.e. joy) and glorie, yett all' the celestiall' creatures

21 ther beynge regardithe nott the place, butt only thay regarde the bownttiful-

22 nes and the fruition of the deitie. For the cleritudnes, nather the beawttie nea-

23 ther the glori[us] p[ro]spectt of hevin suffisyes nott an Angell' a sanctt or a sowlle

24 exceptt thay have the p[re]sence of the father the son[n]e and the holly gost ther crea-

25 tore for the creatures ther beynge & shall' be yᵗ (i.e. that) is to say Angell' and man, ye (i.e. the)

26 love is so fast fixide i[n] god thatt all' thing[es] is frustratte & nothinge regardyde

27 besyde god Amitie and gostlie love betwix god & the celestiall' creatures ma-

28 kithe this sup[er]celestiall' & sup[er]naturall' Joye and glorie. To shew of the Inha-

29 bitowrs of hevin as well' now beynge as shall' be First I do say thatt gode

30 the father the so[n]ne and tholly (i.e. elision = the holly) gost be p[er]sonally and do shew tham selff

31 as thay be and thatt no carnall eye before the gen[er]all' resurrection can not

32 beholde tham as thay be. The w[hi]ch thre p[er]sons were before hevin was made or

33 any other thinges, for thay were in and by tham selffe i[n] all' v[er]teu glorie and

34 Joye in ardentt love and charitie And for pure love & charitie the blisside dei-

35 tie made hevin a place of glorie for ther creatures, and thatt the said creatures
36 sholde be partakers of the glori[us] p[re]sence of the godheade Nott for neyde god crea-
37 tide creatures butt for love the creation was made. for god neadyde neu[er] any
38 thinge. And when hevin was made co[n]tinenttly god made the ix orders of an-
39 gells to be inhabitow[e]r[es] of the saide place, and to be partakers of the Joies of he-
40 vin of the glorius seatt of the deitie of the w[hi]ch orders of Angells some for p[r]ide
41 were expulsside w[i]t lucifer accordyn[n]ge to ther dysmeritt[es]. And yai (i.e. thai) the w[hi]ch dyd know-

215 V

1 ledg ther creatore p[er]systinge in love dyd co[n]tinew in hevin eu[er] lastinge w[i]t
2 god. And for the Ruyne of the evill' angells thatt fell' to hell' god creatide
3 man' to restore the roomes and places of the saide evill spryttes, wherfor eu[er]y
4 creature thatt is i[n] hevin is a sanctt. And all' angells & sanctt[es] have not ther
5 yoie (i.e. joie) and glorie of the place of hevin, but yai (i.e. thai) have ther yoie thrughe the p[re]-
6 sence of the deitie on whom thay have a clere sightt & a trew knowledge be-
7 holdynge the bownttifullnes of god w[i]t a ardentt love. The celestiall' in-
8 habitow[e]r[es] of hevin be thes. Ev[er]y man' dothe know as I saide afore thatt the fa-
9 ther and the so[n]ne and tholly gost thre p[er]sons and one god and one god [sic] (dittography) & thre
10 p[er]sons be i[n] hevin & i[n] eu[er]y place. And thatt the ma[n]hode of the so[n]ne the seconde p[er]son
11 in t[r]initie is i[n] hevin veray god & man' ionyde (i.e. joined) to the deitie. And mekly it is
12 to be beleavide that o[u]r blisside layde sanctt marye mother of Jesu c[r]ist gods his
13 son[n]e (i.e. god's son) is i[n] hevin bodie and sowlle beynge above all' creatures. IN hevin be
14 ix orders of angells. The Seraphins the Cherubyns the Trones the domina-
15 tions the p[r]incipatts the potestates the virtutes the Archangels & Angells.
16 Thes 9 orders be devidede i[n] to the Ierarchies In the first Ierarchie be the Se-
17 raphins, the Cherubyns, & the trons. In the seconde Ierarchie be the D[omi]natio[n]s
18 the p[r]incipatts and the potestattes. In the thride (metathesis = thirde) Ierarchie be the vi[r]tutes the Ar-
19 cheangells and angells. The Seraphins be above all' other ord[er]es of angells.
20 And thay be so inflam[m]yde with the ardentt love of god thatt ther is nothinge
21 betwix god and yam (them) butt only love for the ardentt love i[n] tham dothe co[n]tinual-
22 lye conte[m]mplaitte the deisirus love. Wherfor co[n]templative men' w[hi]ch do bur[n]e
23 in the gostlie love of god shall be locatyde amonge Seraphins. The nextt
24 ordre is the Cherubyns and thay be of thatt excellence and so myche i[n] favo[u]r
25 with god that yai (thai) have the cognition of the most glori[us] t[r]initie and dothe know
26 sup[er]celestiall' thing[es]. The trones be of thatt v[er]teu that yai (thai) have receavide
27 of god dothe know the ri3gttiusnes and Justice of god and the my[n]stration of it

28 Wherfor dauid saithe Thow the w[hi]ch do sytte uppon the trones Judgynge the iustice (i.e. justice) of
29 him. The d[omi]nations be of the first ordre in the s[e]c[on]de Ierarchie and thay be of such
30 v[er]teu thatt thay do sew the begynynge & liberttie of the godheade Instructynge
31 p[re]lait[es] to usse no tyran[n]ye. The p[r]incipaitt[es] dothe shew to Inferiall' creatures
32 how thay sholde feare and love god, and do reduce & brynge agayne the electyde
33 thatt dothe fall to god. The potestates dothe restrayne the envie and malitiusnes
34 of evill spryttes and dothe comfortt tham the wiche be i[n] sp[irit]uall' te[m]ptation the wiche
35 te[m]ptation veray few men do know. Ther is no man' w[hi]ch doth lyve owtt' of deadlye
36 sy[n]ne of obs[er]uinge the com[m]andeme[n]tts of god, butt the devill' is redie to tem[m]pe [sic] him
37 sp[irit]ually as som[m]e be te[m]ptide w[i]t deispaire, some w[i]t p[re]su[m]ption, some i[n] blasphemy or scru-
38 –pulus co[n]science or such lyke thatt it dothe trowble the mynde so myche, and dothe
39 vexe man' so myche thatt dyu[er]sse so trowblide had rather dye than to lyve, In so
40 myche thatt some yᵗ will nott brekke ther mynde and for lacke of cowncell'
41 do kyll' tham selff Wherefor god gyffithe thes orders of potestatts to coherce ye [the] ma-
42 –lice of the devills te[m]ptation for god wolde nott a man' to be more te[m]ptyde, than he
43 is able to resyste. The vi[r]tutes be of the first ordre i[n] the thirde Ierarchie, the virtutes

216 R

1 haithe powre in doynge of myracles, and healynge of seak men'.¶ The Archa[n]-
2 –gels be above angells knowynge higher misteryes of the godheade than the an-
3 –gells do.¶ The angells be the messyngers of god to man and kepers of man'
4 And to supplie the Ruyne of evill' angells w[hi]ch fell' fro hevin, god made man' owt
5 of whom dyd spryn[n]ge wholly p[at]riarches p[ro]phetts Appostills Evaungelists Martirs
6 Confessow[e]r[es] and vi[r]gyns withe many other gostlie & electide c[r]eatures. And althowghe
7 thatt eu[er]y sowlle w[hi]ch is now or shall' be i[n] hevin be i[n] unestimable ioye & glorie
8 and thatt thay and the ord[er]es of angells & sanctt[es] be co[n]tentyde withe ye [= the] ordre
9 & estaitte nott regardynge the inferioritie nor superioritie ȝitt thay be not all'
10 of lyke v[er]teu nor of lyke Ioye & glorie nor of lyke dignitie ȝitt all' be co[n]tentyde
11 for all' be glorius & g[r]atius and all' be i[n] Iu[er]lastinge ioye and blysse. Ther is a g[r]ett
12 difference bitwixe a Angell' and a Seraphin as towchinge ther ioye & glorie
13 in god, ther is also a grett difference bitwix a savide sowlle of the lower degre

14 & ordre and appostle or a m[ar]tire The w[hi]ch be of a highe degre & ordre. For thay w[hi]ch do

15 labow[e]r most i[n] the love of god fulfillynge his wyll' must have a higher rewarde

16 of god i[n] hevin than thay w[hi]ch labow[e]r nott to be of the p[er]fection. Therfor thay

17 the w[hi]ch do labowre most sp[irit]ually i[n] the love of god shall have the most ioye &

18 rewarde i[n] hevin. For some shall be locatyde & sett amonge the Seraphins,

19 some shall' be emonge the Cherubyns, some shall' be amonge the tro[n]nes, su[m]

20 shall' be amon[n]ge the d[omi]nations, some shall' be amonge the p[r]incipatt[es], su[m] amonge

21the potestattes, Some amonge the vi[r]tutes, su[m] amonge ye [the] Archangells, And su[m]

22 amonge the angells. Eu[er]y man' shall' be i[n] ioye & glorie aft[er] ther des[er]vinge. ¶

23 in whatt a ioye and myrthe shall' the savide sowlle & body be in att the g[e]n[er]al

24 resurrection when the body and sowlle shall' be ionyde agayne to gether and

25 shall' go i[n] to eu[er]lastinge ioyes of et[er]nall' glorie. Whatt myrthe Ioie & glorie

26 shall' be amonge tholly orders of angells and sanctts When thay shall' meytt

27 to gether and thone to be w[i]t the other before the p[re]sence of god.¶ Whatt ioie

28 shall' creatures have to beholde the gori[us] father of hevin and his sone J[e]hc[us] c[r]ist

29 veray god and man'. And the glori[us] wholly gost thre p[er]sons & one god.¶ Whatt

30 unitie, whatt peace, whatt love and charitie, whatt myrthe and ioye shall'

31 be betwix the creator and the creatures i[n] hevin no townge can' tell, no hertt

32 can thinke, no penne can wrytte, whatt ioye o[u]r lorde haithe p[re]paryde for tham

33 thatt love him. to the w[hi]ch ioye Jesus c[r]ist brynge us when is will is Amen

34 ¶ Thes word[es] ensewynge treattithe of the most wholly & glorius trinitie.

Some notes:

¶ = capitulum mark

U = v

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Abbreviations

CERC Church of England Record Office

Manuscript Sources

AUMS 185: 'Robert Parkyn Papers', Special Libraries and Archives, University of Aberdeen: *Off Hevin*, fol. 215r-216r.

Wardle Drawings (Society of Antiquaries of London).

Primary Archive Material

St. Mary's, Ashby Folville: Leicester Diocese. Care File. CERC:

Letter dated 29th August 1893, Ashby Folville, regarding church restoration, DE960/13/1.

Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's Collegiate Church: Diocese of Coventry. Care File. CERC
Letters to Ms Igner Norholt from the Secretary of the Conservation Committee, Council for Places of Worship, 1972, re Warwick, St Mary: Beauchamp Chapel.

Grant Aid Application to the Conservation Committee, Council for Places of Worship, April 1974.

Harrison, P.L, St Mary's Church, Warwick, Report: Repair of Monument to Richard Beauchamp, 29th July 1988.

Council for Places of Worship, Conservation Committee, re Beauchamp Chapel, 30th June 1972.

Courtauld Institute of Art, Analysis of samples from the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick.

Conservation assessment undertaken by C. Hubbard, sculpture conservation, 4th January 2001, assessment for the move of two stone figures, site: Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

St. Mary's, Bottesford: Diocese of Leicester. Care File. CERC

The Church of St. Mary, Bottesford, Leicestershire, Report on the Fourth Survey under the
Inspection of Churches Measure 1955.

Bottesford, St. Mary, St. Mary the Virgin, Bottesford, Schedule of additional works.

St. Thomas à Becket, Tugby: Diocese of Leicester. Care File. CERC

Harrison, P.L, Report of Monument to Richard Neell 1558, Tugby Parish Church, 19th June 1991.

St. Mary's, Nevill Holt: Diocese of Leicester. Care File. CERC

Information from Diocese of Leicester Advisory Committee to Miss J.G. Scott, Central Council for the Care of Churches, 5th May 1965, re Nevill Holt St Mary monuments.

Leicestershire Record Office

DAC Conference 1983 Tour Notes, St. Mary's Ashby Folville, Leicestershire, Leicestershire Record Office.

Archives visited

Church of England Record Centre, London

Victoria and Albert Museum

The Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum

The Courtauld Institute

The Conway Library

Library of Westminster Abbey

The British Library

The British Museum

Library of the Society of Antiquaries

Leicestershire Record Office

Rutland Record Office

Library of the University of Aberdeen

Some examples of the many churches visited

Westminster Abbey

The Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's, Warwick

St. Michael and All Angels, Barton Turf, Norfolk

Leicestershire

St. Mary, Ashby Folville.

St. Mary, Bottesford.

Launde Abbey.

St. Catherine, Houghton-on-the-Hill.

St. Thomas à Becket, Tugby.

St. Peter, Belgrave.

St. Luke, Thurnby.

St. Mary, Nevill Holt.

St. Andrew, Prestwold.

St. Mary, Stoughton.

St. Edward King and Martyr, Castle Donnington.

St. Barthomew, Foston.

St. Michael, Ilston on the Hill.

St. Mary's, Nosely.

St. Mary, Queniborough.

St. Thomas à Becket, Skeffington.

Rutland

St. Peter's, Brooke.

St. John the Evangelist, Caldecott.

St. Peter and Paul, Exton.

Sts. Mary & Andrew, Riddlington.

St. Andrew, Stoke Dry.

Sts. Peter and Paul, Wing.

St. Peter, Barrowden.

Printed Material: Primary Sources

A Brief Description of the Collegiate Church and Choir of St. Mary in the Borough of Warwick, with a Concise Account of the Antiquities and Curiosities of the Same and Of the Chapel, Warwick, 1813.

A Declaration by the Children of Light, 1655.

Andrewes, L, *Seventeen Sermons on the Nativity,* London & Sydney, 1887.

Antiquities in Leicestershire Being the Seventh Volume of the Bibliotheca Topographica, Britannica, London, 1810.

Aquinas, T, *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, Part I QQ 50- 74*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, London, 1922.

Bacon, F, ed. Wright, W.A, *The Advancement of Learning*, 5th edition, Oxford, 1920.

Barney, S. A, Lewis, W.J, Beach, J.A & Berghof, O, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge, 2006.

Barnwell, P. S, Cross, C & Rycraft, A, eds., *Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: The Use of York*, Reading, 2005.

Barnum, P. H, *Dives and Pauper*, vol.1, part 1, Oxford, 1976.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus, trans. Trevisa, J, *On the Properties of Things, De Proprietatibus Reum, A Critical Text*, vol.1, Oxford, 1975.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Griffin, E, ed., *Selected Works*, New York, 1987.

Bettenson, H, trans. *St Augustine: Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, London, 2003.

Bieler, L, *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* Dublin, 1979.

Birth, T, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, vol. 2, 1849.

Bishop, W, *A Reformation of a Catholike Deformed*, 1604.

Block, K. S, *Ludus Coventriae or the Plaie called Corpus Christi*, London EETS, 1922.

Bloomfield, F, *An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, London, 1805-1810.

Book of Common Prayer, 1549 & 1552.

Booty, J. E, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559 The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, Charlottesville and London, 1976, 2005.

Brandon, R. J A, *An analysis of Gothick architecture illustrated by a series of upwards of seven hundred examples of doorways, windows etc and accompanied with remarks of the several details of an ecclesiastical edifice,* vol. 2, London, 1874.

Burton, W, *The Descriptions of Leicestershire Containing Matters of Antiquity, history, Armoury and Geneology,* London, 1777.

Camden, W, Dunn R.D, ed., *Remains Concerning Britain*, Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1984.

Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury: Shewing, the Canterburian Cathedrall to bee in an Abbey-like, corrupt, and rotten condition, which cals for a speedy Reformation, or Dissolution, 1644.

Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the time of the Late Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory, Oxford, 1844.

Chadwick, H, *Saint Augustine Confessions*, Oxford, 1991, 1992, 1998.

Charles, R. H, trans., *The Book of Enoch*, London, 1917, 2004.

Charlesworth, J. H ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, London, 1985.

Chase, S, *Angelic Spirituality: Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*, New York, Mahwah, 2002.

Chillingworth, W, *The Religion of Protestants A Safe Way to Salvation or an Answer to a Booke Entitled Mercy and Truth, or Charity Maintain'd by Catholiques, Which Pretends to Prove the Contrary,* Oxford, 1638, Aldershot, 1972.

Clark, M. T, trans., *Augustine of Hippo Selected Writings*, Mahwah, 1984.

Clark, M. T, *Augustine*, London & New York, 1994.

Cochrane, A. C, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1966.

Colet, J, trans. Lupton J. H, *Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius*, London, 1869.

Cooper, T, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, Woodbridge, 2001.

Corrie, G, *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, Cambridge, 1845.
Cottingham, L. N, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details and Views of the Magnificent Chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster Abbey Church; with the History of its Foundation and an Authentic Account of its Restoration*, in 2 vols, London, 1882 & 1829.

Cousins, E, trans., *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey Into God, The Tree of Life, The Life of St Francis*, Mahwah NJ, 1978.

Craig, H, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*: *1. The Shearman and the Taylor's Pageant re-edited from the edition of Thomas Sharp, 1825, and 2. The Weaver's Pageant, re-edited from the manuscript of Robert Croo, 1534*, London, 1957.

Crossley, J, ed, The *Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington, vol. 2, part 1*, printed for the Chetham Society, Manchester, 1855.

Cudworth, N, *True Intellectual System*, London, 1678.

Culmer, R, *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*, London,1644.

Dante, trans. Musa, M, *The Divine Comedy vol. 1: Inferno*, New York, 1971, 1984.

Dante, trans. Musa, M, *The Divine Comedy vol 2: Purgatory*, New York, 1981, 1985.

Dante, trans. Musa, M, *The Divine Comedy vol 3: Paradise*, New York,1984, 1986.

Dart, J, *Westmonasterium or The History and Antiquities of The Abbey Church of St Peters Westminster,* vol. 2, London, 1742.

De Jonge, M., ed., *Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 Outside the Old Testament, vol. 4*, Cambridge,1985.

De Voragine, J. trans. Ryan, W.G, *The Golden Legend: Readings of the Saints vol. 1*, Princeton, 1993.

De Voragine, J. trans. Ryan, W.G, *The Golden Legend: Readings of the Saints vol. 2*, Princeton, 1993.

Deimling, H, ed., *The Chester Plays*, Early English Text Society, Extra series no. 62, London, 1892, 1926.

Dempsey, C, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, Chapel Hill NC, 2001.

Denison Lumb, G, ed., *Testamenta Leodiensia: Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District, 1553-1561,* vol. 27, Leeds, 1930.

Dillon, Viscount, Hope, W. H St. John, *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G, 1389-1439*, London, 1914.
Disraeli, I, *Curiosities of Literature 1791*, vol. 1*,* London, 1881.

Dorman, M, 'Andrewes and the Angels', Project Canterbury, AD 2002.

Dorman, M, *The Liturgical Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes vol.1: Nativity, Lenten and Passion*, Durham, 1992.

Downname, G, *Two Sermons, the One Commending of the Ministerie in Generall: The Other Defending the Office of Bishops in Particular*, London, 1608.

Dugdale, W, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, London, 1656.

Elton, E, *Gods Holy Minde Touching Matters Morall*, London, 1648.

England, G, re-edited from his unique MS, side notes and introduction by Pollard, A. W, *The Towneley Plays*, EETS, ES. 71, Oxford, 1897.

Erbe, T, ed, *Mirk's Festival: A Collection of Homilies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)* part 1, London, 1905.

Evans, G. R, *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1: Current Research, Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2002.

Feasey, H. J, Micklethwaite, J. T & Bell, E, *Westminster Abbey Historically Described*, London, 1894.

Fenton, E, *The Diaries of John Dee*, Oxfordshire, 1998.

Firth, C. H & Rait, R. S, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660*, vol. 1, London, 1911.

Glanvill, J, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing: The Three 'Versions'*, 1661, Hove, 1970.

Gough, R, *Description of the Beauchamp Chapel*, London, 1809.

Gough, R, *Sepulchral Monuments in Britain*, vol. 2, part 2, London, 1796.

Gray, T, *The Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great On the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel in English Translation*, California, 1990.

Hammond, H, *Severall Tracts: Of Idolatry*, London & Oxford, 1646.

Hennecke, E, Schneemelcher, W, eds., & trans. Wilson, R. McL, *New Testament Apocrypha, Gospels and Related Writings*, 2 vols, London, 1963-5.

Henry, A, *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*, Aldershot, 1987.

Hooker, R, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, London, 1611.

Hope, W. H St John, Viscount Dillon, eds, *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G, 1389-1439*, London, 1914.

Hughes, P. L, & Larkin, J. F, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations vol. 2 The Later Tudors (1553-1587)*, New Haven & London, 1969.

Hurst, D. D, trans., *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies*, Kalamazoo, 1990.

Ingram, R. W ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry,* Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1981.

Kirby-Miller, C, ed., *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus,* New Haven and London, 1950.

Luibheid, C, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, New York & Mahwah, 1987.

Lumb, G. D, ed., *Testamenta Leodiensia: Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District, 1553 to 1561*, vol. 27, Leeds, 1930.

Malherbe, A. J, & Ferguson, E, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses*, New York, Mahwah, 1978.

McInerny, R, ed. & trans., *Thomas Aquinas: Selected Writings*, London, 1998.

McNeill, J. T, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol.1, Philadelphia, 1960.

Mercurius Rusticus: Or The Countries Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdom, London, 1685.

Montagu, R, *A Gagg for the New Gospell? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose*, 1624.

Neale, J. P & Le Keux, J, *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain including Screens, Fonts, Monuments, etc*, vols. 1 & 2, London, 1824-5.

Nichols, J. G, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn - Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London (1550-1563)*, London, 1848.

Nichols, J, *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, in 4 vols, vol. 2, part 2, London, 1798.

Nichols, J, *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, in 4 vols, vol. 3, part 1, London, 1798.

Nichols, J, *The History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, in 4 vols, vol. 4, part 1, London, 1798.

Nowell, A, *A Catechisme or first instruction and learning of Christian religion,* 1570.

Oates, T, *A Discourse of the Unlawfulness of Praying to Saints and Angels*, 1689.

Orgel, S, ed., *Oxford World's Classics William Shakespeare The Winter's Tale*, Oxford, 1996.

Origen, trans., Greer, R. A, *An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer and Selected Works*, Mahwah, 1979.

Parsons, D, ed., *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part I: The Periodical Sources*, Leicester, 1978.

Parsons, D, ed., Brandwood, Geoffrey K, *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part 2: Newspaper Sources*, Leicester, 1980.

Parsons, D, ed., *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part 3: Documentary Sources Fascicule 1: Parochial Records, Parishes A-H*, Leicester, 1984.

Pecock, R, Babington, C, ed., *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy,* vol.1, London, 1860.

Pennington, B, ed., Bernard of Clairvaux: *A Lover Teaching the Way of Love, Selected Spiritual Writings*, New York, 1997.

Percival, H. R., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church, their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees together with the canons of all the local synods which have received Ecumenical Acceptance, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd series translated into English with prolegomena and explanatory notes, vol. 14,* Oxford & New York, 1900.

Perkins, M. W, *A Reformation of a Catholike Deformed*, 1604.

Rabelais, F, *The Complete Works of François Rabelais*, trans. Frame, D.M, Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, 1991.

Riain, I, trans., *The Spiritual Writings of Denis the Carthusian*, Dublin, 2005.

Rites of Durham, Being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the Suppression, 1593, The Publications of the Surtees Society established in the year 1834, vol. 107, Durham, London & Edinburgh, 1903.

Rogers, T, *The faith, doctrine and religion, professed and protected in the realms of England and dominions of the same, expressed in thirty nine articles*, 1562, 1604 & 1625.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) vol. 1London: Westminster Abbey, London, 1924.

Royston, R, *Reflexions Upon the Devotions of the Roman Church. With the Prayers, Hymns & Lessons themselves, taken out of their Authentick Books. In Three Parts. This First Part, containing their Devotions to Saints and Angels*, London, 1674.

Sanders, J, *A narrative of a strange and sudden apparition of an arch-angel at the Old-Bayly*, London, 1681.

Sanders, J, *A new narrative of a fiery apparition seen on several days about Tower-Hill, or, a Just Relation of the Unjust Proceeding of Mr. Sherman, Church-Warden of All-hallows Barkin,* London, 1681.

Sanders, J, *The Sham-Indictment Quashd*, London, 1681.

Schneweis, E, *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*, Washington, 1944.

Sherman, E, *The Birth and Burning of the Image Called S. Michael,* London, 1681.

Sherman, E, *The Second Part of the Birth and Burning of the Image Called S. Michael*, London, 1681.

Simmons, T. F, *The Lay Folks Mass Book or the manner of hearing Mass with rubrics and devotions for the people in four texts and offices in English according to the Use of York from manuscripts of the 10th to the 15th century with appendix notes and glossary,* London, 1879.

Smart, P, *The Vanitie & Downe-fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies: Or A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Church of Durham*, Edinburgh, 1628.

St. Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, vol. 46, trans., Way, A. C, Washington D.C, 1963.

St. Ephrem The Syrian, *Selected Prose Works: Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on Our Lord, Letter to Publius*, trans., Matthews, E. G JR, & Amar, J.P, ed., McVey, K, vol. 91, Washington D.C, 1994.

St. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. Zimmerman, O. J, vol. 39, New York, 1959.

St. Hilary of Poitiers, trans. McKenna, S, *The Trinity*, vol. 25, New York, 1954.

St. John Chrysostom, *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God*, trans. Harkins, P. W, Washington D.C, 1984.

St. John of Damascus *Writings*, trans. Chase, F. H, New York, 1958.

Steeves, E.L, The *Art of Sinking in Poetry Martin Scriblerus [Peri Bathous]*, New York, 1952.

The Jerusalem Bible, London, 1966, 1967, 1968.

Throsby, J, *Select Views in Leicestershire from Original Drawings Containing Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, Town Views and Ruins Accompanied with Descriptive and Historical Relations*, Leicester, 1789.

Throsby, J, *The Supplementary vol. to the Leicestershire Views Containing a Series of Excursions in the year 1790 to the Villages and Places of Note in the County*, London, 1810.

Toulmin Smith, L, *York Plays,* Oxford, 1885.

Trevisa, J, trans., *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus de Proprietatibus Rerum, a critical text vol.1*, Oxford, 1975.

Warner, G, *The Queen Mary Psalter, miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century*, London, 1912.

White, W, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Leicestershire and the Small County of Rutland, Together with the Adjacent Towns of Grantham and Stanford*, Sheffield, 1846.

Wickham, G, *Early English Stages 1300-1660 vol.1 1300-1576*, London, Henley & New York, 1980.

Williams, R. F, ed., *The court and Times of Charles the First*, vol.2, London, 1848.

Wooton, A, *A Defence of M. Perkins Booke, Called A Reformed Catholike: Against the cavils of a Popish writer, one D.B.P or W.B. in his deformed Reformation*, London, 1606.

Wright, J, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, London, 1684.

Secondary Sources

Adler, M. J, *The Angels and Us*, Pymble, 1982.

Anderson, M. D, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, Cambridge, 1963.

Anderson, M. D, *The Medieval Carver*, Cambridge, 1935.

Arnold, J, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* Leeds, 1988.

Astell, C, *Discovering Angels: Wisdom, Healing, Destiny*, London, 2006.

Aston, M, *England's Iconoclasts, vol. I, Laws Against Images*, Oxford, 1988.

Aston, M, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, London, 1984.

Baldwin, M, 'Nosely Church', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 112, 1955, pp. 185-187.

Barnwell, P. S, Cross, C, Rycraft, A, eds., *Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: The Use of York*, Reading, 2005.

Beal, W.M, 'Description of Certain Mural Paintings', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 3, 1852, pp. 62-70.

Beaumont, J, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Church Art*, London, 1993.

Beavitt P, 'Geophysical and Building Survey at Launde Abbey', *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 69, 1995, pp. 22-31.

Bentley, W, 'Notes on the Musical Instruments Figured in the Windows of the Beauchamp Chapel', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for the year 1928*, vol. 53, 1931, pp. 167-72.

Benton, J. R, *Art of the Middle Ages*, London, 2002.

Binski, P, 'The Angel Choir at Lincoln and the Poetics of the Gothic Smile', *Art History*, vol. 20, no. 3, Sept. 1997, pp. 350-374.

Blanning, T. C. W, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789*, Oxford, 2002.

Bloomfield, F, *An Essay Towards A Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 3, London, 1805-1810.

Bond, F. B & Camm, D. B, *Roodscreens and Roodlofts, vol.1*, London, 1909.

Bond, F, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*, London, New York, Toronto, 1908.

Bourke, C, 'A Medieval Processional Staff at Cloyne', *Archaeology Ireland*, vol.23, no.1, issue no.87, Spring 2009, pp.8-12.

Brandwood, G. K, 'To scrape or not to scrape? Plaster, stucco and Victorian church restorers in Leicestershire', *The Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. 64, 1990, pp. 73-77.

Brindley, D, *The Collegiate Church of St Mary Warwick: The Beauchamp Chapel* Shropshire, 1997.

Browning, W. R. F, *Oxford Dictionary of the Bible*, Oxford & New York, 1996, 1997.

Browning, W. R. F, *Oxford Dictionary of the Bible*, Oxford, 1996, 1997.

Bulwer, J, 'Remarks on a Figure Represented on the Rood-Loft Screens of Gateley and Cawston Churches in This County', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 2, 1849, pp.280-290.

Bumpus, J, Book review: 'The regal image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych, ed. Gordon, D, Monnas L & Elam C', *The Art Book*, vol.6, iss.2, March 1999, pp. 6-8.

Campbell, T.P, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, New Haven & London, 2002.

Cameron, H. K, 'Flemish Brasses to Civilians in England', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 139, 1982, pp. 420-440.

Carr, W, *Westminster Abbey Guidebook*, London, 1999, 2005.

Cathedral Church of St. Andrew Wells A Guide to the Statuary of the West Front, Wells, 1951.

Cattermole, P & Cotton, S, 'Medieval Church Building in Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 38, 1983, pp. 235-279.

Cave, C. J. P & Tanner, L.E, 'A Thirteenth Century Choir of Angels in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey and the Adjacent Figures of Two Kings', *Archaeologia*, vol.84, 1935, pp. 63-67.

Chatwin, P. B, 'Recent Discoveries in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick', *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for the year 1928*, vol. 53, 1931, pp. 145-157.

Chatwin, P. B, 'Some Notes on the Painted Windows of the Beauchamp Chapel', Warwick, *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society for the year 1928*, vol. 53, 1931, pp. 158-166.

Chatwin, P. B, 'The Decoration of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, with special reference to the Sculptures', *Archaeologia*, vol. 78, 1928, pp. 313-334.

Chatwin, P. B, *The Collegiate Church of St. Mary Warwick: A Description of the Church and the Beauchamp Chapel*, Birmingham, no year available.

Child, H & Colles, D, *Christian Symbols Ancient and Modern, A Handbook for Student*s, New York, 1971.

Clark, M. T, *Augustine*, London & New York, 1994.

Clarke, D. T. D, 'Belgrave Hall', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 112, 1955, pp. 176-188.

Clarke, S. R. L, 'Where Have All the Angels Gone?' *Religious Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, June 1992, p. 221-234.

Claus Sluter en Bourgogne Mythe et Représentation, Dijon-Couchey: L'Imprimerie Jobard, 1990.

Coatsworth, E, 'The Book of Enoch and Anglo-Saxon Art' in Powell, K, & Scragg, D, eds., *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 135-150.

Cochrane, A. C, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1966.

Cocke, T, *900 Years: The Restoration of Westminster Abbey*, London, 1995.

Cockerell, C. R, *Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral, with an Appendix on the Sculptures of Other Medieval Churches in England*, Oxford & London, 1851.

Colchester, L. S, *The New Bell's Cathedral Guides, Wells Cathedral*, London & Sydney, 1987.

Collinson, P, Ramsay, N and Sparks, M, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford, 1995.

Collinson, P, *The Reformation*, London, 2003.

Collinson, P, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Hampshire, 1988.

Condon, M, 'The Last Will of Henry VII' in Tatton-Brown, T. and Mortimer, R, eds, *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Woodbridge 2003, pp. 99-140.

Constable, W. G, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', in 4 parts *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 1, January- June 1929, pp. 141-147.

Constable, W. G, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 2, January- June 1929, pp. 211-220.

Constable, W. G, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', in 4 parts *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 3, January- June 1929, pp. 290-293.

Constable, W. G, 'Some East Anglian Rood Screen Paintings', in 4 parts *The Connoisseur*, vol. 83, part 4, January- June 1929, pp. 358-363.

Cook G. H, *The English Medieval Church*, London, 1961.

Cook, G. H, *The English Medieval Parish Church*, London, 1954, 1955, 1961.

Cook, G. H, *The English Medieval Parish Church*, London, 1954, 1955, 1961.

Copinger, W. A, *History and Records of the Smith-Carrington Family from the Conquest to the Present Time*, Manchester, Redditch and London, 1907.

Copleston, F. C, *Aquinas*, Harmondsworth, 1955.

Cottingham, L. N, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, Details and Views of the Magnificent Chapel of King Henry the Seventh at Westminster Abbey Church; with the History of its Foundation and an Authentic Account of its Restoration*, in 2 vols, London, 1882 & 1829.

Cotton, S, 'Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk – Their Construction and Painting Dates', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 40, part 1, 1987, pp. 44-54.

Cottret, B, *Calvin: A Biography*, Michigan, 1995.

'Country Homes, Nevill Holt Leicestershire, the Seat of Sir Bache Cunard', *Country Life*, vol. 25, 1909, pp. 270-281.

Crane, F, *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types*, Iowa City, 1972.

Cresswell, J, *The Watkins Dictionary of Angels*, London, 2006.

Croft-Murray, E, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837: vol. 1 Early Tudor to Sir James Thornhill*, London, 1962.

Cross, C, 'A. G. Dickens as a Yorkshire Historian', *Historical Research*, vol. 77, no.195, February 2004, pp. 111-126.

Cross, C, *The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings, Third Earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595*, London, Melbourne, Toronto & New York, 1966.

Cruz, J. C, *Angels and Devils*, Rockford, Illinois, 1999.

Dare, M. P, *The Church of St Mary the Virgin Bottesford Leicestershire and its Monuments*, 7th Edition, Gloucester, 1961.

Dart, J, *Westmonasterium or The History and Antiquities of The Abbey Church of St Peters Westminster,* vol. 2, London, 1742.

Davidson, C, ed. *The Iconography of Heaven: Early Drama, Art and Music*, Monograph Series 21, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1994.

Davidson, C, ed., *The Iconography of Hell: Early Drama, Art and Music*, Monograph Series 17, Kalamazoo, 1992.

Davidson, G, *A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels*, New York, 1967.

Davies, H, *Worship and Theology in England vol. 1 From Cranmer to Hooker 1534-1603*, Princeton NJ, 1970.

Davies, H, *Worship and Theology in England vol. 2 From Andrews to Baxter and Fox 1603-1690,* Princeton NJ, 1975.

Davies, O, ed & trans., *Celtic Spirituality*, New York and Mahwah, 1999.

De Jonge, M, ed., *Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 Outside the Old Testament, vol. 4*, Cambridge,1985.

Dempsey, C, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto*, Chapel Hill NC, 2001.

Denton, J ed., *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe,* Manchester, 1999.

Dickens, A. G, 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', *English Historical Review*, vol. 62, no. 242, January 1947, pp. 58-83.

Dickens, A. G, 'The Last Medieval Englishman' in Brooks, P, ed., *Christian Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp*, London, 1975, pp. 141-182.

Dickens, A. G, *Tudor Treatises,* Wakefield, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series vol. 125, 1959.

Didron, A. N, trans. Stokes, M, *Christian Iconography* vol. 3, London, 1886.

Dillon, Viscount, Hope, W. H St. John, *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G, 1389-1439*, London, 1914.

Dimmick, J, Simpson, J, Zeeman, N, *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: Textuality and the Visual Image*, Oxford, 2002.

Dorman, M, 'Andrewes and the Angels', Project Canterbury, AD 2002.

Dorman, M, *The Liturgical Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes vol.1: Nativity, Lenten and Passion*, Durham, 1992.

Dow, H. J, *The Sculptural Decoration of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey,* Edinburgh, Cambridge & Durham, 1992.

Duffy, E & Loades, D, *The Church of Mary Tudor. Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700 series*, Aldershot, 2005.

Duffy, E, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, New Haven & London, 1992.

Duffy, E, 'The Parish, Piety, and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood Screens', in French, K.L, Gibbs, G.G, & Kümin, B.A, eds., *The Parish in English Medieval Life 1400-1600*, Manchester & New York, 1997, pp.133-162.

Durston, C, Eales, J, eds., *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700*, Hampshire & London, 1996.

Eco, U, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages*, New Haven & London, 2002.

Elgin, K, *History of Fashion and Costume: Elizabethan England*, Hove, 2005.

Elias, G, *Bernard of Clairvaux: A Cistercian Saint*, Leicester: Saint Bernard Press, no date.

Elliott, B, 'A Leicestershire Recusant Family: The Nevills of Nevill Holt' Part 1, *Recusant History*, vol. 17 (2), 1984, pp. 173-180.

Elliott, B, 'A Leicestershire Recusant Family: The Nevills of Nevill Holt' Part 2, *Recusant History*, vol. 17 (4), 1985, pp. 374-385.

Elliott, W. H, *The Collegiate Church of St Mary Warwick*, Gloucester, 1949.

Esdaile, K, *English Church Monuments 1510-1840*, London, 1946.

Evans, G. R, *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I Current Research, Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2002.

'The Excursion: Ashby Folville Church', *The Leicestershire Architectural & Archaeological Society*, vol. 4, 1878, pp. 303-306.

Farmer, D, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edition, Oxford, 2003.

Feasey, H. J, Micklethwaite, J. T & Bell, E, *Westminster Abbey Historically Described*, London, 1894.

Fenton, E, *The Diaries of John Dee*, Oxfordshire, 1998.

Ferguson, G, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, New York, 1966.

Flem-Ath, R & Wilson, C, *The Atlantis Blueprint*, London, 2001.

Fletcher, A. J, 'John Mirk and the Lollards', *Medium Aevum*, vol. 56, 1987, pp. 217-223.

Frankis, J, 'St Zita, St Sythe and St Osyth', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 36, 1992, pp.148-150.

Freeman Sandler, L, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*, London, 1983, 1999.

Gaimster, D & Gilchrist, R, eds., *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, Leeds, 2003.

Galvin, C, & Lindley, P, 'Pietro Torrigiano's Tomb for Dr Yonge', *Church Monuments*, vol. 3, 1988, pp. 43-60.

Gardner, A, *English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge, 1951.

Garrett, C, 'The Rhetoric of Supplication: Prayer Theory in Seventeenth Century England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 2, Summer 1993, pp. 328-357.

Gee, E. A, 'The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York', *Archaeologia*, vol. 102, 1969, pp. 151-202.

Gee, E. A, 'The Roofs of All Saints, North Street York', *York Historian*, vol. 3, 1980, pp. 3-6.

Gordon, D, *Making and Meaning in the Wilton Diptych,* London, 1993.

Gordon, P, & Marshall, P, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2000.

Gough Poole, J, 'Visit to Barton Turf' *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 21, 1923, pp. 4-5.

Gray, T, *The Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great On the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel in English Translation* edited by Prebytera Juliana Cownie, Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1990.

Guiley, R. E, *An Angel in Your Pocket*, London, 1994, 1999.

Gunn, J, 'A Synopsis of the Paintings Upon Some of the Rood-screens in the County of Norfolk with Explanatory Notes', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 3, 1852, pp. 18-23.

Gunn, J, *Illustrations for the rood screen at Barton Turf*, Norwich, 1869, Norfolk and Norwick Archaeological Society.

Haigh, C, 'A. G. Dickens and the English Reformation', *Historical Research*, vol. 77, no. 195, February 2004, pp. 24-38.

Hall, J, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (revised edition), London, 1974, 1979.

Hall, W. C, *A Short History of Barton Turf Parish Church*, Norwich, 1934.

Hamilton, B, *Religion in the Medieval West*, 2nd edition, London, 1986, 2003.

Hardison, O. B Jnr, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*, Baltimore, 1965.

Hardy, C. F, 'On the Music in the Painted Glass of the Windows in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick', *Archaeologia*, vol. 61, 1909, pp. 583-614.

Harkness, D. E, *John Dee's Conversations With Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*, Cambridge, 1999, 2006.

Harthshorne, A, 'On the Monuments and Effigies in St Mary's Church and the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 45, 1888, pp. 238-256.

Haugard, W.P, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation*, Cambridge, 1968.

Hefling, C, Shattuck, C, eds, *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer A Worldwide Survey*, Oxford, 2006.

Helm, P, *John Calvin's Ideas*, Oxford 2004.

Hicks, M. A, 'The Beauchamp Trust, 1439-87', *Historical Research*, vol. 54, issue 130, pp.135-149.

Hoekema, A. A, *Created in God's Image*, Michigan &Grand Rapids, 1986.

Holt, T. G., 'Catholic Chapels in Norwich Before 1900 – Secular and Jesuit', *Norfolk Archaeology*, part 2, 1979, pp. 153-168.

Hope, W. H St. John, 'The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral Church', (with suggestions as to the identification of some of the images by W.R. Lethaby), *Archaeologia*, vol. 54, 1904, pp. 143-206.

Hope, W. H St John, *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History*, Part II, London, 1913.

Hope, W. H St John, Viscount Dillon, eds, *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G, 1389-1439*, London, 1914.

Houston, M. G, *Medieval Costume in England and France: The 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, New York, 1996.

Howard, P, *Words Fail Me*, London, 1980.

Hudson, A, 'Old authors, new work: the sermons of MS Longleat 4', *Medium Aevum*, vol.53, 1984, pp. 220-238.

Ingram, R. W ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry,* Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1981.

Iribarren, I, and Martin Lenz eds., *Angels in Medieval Philosophical: Their Function and Significance*, Aldershot, 2008.

Isaacs, A, ed., *A Dictionary of Physics*, 4th edition, Oxford, 2000.

Israel, M, *Angels Messengers of Grace*, London, 1995.

Johnson, R.F, 'Angels in the Early Modern World. Book Review', *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 93, issue 4, October 2007, pp. 937-938.

Johnson, R. F, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend*, Woodbridge, 2005.

Johnston, A. F & Dorrell, M, 'The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433', *Leeds Studies in English*, vol. 5, 1971, pp. 29-34.

Keck, D, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1998.

Keen, L and Scarff, E eds., *Windsor, Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, Leeds, 2002.

Kemp, B, *Church Monuments*, Shire Album 149, Buckinghamshire: 1997.

Kemp, B, *English Church Monuments*, London, 1980.

Keyser, C. E, *A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland Having Mural and Other Painted Decorations of Dates Prior to the Latter Part of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1883.

Kibbey, A, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice and Violence*, Cambridge, 1986.

Knowles, J. A, *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting*, London & New York, 1936.

Kreeft, P. J, *Angels and Demons: What Do We Really Know About Them?* San Francisco, 1995.

Lang, J, *The Angels of God: Understanding Scripture*, London, 1997.

Lasko, P, Morgan, N.J., eds., *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520*, London: Thames & Hudson in association with Jarrold &Sons Ltd of Norwich, 1973.

Lawrence, C. H, *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, Gloucestershire, 1965, 1995.

Leibniz, G. W, trans., & ed., Remnant, P & Bennett, J, *New Essays on Human Understanding*, Cambridge, 1981.

Leicestershire Manorial Records: Ashby Folville, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1919-23, pp. 453-475.

Lewis, James, R., Oliver, Evelyn Dorothy, Sisung, Kelle, S., ed., *Angels A to Z*, Detroit, New York, Toronto & Washington D.C, 1996.

Lillie, W. W, 'Screenwork in the County of Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. 30, pp. 120-126.

Lindley, K, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London*, Aldershot, 1997.

Lindley, P, 'Sculptural Functions and Forms in the Chapel', in Tatton-Brown, T & Mortimer, R, eds., *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 259-293.

Lindley, P, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, Donington, 2007.

Llewellyn, N, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, Cambridge, 2000.

Loades, D, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553-58*, London & New York, 1979, 1991.

Louth, A, *Denys the Aeropagite*, London & New York, 1989, 2001.

Lumb, G. D, ed, *Testamenta Leodiensia: Wills of Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, Otley and District, 1553 to 1561*, vol. 27, Leeds, 1930.

Luxford, J. M, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540, A Patronage History*, Woodbridge, 2005.

Macaslister, R. A. S, *The Camden Library Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History,* London, 1896.

MacCulloch, D, *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*, 2009.

MacDonald Ross, G, 'Angels', *Philosophy*, vol. 60, 1985, pp. 495-511. [*Deutsche Mystiker*, Franz Pfeiffer (ed.), vol.2, Leipzig, 1857, repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1962), p. 474].

Mackenzie, H. A. O, 'Appendix', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 8, 1879, pp. 336-339.

Mâle, E, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, New Jersey, 1949, 1977.

Manning, C. R, 'Remarks on Some Churches in the Neighbourhood of North Walsham', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 4, 1855, pp. 296-309.

Marks, R, &Williamson, P, eds., *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, London, 2003.

Marks, R, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Gloucestershire, 2004.

Marks, R, 'The Glazing of Henry VII's Chapel' in Thompson B, ed., *Harlaxton Medieval Studies V: The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, Stamford, 1995.

Marshall, P, 'Angels Around the Deathbed: Variations on a Theme in the English Art of Dying', in Marshall P, &Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 83-103.

Marshall, P, Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006.

Marshall, P, & Walsham, A, 'Migrations of Angels in the Early Modern World', in Marshall, P, & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 1-40.

McBrien, R. P, *Catholicism*, San Francisco, 1994.

McBrien, R. P, ed., *The Harper Collins Encyclopaedia of Catholicism*, New York, 1995.

McCutcheon, E, 'Thomas More, Raphael Hythlodaeus, and the Angel Raphael', *Studies in English Literature*, *1500-1900,* vol.9, no.1 The English Renaissance, Winter 1969, pp. 21-38.

McGrath, A. E, *Reformation Thought*, 3rd Edition, Oxford, 1999.

McGuckin, J. A, ed., *A-Z of Origen*, London, 2006.

McInerny, R, ed. & trans., *Thomas Aquinas: Selected Writings*, London, 1998.

McKenzie, J. L, *Dictionary of the Bible*, London and Dublin, 1965.

McNamee, M. B, 'The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 54, no 1, March 1972, pp. 263-278.

McNeill, J. T, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, vol.1, Philadelphia, 1960.

Mercer, E, *English Art 1553-1625*, Oxford, 1962.

Michalski, S, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*, London and New York, 1993.
Micklethwaite, J. T, 'Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster', *Archaeologia*, vol. 47, 1882-3, pp. 361-380.

Midgley, J. B, *The CTS Companion to the Angels,* London, 2000.

Mohamed, F. G, 'Renaissance Thoughts on the Celestial Hierarchy: The Decline of a Tradition?, *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 65.4, 2004, pp. 559-582.

Montagu, J & G, *Minstrels and Angels: Carvings of Musicians in Medieval English Churches*, Berkeley, 1998.

Montagu, Jeremy, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments,* Newton Abbot, London and Vancouver, 1976.

Moolenburgh, H. C, *A Handbook of Angels*, trans. from the Dutch by Marix-Evans, A, Essex, 1984.

Moore, J. R, 'The Tradition of Angelic Singing in English Drama', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol.22, 1923, pp. 89-99.

Moorman, J. R. H, *A History of the Church in England*, 3rd edition, Harrisburg PA, 1963, 1967, 1973, 1976, 1980.

Morant, A. W, L'Estrange, J., 'Notices of the Church at Randworth, Walsham Hundred', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 7, 1872, pp. 178-187.

Morganstern, A. McGee, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship*, Pennsylvania, 2000.

Morrill, J, 'Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War. Book Review', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 110, no.1, Feb. 2005, pp. 215-216.

Morrill, J, 'William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm', in Cooper, T, ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*, Woodbridge, 2001, pp. 1-28.

Morrill, J, 'William Dowsing, the Bureaucratic Puritan' in Morrill, J, Slack, P, and Woolf, D, eds, *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England, Essays Presented to G .E Aylmer*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 173-203.

Moynahan, B, *The Faith: A History of Christianity*, London, 2002.

NADFAS, *Inside Churches: A Guide to Church Furnishings*, London, 1993, 2001.

Neale, J. P & Le Keux, J, *Views of the Most Interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain including Screens, Fonts, Monuments, etc*, vols. 1 & 2, London, 1824-5.

Néret, G, *Angels*, Köln, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Paris & Tokyo, 2004.

Nickelsburg, G. W. E, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, London, 1981.

Norfolk Archaeology, vol.21, 1923, p. iv. (No details of author given).

O'Donoghue, N. D, *The Angels Keep Their Ancient Places: Reflections On Celtic Spirituality,* Edinburgh & New York, 2001.

Oldridge, D, *Strange Histories: The Trial of the Pig, the Walking Dead, and Other Matters of Fact from the Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*, London and New York, 2005.

Orgel, S, ed., *Oxford World's Classics William Shakespeare The Winter's Tale*, Oxford, 1996.

O'Sullivan, P, *All About the Angels,* Illinois, 1990.

Parry, G, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, Woodbridge, 2006, 2008.

Parsons, B, *John Calvin: A Heart for Devotion, Doctrine & Doxology*, Lake Mary, Florida, 2008.

Parsons, D, ed., *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part I: The Periodical Sources*, Leicester, 1978.

Parsons, D, ed., Brandwood, Geoffrey K, *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part 2: Newspaper Sources*, Leicester, 1980.

Parsons, D, ed., *A Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches Part 3: Documentary Sources Fascicule 1: Parochial Records, Parishes A-H*, Leicester, 1984.

Parsons, D, 'St. Mary, Ketton, and Some Other Rutland Churches', *Archaeological Journal London,* vol. 136, 1979, pp.118-124.

Patrides, C. A, *Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1982.

Patrides, C. A, 'Renaissance Thought on the Celestial Hierarchy: The Decline of a Tradition', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.20, no.2, April 1959, pp. 155-166.

Peers, G, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 2001.

Perkins, J, *Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornament*, 3 vols, London, 1938-1952.

Perrot, G, & Chipez, C, trans. & ed., Armstrong, W, *A History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria,* 2 vols, New York, 1884.

Pettegree, A, 'A. G. Dickens and his Critics: A New Narrative of the English Reformation', *Historical Research*, vol. 77, no. 195, February 2004, pp. 39-58.

Pevsner, N, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, New Haven & London, 2003.

Phillips, J, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1536-1600*, Berkeley, 1973.

Phillips Perry, M, 'On the Psychostasis in Christian Art II', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 22, Oct 1912 to March 1913, pp. 208-218.

Piper, J, *John Calvin and his Passion for the Majesty of God*, Nottingham, 1999.

Pollack, R. G, 'Angelic Imagery in the English Mystery Cycles', *Theatre Notebook*, vol. 29, 1975, pp. 124-139.

Prideaux, E. K, 'The Carvings of Medieval Musical Instruments in Exeter Cathedral Church', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 72, 1915, pp. 1-36.

Primus, J.H, *The Vestments Controversy: An Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions Within the Church of England in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I*, Kampen,1960.

Prior, E. S & Gardner, A, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge, 1912.

Prophet, E. C, *Fallen Angels and the Origins of Evil*, Corwin Springs, Montana, 2000.

Rabelais, F, *The Complete Works of François Rabelais*, trans. Frame, D.M, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1991.

Randall, R. H, 'Thirteenth Century Altar Angels', *Record of the Art Museum Princeton University*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1959, pp. 2-16.

Randell, K, *John Calvin and the Later Reformation*, London, 1990.

Randell, K, *The Catholic and Counter Reformation*, London, 1990.

Reade, J, *Assyrian Sculpture*, London, 1983, 1998.

Reardon, B. M. G, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, London & New York, 1995.

Rose, A, 'Angel musicians in the medieval stained glass of Norfolk churches', *Early Music*, May 2001, pp. 187-217.

Rosenburg, A, Engel und Dämonen: Gestaltwandel eines Urbildes, Munich, 1967.

Rosendale, T, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*, Cambridge, 2007.

Roulin, Dom E. A, trans. Dom Justice McCann, *Vestments and Vesture: A Manual of Liturgical Art*, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Louis, 1931.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM) (England) vol. 1 in London: Westminster Abbey, London, 1924.

Rubin, M, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991.

Rushforth, G. McNeil, 'Wall Painting: The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: Exeter Cathedral', *Devon and Cornwall Notes & Queries*, vol. 17, 1933, pp. 99-106.

Rushforth, G. McNeil, *Medieval Christian Imagery as Illustrated by the Painted Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church Worcestershire, Together with a Description and Explanation of all the Ancient Glass in the Church*, Oxford, 1936.

Rushforth, G. McNeil, *The Windows of the Church of St. Neot, Cornwall*, Exeter, 1937.

Rutledge, D. D, *Cosmic Theology: The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Denys: An Introduction*, London, 1964.

Ryrie, A, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*, Cambridge, 2003.

Sampson, J, *Wells Cathedral West Front: Construction, Sculpture and Conservation*, Gloucestershire, 1998.

Schipperges, H, & Cumming, J, trans., *The World of Hildegard of Bingen Her Life, Times and Visions*, Tunbridge Wells, 1998.

Schmidt, G. D, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century*, Selinsgrove, 1995.

Schneweis, E, *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*, Washington, 1944.

Scott, K, L, *A survey of Manuscripts Illuminate in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, vol.1 Text and Illustrations*, *vol. 2 catalogue*, London, 1996.

Scott, K, L, *A survey of Manuscripts Illuminate in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, vol.2 Catalogue*, London, 1996.

Scribner, B, & Johnnson, T, eds., *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400-1800*, Hampshire & London, 1996.

Semler, L. E, 'Antique-Work and Naked Boys: Animating the Tudor-Stuart Grotesque', *Parergon*, vol. 21, issue 1, 2004, pp. 85-111.

Sheingorn, P, 'The Te Deum Altarpiece and the Iconography of Praise', in Williams, E, ed, *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, 1989, pp. 171-182.

Sherlock, P, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, Aldershot, 2008.

Shumaker, W, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1972.

Smalley, B, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1960.

Smith, A, 'The Chantry Chapel of Bishop Fox', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, No. 57, 1988, pp. 27-37.

Smith, L, & Taylor, J. H. M, eds., *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* London & Toronto, 1997.

Smoller, L, 'Angels in the Modern World. Book Review' *Renaissance Quarterly,* vol. 60, issue 4, Winter 2007, pp. 1409-1411.

Soergel, P.M, 'Luther on Angels', in Marshall P, & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 64-82.

Spraggon, J, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*, Woodbridge, 2003.

St. Mary's Church, Ashby Folville, May 31st 1913, 2nd edition.

Starkie Gardner, J, *Armour in England from the Earliest Times to the Reign of James the First*, London and New York, 1897.

Stone, L, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth 1955, 1972.

Stones, E. L. G, 'The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, and their Associates in Crime, 1326-1347, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, vol. 7, 1957, pp. 117-136.

Sutcliffe, S, 'The Cult of St. Sitha in England: An Introduction', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 37, 1993, pp.83-89.

Sutton, A. F & Visser-Fuchs, L, 'The Cult of Angels in Late Fifteenth Century England: An Hours of the Guardian Angel presented to Queen Elizabeth Woodville' in Smith, L & Taylor, J. H. M, eds, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, London & Toronto, 1997.

Swales, T. H, 'The Redistribution of the Monastic Lands in Norfolk at the Dissolution', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 34, part 1, 1966, pp. 14-44.

Tatton-Brown, T, & Mortimer, R, eds., *Westminster Abbey The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Woodbridge, 2003.

The Jewish Encyclopaedia, New Edition 1, London, 1925.

Thomas, K, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, New York, 1971.

Throsby, J, *Select Views in Leicestershire from Original Drawings Containing Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, Town Views and Ruins Accompanied with Descriptive and Historical Relations*, Leicester, 1789.

Toulmin Smith, L, *York Plays,* Oxford, 1885.

Trevor-Roper, H, *Archbishop Laud*, London, 1940, 2000.
Tudor-Craig, P, 'Medieval Panel Paintings from Norwich, St. Michael at Plea', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 98, no. 642, Sept. 1956, pp. 332-334.

Turner, D, 'Copies and Translations of Two Deeds in the Possession of the Corporation of Lynn', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 2, 1849, pp. 193-197.

Turville-Petre, T, 'A Middle English Life of St. Zita, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 35, 1991, pp.102-105.

Ullmann, W, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, London & New York, 1972.

Wagner, E, Drobná, Z, & Durdik, J, trans. Layton, J, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons 1350-1450*, London, part 2, 1962.

Wagner, E, Drobná, Z, & Durdik, J, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons*, Mineola & New York, 2000.

Wakefield, G. S, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, London, 1983.

Walford, F, 'St. Mary's Church, Bottesford', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, vol. Trans. 30, 1926, pp. 147-157.

Waller, J. G, 'Christian Iconography and Legendary Art. The Heavenly Host', Part 1: First Order- Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1850, pp.487-492.

Waller, J. G, 'Christian Iconography and Legendary Art. The Heavenly Host', Part 2: Second Order- Dominations, Virtues, Powers, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January to June 1851, pp. 617-661.

Waller, J. G, 'Christian Iconography and Legendary Art. The Heavenly Host' Part 3: Third Order- Principalities, Archangels, Angels, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1851, pp. 22-27.

Walsh, K, & Wood, D, eds., *The Bible in the Medieval World*: Essays *in memory of Beryl Smalley* published for the Ecclesiastical History Society, Oxford, 1985.

Walsham, A, 'Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation', in Marshall, P & Walsham, A, eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 134-167.

Watt, T, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*, Cambridge, 1991.

Wayment, H, *King's College Chapel, Cambridge, a Description and Commentary,* Oxford, 1972.

Wayment, H, *King's College Chapel Cambridge: The side-chapel glass*, Cambridge, 1988.

Weinberger, J, *Science, Faith and Politics: Francis Bacon and the Utopian Roots of the Modern Age, A Commentary on Bacon's Advancement of Learning*, Ithaca & London, 1985.

Westlake, H. F, *Westminster Abbey: The Old Lady Chapel and its Relation to the Romanesque and Gothic Churches*, Oxford, 1920.

Whiskey, M, 'Bottesford Church of St Mary', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 112, 1955, pp. 187-188.

White, G. M, 'The Iconography of the Stained Glass of the Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's, Warwick', *Journal of Stained Glass*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1991-3, pp. 133-163.

Wickham, G, *Early English Stages 1300-1660 vol.1 1300-1576*, London, Henley & New York, 1980.

Willey, B, *The Seventeenth Century Background: Studies in the thought of the age in relation to poetry and religion*, New York, 1934.

Williams, D, *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium,* Woodbridge, 1989.

Williamson, P, ed., *The Medieval Treasury: The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1986, 1996, 1998.

Williamson, W. W, 'Saints on Norfolk Roodscreens and Pulpits', *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. 31, part 3, 1957, pp. 299-346.

Wilson, C, 'The Functional Design of Henry VII's Chapel: A Reconstruction', in Tatton-Brown, T, & Mortimer, R, eds., *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 141-188.

Wilson, C, 'The Medieval Monuments', in Collinson, P, Ramsay, N & Sparks, M, eds., *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 451-510.

Wilson, P. L, *Angels: Messengers of the Gods*, London, 1980, 1994.

Winston, C, 'The Painted Glass in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 21, 1864, pp.301-318.

Woodforde, C, *The Norwich School of Painting in the Fifteenth Century,* London, New York and Toronto, 1950.

Forthcoming Paper

In the Harlaxton Symposium: Marks, R, 'Entumbid Right Princely: The Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick and the Politics of Interment', Harlaxton final version as at 28/7/09.

Unpublished Phd Theses

Buckle, A, 'Music and Liturgy, Patronage and Authority: The College of St. Mary, Warwick in the Later Middle Ages', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2008.

Harvey, K, 'The Role of Angels in English Protestant Thought 1580-1660', Unpublished PhD thesis, Selwyn College, University of Cambridge, 2004.

Sumpter, G, 'Lady Chapels and the Manifestations of Devotion to Our Lady in England', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2008.

CD Rom

Luther, M,: Pelikan, Jaroslav J, Oswald, H.C, Lehmann, H.T, eds., *Luther's Works, Vol. 42: Devotional Writings I*. Philadelphia, 1999, c1969 (Luther's Works 42), S. 42:III-113.

Newspapers

The Times, Nov 20, 1975; PG.17; Issue 59557; col G.

Websites

 The New York Times
http://www.nytimes.com/learning/students/scienceqa/archive/971111.html accessed 1/5/05.

Summa Theologica http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/FP/FP108.html accessed 07/11/05.

Burns, W.E, 'Glanvill, Joseph (1636-1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition http://www.oxforddnb.com/artiscles/10/10790-article.html?back accessed 06/05/05.

Chernaik, W, 'Chillingworth William (1602-1644)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=5308 accessed 06/05/05.

Edwards, A.S.G, 'Parkyn, Robert (d. 1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/47143, accessed 16/5/05.

McNeil, M, 'Darwin, Erasmus (1731-1802)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=7177 accessed 06/05/05.

Ogden, J, 'D'Israeli, Isaac (1766-1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://oxforddnb.com/templates/olddnb.jsp?articleid=7690 accessed 06/05/05.

Scase, W, 'Peacock, Reginald, (b. c.1392, d. In or after 1459)',*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/21749accessed 21/09/06.

Medieval Sourcebook: Twelfth Ecumenical Council: Lateran IV 1215: www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.html accessed 10/04/07

Early Christian Writing http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/ascension.html accessed 30/03/09.

The Apocalypse of Moses http://piney.com/ApocMoses.html accessed 30/3/09.

The Apocalypse http://wesley.nnu.edu/biblical_studies/noncanon/summaries/apoc-moses-notes.htm accessed 30/03/09.

Homily Against the Peril of Idolatry http://library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/homilies/bk2hom2.html accessed 17/09/09.

Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism http://www.marquette.edu/maqom accessed 22/05/06.

British Library: Historiated Initial With Scenes from Genesis in the Bible of Robert de Bello

http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/burnmanucoll/h/011bur000000003u0 0005v00.html accessed 05/11/09.

Source: University of Wisconsin-Madison: Somerville
http://history.wisc.edu/sommerville/361/361-08.htm
Accessed 01/12/09

Medieval Source Book: The Golden Legend
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/GoldenLegend-Volume6.htm#Barbara accessed 01/12/09.

Patrologia Latina http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk

Image credits

www.norfolkchurches.co.uk

www.suffolkchurches.co.uk

http://www.bluk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&llllD=2 1960

http://bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&llllD=5333

http:// collections.vam.ac.uk/item/084662/corbel/

Email exchanges:

Dr. David Keck (Duke Divinity School) Email 08/06/2005, reply received 11/06/2005.

Prof. Caroline Barron (Royal Holloway, University of London) Email sent 23/4/09, reply received 24/4/09.

Dr.Tobias Capwell, (Wallace Collection) Email sent 23/4/09, reply received 1/6/09.