#### **UNIVERSITY OF READING**

# ENCOUNTERING ST MARGARET OF ANTIOCH IN PAROCHIAL AND PERSONAL CONTEXTS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: DEVOTIONAL ARTEFACTS, MEMORIALIZATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FAMILIAL AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY

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VOLUME 2 Images

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#### **Abstract**

This thesis comprises a series of six case studies that form an exploration of lay devotion to St Margaret of Antioch over the period c.1250-c.1530. In a departure from previous approaches, the thesis examines reasons for Margaret's enduring popularity through a discussion foregrounding the great range of surviving artefacts associated with her cult. The medieval perception of Margaret as protector of women in childbirth has been widely discussed and the saint's formidable dragon-slaying powers likewise. Whilst these aspects of Margaret's cult are relevant and examined again in this study, it is argued that the evidence of wall paintings, stained glass and manuscripts presented here establishes a clear connection between Margaret and the sacrament of baptism. Distinctively, this study further argues that such an association is reinforced by representations of St Nicholas alongside those of Margaret. Moreover, textual versions of Margaret's Life also support this sacramental association. Parts One and Two of this thesis examine visual narrative cycles of Margaret's passion in the communal context of parish churches to consider issues of their intended messages and patronage, as well as how devotees might have interacted with them. Part Three focuses on two books of hours that demonstrate a more intimate context for the veneration of Margaret by known individuals. The manuscripts offer opportunities to discuss what Margaret could have represented for these individuals and how they might have expressed their devotion. Finally, it is argued that far from being simply a Holy Helper, through her sacramental association Margaret occupied a fundamental position at the heart of orthodox Christian belief and practice. Although sought out in moments of personal significance, symbolically, and perhaps most significantly, Margaret also represented a bulwark against the influence of other faiths and heterodoxy.

# **Declaration of Original Authorship**

## Declaration

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Frances Mary Cook

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#### Chapter 3

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Figure 3.2: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Plan of church showing building campaigns. (Plan taken from 'Parishes: Charlwood', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1911), pp. 182-189. *British History Online*, [website], http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3/pp182-189 (accessed 10 January 2021).)

Figure 3.3a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Exterior view of the window in the south wall of the church which separates the Margaret Cycle from the Miracle of the Three Clerks and the Three Living and Three Dead. 14thC.

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Figure 3.4a: Westminster Abbey: examples of triforium arches. (Photo credit: Alan Williams. Photo taken from the 'Westminster Abbey Triforium Project', *RIBA Journal*, [website],

https://www.ribaj.com/buildings/westminster-abbey-triforium-project-ptolemy-dean-architects-for-the-dean-and-chapter-of-westminster-abbey) (accessed 7 January 2021).

Figure 3.4b: Canterbury Cathedral, choir screens, north side. (Photo taken from Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, p. 155.)

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Figure 3.7: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Overview showing horizontal divisions of the tiers of painting.

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Detail. Middle tier of paintings: showing division of scenes – figures turning away from each other – and confrontation with Olibrius (left). (Detail from copy of the Margaret Cycle by Ann Worrall found in the church.)

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- Figure 3.14b: The Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: showing confrontation scene between Margaret and Olibrius. Margaret is also being tortured. England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken from Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 206.)
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- Figure 3.19a: The Bologna Cope. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, mus. no. 2024. Passion of Christ. Detail: The Harrowing of Hell. England, 1310-20. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 179).
- Figure 3.19b: London, British Library, (the 'Holkham Bible Picture Book'), Add. MS 47682, fol. 34r. The Harrowing of Hell. England, c. 1327-1335.
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- Figure 3.22a: Potterne font with inscription around the rim. (Potterne 1 (S. face) Plate: 476. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham. Photographer: D. J. Craig.)
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- Figure 3.42b: Westminster Abbey, London. *Sedilia*. Panel painting of Henry III(?) c.1290-1310. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 28.)
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- Figure 3.49a: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, north wall. The Presentation in the Temple. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 29.)

Figure 3.49b: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, south wall. Virgin (centre), the Apostles (left), and the Three Virgins, Two Widows and Lady Baretin (right). Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 63.)

Figure 3.49c: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, south wall. Funeral Procession of the Virgin. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 67.)

Figure 3.50: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, north wall. Virgin and Christ Child in Jesse Tree. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 19.)

Figure 3.51: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Plan of church. Showing the position of the font and paintings in the south aisle. Margaret cycle shown in red. Nicholas miracle and the Three Living and Three Dead shown in green. (Plan taken from 'Parishes: Charlwood', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1911), pp. 182-189. *British History Online*, [website], http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3/pp182-189 (accessed 10 January 2021), with my additions.)

#### Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. Exterior. North wall. (Photo © Evelyn Simak.)

Figure 4.2a: St Mary, North Tuddenham, Norfolk. West window. St Margaret is offered a ring by Olibrius's steward.

c.1420–1430. (Photo taken from 'North Tuddenham', *Norfolk Stained Glass*, [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/North">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/North</a> Tuddenham/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

Figure 4.2b: St Mary, North Tuddenham, Norfolk. West window. Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. c.1420–1430. (Photo taken from 'North Tuddenham', *Norfolk Stained Glass*, [website],

http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/North\_Tuddenham/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

Figure 4.3: St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk. East window. Detail: two scenes from the Life of St Margaret. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'St Peter Mancroft', *Norfolk Stained Glass*, [website], http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/St\_Peter\_Mancroft/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

Figure 4.4: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle, south wall, second window from the east. Overview of St Margaret's Life. 15thC.

Figure 4.5a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel A: St Margaret encounters Olibrius. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011764, *CVMA* [website], <a href="https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField=MINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPage=

Figure 4.5b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel B: St Margaret is put in prison. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011766, *CVMA* [website], https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11766&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=6 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel C: Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011765, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&gridView=false&sortField=WIND OW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&photodataKey=11765&recPosition=25&recordView=IMAGE (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5d: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel D: St Margaret encounters the dragon and second demon. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011754, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11754&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=1 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5e: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel E: St Margaret is tortured with boiling oil and water. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011767, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11767&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=7 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5f: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel F: St Margaret and St Nicholas attend the baptism of an infant. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011763, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11763&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=3 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.6: Westminster Abbey. The high altar and Cosmati pavement. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 22.)

Figure 4.7a: London, British Library, Royal MS 19 B XVII, fol. 14r (St Nicholas), *British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, [website], <a href="https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8527">https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8527</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).

Figure 4.7b: London, British Library, Royal MS 20 D VI, fol. 144r (St Nicholas), *British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, [website], https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=4272 9 (accessed 15 January 2021).

Figure 4.8: detail from *Consecration of St Nicholas and miracle of child in the bath*. Copy of lost painting of the late fourteenth century from Ingham, Norfolk by John Carter, 1787. (National Monuments Record.) (Photo: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.)

Figure 4.9a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Ministering to the Thirsty. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011756, *CVMA* [website], 'https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11756&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=14 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.9b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Feeding the Hungry. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011757, CVMA [website], <a href="https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11757&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=15">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11757&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=15</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.9c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Remnants of Tree of Jesse[?] . (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011758, CVMA [website], https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11758&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=16 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.10a: St Margaret of Antioch killing the dragon. St Peter, Ketteringham, Norfolk. East window, tracery light. 15thC. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.10b: St Katherine of Alexandria holding wheel. St Peter, Ketteringham, Norfolk. East window, tracery light. 15thC. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.10c: St Margaret, Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk. South aisle, south window. Tracery lights. 15thC. Detail (from left to right): Saints Faith, Agatha and Cecilia. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Cley/home.shtm#">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Cley/home.shtm#</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.11: Photo of the St Margaret panels. Second window from the east, south aisle, south wall. From a book compiled by George Tidmarsh, Churchwarden at St Mary, Combs, 1885-1898, who lived in the parish between 1865 and 1912. Photo taken some time before 1912.

Figure 4.12a (left): St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel C: Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. Detail of Margaret's face. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011765, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&gridView=false&sortField=WIND OW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&photodataKey=11765&recPosition=25&recordView=IMAGE (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.12b (right): St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel D: St Margaret encounters the dragon and second demon. Detail of Margaret's face. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011754, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11754&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=1 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.13a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle and Margaret panels from the nave.

Figure 4.13b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle and Margaret panels from the nave.

Figure 4.14: St Neot's Church, St Neot, Cornwall. 3rd window of the north aisle (The Wives Window). Detail.

Figure 4.15a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels.

Detail: Panel F, showing rod-and-leaf borders.

Figure 4.15b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels.

Detail: Panel C, showing stylized trees (top right) and flowers or shrubs (bottom right).

Figure 4.15c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels.

Detail: Panel F, showing father or godfather's ermine collar.

Figure 4.15d: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels.

Detail: Panel C, showing pebbled dais.

Figure 4.16a: St Nicholas, Denston, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: <a href="http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/denston.htm">http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/denston.htm</a> (accessed 20 December 2020).)

Figure 4.16b: All Saints, Great Glemham, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/gglemham.html (accessed 20 December 2020).)

Figure 4.16c: St Mary, Woodbridge, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/woodbridgemary.html (accessed 20 December 2020).)

Figure 4.17: *Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer*, Valencia Museum of Fine Arts, Spain. 1396-98. Detail: showing the baptism of an infant (celebrant on the left and godparent on the right). (Photo © Alamy: internet resource.)

Figure 4.18a: St Helen, Ranworth, Norfolk. Wooden painted screen before the chancel. 15thC. Detail: St Margaret impaling the dragon.

Figure 4.18b: All Saints, Filby, Norfolk. Wooden painted screen before the chancel. 15thC. Detail: St Paul (left) and St Margaret impaling the dragon (right). (Photo © Simon Knott from the *Norfolk Churches,* [website], http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/filby/filby.htm (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.18c: Wesenham St Peter, Norfolk. Nave, north aisle, north window, 2nd from east. St Margaret impaling the dragon. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'Wesenham St Peter, Norfolk', inv. no. 017147, CVMA, [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=17147&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=3 (accessed 19 December 2020).

Figure 4.18d: St Peter and St Paul, Salle, Norfolk. Chancel, south window, tracery panel D1 (sII). St Margaret impaling the dragon. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'Sts Peter and Paul, Salle, Norfolk', inv. no. 009717, CVMA, [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=17147&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=3 (accessed 19 December 2020).

Figure 4.19: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. Nave looking south east with 15thC screen (top left).

Figure 4.20: David Elisha Davy, Plan of St Mary, Combs, Suffolk made in 1827 with my annotations added. (See David Elisha Davy, 'A Parochial History of Suffolk', London, British Library, Additional MS 19106, fol. 45r.)

#### Chapter 5, Part One

Figure 5.a: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 7r. The Annunciation. 15thC.

Figure 5.1b: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 122r. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. 15thC.

Figure 5.2: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 2r. 15thC. Calendar page for March showing inscriptions recording the births of Anna Southwell, eldest daughter of Margaret Neville and Robert Southwell (born 18 March 1540) and below, the birth of Thomas Southwell, firstborn son of Margaret Neville and Robert Southwell (born 24 March 1537).

Figure 5.3: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 171r. 15thC. Showing ruling of folio.

Figure 5.4: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 167r. 15thC.

Figure 5.5: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 7r. 15thC.

Figure 5.6a: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 176r.

Figure 5.6b: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 175r.

Figure 5.6c: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 182r.

#### Chapter 5, Part 2

Figure 5.7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 5r: showing smaller script for the antiphon (in the centre).

Figure 5.8: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 2v: showing a two-line decorated capital (for 'Uirginis') and an example of a foliate border.

Figure 5.9: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 6v: showing decorated capitals.

Figure 5.10: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 11v: showing capitals of the text of Lesson 1 picked out in red.

Figure 5.11a: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 52r: showing royal arms and decorated border.

Figure 5.11b: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 66r: showing Tiptoft arms and decorated border cut away.

Figure 5.12: Tiptoft Effigies, Ely Cathedral. (Found in Matthew Ward, 'The tomb of "The Butcher"? The Tiptoft monument in the presbytery of Ely Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, Journal of the Church Monuments Society, Vol. XXVII, (2012), pp. 22-37, printed on p. 31.)

Figure 5.13: engraved gold ring showing St Margaret impaling the dragon. Made in England. 15thC. (V&A Museum number M238-1962. Image taken from the V&A website <a href="http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121597/ring-unknown/">http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121597/ring-unknown/</a> (accessed 22 December 2020).)

# Chapter 1



Figure 1.1: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Exterior. View of the south face of the church, south door and tower.



Figure 1.2: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. Exterior. View of the north face of the church, north door and tower.

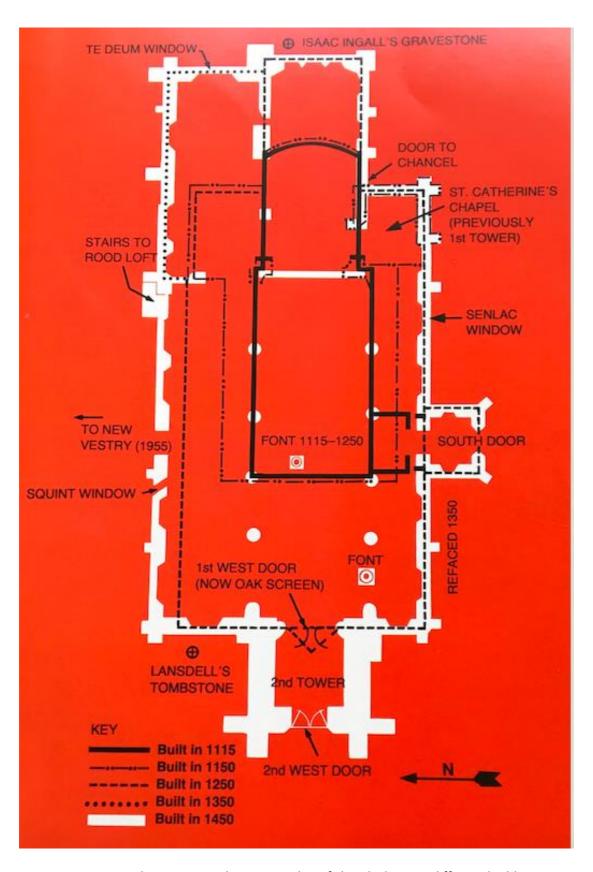


Figure 1.3: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex: plan of church showing different building campaigns. (From the parish church guidebook, (undated), p. 8.)

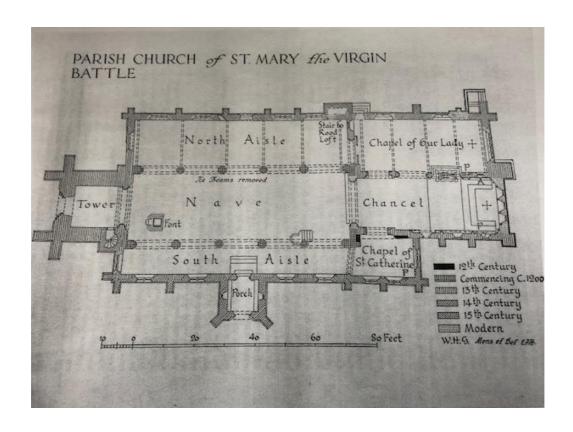


Figure 1.4: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex: plan of church showing different building campaigns and measurements. (From the parish church guidebook by Lilian Boys Behrens, (undated and unpaginated).)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.5: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex: interior, north wall of the nave looking west. Overview of the St Margaret Cycle (wall paintings, 13th-14thC). (Photo by Ralph Wood in E. Clive Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church, Battle' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 117, 1979, Plate II.)



Figure 1.6: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex: interior, north wall of the nave looking west. Overview of the St Margaret Cycle (13th-14thC).

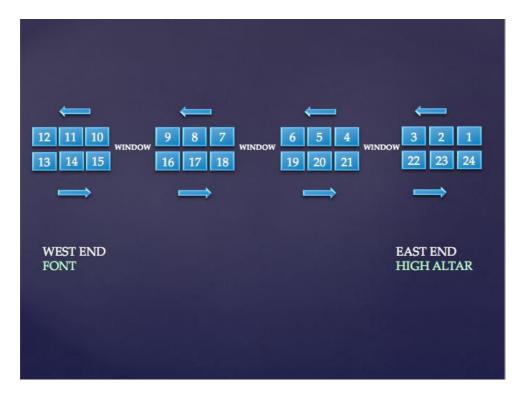


Figure 1.7: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Diagram showing the layout of the scenes of the St Margaret Cycle on the north wall of the nave.



Figure 1.8: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. Diagram showing the layout of the scenes of the St Margaret Cycle on the south wall of the nave.



Figure 1.9a: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave looking west. Overview of the 13th-14thC wall paintings of the St Margaret Cycle (upper tier of paintings).



Figure 1.9b: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave looking east. Overview of the St Margaret Cycle (upper tier of paintings), with font lid in foreground.

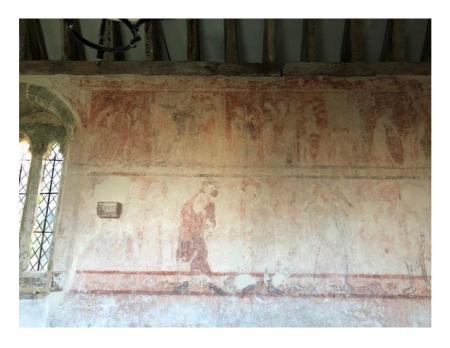


Figure 1.10: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave. View of the first five scenes of the St Margaret Cycle (upper tier of paintings) and the Three Living and Dead (lower tier).



Figure 1.11: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave. Close-up of the St Margaret Cycle showing underdrawing.



Figure 1.12: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. North wall of the nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail of frames around the scenes (Pictures 7-9 above, 16-18 below).

# [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.13: The Westminster Retable. The Raising of Jairus's Daughter. England, 1260s. (Photo taken from Paul Binski, *Medieval Craftsmen: Painters*, (London, 1991), p. 69.)

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.14: The Vatican Cope. England, 1280-1300. Detail: Crucifixion. (Photo from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 147.)

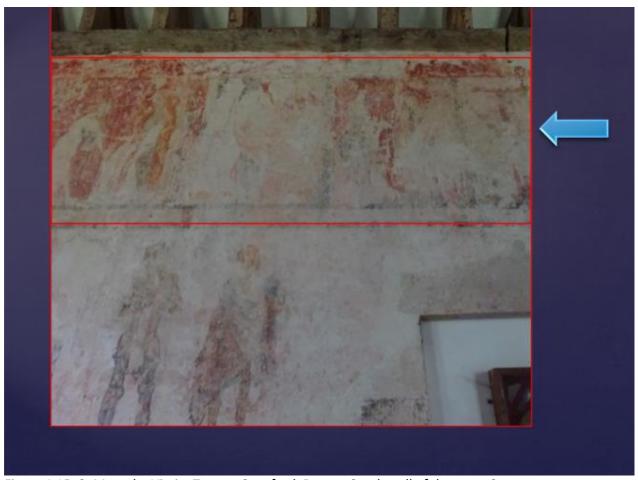


Figure 1.15: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail showing alternating background colours (red and white) for the scenes.



Figure 1.16: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of the nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail showing fragments of vine scroll border below the roofline.

Figure 1.17: Battle. St Margaret Cycle.

### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 1. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.) Figure 1.18b: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 2. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18c: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 3. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.) Figure 1.18d: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 4. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18e: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 5. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.) Figure 1.18f: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 6. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18g: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 7. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

Figure 1.18h: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 8. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18i: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 9. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.) Figure 1.18j: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 10. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18k: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 11. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.) Figure 1.18l: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 12. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18m: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 13. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.) Figure 1.18n: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 14. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18o: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 15. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.) Figure 1.18p: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 16. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18q: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 17. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.) Figure 1.18r: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 18. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

[IMAGE REDACTED]

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18s: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 19 (destroyed). Figure 1.18t: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 20. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.)

### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18u: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 21. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 155.) Figure 1.18v: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 22. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.18w: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 23. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.) Figure 1.18x: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Picture 24. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

Figure 1.19: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 309v. England, 1310-20.

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 1.20: The Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: St Margaret Emerges from the Dragon. England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 206.)



Figure 1.21a: St Mary the Virgin, Wendens Ambo, Essex. Chancel, south wall.

Overview of St Margaret Cycle (wall paintings, 14th C). St Margaret Taught to Read by her Fostermother is on the far left.



Figure 1.21b: St Mary the Virgin, Wendens Ambo, Essex. Chancel, south wall. St Margaret Cycle (wall paintings, 14th C). Detail: St Margaret Taught to Read by her Fostermother.

Figure 1.22: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle (Picture 11), Margaret Emerges from the Dragon. Drawn by conservator, E. Clive Rouse, in 1948. Society of Antiquaries Library, London.

Figure 1.23: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle (Picture 12), Margaret Birches the Second Demon. Drawn by conservator, E. Clive Rouse, in 1948. Society of Antiquaries Library, London.



Figure 1.24a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. North wall of nave. St Margaret cycle. Detail: Pictures 7-8 (from right to left).

Figure 1.24b: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: Pictures 7-8 (right to left). (Sketches by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

Figure 1.25: Westminster Abbey, London. St Faith's Chapel, east wall. Wall painting of St Faith, c.1290-1310. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 95.)

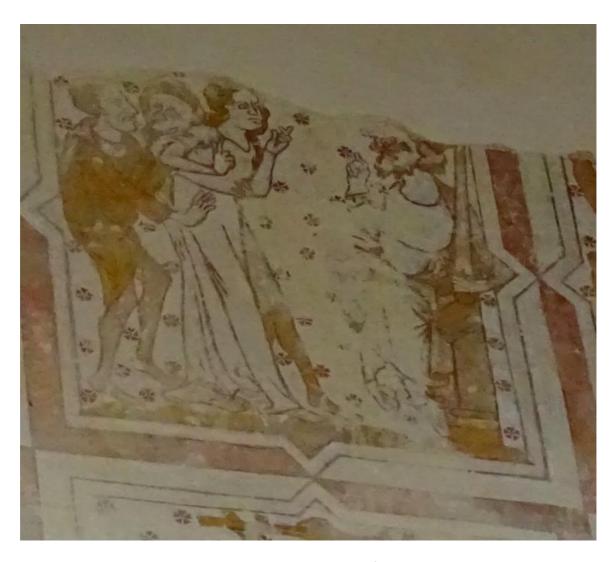


Figure 1.26: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. North wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: Confrontation Scene (Picture 8).

Figure 1.27: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 308r. England, 1310-20.



Figure 1.28a: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Initial scenes (upper tier of paintings).



Figure 1.28b: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. South wall of nave. The Three Living and Dead. Detail: the three kings.

Figure 1.29: Baptism of infant with godparents showing the moment of immersion in the water of the font facing towards the water. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 740, fol. 005v. c.1475. (Image taken from the *Digital Bodleian*, [website], <a href="https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/8583c988-aa6a-4572-8881-5a6ac86daf30/surfaces/9bb2588c-7d9d-4047-8bf1-024db589ee6a/">https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/8583c988-aa6a-4572-8881-5a6ac86daf30/surfaces/9bb2588c-7d9d-4047-8bf1-024db589ee6a/</a> (accessed 20 January 2021.)

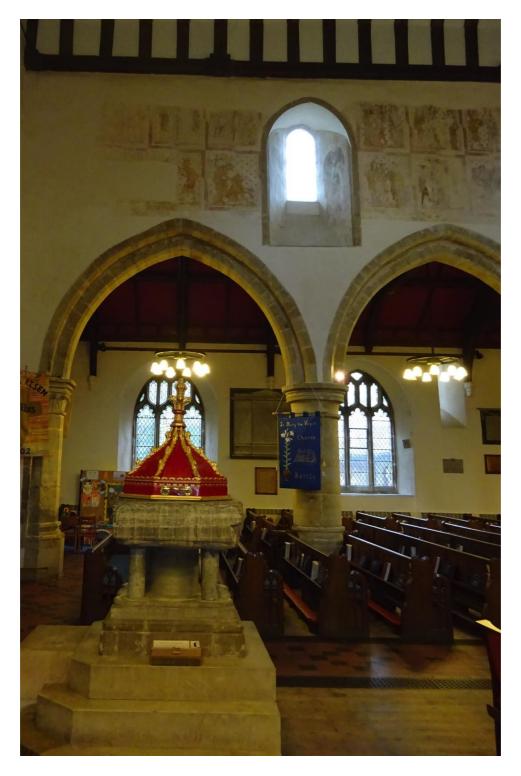


Figure 1.30a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. View of the font in the foreground with the St Margaret Cycle (Pictures 10-12 above and 13-15 below) behind, on the north wall of the nave above the arcade. Pictures 13-15 represent Margaret's encounter with the dragon and the second demon.

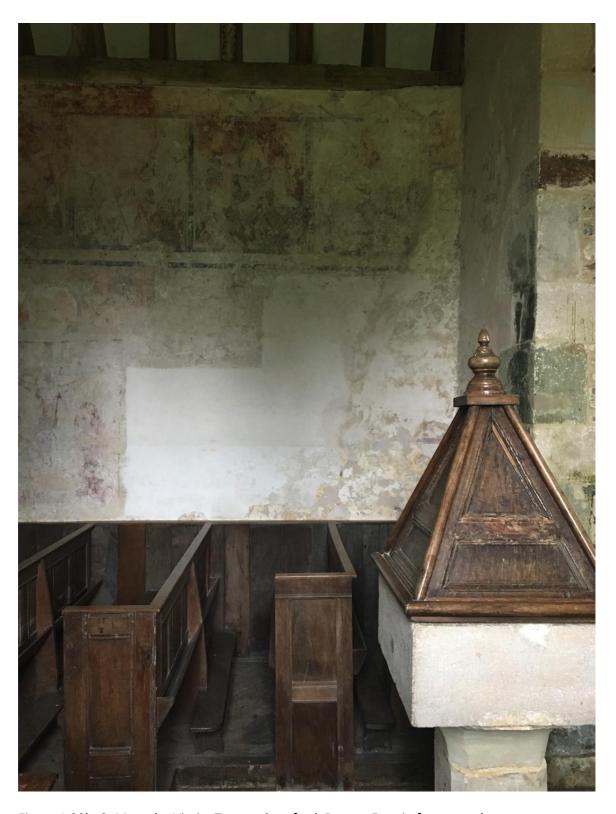


Figure 1.30b: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. Font in foreground with the St Margaret Cycle on the south wall of the nave behind (upper tier). Pictures 11-12, which represent Margaret's encounter with the dragon and second demon, comprise the last two scenes before the west wall (on the right).

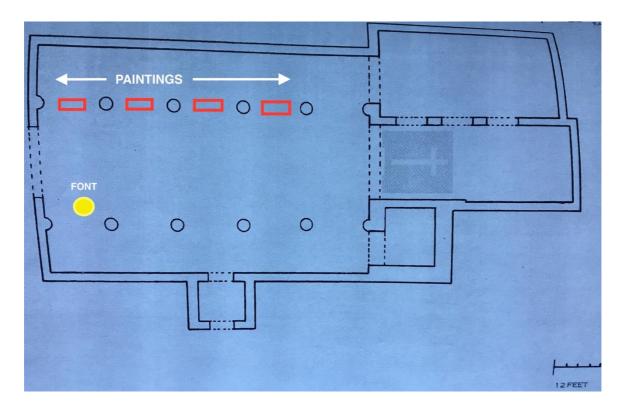


Figure 1.31a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Footprint of the church of c.1350 showing the relationship of the font to the St Margaret Cycle (in red). (Plan taken from the parish church guidebook by Lilian Boys Behrens, (undated and unpaginated), with my additions.)

Figure 1.31b: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset.
Showing the relationship of the font to the St Margaret Cycle (in red). (Plan taken from Christopher Dalton, *Church of St Mary, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset,* The Churches Conservation Trust, (London, 2007), p. 7, with my additions.)

Figure 1.32: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Nave from the west end looking east. Note the font (foreground, right-hand side). Watercolour, 1845, by William H. Brooke. Watercolours by Brooke held at the East Sussex Record Office (AMS/5641/1) and printed in Keith D. Foord, *Battle Abbey and Battle Churches since 1066*, (Battle, 2011) (illustrations unpaginated).



Figure 1.33a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Font showing decoration of semi-circular blind arcading. Late twelfth century.



Figure 1.33b: St Mary the Virgin, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset. Font. Sixteenth century.

Figure 1.34: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. Detail of upper tier of paintings (Three Living and Dead) over the chancel arch (destroyed). Watercolour, 1845, by William H. Brooke. Watercolours by Brooke held at the East Sussex Record Office (AMS/5641/1) and printed in Keith D. Foord, *Battle Abbey and Battle Churches since 1066*, (Battle, 2011) (illustrations unpaginated).

Figure 1.35a: Jacopo Bellini. St Bernardino da Siena in the pulpit (wooden scaffold). (Photo taken from Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, (Leiden, 2002), Plate 8.)

Figure 1.35b: Gian Giacomo da Lodi (1477). Scene from the life of St Bernardino da Siena preaching (detail). (Photo taken from Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, (Leiden, 2002), Plate 10.)

Figure 1.36: London, British Library, Arundel MS 83, fol. 127v. The Three Living and Three Dead. England, East Anglia, c.1308-c.1340.

# Chapter 2

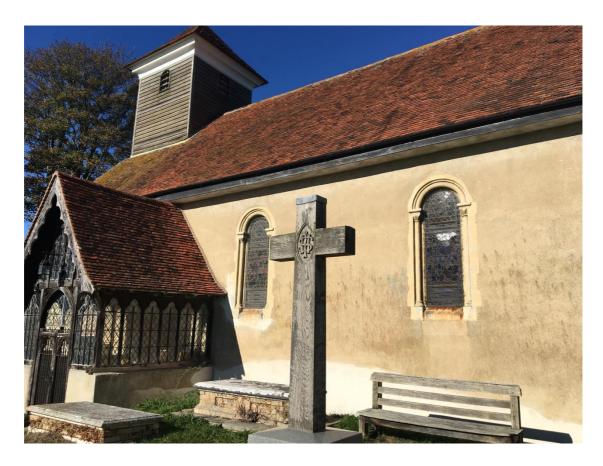


Figure 2.1: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Exterior. South wall of nave and south porch.

Figure 2.2: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave looking west. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Wissington, Suffolk', CRSBI [website], <a href="https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-item?key=SXsiUCl6eyJ2YWx1ZSI6Indpc3Npbmd0b24iLCJvcGVyYXRvciI6MSwiZnV6enIQcmVmaXhMZW5ndGgiOjMsImZ1enp5TWluU2ltaWxhcml0eSI6MC41LCJtYXhTdWdnZXN0aW9ucyI6NSwiYWx3YXlzU3VnZ2VzdCl6bnVsbH0slkYiOiJleUowSWpwYk5sMTkifQ&WINID=1609692440501#Q2owxSStJYAAAF2ySVZMA/8943">Q2owxSStJYAAAF2ySVZMA/8943</a> (accessed 04 January 2021.)



Figure 2.3: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South door in south wall of nave. Wall paintings of the Infancy Cycle of Christ (upper tier of painting) and remains of the St Margaret Cycle either side (Pictures 5-8, lower tier). C.1250-1275.

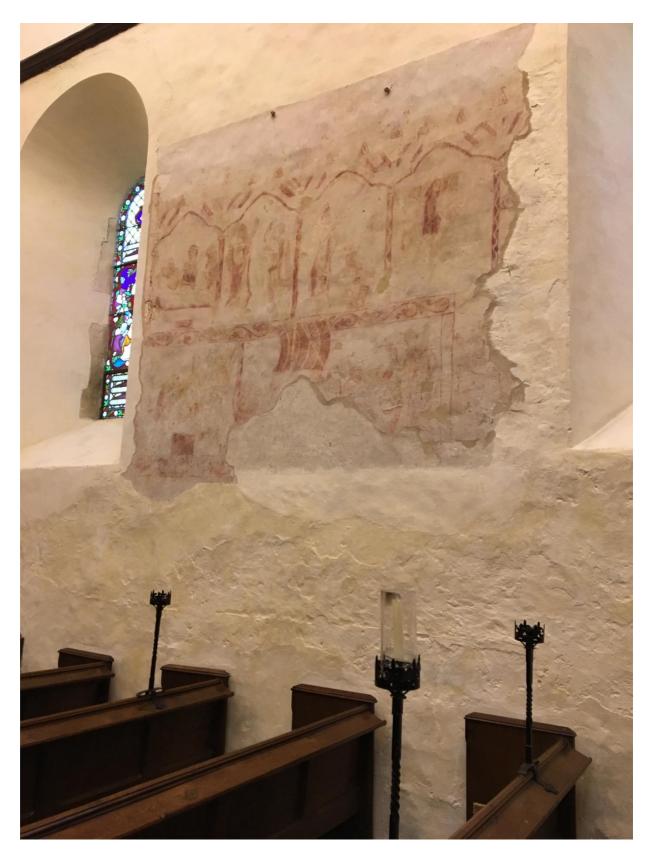


Figure 2.4: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle (upper tier) with Miracles of St Nicholas (lower tier to the left and centre) and a fragment of Picture 1 of the St Margaret Cycle (on the right). Wall paintings, c.1250-1275.

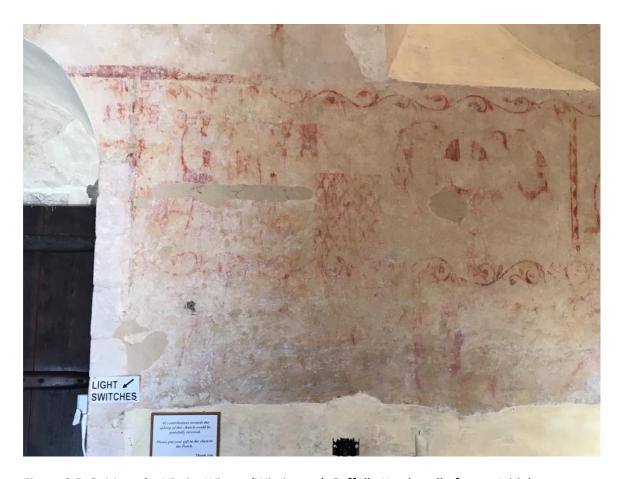


Figure 2.5: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. North wall of nave. Initial scenes from the Passion Cycle.

Figure 2.6a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy of Christ Cycle. Detail: Nativity. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 179b.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.6b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy of Christ Cycle. Detail: Dream of the Magi. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 181.)

Figure 2.7a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: Torture scene. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 186, Above, 2.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.7b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Nicholas Miracle of the Cup. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 185a.)



Figure 2.8: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave looking east through the chancel arch.



Figure 2.9a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Exterior. South door. (Drawing found in Revd. Charles Birch, *A Brief Account of the Parish Church of Wiston*, (publication place and date unknown, 1832?), p. 1a(?).)

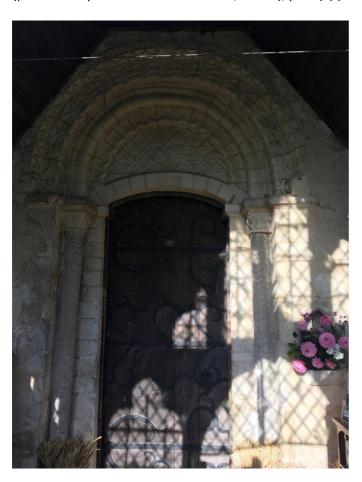


Figure 2.9b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Exterior. South door. 12thC.

Figure 2.10: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Diagram showing layout of St Margaret Cycle along the south wall of the nave. (Sketches by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186.)



Figure 2.11: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail showing vertical division of scenes.



Figure 2.12: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail showing vine scroll border.



Figure 2.13a: St Mary the Virgin,
Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle.
Detail: Margaret tending sheep (Picture 1).
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram,
English Medieval Wall Painting:
The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186, Above, 1.)

Figure 2.13b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle.
Detail: Margaret tending sheep.
St Nicholas Miracle of the Cup on the left of the border.



Figure 2.14a: St Margaret, East Wellow, Hants. North wall of nave. St Margaret spinning with a distaff on the right with large figure of St Christopher on the left. Wall paintings, 14thC.



Figure 2.14b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. Upper and middle tiers of St Margaret Cycle. St Margaret spinning with a distaff (top left-hand corner). Wall paintings, 14thC.

Figure 2.15a: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 307v. England, 1310-20.

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.15b: The Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: St Margaret Tending Sheep and Spinning. England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 208.)

Figure 2.16a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Nicholas, Miracle of the Three Clerks.
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 185b.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.16b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. North wall of nave. St Francis and the Birds. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting:
The Thirteenth Century, Plate 190.)



Figure 2.17a: St Mary the Virgin, Battle, Sussex. St Margaret Cycle (13th-14thC). Picture 17. (Sketch by Madeleine Katkov in Rouse, 'Wall Paintings in St Mary's Church', p. 154.)

Figure 2.17b: The Blessed Virgin Mary and St Leodegarius, Ashby St Ledgers, Northants. South aisle south wall. St Margaret Hung up by the Hair and Tortured. Her hair is piled on top of her head and the wooden post to which it is tied can just be seen above (top right). Wall painting, 14thC.



Figure 2.17c: All Saints, Little Kimble, Bucks. North wall of nave. Detail from the St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Above the window to the left, Margaret's hair can be seen wrapped wooden post while she is tortured.



Figure 2.18a: St Mary the Virgin,
Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle.
Detail: Torture Scene. (Picture 5).
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram
in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting:
The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186, Above, 2.)

Figure 2.18b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Margaret
Cycle. Detail: Torture Scene.
(Picture 5.)

Figure 2.19: St Botolph, Limpenhoe, Norfolk (demolished). North wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: St Margaret Thrown Head First into a Vessel of Water (on the left). (Watercolour sketch by C. J. Winter, copied by Monica Bardswell. Victoria & Albert Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and Department of Paintings, Accessions, 1932. London: HMSO, 1933 Museum number: E.119-1932.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.20: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 311r. England, 1310-20.

Figure 2.21: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: Margaret with Executioner (Picture 6). (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting:*The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186, Above, 3.)



Figure 2.22a: All Saints, Little Kimble, Bucks. North wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Detail: St Margaret is Executed.

Figure 2.22b: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 313r. England, 1310-20.

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.22c: Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. St Margaret Cycle. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 206.) Detail: Water Torture (left) and St Margaret's Execution (right). England, c.1330-40.

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.23: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Bystanders. (Picture 7). (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186, Below, 1.)

Figure 2.24: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston, Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: St Margaret's final prayer. (Picture 8.) (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 186, Below, 2.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.25: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 312v. England, 1310-20.



Figure 2.26: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle (upper tier of paintings). St Nicholas, Miracle of the Three Clerks (lower tier, left) and St Nicholas, Miracle of the Cup (lower tier, middle) as well as the first of the St Margaret Cycle scenes (lower tier right).

Figure 2.27a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. St Nicholas, Miracle of the Three Clerks. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 185b.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.27b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Nicholas, Miracle of the Cup. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 185a.)



Figure 2.28: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. St Nicholas, Miracle of the Cup (left) and first scene of St Margaret Cycle (right).



Figure 2.29a: St Nicholas, Brighton, Sussex. Font. St Nicholas, Miracle of Diana and the Mediacon.

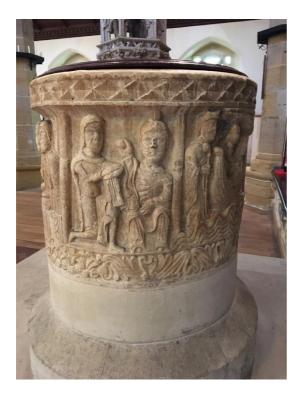


Figure 2.29b: St Nicholas, Brighton, Sussex. Font. St Nicholas, unidentified miracle.



Figure 2.29c: St Nicholas, Brighton, Sussex. Font. Baptism of Christ.



Figure 2.29d: St Nicholas, Brighton, Sussex. Font. The Last Supper.

Figure 2.30: Detail of font originally in Cottam Church, now housed in St Peter's, Langtoft, Yorkshire. (Photo taken from 'Langtoft: St Peter's', *Great English Churches* [website], <a href="http://www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk/html/langtoft.html">http://www.greatenglishchurches.co.uk/html/langtoft.html</a> (accessed 12 January 2021).)

Figure 2.31a: Winchester Cathedral. Detail of font. Tournai, c.1150. The Miracle of St Nicholas and the Three Clerks. (Photo taken from *Winchester Cathedral*, [website], <a href="https://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/gallery/tournai-marble-font/">https://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/gallery/tournai-marble-font/</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.31b: Winchester Cathedral. Detail of font. Tournai, c.1150. St Nicholas Miracle of the Cup. (Photo taken from *Winchester Cathedral*, [website], <a href="https://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/gallery/tournai-marble-font/">https://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/gallery/tournai-marble-font/</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

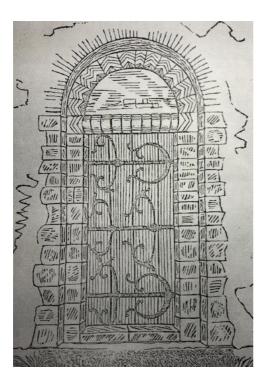


Figure 2.32: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Exterior. North door. (Drawing found in Revd. Charles Birch, *A Brief Account of the Parish Church of Wiston*, (publication place and date unknown, 1832?), p. 7a(?).)

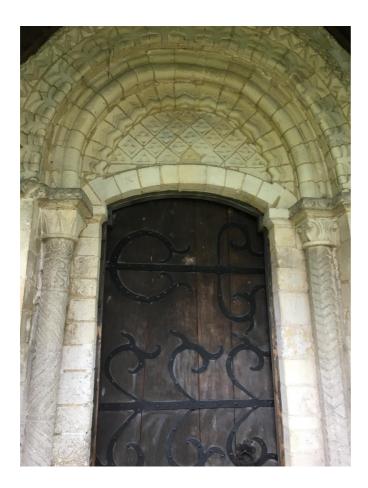


Figure 2.33: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Exterior. South door.



Figure 2.34: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave looking east showing chancel arch.



Figure 2.35: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Chancel arch. Detail of decoration on south nook shaft.

Figure 2.36: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave looking west. Showing position of font and south door. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Wissington, Suffolk', *CRSBI* [website], <a href="https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-">https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/view-</a>

item?key=SXsiUCl6eyJ2YWx1ZSl6Indpc3Npbmd0b24iLCJvcGVyYXRvcil6MSwiZnV6enlQcmV maXhMZW5ndGgiOjMsImZ1enp5TWluU2ltaWxhcml0eSl6MC41LCJtYXhTdWdnZXN0aW9u cyl6NSwiYWx3YXlzU3VnZ2VzdCl6bnVsbH0slkYiOiJleUowSWpwYk5sMTkifQ&WINID=16096 92440501# Q2owxSStJYAAAF2ySVZMA/8943 (accessed 04 January 2021.)



Figure 2.37a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave south wall. Infancy Cycle on upper tier of paintings, St Nicholas and St Margaret paintings on lower tier.



Figure 2.37b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. Nave south wall, south door. Infancy Cycle on upper tier of paintings, St Margaret paintings on lower tier.

Figure 2.38: St Mary, West Chiltington, Sussex. Nave north wall. Infancy Cycle on upper tier of paintings. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 157.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle.
Detail: Annunciation
(only the Angel Gabriel remains).
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 177b.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Nativity. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 179b.)

Figure 2.39c: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Annunciation to the Shepherds. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 178.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39d: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Adoration of the Shepherds. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 179a.)

Figure 2.39e: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Adoration of the Magi. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 180.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39f: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Dream of the Magi. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 181.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39g: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle.
Detail: Flight into Egypt.
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 182a.)

Figure 2.39h: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle. Detail: Herod Orders the Massacre of the Innocents. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 182b.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.39i: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle.
Detail: Presentation in the Temple.
(Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century, Plate 184.)

Figure 2.39j: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk.
South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle.
Detail: Christ Disputing with the
Doctors. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in
Tristram, English Medieval Wall
Painting: The Thirteenth Century,
Plate 184.)

Figure 2.40a: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. North wall of nave. Passion Cycle of Christ. Initial scenes, starting at the top left. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 188.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 2.40b: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. North wall of nave. Passion Cycle of Christ. Final scenes. (Sketch by Ernest Tristram in Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Plate 189.)



Figure 2.41: St Mary the Virgin, Wiston (Wissington), Suffolk. South wall of nave. Infancy Cycle (upper tier extending above the door.)

# Chapter 3



Figure 3.1: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Exterior. South wall and porch.

Figure 3.2: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Plan of church showing building campaigns. (Plan taken from 'Parishes: Charlwood', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1911), pp. 182-189. *British History Online*, [website], http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3/pp182-189 (accessed 10 January 2021).)



Figure 3.3a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Exterior view of the window in the south wall of the church which separates the Margaret Cycle from the Miracle of the Three Clerks and the Three Living and Three Dead. 14thC.



Figure 3.3b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Interior view of the window in the south wall of the church which separates the Margaret Cycle from the Miracle of the Three Clerks and the Three Living and Three Dead. 14thC.



Figure 3.4a: Westminster Abbey: examples of triforium arches. (Photo credit: Alan Williams. Photo taken from the 'Westminster Abbey Triforium Project'. *RIBA Journal*, [website],

Figure 3.4b: Canterbury Cathedral, choir screens, north side.

https://www.ribaj.com/buildings/westminster-abbey-triforium-project-ptolemy-dean-architects-for-the-dean-and-chapter-of-westminster-abbey) (accessed 7 January 2021).



Figure 3.5a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Fifteenth-century, wooden screen that originally marked the entrance to the Saunders' family chantry chapel.



Figure 3.5b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Fifteenth-century, wooden screen (detail).

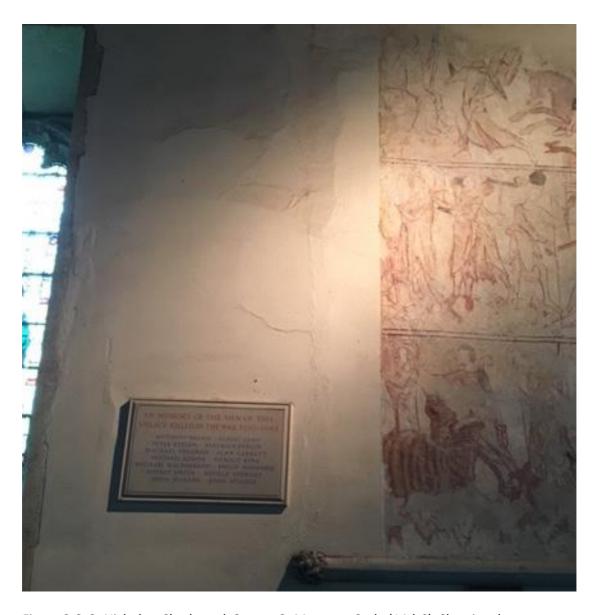


Figure 3.6: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Showing damage to the left-hand side of the paintings.



Figure 3.7: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Overview showing horizontal divisions of the tiers of painting.



Figure 3.8a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier of paintings: showing division of scenes – figures turning away from each other – and confrontation with Olibrius (far left). (See also artist's copy below.)

Figure 3.8b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.

Detail. Middle tier of paintings: showing division of scenes – figures turning away from each other – and confrontation with Olibrius (left). (Detail from copy of the Margaret Cycle by Ann Worrall found in the church.)



Figure 3.9a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Lower tier of paintings: showing division of scenes – figures turning away from each other. (See also artist's copy below.)

Figure 3.9b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.

Detail. Lower tier of paintings: showing division of scenes – figures turning away from each other. (Detail from copy of the Margaret Cycle by Ann Worrall found in the church.)

Figure 3.10: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxford. Chancel, south wall. Life and Death of the Virgin. Detail of paintings showing lack of vertical framing devices.

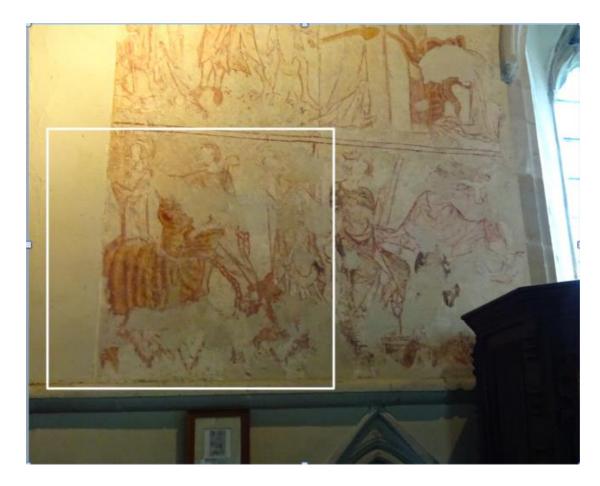


Figure 3.11a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Lower tier of paintings: showing Margaret emerging from the dragon and being tortured (left). (See also artist's copy below.)

Figure 3.11b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.

Detail. Lower tier of paintings: showing Margaret emerging from the dragon and being tortured (left). (Detail from copy of the Margaret Cycle by Ann Worrall found in the church.)

Figure 3.12: The Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. H. 212cm; W. 352cm. St Margaret Cycle (lower tier, left) and St Katherine Cycle (lower tier, centre and right). England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, pp. 206-07.)



Figure 3.13a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.

Middle tier: Margaret being forced into prison by a man wielding an axe.

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.13b: The Pienza Cope.
Pienza, Palazzo Borgia
Museo Diocesano.
St Margaret Cycle. Detail: showing
Margaret being tortured and
forced into prison (left)
and emerging from dragon (right).
England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken
from Browne et al., Exhibition
Catalogue, English Medieval
Embroidery, p. 206.)



Figure 3.14a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier: Confrontation scene between Margaret and Olibrius (figure now destroyed) with torturer wielding weapon behind the saint's back.

Figure 3.14b: The Pienza Cope. Pienza, Palazzo Borgia, Museo Diocesano. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: showing confrontation scene between Margaret and Olibrius. Margaret is also being tortured. England, c.1330-40. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, *English Medieval Embroidery*, p. 206.)

Figure 3.15: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Sketch by W. Burgess made c.1858. (Taken from Burges and Way, 'Mural Paintings in Charlwood Church', image not paginated.)

Figure 3.16: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Overview of the paintings on the south wall of the church. Copy of by Ann Worrall (found in the church).

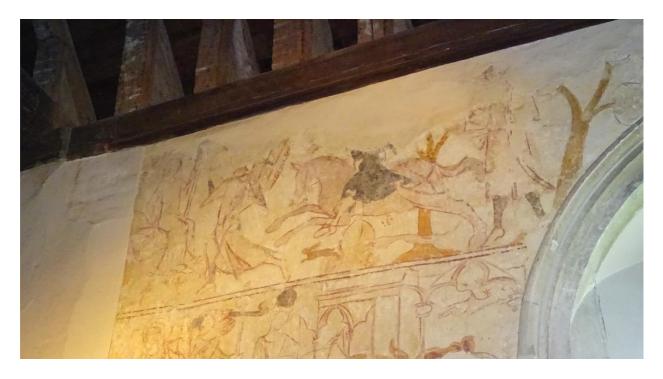


Figure 3.17: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Scene 1 (upper tier, right and centre). Scene 2 (upper tier, left).

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.18a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: showing steward sounding a horn (upper tier). Sketch by W. Burgess, c.1858. (Taken from Burges and Way, 'Mural Paintings in Charlwood Church', image not paginated.) Figure 3.18b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: showing steward sounding a horn (upper tier). (Copy by Ann Worrall.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.19a: The Bologna Cope. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, mus. no. 2024. Passion of Christ. Detail: The Harrowing of Hell. England, 1310-20. (Photo taken from Browne et al., Exhibition Catalogue, English Medieval Embroidery, p. 179).

Figure 3.19b: London, British Library, (the 'Holkham Bible Picture Book'), Add. MS 47682, fol. 34r.
The Harrowing of Hell.
England, c. 1327-1335.

Figure 3.20: London, British Library, Royal MS 12 F XIII, fol. 19r. South-eastern England (Rochester?), c.1230-14th century.

Figure 3.21: Queen Mary Psalter, London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 116r. England, 1310-20.

Figure 3.22a: Potterne font with inscription around the rim. (Potterne 1 (S. face) Plate: 476. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham. Photographer: D. J. Craig.)

## [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.22b: Potterne font. Detail: showing inscription around rim. (Potterne 1, inscription detail i (1:4) Plate: 473. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham. Photographer: D. J. Craig.)

Figure 3.23: St Botolph, Limpenhoe, Norfolk (demolished). North wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: St Margaret Offered Ring by Olibrius or his Steward (on the left). (Watercolour sketch by C. J. Winter, copied by Monica Bardswell. Victoria & Albert Museum Department of Prints and Drawings and Department of Paintings, Accessions, 1932. London: HMSO, 1933 Museum number: E.119-1932.)



Figure 3.24: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: confrontation between Margaret and Olibrius (figure now destroyed), while Margaret is being tortured (Scene 3).

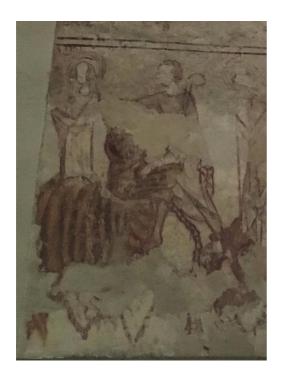


Figure 3.25: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Detail: Margaret is tortured when she has emerged from the dragon.



Figure 3.26a: All Saints, Little Kimble, Bucks. North wall of nave. St Margaret Cycle. 14thC. Detail: St Margaret is tortured.



Figure 3.26b: St Andrew, Stoke Dry, Rutland. South wall of chantry chapel, window jamb (right-hand side). St Margaret is tortured (13thC).



Figure 3.26c: The Blessed Virgin Mary and St Leodegarius, Ashby St Ledgers, Northants. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret is tortured (14thC).



Figure 3.26d: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret Cycle, stained-glass panels. 15thC. Detail: St Margaret is tortured with boiling oil and water.



Figure 3.27a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier: Margaret forced into prison by a man wielding an axe.



Figure 3.28a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier: Margaret Swallowed by the dragon.

Figure 3.27b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier: Margaret forced into prison by a man wielding an axe. (Copy by Ann Worrall.)

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.28b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier: Margaret swallowed by the dragon. (Copy by Ann Worrall.)

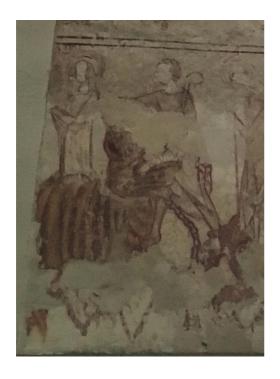


Figure 3.29a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Lower tier: Margaret emerges from the dragon and is tortured.



Figure 3.30a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. Lower tier: Margaret stands on the dragon and impales it.

Figure 3.29b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.
Lower tier: Margaret emerges from the dragon and is tortured.
(Copy by Ann Worrall.)

Figure 3.30b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle.
Lower tier: Margaret stands on the dragon and impales it.
(Copy by Ann Worrall.)



Figure 3.31a: St Peter ad Vincula, South Newington, Oxfordshire. North aisle, east wall, window jamb: Margaret stands on the dragon and impales it (c.1330). (Photo by Janet Walls.)



Figure 3.31b: St Mary, Thornham Parva, Suffolk. Thornham Parva Retable.
Panel painting. England, c.1330-1340.
Detail: Margaret stands on the dragon and impales it.

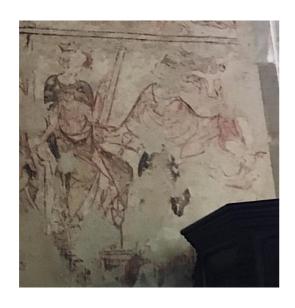


Figure 3.32a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. St Margaret Cycle. St Margaret is executed.

Figure 3.32b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, St Margaret Cycle. St Margaret is executed. (Copy by Ann Worrall.)



Figure 3.33a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Nicholas Miracle of the Three Clerks (14thC).

Figure 3.33b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Nicholas Miracle of the Three Clerks (upper tier) and Three Living and Three Dead (lower tier). (Copy by Ann Worrall.)



Figure 3.34: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Nicholas Miracle of the Three Clerks (upper tier) and Three Living and Three Dead (lower tier). 14thC.

Figure 3.35: London, British Library, Arundel MS 83, fol. 127v. The Three Living and Three Dead. England, East Anglia, c.1308-c.1340.



Figure 3.36: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. *Piscina* under St Margaret Cycle (14thC).



Figure 3.37: St Mary the Virgin, Wendens Ambo, Essex. St Margaret Cycle (14thC). Showing striped ground below figures.

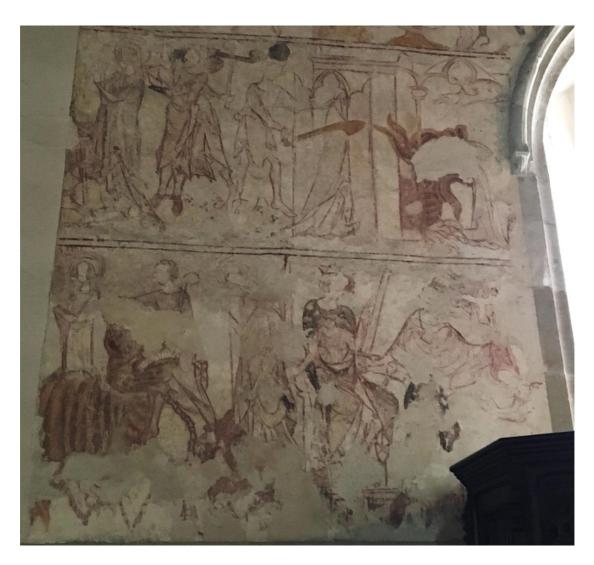


Figure 3.38: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret Cycle. Middle and lower tiers showing figures in relation to one another.



Figure 3.39a: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret Cycle. Upper tier: showing size of figures in relation to one another.

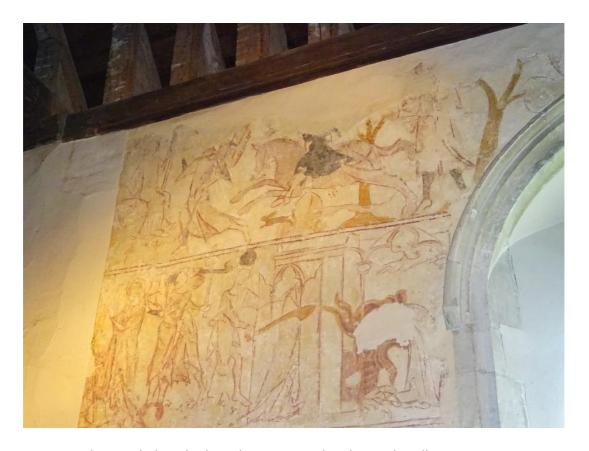


Figure 3.39b: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall.

St Margaret Cycle. Upper and middle tiers: showing size of figures in relation to one another.



Figure 3.40: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret Cycle. Lower tier, detail: showing hand of Olibrius.

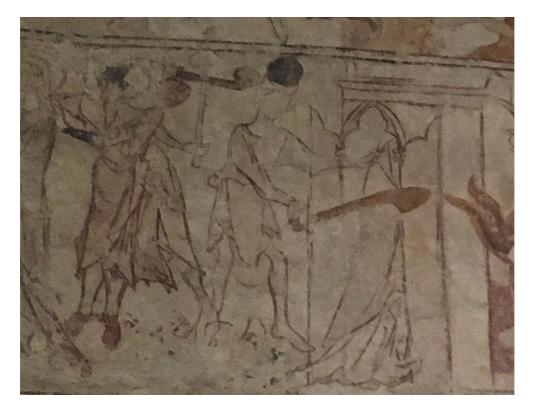


Figure 3.41: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. South aisle, south wall. St Margaret Cycle. Middle tier, detail: showing feet of torturers.

Figure 3.42a: Westminster Abbey, London. St Faith's Chapel, east wall. Wall painting of St Faith, c.1290-1310. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 95.)

Figure 3.42b: Westminster Abbey, London. *Sedilia*. Panel painting of Henry III(?) c.1290-1310. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 28.)

Figure 3.43: Queen Mary Psalter, British Library, Royal MS B 2 VII, f. 308. Confrontation between Margaret and Olibrius.



Figure 3.44a: St Mary, Brent Eleigh, Suffolk. Retable: mural of Crucifixion with the Virgin (left) and St John the Evangelist (right). 14thC.



Figure 3.44b: St Mary, Brent Eleigh, Suffolk. Retable: mural, detail of St John the Evangelist. 14thC.

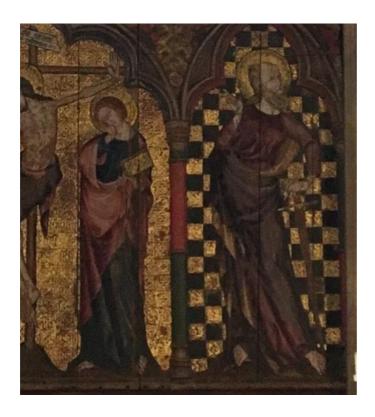


Figure 3.45: Thornham Parva Retable. Panel painting, England. c.1330-1340. Detail: part of Crucifixion with St John the Evangelist (left) and St Paul (right).

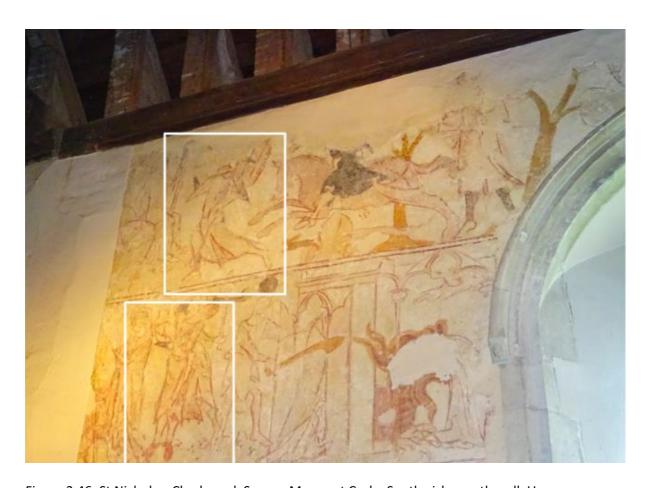


Figure 3.46: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Margaret Cycle. South aisle, south wall. Upper and middle tiers: showing swing of drapery.



Figure 3.47: St Peter ad Vincula, South Newington, Oxford. North aisle, north wall. The Virgin and Christ Child. Wall painting, c.1330.



Figure 3.48: St Peter ad Vincula, South Newington, Oxford. North aisle, north wall. The Beheading of Thomas of Lancaster. Wall painting, c.1330.

Figure 3.49a: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, north wall. The Presentation in the Temple. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 29.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.49b: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, south wall. Virgin (centre), the Apostles (left), and the Three Virgins, Two Widows and Lady Baretin (right). Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 63.)

Figure 3.49c: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, south wall. Funeral Procession of the Virgin. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 67.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 3.50: St Mary, Chalgrove, Oxfordshire. Chancel, north wall. Virgin and Christ Child in Jesse Tree. Wall painting, c.1350. (Photo taken from R. W. Heath-Whyte, *An Illustrated Guide to the Medieval Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin at Chalgrove in the County of Oxfordshire*, (Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, 2016), p. 19.)

Figure 3.51: St Nicholas, Charlwood, Surrey. Plan of church. Showing the position of the font and paintings in the south aisle. Margaret cycle shown in red. Nicholas miracle and the Three Living and Three Dead shown in green. (Plan taken from 'Parishes: Charlwood', in *A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3*, ed. H. E. Malden (London, 1911), pp. 182-189. *British History Online*, [website], http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3/pp182-189 (accessed 10 January 2021), with my additions.)

# Chapter 4



Figure 4.1: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. Exterior. North wall. (Photo  $\ \$  Evelyn Simak.)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.2a: St Mary, North Tuddenham, Norfolk. West window. St Margaret Norfolk. is offered a ring by Olibrius's steward. c.1420–1430. (Photo taken from 'North Tuddenham' Norfolk Stained Glass, [website], http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/North\_Tuddenham/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

Figure 4.2b: St Mary, North Tuddenham, West window. Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. c.1420–1430. (Photo taken from 'North Tuddenham' Norfolk Stained Glass, [website], http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/North\_Tuddenham/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

Figure 4.3: St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk. East window. Detail: two scenes from the Life of St Margaret. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'St Peter Mancroft', *Norfolk Stained Glass*, [website], http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/St\_Peter\_Mancroft/home.shtm (accessed 18 December 2021).)

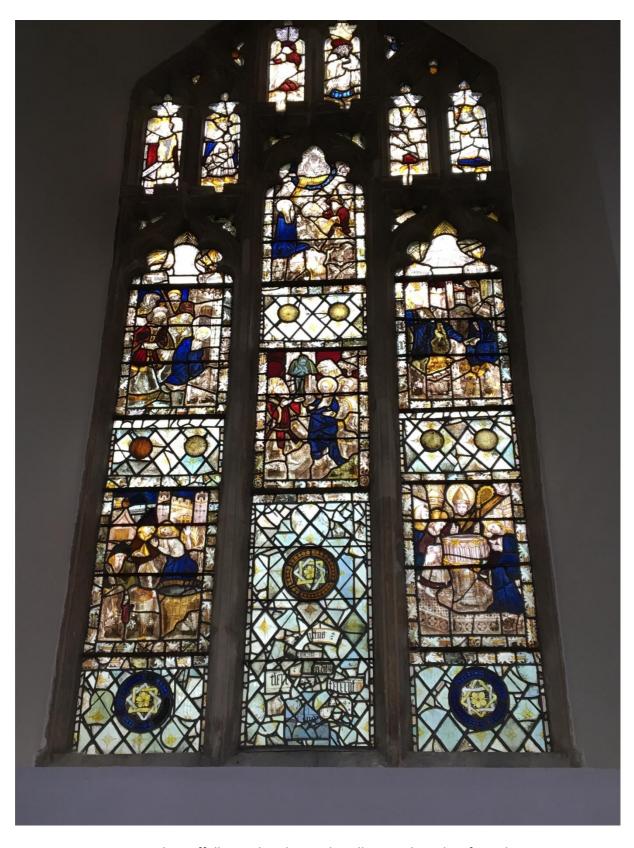


Figure 4.4: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle, south wall, second window from the east. Overview of St Margaret's Life. 15thC.

[IMAGE REDACTED] Figure 4.5a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel A: St Margaret encounters Olibrius. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011764, CVMA [website], https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11764&sortField <u>=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=4</u>

(accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel B: St Margaret is put in prison. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011766, *CVMA* [website], https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11766&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=6 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel C: Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011765, *CVMA* [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&gridView=false&sortField=WIND OW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&photodataKey=11765&recPosition=25&recordView=IMAGE (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5d: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel D: St Margaret encounters the dragon and second demon. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011754, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11754&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=1 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5e: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel E: St Margaret is tortured with boiling oil and water. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011767, *CVMA* [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11767&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=7 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.5f: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel F: St Margaret and St Nicholas attend the baptism of an infant. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011763, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11763&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=3 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.6: Westminster Abbey. The high altar and Cosmati pavement. (Photo taken from Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey*, (London, 2008), p. 22.)

Figure 4.7a: London, British Library, Royal MS 19 B XVII, fol. 14r (St Nicholas), *British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, [website], <a href="https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8527">https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8527</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).

# [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.7b: London, British Library, Royal MS 20 D VI, fol. 144r (St Nicholas), *British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, [website], https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=4272 9 (accessed 15 January 2021).

Figure 4.8: detail from *Consecration of St Nicholas and miracle of child in the bath*. Copy of lost painting of the late fourteenth century from Ingham, Norfolk by John Carter, 1787. (National Monuments Record.) (Photo: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.)

Figure 4.9a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Ministering to the Thirsty. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011756, *CVMA* [website], <a href="https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode</a>=COUNTY&photodataKey=11756&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=14 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.9b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Feeding the Hungry. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011757, CVMA [website], <a href="https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11757&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=15">https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11757&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=15</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.9c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Remnants of Tree of Jesse[?] . (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011758, CVMA [website], https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11758&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=16 (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.10a: St Margaret of Antioch killing the dragon. St Peter, Ketteringham, Norfolk. East window, tracery light. 15thC. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.10b: St Katherine of Alexandria holding wheel. St Peter, Ketteringham, Norfolk. East window, tracery light. 15thC. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Ketteringham/home.shtm</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.10c: St Margaret of Antioch, Cley-next-the-Sea, Norfolk. South aisle, south window. Tracery lights. 15thC. Detail (from left to right): Saints Faith, Agatha and Cecilia. (Photo taken from *Norfolk Stained Glass* [website], <a href="http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Cley/home.shtm#">http://www.norfolkstainedglass.org/Cley/home.shtm#</a> (accessed 15 January 2021).)

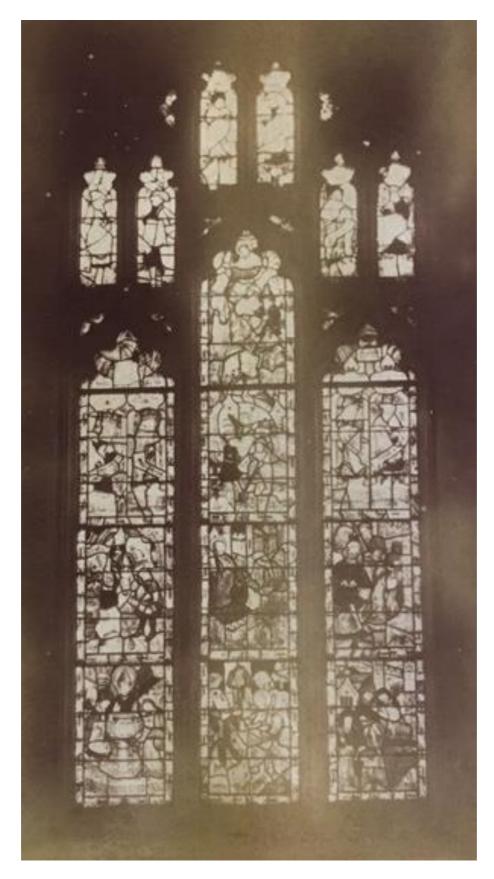


Figure 4.11: Photo of the St Margaret panels. Second window from the east, south aisle, south wall. From a book compiled by George Tidmarsh, Churchwarden at St Mary, Combs, 1885-1898, who lived in the parish between 1865 and 1912. Photo taken some time before 1912.

Figure 4.12a (left): St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel C: Confrontation between St Margaret and Olibrius. Detail of Margaret's face. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011765, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&gridView=false&sortField=WIND OW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&photodataKey=11765&recPosition=25&recordView=IMAGE (accessed 15 January 2021).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.12b (right): St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Panel D: St Margaret encounters the dragon and second demon. Detail of Margaret's face. (Photo taken from 'St Mary, Combs, Suffolk', inv. no. 011754, CVMA [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=11754&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=1 (accessed 15 January 2021).)



Figure 4.13a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle and Margaret panels from the nave.



Figure 4.13b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle and Margaret panels from the nave.



Figure 4.14: St Neot's Church, St Neot, Cornwall.

3rd window of the north aisle (The Wives Window). Detail.



Figure 4.15a: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels. Detail: Panel F, showing rod-and-leaf borders.



Figure 4.15b: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels. Detail: Panel C, showing stylized trees (top right) and flowers or shrubs (bottom right).



Figure 4.15c: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels. Detail: Panel F, showing father or godfather's ermine collar.



Figure 4.15d: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. South aisle. Margaret panels. Detail: Panel C, showing pebbled dais.

Figure 4.16a: St Nicholas, Denston, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: <a href="http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/denston.htm">http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/denston.htm</a> (accessed 20 December 2020).)

Figure 4.16b: All Saints, Great Glemham, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/gglemham.html (accessed 20 December 2020).)

#### [IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 4.16c: St Mary, Woodbridge, Suffolk. Detail of font showing Baptism. The godmother figure is next to the celebrant on the left. (Photo © Simon Knott taken from *Suffolk Churches*, [website]: http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/woodbridgemary.html (accessed 20 December 2020).)

Figure 4.17: *Retable of Bonifacio Ferrer,* Valencia Museum of Fine Arts, Spain. 1396-98. Detail: showing the baptism of an infant (celebrant on the left and godparent on the right). (Photo © Alamy: internet resource.)



Figure 4.18a: St Helen, Ranworth, Norfolk. Wooden painted screen before the chancel. 15thC. Detail: St Margaret impaling the dragon.

Figure 4.18b: All Saints, Filby, Norfolk. Wooden painted screen before the chancel. 15thC. Detail: St Paul (left) and St Margaret impaling the dragon (right). (Photo © Simon Knott from the *Norfolk Churches,* [website], http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/filby/filby.htm (accessed 15 January 2021).)

Figure 4.18c: Wesenham St Peter, Norfolk. Nave, north aisle, north window, 2nd from east. St Margaret impaling the dragon. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'Wesenham St Peter, Norfolk', inv. no. 017147, CVMA, [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=17147&sortField =WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=3 (accessed 19 December 2020).

Figure 4.18d: St Peter and St Paul, Salle, Norfolk. Chancel, south window, tracery panel D1 (sII). St Margaret impaling the dragon. 15thC. (Photo taken from 'Sts Peter and Paul, Salle, Norfolk', inv. no. 009717, CVMA, [website],

https://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=17147&sortField=WINDOW\_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=3 (accessed 19 December 2020).



Figure 4.19: St Mary, Combs, Suffolk. Nave looking south east with 15thC screen (top left).

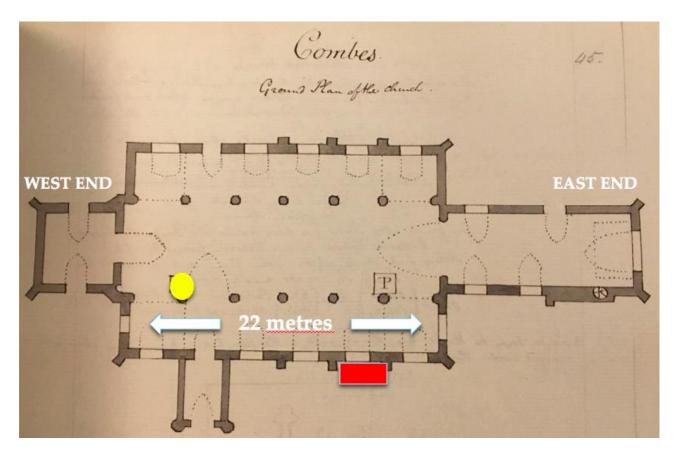


Figure 4.20: David Elisha Davy, Plan of St Mary, Combs, Suffolk made in 1827 with my annotations added. (See David Elisha Davy, 'A Parochial History of Suffolk', London, British Library, Additional MS 19106, fol. 45r.)

# Chapter 5, Part One

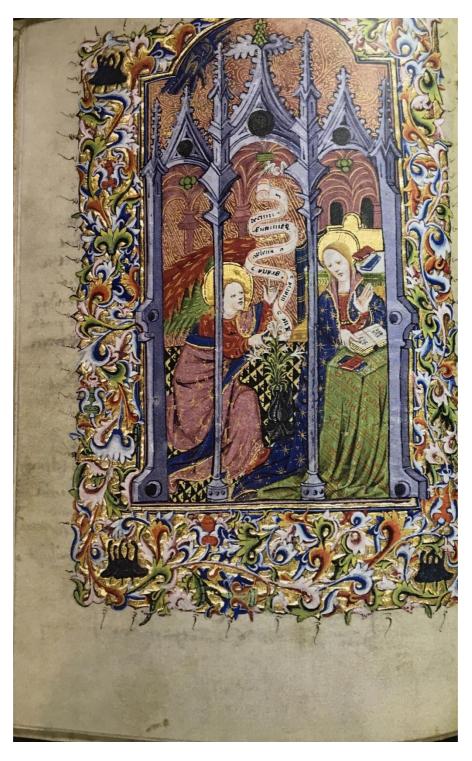


Figure 5.1a: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 7r. The Annunciation. 15thC.



Figure 5.1b: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 122r. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. 15thC.

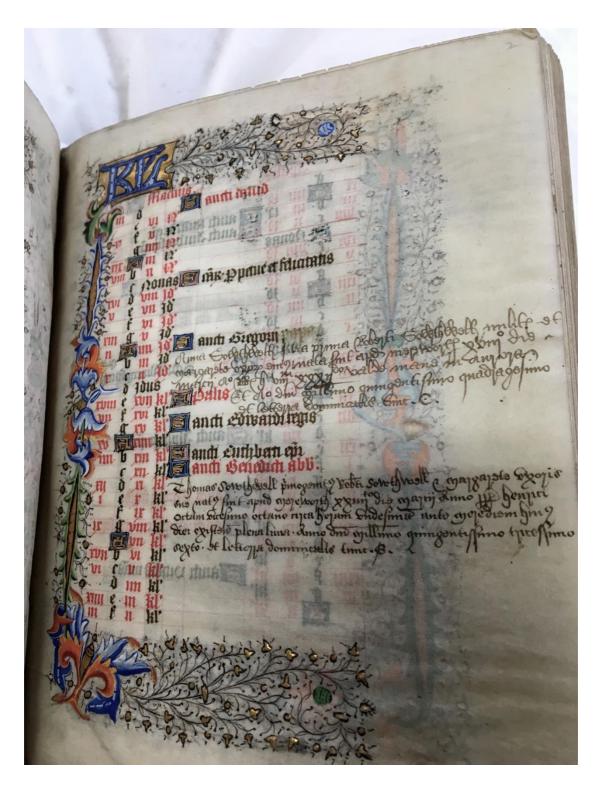


Figure 5.2: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 2r. 15thC. Calendar page for March showing inscriptions recording the births of Anna Southwell, eldest daughter of Margaret Neville and Robert Southwell (born 18 March 1540) and below, the birth of Thomas Southwell, firstborn son of Margaret Neville and Robert Southwell (born 24 March 1537).

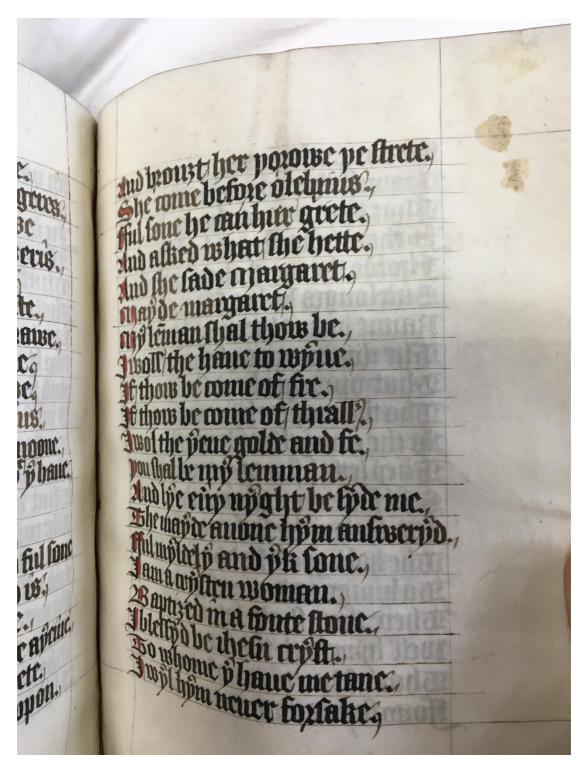


Figure 5.3: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 171r. 15thC. Showing ruling of folio.

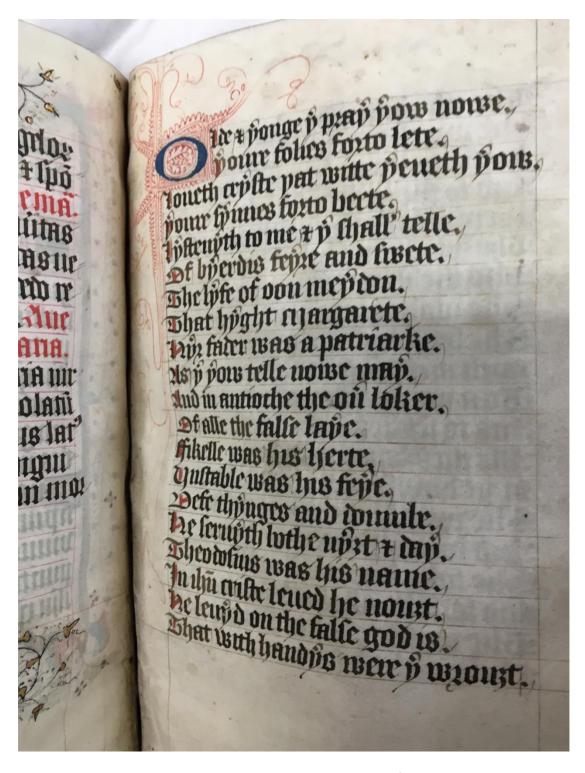


Figure 5.4: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 167r. 15thC.

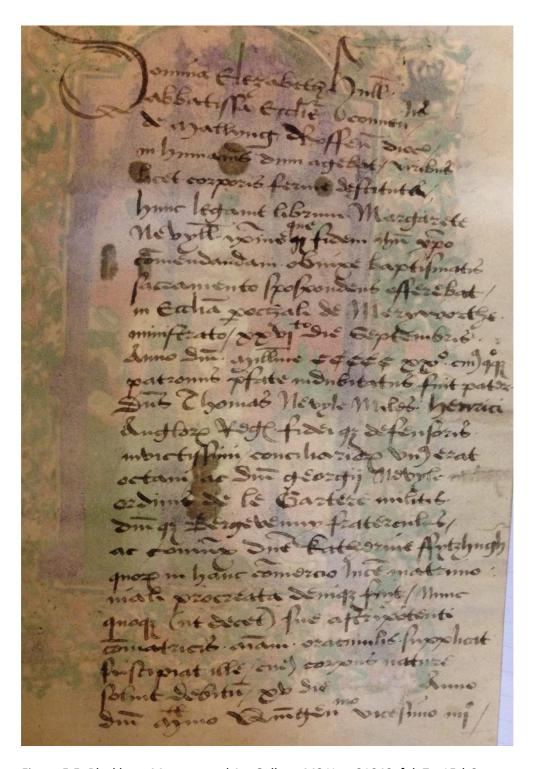


Figure 5.5: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, MS Hart 21040, fol. 7r. 15thC.

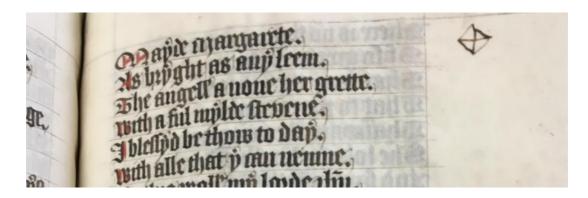


Figure 5.6a: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 176r.

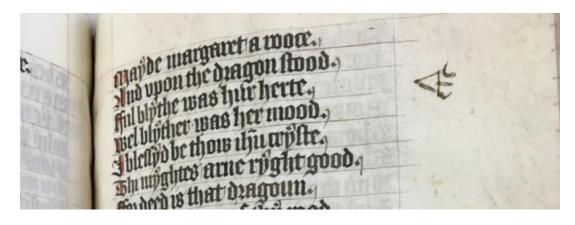


Figure 5.6b: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 175r.

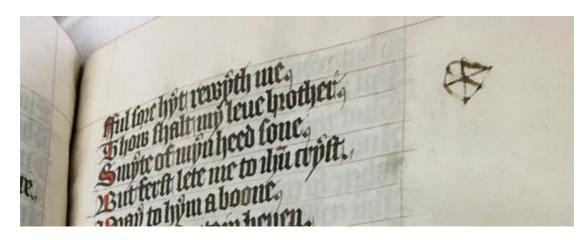


Figure 5.6c: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 21040, fol. 182r.

#### Chapter 5, Part Two



Figure 5.7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 5r: showing smaller script for the antiphon (in the centre).



Figure 5.8: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 2v: showing a two-line decorated capital (for 'Uirginis') and an example of a foliate border.

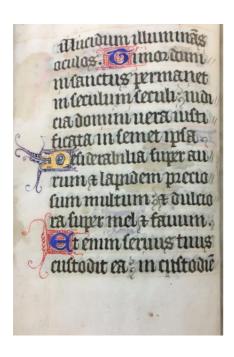


Figure 5.9: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 6v: showing decorated capitals.

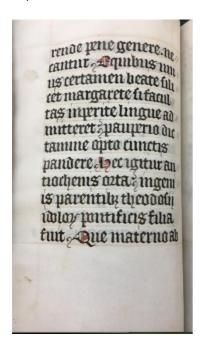


Figure 5.10: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 11v: showing capitals of the text of Lesson 1 picked out in red.



Figure 5.11a: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 52r: showing royal arms and decorated border.



Figure 5.11b: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 31, fol. 66r: showing Tiptoft arms and decorated border cut away.

Figure 5.12: Tiptoft Effigies, Ely Cathedral. (Found in Matthew Ward, 'The tomb of "The Butcher"? The Tiptoft monument in the presbytery of Ely Cathedral', *Church Monuments*, Journal of the Church Monuments Society, Vol. XXVII, (2012), pp. 22-37, printed on p. 31.)

[IMAGE REDACTED]

Figure 5.13: engraved gold ring showing St Margaret impaling the dragon. Made in England. 15thC. (V&A Museum number M238-1962. Image taken from the V&A website <a href="http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121597/ring-unknown/">http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O121597/ring-unknown/</a> (accessed 22 December 2020).)