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The Effect of Location on the Function of the Genealogy of Christ Stained Glass Series of Canterbury Cathedral

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B.A., Oberlin College, 2014

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An abstract of
A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
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Abstract

The Effect of Location on the Function of the Genealogy of Christ Stained Glass Series of Canterbury Cathedral
By Kelin T. Michael

This thesis explores the role of location in the reception of the twelfth-century genealogy of Christ stained glass series at Canterbury Cathedral. In order to understand how location affected, and continues to affect, the reading of the stained glass series, my methodological approach includes an examination of historical, theological, and material contexts related to the medieval glazing programs at Canterbury. By exploring the twelfth-century genealogical series through these different lenses, motivations for the series' creation and displacement arise. The evolving relationship between the religious and secular authorities, the theology of Anselm of Canterbury, and the implications of the use of glass as a precious material were all main instigators in both of these instances. In addition, this thesis explores how these contexts continue to inform the treatment of series in the modern age, an age where restoration and conservation have become central in retaining the series' original contexts. By using the twelfth-century genealogical series at Canterbury as a case study, I attempt to determine the best course of action when conserving and restoring medieval glazing programs, both physically and contextually. After considering the multitude of contexts that inform the reception of the genealogy of Christ stained glass series at Canterbury Cathedral, I conclude that the avenues taken by nineteenth- and twentieth-century conservators such as George Austin Jr. and Samuel Caldwell Jr. effectively preserve the complex relationships created by the creation and displacement of the genealogical series. I then conclude that it is this type of holistic conservation that should be undertaken to preserve not only the physical glass, but the glass' context as well.

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The copious amount of stained glass is one of the defining features of the decorative program at Canterbury Cathedral. After a fire destroyed much of the eleventh-century glass in 1174, the politically and religiously charged circumstances surrounding the cathedral impacted the creation of a new glazing program. Of the several different themes that made up this twelfth-century program, one component clearly conveyed the negative relationship between the monks and the monarchy: the ancestors of Christ series (Fig. 1, N.XXV-N.II and S.II-S.XXV). The series consisted of eighty-eight genealogical windows commissioned by the monks of the cathedral. The sequence, in its original placement, began with the Creator and Adam in the westernmost point of the north choir clerestory, and ended with the Virgin and Christ in the westernmost point of the south choir clerestory.[1] In the eighteenth century, the surviving panels of this series were removed and placed within the late fourteenth-century Great West and Great South Windows, originally commissioned by the royal family. In this paper, I will argue that this shift in location is one that negates the clear program established in the twelfth century, and renegotiates the visual balance of power between church and monarchy. To accomplish this, I will establish an historical, theological, and material context for the twelfth-century placement of the series. Then, through using the genealogical series at Canterbury as a case study, I will investigate how not only physical fragility, but contextual fragility, should be considered in conservation efforts regarding medieval stained glass.

While the literature concerning the stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral is extensive, existing methodological approaches to the glazing program have left a gap in the scholarship concerning the impact of location on the reception of the glass. For example, Madeline Caviness undertakes a comprehensive study of the glazing program, Michael Camille provides an in-depth

[1] Jeffrey Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 43. Forty-three of the windows still survive. The figure of the Creator may have been destroyed due to iconoclasm.

iconographical analysis of the singular Adam panel from the genealogical series, and Carol Davidson Cragoe and Peter Kidson examine the historical events which influenced the decision-making process concerning the planning of the glazing program.[2] In drawing on methods put forth by scholars such as Caviness, Camille, Cragoe, and Kidson, this paper seeks to expand our conception of the function of glazing programs by investigating the impact of location on the meaning and reception of stained glass subjects. This new approach can then be applied to conservation efforts which seek to preserve both the physical and contextual properties of medieval glazing programs.

The Historical and Political Context

An account written in the last quarter of the twelfth century by Gervase, a monk at the cathedral, captures the pivotal events which influenced the creation of the subsequent genealogy of Christ series at Canterbury. In this account Gervase explains the details of the political climate leading up to the fire of 1174, provides what has been called an eyewitness account of the fire itself, and then describes the aftermath of the fire's destruction. Leading up to the fire of 1174, the relationship between the cathedral community and the monarchy was precarious. The murder of Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, within the walls of the cathedral in 1170 precipitated tensions. Rumors that Becket's murder was carried out under the direct order of Henry II heightened the negatively charged relationship between the cathedral and the

[2] Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).; Michael Camille, ""When Adam Delved": Laboring on the Land in English Medieval Art," in Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation, ed. by Del Sweeney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 247-276.; Carol Davidson Cragoe, "Reading and Rereading Gervase of Canterbury," in the J*ournal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 154 (2001): 40-53.; Peter Kidson, "Gervase, Becket, and William of Sens," in *Speculum*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (October 1993): 969-991.

monarchy.[3]

Becket's death left the monks of Canterbury without an officially recognized leader even though the majority of the community supported the unofficial leadership of Prior Odo. The hostile relationship between the cathedral and the monarchy intensified once again in 1173, after Becket had been canonized by Pope Alexander III, when Henry II decided to impose the leadership of Prior Richard upon the monks over Prior Odo. In their dispute, both sides sought favor from Rome and in early 1174, Richard traveled there himself to refute charges that had been brought up against him. According to Gervase, after the charges were dismissed and Richard was consecrated by the Pope in April, he returned to Canterbury on September 5th. That night, a fire broke out near the cathedral and eventually made its way to the wooden rafters of the church, setting it alight. The fire proceeded to gut the choir, which ultimately allowed the monks to design a new decorative program. Gervase then gives a detailed year by year account of this process, recording the hiring of the Frenchman William of Sens to design and rebuild the choir, and the process of finding his replacement, William the Englishman, after he suffered injuries from a fall from the scaffolding in the choir.[4]

While the amount of detail contained in Gervase's chronicling of the events is exciting for those who study Canterbury Cathedral, the completeness of his account has caused some scholars to question the factual basis of his writings. The perfect recollections and lack of any gaps in his account are what incite this skepticism. Scholars have even considered that Gervase may have been writing a few decades after the events transpired, allowing him to alter or embellish events to reflect his perception of the situation. If we believe this more recent suggestion, the amount of detail included in Gervase's writing becomes even more suspicious.

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[3] Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 109.
[4] Cragoe, "Reading and Rereading Gervase of Canterbury," 19.

How would Gervase have been able to recall events in such perfect detail?

Both Cragoe and Kidson raise doubts about the veracity of Gervase's account. As Cragoe states, "Gervase's text is everything that an architectural historian could wish for," and perhaps that is the problem.[5] She argues that although most historians and art historians agree that Gervase was writing just as the rebuilding of the cathedral was coming to an end (in the mid 1180s), discrepancies in the transcriptions and translations of Gervase's work point to a later date of composition, around 1199.[6] Cragoe suggests that the later Gervase wrote after the events he recorded, the less accurate his account should be, as his memory of the minute details of the events would gradually fade.

Kidson's theory that the fire of 1174 was the result of arson and that Gervase "was the perpetrator of a very skillful historical cover-up" offers a potential explanation for the amount of detail included in Gervase's account.[7] He claims that Gervase attempted to keep the chain of events leading up to the fire and the two stages of the rebuilding of the choir separate, even though he believes they "form a single story."[8] Kidson examines the tension between the monks, the archbishop, the pope, and the monarchy surrounding the transfer of the cathedral to a new establishment, and marks Gervase as a "spokesman" for the monks.[9] He finds it suspicious that Gervase found the need to explain, in such enormous detail, what should have been a fairly ordinary event, an event that would have been understood as "an act of God."[10] The presence of this amount of detail would be even more suspicious if Gervase was writing in the late 1190s, as

[5] Cragoe, "Reading and Rereading Gervase of Canterbury," 40.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Kidson, "Gervase, Becket, and William of Sens," 970.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 972.
[10] Ibid., 971.

Cragoe hypothesizes. Ultimately, Kidson sees the fire of 1174 as arson, set deliberately by "angry and excited monks" who supported Thomas Becket. He argues that this "posthumous pro-Becket party," which grew out of the growth of Becket's cult, his canonization, and the election of his successor, became enraged when the monarchy elected Richard of Dover over Odo in June of 1173.[11] Due to the proximity of these events, it is easy to follow Kidson's logic that one affected the other. In addition, claims of arson make sense in that the fire led to an opportunity to completely redesign the choir and chapel of the cathedral, giving Saint Thomas's supporters control over the decorative program.

If these scholars' hypotheses are true, even in part, the doubts they raise provide an entirely new lens through which we can examine the development of the ideas behind the stained glass program at Canterbury, one tainted both by the hostility between the monarchy and the monastic community, and within the monastic community itself. Scholars like Caviness also believe that the choice of subject matter for the stained glass program was influenced by animosity. While the program combines figures from the genealogies in Luke and Matthew, Caviness states that, "by including all the figures mentioned by Luke…the Canterbury theologians avoided emphasis on kingship and placed it rather on the patriarchs, priests and prophets."[12] Furthermore, after Richard's death in 1184, Henry II would only accept Baldwin as his successor as archbishop. The monks, however, put forward three of their own candidates, including once again, Prior Odo. When the monks' nominations were set aside and Baldwin was elected, this placed additional strain on the relationship between the monks and the monarchy. The situation escalated when Baldwin devised a plan to build an entirely new church at

[11] Ibid., 974, 976.
[12] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 109.

Hackington that would be dedicated to the worship of St. Thomas and run by the secular clergy, moving the responsibility of housing his shrine and cult away from Canterbury and the monastic clergy.[13] This angered the monks who felt a strong connection to Becket and wanted to keep his cult and shrine located where he was murdered. These events would have further intensified the animosity between the monks and the monarchy. They also would have occurred with time to impact the monks' decision concerning the implementation of the portion of the genealogical program finished between 1200 and 1220.

The impact of these contemporary events is directly reflected in the genealogical program at Canterbury. I agree with Caviness' argument that in making the choice to emphasize religious patriarchs in the decorative program of the cathedral, the monastic community made a conscious decision to focus their attention inward, declaring their intention to highlight "their [own] spiritual relation to Christ" rather than their royal connection.[14] As Caviness contends, this decision "reflected the attitudes and practices of [the cathedral's] patrons" in that "it shaped a 'community of lineage' among the viewers, who considered the biblical 'Old Testament' past as its own."[15] By controlling the iconography of the glazing program, the monks could guide the viewers to religious, rather than secular, associations and allowed both monks and pilgrims to see themselves as directly connected to God, traced through Christ's genealogy. Using visual material to influence the experience of the viewer was not foreign to the cathedral, however. In fact, Canterbury had a history of depicting Christ's lineage since the eleventh century.[16] Through

[13] Kidson, "Gervase, Becket, and William of Sens," 972.
[14] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 111.
[15] Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact of the Ancestors of Christ in Canterbury Cathedral and Elsewhere," in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013), 69.
[16] Jeffrey Weaver, "Selected Individual Figures from the Ancestors of Christ Windows," in *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*, 49-67 (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013). 50.

exploring these visual precedents and their theological influences, I will begin to unravel the complex relationships established concerning the genealogical series' subject matter, location, and contemporary events.

The Theological Context and Visual Precedents

Anselm of Canterbury's theological ideas concerning visual analogy and using pictures as typological tools impacted the creation of an earlier, eleventh-century genealogy of Christ stained glass series. This eleventh-century stained glass series continued an even earlier Canterbury tradition of depicting Christ's genealogy.[17] It is important to understand the origins of Canterbury's visual tradition of genealogical representation because it influenced the decision-making process concerning the twelfth-century glazing program, both materially and thematically.

The Cotton Aelfric manuscript (British Library, Cotton MS Claudius B.iv.) provides the first instance of the visual representation of the genealogy of Christ at Canterbury and includes figuration that is emulated in the twelfth-century stained glass series, most specifically in the Adam and Enoch panels.[18] The manuscript was most likely created at St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury Cathedral during the second quarter of the eleventh century, well before the glazing program of the late twelfth century.[19] Although the presence of genealogical representation does not unfold as uniformly as in the stained glass windows, there are significant visual parallels that are important to note. For example, the glass figures of Adam and Enoch hold remarkable

[17] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 113. Caviness also mentions remnants of a genealogical cycle of wall paintings at Canterbury. However, because these are now badly damaged, it is hard to definitively determine their subject matter and the extent to which they would have influenced the later stained glass program at Canterbury. It is for this reason that they are not included in my analysis of the tradition of genealogical representation at the cathedral.
[18] Ibid., 112.
[19] Weaver, "Selected Individual Figures," 50.; Elżbieta Temple, *Anglo Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066* (London: H. Miller, 1976), 18, 102-103.

similarities to their counterparts in the Cotton Aelfric (Figs. 2-5).[20]

Although the figure of Adam delving appears clothed in the Cotton Aelfric, the overall pose is similar (Figs. 2, 3). Furthermore, the spade Adam uses in both scenes is a doubled-ledged spade, and Adam's foot covers the entirety of that ledge. This would have been unusual, as most spades and shovels of the time would have had one ledge spanning half the spade.[21] In addition, the stained glass figure of Enoch retains the upward splayed arms, as well as the depiction of God's hand grasping Enoch's wrist (Figs. 4, 5). Even the placement of the feet is echoed. Although the glass figure is seated, the legs and feet remain positioned in a staggered manner reminiscent of climbing, and are placed on two different levels. Corresponding details like these are strong evidence for a continuing tradition of iconography and subject matter within the Canterbury community.

Anselm of Canterbury further perpetuated this visual tradition of depicting Christ's genealogy. His work *Cur Deus Homo* provides a basis for the use of visual material, specifically a genealogy of Christ stained glass series, as a teaching tool for both the monastic and lay communities.[22] In this work, Anselm explores the beauty of the parallels between the Old and New Testaments and describes how to use pictures as typological tools, visually displaying the prefiguration of the New Testament in the Old.

In *Cur Deus Homo*, Anselm makes note of how the events leading to our salvation mirror

[20] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 10. Other figures such as Jared and Noah exhibit similarities across both media, however, in this paper I wish to remain focused on the two figures treated as case studies: Adam and Enoch.
[21] Camille, ""When Adam Delved," 254.
[22] In addition, as archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm would have been acknowledged as an important link between God and the laity. Thus, any visual representations influenced by Anselm and presented to the public could be seen as a reflection of the way Anselm understood and interpreted the word of God. Images could serve to transmit important religious ideas to both the monks and the laity and Anselm understood this power.

those of the fall of man from Eden.[23] Although we do not know the original positioning of what would have been Anselm's genealogy of Christ series, if we look to the later series, the stained glass visually translates this idea of mirroring by placing God the Father and Adam directly across from the Virgin and Christ. To further accentuate this mirroring, Anselm suggests placing Eve and the Virgin opposite each other. These suggestions indicate that his glazing program may have included female figures. The twelfth-century series does include the figure of the Virgin, but omits the figure of Eve. This alteration to Anselm's suggestions may seem minute, but it demonstrates how the monks retained important aspects of Anselm's decorative program while altering others to better suit their needs. Perhaps Anselm's series contained a depiction of Eve, but she was later replaced by the singular figure of Adam to elicit more of a connection between the working peasants and the depiction of Adam's delving. Either way, the idea of mirroring was thought of as a combination of theological and visual concepts, an idea originating in Anselm's writing and continued visually in the twelfth-century glazing program.

In chronologically tracing these three examples of Christ's genealogy, a tradition of visual representation at Canterbury emerges. It is clear that earlier, eleventh-century examples such as the Cotton Aelfric and Anselm's glazing program influenced elements of the twelfth-century genealogy of Christ stained glass series. This visual tradition can even be understood as a type of genealogy itself. While the preceding iterations of the theme contribute to the subsequent iteration, the subsequent iteration adds, subtracts, and alters the original content to serve contemporary purposes. Theme and subject matter do not solely contribute to this visual tradition, however. Although these aspects of the genealogical series are integral, material also plays a significant role in Canterbury's tradition of representing Christ's genealogy.

[23] T. A. Heslop, "St. Anselm and the Visual Arts at Canterbury Cathedral, 1093-1109," in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury* (Leeds, UK: Maney Publishing, 2013), 67-68.

The Material Context

In the previous section, I presented visual precedents for the depiction of Christ's genealogy at Canterbury which influenced the twelfth-century stained glass series. As each of these examples were represented in a different medium, in this section, I will address how the monks' choice to complete their genealogy in stained glass was influenced by their knowledge of the medium. Furthermore, I will explain how the incorporation of *belles verrières* into the late twelfth-century glazing program at Canterbury demonstrates a desire to integrate the past of the cathedral into its contemporary life and reflects the importance of stained glass as a precious material.

Although the fire destroyed most of Anselm's original stained glass series, Caviness identifies four surviving figures, Abia, Roboam, Nathan, and David, that were incorporated into the more extensive series formed in the late twelfth century (Figs. 6, 7).[24] Because of their material value, when possible, surviving windows were salvaged from destructive circumstances such as the fire of 1174 at Canterbury.[25] The importance of this salvaged stained glass did not rest solely in its monetary value, however. Caviness explains, "Whether or not it was cheaper to adapt old panels in this way, we can be certain that its impact on the viewer, then as now, was to impress on him the authority of the past…"[26] Mary B. Shepard continues with this train of

[24] Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Romanesque 'belles verrières' in Canterbury?," in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki, Volume: I: Text* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), 38.
[25] Elizabeth Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint? Relics and the Choice of Window Subjects at Chartres Cathedral," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 100.
[26] Caviness, "Romanesque 'belles verrières'," 38.

thought, stating, "[the windows] signaled the active presence of the past within the present."[27]

These statements significantly inform the reading of the genealogical series at Canterbury. If the reused, surviving windows were not drastically altered after the fire, they provide evidence of an earlier genealogical stained glass series present before the fire of 1174, one likely envisioned by Anselm.[28] Their reuse demonstrates the importance of Anselm's original program and the continuity the monastic community sought to achieve with the incorporation of these *belles verrières,* windows "saved from an earlier structure and incorporated into a new architectural setting."[29] In his writing, Gervase corroborates the community's desire to incorporate surviving portions of Anselm's design into the new decorative program. He notes the importance of Anselm's choir to the cathedral community and how the monks wanted to preserve as much of it as possible.[30] Thus, the choice to rework the genealogical program after the fire, with the figures of David, Nathan, Roboam, and Abia as *belles verrières*, emphasizes two different genealogies, that of the Christ's lineage, and that of the cathedral itself.

The value attached to stained glass also relates to the process and resources required to create it and to the symbolic role the glass plays in the organization of the cathedral. Making glass in the twelfth century was expensive and time consuming and involved melting sand, ash,

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[27] Mary B. Shepard, "Memory and 'Belles Verrières'," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, Dept. of Art and Archeology, Princeton University, 2008), 296.
[28] Caviness, "Romanesque 'belles verrières'," 37-38.
[29] Shepard, "Memory and 'Belles Verrières'," 292. The term *belle verrière*, while not a medieval phrase, was used as early as the fifteenth century to describe the "twelfth-century Enthroned Virgin and Child from the cathedral of Chartres, which was rescued from the aftermath of the fire of 1194 and reinstalled in the first quarter of the thirteenth century."
[30] Heslop, "Visual Arts," 67.

and lime together in a furnace.[31] This process required a large amount of skill as the glass maker needed an understanding of how to regulate the furnace conditions. In this way, glass makers could control the color of the materials being heated. Iron and manganese oxides were often naturally present in the ash and their reduction and oxidation reactions could be manipulated to produce yellows, blues, pinks, purples, greens, amber, and brown. Using this process windows could also be made "uncolored," also known as *grisailles*. Theophilus describes these processes in his treatise *De Diversis Artibus*, written between 1110 and 1140 CE.[32] Later treatises, such as that by Antonio of Pisa, describe adding metallic oxides, such as cobalt (blue), copper (red), and manganese (purple), to the molten mixtures to create more brilliant and uniform colors.[33]

These colored panes were then cut and set in lead braces and secured into iron armatures which supported the entire window.[34] In addition, paint could be added to the colored panes of glass to create intricate designs and figures. Caviness writes, "there is abundant evidence at Canterbury that each window was carefully designed as a unit, to achieve harmony of colors, consistent tonality, and compositional balance."[35] The expense and time put into these stained glass panels cannot be overstated. Thus, the reuse of the surviving glass panels from Anselm's choir served a dual purpose at Canterbury. The genealogical panels linked the new choir to the old, both thematically and physically, and they allowed the cathedral community to preserve the glass that required a vast amount of time and resources to create.

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[31] Virgina Chieffo Raugin and Mary Clerkin Higgins, *Stained Glass from its Origins to the Present* (London: Quintet Publishing Limited, 2003), 34-36.
[32] Sarah Brown and David O'Connor, *Medieval Craftsmen: Glass-Painters* (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 46.; Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, trans. by John G. Hawthorne (New York: Dover Publications, 1979), 45-74, esp. 52-57.
[33] Brown and O'Connor, *Medieval Craftsmen*, 49.; Claudine Lautier and Dany Sandron, *Antoine de Pise: l'art du vitrail vers 1400* (Paris : CTHS, 2008), 67-78.
[34] Brown and O'Connor, *Medieval Craftsmen*, 51. Brown and O'Connor specifically refer to the Hezekiah panel of the genealogical series and mention how the lead "plays a vital role in the Canterbury panel, enclosing the individual pieces of color and reinforcing the design."
[35] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 36.

In addition, the reuse of the glass from Anselm's choir cemented the monks' connection to Anselm's theology involving materiality. For instance, Anselm was interested in optics and its connection to faith and theology. In his consideration of the visual arts, he explored how the material properties of glass affected his perceptions of things seen through the windows.[36] In *Cur Deus Homo*, another conclusion Anselm draws is that something great, beautiful, and holy must have equivalently great visual representation.[37] In other words, to be worthy of visually representing something, the product must be executed in a masterful style and be rendered using quality materials. This conclusion corresponds with Heslop's description of Anselm as an "aesthete in a number of senses."[38] Anselm's appreciation for and dedication to the proper visual display of holy subjects was reflected in his eleventh-century glazing program, both in theme and material.[39]

Thus, it is clear from his observations that Anselm was aware of the effect a material could have on perception and reception. This understanding of materiality is reflected in the continued use of stained glass in the twelfth-century decorative program. Colored glass in particular had the power to visually convey holy messages. It evoked the heavenly realm and the location of specific colors throughout the cathedral reflected the transition from the Old to the New Testament as sunlight illuminated the windows at different times of day. Because of this, it makes sense that Anselm chose colored glass to depict biblical figures and scenes. The translucent properties and bright colors served the practical purpose of allowing light into the cathedral space while also optically reinforcing the holy nature of the windows' subject matter

[36] Ibid., 61.
[37] Heslop, "Visual Arts," 64.
[38] Heslop, "Visual Arts," 68.
[39] In his article, Heslop provides evidence drawing from Anselm's various writings, and writings from his contemporaries, which implicated Anselm's direct involvement in the planning of the late eleventh-century choir. He notes that although it is unlikely that Anselm himself made every decision concerning the iconography for the glazing program, these texts demonstrate the clear influence of his theology and, at times, his direct influence. Heslop, "Visual Arts," 60, 75-77.

through use of color.

The question therein arises, how exactly would these colors and this style affect and inform the viewer? How could this aura of power be directed in such a way as to elicit a specific reaction? The medium of stained glass had the ability to "mimic the aura inherent in crystal and gems," but went beyond these materials in its ability to accommodate complex subject matter.[40] Thus, stained glass added a visual, often narrative layer, to the invocation of the heavenly realm, allowing for a complex joining of materiality and iconography.

The nature of the glass' metamorphosis from base ingredients to beautiful translucent imagery also mirrors the transition from Old to New Testament through the refining and bettering of the original materials.[41] As originally claimed by Emile Mâle, and emphasized by Elizabeth Pastan and Herbert Kessler, different placements of windows and the use of different colors of glass, within the sacred topography of the cathedral, add layers of meaning to the windows and their subject matter.[42] Kessler writes that "ruby red, emerald green, sapphire blue, and beryl yellow conjure up the Heavenly Jerusalem illuminated by the bright light of God's…face."[43] Within a glazing program as extensive as Canterbury's, the brilliantly colored glass would evoke the sense of being encapsulated in an enameled reliquary, transporting the viewer from the earthly to the heavenly realm (Figs. 8, 9).[44] This effect enhances the theological and typological functions established through the choice and placement of subject matter.

The way the colors alighted throughout the day had liturgical significance as well. Caviness writes:

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[40] Herbert Kessler, ""They preach not by speaking out loud but by signifying": Vitreous Arts as Typology," *Gesta*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2012): 59.
[41] Kessler, "Vitreous Arts," 61.
[42] Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint?," 102.
[43] Kessler, "Vitreous Arts," 60.
[44] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 21.

> In medieval color theory, the blue that Suger referred to as sapphire was understood as a deep opaque substance like Lapis Lazuli; but with the dawn, following the first office, this darkness became light before other colors…By noon the reds and purples glow warmly, and the blues dimmed. All the gems of heavenly Jerusalem are visible. Translucent glass and colored light are the perfect analogue for celestial music. It is in this sense that these windows are performative or liturgical.[45]

The genealogical series of windows at Canterbury would have been performed liturgically, with the monks utilizing this temporal process of illumination to their advantage. During Christmastime, the genealogy of Matthew was sung at the end of Matins and before the Mass on Christmas Day. The genealogy of Luke was sung at Matins on Epiphany (January 6th) or on the octave (January 13th).[46] Here, the significance of the color and placement of the Adam and Enoch windows come to light (N.XXV and N.XXII). The blues of the windows paired with their placement in the northwest part of the choir would not only mark them as Old Testament figures, but would specifically mark Adam as fallen. It would also allow for the window to be one of the first figures to illuminate, factoring seamlessly into the liturgical reading of the genealogy at Christmastime. Interactions and relationships such as these are why it is so important to understand how the genealogical windows were originally positioned, and how their movement throughout the cathedral had the power to alter their reception.

The Effect of the Original Position of the Twelfth-Century Genealogical Series

Stained glass is an architectural art; the different locations of colored glass and their subject matter have an intrinsic effect on how the windows are understood within the cathedral environment, visually and liturgically. While Canterbury provides a pointed case study, this architectural relationship remains present within medieval glazing programs in general and was

[45] Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Stained Glass Windows in Gothic Chapels, and the Feasts of the Saints," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Nicolas Bock et al. (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2000), 141.
[46] Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact," 80.

well thought out in the planning stages.[47] The organization of Old and New Testament subject matters in cathedrals played a significant role in the function of the genealogical series at Canterbury. Within the genealogical series, the Old Testament patriarchs were placed to the north side of the choir, while the New Testament patriarchs were located to the south. Mâle notes that this location of subject matter was not arbitrary. The cardinal points of the church each had their significance, stating, "the north, the region of cold and night" was naturally darker and "was usually devoted to the Old Testament," while "the south, warmed by the sun and bathed in full light, was devoted to the New Testament."[48] With this standard established, colors could be placed to emphasize aspects of the glazing program. Blues, associated with the Fall and the Old Testament, were highlighted to the north in the morning, and reds, yellows, and purples associated with the New Testament, would be highlighted to the south with the setting sun, synchronizing with the corresponding liturgical readings.

With this classic organization, Canterbury's series may seem unremarkable. However, as Caviness points out, the series is not unique in the choice of subject matter, but in its comprehensiveness, organization, and survival.[49] Instead of exclusively sticking with the genealogy as provided by Matthew or Luke, the program at Canterbury presents a hybrid of the two, resulting in the longest known pictorial depiction of Christ's lineage (Fig. 10). The monks' decision to combine the genealogies in Matthew and Luke allowed them to make visual choices

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[47] Raguin and Clark, *Stained Glass*, 32-34. For further discussion of glazing programs and their relationship to architecture see Elizabeth Carson Pastan, "Glazing Medieval Buildings," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. by Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) and for a more specific case study concerning the Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral see Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint?." Particularly relevant to this historical, material, and iconographical case study of Canterbury Cathedral, Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz use Chartres Cathedral's visual harmony to explore the integration of architecture, sculpture, and stained glass in Peter Kurmann and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Chartres Cathedral as a Work of Artistic Integration: Methodological Reflections," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. by Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto: Toronto Press Incorporated, 1995), 131-152.
[48] Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 7.
[49] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 103.

which emphasized their disapproval of the contemporary royal powers. For example, this choice allowed the designers to omit the figure of Solomon, a king ultimately known for his sinful, human nature. Along with the lack of crowns present in the figures' designs, the omission of Solomon traces back to the aforementioned desire to "willfully overlook" "the regal nature of Christ's ancestors" and focus on religious connections.[50]

In addition to the comprehensiveness of the genealogy, the monks also chose to organize the series much like a book, so that it was read from left to right, and top to bottom (Fig. 11).[51] This largely factored into how the series was used and understood by the ecclesiastical and lay communities. For example, the Adam window, save for the missing figure of the Creator, would have begun this genealogy of eighty-eight portraits "on the side of darkness," or the northwest part of the choir. The series would have continued around the north transept, corona, south transept, and ended "on the side of the light," at the southwest part of the choir, with the figure of Christ.[52] The arrangement of the windows differed from the customary reading of stained glass which ran from bottom to top.[53]

This organization allowed for different audiences to interact with the windows in various ways. For the literate monks, the organization would be reminiscent of a codex or manuscript, like the Cotton Aelfric, a chronological display which allowed them to reflect upon the quotation from Saint Paul, "And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive."[54] They would view a genealogy that unfolded down to their place in the choir, visually grounding the connection between the lineage of Christ and the monks themselves. For the lay people and pilgrims, the "monumental arts were accessible in a way that manuscript illumination and

[50] Caviness, "Romanesque 'belles verrières'," 37.
[51] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 29.
[52] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 104.
[53] Pastan, "Charlemagne as Saint?," 103.
[54] Saint Paul (1 Cor. 15:22) in Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact," 80.

precious object like reliquaries were not…" and would allow them to see the genealogy unfold as they followed the aisle around the choir and corona.[55]

Keeping its context within the larger series in mind, an analysis of the Adam window's composition and style provides an example of how a viewer might have interpreted each panel individually (Fig. 2, N.XXV). The window shows the figure of Adam delving just after his expulsion from Eden which was a depiction commonly included in narrative cycles.[56] Caviness notes that the originality of this depiction of Adam lies in its non-narrative context, although I would argue that a Christological genealogy can be addressed as a type of narrative, a narrative of divine lineage and salvation.[57] Both the laity and the monastic community would have understood themselves as carrying on this lineage in some way, whether it be as a follower of Christ or as a conveyor of his teachings. In addition, if one excerpts any ancestor from this narrative, the coherence of the entire genealogy is disrupted.[58]

In the panel, Adam holds a spade and puts pressure on its ledge with his foot and its handle with his arms. The spade is shown sliding into a patch of bare earth at Adam's feet. As previously mentioned, this positioning of Adam defines a distinctive Canterbury tradition.[59] At the right of the composition is a tree that has an axe hanging from one of its branches. Above Adam's head there is a label which names him "ADAM." Adam wears either a sheep or goat

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[55] Caviness, "Visual and Cognitive Impact," 83. For a more in-depth look at how different the interactions of the lay and monastic communities could be, see Conrad Rudolph, "Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art," in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 93, No. 4 (December 2011): 399-422, esp. 402-406.

[56] Camille traces the etymology of the word "delve" back to its Germanic origins and defines it specifically as meaning "to dig with a spade," accurately describing the depiction of Adam in the Canterbury window. Camille, "When Adam Delved," 251.

[57] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 113.; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190* (London: Harvey Miller; Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), 33. Here, Kauffmann refers to the Cotton Aelfric as a rare, pre-thirteenth century example of an extensive biblical narrative cycle, one which visually influences the twelfth-century genealogical stained glass series. This observation draws a narrative connection between the two extensive visual representations of Christ's lineage.

[58] The monks used this to their advantage in their choice to omit Solomon from the genealogy.

[59] Ibid. Caviness also mentions remnants of a genealogical cycle of wall paintings at Canterbury that are now badly damaged.

skin as a loincloth indicative of "the mortality that Adam's sin brought to humanity."[60]

In this vein, Adam served as the beginning of a narrative which ended in salvation. Viewers would directly connect the act of Adam delving to the "sowing" of seeds of generations to come. This understanding would be reinforced by the presence of the tree at the right of the composition and by the continuation of the extensive genealogical series, ending with Christ. In addition, lay people would have connected specifically with the image of Adam delving, observing their fallen nature and their hard labor reflected in his hunched figure.

Camille notes that pilgrims and lay people would see the practical nature of Adam's spade, a tool "out of place temporally" but one related to contemporary audiences' own experience of labor.[61] Strengthening this link between Adam's delving and peasants' labor, Camille observes that "the image of the delver is one of self-sufficiency" and that "the scene of Adam's primal labor became the paradigmatic image of peasant labor."[62] Pilgrims would recall the words from Genesis, "Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in toil shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life…till thou return unto the ground" and be reminded of their original sin and their curse of never-ending labor, presumably lasting until the Second Coming of Christ.[63]The laity, while not recognizing the typological and theological potential of this relationship, would still recognize Adam as a cautionary tale and Christ as the savior who would end the cycle of sin and labor bestowed upon Adam by God.[64]

The monks, on the other hand, would have understood the typological function of the

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[60] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 23.
[61] Camille, "When Adam Delved," 249.
[62] Ibid., 258.
[63] Genesis 3:17 in Camille, "When Adam Delved," 249, 252. On pages 263-265, Camille also references the "popular catchphrase" of the Peasants Revolt of 1381 that is thought by scholars to be as old as the Canterbury windows: "When Adam delved and Eve span/Who was then the gentleman?" Knowing the rhyme, a peasant viewing the Adam window would experience complicated connotations both separating and connecting themselves with members of other classes.
[64] While Camille provides interesting insight into the function of the Adam window as a singular window panel, he neglects to consider its role in its larger surroundings, both within the genealogical series and within the cathedral.

visual juxtaposition of Adam and Christ and may have linked it to their "expulsion' from the choir in 1174 and their re-entry in 1180. Caviness' more implicit connection between the monks and the expulsion of Adam complements the more explicit connection Camille draws between lay people and the depiction of Adam delving. Caviness writes, "when the chronicler Gervase wrote of the entry into the new choir at Easter 1180, he explained the monks' jubilation by likening their expulsion from that part of the church to the expulsion from Eden."[65] Then, by visually tracing the genealogy around the cathedral, they would be reminded of their re-entrance into their holy space by the figure of Christ, positioned directly opposite the figure of Adam.

The Enoch window provides another instance of a narrative panel, one that introduces the interference of the hand of God (Fig. 4, N.XXII). My reasoning for choosing to analyze the Adam and Enoch windows is rooted in the figures' recognizable features and distinct visual representations within the genealogy of Christ. Both figures take on more active poses than the other patriarchs. Adam delves, and although Enoch is seated like the other patriarchs, he is in a state of semi-motion. Additionally, Enoch is the only figure other than Adam shown in a semi-narrative environment, and is the only panel which introduces the presence of a second figure, that of the hand of God, which reaches down to grasp Enoch's wrist, pulling him up to heaven. Just as with the Adam window, different viewers would interact with this subject matter in different ways.

The monks would have immediately recognized the typological significance of Enoch's position, marking him as a prefiguration of Christ and as a role model. His ascension into heaven modeled what they hoped to achieve through contemplation, a better understanding and deeper connection with God. Enoch would have been understood as a prefiguration of Christ because he alone, within the generations of Christ, does not die, but instead is brought into heaven directly

[65] Caviness, *Early Stained Glass*, 103-104.

by God.[66] When looking at this window, they would see a physical representation of the closeness to God they hoped to achieve.

The laity, on the other hand, would most likely have understood Enoch as being touched by God and would be in awe of this direct interaction. While they perhaps would not be able to directly identify with or understand the deeper typological function of Enoch the way the monks could, they would still revel in the scene taking place before their eyes. Observing God interact directly with someone other than Adam and Christ would immediately effect the laity. Once again, paired with the material nature of the windows, the deep-seeded theological meanings embedded in the Enoch window carried on the tradition of genealogical representation at Canterbury. This established relationship between window and viewer, composed through historical, theological, and material contexts would be greatly disrupted however, when the genealogical series was displaced and relocated to the Great West and Great South Windows in the eighteenth century.

The Creation of the Great West Window

Before focusing on the movement of the genealogical series to the Great West and Great South Windows (GWW, GSW), it is important to contextualize their location and original subject matter (Figs. 12, 13). In doing so we can understand the effect the eighteenth-century introduction of the genealogical panels had upon the original contents of the GWW and GSW. The relationship between the monarchy and the cathedral community began to shift in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Between 1375 and the 1490s, Canterbury received more royal favor than any other abbey or cathedral church, besides Westminster Abbey, which may seem strange following the animosity of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Additionally, in

[66] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 31.

1376, Edward the Black Prince was buried on the south side of Becket's shrine, firmly establishing the positive relationship the monarchy now had with Canterbury and its martyr Thomas Becket.[67]

As previously addressed, the monks of the twelfth century positioned the genealogy of Christ to convey their religious power over secular authority. This manoeuver was effective largely due to the location of the genealogical windows in relation to other windows and to viewers. The large religious figures were placed high in the choir, above any visitor who entered the space, forming a type of hierarchy with the religious patriarchs inhabiting the highest positions. During Richard II's reign, the nave at Canterbury was demolished and rebuilt, resulting in the re-glazing of two colossal windows, the GWW and the GSW.[68] The new GWW retained a hierarchical relationship, but found more balance between ecclesiastical and royal subject matters. This newfound balance of subject matter reflected the collaborative and amicable relationship which developed at Canterbury over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Both Caviness and Michael A. Michael hypothesize that the GWW was glazed either in honor of Richard, or was commissioned by Richard himself.[69] The royal portraits displayed in the new iteration of the GWW most likely included Canute, Edward the Confessor, Harold,

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[67] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 229.

[68] Due to the nature of the Great South Window's state of preservation, I will not be addressing it in-depth in this paper. Most of what I will address in terms of the Great West Window can be applied to the Great South Window, but with less certainty and more extrapolation, due to the loss of the majority of the original glass.

[69] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233. The evidence given for this is mostly the history of a good relationship existing between the king and the cathedral, but also the fact that his coat of arms appears at the top of the window itself. Michael A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2004), 162. Michael notes the similarity in the style and subject of the glass portraits and the figures in the Wilton Diptych and the Westminster Portrait. He suggests that these similarities suggest Richard II himself commissioned the window, a conclusion with which I am inclined to agree with. Michael also narrows down that date of commission of the Great West Window by noting that both the arms of Queen Isabelle of France and Richard's first wife Anne of Bohemia were included, indicated that the window planned between 1396 and 1399.

William I, William II, Henry I, and Stephen (Fig. 14).[70] The inscriptions marking these kings are fragmentary at best, but the attributions make sense in relation to Richard II. At Canterbury, the agenda may have been to stave off Lancastrian claims to the throne by solidifying Richard II's lineage by tracing it back to Canute (c. 995-1035 CE). Furthermore, the choice to represent certain kings over others was not an anomalous practice. Although it was created slightly after the GWW at Canterbury, at Saint Mary's Hall in Coventry, a similar tactic was used in choosing specific kings to further a certain political agenda (Fig. 15).[71]

In this specific context, it is notable that the kings included were presented in chronological sequence. In making this choice, Richard II incorporates genealogy in a way that both mirrors and diverges from the incorporation of the genealogy of Christ that the monks designed in the twelfth century. The chronological ordering of the figures is kept, but the first and most obvious difference is the use of secular rather than religious subject matter. Despite this difference, however, both genealogies are used to highlight certain aspects of their creators' connections to the figures displayed. Richard aligned himself with an old, well-established lineage of the kings of England, which marked him as a legitimate and powerful ruler. The monks aligned themselves with a long line of religious figures which linked them both to Adam and to Christ, making them conduits through which laypeople could access God. In both situations, power and legitimacy were enhanced through the careful placement and chronological representation of genealogical figures.

In the GWW, the location of subject matter plays an equally important role in the

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[70] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 232.; Edward Hasted, *The history and topographical survey of the county of Kent. Containing the antient and present state of it, civil and ecclesiastical. Volume 11* (Canterbury: Printed by W. Bristow, 1797-1801), 381.; William Gostling, *A walk in and about the city of Canterbury with many observations not to be found in any description hitherto published. The second edition*. (Canterbury: Simmons and Kirkby, 1777), 346. I qualify this statement with "most likely" because in 1777, William Gostling, a historian of Canterbury, notes that there were seven remaining kings in the GWW and extrapolates their identities based off these inscriptions: "Can", "Ed", and "mus Cõquestor Rex."

[71] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233.

legibility of the entire window. In this large, composite window, the hierarchy of figures takes a slightly different form. The eight royal figures that remain take up the topmost of the lower registers and the middle pane of the middle register (Fig. 16). There has been much speculation as to what types of figures filled the rest of the lower lights, however no decisive conclusion has been reached.[72] Whichever figures appeared in these lower lights, the surviving royal portraits still retain a relationship with the windows displayed directly above them. In fact, they are displayed under a set of religious figures. Twenty-eight prophets and apostles appear in the tracery lights at the top of the window (Fig. 17).[73] While only eight to ten figures can be clearly identified through their attributes, the others are either nimbed, indicating an apostle, or appear with caps, scrolls, or books, indicating prophets.[74] Unlike the ancestors of Christ series, this arrangement of figures creates a setting in which religious and royal figures directly inform each other, organized into a complex hierarchy.

At first glance, it would seem as if the royal figures are subordinate to the higher-placed religious figures. However, the size of the portraits must be taken into account. The royal figures are significantly larger than the religious figures, and given that they are displayed in the lower lights, they would have been much more legible. Thus, the apostles and prophets lose some of the power they attain through their placement in the hierarchy. In the same vein, although not formally depicted, the position of Richard II's coat of arms at the apex of the tracery gives the royal glass a physical victory over the religious figures (Figs. 18, 19). Size and legibility come into play again, however. The coat of arms is even smaller than the figures of the apostles and

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[72] Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Published for the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral by Lund Humphries, 1949), 118.
[73] Rackham, *The Ancient Glass*, 122.; Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233. Rackam notes 17 nimbed figures (apostles) and 11 with caps/scrolls/books (prophets).
[74] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233. Caviness identifies nine, and one potential other: Philip (with three loaves), Simon (with a scimitar), James Major (with a pilgrim's staff and cockle-shell badge), Peter (with two keys), John the Evangelist (with a chalice), Matthias (with a spear), James the Less (with a club), Paul (with a sword), Thomas (with a set square), and potentially Peter (barefoot).

prophets and, being placed at the apex of the arch, would be the least legible. Thus, the relationship between religious and secular imagery nearly balances out, with the royal aspects of the window taking slightly more precedence.

The arrangement of figures in the GWW suggests a level of comfortable collaboration between the cathedral community and the monarchy that had not been present during the inception of the twelfth-century glazing program. At the time of the creation of the GWW, both the church and the king had an interest in creating a public display which demonstrated the more cordial and reciprocal relationship that had been cultivated between sacred and secular environments. By combining sacred and secular subject matter in a way that only slightly favors secular authority, the GWW succeeds in signaling the wealth and power that was achieved through "assert[ing] a secular authority that gain[ed] immeasurably from the association with Canterbury and the church."[75]

The location of the GWW within the architectural space of the cathedral also reinforced the importance of its royal subject matter. The window's positioning inspires an entirely different way of reading the window than the placement of the ancestors of Christ series. While the ancestors of Christ were placed in the choir clerestory, where both monastic and lay viewers had to process around the cathedral to fully contemplate all eighty-eight panels, the GWW was placed over the West entrance to the cathedral and would not have required extensive movement to view the entire collection of images. All the panels could be viewed at one time, in one location. In addition, this location in the cathedral was, at least by the fifteenth century, the site where the prior or monks would meet the king when he visited.[76] At this time, there were already sculptural precedents for royal portraits being displayed above west entries at Lincoln Cathedral,

[75] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 23.
[76] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233. This was documented as being the case with Edward IV in 1461.

Wells Cathedral, and Exeter Cathedral (Figs. 20-22).[77] Thus, the inclusion of royal subject matter in the GWW is logical.

Furthermore, by the beginning of the fifteenth century there was already an accepted standard that the window over the West entrance in a cathedral could contain secular subject matter, particularly kings of the realm.[78] This would have easily allowed Richard to commission a window that included both secular and sacred figures. By including both these types of figures in this architectural setting, the GWW would have functioned to highlight the king's relationship with the religious community.[79] Michael notes that perhaps Richard aimed to use this window to promote his divine rights as king in major public space.[80] I am inclined to agree as the window clearly accomplishes this goal through its careful balance of power, distributed between religious and secular figures. The window thereby solidified the positive secular and religious connections enjoyed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and remained intact until the late eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century Movement of the Genealogical Series to the GWW and GSW

The relationship between window, location, and viewer drastically changed in the late eighteenth century when the genealogical series was moved to the GWW and GSW. Perhaps surprisingly, up until this point the genealogical windows remained in their twelfth- and thirteenth-century positions, where they served as a reminder of the tension that had once existed between the monks and the monarchy. While visitors after the thirteenth century may not have

[77] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 233.; Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 162.
[78] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 22.
[79] This link is further solidified since the king officially received his power by being crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, a religious figure.
[80] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 164. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of a similar situation occurring in Westminster Hall in 1385, with the commissioning of a sculptural series of kings.

been able to fully grasp the complexities of the original context surrounding the creation of the windows, they were still able to understand some part of the original relationship between window, location, and viewer.[81] To understand the drastic change in this relationship, it is first necessary to examine the pre-existing compositions of glass in the GWW and GSW that existed where the ancestors of Christ windows were relocated. It is then necessary to contextualize this shift in location with the new relationships that emerged between the cathedral community and the monarchy during the centuries when the genealogical series remained *in situ*.

From the documentation of John Evelyn, a seventeenth-century diarist, and William Gostling, an eighteenth-century historian of Canterbury, it is clear that the genealogical windows were moved to fill empty registers in the GWW, most likely destroyed during the Puritan Iconoclasm. By the time Gostling recorded the windows in 1777, the entire bottom half of the GWW was lost. It is not clear exactly when this occurred, but in 1660, Evelyn noted that by this time, windows in the cathedral had been repaired with extraneous panels after the destruction of the 1640s. Evelyn even directly references a shift in the theological ideas about the image and mentions Richard Culmer, a Puritan, as a figure who participated in the destruction of stained glass at Canterbury.[82] Whether the GWW was specifically affected is speculation. However, if the lower lights contained religious subject matter, Puritan iconoclasm is the most likely

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[81] Camille directly recognizes this conundrum when he references a quotation from the "sequel" to *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Tale of Beryn*, in which the Pardoner and the Miller argue about the Adam window, specifically whether the spade is a weapon or an agricultural tool: "He bereth a balstaff" quod the toon, "& els a rakis ende."/ "Thou faillist quod the Miller "pow hast nat wel py mynde." [He's carrying a quarterstaff," said the one, "or else a rake handle."/ You're slipping," said the Miller, "you're losing your mind."], see Camille, "When Adam Delved," 247.

[82] John Evelyn, *The diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by William Bray (New York; London: M.W. Dunne, 1901), 36.; Richard L. Greaves, "A Puritan Firebrand: Richard Culmer of Canterbury," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1981): 361; Richard Culmer Jr., *A Parish Looking-Glasse for Persecutors of Ministers*, 1657, 5-6. Culmer's son, Richard Culmer Jr., writes about his father's appointment by Parliament to demolish all monuments of superstition in the cathedral. He also notes that his father used a guide by William Somner, the Canterbury antiquary to decide which windows to destroy. Gostling, *A walk in and about the city of* Canterbury, 312, 328, 331-332, 335. Although he does not explicitly reference the destruction of the Great West Windows at the hands of Richard Culmer, Gostling refers to "destruction which those [windows] on the south have suffered from superstition" and directly implicates Culmer in the destruction of religious subject in the North Window, but mentions that they left the royal family's (King Edward IV) portraits intact.

explanation for the panels' destruction.

Unfortunately, no known information exists which tells us what subjects, or lack thereof, replaced the bottom half of the window for the time between 1660 and the late eighteenth century, when the ancestors of Christ windows were installed. Due to this fact, it is impossible to analyze how the replacement of this glass by the figures from the genealogical series spoke to relationship of the window as it existed during the eighteenth century. However, we can still examine how the hierarchy established in the late fourteenth century dramatically shifts when the ancestors of Christ replace the bottom two registers.

Gostling's 1777 account is the last document which places the ancestors of Christ windows *in situ.*[83] Sometime shortly after this account, before the turn of the century, the majority of the windows were moved, taken out of order and placed in either the GWW or the GSW. The Adam window was moved to the GWW and the Enoch window was moved to the GSW (Figs. 12, 13).[84] This process of relocation not only generated new relationships between the surviving figures of the GWW, but also affected how the genealogy of Christ series was received and read.

The addition of the genealogy of Christ series disrupted the established relationships in the GWW, seeming to emphasize royal power in its hierarchical structure. By placing the genealogy of Christ figures below the royal figures in the GWW, their original intent is lost (Fig. 16). They no longer serve as a statement against the monarchy of the twelfth century. In fact, by

[83] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 12.; Gostling, *A walk in and about the city* of Canterbury, 327. This is where Gostling lists the remaining ancestors in the choir clerestory (forty-two of them).
[84] Ibid., 43. Shem, Heber, Isaac, Phares, Juda, Cosam, Neri, and Rhesa remained in the clerestory. Esrom, Naasson, Semei, Adam, Joseph, Aminadab, and Aram (left to right, bottom row) moved to the Great West Window. Jechonias, Obed, Roboam, Abia, Jesse, and Salathiel (left to right, middle row) moved to the Great West Window. Lamech, Noah, Thara, Jared, Methuselah, Phalec, Ragau, and Enoch (left to right, bottom row) moved to the Great South Window (southwest transept). Abraham, Salmon, Ezekias, Josia, Booz, and Zorobabel (left to right, three on each side of two central modern figures, middle row) moved to the Great South Window. Joanna, Er, Joseph?, David, Nathan, Achim?, Jose, and Juda (left to right, top row) moved to the Great South Window.

placing them below royal figures, they become almost subservient, a quality the twelfth-century monks would have found unacceptable. In addition, this movement neglects the series' original order. Now, Adam appears in the middle of the bottom row of panels. He no longer sits in the first position of Christ's lineage, rendering the importance of his place in the genealogy incomprehensible.

As part of the GWW, the colors of the ancestors panels no longer illuminate in correspondence with the liturgy as they had when placed in the choir clerestory. The Adam window also loses the typological juxtaposition of being displayed across from the figure of Christ. While not as drastic, a similar effect occurs with the moving of the Enoch window to the GSW (Fig. 23). The figure is placed in an order that no longer has any significance to the genealogies of Matthew or Luke. Furthermore, the window is placed on the opposite side of the cathedral from its original position (moved from north to south), negating the purposeful location of Enoch in the north choir, as an Old Testament figure. In addition, the positioning of groups of the ancestral figures over the west and south entrances carries little to no meaning. Where the GWW originally conveyed a clear message in positioning its subject matter over the main entrance, the importance of the genealogy of Christ series was unwaveringly linked to its placement in the clerestory. The figures in these panels remain recognizable as important religious patriarchs, but their function as a legible genealogy was destroyed as soon as they were displaced and separated from the rest of the ancestral figures.

Apart from negating the original intent of the genealogical figures, the relocation of these figures within the GWW creates an altered perception of the entire window. We now have a mixture of religious and secular figures quite unlike the organized hierarchy established in Richard II's original window. Richard's window portrayed a balanced relationship between

religious and secular subject matter which spoke to the larger reciprocal relationship between the church and the monarchy. The introduction of the ancestors of Christ windows tipped the scales far more in favor of secular subjects, with kings now presiding directly over the newly installed ancestral figures. Because the size of both types of figures is similar, placing the religious patriarchs under the royal portraits seems to make a clearer statement concerning which figures are more important and powerful.

The relationship with the apostles and prophets in the tracery lights also shifts. Although the overall count of religious figures exceeds that of the secular figures, the viewer's eye oscillates more between the opposing figures of similar sizes (the kings and ancestors of Christ). This increased focus on the larger panels of the GWW causes the presence of the apostles and prophets to become less noticeable, resulting in the perception of the royal portraits carrying more power. These observations serve to prove that the physical movement, displacement, and relocation of this stained glass had the power to cause a shift in perception of both the ancestors of Christ and the original subject matter of the GWW.

The disruptive movement of such an established and location-dependent series of windows leaves us to question why the genealogy of Christ series was chosen to fill these spaces. Michael touches on an explanation when he writes that the windows' removal in the late eighteenth century allowed them to be displayed "where they can be seen to great advantage."[85] However, this disrupts the original intent of the subject matter. With the ancestors of Christ placed out of order in the GWW and GSW, the genealogy can no longer be read as such. In making this statement Michael neglects to define how the windows' new placement would constitute a "great advantage." Michael also notes that although legitimate concerns about

[85] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 13.

protecting the windows factored into their displacement, there also, "lies a desire to display the remains of the glazing in a way that can be enjoyed."[86] Why would viewers not enjoy viewing the genealogy in its original location? What made the new positions of ancestors of Christ figures more enjoyable? Once again, Michael does not provide an explanation of what he means. These questions can be examined through investigation of the conservation efforts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Restoration Campaign of 1819-1952

The first true restoration effort on the stained glass of the cathedral began in 1819, ultimately resulting in a paradox involving the genealogy of Christ series. The campaign began when George Austin Sr. was appointed Surveyor to the Fabric of the Cathedral and was eventually headed by three other members of his family: George Austin Jr., Samuel Caldwell Sr., and finally Samuel Caldwell Jr.[87] Austin Sr. was more concerned with the architectural preservation of the cathedral, but towards the end of his appointment he became interested in the medieval glass. Austin Sr. died in 1848 and his son George Austin Jr. took over the restoration campaign.

While Austin Jr. shifted towards conservation as we now understand the term, he created

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 230.; The Stained Glass Studio, "History of Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," accessed 13 February 2017, http://www.stained glass-studio.org.uk/assets/files/history-stained glass.pdf, 1; Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 24. Although George Austin Sr. was an architect, he quickly grew attached to the medieval stained glass in the cathedral. He apparently became quite adept at glass painting, but unfortunately none of his glass survives as it was destroyed to make room for subsequent restorations. He also had an attitude towards restoration that does not align with modern methods. He would often completely replace broken and worn glass instead of restoring the existing glass.

an entirely "new" genealogy of Christ in 1861 and 1862.[88] Austin Jr. placed his replica series in the choir clerestory while the original medieval glass remained in the GWW and the GSW.[89] This resulted in the display of the windows in both their original and eighteenth-century contexts. It is this aspect of Austin Jr.'s restoration that is particularly important to the examination of the effect of location on the reception of the original windows in this series.

The placement of Austin Jr.'s replicas greatly affects the reading of the original genealogy.[90] The windows which now fill the choir clerestory are not original glass, yet they remain faithful to the original subject matter. However, instead of taking the opportunity to reinstall the originals panels in their proper positions, the medieval glass remains displaced. The decision to leave the medieval panels in their eighteenth-century locations, while a replicas series of the ancestors of Christ was "restored" to the choir clerestory, reflects Austin Jr.'s desire to preserve medieval glass. The question is, how?

There were many alternative avenues Austin Jr. could have taken in creating and displaying his replica series, but this route seems to be the most practical in keeping the original glass safe while allowing audiences to experience the genealogy of Christ series in its twelfth- and eighteenth-century contexts. Perhaps the medieval glass was too fragile at the time to justify moving it back to its original location in the choir clerestory. Had the medieval glass been deemed too fragile to move, creating replicas for the choir clerestory would have been Austin Jr.'s best way to restore the subject matter to its original location, giving viewers at least some sense of how the windows were meant to be viewed at their inception. Another interesting

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[88] Stained Glass Studio, "History of Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," 4. It is worth it to note that George Austin Jr. made a habit of holding on to pieces of original glass to be used in later restoration efforts, which was remarkably forward thinking for the time.; Léonie Seliger, e-mail message to author, May 15, 2017. In addition, there is no record of what took the place of the relocated genealogical windows from their movement in the late eighteenth century until the installment of the replicas in 1861 and 1862. It is likely that they were replaced by "diamond quarry" glazing (Fig. 24).

[89] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 24.

[90] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 17.

possibility to consider is that Austin Jr. left the ancestors of Christ series in its eighteenth-century locations to preserve the new relationships generated between the genealogical figures and the subject matter of the GWW and the GSW. Whether intentional or not, Austin Jr.'s choices regarding the location of the replicas resulted in the successful physical and contextual preservation of the glass.[91]

After Austin Jr.'s nephew Samuel Caldwell Sr. retired in 1906, his son Samuel Caldwell Jr. undertook a similar decision making process regarding the genealogical windows. In 1942, the Blitz destroyed the replicas created by Austin Jr.[92] Instead of creating something different to fill the choir clerestory, Caldwell Jr. created a series of replacement windows which mimicked Austin Jr.'s replica series.[93] Caldwell Jr. was known to create impeccable replicas of medieval glass in terms of reproducing color, weathering, and pitting, but he often included his own subject matter, not necessarily retaining the original subjects. Thus, in choosing to remake the ancestors of Christ windows, he not only rearticulated their importance as part of the enduring fabric of the cathedral, but, as did Austin Jr., he decided to leave the original windows in their eighteenth-century positions and proceeded to place his replacements in the choir clerestory. It is hard to imagine that Caldwell Jr., like Austin Jr., would not have been aware of the effect this decision would have on the reception of the windows, originals and replicas alike. Hence, it is safe to say that the speculation I have worked through with Austin Jr.'s reasoning applies to Caldwell Jr. as well.

One significant difference exists between Austin Jr.'s and Caldwell Jr.'s situations,

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[91] One last point worth noting here is that no matter the reasoning behind Austin Jr.'s decision, creating the ancestors of Christ replicas would have been expensive and time-consuming, indicating that the decision to place some form of the medieval subject matter back in the choir clerestory was deemed important and relevant, even in the nineteenth century.

[92] Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 24.; Stained Glass Studio, "History of Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," 3.

[93] This, once again, would have been time consuming and expensive, which speaks to the importance given to the windows' preservation, in particular the ancestors of Christ series.

however. During the Caldwells' restorations some of the medieval glass in the south-west transept and west windows was returned to its original positions. New panels were then fabricated to replace the returned windows.[94] The question here involves Caldwell's decision to return only some of the medieval glass to its original positions. While causing undue distress to the glass could still be the reasoning behind these choices, it is my opinion, based on what little evidence we have, that Caldwell Jr. chose to leave the ancestors of Christ windows in their eighteenth-century locations for a separate reason. This reason would most likely have been to preserve the relationship between the ancestors of Christ windows and the later medieval glass in the GWW and the GSW. Both the work of Austin Jr. and Caldwell Jr. serve to demonstrate that even though viewing the ancestors of Christ series in its original location is an important element considered in restoring and conserving the stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral, preserving the relationships created through the movement and displacement of that same series is also significant in maintaining the cathedral's visual history.

Contemporary Displacements and Restorations

After the work of the Austins and Caldwells, the location and state of the genealogy of Christ windows, originals and replicas alike, remained fairly intact until 2009 when structural damage to the GSW caused some of the figures to be removed.[95] During the time of the repairs, which were completed in November 2016, four figures, including Adam were placed on view in

[94] Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church*, 230. Unfortunately, Caviness does not reference where she accessed this information. Thus, I have been unable to figure out which windows were restored to their original positions. Caviness also hypothesizes that the creation of these new panels is what resulted in the appearance of the eighth king in the Great West Window, whereas only seven had been noted in the earliest recordings.

[95] The Stained Glass Studio, "Conservation History and Processes," Accessed from http://www.stained glass-studio.org.uk/assets/files/stainedglass-conservation.pdf on 13 March 2017, 1. This brief overview of the current processes of restoration at Canterbury explains the difference between creative restoration (what happened largely with the Austins and Caldwells) and "true" restoration which involves returning only known designs to the glass in question.

the crypt.[96] The display of these figures in the crypt completely removed the windows from any semblance of their original context. While the windows did remain in Canterbury Cathedral when displayed in the crypt, the windows had to be artificially lit to be legible. Sunlight, which carried with it religious connotations of holiness for twelfth-century creators and viewers, no longer shone through the panels. In addition, the windows were placed much closer to eye level, breaking down the hierarchy and heavenly link created by placing them in the choir clerestory.

The exhibition of select figures in museums had a similar effect. In 2013 and 2014 a few panels were transported around the globe to be shown in the Getty and the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. While this provided an opportunity to expose more people to these windows, the fact remains that moving the ancestors of Christ panels in this way dramatically shifts the way they are viewed. They were taken out of context and placed in environments completely foreign to what their original creators intended. In placing the windows in traveling exhibitions, they were completely removed from the cathedral environment and in both cases, in the crypt and the exhibitions, labels aided viewers in understanding the content of the windows. Due to this, the experience of viewing the windows was much more uniform and controlled. After recognizing just how much the windows were affected by these movements and displays, an important question arises: What is the most appropriate course of action when restoring and displaying ancient glass that has been displaced over the course of its history?

Conclusion

Through close examination of the relocation of the ancestors of Christ stained glass series at Canterbury, it becomes clear that location (from the choir clerestory and GWW, to the

[96] Weaver, "Ancestors of Christ Windows," 43.; The Stained Glass Studio, "Great South Window," Accessed from https://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/heritage/conservation/current-projects/great-south-window/ on 13 March 2017.

cathedral crypt and various museums) has a dramatic effect on understanding the original contexts of this stained glass. As a type of narrative, the relocation of the genealogical series causes the majority of its meaning to be lost or obscured. The question remains as to how does one take appropriate action when conserving glass such as the genealogical series at Canterbury. In the case of the ancestors of Christ series, it is clear that conservation will always be a part of the cathedral environment. For instance, it will be interesting to observe whether Canterbury's new five-year project, The Canterbury Journey, will affect the GWW, as part of the project entails restoring the west towers.[97] Because conservation will remain an integral element of the cathedral's historical, material, and architectural environment, it is important to consider, in detail, the effect that processes of conservation have upon the understanding of medieval material, especially stained glass.

As this paper has shown, location is an integral element in how stained glass is interpreted, and not just by highly educated viewers. The position of a window in the cathedral environment has the power to heighten or diminish its importance and once that window is placed in a different context, with other windows and subject matters, the relationship between window and viewer is complicated exponentially. Through tracing the effect of location on the function of the ancestors of Christ series at Canterbury, it is my conclusion that to successfully preserve medieval stained glass, it is not only important to consider physical fragility, but contextual fragility as well. In the genealogical series at Canterbury, one can observe this type of preservation, one that ensures the original context of the glass remains accessible while taking care to incorporate the new relationships and visual history established by the movement of the glass.

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[97] The Stained Glass Studio, "Nave and West Towers," https://www.canterbury-cathedral.org/heritage/conservation/current-projects/nave-and-west-towers/ on 13 March 2017.

Appendix

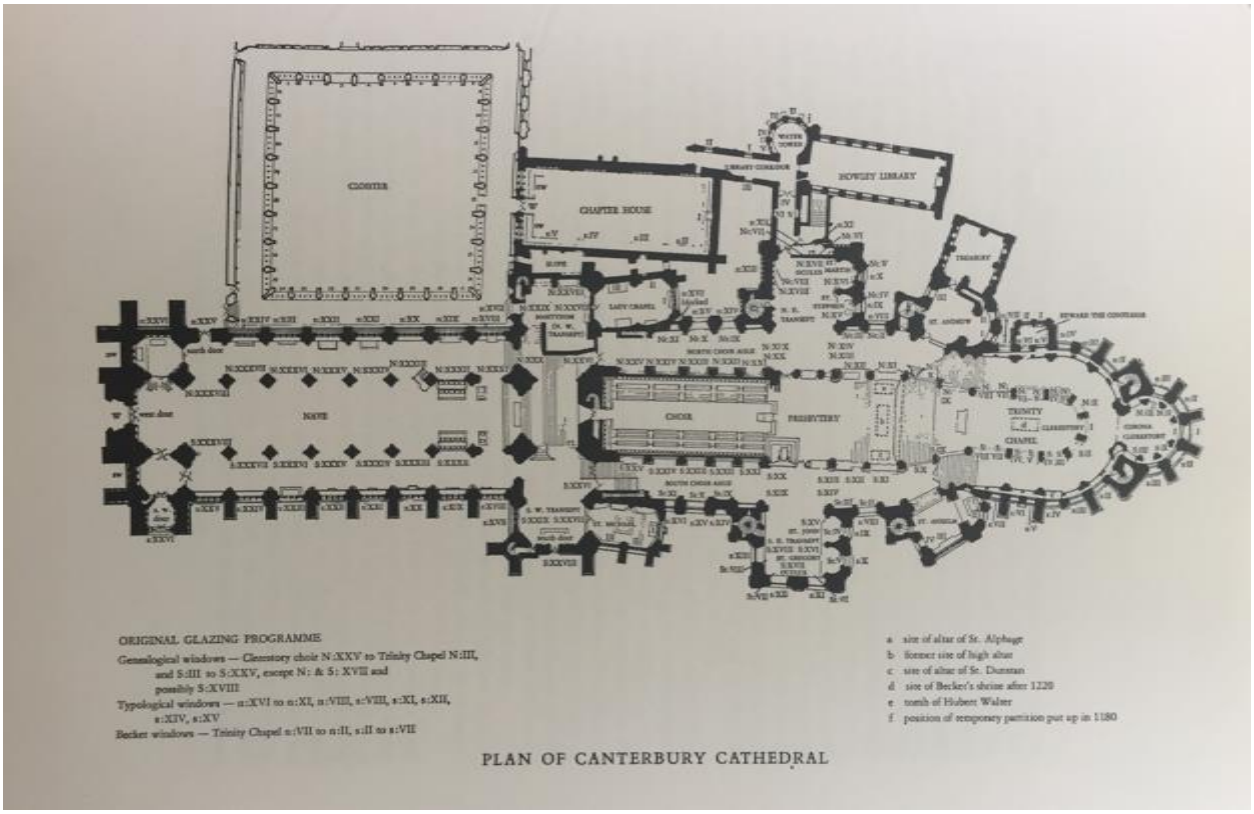


Figure 1. Plan of Canterbury Cathedral. From Madeline Harrison Caviness. *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1981.

Figure 2. Adam, Ancestors of Christ Windows, Attributed to the Methuselah Master, 1178-1180, Colored glass and vitreous paint, Canterbury Cathedral. From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 23.

Figure 3. Adam delving, Cotton Aelfric, Canterbury, Second quarter of the eleventh century, Ink on parchment, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius B.iv. Available from: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV (accessed on August 9, 2016).

Figure 4. Enoch, Ancestors of Christ Windows, Attributed to the Methuselah Master, 1178-1180, Colored glass and vitreous paint, Canterbury Cathedral. From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 31.

Figure 5. Enoch ascending to heaven, Cotton Aelfric, Canterbury, Second quarter of the eleventh century, Ink on parchment, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius B.iv. Available from: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV (accessed on August 9, 2016).

Figure 6. Roboam and Abia, Ancestors of Christ Windows, 1150-1160, Colored glass and vitreous paint, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on August 9, 2016).

Figure 7. David and Nathan, Ancestors of Christ Windows, 1150-1160, Colored glass and vitreous paint, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).

Figure 8. Effects of light through stained glass. Available from: Kelin Michael, the author.

Figure 9. Effects of light through stained glass. Available from: Kelin Michael, the author.

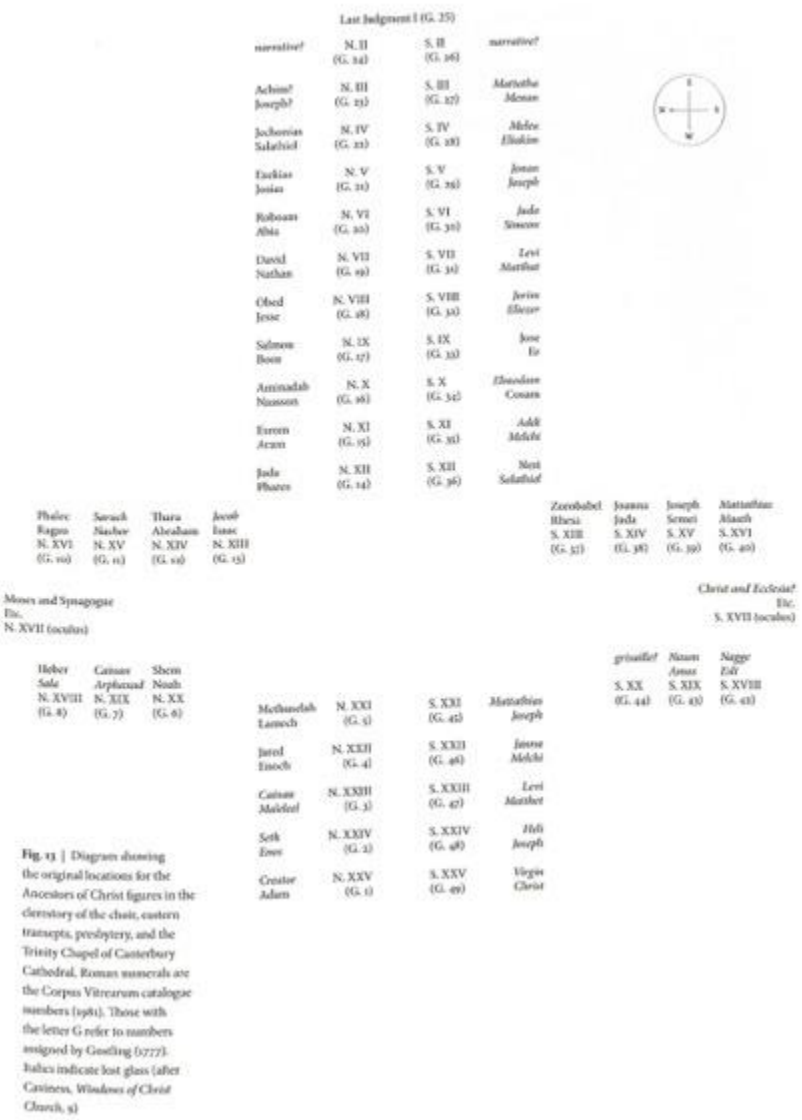


Fig. 13 | Diagram showing the original locations for the Ancestors of Christ figures in the clerestory of the choir, eastern transepts, presbytery, and the Trinity Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral. Roman numerals are the Corpus Vitrearum catalogue numbers (1981). Those with the letter G refer to numbers assigned by Gostling (1777). Italics indicate lost glass (after Caviness, *Windows of Christ Church*, 5)

Figure 10. Diagram of the original locations of the Ancestors of Christ figures in Canterbury Cathedral. From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 25.

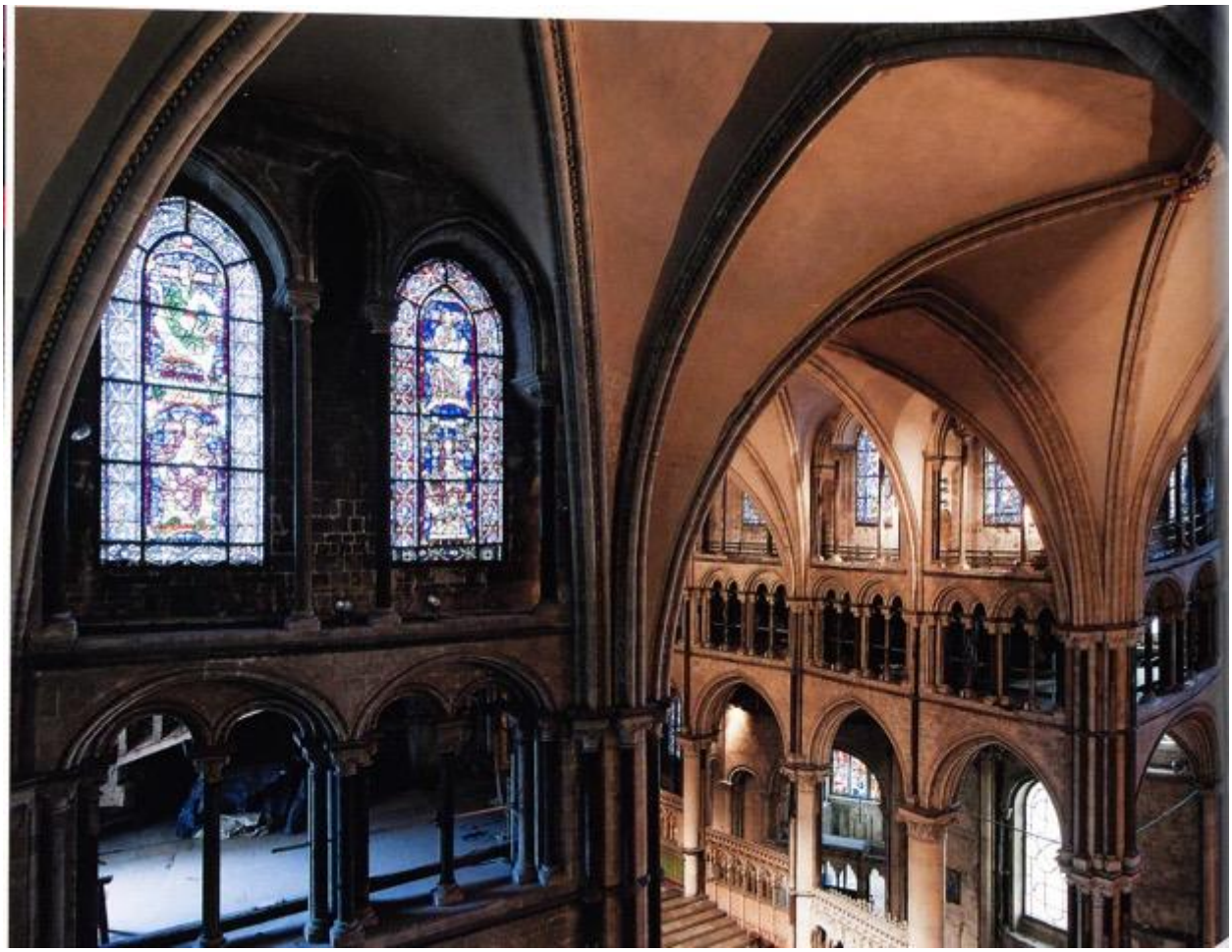


Figure 11. Two clerestory windows, northeast transept, Canterbury Cathedral. From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 16.

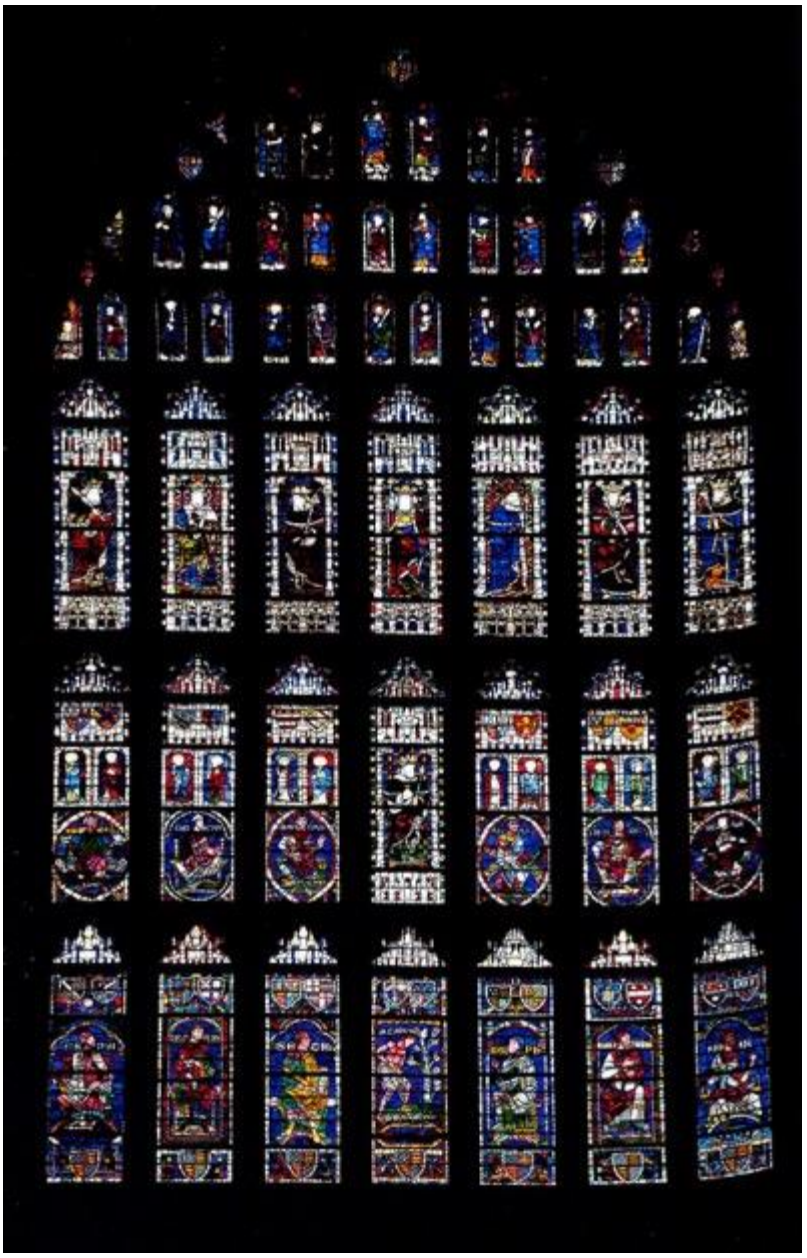


Figure 12. The Great West Window at the west end of the nave, Canterbury Cathedral.
From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 42.

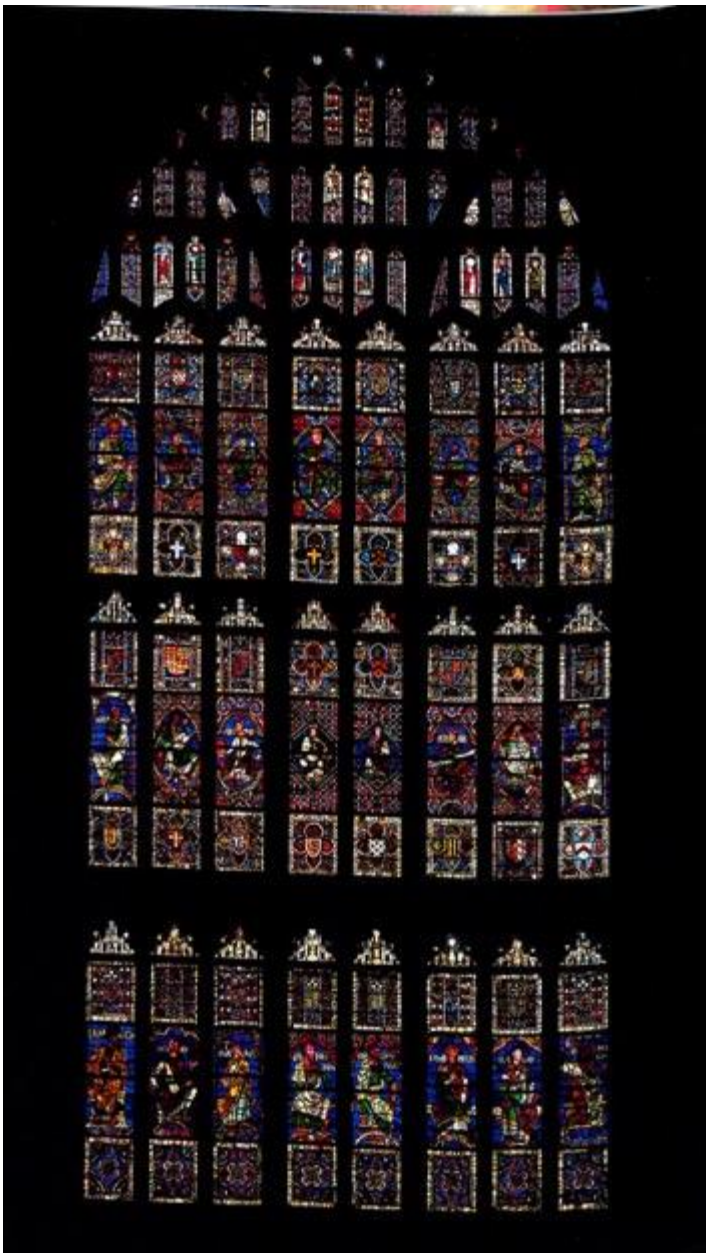


Figure 13. The Great South Window in the southwest transept, Canterbury Cathedral.
From Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline Caviness. *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral*. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2013. pg. 44.

Figure 14. Detail of the kings in the Great West Window, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).

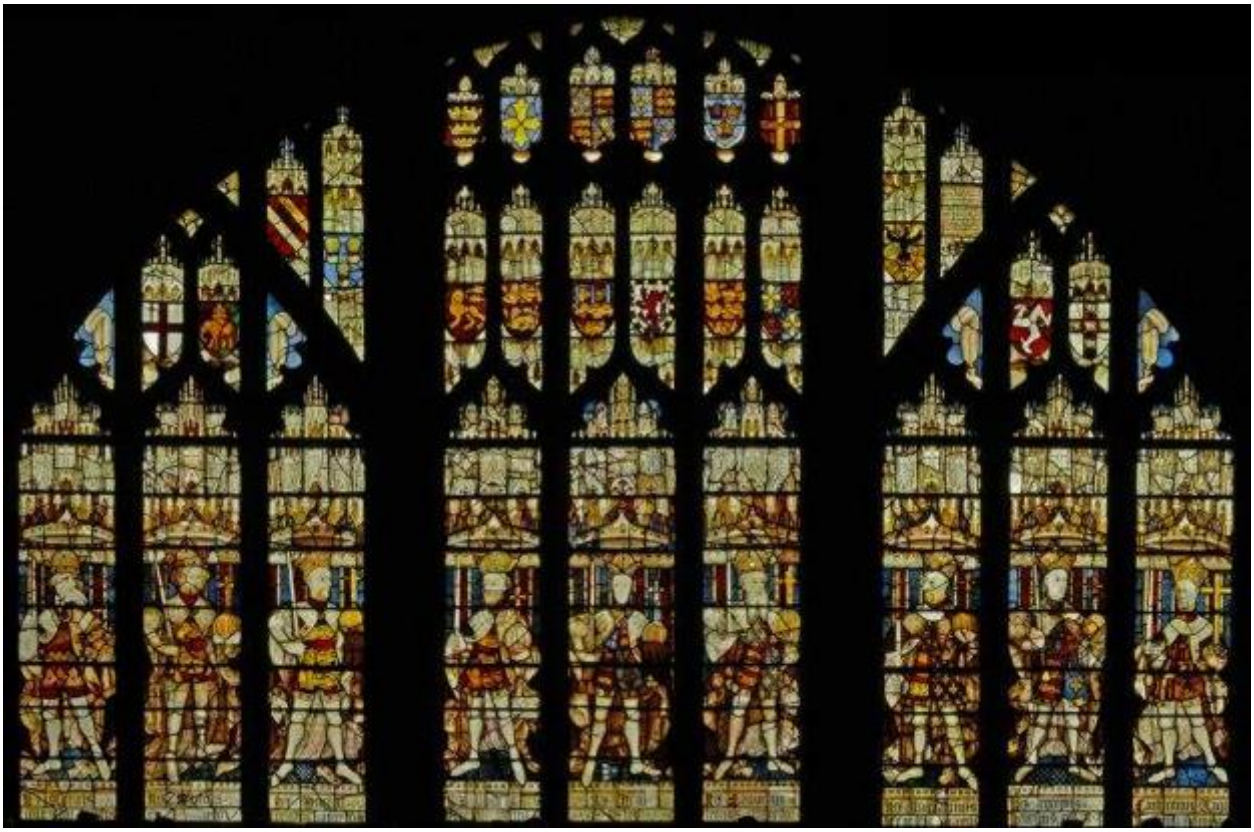


Figure 15. Detail of the Kings at St. Mary's Hall in Coventry, 1451-1461. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Coventry/table.htm (accessed May 14, 2017).

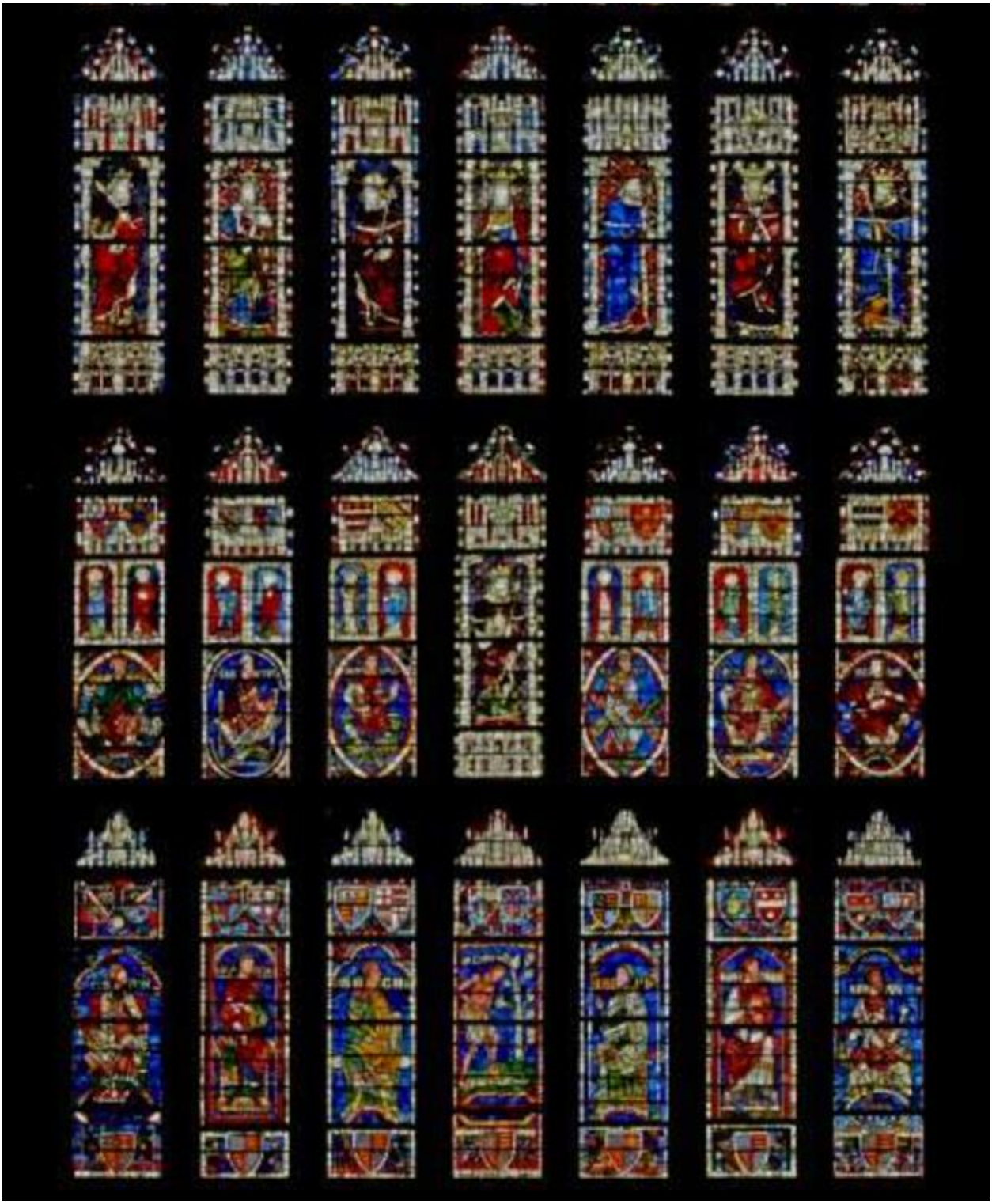
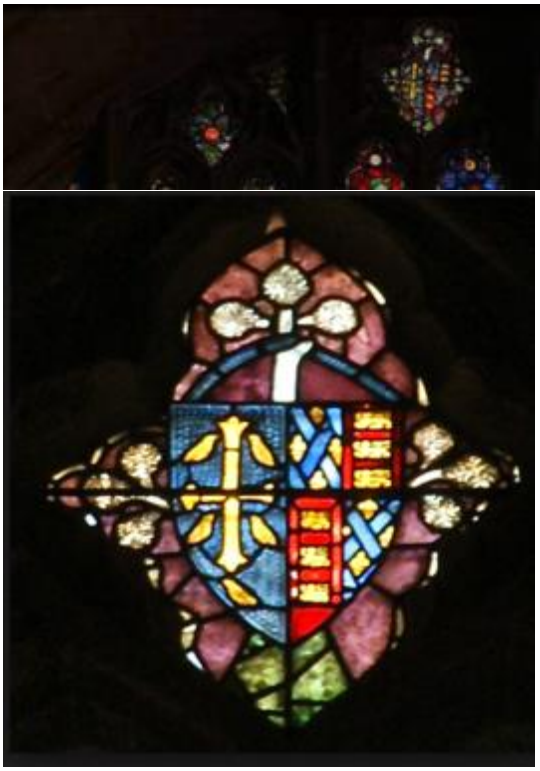


Figure 16. Detail of the lower three registers of the Great West Window including the kings and the added Ancestors of Christ figures, Canterbury Cathedral. http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).

Figure 17. Detail of the tracery lights of the Great West Window including Richard II's coat of arms, the apostles and saints, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).



Figures 18 and 19. Detail of Richard II's coat of arms in the Great West Window, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).

Figure 20. Seated English kings, mid-fourteenth century, Lincoln Cathedral. Available from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/amthomson/8104754808 (Accessed on May 14, 2017).

Figure 21. Gallery of royalty, north-west buttresses, Wells Cathedral, Fourteenth century. Source: Ad Meskens, Digital Image. Available from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=30569680. (Accessed May 14, 2017).

Figure 22. Seated king, West front, Exeter Cathedral, 1330-1350 CE. Available from: http://demolition-exeter.blogspot.com/2013/05/exeter-cathedral-image-screen.html (Accessed on May 14, 2017).

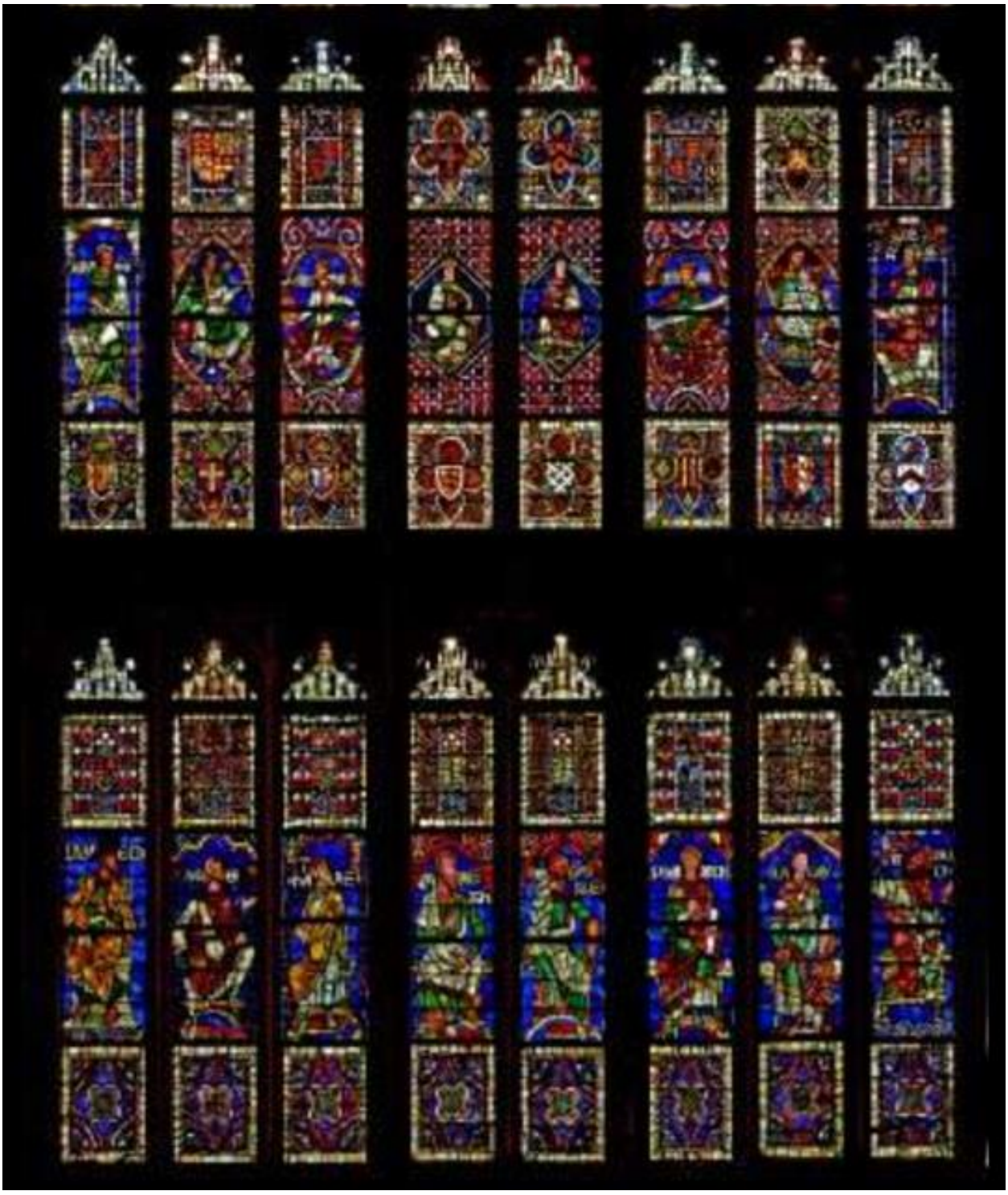


Figure 23. Detail of the lower two registers of the Great South Window including the Enoch window, Canterbury Cathedral. Available from: http://therosewindow.com/pilot/Canterbury/choir-clsty-Frame.htm (Accessed on May 13, 2017).

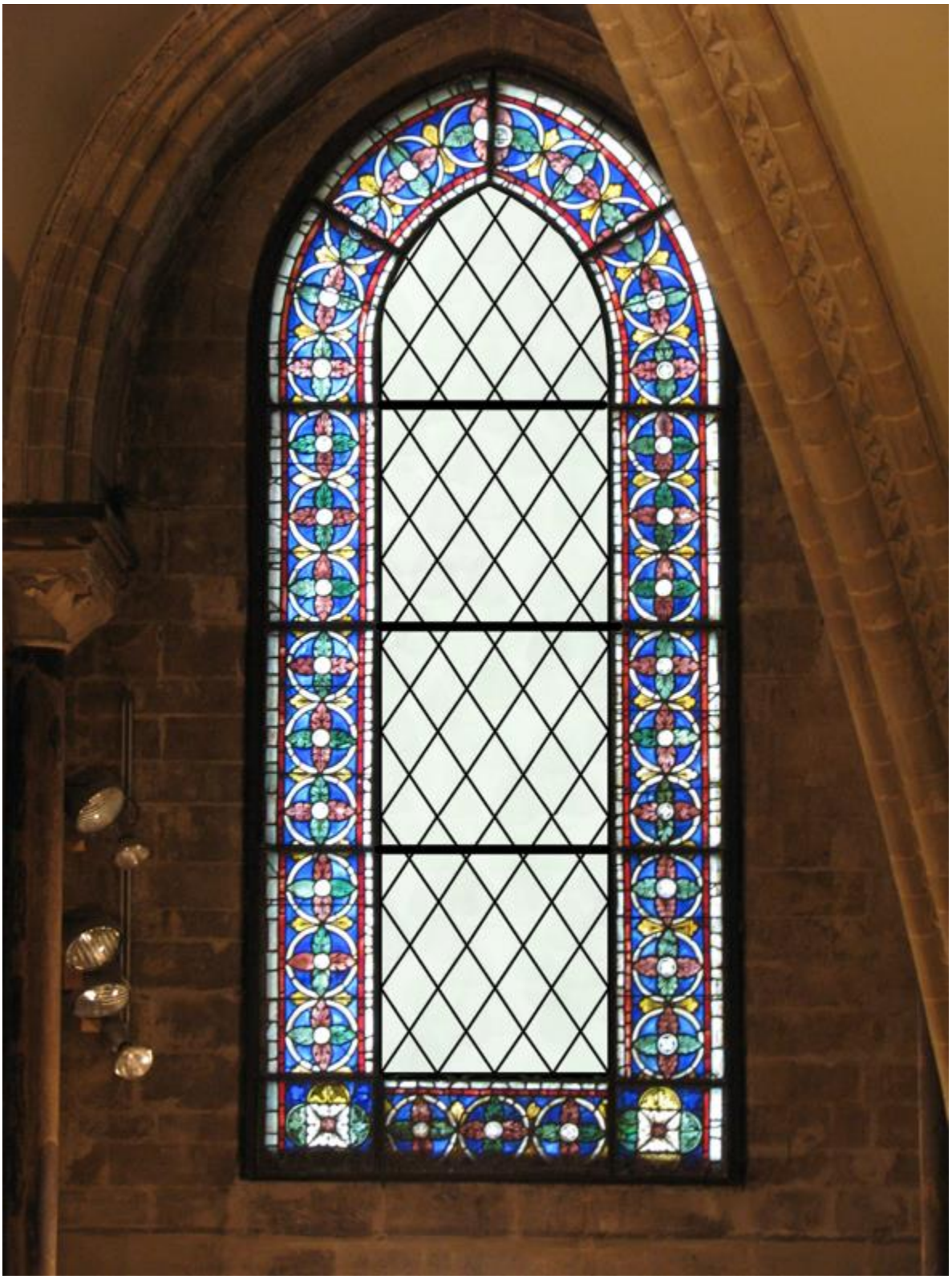


Figure 24. CC NXXI without ancestors of Christ figure, “diamond quarry” glazing, photoshopped visualization, Canterbury. Source: Léonie Seliger, by kind permission of the Dean & Chapter of Canterbury, Digital Image (accessed May 15, 2017).

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