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The Canterbury Roll: A Viewer's Guide of the Twelve Typological Windows at
Canterbury Cathedral

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Edgar Brandon Ramirez

June 2014

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This thesis is dedicated to my family and the educators that made me who I am today

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Introduction

§1. Out of the Ashes: The creation of the twelve Typological Windows

The installation of the twelfth-century stained glass windows known as the twelve Typological Windows came about rather fortuitously amidst a backdrop of tension and crises for the monastic cathedral at Canterbury. In fact, it was the result of a series of unfortunate circumstances that made possible radical transformations to both the cultural and artistic topography of the cathedral and its community in the years to follow Saint Augustine's sixth-century foundation. Perhaps the most significant catalysts in the transformation process of the monastic foundation at Canterbury began with the assassination of Archbishop Thomas Becket in 1170 and the mysterious fire in the choir just four years afterward. What would ensue according to Francis Woodman, was one of Europe's most ambitious building campaigns, and with it one of the largest and most comprehensive stained-glass programs of the twelfth century.¹

Although the devastation of the choir dealt yet another critical blow to the foundation of the cathedral, it was perhaps also considered a 'blessing in disguise' for the Christ Church monks. Despite all of its sumptuous decorations, the artwork and architecture which once furnished the Romanesque choir must have seemed dated by this point in time in comparison to the rapid artistic changes taking place in Europe. Indeed, the twelfth century witnessed the explosive growth of monumental sculpture and

painting, advancements in Romanesque architecture, but most importantly the exploitation of architectural wall space for the increasing use of stained glass windows.

The building of the new eastern arm (Fig. 1) of the cathedral began almost immediately after the fire of 1174, and by 1178, William of Sens, a French master mason, had completed the new choir, eastern transepts, and presbytery.² Because William was able to reuse the outer walls of Anselm's choir and leave the crypt intact, the building's erection was successfully accomplished at an unusually rapid pace.³ Nevertheless, misfortune struck the monastic community again when William apparently fell from the scaffolding and became seriously injured. Unable to continue with the building process, the decision was made to replace him with a regional master whom Gervase, a Christ Church monk, refers to as William the Englishman.⁴ Under his campaign, the architectural plan was to be altered to extend the Trinity Chapel further eastward, and to include the Corona. By 1184, the entire fabric of the eastern end of the cathedral was completed; all that remained was the decoration of the interior.⁵

The new architectural setting in the eastern arm of the cathedral was transformed into an irradiated field of uninterrupted light and color. This was achieved by exploiting the preexisting features of the stained glass window and the architectural framework, and pushing them to their limits. During the building campaign, the choir, eastern transepts, and presbytery were perforated extensively with three tiers of windows. In the clerestory were a series of lancet windows containing the genealogy of Christ, which began with Adam in the north part of the choir clerestory and circulated clockwise throughout the eastern arm ending with the Virgin and Christ in the south part of the choir clerestory

(Fig. 2). At the lowest level of the building, twelve windows circulated the aisles of the north and south choir, eastern transepts, and presbytery (Fig. 3); these windows (commonly referred to as the Typological Windows) contained subjects from the Life of Christ coupled with typological subjects from the Old Testament. Located directly above the aisle windows in the choir were a series of smaller ‘trilobed’ windows (Fig. 4) whose program is uncertain, but is believed to have contained subjects from the lives of Canterbury’s archbishops Saints Dunstan and Alphege.⁶

Beyond the presbytery and further east into the Trinity Chapel and Corona, there were two tiers of windows, the lowest of which descended to meet the viewer at eye level. Here, twelve windows containing scenes from the life and miracles of Saint Thomas Becket were arranged in two groups of six around the ambulatory (Fig. 5). As for the lower windows of the Corona, very little is known about their program except that it contained a Tree of Jesse and typological Redemption window (Fig. 6). In the clerestory of this part of the building, the genealogy of Christ continued, only the series here was interrupted in the apse by three windows whose program most likely contained narrative subjects.⁷

It was within this new part of the church that would later become the spiritual setting for the growing cult of Becket. In fact, it is believed that the stained glass program was designed toward this end from the very beginning.⁸ One can only imagine the affect that the Becket Miracle Windows would have had on the lay pilgrims as they eagerly gathered in anticipation to witness another miracle at the shrine of Saint Thomas. Indeed, the windows in this part of the church would have directly addressed the pilgrims, and

perhaps even solicited to them the hopes of salvation with their dramatic scenes of healing. These windows, then, were not just another stunning visual program; they were also ‘mirrors’ into which contemporary life at Canterbury during the height of the pilgrimage era was reflected. In this way, the Becket Miracle Windows appear as though they were specifically tailored to meet the expectations of the lay pilgrims, and thereby contributed to a primary aspect of their religious experience.

But what can be said about the pilgrims’ experience of the twelve Typological Windows, which also happened to be placed at an accessible level in the aisles of the choir and transepts? Could they not also have contributed to some kind of phenomenal experience for the lay pilgrims much like the rest of the visually provocative and cutting-edge art programs this part of the church had to offer?

Unfortunately, all that remains of the Typological Windows’ original program are two consolidated windows in the north choir aisle, which gather panels from the second, third, fourth, and sixth Typological Windows (Figs. 7-8). The content of these windows, however, is usually described as “bookish” and “esoteric”, and is believed to have contained theological and historical subject matter entirely unlike that which can be found in the contemporary Becket Miracle Windows.⁹ These windows were for the most part carried out in the typological fashion of the twelfth century, in which New Testament subjects from the Life of Christ were placed at the center of the windows, and Old Testament subjects or types, which were believed by medieval theologians to prefigure Christ’s coming, on either side of them. The imagery was apparently in need of commentary, for each peripheral panel is elaborately glossed and controlled by verse

inscriptions. Therefore, it would appear that the Typological Windows were created to satisfy the expectations of an educated and learned viewer rather than lay pilgrims.

Nevertheless, the Typological Windows were apparently famous in the Middle Ages. In fact, several copies of the windows' Latin verse inscriptions were made, and still survive in three manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries (Figs. 9-11). It is fascinating that, for the first time ever, an artistic program of this magnitude was given expression through three very unique textual manifestations over three successive generations. And yet, no one has seriously raised awareness for these documents as independent subjects to be studied in their own right, let alone questioned what their potential contribution was to the viewer's experience of the Typological Windows.

§2. State of the Research: Explaining the mysterious emergence of the manuscripts

Why these three manuscripts emerged in the first place continues to be a mystery. Although the Canterbury Verses (three manuscripts) have become virtually synonymous with the Typological Windows, little is actually known about if and how they contributed to this vastly complicated visual system of the twelfth century. Perhaps as equally baffling, though, is why each manuscript was designed with its own set of differing stylistic standards. In fact, all three manuscripts range in appearance: from a seemingly mundane copy of the windows verse inscriptions (Cambridge Verses), to a visual diagram of the windows verse inscriptions (Oxford Verses), and finally with an arrangement of the windows verse inscriptions in the peculiar format of a scroll

(Canterbury Roll). It is, therefore, hard to dismiss the notion that the Canterbury Verses are anything *but* simple, commonplace copies of the Typological Windows' program.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it is the latter and most peculiar of the three that has attracted considerable attention in recent scholarship. Instead of opting for a more traditional codex format like the Cambridge (MS 400) and Oxford (MS 256) Verses, the Canterbury Roll is arranged as an unusually large eight-foot-ten-inch by nine-and-a-half inch scroll whose script is treated with various annotations that seem to act like visual aids (a topic I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter One). It is not surprising why it is, then, that various scholars have sought to explain the reasons for the Canterbury Roll's uncharacteristic appearance.¹¹

M.R. James was among the first generation of scholars to edit the Canterbury Roll.¹² In his 1901 monograph, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, James opened his study with a brief but plausible explanation stating that the late fourteenth-century scroll could be used as a fixed viewing aid for the Typological Windows for the benefit of curious visitors.¹³ His claim was largely based upon the Canterbury Roll's format and its unusually large script, which he claimed could have allowed the scroll to be "hung up in the church...for the perusal of visitors".¹⁴ But as tempting as this hypothesis may seem, it is unclear as to how the Canterbury Roll succeeded in its public function as a viewing aid, or, for that matter, why an aid of this kind was needed to facilitate viewership of the Typological Windows in the first place.

As of late, M.R. James's claim continues to form the basis of current scholarship on the function of the Canterbury Roll. In fact, it was not until Madeline Caviness's 1981 publication, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, that any other substantial explanation would be given to the Canterbury Roll as well as the other two manuscripts. Instead of asserting a wider scope on the topic of the manuscripts' function, however, Caviness unintentionally downplays their significance in the scholarship, specifically in the context of viewing the Typological Windows. For Caviness, the manuscripts were strictly utilitarian objects to be used primarily as copies of the windows' program in the event that any of their panels should happen to break.¹⁵ But this explanation appears to overlook critical and often unusual features of the manuscripts in light of their seemingly 'ordinary' appearance.

To begin with, modern viewers' should consider it exceptional that none of the three manuscripts can be described as modest in their appearance—materially or textually. In fact, despite the very real cost of parchment and text illumination, all three manuscripts appear to exceed the expectations normally given to text recordings. The size of the Canterbury Roll alone would have required considerable social and financial commitments during the process of its making, all of which would have certainly undermined any justification for its use as a static, commonplace copy.

But on a deeper level, Caviness's explanation appears to overlook the various developments taking place in the three manuscripts, all of which appear to cultivate new methods of interacting with the Typological Windows' imagery. As will be shown

momentarily, the most unusual of the three methods of viewership springing forth from the Canterbury Roll.

I do not mean to allege that M.R. James or Madeline Caviness's conclusions are entirely unsound, only that much more needs to be said about these manuscripts before ruling to foreclose the possibility that they might have contributed (in more than one way) to the artistic culture of the Typological Windows. In fact, I intend to illustrate in this study how the Canterbury Roll had the potential to act as a dynamic *interface* for the public, and could even guide viewers to some degree through the particularly challenging aspects of the windows' imagery. Based on various visual and verbal aids integrated with the script of the Canterbury Roll, the evidence suggests that it might have facilitated some form of visual and aural reading of the windows' imagery, one that ultimately might have been performed for the public's viewership in mind.

§3. Methodology: Conceptualizing the use of the manuscripts

For some time now, scholars have tried to understand what it must have been like for medieval viewers to encounter a work of art, but unfortunately there have been few documented experiences to assist in this matter, especially from the viewpoint of the laity. Miraculously, we not only have surviving portions of the Typological Windows, but also three documented expressions of their original program to help shape our understanding of the type of artistic culture operating at Canterbury. It is my hope that by reimagining the function of the manuscripts, this study will contribute to a more

multifaceted way of understanding the reception of medieval works of art, in the case of the Typological Windows, one that operated on an intellectual, visual, and even performative level of engagement. And although it is impossible to know what medieval viewers actually experienced during their encounters with the Typological Windows, it is hoped that this study will, at the very least, shed some light on what they could have expected to experience.

Before one can make this leap, however, it is important that one first assess the quantitative or technical aspects of the manuscripts, especially taking care to identify and analyze each of their physical and textual appearances. This step of the research will take place in Chapter One, in which the manuscripts' dimensions, paleography, and unique sets of mistakes and additions will be scrutinized in order to indicate possible explanations for their use.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that this study is less concerned with the specifics of these findings than with utilizing them in order to map out the ground of practices and ideas shared by the artistic community that brought these manuscripts into existence. Therefore, by grounding the implications of Chapter One within specific social, artistic, and religious conditions of the twelfth century, I hope to reconstruct in Chapter Two how the Canterbury Roll might have operated within the artistic culture of the community it served. More importantly, by assessing the materiality of the Canterbury Roll through a historical and social lens, I hope it will become quite clear how it formed an integral aspect of the ways in which art was transmitted and received in the Middle Ages.

Chapter One

Designs, Signs, and Visual Aids: Cultivating the forms of engagement with the Typological Windows

Sometime after the completion of the Typological Windows, various recordings of the windows' subjects and verse inscriptions began to emerge, three of which still survive in manuscript format from the late thirteenth, early fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Despite sharing the same fundamental subject, each manuscript is individualized by its own unique design. In fact, the manuscripts' differing choices in material and stylistic arrangements suggests that the windows' program was deliberately being thought-out on multiple levels, all of which diversify the manuscripts' potential function beyond simply preserving copies of the windows' program. As of yet, there have not been any attempts to bring all three documents together for a comprehensive assessment of their technical or stylistic designs. It is the purpose of this section to analyze both the material and textual qualities of all three manuscripts in order to gain a broader understanding of how they might have contributed to and diversified the forms of engagement with the Typological Windows.

§1. The Cambridge Verses: The cultivation of an intellectual engagement

The Cambridge Verses (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 400) is a manuscript of extraordinary quality, and the manner in which it was written and decorated suggests that a considerable degree of care and expense went into its making (Figs. 12-15). In fact, the quality of the script, which is written in the *littera textualis* tradition, and the craftsmanship of the text decoration are masterfully executed like an illustrious display book.¹⁶ The level of social and financial resources necessary for manuscript production made it an incredibly rare art form throughout the Middle Ages. It is not surprising, then, that only a select body of sacred and prestigious texts was selected for this kind of treatment. It should be considered relatively exceptional to find a recording of an artistic program being given a similar degree of attention.

Although the Cambridge Verses does not exactly fit the criteria of a luxury manuscript, it was created with the same expectations in mind. For instance, the script matches the caliber of a professional scribe who executed the task with great discipline and careful ruling. Using what is known as ‘set script’, each individual character received slow and methodical application, which makes the text incredibly legible.¹⁷ An illuminator was also employed the task of accentuating certain text with embellishments. In addition to applying *littera florissa* (curvilinear designs added to decorate initials) to the opening initial of the text, particular verse recordings were given raised initials in blue (Fig. 16). Even the manuscript’s image titles were rubricated to further distinguish them from the verse recordings. It would appear as though the presentation of the text far

exceeds the necessary treatment that would have normally been given to a commonplace copy of the windows' program.

Despite the precautions taken with the appearance of the Cambridge Verses, a number of discrepancies appear to have occurred during the recording of the Typological Windows' verse inscriptions.¹⁸ Most notably, the organization of the manuscript's verse recordings is interrupted on three occasions. The first instance of this interruption occurs on the verso of folio 150, in which the last three subjects of the sixth Typological Window are interposed with the text belonging to the third Typological Window.¹⁹ Again, on the recto of folio 152, nearly twelve subjects from the eighth Typological Window are included at the end of the text belonging to the sixth Typological Window. The final incident concludes on the verso of folio 152, in which the last eleven subjects from the tenth Typological Window are inserted at the end of the text belonging to the eighth Typological Window.

These misplacements were most likely unintentional. In fact, an attempt to correct one instance of these errors appears in the right margin of folio 152 (Fig. 17). Adjacent to the verse recordings of the parable of the Wedding Feast is written *in '8' fenestra* (in the eighth window). As noted above, the manuscript's verse recordings here as well as the eleven subjects following them presumably belonged to the eighth Typological Window and not the sixth Typological Window as indicated in the manuscript.²⁰

The reason for the correction seems self-evident; nevertheless, how it may have come about is of greater significance. If this is in fact a correction, then it was most likely added by someone while being in direct proximity to the Typological Windows.

Although it is possible that a scribe may have identified the misplaced verse recordings with the aid of a master copy (no longer extant), recognition of the mistake implies that the scribe had a familiar sense of the windows' actual composition *in situ*. In all likelihood, a more confident correction would have been made while in front of the windows, as opposed to referring to a potentially unreliable copy.²¹ Therefore, it seems to be the case that the corrector was someone who was closely associated with the Typological Windows at Canterbury, and who might have also actively referred to the Cambridge Verses—perhaps even while in front of the windows—upon noticing the mistake. However, what could have possibly driven someone to interact with the Typological Windows with the assistance of the Cambridge Verses?

In addition to the correcting, a number of other marginal notes were applied to the Cambridge Verses. Due to the taut binding of the codex's gutter, only thirty of the thirty-seven annotations appear legibly.²² From what can be gathered, the annotations seem to provide an early form of biblical citation. It is believed that prior to becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton (*d.* 1228) invented the first method of dividing the bible into its current set of chapters.²³ By subdividing each chapter into seven sections, each of which was marked with the letters a through g in the margins, passages could more readily be referenced by chapter number and section.²⁴ It seems to be the case that a similar form of reference was being worked out in the margins of the Cambridge Verses.

However, the references in the Cambridge Verses are used in a more liberal fashion. Instead of referencing specific scriptural passages from the bible, the annotations

of the Cambridge Verses provide biblical book names followed by their chapter numbers.²⁵ Among the books cited are the Gospels, Exodus, Numbers, and what appear to be 2 Samuel and 2 Kings. So how do these annotations mediate the reader's/viewer's experience of interacting with the Typological Windows' imagery?

In addition to being visually complicated, a number of the Typological Windows' theological subjects may have proven rather complex for the average viewer's understanding (a topic that will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Two), in which case further clarification of the windows meaning might have been sought. In fact, Chapter Two of both Matthew and Luke are amongst those frequently referenced beside the verse recordings for windows one and two. Here, the annotations appear to provide the user with the broader biblical basis concerning the infancy and childhood of Christ, subjects that just so happened to be overarching themes for the imagery in windows one and two. Taken in this sense, the Cambridge Verses may have served as a useful study guide for exploring the biblical concepts from which the windows' verse inscriptions were adapted.

The level of craftsmanship applied to both the material and textual components of the Cambridge Verses indicates that the document had an ulterior purpose beyond its role as a copy of the Typological Windows' program. As was customary with many manuscripts during the Middle Ages, it is possible that the Cambridge Verses was designed to be exchanged with other monastic institutions. Indeed, the Cambridge Verses clear script and portable codex format might have provided a fitting model for other decision makers, who might have sought to create their own version of this developing

artistic culture. However, this does not begin to explain why someone went through the trouble to annotate the Cambridge Verses. In fact, it is unimaginable to think that someone outside the convent of Canterbury was capable of identifying and applying the necessary corrections to the Cambridge Verses. Is it possible that the Cambridge Verses was intended to remain at Canterbury, and that someone there was consulting its annotations in such a way that facilitated a form of intellectual engagement with the windows' imagery? Nevertheless, this begs the following question: namely, what aspect of the Typological Windows' artistic culture required a pedagogical process of viewing?

§2. The Oxford Verses: The cultivation of a visual engagement

Unlike the Cambridge Verses, the fifteenth-century Oxford Verses (Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS 256) is contained within a rather standard notebook of unformatted paper leaves.²⁶ It is believed that the first known author of the codex was William Glastynbury (*d.* 1449), a Christ Church monk. The writings of William are chiefly valued for their insight into the domestic affairs of the priory of Canterbury; nevertheless, it is his recordings of the twelve Typological Windows that deserve greater attention (Figs. 18-20).

To begin with, the Oxford Verses departs from the standard textual arrangement of the Cambridge Verses in order to provide a close characterization of the Typological Windows' visual logic. Indeed, rather than list the verse recordings in succession across the page like the Cambridge Verses, the Oxford Verses coordinated them according to

their layout in the windows' individual panels. For instance, where the windows employ three-panel registers (windows 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, and 12), the manuscript's image titles and verse recordings were also respectively formatted into three-columns, which preserve the left, right, and center orientation of the windows' frames (Fig. 21).²⁷ However, there are also instances in which the windows' composition radically departs from the tripartite model (windows 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10). In these instances, the manuscript's textual arrangement attempts to signal—albeit in a less systematic fashion—the various changes in the windows' visual design. In particular, the star-shaped composition of the ninth Typological Window proved too complex for the three-column format, and so it was temporarily suspended in the recording of this window (Fig. 22). Still, the basic visual components of the window remain. Here, the subjects of the window's inner panels were placed in the center of the folio. Directly beneath these image titles was given a list of the subjects and verse recordings belonging to the peripheral panels of each of the window's circular units.

The Oxford Verses' formatting techniques indicate that William was concerned with articulating the visual changes occurring throughout the Typological Windows. In most cases, William succeeded in simulating the simpler tripartite compositions, but may have found the more intricate arrangements to be too difficult for transcription. Nevertheless, William managed to create a novel format that was capable of conveying the windows' visual dynamics into a purely verbal format. What could have motivated this style of design?

In addition to the differing formatting techniques, there are also various disagreements in the manuscript's image titles from those featured in the Cambridge Verses and the Canterbury Roll.²⁸ Although none of the subjects of the image titles differ on a conceptual level, certain image titles from the Oxford Verses are given alternative phrasing.

The differences in the phrasing of the Oxford Verses' image titles may have resulted from the fact that William partially recorded the verse inscriptions from his own observation of the Typological Windows.²⁹ Indeed, William's ability to characterize the windows' visual logic suggests that the verse recordings were based on an actual inspection of the glass. Taking this into consideration, the image titles were perhaps William's original descriptions of what he may have actually seen in the windows.

Nevertheless, there is a reason to suspect that William was not the original author for some of the alternative image titles. In particular, the manuscript's verse recordings for the three subjects which presumably belonged to the second register of the first Typological Window (now missing) supplies the following titles: *misericordia et veritas obivaverunt sibi* (Mercy and Truth Kissing), *salutacio Marie et Elizabeth* (The Greeting of Mary and Elizabeth), and *iusticia et pax osculate sunt* (Righteousness and Peace Kissing).

Although many of the Typological Windows' subjects were shared by other typological cycles, the windows' representation of 'Mercy and Truth' and 'Righteousness and Peace Kissing' would have been considered rare themes at the time.³⁰ Nevertheless, an identical typological grouping of the windows' subjects can be found in *Pictor in*

Carmine, in which both subjects appear word for word.³¹ The earliest copy of the treatise was composed around 1200, and is believed to have provided medieval artisans with one of the largest typological selections of Old and New Testament subjects. In the preface to *Pictor*, the author expresses his hope that his work will be treated much like a manual—one which could provide a general set of examples for the guidance of those supervising image programs.³² In fact, scholars have since pointed to numerous parallels existing between the subjects of the Typological Windows and *Pictor* to suggest a more than coincidental relationship.³³ In all likelihood, William would have known about *Pictor in Carmine*, and may have even acquired certain image titles from it, specifically the identical titles of ‘Mercy and Truth’ and ‘Righteousness and Peace Kissing’.³⁴

William’s apparent integration of *Pictor in Carmine* with his own version of the Typological Windows’ program acknowledges his shared desire to contribute to the dissemination of this developing artistic culture. However, William was providing a tested and, therefore, more reliable model for others to follow. That is to say, unlike *Pictor in Carmine*, which provided a more generalized guide, the Oxford Verses benefited from having based its source on an actual working model—one that just so happened to be successfully realized at the most prominent monastic institution in all of England. As a result, the Oxford Verses represents a more authentic model that could be confidently copied entirely or in part, or even adapted to suit the needs of other institutions seeking a similar visual program.

At some point, it may have become desirable for the manuscripts to incorporate the Typological Windows’ visual logic in addition to their verse inscriptions. In fact, the

spread of *Pictor in Carmine* throughout England suggests that there was a strong demand in certain circles for this kind of visual system. Nevertheless, the Oxford Verses represent a more successful design for others to apply to their image programs. That is to say, the Oxford Verses provided a more pliable platform for others to follow by synthesizing an otherwise complex visual program into a verbal format. Indeed, by simplifying the Typological Windows' visual dynamics into a textual format, the Oxford Verses is made into a successful vehicle for duplication and dissemination. More importantly, the dissemination of the Oxford Verses would have certainly guaranteed the future development of the windows as well as broadened the potential ways for others to experience their imagery.

§3. The Canterbury Roll: An engagement of another kind

In the Cathedral Archives at Canterbury is a manuscript from the early fourteenth century that records the Typological Windows' verse inscriptions into the rather unusual fashion of a scroll (Figs. 23-31). The uncharacteristic size of the Canterbury Roll (especially its script) is truly unique from the previous two manuscripts. In fact, both its material and textual formatting convey the development of an entirely new genre of these verse texts.

The Canterbury Roll is by far the largest of the three manuscripts. In total, the Canterbury Roll consists of four parchments pasted together as a scroll, and when it is fully extended it measures eight feet and ten inches in length and nine and half inches

across.³⁵ The manner in which the parchments were pasted together suggests the scroll format was desired from the outset. For instance, if the Canterbury Roll were intended to consist of several independent sheets, then there would be some degree of spacing applied to the script in the margins of the head (top) and tail (bottom) of each new parchment sheet. Nevertheless, the script was applied directly onto the areas where the parchments are joined together, which gives the impression that the letters are being bisected midway (Figs. 32-33).³⁶ This can only suggest that the Canterbury Roll was written upon after it was pasted together as a unit.

It can also be said with some conviction that the sheer magnitude of the Canterbury Roll might have required the assistance from a team of scribes for its creation. In fact, numerous variations seem to occur in the script to indicate the possible input of at least two different hands.³⁷ For instance, there are considerable differences in the bows (closed curve of a letter) and stems (upright portion of a letter) of the capital letter 'P'. The bow is left open in some cases but not in others. In addition, an extra vertical bar occasionally bisects the bows of the 'P'. Also, the length of the ascenders (upward stroke) and descenders (downward stroke) of the capital letter 'S' appear to dramatically vary. In some instances, both the ascenders and descenders terminate into bows in such a way that makes the 'S' appear more like the number '8'.

Unfortunately, the authors of the Canterbury Roll have remained anonymous. At one point, M.R. James believed that the handwriting could be attributed to the fourteenth-century 'Inventory of Prior Henry of Eastry'.³⁸ Nevertheless, the tedious enterprise of taking inventory would have interfered with the regular sacred hours of a Christ Church

monk. In fact, Charles Woodruff suggested that the Christ Church scriptorium declined in manuscript production around the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁹ During this period, the ever-increasing demand for books by the wealthy convent was met with the practice of outsourcing assistance from professional scribes, who were by this time already forming guilds.⁴⁰ Indeed, the frequency of errors in the script suggests that the Canterbury Roll's scribes had limited exposure to (or concern for) the actual appearance of the Typological Windows.⁴¹ It, therefore, seems more likely that someone other than a monk may have made the Canterbury Roll. But why was the Canterbury Roll designed as an unusual scroll?

The unusual size of the Canterbury Roll and its script makes it highly legible, which has led many to wonder whether the document had potential uses within a public setting. James was the first to provide a plausible explanation, suggesting that the Canterbury Roll might have been hung up somewhere in the church (perhaps the choir) as a viewing aid for the cathedral's visitors.⁴² As it happens, many medieval churches participated in the rich culture of displaying *tabulae* (parchments pasted onto boards) for the public with the lists of all the relics, foundation histories, and other prestigious miscellanea contained within their precincts.⁴³ Is it possible that the Canterbury Roll may have operated under similar circumstances, perhaps as a directory of the Typological Windows for Canterbury's pilgrims?

At some point, there may have been evidence of pinholes to support James's claim; however, the head of the document no longer exists.⁴⁴ Though, even if there were evidence, the Canterbury Roll would have proved much too large and heavy to have been

hung up and, yet, far too small to have been adequately read at ground level. In fact, the unsystematic arrangement of the script would have only contributed to the difficulty of reading the Canterbury Roll. That is to say, unlike the Oxford Verses, the Canterbury Roll made no obvious attempt to orient the verse inscriptions in such a way that captures the visual logic of the Typological Windows. Therefore, assuming that the average fourteenth-century visitor could read—in Latin, no less—he or she could not have possibly benefited from the Canterbury Roll without substantial assistance from someone who was educated and familiarized with the windows.

In fact, the unsystematic arrangement of the script seems to have provoked someone to take the time to customize the Canterbury Roll in such a way that made it user-friendlier. Although the scribes of the Canterbury Roll did not employ a textual arrangement that catered to the visual dynamics of the Typological Windows, they did apply distinct visual aids to the script in order to help guide the reader through the windows' various components.

Like the Cambridge Verses, the Canterbury Roll also supplies markings to distinguish its image titles from its verse recordings of the Typological Windows. Indeed, the first two titles of window one were properly rubricated. Nevertheless, the remainder of the image titles received partial treatment with red underlining, many of which were not even ruled. In fact, faint traces of sepia underlining indicate that the original scribes only intended to distinguish a few image titles before someone else decided to continue the task with red ink (Figs. 34-35). And so it seems that someone was evidently

concerned about his or her ability to identify the windows' image panels enough to have gone through the trouble of annotating the entire document.

In addition to the underlining, various other symbols were applied to the Canterbury Roll's script in order to visually cue the reader's attention. Since the length of many image titles prohibited them from being grouped together as units, like they appear in the windows, numerous image titles were relegated rather awkwardly into the right margin of the document (Fig. 36). However, this solution proved ineffective. Because many image titles now shared the space adjacent to the verse recordings, the potential for their confusion only increased. Therefore, paraph symbols were supplied to further distinguish the windows' image titles apart from the rest of text (Fig. 37).⁴⁵ Similarly, star-shaped symbols or asterisk markings were also placed in the Canterbury Roll's left margin adjacent to the verse recordings for windows four and five (Fig. 38).⁴⁶ The asterisk-shaped symbols may have been used as finding aids in order to preselect particularly significant verse recordings for the reader (a topic that will be discussed in greater length in Chapter Two).

Judging from the makeshift quality of the visual aids, it is clear that someone other than a professional scribe was applying them to the Canterbury Roll.⁴⁷ Indeed, the presence of these additional annotations implies that the Canterbury Roll was not being used as a stationary object in the archive but, instead, was regularly consulted by someone seeking visual guidance of the Typological Windows' imagery. However, if the laity were incapable of utilizing the Canterbury Roll unassisted, then for whom were these visual aids serviceable?

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of the Canterbury Roll, however, is its scroll format (Fig. 39). Scrolls were valued throughout the Middle Ages for their ability to be read uninterrupted.⁴⁸ Indeed, the Canterbury Roll's potential to generate a seamless body of text for the reader was equally valued. By eliminating the page format of the codex, the scroll format of the Canterbury Roll enabled a more fluid tempo in the arrangement of its script. In fact, an unusually generous amount of spacing was applied after each line of verse text in order to streamline its movement. In some instances, the Canterbury Roll's image titles were also cautiously positioned around the verse text in order to avoid disturbing its flow (Fig. 40). Because of this, nearly half of the Canterbury Roll's right margin remains blank.

Despite the very real cost of parchment, the scribes were evidently willing to go to considerable lengths in order to provide the reader with a more fluid engagement with the Canterbury Roll's script. In fact, it was the portability and legibility of the medieval scroll that made it an especially effective instrument for delivering public announcements throughout the Middle Ages.⁴⁹ It is not surprising, then, that charters and proclamations regularly took the form of a scroll; however, it would have been quite an unusual platform to use for the task of recording the Typological Windows' program.

No other medieval stained glass program has received the kind of level of attention expressed by all three manuscripts. Indeed, each attempts to address the Typological Windows in such a way that develops multiple methods for engaging with their artistic culture. Although the Cambridge and Oxford Verses provided a kind of intellectual and visual engagement with the Typological Windows, it is the Canterbury

Roll that seems to be assisting with a more inviting interaction between the windows and their viewers. In fact, the visual aids and scroll format of the Canterbury Roll seem to allow for a visual and performative experience of the windows' imagery in order to help guide lay and illiterate viewers.

But what aspect of the Typological Windows' artistic culture might have required the Canterbury Roll's reader to communicate the script in a manner that was both fluid and aural?

Chapter Two

Seeing and Hearing the Typological Windows: The Canterbury Roll as an interface for the laity

The various anomalies with the Canterbury Roll's appearance certainly provoke more questions than they do answers when it comes to resolving the Canterbury Roll's function. Before one can attempt to answer some of the questions raised in Chapter One, however, it is imperative for one to first begin by understanding the artistic situation from which the Canterbury Roll derived.

When the Typological Windows were created, they were not perceived simply as ornate visual objects to be valued for their aesthetic appeal any more than the way today's works of art are. They, too, were a manifestation of a particular artistic climate as well as a reflection of the values of the culture that produced them. At the monastic community of Christ Church, the monks would have been well aware of the ongoing concern for the 'proper' use of artwork in the sacred space, a concern that would have set strict limitations on how artworks were to be used and displayed.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, by the end of the twelfth century, the traditional attitude toward art had begun to shift in a more public-oriented direction. In fact, the increasing use of monumental stained glass windows, which were visible to larger audiences, began to push the limits of what was considered acceptable decorum in the church. It was within this transitional state that the Typological Windows were created. On the one hand, there were the St.-Denis windows, whose artistic program was based on a newly invented

exegetical model for the restricted use by the *litterati* (choir monks). The presumption of limitation for those incapable of interpreting the elite spiritual knowledge contained in the windows' exegetical program would not only have justified their use within the church, but also strengthened the monks' position atop the traditional spiritual hierarchy of the initiate (monk) and the uninitiate (layperson), concepts which I will develop later in the chapter.⁵¹ On the other hand, however, this traditional dichotomy was already being challenged by intermediate exegetical programs of the thirteenth century, such as those described in *Pictor in Carmine*, which could operate on multiple levels of awareness for the public.⁵² Although the imagery of the Typological Windows was heavily inscribed by verse commentary, the windows could still claim to fall under the new public-oriented artistic culture beginning to arise in typological art programs of this period.

With this new class of artistic programs came the necessity to create new methods of engaging with their imagery. For the monks of Christ Church, this meant the development of a system capable of providing the viewer with a culminating experience of the Typological Windows. As a participant in the Cult of Relics, Canterbury had already established an administration capable of addressing the needs of visiting pilgrims. And like any administration, there would have been a designated body of officials whose duties were to guide the pilgrims around the church.

In this chapter, I will illustrate how the monastic environment at Canterbury influenced the ways in which both learned and lay viewers perceived the Typological Windows. As will be shown, the windows' appear to maintain a dynamic claim of inaccessibility for the lay viewer, a claim that could have only been overcome through

the intercession of the church and its development of a guide culture. I will argue that the Canterbury Roll was a pivotal instrument in this guide culture, whose scroll format and visual aids allowed members of the monastic community to provide a visual and aural reading of the windows' imagery to the pilgrims.

§1. A Description of the Twelve Typological Windows:

Over the years, interest in the twelve Typological Windows has been meager in comparison to the more famous Continental windows at places like St.-Denis and Chartres. This is most likely due in part to the lack of surviving information of the early history of the windows at Christ Church. As a result, recreating the Typological Windows' original program has come about rather piecemeal through the steady advances of larger studies. Among the earliest is Bernard Rackham's 1949 publication, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, which attempted to provide a complete illustrated catalogue of the original windows, and, for the first time ever, to put forth an organized chronology of the glazing programs with comparisons to the French tradition.⁵³ One of the primary shortcomings of Rackham's study, however, was that it lacked consideration for the extensive restorations to which the glass has been subjected.⁵⁴ Because of the sheer damage sustained by the windows throughout the centuries, no panel has escaped some degree of replacement or realignment. Unfortunately many of these recent replacements went unnoticed by Rackham, and were even included amongst the illustrations of his study. More recently, Madeline Caviness has put forth two major

publications that, when taken together, provide greater coherency for a more compelling interpretation and description of the windows' original layout.⁵⁵ For this reason, the present study will rely heavily on her description of the twelve Typological Windows.

According to Caviness, the Typological Windows were essentially composed of three groups whose overarching theme was centered on the Life of Christ. Beginning in the north choir aisle (Fig. 41), the first three windows would have naturally contained scenes from the early Life of Christ culminating with the Temptations.⁵⁶ Filling the aisle windows of the north-east transept, presbytery, and as far as the south-east transept (Figs. 42-44) would have been scenes from the Public Life (Ministry) of Christ. These windows constituted the largest portion of the series, and would have included six windows dedicated to the miracles and teachings of Christ. The program ultimately came to a close with the Passion cycle in the three remaining windows, the last of which included scenes of the Crucifixion, Entombment, and Resurrection.⁵⁷ However, the program appears to be incomplete, for it is missing the necessary scenes of the Ascension, Pentecost, and Last Judgment. It is Caviness's belief that a last minute decision was made while construction was underway in the choir to expand the Trinity Chapel eastward with the inclusion of the Corona. As a result, an unexpected adjustment was needed to extend the typological program into the presbytery, which would explain why the symmetry of the windows is disrupted on the south choir (Fig. 45).⁵⁸ Because the glaziers may have been urged to divert their attention to the new building campaign further east, any attempt to incorporate the last and final window of the series in the south choir aisle may have been stalled.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, a thirteenth window was hastily put together in the clerestory of

the Corona, which would have appeared directly above the east window, with the final cycle from the Life of Christ (fig 46).

Also included in the Typological Windows' program was a distinct set of sub-narratives from the Old Testament. These would have been interwoven visually and thematically within the larger narrative of the Life of Christ. In general, the armature for half of the windows are designed as vertical lattices, in which are placed two outer panels arranged in such a way as to flank one central panel.⁶⁰ Here, 'types' (Old Testament subjects) were assigned to these peripheral panels. They were believed to complement moments from the Life of Christ, which were to be located in the central panels of the windows, on a visual and historical level. This triad design was visually advantageous in strengthening the typological relationship shared between the subjects in their juxtaposition to one another (a logic that will be explained momentarily). However, unlike the central panels' Life of Christ narrative, there is no systematic organization of the Old Testament panel types in the program. As Caviness noted, the Typological Windows seldom reflect the scholastic tendency to pair types from the era before the law (*ante legem*) with types from the era under the law (*sub lege*), as was the case with earlier typological image programs.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the inclusion of these unsystematic type groupings appears to have made the windows' program more flexible. That is, each window (and perhaps even each register) was most likely interpreted as a distinct typological unit. In fact, the entire program may not have required a reading from beginning to end but, quite possibly, from one register to the next (a point that will be worth noting later).⁶²

Perhaps the most conspicuous element of the Typological Windows' design, however, is the numerous verse inscriptions that gloss the margins of the windows' outer panels. In the words of Caviness, "the image is always controlled and glossed by a text", so much so that the inscriptions become an integral element of the art.⁶³ In fact, Caviness argues that a proper understanding of the windows' program required one to read the verse inscriptions, whose commentary provided explanations on the typological associations being worked out in each register. Why exactly the scene of 'Moses raising the Brazen Serpent' is set beside 'Christ on the Cross' in the twelfth window is explained by the accompanying verses, which read as follows: "Death is faint when the brazen serpent is seen, / So God on the cross saves us from the wicked enemy [death]."⁶⁴ Although unclear to the modern reader, this analogy between Christ, the Cross, and the Brazen Serpent would have certainly resonated with the spiritually inclined mind of the Middle Ages. Indeed, the process of facilitating the interaction between text and image became a fundamental prerequisite for viewing the Typological Windows.

But if one wishes to gain a better grasp of the Typological Windows, then it is essential to lay out the conditions and intellectual developments that made possible the artistic culture from which they derived. Because so few typological cycles in glass remain from the period in question, it has become rather difficult to establish an artistic precedent for what came before and after the Typological Windows. Instead, it will be necessary to first treat the development of typology more broadly as a mode of thought, and only then as a development in the visual culture of the twelfth century.

§2. The Artistic Situation: A history of typology as a mode of thought and an artistic practice

It is said that the twelve Typological Windows at Canterbury constitute one of the longest and perhaps most developed cycles of typology from its period.⁶⁵ However, the windows' program, as a systematic grouping of Old and New Testament subjects, was far from being an original concept. As a mode of thought, the basis of comparing Old and New Testament subjects appears as early as the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles.⁶⁶ For the medieval mind, there existed an intrinsic harmony between the two Testaments, so that both were said to provide two different accounts of the same event. Indeed, the events in the Old Testament were readily accepted as being prefigurations of the things to come in the New, the most prominent of which being the arrival of Christ. In the words of Emile Mâle; "Every act of Christ, every word that He spoke holds a meaning for the present, the past and the future".⁶⁷ Following this train of thought, it was proposed that the proper way of addressing the hidden 'mysteries' of the Old Testament could only be achieved in relation to understanding their fulfillments in the New.⁶⁸ From this concordance between the two, an exhaustive system of parallels could be extrapolated in order to link typical events, statements, and people from the Old Testament with their more familiar counterparts in the Life of Christ. To take one instance from the many hundreds of examples, it was believed that Jonah was a type for Christ, whose imprisonment in the whale's belly for three days and nights was believed to anticipate Christ's internment for three days and nights in the belly of the earth after the

Crucifixion. Under these circumstances, both biblical figures become united in their ordeals, and, ultimately, triumph over death through their resurrection.

It was not long before medieval artisans began contrasting the two Testaments in image programs for the instruction of the faithful. At the newly remodeled basilica of St. Felix at Nola (c. 400), it is said that Paulinus adorned the walls above the nave colonnades with fresco cycles from the Old Testament.⁶⁹ These would have most likely been complemented with a similar cycle of New Testament scenes in the adjoining building. Shortly after, though, another more visually coherent arrangement emerged in Rome, which would continue well beyond the fifth century. The poem by Prudentius entitled, 'Inscriptions for scenes from the Old and New Testaments', consists of forty-eight quatrains, half of which are adaptations of the Old Testament, and the other half from the New.⁷⁰ The arrangement of stories chosen by Prudentius most likely paved the way for the visual system of 'answering cycles'. In this practice, the correspondence between the two Testaments was emphasized by assigning scenes from each to be placed in parallel on paired doors or facing walls of the church.⁷¹ Nevertheless, these early image programs lacked any systematic organization, and, as a result, appear to be disjointed on both a conceptual and visual level.

The development of typology, as a pictorial tradition, was rather slow and arguably without much continuity in early medieval Europe.⁷² However, renewed interest in the subject came about by the second half of the twelfth century alongside the intellectual developments of a new generation of biblical scholars.⁷³ Among them were Peter the Lombard and Hugh of St. Victor who sought the practice of exegesis (a form of

scriptural study) in order to unravel what they believed to be the many levels (literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical) of scriptural interpretation.⁷⁴ The influence of these exegetical investigations was rapidly making its way throughout Europe, and was largely responsible in shaping the mind set and artistic culture of the period. In fact, the roughly contemporary treatise known as the *Pictor in Carmine* (c. 1200) is thought to have offered medieval artisans one of the richest collections of typological subjects and exegetical verse commentary from which to choose when crafting image programs.⁷⁵ There is good reason to suspect that the regular transmission of treatises like *Pictor* and the *Glossa Ordinaria* not only stimulated the minds of medieval artisans, but may have also provided them with a more systematized and, therefore, more confident model from which to work when translating complex theological ideas into the visual arts.⁷⁶

Typology was certainly an artistic trend by the end of the twelfth century, but it was particularly in England where this style of program received the greatest degree of attention and variety in design. As a matter of fact, Louis Grodecki indicated that it is unnecessary to associate all later English typological cycles as being directly related to the influence of Abbot Suger's newly invented exegetical windows (1144) at Saint-Denis.⁷⁷ The presence of a variety of Mosan enamels in both England and the Rhineland suggest that this "kind of subject" had been around these regions for a longer period of time than in France.⁷⁸ Besides, Caviness notes that the style of including elaborate verse inscriptions in the windows at Saint-Denis did not experience much popularity in France, where they were entirely replaced by labels in the subsequent windows at Sens, St-Quentin, Bourges, Rouen, Le Mans, and Tours.⁷⁹ That is to say, the conceptual design of

typological cycles in England can be viewed as independent from the Continental tradition.

Nevertheless, if art historians were to place the Typological Windows at Canterbury into the chronology of stained glass programs, then they would exist in isolation between the exegetical windows at Saint-Denis, completed in 1144, and the thirteenth century typological windows at places like Sens and Chartres.⁸⁰ And although there may have been many more glass programs that were treated in this typological fashion, none are presently extant in England. However, there still remain a significant proportion of similar cycles employed in liturgical objects like book covers, ciboria, and altar crosses, perhaps the most notable of which are the Kennet, Malmesbury, and Warwick Ciboria and the Bury St. Edmunds Cross (also known as the Cloisters Cross).⁸¹ There may have also been elaborate typological wall and panel paintings similar to those that once adorned the chapterhouse ceiling at Worcester⁸² and the choir stalls at Peterborough Abbey.⁸³ These early visual manifestations would have certainly influenced in part the design and subject matter of the Typological Windows. Therefore, it is important for this study to spend some time considering the features and limitations of these artistic predecessors in comparison to the Typological Windows.

§3. The Cloisters Cross: Viewer expectations in the liturgical space of the church

For the sake of brevity, it is perhaps best to focus attention on the altar cross, since it represents one of the larger and more well preserved examples of the early

typological cycles in question. Perhaps the most recognized example is the Cloisters Cross, which is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 47). The twelfth-century morse ivory cross stands nearly twenty-three inches in height and has an impressive arm span of fourteen and a half inches.⁸⁴ Carved along the shaft and arms of the cross is what appears to be a tree trunk with severed branches. Easter cycles depicting scenes from the Crucifixion and Entombment to the Resurrection and Ascension, are positioned around the perimeter spandrels of the cross, and at the center is located a figural medallion depicting (among other things) the Old Testament event of 'Moses raising the Brazen Serpent' (Fig. 48). The typological connection between the spandrel cycles and the central medallion would have acted as a symbolic prefiguration of the Crucifixion and Christ's redemptive triumph over death. On the reverse are eighteen figural carvings of the prophets, who are spread across the shaft and arms of the cross holding speech scrolls containing passages mostly from the Old Testament (Figs. 49). In fact, it is the Cloisters Cross's elaborate use of text and image that bears considerable relation to the Typological Windows, for it seems as though every conceivable space on the surface of the cross is reserved for explanatory labels and commentary (Figs. 50-51).

The overall meaning of the Cloisters Cross's iconographic program is a topic that extends far beyond the scope of this study.⁸⁵ What is a matter of greater importance is how the Cloisters Cross operated within its ecclesiastic setting. To put it in yet another way, how its role in the environment of the church affected the viewer's reception of the cross as a work of art.

Although the Cloisters Cross shares some of the same visual and conceptual properties with other typological image programs, it is important to remember that its primary function was as a performative object. This is emphasized by the fact that the scale and lighting needed to read the verse inscriptions was less than ideal, and has led some scholars to question whether the cross was actually meant to be read by onlookers at all.⁸⁶ Instead, the cross most likely operated within a highly ritualized context as a processional cross—one that carried out a specific function as an instrument of devotion. Even if the images and their accompanying verse inscriptions were read, a literate member of the monastic community would have almost always performed it. Taken in this sense, the process of reading the cross would have been considered a private act that involved only a select few who were allowed to participate in the liturgical service. And so to the lay viewer, the Cloisters Cross was understood as operating within the sacred and exotic space of exclusion, which came to define the other liturgical objects of the church. That is not to say that liturgical objects were of lesser importance to the lay viewer, for surely their mystery only served to enhance their prestige; however, they would have been understood as objects meant to facilitate in worship (and in some cases even worshipped) as opposed to simply being viewed as works of art.

The highly specialized use of the Cloisters Cross (and other early typological image programs for that matter) could not have been more removed from the circumstances involving the viewer's reception of the Typological Windows at Canterbury. Whereas the Cloisters Cross's size and liturgical function defined the type of engagement the viewer was to have with the cross, the monumentality of the Typological

Windows was entirely accessible on a visual level and, therefore, public by nature. Given the windows' sheer size and accessibility in the aisles of the church, they would have called for a kind of immersive encountering on a physical and visual level by both the public and the private members of society. Nevertheless, this did not mean that their program was totally inviting to the public or, that, there were no medieval expectations that governed the type of viewing relationship these windows had with their audience.

§4. Monastic Culture and the Limitations of the Spiritual Hierarchy:

The notion that medieval stained glass windows were openly accessible (intellectually) to all of their viewers tends to overlook the cultural framework of the monastic environment in which many of these windows operated. Throughout early and medieval Christianity, it would have been assumed that access to theological knowledge was exclusively based on an individual's spiritual status. In fact, the presumption of a fixed spiritual hierarchy, which was organized under various levels of spiritual status, formed the very basis of the monastic way of life. As it is generally expressed, this so-called 'spiritual hierarchy' is shaped by a social dichotomy between the "uninitiate (the layperson)" and the "initiate (the monk)".⁸⁷ The uninitiate, as defined here, was most likely illiterate properly speaking as well as spiritually; that is, he or she was lacking in spiritual awareness beyond "a simple understanding of a handful of stories from the bible."⁸⁸ However, the initiate would have been literate on both accounts of the term and as a result of which he or she could "claim to possess elite knowledge of the divine and

the Christian religion.”⁸⁹ And so did this ‘exclusionary dichotomy’ of the monastic community reinforce the choice of subjects to be included in ecclesiastic works of art as well as their potential audience?

Madeline Caviness is wise to call attention to the fact that the community of Christ Church monks was indeed a Benedictine monastic foundation. In other words, the religious community of Christ Church is not to be mistaken for a secular body or college of canons who were not bound by vows to the regular life.⁹⁰ On the contrary, the monks of Christ Church observed the Rule of St. Benedict, which explicitly stipulated the importance of the office of prayers as the primary exercise of the *opus Dei* (work of God), a task with which the monk was to occupy himself. By 1180, however, Christ Church, along with many other monastic institutions, was rapidly transforming into a great center of learning.⁹¹ Instigated by the renaissance of the twelfth century, monasteries took an intellectual turn toward an increasing interest in biblical glosses and exegetical works, which began to grow in number alongside other sacred texts in the monastery’s library.⁹² Commentaries like the *Glossa Ordinaria* provided critical analysis of scripture, which in turn would allow the medieval reader to study and ascertain multifaceted ways of interpreting the bible. In fact, scriptural study formed an integral part of the monks’ *lectio divina* (divine reading), which was believed to reinforce the spiritual awareness of the monks and subsequently their spiritual status.⁹³ That is to say that, by this point in time, scriptural study had become a foundational cornerstone of the monk’s spiritual occupation.

Keeping all of this in mind, it is not surprising, suggests Madeline Caviness, that when it came time to repopulate with artwork the recently destroyed choir and eastern arm of the church—the monks’ zone so to speak—the monastic community most likely turned to these contemporary glosses for inspiration.⁹⁴ In keeping with the tradition of scriptural study, the images of the twelve Typological Windows were heavily inscribed not only with labels, but also with elaborate verse commentary, which Caviness suggests always “controlled and glossed” them in such a way that made them accessible only to the literate viewer.⁹⁵ Indeed, Caviness goes on to say that the placement of the windows’ panels from top to bottom and from left to right is entirely “bookish” and caters to the literate choir monk, who was already predisposed to this textual habit of mind.⁹⁶ Given the textual dynamic of the Typological Windows, the windows appear to operate as a vehicle to induce a similar form of scriptural study. Caviness continues to read the Typological Windows’ subjects and verse inscriptions as being “esoteric and private” and because of this they would have been exclusively reserved for the “reading and meditation” of the initiated monks.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, the artistic culture of twelfth-century monasticism should not come to be shaped so simply by the polarized dichotomy of the uninitiate and the initiate viewer. Nearly forty years prior to the construction of the Canterbury windows, Abbot Suger’s newly invented exegetical stained glass windows at St.-Denis (1144) also claimed to be accessible only to the *litterati* (choir monk). And yet, even with these highly complex and esoteric subjects of the windows, Conrad Rudolph has shown that the windows were not only capable of meeting the demands of the privileged monks, but also

capable of attracting the attention of the uninitiate layperson as well.⁹⁸ To begin with, the mere sight of the windows' kaleidoscope of colors and shapes would have been enough to overwhelm the lay mind with what Rudolph associates as the sensory saturation of the holy place.⁹⁹ But on a deeper level, it is believed that the uninitiate lay viewer would have been capable of understanding—albeit on a literal level—“a number of the most basic of biblical narratives” as well.¹⁰⁰ At St.-Denis, the laity would have at the very least been able to understand the Infancy of Christ Window, which was also a subject that was taken up in the first two windows of the Typological program at Canterbury (a topic that will be discussed later).

Indeed, the roughly contemporary *Pictor in Carmine* (c. 1200) addresses a similar rise in the visual literacy among the laity in twelfth and thirteenth-century society. The treatise provides a collection of Old and New Testament typological verses to be used with image programs, especially “in cathedral and parish churches”.¹⁰¹ The author's intent is twofold in that he hopes that this type of image program will not only “occupy the eyes and minds of the faithful”, but also suggest “divine things to the unlearned, and stir up the learned to the love of the scriptures”.¹⁰² In terms of achieving these goals, the author notes that the New Testament imagery is “more familiar and better known” to the lay audience, and that it is enough to supply them with the “name of the [New Testament] person”.¹⁰³ However, he also states that the Old Testament and exegetical imagery had to have explanatory verses for better comprehension.¹⁰⁴ Similar advice seems to have been kept in mind when designing the layout of the Typological Windows.

Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the Typological Windows, which were strictly dependent on both textual and visual literacy, were anything short of being complicated for the lay viewer. And so it must be asked how the program would have been transmitted to the illiterate and uninitiate laity?

§5. Pilgrimage Culture and the Cult of Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral:

It is important to remember that despite being a monastic foundation, Canterbury Cathedral was also a participant in the emerging pilgrimage culture of the twelfth century. In fact, it would become the residence of one of the most celebrated pilgrimage cults of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although the circumstances leading up to Thomas Becket's death are too detailed to be spelled out in full, it is enough to say that Becket gradually fell out of favor with King Henry II—the very person who promoted the secular clerk as archbishop in 1161. Due to surmounting tension with Henry II over the long contested issue of “the jurisdictional immunities and privileges of the secular clergy”, tempers finally reached a breaking point when a group of loyal knights set out on horseback to kill the traitor Thomas Becket.¹⁰⁵ On the eve of December 29th 1170, Thomas Becket gave way to several fatal blows, one of which severed a portion of his skull, while the helpless monks of Christ Church witnessed the atrocity unfold in their sacred home. The historian, William Urry, believes that the body was quickly carried to the High Altar, the most sacred area of the church, where it would temporary lay for one night amid the vigilance of the monks.¹⁰⁶ It was then moved into a “new marble tomb”

(Fig. 52) beneath the church in the eastern crypt for protection.¹⁰⁷ At first, the resting place seemed a fitting location since soon after interring the body, the monks received threats from various accomplices, who plotted to seize the body and throw it into a “manure heap, or dragged at the horse’s tail throughout Canterbury”.¹⁰⁸ Although none of the plots were ever realized, a much more pressing concern would eventually force the body to be moved once again.

According to R.W. Southern, the relationship between Becket and his monks was anything but cordial. In fact, much to the chagrin of the monks, Becket, who had only become a priest a day prior to his consecration as archbishop, was nothing more than a stranger forced upon the monks by the king.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the story goes that shortly after discovering monastic garments (*cilice* or garment made of coarse animal skin or hair worn on the body as a shirt) underneath Becket’s outer clerical dress, the monks identified the ‘outcast’ as being one of them after all.¹¹⁰ Coincidentally, it was reported by Benedict of Peterborough (the first of the Becket miracle chroniclers) that no sooner had the body been properly interred when miraculous visions began to occur throughout the region. Soon the very tomb itself became a frenetic site of miraculous healings, which would eventually become the basis of Benedict’s miracle stories later incorporated in the ambulatory windows of the Trinity Chapel (Fig. 53). In fact, the impact that the Cult of Becket would have on the religious community at Canterbury would ultimately play a major role in altering the physical topography of the eastern arm, which would include among other features a larger ambulatory for the circulation of pilgrims visiting Becket’s shrine.¹¹¹ For better or worse, the regular way of life in the monk’s sacred space would

learn to accommodate the inevitable realities of this new pilgrimage culture. That is to say, the Cult of Becket was sure to drive the monastic community out of its seclusion from the world, which in turn forced it to address the dissolution of the boundaries between of the sacred and secular world.

§6. Medieval Tour Guides: The administration of pilgrimage reception at Canterbury Cathedral

At every successful pilgrimage church there would have been a highly orchestrated team of clerics and lay staff positioned throughout the church in order to manage and accommodate visiting pilgrims. In general, this system of guest reception was largely overseen by the sacrist, whose duty it was to care for the fabric of the church, its sacred vessels, ornaments, and above all the upkeep and protection of the shrine—lest somebody were to walk away with the more portable treasures that adorned these venerated receptacles of the saints’ remains.¹¹² But because of the international popularity of the Cult of Becket, which was driven by the yearly attendance of tens of thousands of pilgrims, the administration at Canterbury Cathedral required that the sacrist be assisted by multiple groups of monk-sacrists and their secular clerks as assistances.¹¹³ Indeed, the sacrist at Christ Church had “fifty-one lay staff of one kind or another”, at one point, who were most likely stationed throughout the nine most venerated altars of the church.¹¹⁴ Because of the preeminent status given to the shrine of St. Thomas, it was

especially assigned two fulltime *custos feretri* or shrine-keepers, who shared their spiritual and temporal duties with two fulltime clerks.¹¹⁵

Given the monks strict adherence to the regular life, which strongly prohibited contact with the laity, it was most likely the clerk who would have had the closest interaction with the laity. From what can be gathered of the ‘Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas’, the clerk had to maintain perpetual vigilance but, also, the utmost propriety in making sure to always address and answer pilgrims “with constant and thorough gentleness, friendliness, and discretion”.¹¹⁶ In fact, it is believed that access to the shrine of Becket in the Trinity Chapel (moved in 1220) was made available through the north and south aisles, where shrine-keepers and their clerks were to supervise the pilgrims “acting as guides”.¹¹⁷ Although it cannot be known exactly what was said to the visiting pilgrims, it is believed that when the pilgrims arrived at the shrines they were given some kind of oral “dissertation”, perhaps to address the history and expectations of the Cult of Becket—a practice which is not entirely removed from the way that tour guides address modern sightseers today.¹¹⁸ And so, would it be entirely outside the expectations of the clerk’s public oriented occupation to assume that they might have also guided pilgrims through many of the windows at Christ Church as well?

§7. Presenting the Typological Windows: The Canterbury Roll as an interface for lay reception

Based on the analysis from Chapter One, it has already been shown how the original scroll format of the Canterbury Roll made it conducive to the act of public speaking. It is also evident that someone was responsible for modifying the Canterbury Roll with their own visual aids (the underlines and asterisk symbols described in Chapter One), and that by doing so someone could use the Canterbury Roll to provide the pilgrims with a selective reading of the Typological Windows' imagery. And so it seems only natural to ask whether the clerks were using the Canterbury Roll with a similar purpose in mind. After all, such a practice would not have been any different from the kind of dissertations that were being performed (*vive voce*) to the pilgrims at the shrine of Saint Thomas. If this is the case, then under what circumstances did the Canterbury Roll prove to be an effective guide for viewing the windows?

i.) The Canterbury Roll's 'Image Captions': Identifying and introducing the windows' images

The Canterbury Roll provides several different strategies to secure the attention of the viewer, all of which could help the clerks guide the viewers through the challenging aspects of the Typological Windows' imagery. One of the primary challenges affecting the viewer's ability to 'read' stained glass windows is the practical matter of their

legibility. For it is one thing, notes Richard Marks, to make sense of a window's images at eye level, and quite another to interpret those placed high above the ground.¹¹⁹ In the case of the Typological Windows, the roughly 214 subject panels, which measure less than an arm's length in both width and height, become increasingly difficult to discern from ground level as they ascend the roughly fifteen-foot windows (Fig. 54). It is unimaginable to think that viewers were able to identify all of the windows' subject panels without some sort of written key.

Evidently, all three manuscripts provide titles for many of the Typological Windows' subject panels. What is intriguing about these so-called manuscript titles, though, is that very few resemble what is actually written in the window panels' labels. In fact, less than forty percent of the window panels' labels are actually included amongst the Canterbury Roll's titles.¹²⁰ It would appear as though someone requested the Canterbury Roll as well as the other two manuscripts to include original titles in order to help in the process of characterizing the windows' imagery. In this way, the Canterbury Roll could possibly provide the clerks with a legend of the windows' subjects, allowing them to visually locate and identify the windows' imagery for the illiterate viewer.

As of yet, no attempt has been made to classify the type of titles used in the Canterbury Roll. In fact, the distinction between the Canterbury Roll's titles and the panel labels (Fig. 55) of the Typological Windows is a point of comparison worth emphasizing. Unlike the Canterbury Roll's titles, many of the window panels' titles are conventional name-labels, and provide the viewer with nothing more than the names of the windows' biblical figures. This might have been satisfactory for identifying the New

Testament subjects of the windows, since much of the laity were familiar with the names of the Gospels, but more information would have been needed by the laity in order to identify the rest of the windows' imagery, especially the more obscure Old Testament subjects. In order to address this issue, the Canterbury Roll's titles appear to not only identify the biblical figures in the windows, but also bring meaning to what is seen in the windows' imagery with the addition of descriptive captions. It, therefore, seems more fitting to call the Canterbury Roll's 'titles' image captions instead.

When defined in this manner, the Canterbury Roll's image captions can be said to act as effective introductory prompts for many of the Typological Windows' subject panels. As a matter of fact, 141 of the 212 image captions in the Canterbury Roll (approximately sixty-seven percent) seem to reinforce the windows' imagery—albeit briefly—with supporting details about the windows' subjects.¹²¹ A prime example is the left panel in the fourth register of the second Typological Window (Fig. 56). Except for the verse inscriptions¹²² around the top and bottom border of the window's panel, the image itself is entirely text-less. There are no panel labels to identify or explain the tumultuous set of events, neither the terrified group of individuals fleeing nor the conflagrated and twisted heap of wreckage to the right. However, the pictorial narrative of this window panel can be made sense of with the assistance of the Canterbury Roll's image caption, which notifies the reader that this is a representation of "Sodom destroyed and Lot escaping".¹²³ In fact, many of the central panels from the surviving windows are without name-labels or verse commentary to help with the task of viewing, such as the central panel in the second register of the fourth Typological Window (Fig. 57). Here,

Christ is shown standing at the far right of a table and appears to be addressing his disciples. To the lay viewer, this scene might have raised some confusion because of its similarity to another more familiar subject: the Last Supper. In this instance, the Canterbury Roll's image caption becomes instrumental in clarifying the subject panel not as the Last Supper, but as "Christ changing the water into wine and the six water pots" or the Miracle at Cana.¹²⁴ It seems likely, then, that the Canterbury Roll's image captions were a necessary, if not fundamental, feature of viewing the windows, and could even allow the clerks to quickly identify and explain the windows' subject matter to the lay viewer.

But presenting the Typological Windows in front of a live audience would have also required the clerks to captivate their listeners with key topics of interest. In particular, seven of the Canterbury Roll's image captions which describe the Nativity cycle in windows one and two are expressed in a manner suitable of someone preparing to give a guided tour.¹²⁵

<i>In medio angelus cum maria.</i>	(In the middle: The Angel [Gabriel] with Mary.)
<i>In medio maria et elizabet.</i>	(In the middle: Mary and Elizabeth.)
<i>In medio maria.</i>	(In the middle: Mary.)
<i>In medio angelus et pastores.</i>	(In the middle: Angel and Shepherds.)
<i>In medio tres reges equitantes.</i>	(In the middle: Three Equestrian Kings.)
<i>In medio herodes et magi.</i>	(In the middle: Herod and the Magi.)
<i>In medio maria cum puero.</i>	(In the middle: Mary with the Boy [Christ].)

The use of the expression *in medio* (in the middle) might have acted as a verbal cue for the clerks, prompting them to draw the viewers' attention to these particular subjects.

Indeed, this scripted 'catchphrase' is no different from the standard form of parlance used by tour guides today when demonstrating visual objects in front of an audience. In fact, it

seems more than coincidental that the group of selected image captions is related to subject panels dealing with the early Life of Christ, since these were subjects with which many of the lay viewers were most familiar. By the thirteenth century, there was a rise in the popular appeal for artistic subjects dealing with the humanity of Christ, the most prominent of which being the Nativity and Passion cycles. It, therefore, seems possible that the scripted catchphrase *in medio* was introduced in the Canterbury Roll in order for the clerks to provide the laity with a public exposition of the windows' popular themes.

To take this process of presentation one step further, it seems possible that the Canterbury Roll's image captions were also capable of allowing the clerks to deliver a more dynamic narrative discourse for some of the Typological Windows' subject panels as well. This might have been especially necessary for the lay viewers as the narratives of the windows' subject panels became more involved with each other. In some instances, a single narrative may develop over the span of several window registers.¹²⁶ For these more complicated windows, the Canterbury Roll's image captions tend to become more elaborate in their descriptions and include additional background information.

In the case of the ninth Typological Window, the parable of the Good Samaritan was presented in three consecutive scenes, which would have descended along the windows' vertical axis panels.¹²⁷ Here, the clerks might have used the Canterbury Roll's image captions to recount the parable for the viewer. First, by introducing the conflict of the initial scene with a description of the time and place: "A certain man was coming from Jerusalem into Jericho and falls among thieves".¹²⁸ This could then be followed by the climactic event in which "The priest and Levite see the wounded man and pass by".¹²⁹

The narrative could finally be concluded with the resolution of the parable when “The Samaritan leads the wounded man into the stable with a carriage”.¹³⁰ Taken in this sense, the Canterbury Roll’s image captions seem to reiterate the window’s illustrations, and could allow the clerks to guide the viewer through the window’s developing narrative.

To summarize, the Canterbury Roll’s image captions could allow the Typological Windows’ panel scenes to be visually identified and communicated on an oral level, and brings with it a new dimension to the way in which the public could experience the windows. More importantly, the Canterbury Roll could allow the clerks to process and translate the information of the windows’ imagery and transmit it directly to the laity by word of mouth. In this process of viewing, the laity could not only *see* the windows’ imagery, but also *hear* about it via the Canterbury Roll.

ii.) The Canterbury Roll’s Asterisk Symbols: Customizing the Typological Windows’ program for all levels of viewership

It would be unreasonable to suggest that the entire program of the Typological Windows was presented to the pilgrims. Such a process would have been much too tedious, and would have strained the patience of both the viewer and clerks alike. Instead, it seems more likely that the clerks preselected certain subjects for a more intimate reading of the windows’ imagery. In fact, there are five peculiar star-shaped markings (hereafter, asterisk symbols) inserted into the left-hand margin of the Canterbury Roll (Fig. 58).¹³¹ These asterisk symbols were most likely used to specify certain verse

recordings for selective readings, and could possibly allow the clerks to pare down the entire program of the windows into a more manageable selection of topics for discussion. In particular, five sets of verse recordings for windows four and five are marked in the Canterbury Roll with these asterisk symbols, and read as follows:

1. The Six Ages of Man.¹³²

The water gives the story; the wine marks the allegory.
It turns the water of our vices into the wine of our good ways.

2. In the middle Jesus reads in the Synagogue. Ezra reads the Law to the People.

The law which Moses published, Ezra restored when it was lost,
And Christ renewed when it was neglected.

3. Christ descends from the Mount. He heals a Leper.

God, clothed in flesh like He who advances to the bottom of the valley,
Purifies the leprous and sin laden human race.

4. Jesus and the Apostles gather Corn. The Mill, Oven, and Apostles making Bread.

What the old law and the new grinds with its pair of millstones,
This flour is your passion, your cross, your words, O Christ!

5. The Gentile Church Comes to Christ.

The water pot left at the fount denotes sin deleted
As the church of the gentiles comes to you, O God!¹³³

So why might these verse inscriptions have been chosen for a selective reading of the windows' imagery? Despite their reference (directly or indirectly) to events from the Ministry of Christ, there appears to be no evident theological connection shared by these verse recordings to explain why they were sorted out by the asterisk symbols. In fact, the group of asterisked-marked verse recordings does not provide any coherent narrative nor do they relate to each other on any obvious thematic level.

Nevertheless, one cannot rule out the possibility that this selection of verse recordings in the Canterbury Roll was meant to be both unsystematic and informal. In fact, it is the eclectic nature of the assorted subjects that might have been valued by the presenters. That is to say, the asterisked verse recordings in the Canterbury Roll could

allow the clerks to present the broad spectrum of subjects included in the windows' program: from the public friendly to more specialized topics. In this way, the clerks were given a greater sense of flexibility to adapt their presentation according to the differing needs of their audience.

For those with the most basic theological understanding (the laity), the selection of asterisked verse recordings that include straightforward and popular events from the Life of Christ were most likely presented. In particular, the miraculous scenes from the Life of Christ would have certainly been on the minds of the pilgrims, especially those involving Christ as healer of the sick and destitute. In fact, it was the miracles of Christ that most likely resonated with the spirituality of the laity, since the very real imminence of illness and death represented for many pilgrims the contemporary concerns of daily life in the Middle Ages. And so it is not surprising, then, that one of the asterisked verse recordings in the Canterbury Roll includes the first of ten miracles from the Gospel of Matthew: the Cure of the Leper (8:1).

The subject was presumably located in the central medallion at the bottom of the fourth Typological Window for which the Canterbury Roll includes the image caption: "Christ descends from the Mount. He heals a Leper".¹³⁴ Although the image is no longer extant, the Canterbury Roll's recording of the windows' verse commentary provides for the reader an impression of what might have been shown:

"God, clothed in flesh like He who advances to the bottom of the valley,
Purifies the leprous and sin laden human race."¹³⁵

This salvific theme would not only have reinforced the faith of the pilgrims, but might have also confirmed their expectations about the kind of miraculous experience they hoped to encounter at the shrine of Saint Thomas.

However, for the theologically inclined viewer, the asterisked verse recordings in the Canterbury Roll also include more esoteric and allegorical subject matter for presentation as well. Most notably, the Mystic Mill panel, which was once located in the bottom right register of the fourth Typological Window. The Canterbury Roll's image caption suggests that this scene was paired with the central medallion showing "Christ with the Apostles gathering Corn".¹³⁶ Although both images are no longer extant, the sense of their subjects can once again be acquired through the Canterbury Roll's recording of the windows' verse commentary, which reads as follows:

"What the old law and the new grinds with its pair of millstones—

This flour is your passion, your cross, your words, O Christ!"¹³⁷

A similar subject was shown in the exegetical windows at the abbey church of St.-Denis as well as at the abbey church of Ste.-Marie-Madeleine, Vezeley in one of the Romanesque nave capitals (Fig. 59). According to Mâle, it is believed that the image of the Mystical Mill would have shown the prophets, who were led by Saint Paul, pouring grain into a mill where it was turned into flour by the grindstones. Taken in this sense, the Mystical Mill was to be understood allegorically as a process in which the Old Testament—when interpreted through the New Testament—becomes purified into intellectual and spiritual food for thought in the same way that flour is transformed from coarse grain into bread.¹³⁸ The allegorical implications behind the meaning of this image

would have certainly exceeded the understanding of the laity. Therefore, a reading of this subject by the clerks was perhaps reserved for the more spiritually literate viewer, such as other visiting dignitaries and the aristocracy.

To summarize, the eclectic mix of asterisked verse recordings in the Canterbury Roll, which range from common and popular to more esoteric and allegorical themes, were capable of targeting a wider audience. That is, the clerks could use the Canterbury Roll to provide a closer reading of the windows' imagery in such a way that satisfied the interests of both the laity and elite viewer alike. As a matter of fact, the asterisk symbols reflect a personalization of the Canterbury Roll by the clerks in order to modify the windows' program to meet the individualized needs of its viewers. In this way, the Canterbury Roll was not only an effective guide for viewing the Typological Windows, but also an adaptable interface for programming the Windows' imagery.

Conclusion:

By presenting the imagery of the Typological Windows, the community of Christ Church was doing nothing out of the ordinary from what they were already doing in reciting the life of Thomas Becket to the visiting pilgrims. But as Conrad Rudolph has noted, the act of presenting the windows to the pilgrims was also capable of facilitating a form of controlled viewership as well.¹³⁹ Although the Canterbury Roll operated, on the one hand, as an interface for the laity by offering them 'sound bites' so to speak of the windows' subjects, it was also used, on the other hand, to reinforce the dynamic of the

spiritual hierarchy at play in the monastic community of Christ Church (as it is mentioned above in Section Four). In fact, the appearance of control was maintained by having “an educated clerk translate the Latin for the pilgrims...the vast majority of whom” would have considered it to be an “inaccessible and elite language”.¹⁴⁰ Taken in this sense, the Canterbury Roll could allow the clerks and the monastic community to be viewed as gatekeepers, whose elite status gave them the right to possess this exclusive spiritual knowledge. And because it was through these elite intercessors that the pilgrims were capable of obtaining this complex spiritual knowledge, the act of reciting the Canterbury Roll only reaffirmed the laity’s dependency on the social hierarchy of the initiate and uninitiate. It would appear, then, that this control dynamic could allow the monastic community to maintain an appropriate distance from non-elite forms of viewership, all the while allowing them to participate in the public exposition of their artwork.

Conclusion

Toward a Culminating Experience of the Typological Windows

This study was set out to explore the question regarding the function of the unusual fourteenth-century manuscript known as the Canterbury Roll, a topic that has remained largely unresolved in the general literature on the Canterbury Verses and specifically in the context of viewing the Typological Windows. But as the study progressed, the question itself proved to be vastly broader in its implications than originally expected, the result of which ultimately allowed the study to explore other contending issues operating in the background, in particular medieval viewership in the environment of the church. In fact, by showing that the function of the Canterbury Roll was fundamentally associated with the process of guiding the pilgrims through the windows' imagery, it also became possible to uncover the dynamic forms of exchange taking place at Canterbury between the artwork, the church, and the public. Having reached the end of the study, it now seems possible to plot the methods of exchange that were developed and cultivated by one artistic community in order to animate an otherwise static visual object (Typological Windows) into three interactive modes of experience: from the intellectual and visual encounter to the more phenomenal and performative one.¹⁴¹ More importantly, one has now reached a position in the study to begin teasing out the larger implications of the aural encounter, as mediated by the clerk's reading of the Canterbury Roll, and its affect on the pilgrims' experience of the Typological Windows.

But first, let us use the analysis of Chapters One and Two in order to trace the converging developments begun in the manuscripts as a process that ultimately led to the culmination of a performative experience of the Typological Windows.

On a fundamental level, an initial aspect of promoting the development of the viewer's experience of the Typological Windows appears to have involved a process of cultivating the viewer's perception of the windows' imagery. In Chapter One, it was shown how the scriptural citations in the thirteenth-century Cambridge Verses could be used as a vehicle for studying the broader biblical themes being worked out in the windows' program. In this way, the Cambridge Verses can be understood as promoting a kind of pedagogical exercise for the reader/viewer in order to approach the windows' imagery from an intellectual standpoint.

But on a deeper level, the reader's/viewer's interaction with the Typological Windows, as mediated through the Cambridge Verses, appears to transform the windows into an apparatus for training and instructing. In this way, the reader's/viewer's encounter with the windows could be elevated beyond the visual experience and into a critical mode of perception. Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether the monks of Christ Church or the public might have used this manuscript in this pedagogical fashion, or that the document remained at Canterbury after it was created. But what if it did? It is tempting to propose the possibility that the Cambridge Verses were being used by the clerks as a study guide in order to facilitate in their education and training so that they might provide guided tours of the windows for the pilgrims. After all, one of the primary expectations of the Canterbury clerks was to answer the inquiring pilgrims with "constant and thorough

gentleness, friendliness, and discretion”.¹⁴² If this were the case, then the Cambridge Verses also represents a preliminary stage in the cultivation of a guide culture at Canterbury as well—one that would have ultimately brought about a performative component to the pilgrims’ experience of the windows.

Moving beyond the cultivation of an intellectual experience of the Typological Windows, the fifteenth-century Oxford Verses seem to provide us with a glimpse into the creative discourse involved in the process of developing the windows’ artistic culture. In Chapter One, it was shown how William Glastynbury, the Oxford Verses’ author, attempted to synthesize an otherwise complicated visual system into a concise textual model for organizing the windows’ visual and stylistic components. By doing so, it would appear that William was using the manuscript as a kind of exploratory space (or ‘springboard’) to manipulate and formulate the various elements of the windows’ visual design. In fact, by schematizing and rendering the original design of the windows into a simplified diagram, William appears to have left behind a model for others to follow and adapt in the creation of their own visual systems. From an artistic standpoint, the Oxford Verses had the potential to generate future developments to the windows’ visual culture, and as a result contributes to the potential ways of expanding the viewer’s experience of the windows’ many possible visual forms.

However, none of the aforementioned attempts to develop the Typological Windows’ artistic culture had the potential to reach the viewer on a phenomenal level as effectively as the Canterbury Roll. One wonders what might have gone through the pilgrims’ minds as they gathered inside Canterbury Cathedral, all of their expectations

and desires to see and hear sights and sounds of immeasurable beauty, especially those emanating from around the new, cutting-edge stained glass windows in the eastern end of the church. What we do know, however, is that there was a highly organized administration of clerks who could have used written guides like the Canterbury Roll in order to deliver visual and aural readings of the windows' imagery to the pilgrims. Although it is impossible to reimagine how all of the pauses, gestures, and special emphasis placed on certain words or syllables might have brought a sense of drama and dynamism to the clerk's recitation of the Canterbury Roll, one can be fairly certain that this performative act would have brought an element of animation to the pilgrims' impression of the Typological Windows. In fact, traces of the clerk's personal imprints still remain in the document in the form of underlines, annotations, and verbal cues, all of which might have proven instrumental in the process of communicating the windows' imagery to the viewer.

As discussed in Chapters One and Two, it is evident from the Canterbury Roll that the clerks might have resorted to several different strategies in order to captivate the attention of their audience (both lay and learned). In terms of addressing the practical shortcomings of the Typological Windows' visibility and laity's inability to read, it was shown how the clerks could use the manuscript's image captions to identify and explain the individual panel scenes to the viewer. In this way, the clerks could act as a kind of 'tour guide' inviting their audience to partake in an engaging process of 'show and tell'. And although it is uncertain how the words of the clerks might have resonated in the minds of the pilgrims, as they looked upon the windows' imagery, this process of seeing

and hearing could have only served to annunciate and reinforce the pictorial narratives for the viewer in a way that the windows could never have done alone.

Of vital interest, however, is how the clerks used the Canterbury Roll in order to transmit a program clearly devised by learned theologians to an audience made up largely of more or less uneducated people. By preselecting a group of subjects from the program with asterisk markings, the clerks might have been making their own adjustments to the Typological Windows' program in order to meet the demands and expectations of all levels of understanding: from straightforward and popular events from the Life of Christ to more weighty scriptural and theological concepts. In this way, the Canterbury Roll acts like an adaptable interface for programming the windows' imagery—one that ultimately grants the clerks the freedom to create their own personalized reading of the windows' imagery based on the intellectual level of their audience. For all we know, the clerks could have devised any number of different combinational readings of the windows' imagery, and with them any number of different ways for the viewer to experience the windows' program.

What we have at our disposal, then, are not three copies of one image program, but, instead, three different reflections on the artistic creativity of the Middle Ages. The manuscripts proved to us that the process of 'looking' at medieval images could be developed under multiple lenses of perception: from the strictly intellectual and visual experience to the more engaging and performative interaction. But perhaps the most impressive of all, however, is the realization that even at a spiritually conservative and socially elite institution like Canterbury, there would have been an artistic community

entirely invested in promoting and enhancing the ways in which its artistic culture was experienced. Furthermore, that cultivating these dynamic forms of engagement with the Typological Windows was equally as important for the learned viewer's experience as much as it was for the lay viewer's.

Endnotes

¹ Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London, 1981), 2.

² Ibid, 89.

³ Ibid, 91.

⁴ Ibid, 89.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Madeline H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, circa 1175-1220*, (Princeton, 1977), 26-7.

⁷ Caviness, 1977, 26-7.

⁸ Ibid, 31.

⁹ Ibid, 102.

¹⁰ Early authors, who discussed the Cambridge and Oxford Verses, do not provide an explanation for the use of the manuscripts except to say that they were *copies* of the Typological Windows' program. The Corpus Christ College, Cambridge MS 400 has been discussed in detail by M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* Vol. II, (Cambridge, 1911), 263-266. See also J. Greatrex, 'Culture at Canterbury in the fifteenth century: Some indications of the cultural environment of a monk of Christ Church', in *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. Clark, J. G. (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 169-76. The Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS 256 has been discussed in H.E. Salter, "MSS. Relating to Christ Church, Canterbury, at Corpus Christ College, Oxford," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 29 (1911), lxxxv-vi; C.E. Woodruff, "The Chronicle of William of Glastonbury, monk of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1419-1448," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 37 (1925), 121-51.

¹¹ Recently, the Canterbury Roll (Canterbury Cathedral Archives Charter C246) has been discussed in M.A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London, 2004), 13; John Higgitt, "Epigraphic Lettering and Book Script in the British Isles," in *Inscript und Material Inscript und Buchschrift*, Walter Koch and Christine Steininger (eds.), (München 1999), 149; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London, 1993), 61.

¹² A full transcript of the Canterbury Roll first appeared in William Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, (London, 1703), 24-31. A partial transcript was also included in F.W. Farrar, *Notes on the Painted Glass in Canterbury Cathedral*, Aberdeen, 1897.

¹³ M.R. James, *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, (Cambridge, 1901), 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

¹⁵ Madeline Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, (London, 1981), 78. Madeline Caviness also suggested that the Typological Windows' verse inscriptions were no longer legible to a community accustomed to uncial and gothic script, and as a result the manuscripts might have provided better legibility. An even more plausible suggestion made by Caviness is that the manuscripts were used for transmission of the window program, a topic that I will complicate and expand on in Chapter One.

¹⁶ The paleography of the script was verified by Dr. Richard H. Rouse, Professor Emeritus in UCLA's Department of History.

¹⁷ Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts*, (Malibu, 1994), 24.

¹⁸ A detailed list of the manuscripts' differing image titles and verse recordings can be found in Appendix A.

¹⁹ A detailed list of these 'misplaced' verse recordings can be found in Appendix A.

²⁰ The disagreements in the order of the Typological Windows' subjects and verse inscriptions can be highlighted using Madeline Caviness's reconstruction of the twelve Typological Windows as they are listed in *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, (London, 1981).

²¹ I acknowledge the possibility that the Cambridge Verses may have come from somewhere outside of Canterbury, and that it may have been corrected elsewhere. Nevertheless, this seems highly unlikely given the corrector's familiarity with the actual organization of the Typological Windows. In fact, M.R. James suggested that the quire (gathering of folios) from which the verse recordings were written most likely originated at Canterbury. See M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College* Vol. II, (Cambridge, 1911), 266.

²² A list of all the biblical citations is given in Appendix B.

²³ For further information about Stephen Langton's contribution to the modern version of the bible, see G.F. Moore, "The Vulgate Chapters and Numbered Verses in the Hebrew Bible," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 12 (1893), 73-78 as well as Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Notre Dame, 1978), 222-223.

²⁴ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, (Oxford, 1977), 347.

²⁵ Indian-Arabic numerals were introduced to Europe during the twelfth century most likely through the translation of Arabic manuals on arithmetic, but did not reach widespread use until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In fact, Dr. Richard Rouse has suggested that the biblical citations in the Cambridge Verses were most likely added in the fourteenth century. It is tempting to suggest that the Cambridge Verses were being studied and annotated contemporaneously alongside the use of the fourteenth-century Canterbury Roll—perhaps even written by the same group of scribes.

²⁶ Charles E. Woodruff, "The Chronicle of William of Glastonbury, monk of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1419-1448," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 37 (1925), 121. The foliation of the Oxford Verses has varied from publication to publication. The most accurate can be ascertained from R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford: Western Manuscripts*, (London, 2011), 134-136. The foliation for the Oxford Verses is ff. 189v-92.

²⁷ For the twelve Typological Windows' frames see Madeline Caviness's recreated renditions in Appendix C.

²⁸ For a detailed list of the differences in the image titles between all three manuscripts refer to Appendix A.

²⁹ This observation first appeared in Charles E. Woodruff, "The Chronicle of William Glastynbury, Monk of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1419-1448," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 37 (1925), 123.

³⁰ Caviness, 1981, 83.

³¹ M.R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia* 94 (1951), 151.

³² James, 1951, 142.

³³ For further comparisons between the Typological Windows and *Pictor in Carmine*, see M.R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia* 94 (1951), 148-150.

³⁴ The need for image titles to describe the windows' imagery may have been necessary, especially since many of the surviving window panels do not actually include subject labels to identify their scenes. This is a point that will be developed in Chapter Two.

³⁵ According to Dr. Richard Rouse, the scroll was probably made using two sheep skins divided into four sections.

³⁶ According to Dr. Richard Rouse, overtime the overlapping parchment sheets would have gradually separated from each other, which gives the impression that the script is cut in half.

³⁷ In my discussion with Dr. Richard Rouse concerning the hand of the Canterbury Roll's script, he took note of two possible differences in the handwriting of the capital letter 'S' throughout the document. I have also included a list for the reader illustrating what I believe to be other variations throughout the text between the capital letters 'P' and 'S'. The list can be found in Appendix D.

³⁸ James, 1901, 2.

³⁹ Charles E. Woodruff and William Danks, *Memorials of the Cathedral & Priory of Christ Church in Canterbury*, (New York, 1912), 384.

⁴⁰ Woodruff, 1912, 384.

⁴¹ Much like the previous two manuscripts, the Canterbury Roll is not without its own set of mistakes. In particular, the scribes haphazardly interpolated a number of subjects and verse inscriptions from the Sixth Typological Window with the third Typological Window, the eighth Typological Window with the sixth Typological Window, and the tenth Typological Window with the eighth Typological Window. These mistakes are identical with those found in the Cambridge Verses, and can be found in Appendix A. The shared mistakes between the Canterbury Roll and the Cambridge Verses suggest that both scribes may have copied from the same prototype, perhaps once removed. In fact, M.R. James expressed his suspicion that the Canterbury Roll was not the only form in which the windows' verse inscriptions may have been preserved. James later went on to point out two items from the fourteenth-century 'Inventory of Prior Henry of Eastry' listed as *versus pannorum pendencium in ecclesia cantuariensi* (verses of hanging cloth in the Church of Canterbury) and *versus fenestrarum vitrearum ecclesie christi cantuar* (the verses of the stained glass windows in Christ Church Canterbury) in his text *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, (Cambridge, 1903), 65. It is possible that at one point there may have been any number of copies, all of which could have acted as a model from which the Cambridge Verses and the Canterbury Roll originated.

⁴² James, 1901, 2.

⁴³ For more information on *tabulae*, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* Vol. II, (London, 1974), 495. Also, a specific example of the Glastonbury *Magna Tabula* is given in Jeanne Krochalis, “*Magna Tabula: The Glastonbury Tablets (Part I)*,” in *Arthurian Literature XV*, (Cambridge, 1997).

⁴⁴ There may have been a running title at the head of the document for William Somner recorded the title *Fenestra in superiori parte ecclesiae Christ Cant. incipientes a parte septentrionali* in his transcript of the Canterbury Roll. See William Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, (London, 1703), 24-31. Indeed, if there were pinholes to hang up the document, then this would have most likely been the place for them.

⁴⁵ Dr. Richard Rouse agrees that these paraph symbols were used as a means to tell the image titles apart from the Canterbury Roll’s verse recordings.

⁴⁶ According to Dr. Richard Rouse, these markings were usually used throughout the Middle Ages to indicate stanza groupings.

⁴⁷ This is especially the case of the underlines in red ink for the Canterbury Roll’s image titles, which Dr. Richard Rouse has suggested may have come from someone other than a professional scribe judging from their sloppy ruling.

⁴⁸ Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, (Cornell, 2007), 21.

⁴⁹ Clemens, 21.

⁵⁰ The controversy over the use of art in the monastic setting has generally been referred to as the “Cluny-Cîteaux controversy” after its two most visible participants. As it goes, the traditional Benedictine monasteries had become socially entangled in the economic affairs of the pilgrimage culture, particularly with the “Cult of Relics”. According to the Cistercians, who were led by Bernard of Clairvaux, this way of life was a deviation from the “fundamental monastic principles of voluntary poverty, simplicity, and seclusion”. Included amongst these infractions was the inappropriate use of art, which was most famously called into question in Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Apologia* 28-29. Nevertheless, many historians have tended to polarize the extent of the controversy, and as a result there has been a rigid and unrevealing view of the use of artwork in the monastic setting. For more information on this debate, see Conrad Rudolph, *The Things of Greater Importance: Bernard of Clairvaux’s Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art*, (Philadelphia, 1990). Quote above can be found on page 4.

⁵¹ For more on the exegetical program of the twelfth-century windows at St.-Denis, see Conrad Rudolph, “Inventing the Exegetical Stained-Glass Window: Suger, Hugh, and a New Elite Art,” *Art Bulletin* 93 (2011), 406.

⁵² The transitional state of the Typological Windows and their progression toward a more public-oriented artistic culture is examined in Conrad Rudolph, “Social Change and the Assertion of Elite Status: The Parabolic Discourse Window in Canterbury Cathedral,” *Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century Medieval England*, Forthcoming 2015, 1-11, 10.

⁵³ Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, (London, 1949).

⁵⁴ Herbert Read, “The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral”, *The Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950), pp. 294-297.

⁵⁵ Madeline Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral c. 1175-1220*, (Princeton, 1977) and *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, (London, 1981).

⁵⁶ For a description of the subjects and designs of the following windows, refer to Appendix C.

⁵⁷ Caviness, 1977, 117.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 116.

⁵⁹ We know from Gervase (a Christ Church monk chronicling the event) that haste was made to complete the entire building campaign in the choir in order to celebrate Easter in 1180.

⁶⁰ The triad design is most pronounced in windows 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 12, refer to Appendix C.

⁶¹ Caviness, 1981, 81. This style of *ante legem / sub lege* organization can be found in the Klosterneuburg Altar of around 1181.

⁶² It is my belief that there are certain panel groups in dialogue with each other, and that they may have provoked a unique discussion in distinction from the rest of the program. This is perhaps most prominent in the tenth Typological Window in which the inscriptions for the panel of *Jesus reviving Lazarus* appears to summarize the previous six panels of the window. Indeed, Conrad Rudolph has already given a detailed reading of the sixth Typological Window involving the ‘Parable of the Sower’ panel in “Social Change and the Assertion of Elite Status: The Parabolic Discourse Window in Canterbury Cathedral”, *Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century Medieval England*, Forthcoming 2015. In a future project I hope to elaborate in greater detail the potential meanings of certain typological groupings, and the ways in which they might have facilitated group discussions.

⁶³ Caviness, 1977, 102.

⁶⁴ Translation supplied by Madeline Caviness in *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury*, (London, 1981), x. The original Latin reads: *Mors est exanguis dum cernitur eneus anguis. / Sic deus in lingo nos salvat ab hoste maligno.*

⁶⁵ Caviness, 1977, 117.

⁶⁶ Peter Bloch, "Typologische Kunst," in Paul Wilpert, ed., *Lex et Sacramentum Im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1969), 127.

⁶⁷ Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York, 1961), 184.

⁶⁸ Mâle, 1961, 133.

⁶⁹ For more information on the image program at the basilica of St. Felix at Nola, see Arwed Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas: Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter*, (Berlin, 1997), 47-66.

⁷⁰ For a comprehensive list of examples, refer to Arwed Arnulf, *Versus ad Picturas: Studien zur Titulusdichtung als Quellengattung der Kunstgeschichte von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter*, (Berlin, 1997) 73-84.

⁷¹ Caviness, 1981, 80. An early example of the 'answering cycle' tradition can be found at St. Michael's, Hildesheim, with the eleventh-century bronze doors.

⁷² Caviness, 1977, 117.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1978), 76. The literal is understood as the lowest form of interpretation, in which the actual historical event is presented without any underlying meaning. The allegorical is understood as the typological interpretation, in which the Old Testament is paralleled with events or characters from the New Testament. The tropological is understood as the moral interpretation of scripture, from which instruction can be gathered on how one ought to act. The highest level of interpretation is the anagogical, from which one is capable of perceiving the unmediated spiritual message of scripture.

⁷⁵ For a full list of subjects, refer to M. R. James, "Pictor in Carmine", *Archaeologia* 94 (1951), pp. 141-166, 151-166.

⁷⁶ Judging from the frequency of coincidental subjects shared with the *Pictor in Carmine*, it can be said that this type of image program was highly popular at the close of the twelfth century. Caviness references the choir stalls at Peterborough Abbey, whose inscriptions and compositions are believed to have been copied in the Peterborough Psalter of about 1300. But contrary to Caviness's opinion that this cycle was completed long before (c. 1133) the Typological Windows, it seems more likely that Benedict of Peterborough brought the idea to Peterborough upon his 'promotion' (demotion) as Abbot of the monastery. To me, it does not make sense that an institution with the primatial power and recognition as Canterbury Cathedral would request such a complicated and vast image program from a lesser institution like Peterborough Abbey. For further consideration as to the dating of the Peterborough choir stall paintings refer to L.F. Sandler's article 'Peterborough Abbey and the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 33 (1970), pp. 36-49, 40-45.

⁷⁷ Caviness, 1977, 116.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 117. For further reading on the subject of Mosan enamels, see Nigel Morgan, "The Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels", in *Rhein und Mass: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, (Köln, 1973).

⁷⁹ Caviness, 1977, 117.

⁸⁰ Caviness, 1981, 80.

⁸¹ For further readings on the Kennet, Malmesbury, and Warwick Ciboria, see Neil Stratford, "Three English Romanesque Enamelled Ciboria", *The Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), pp. 204-217. For further reading on the Bury St. Edmunds Cross, see Thomas P.F. Hoving, 'The Bury St. Edmunds Cross,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (1964), pp. 317-40.

⁸² It is not certain whether these pictorial images would have been in the form of stained glass windows. For further reading about the Worcester Chapterhouse paintings, see Neil Stratford, "Three English Romanesque Enamelled Ciboria", *The Burlington Magazine* 126 (1984), pp. 204-217.

⁸³ For further details on the Peterborough Choir Stall paintings, refer to L.F. Sandler 'Peterborough Abbey and the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 33 (1970), pp. 36-49.

⁸⁴ The date of the Cloisters Cross is a matter of debate, and forces some scholars to place it somewhere between the mid eleventh century and 1200. For further details see Elizabeth C. Parker & Charles T. Little, ed., *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, (New York, 1994), 16-19.

⁸⁵ For further readings on the interpretation of iconography of the Cloisters Cross refer to Elizabeth C. Parker & Charles T. Little, ed., *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, (New York, 1994), 43-118.

⁸⁶ Cynthia Kahn, "Inscriptions and Interactions: Text and Image on the Cloisters Cross & Other Ivories", in *Inscriptions in Liturgical Spaces*, Kristin B. Aavitsland, ed., (Oslo, 2011), 186.

⁸⁷ Rudolph, 2011, 406.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Caviness, 1977, 102.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, (New York, 1982), 72-73.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 117, 119.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 102.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Madeline Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, B.S. Levy, ed., (New York, 1992), pp. 103-147, 109.

⁹⁸ Such as the 'Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit' panel of the Allegorical Window.

⁹⁹ Rudolph, 2011, 406.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ James, 1951, 141.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 142.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ R.W. Southern, *The Monks of Canterbury and the Murder of Archbishop Becket*, (Canterbury, 1985), 12.

¹⁰⁶ William Urry, "Some Notes on the Two Resting Places of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury", in *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque International de Sédières*, Foreville, Raymonde, ed., (Paris, 1975), 195.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 196.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Southern, 11.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 14.

¹¹¹ M.F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket", *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), pp. 19-52, 44-45.

¹¹² Charles E. Woodruff, "The Sacrist Rolls of Christ Church, Canterbury", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 48 (1936), pp. 38-80, 39.

¹¹³ Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, (London, 1998), 113.

¹¹⁴ Conrad Rudolph, "Social Change and the Assertion of Elite Status: The Parabolic Discourse Window in Canterbury Cathedral", *Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century Medieval England*, Forthcoming 2015, pp. 1-11, 7.

¹¹⁵ Nilson, 133.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Conrad Rudolph's translation of the 'The Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas' in "Social Change and the Assertion of Elite Status: The Parabolic Discourse Window in Canterbury Cathedral", *Seeing and Reading in Twelfth-Century Medieval England*, Forthcoming 2015, pp. 1-11, 8.

¹¹⁷ Nilson, 96.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 97.

¹¹⁹ Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London, 1993), 60.

¹²⁰ Refer to Appendix E

¹²¹ Refer to Appendix F

¹²² The verse commentary provided in the window for this image is not only illegible from ground level, but is also incredibly vague about the subject of the image itself. The couplet reads as follows: “Lot is forbidden to look back so that he may be saved; so the Sabeans avoid riding back through the realms of Herod.”

¹²³ The original Latin in the Cambridge Verses and Canterbury Roll is *Subversio sodome et Loth fugiens*. In the Oxford Verses, *subversio* is replaced by *submersio*.

¹²⁴ The original Latin in the Cambridge Verses and Canterbury Roll is *Christus mutauit aquam in vinum et sex ydrie*. In the Oxford Verses, *et sex ydrie* is left out.

¹²⁵ Two other occurrences of this phrasing occur in Typological Windows four and eleven. *In medio ihesus legit in synagoga* (In the middle: Jesus reads in the Synagogue) *In medio cena domini* (In the middle: The Supper of the Lord).

¹²⁶ Refer to Appendix C, specifically Typological Windows 8, 9, and 10.

¹²⁷ Refer to Appendix C.

¹²⁸ The original Latin in the Cambridge Verses and Canterbury Roll is *Homo quidam descendebat de Jerusalem in Jericho et incidit in latrones*. However the Oxford Verses reads: *Homo quidam descendebat ab ierusalem in iericho et incidit in latrones*.

¹²⁹ The original Latin in all three manuscripts is: *Sacerdos et levita vident vulneratum et pertranseunt*.

¹³⁰ The original Latin in all three manuscripts is: *Samaritanus ducit vulneratum in stabulum cum jumento*.

¹³¹ In my discussion with Dr. Richard Rouse, the asterisk symbols were identified as ‘marginal stanza markings’ traditionally used throughout the Middle Ages to mark certain groupings of text.

¹³² I included the Canterbury Roll’s image captions in the list in order to specify the image panels to which the windows’ verse inscriptions belong.

¹³³ Verse translations provided by Madeline Caviness in her text *The Windows of Christ Church Canterbury*, (London, 1981).

¹³⁴ The original Latin in all three manuscripts is: *Christus descendens de monte mundat leprosum*.

¹³⁵ Verse translation provided by Madeline Caviness in her text *The Windows of Christ Church Canterbury*, (London, 1981).

¹³⁶ The original Latin in the Cambridge Verses and Canterbury Roll is: *Ihesus et apostolic colligunt spicas / Mola fumus et apostolic facientes panes*. However the Oxford Verses reads: *Mola furnus et apostoli facientes panes*.

¹³⁷ Verse translation provided by Madeline Caviness in her text *The Windows of Christ Church Canterbury*, (London, 1981).

¹³⁸ Mâle, 1962, 172.

¹³⁹ Rudolph, Forthcoming 2015, 8.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, 8.

¹⁴¹ Phenomenal as it is used here meaning: as perceptible by the senses or through immediate experience.

¹⁴² Rudolph, Forthcoming 2015, 8.

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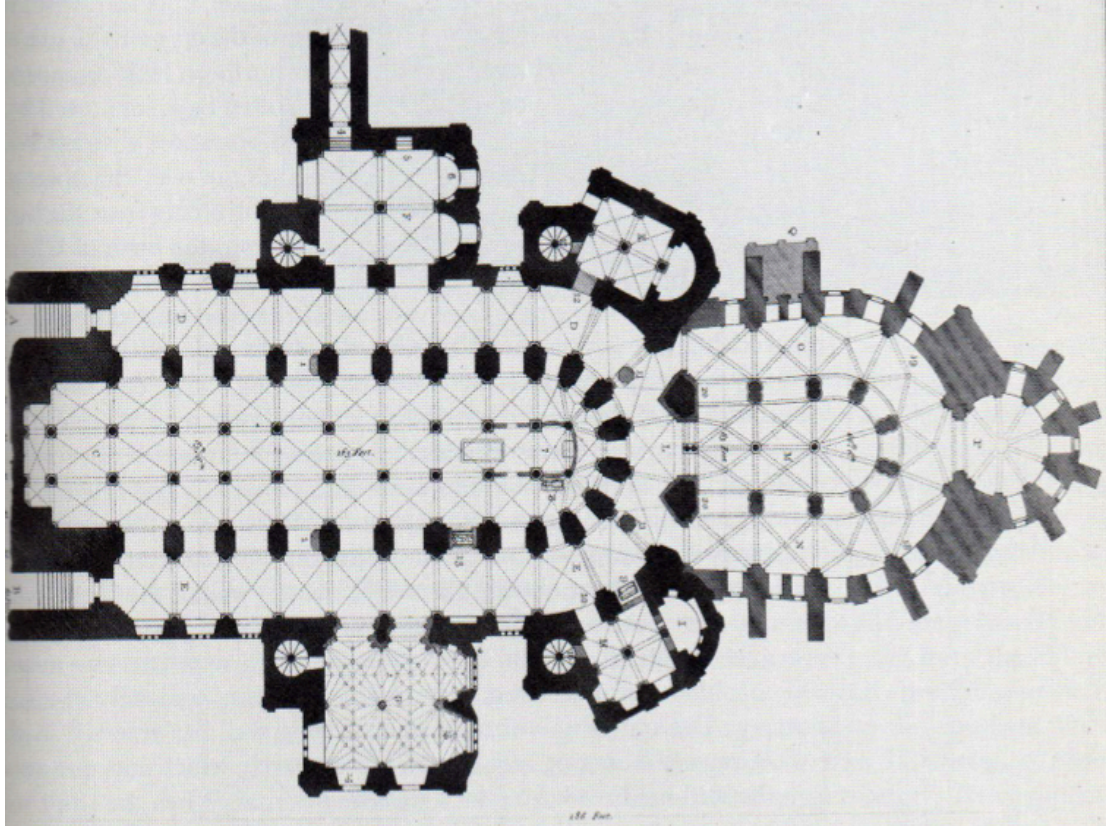


Figure 1: Floor Plan of the new eastern arm of Canterbury Cathedral after the fire of 1174.



Figure 2: Genealogy of Christ Windows in the clerestory of the Trinity Chapel, Artwork in the public domain.

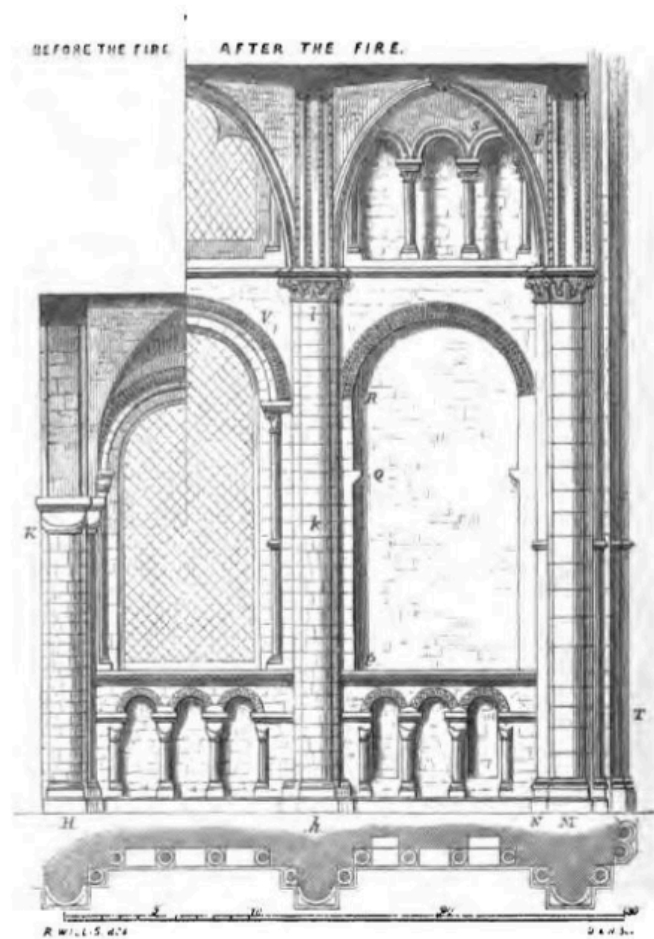


Fig. 21. ELEVATION OF ONE COMPARTMENT, NORTH AISLE.

Figure 3: Partial elevation of the north choir aisle with rendition of the Typological Windows' placement.

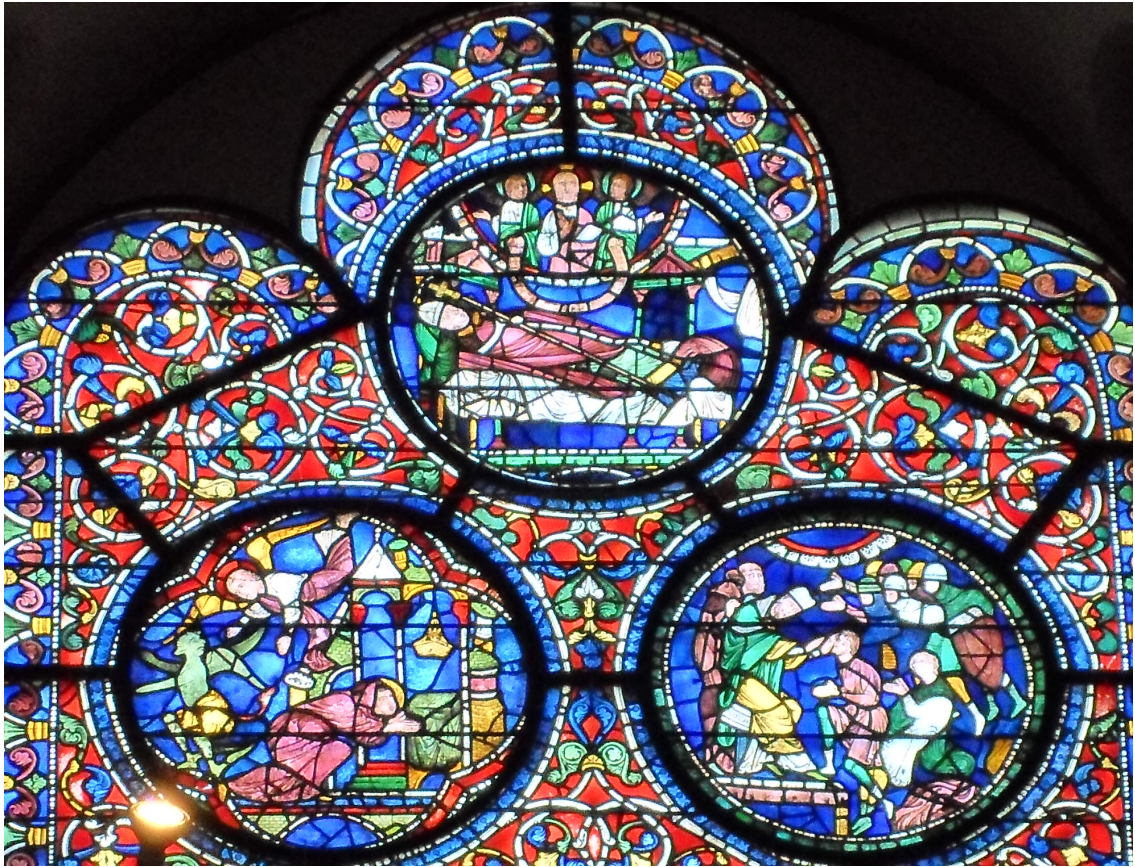


Figure 4: 'Trilobed' Windows in the triforium level of the north choir aisle, 1175-77, Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 5: Becket Miracle Windows in the Trinity Chapel, c. 1182-1220, Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 6: Typological Redemption Window in the Corona, *c.* 1182-1220, Artwork in the public domain.

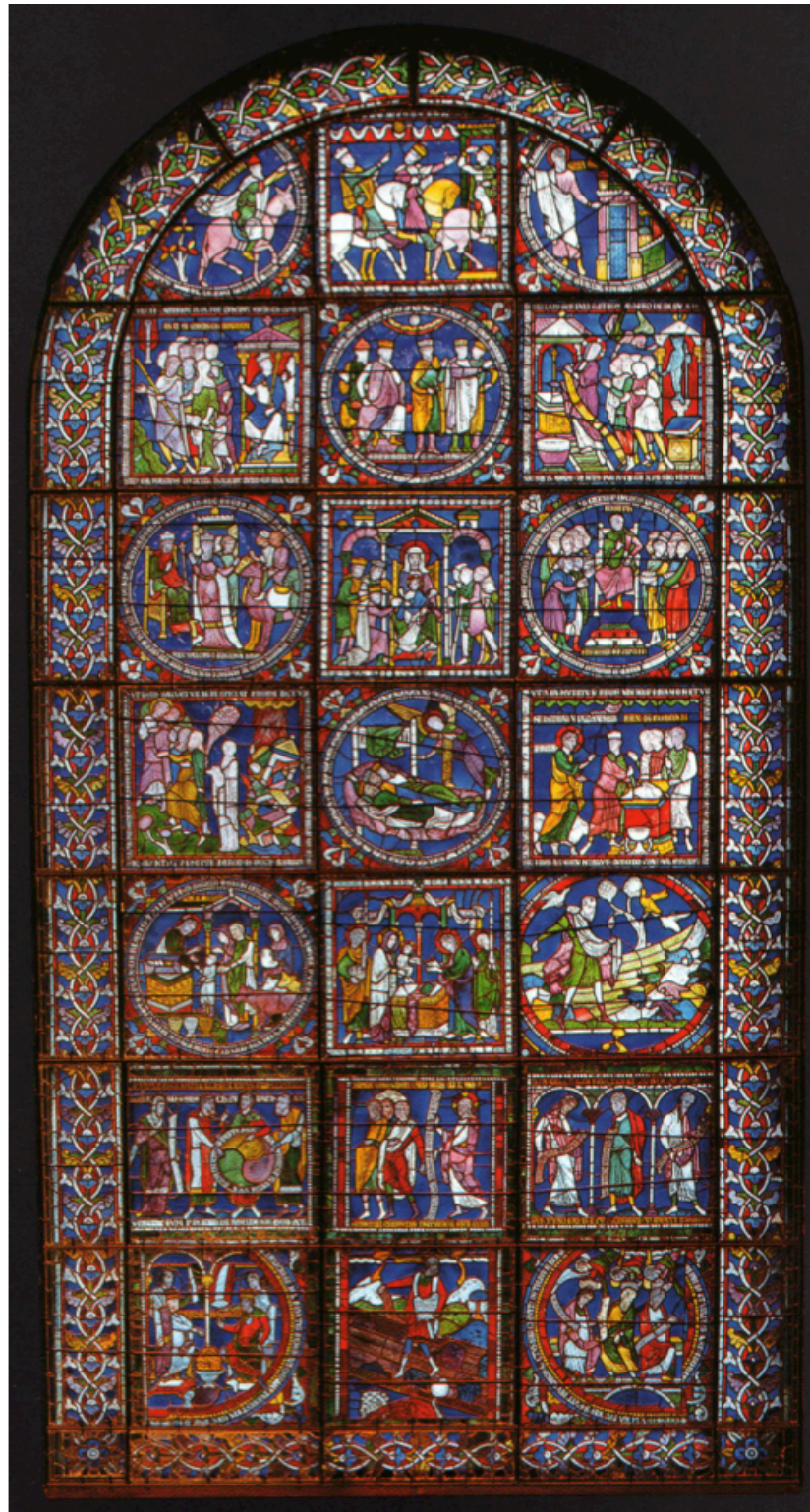


Figure 7: Second Typological Window in the north choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral.

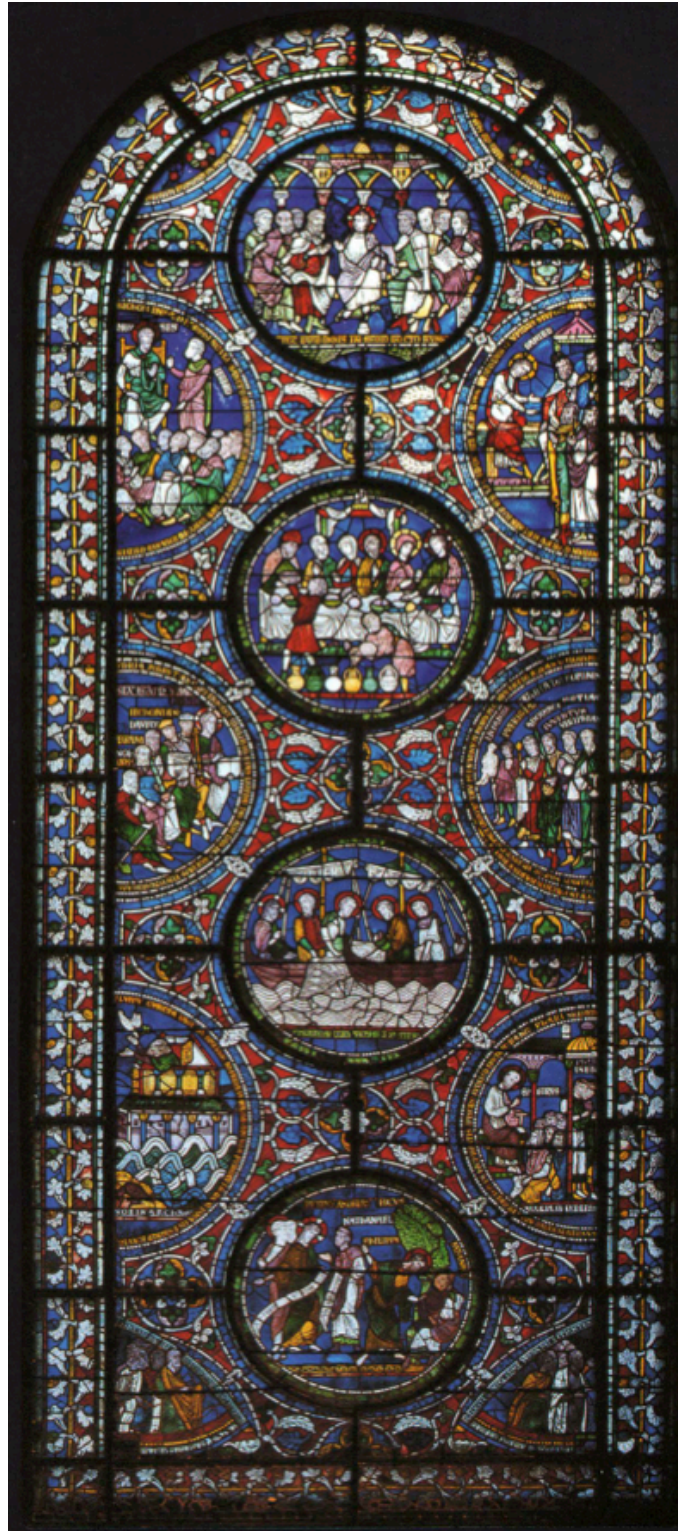


Figure 8: Third Typological Window in the north choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral.

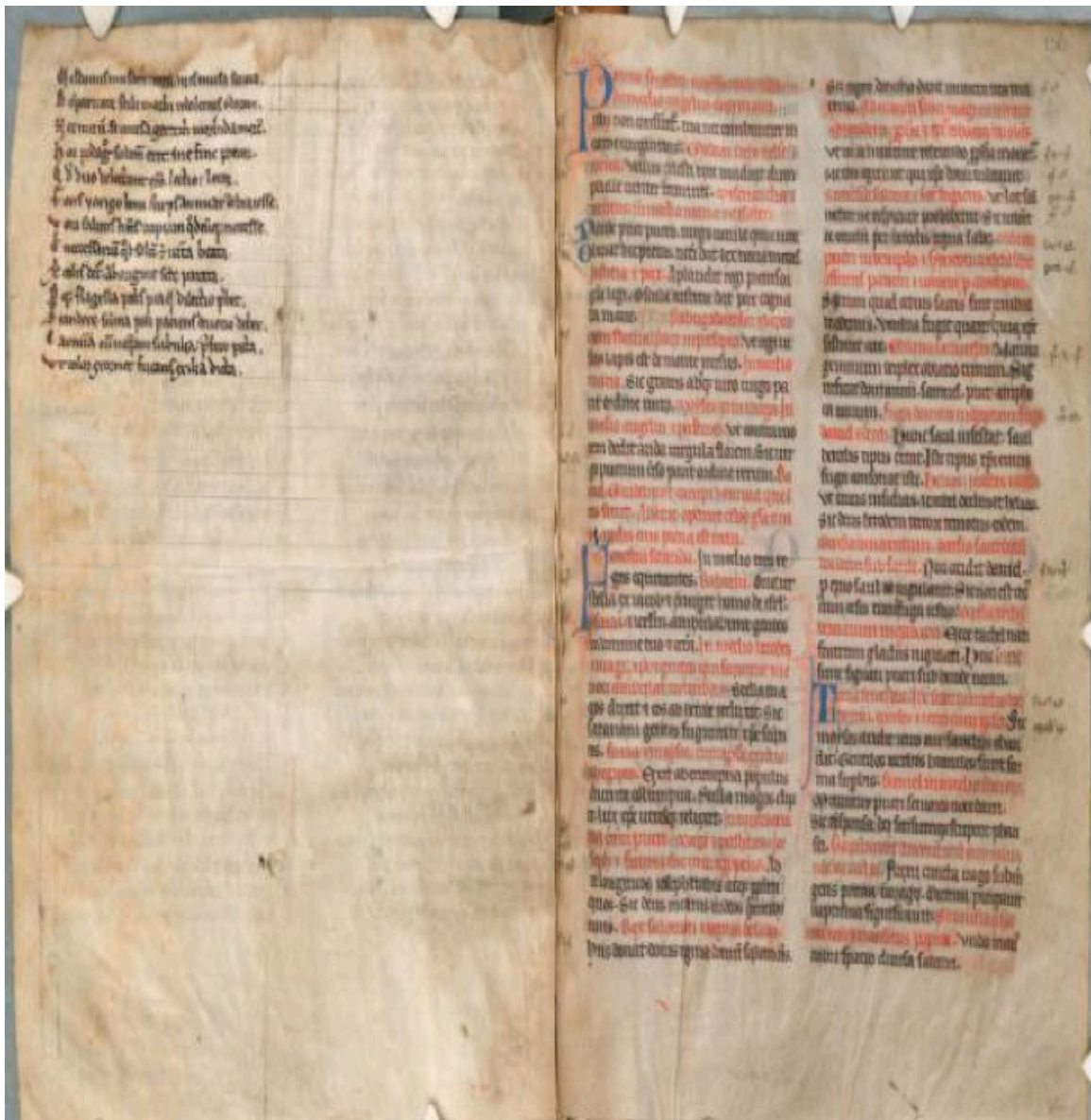


Figure 9: Cambridge MS 400 f. 150r, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vellum.

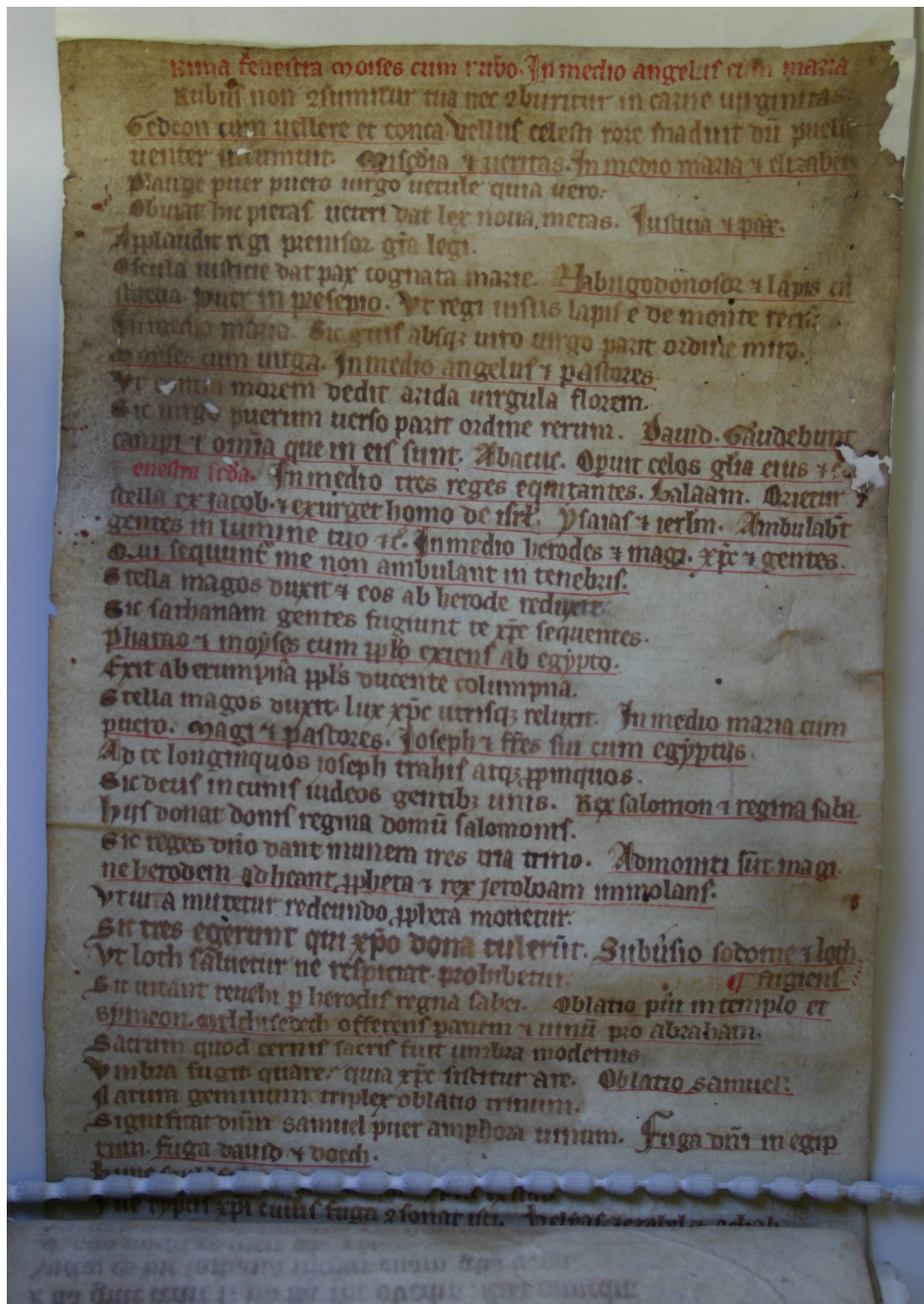


Figure 10: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

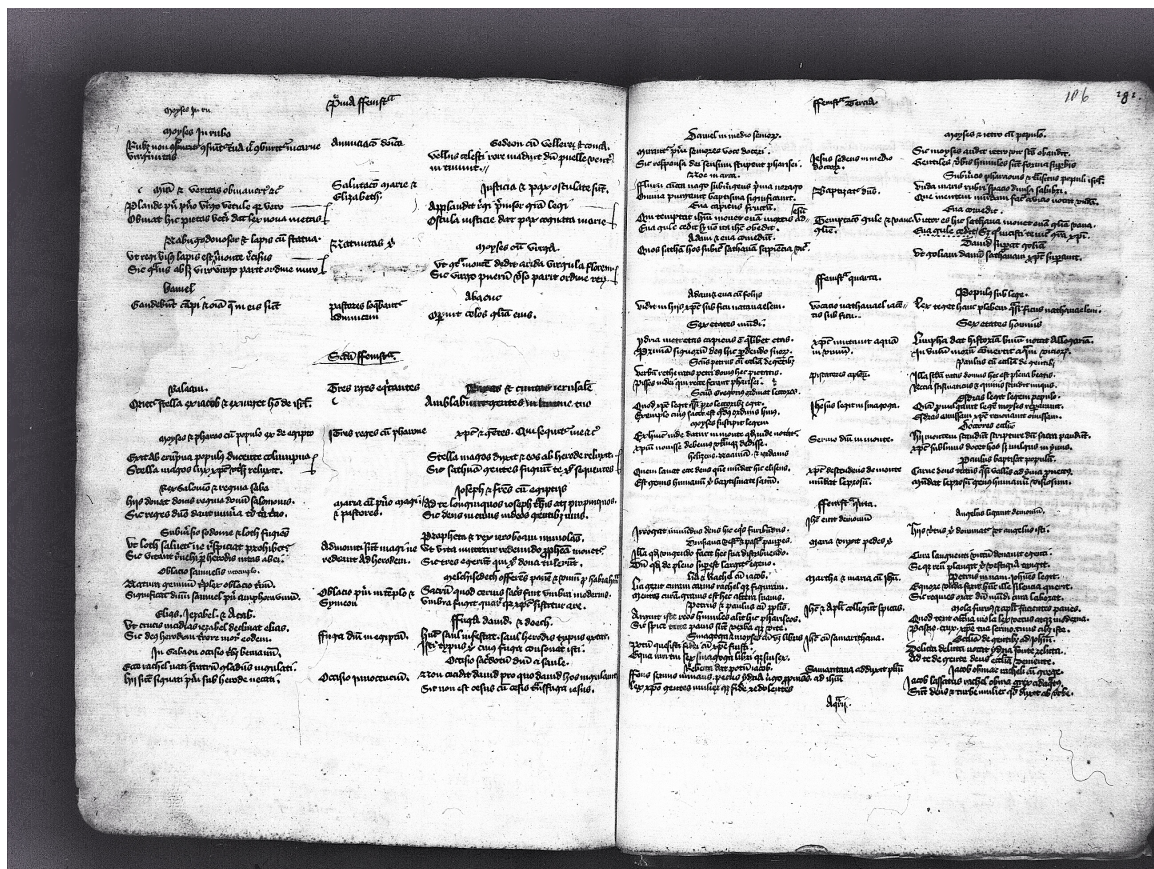


Figure 11: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

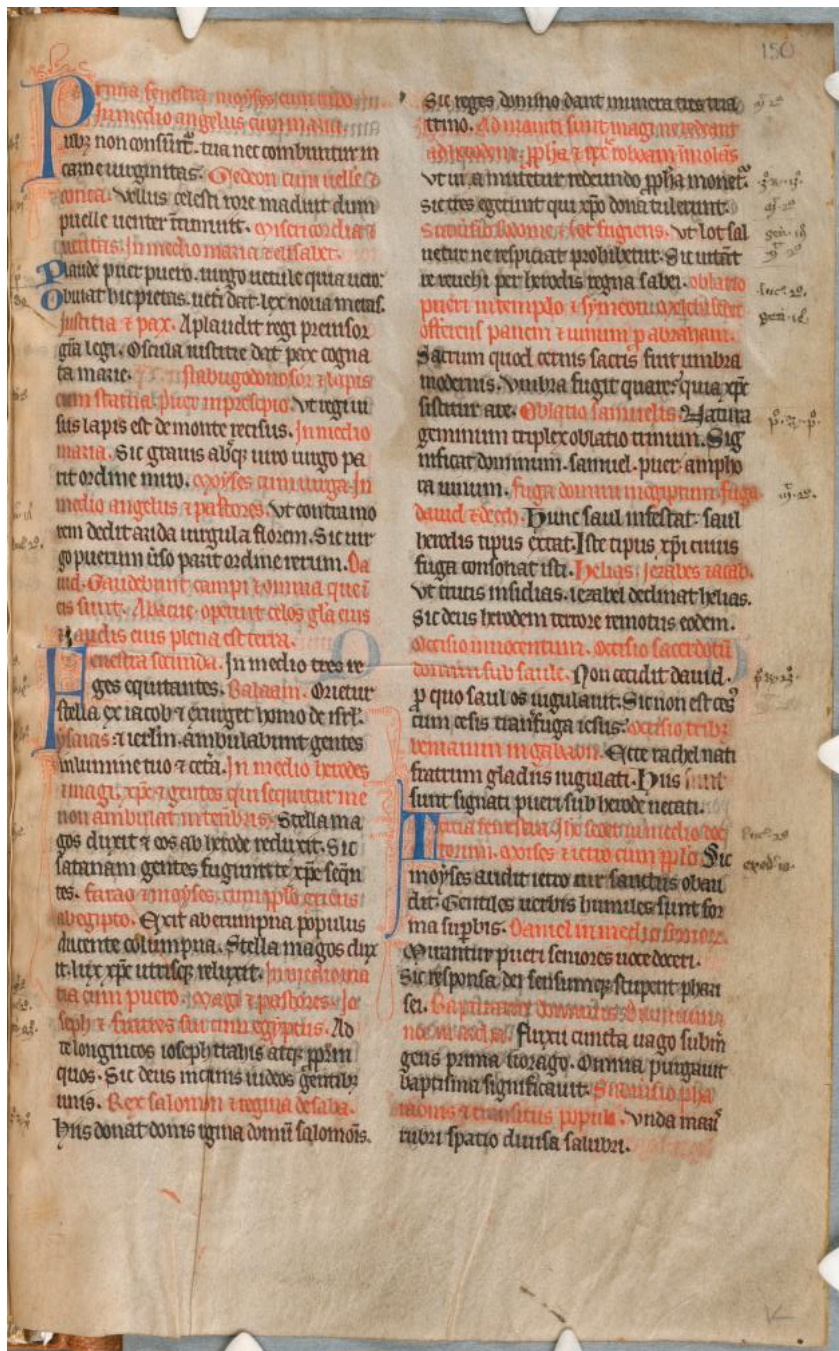


Figure 12: Cambridge MS 400 f. 150r, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Vellum.



Figure 13: Cambridge MS 400 f. 150v-151r, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vellum.



Figure 14: Cambridge MS 400 f. 151v-152r, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vellum.



Figure 15: Cambridge MS 400 f. 152v-153r, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Vellum.

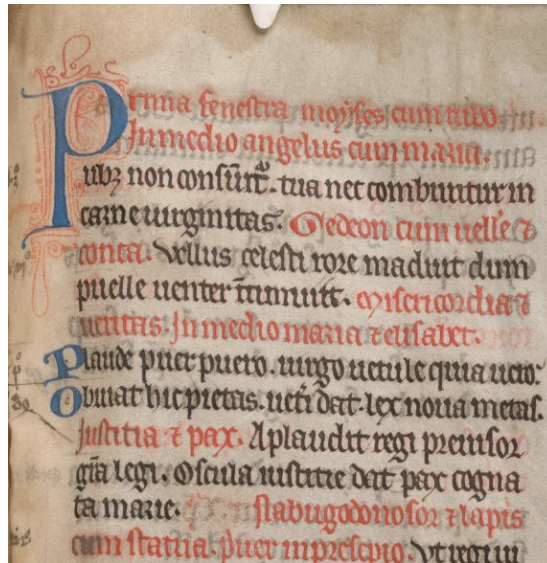


Figure 16: Cambridge MS 400, Recto of f.150, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christ College, Cambridge, Vellum.

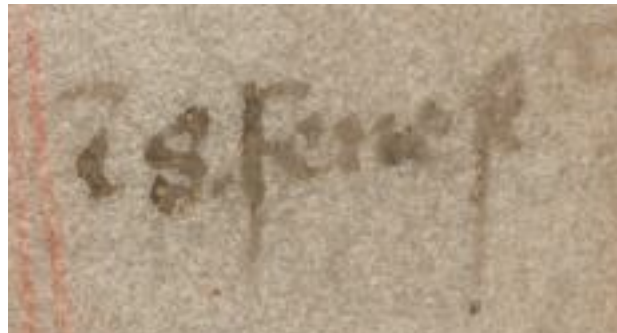


Figure 17: Cambridge MS 400, Recto of f. 152, Late thirteenth century, Corpus Christ College, Cambridge, Vellum.

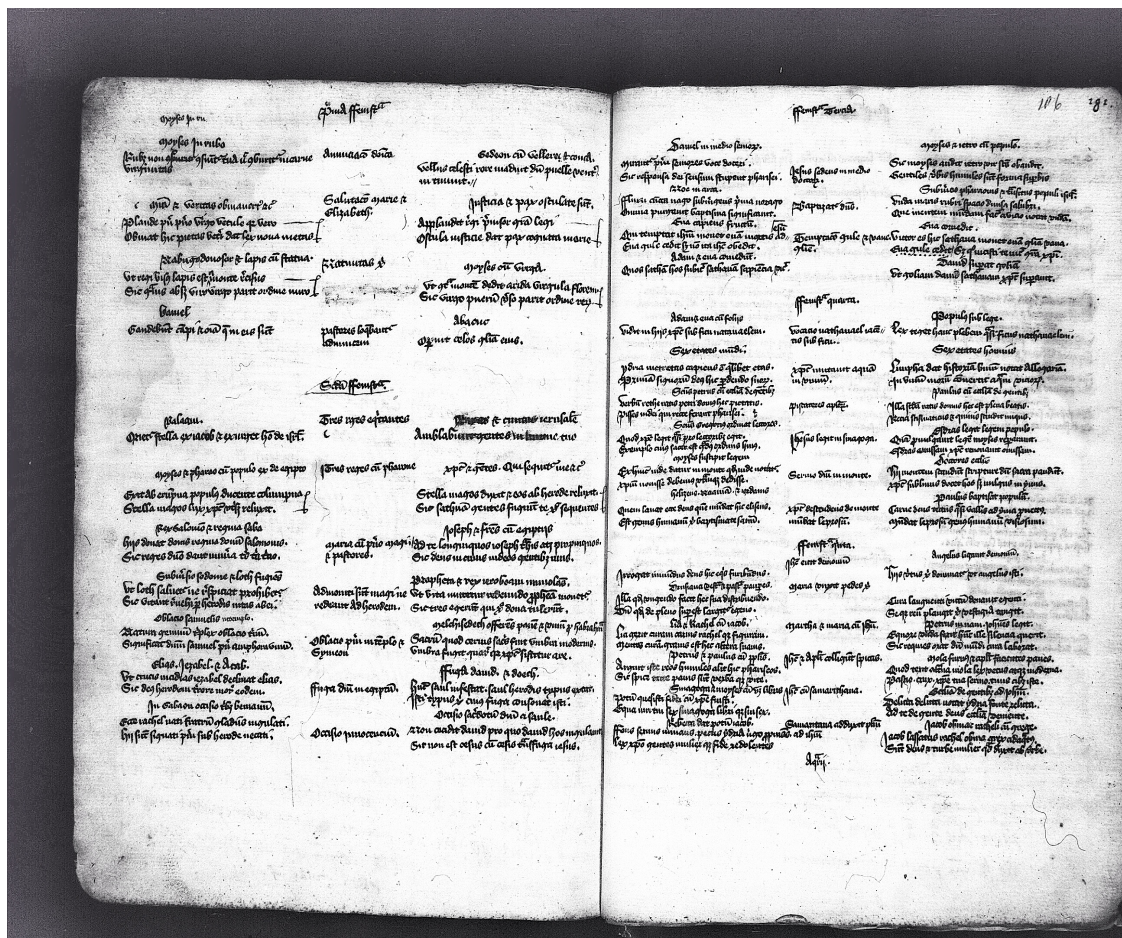


Figure 18: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

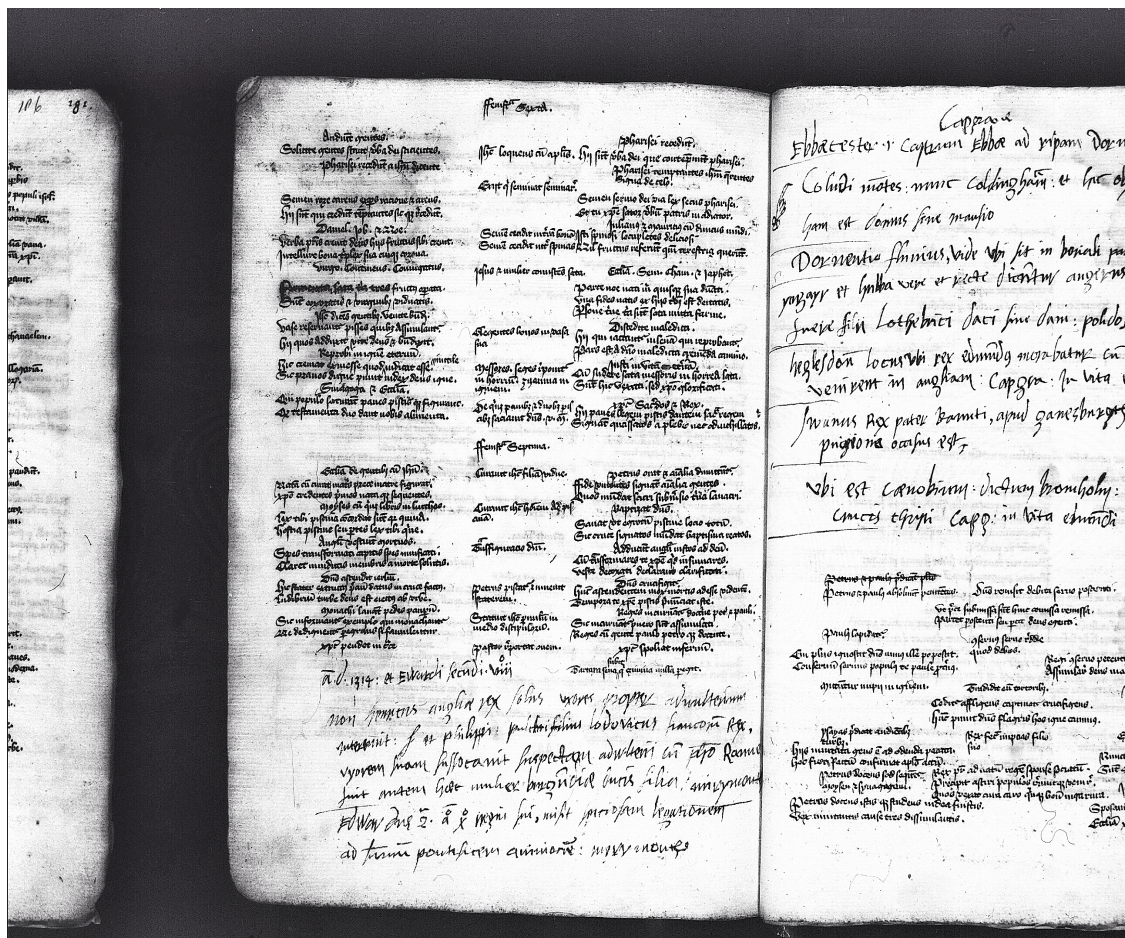


Figure 19: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

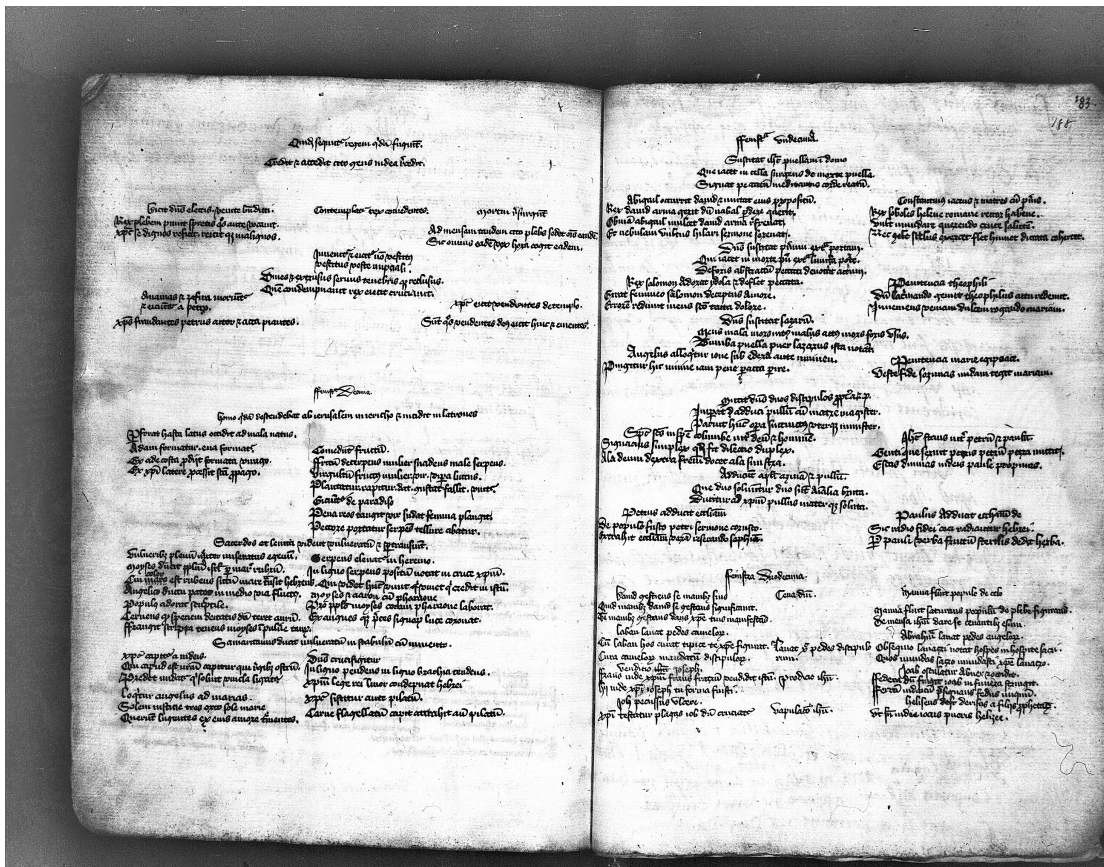


Figure 20: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

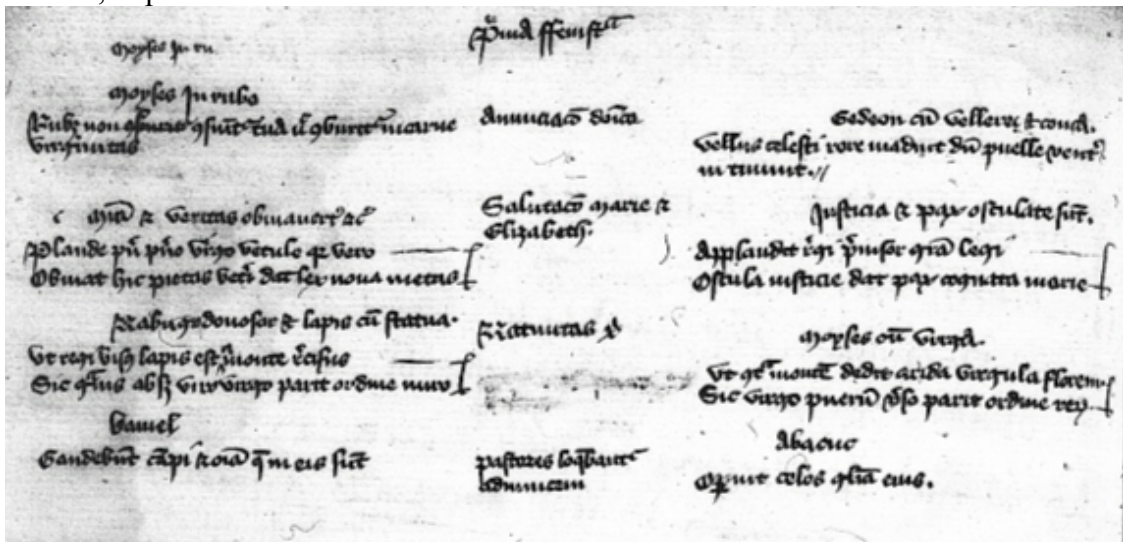


Figure 21: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

Semp. Zama.

Homo qd descendebat ab iherusalem in iericho & matre in latrones

Pforat hasta latus occidit ad mala natus.
 Adam formatur. eua format.
 Ex ade costa pdis formati pniago.
 Ex xpi latere pssit pniago.

Comedit fructu.
 Ficta decipiens mulier shadeus male sarpens.
 Virginitas fructus mulier: pur. dya lucas.
 Placatur: rapitur: dnt. gustat: fallit. pnt.
 Gaude de paradiso
 Pena uos tangit pur sudat femina plangit
 Peccore portatur serpes tellure abatur.

Sacerdos et leuita pident vulnerati & ptrausunt.

Vulnerati: pleuid: dnt. misentus egeu.
 Moyses dnt. pnt. pnt. pnt. ruben.
 In mare est rubens sicut mare fuit hebreu.
 Angelis dnt. pnt. in medio pia fluctu.
 Populi adone scriptile.
 Lervens qd spencem deatatis dnt. tere aurid.
 Frangit scripta tenens moyses public tany.

Samaritanus dnt. vulnerati in pabulo ad muerit.

xpo capto a iudeis.
 Qui capud est unum capitur qui dnt. ostid.
 Pndet undat qd soluit pnt. ligat.
 Loqur angelus ad maras.
 Solem iusticie tras orto sole mare
 Querit liquentes ex eius amore tantes.

Dnt crucifigitur
 In ligno pendens in ligno brachia tendens.
 xpm lege rei timor condemnat hebrei
 xpo signatur ante pilatu.
 Carne flagellatu caput attulit ad pilatu.

Figure 22: Oxford MS 256, William of Glastonbury, 1419-1448, Corpus Christ College, Oxford, Paper.

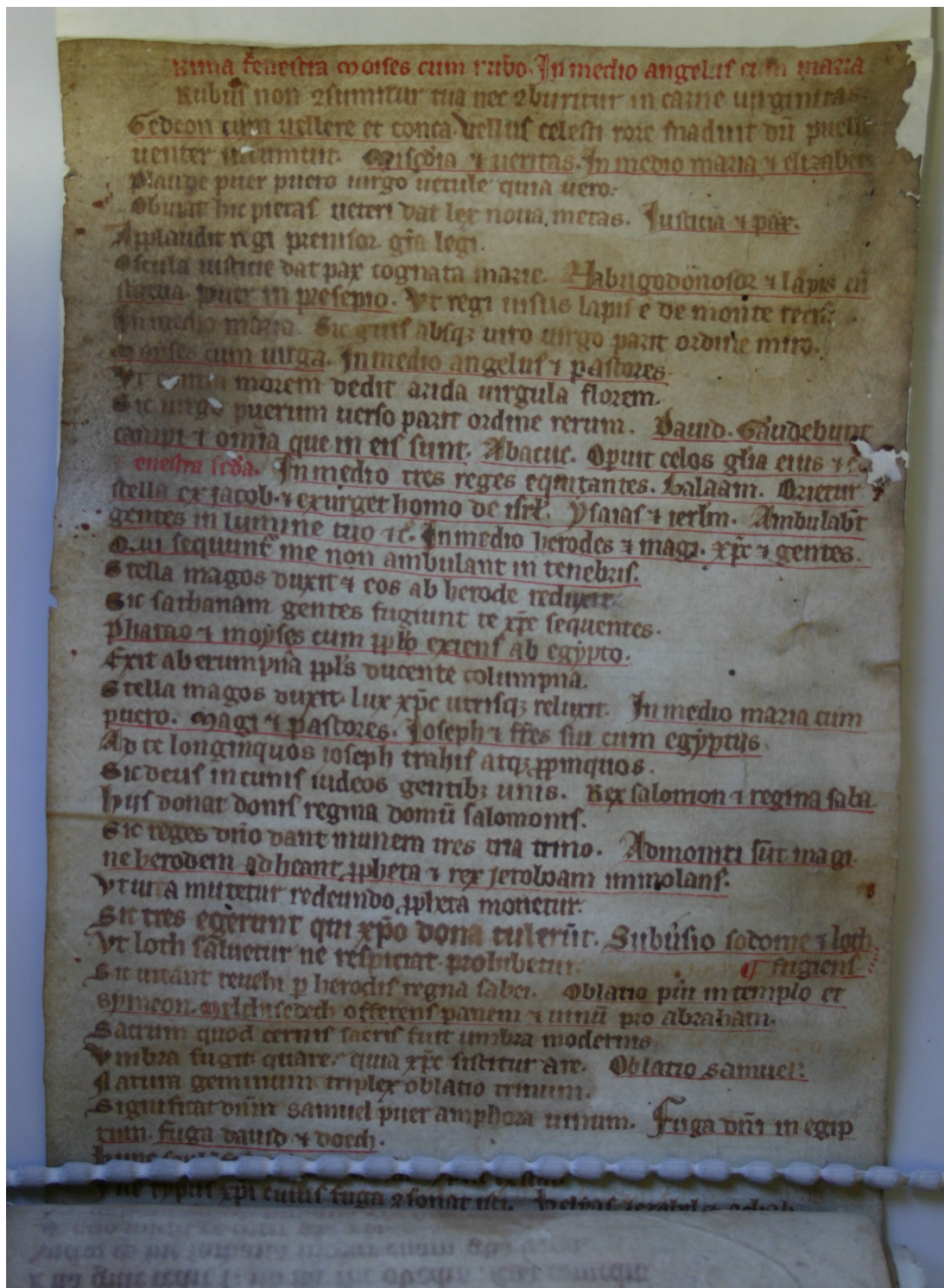


Figure 23: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

Significat dñm samuel puer amphora unum. Fuga dñi in egip
tum fuga dauid & doech.
 Hunc saul iherosolym saul herodis typus extat.
 Iste typus xpi cuius fuga & sonat isti. heliat. jeralel & achab.
 Ut crucis in istis jeralel declinat helias.
 Sic deus herodem terrore remotus eodem. Occisio innocent. occisio
factorum domini sub saule.
 Non cecidit dauid p quo saul hos iugulauit
 Sic nō est cecus cū cecis tñsfuga ihc. Occisio ibi beniamin i gabaon
 Ecce rachel nati fratrum gladius iugulati.
 Huius sunt signa ti pueri sub herode necati.
fenestra terna. hic sedet in medio doctor. moyses & jetro cū iplo.
 sic moyses audit jetro ut sanctus obaudir
 Gentiles uerbis humiles sunt forma supbis. Daniel in medio semoz.
 Quantur pueri sentozes uoce doceri.
 Sic responsa dei sensum stupent pharisei. Baptizant dñs. noe i archa.
 Fluxu cuncta uago submergens prima uorago.
 Omnia purgant baptisma significauit. Submersio pharaonis et
Ynda maris rubri spacio diuisa salubri. transitus popli.
 Que mentē mundā facit a uitio notat undam. Temptatio gule
et uane glie. Eua capiens fructum.
 Qui temptat ihm monet euan mortis adesum.
 Eua gule cedit s; nō ita ihc obedit. Eua comedit
 Victor es hic sathana mouet euan glia uana.
 S; quo iusti te uicit grā xpi. ut goliam dauid sathana xpc superauit. De. v. panibz & ii. piscibz.
 faciant multa milia hominū. dominus sacerdos & rex
 huius panes legem pisces dantem sacra regem.
 Signant quassatos a plebe nec admodumatos. Septuaginta interpretant.
 O sathan hos subicit sathana sapiēcia uicit. ada & eua comedunt.
Synagoga cū moysē & libris. Ecclia cū iohanne.
 Non poplos saturant panes piscesq; figurant.
 Quod testamenta duo nobis dantur alimenta.
fenestra. iii. Vocatio natanael iacentis sub ficu adam & eua cū folijs.
 Sidit in huius xpc sub ficu natanaelem. Popls sub lege.
 Lex regit hanc plebem quasi ficus natanaelem. xpc mutauit aquam in
uinum. & sex ydrie. sex etates mundi.
 ydria metretas capies est quelibet etas.
 primū signoz deus hic p dendo suoz. Sex etates hominis.
 Impia dat hystoriam Vinum notat allegoriam.
 In uinū mox conuertit aqm uitioz. piscatores aploz. scs petr?
 Verbū rete ratis petri dom' hec pietatis. cū ecclia de iudeis.
 pisces iudei qui rete ferant pharisei. paulus cum ecclia de gentibz.
olena beatif.

Figure 24: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

In unum mox conuertit aqm tunc. Piscatores aplos. scs petrus
 Verbu rete ratis petri dom' hec pietatis. cu ecclia de iudeis.
 piscet iudei qui rete ferant pharisei. paulus cum ecclia de gentibz.
 Illa scda ratis domus hec est plena beatif.
 uera scismatibus & quibus scindit iniquus. In medio ihc legit in syna
goga. Et dicit legit legem iplo.
 Quid promulgauit moyses legem repaunt.
 ¶ Et dicit amissam xpc renouauit omisam. Scs gg ordina lectores
Ob xpc legit quasi pro lectoribz egit.
 Exemplo cuius sacer est gradus ordinis hui' Sermo dni i monte doc
 hy montem scandunt scripture dum sacra pandunt. ¶ Tunc eccl
 xpc sublimis docet hos s; vulgus in ymis. moyses suscepit legem.
 Ex hinc inde datur in monte quod inde notatur.
 xpm nouisse debemus utramq; dedisse.
 xpc descendens de monte mundat leprosu. paul' baptizat pplm.
 ¶ Arne ds rectus quasi nullis ad ima pueris.
 mundat leprosu genus humanu micosu. helyseus. Naaman & Jor
 ouem lauat ecce deus que mundat & hic helyseus. ¶ daniel.
 Est genus humanu xpi baptisinate sanum.
 ¶ Euclia. v. Ille etat demoniu. Angls ligauit demoniu.
 Impat inmundis deus hic equis furibundis.
 hys uirtus xpi dñatur ut angls isti. maria unxit pedes xpi / drusiana
uestit & pascit egenos.
 Curam languenti uidum qui prebet egeni.
 seq; reum plangit xpi uestigia tangit.
 Illa quod unguendo facit hec sua distribuendo.
 Dum quod de pleno superest largitur egeno.
 martha & maria cu ihu. petrus in nau. iohannes legit.
 Equorū unda ferit hunc ille silencia querit.
 sic requies orat dum mudi cura laborat. Lya & Rachel cum iacob.
 Lya gerit curam carnis Rachelq; figuram.
 genit cura gratif est hec est altera suauis.
 ¶ hic & apli colligunt spital / mola. furn' & apli facientes panes.
 Quod terit alterna mola lex uetus atq; moderna.
 ¶ pascio crux xpc tua. sermo tuus cib; iste. petrus & paul' cum pplis.
 Arguit iste reos humiles alit hic phariseos.
 Sic apice trite panis sunt uerbaz uite. hic cu samaritana. Sy
nagoga & moyses cum. v. libris.
 Porum quesisti fidei cum xpc sitisti.
 Equi uiri cui sex synagoga libzq; sui sex. Ecclia de gentibz ad ihm.
 ¶ delicta delicta notat ydria fonte relicta.
 Ad te de gente deus ecclia ueniente. Samaritana adduxit po
pulum ad ihm. relecta parat uirgo ppheta.

Figure 25: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

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& ui plus ignot. dominus minus ille poposcit. ¶ pidatur.
 Conseruus seruus populus te paule pteruus. ¶ Stephis lapidat.
 Regi conseruo repetenti debita seruo.
 Assimulare deus martyr nequa phariseus. ¶ Tradidit eū torto.
 Ceditur affluens captiuatur crucifigens. ¶ tribus.
 Hunc punit dñs flagris hos igne caminus.
mittuntur impi in ignē iudei piment. ¶ mittit dñs duos disci
pulos ppter asinam & pullum.
 Imperat adduci pullum cum matre magister.
 Paruit hūc opera succinctus uterq; minister.
Spiritus sēs in spē columbe inier deum & hominē.
 Signaculus simplex qđ sit dilectio duplex.
 Ala deum dextra fratrem docet ala sinistra. ¶ Ihē stant int.
 Geni que seruit petris petri petra mittit. ¶ Petrū & paulū.
 Escas diuinas iudeis paule pmas. Adducit discipuli asinam & pull.
 Que duo solunt dño sunt animalia bruta.
 Ducitur ad xpm pullus materq; soluta. Petrus adducit eccliam de gen
de poplo fusco petri sermone conusco. ¶ tribus.
 Extrahit eccliam ueram reserando sophiam.
 Sic radio fidei ceteri radiantur hebrei. Paul' ouit eccliam de gentibz.
 p pauli uerba fructum sterilis dedit herba.
 Dum plebs gentilis p eum fit mente fidelis.
 Genilis populus uenit ad xpm quasi pullus. Ocurrūt pñi dño sedenti.
 Vestib; ornari parit saluator asellam. ¶ super asinam.
 Qui sup astra sedet nec habet frenū neq; sellam.
 Placet dicit. Ecce rex tuus sedens super asinam.
 Qui sedet in celo ferri dignat' asello. uauit. Ex ore infantū &
sandū sanctorū laus ore sonat puerozū. ¶ lacrones.
¶ fenestra. ix. homo quidā descendebat de ierlm in ierico & incidit i
perforat hasta latus occidit ad mala natus. Creatur adam forma
tur eua comedunt fructum eierunt de paradiso.
 Ex ade costa prodit formata uirago.
 Ex xpi latere processit sancta ppago.
 Fructum deserpens mulier suadent mala serpens.
 Inmemor auctoris uir pōuit culmen honoris.
 Virgultū fructus mulier. vir. vipera. luctus.
 plantatur rapitur dat gustat fallit mitur.
 Pena reos tangit uir sudat femina plangit.
 Pectore portatur serpens tellure cibatur. Sacerdos & leuita uidet
uulneratū et ptransiunt.
 Uulnerib; plenum neuter miseratus egenum.
 Cui color est rubeus si cum matre transit hebreus.
 Anglico ductu patet in medio uia fluctu.
 In ligno serpens uisus in gressu in uia in xpm.

Figure 28: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

Qui cum et rubeus si cum mare transierit beatus.
 Anglico ductu patet in medio uia fluctu.
 In ligno serpens positus notat in cruce xpm.
 Qui uidet hunc uiuit uiuet qui credit in istum.
 Cernens quod spem deitatis dum teret aurum.
Frangit scripta tenens moyses in puluere tauri. moyses taron
cum pharaone scribitur tau. educitur popls. adorat titulum.
datur lex. eleuatur serpens.
 pro ipso moyses coram pharaone laborat
 exangit q; preces signor luce coronat. samaritanus ducit
suluerat in stabulum cum iumento. phicio ihu. ancilla accu
sat petrum. dñs crucifigitur. sepelitur. resurgit. loquitur angls.
 Qui caput est nrm capitur qui regib; ostrum. ad mariaz
 predet nudatur qui soluit uindicta ligatur.
 In ligno pendens in ligno brachia tendens.
 In ligno lignu supasti xpe malignum.
 xpm lege rei huius condempnat bezer.
 carne flagellatum capite attrahit ante pilatum.
 solem iusticie tres orto sole marie.
 Querit lugentes ex eius morte tremantes.
enest. x. suscit. ihc puellam in domo.
 Que iacet in cella surgens de morte puella.
 signat peccatum meditantis corde creatum. Abigail occurrit dñ
rex dñ arma gerit dñ nabal pñere querit. mutat et apostu.
 Abinat abigail mulier dauid arma tetinet.
 Et nebulam sulcat balay sermone serenat.
Comitatus iacet a matres cum pijs.
 Rex soboles helene. romane rector habene.
 Vult mandare curtem querendo cruce salutem.
 Nec scelus excuset flet. humer dictata cohercet. Ans suscit. puer
Qui iacet in morte puer exua limina porte. extra porta.
 Defors abstractu peccati de notat actum. rex salom adorat p
dola. deflet peccatum.
 Erat femineo salomon deceptus amore.
 Errorem redimit mens scd tacta dolore. penitencia theophili.
 Dum lacrimando gemit theophilus acta redemit.
 Inuenies ueniam dulce rogando mariam. Ans suscit. lazar.
 uent mala mors intus malus actus. mors foris. usus.
 Trumba puella puer lazarus ista notant. Angls alloq iona
pingit hic niniue iam pene pacta pñe. Sub edera ante niniuem.
penitencia marie egipciace.
 Veste fide zozimas nudam tegit mariam.
enest. xi. In medio cena dñi. David gestans se i manib; suis.
Quid manib; david se gestans significauit.
Romanib; gestans nos nro misimouit. mona. cur. inlo.

Figure 29: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

Quid manibz dauid se gestans significauit.
 De manibz gestans das xpe tuis manifestans. Manna fluit iplo
manna fluit saturans ipm de plebe figurans De celo.
De mensa ihm dare se tenantibz esum. Lauat ibe pedes aploz.
Laban lauat pedes cameloz.
 Cu laban hos curat tpyce te xpe figurat
 Cura cameloz mandatū disciploz. Abraham lauat pedes angloz.
 Obsequio lauacri notat hospes in hospite sacri. Seph.
 Qs mundas sacro mundasti xpe lauacro. Primo ihu. Vendicio io
fraus iude xpm fraus fratrū uenditit istum. Cult.
hij iude xpi ioseph cu forma fuit. Joab osculatur abner 4 oc
federa dum fingit ioab in funera attingit. Ulcere.
ferrum iudaicum psignat fedus liquū. Vapulatio ihu. job pcussus.
xpi testatur plagas job dum cruciatur.
ut sum iudee iocis pueris helisee. xpe suspendit.
enest. xpi portat crucem. psac ligna. mulier colligit duo ligna.
Ligna puer gestat crucis tpyum manifestat.
fert crucis in signum duplex mulierela lignū. Sperit eneus eleua
qor est ex anguis dū cernitur eneus anguis. Cur icolipna.
sic deus i ligno nos saluat ab hoste maligno. Vacca rufa 2burit.
ut moyses iussit utulam rufam rogus ussit.
sic rufa xpe caro crucis igne cremat amaro. Ans deponit de ligno.
abel occiditur. heliseus expandit se sup puerum.
flor a morte deus reuocauit 4 hūc heliseus.
signat abel xpi pia funera funere tristi. moyses scribit tau. i fron
te ex morit magn' forma cui extit agn. Ab. i porta de saque agni.
frontibz ihu thau. pcurit crucifixū. Ans in sepulc. samson dor
ut sampson tpyce causa dormiuit amice. Amic cu amica sua.
Ecelie causa xpi caro marmore clausa. Jonas in uentre ceti.
uū iacet absoxtus jonas sol triplicat ortus.
sic ds artatur tumulto triduoq morat. Ans ligant diabolū spoli
aur infernū dauid eripuit oues 4 sampson son tulit portas.
saluat onē dauid sic xpm significauit omf 4 damel draconis.
Est sampson fortis qui rupit vincla moztis. Sāpson frangit ora le
instar sampsonis frangit deus ora leonis.
uū sathanā strauit xpe regulū iugulaunt. Surgit dñs de sepulcro
reddit ut saluus quē ceti clauserat alius. jonas eicitur de pisce.
sic redit illusus dñs sic iuda ihē. dauid emissus p fenestram.
hinc abire illusus dñs sic iuda ihē.
agmina conturbat ut uicta morte resurgat. Angls alloqit manā
ad sepulcrū. leo suscitāt filiū 4 ioseph extrahitur de carcere.
ad uitam xpm deus ut leo suscitāt istum.
De signat xpe ioseph. te mozt. locis iste.
anctus gregori dat aquā manibz pauper 4 apparuit ei dñs.

Figure 30: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

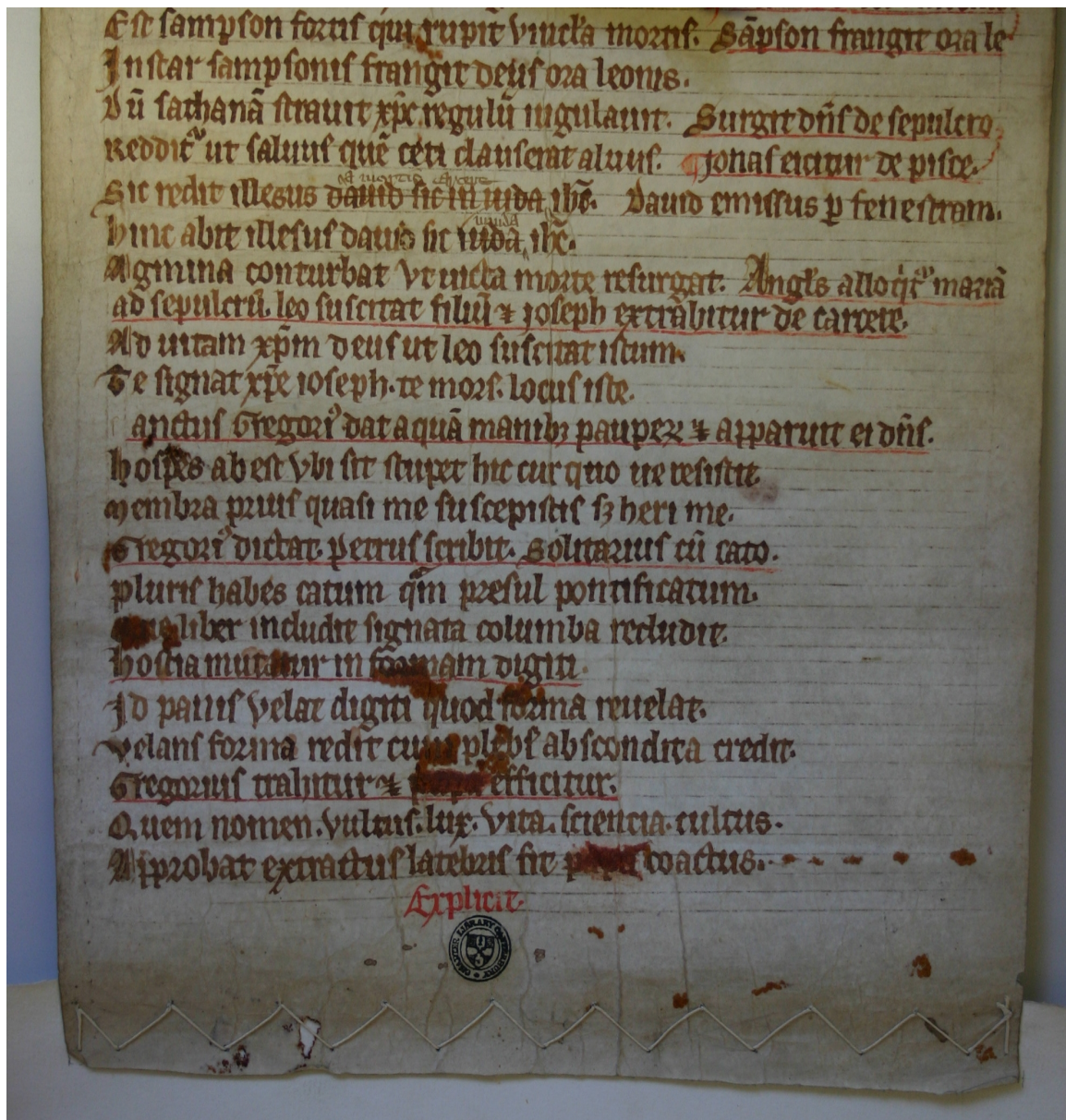


Figure 31: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

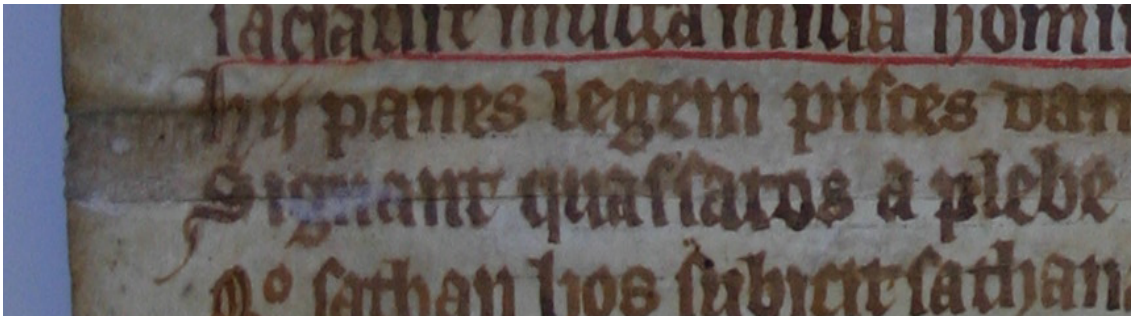


Figure 32: Detail of script. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

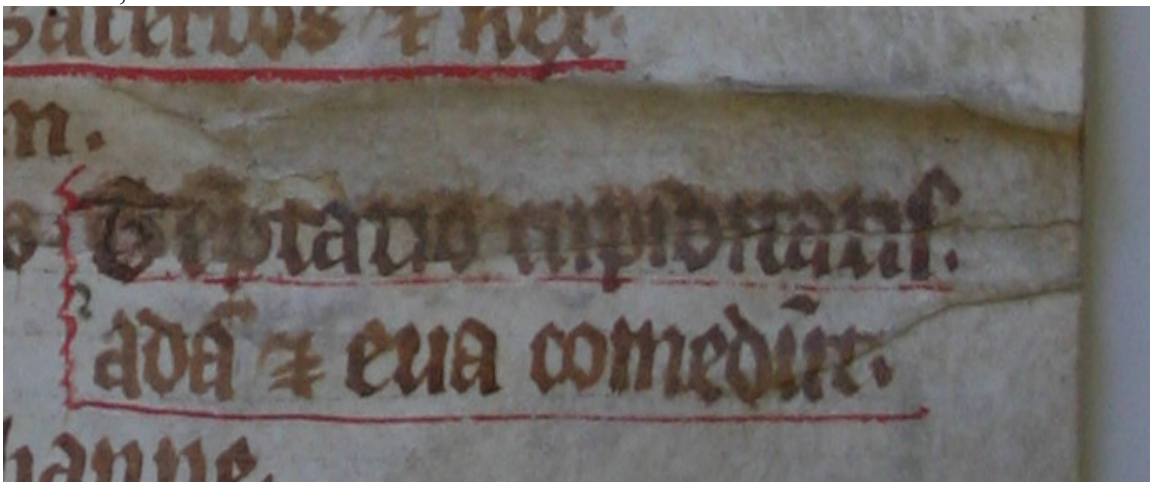


Figure 33: Detail of script. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

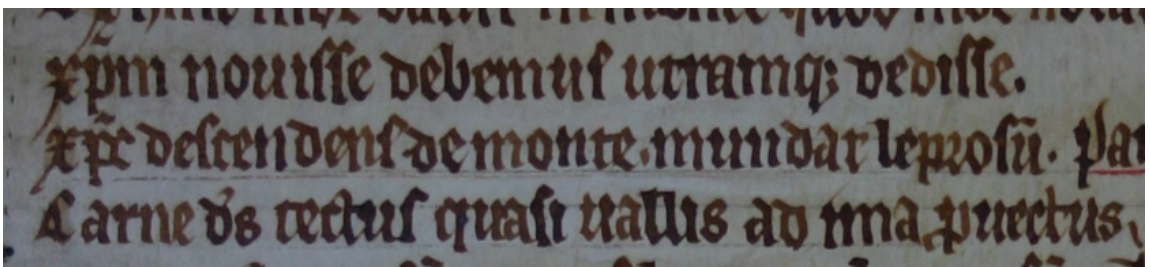


Figure 34: Detail of underlining. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

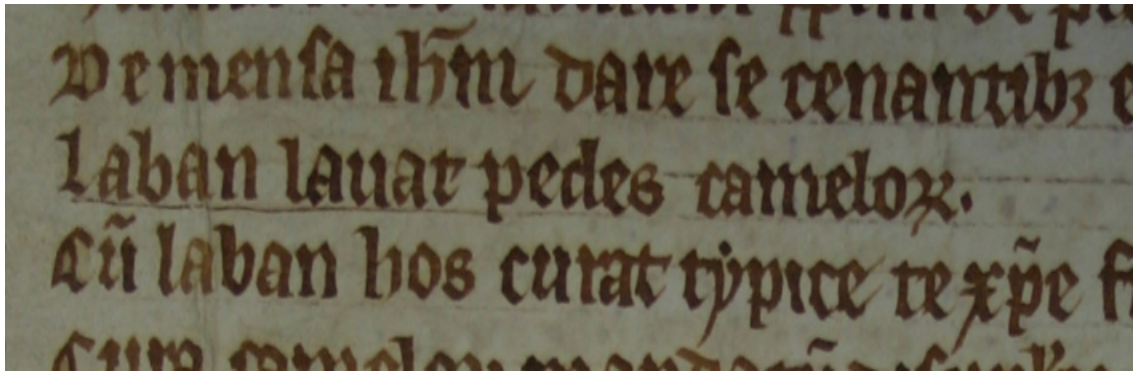


Figure 35: Detail of underlining. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

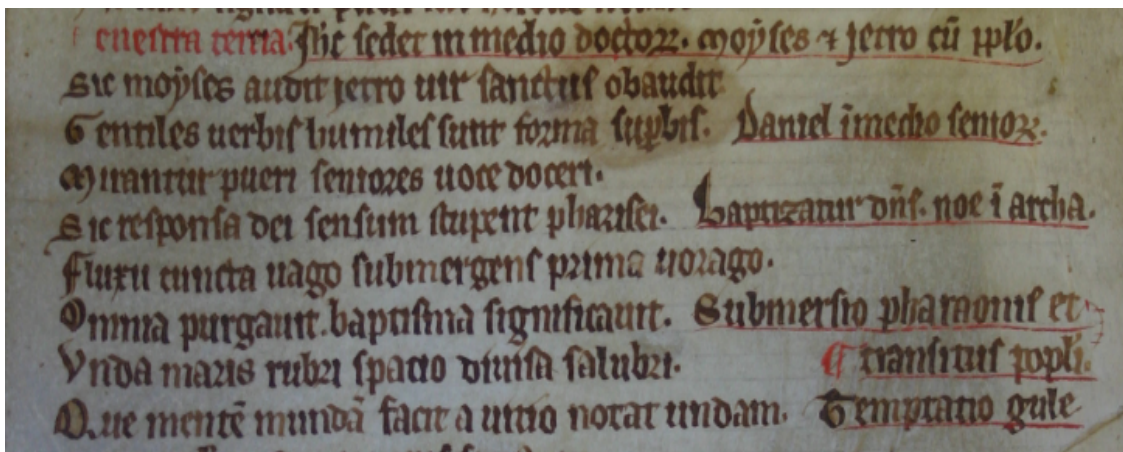


Figure 36: Detail of subject title in right margin. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.



Figure 37: Detail of paraph symbol. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

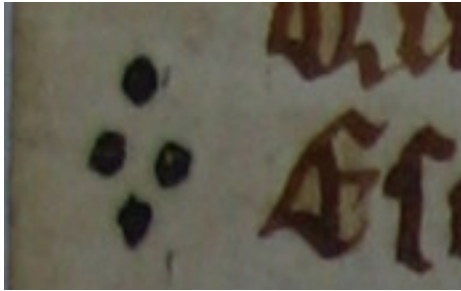


Figure 38: Detail of asterisk-shaped symbol. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

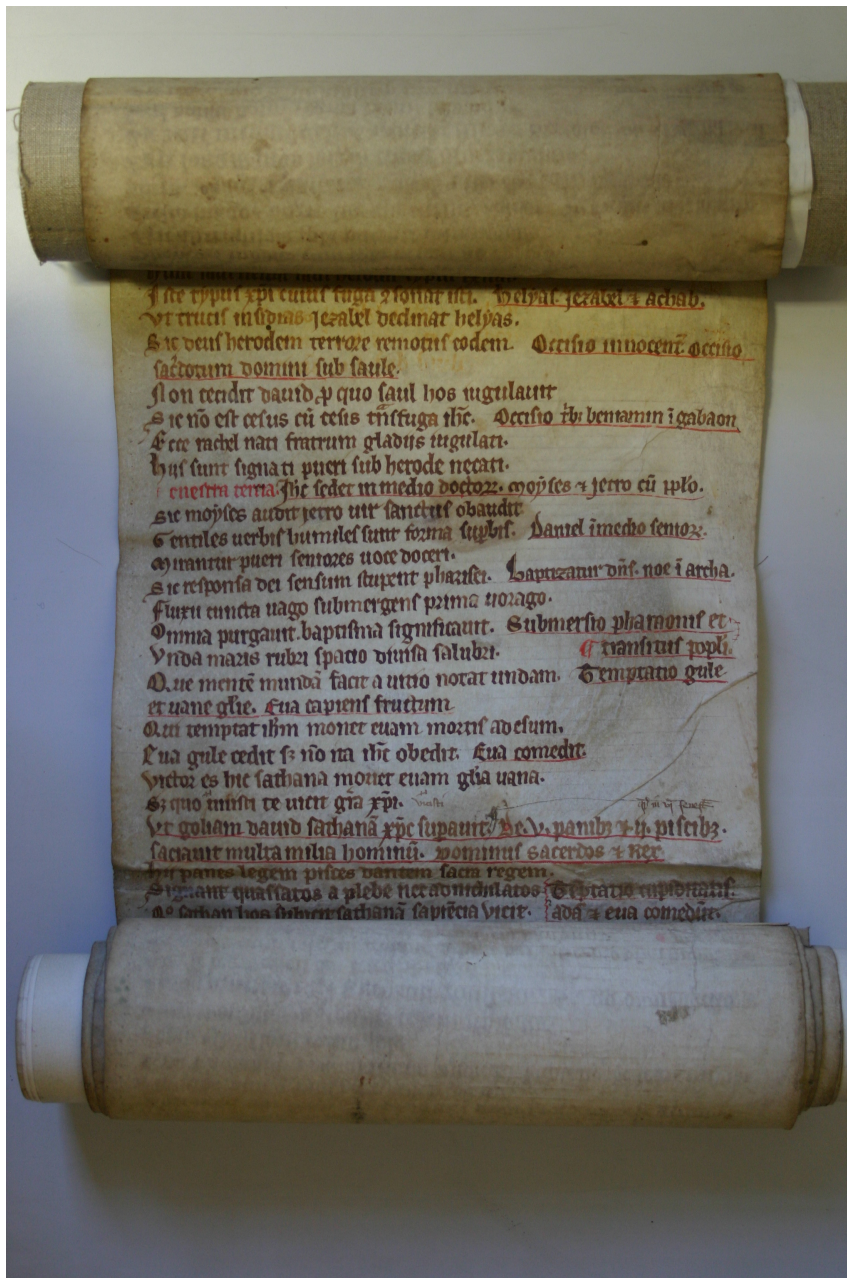


Figure 39: Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.

Spiritus sc̄s in sp̄e columbe inter deum ⁊ hominē.
Signaculus simplex qđ sit dilectio duplex.
 Ala deum dextra fratrem docet ala sinistra. Ih̄c stant int̄
Genti que seruit petris petrū petra mittit. Petrū ⁊ paulū.
Escas diuinas iudeis paule pp̄inas. Adducūt discipuli asinam ⁊ pullū.
Que duo solunt dūo sunt animalia bruta
ducitur ad xp̄m pullus materq; soluta. Petrus adducit eccl̄am de gen
de poplo fusco petri sermone conuerso. Abus.
Extirpat eccl̄am uerā reserando sop̄iam.
Sic radio fidei cec̄i radiantur hebrei. Paul' ducit eccl̄am de gentibz.
p̄ pauli uerba fructum sterilis dedit herba.
Dum plebs gentilis p̄ eum fit mente fidelis.
Gentilis popul' uenit ad xp̄m quasi pullus. Occurūt p̄m dño sedenti
uestib; ornari patit' saluator asellam. Super asinam.
Qui sup̄ astra sedet nec habet frenū neq; fellam.
ysaias dicit. Ecce rex tuus sedens super asinam
Qui sedet in celo ferri dignat' asello. Dauid. Ex ore infantū ⁊
sancti sanctorū laus ore sonat puerozū. Clatrones.

Figure 40: Detail of verse inscriptions. Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Vellum.



Figure 41: View of the north choir aisle looking west with Typological Windows One and Two. Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 42: View of the north-east transept with Typological Windows Five and Six. Artwork in the public domain.

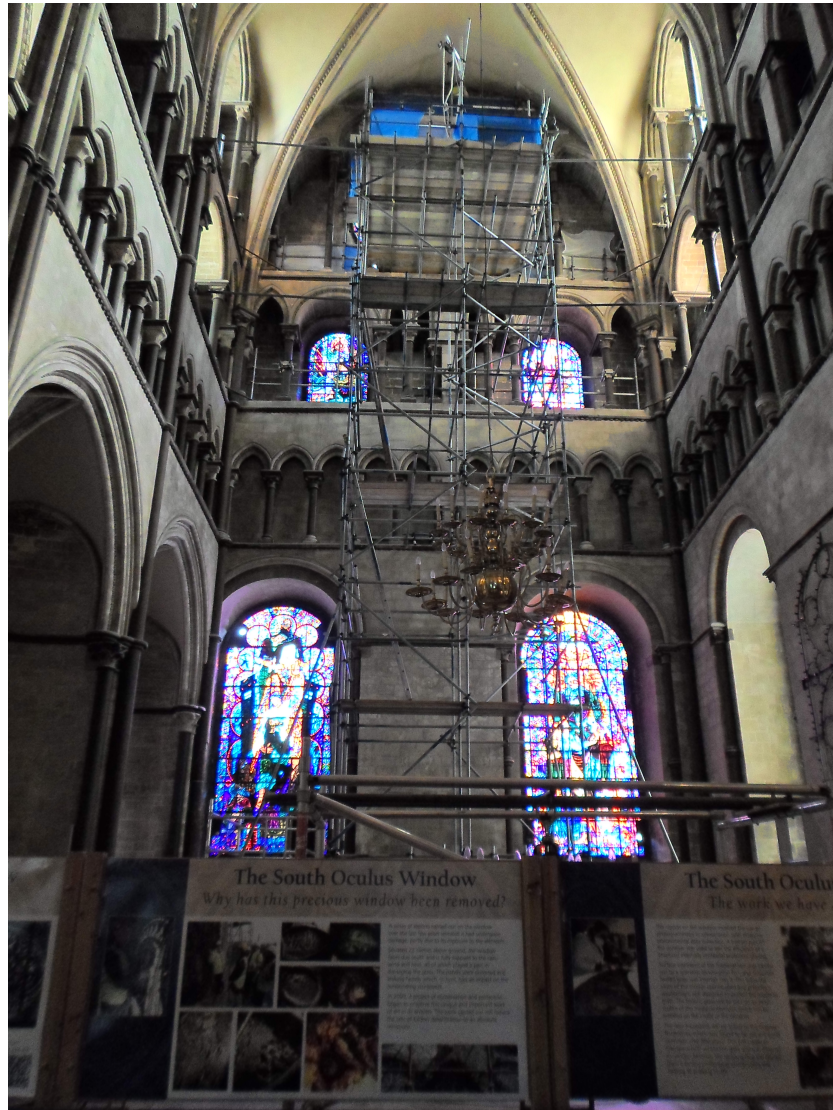


Figure 43: View of the south-east transept with Typological Windows Nine and Ten. Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 44: View of the south choir aisle looking east. Artwork in the public domain.

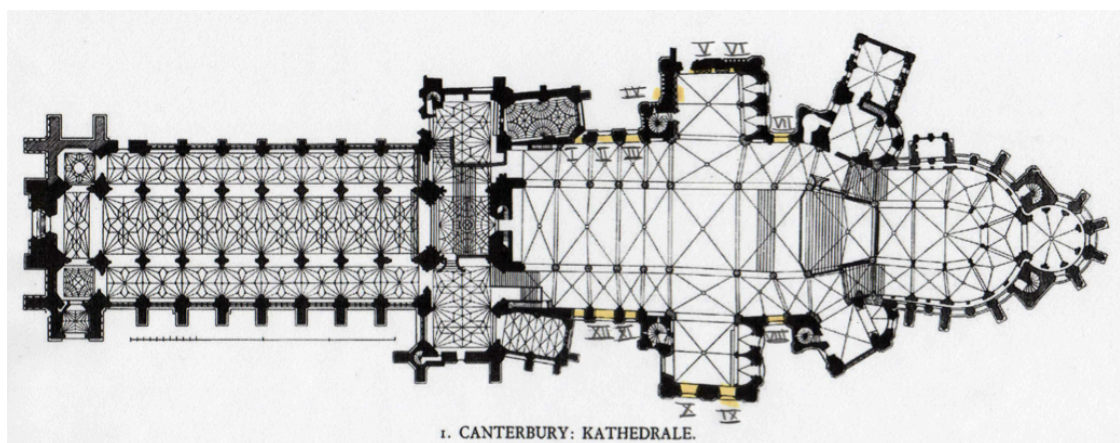
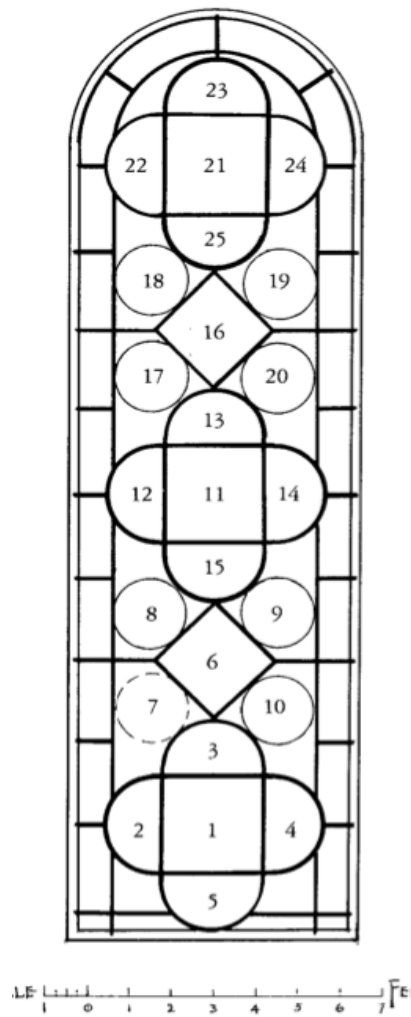


Figure 45: Floor plan of Canterbury Cathedral with original location of the twelve Typological Windows.



Appendix fig. 20. "Thirteenth"
Typological Window, (corona
east window, I).

Figure 46: Thirteenth Typological Window, 1182-1220, Canterbury Cathedral.



Figure 47: Cloisters Cross (Bury St. Edmunds Cross), Twelfth Century, Morse Ivory, 23 inches x 14.5 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 48: Detail of the Central Medallion with 'Moses Raising the Brazen Serpent', Cloisters Cross (Bury St. Edmunds Cross), Twelfth Century, Morse Ivory, 23 inches x 14.5 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 49: Detail of the reverse (Old Testament Prophets with speech scrolls), Cloisters Cross (Bury St. Edmunds Cross), Twelfth Century, Morse Ivory, 23 inches x 14.5 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

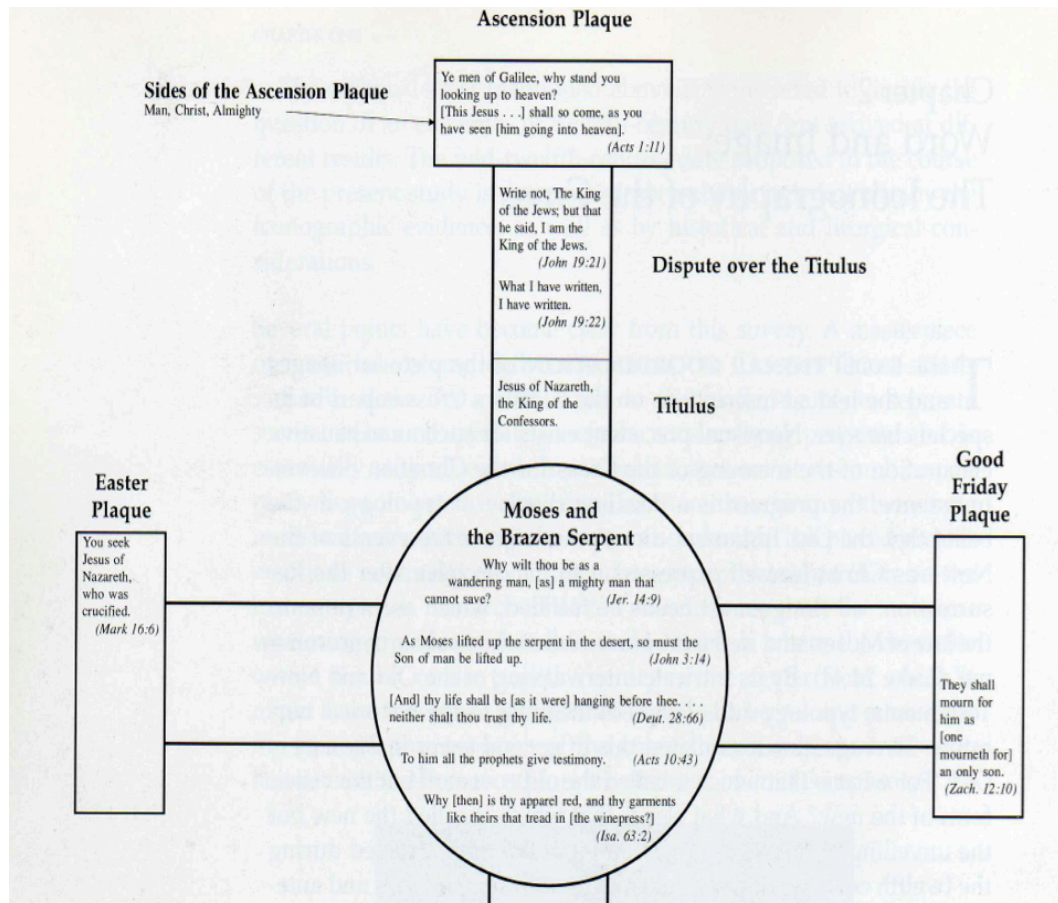


Figure 50: Detail of Latin Inscriptions on the front of the cross (in English), Cloisters Cross (Bury St. Edmunds Cross), Twelfth Century, Morse Ivory, 23 inches x 14.5 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

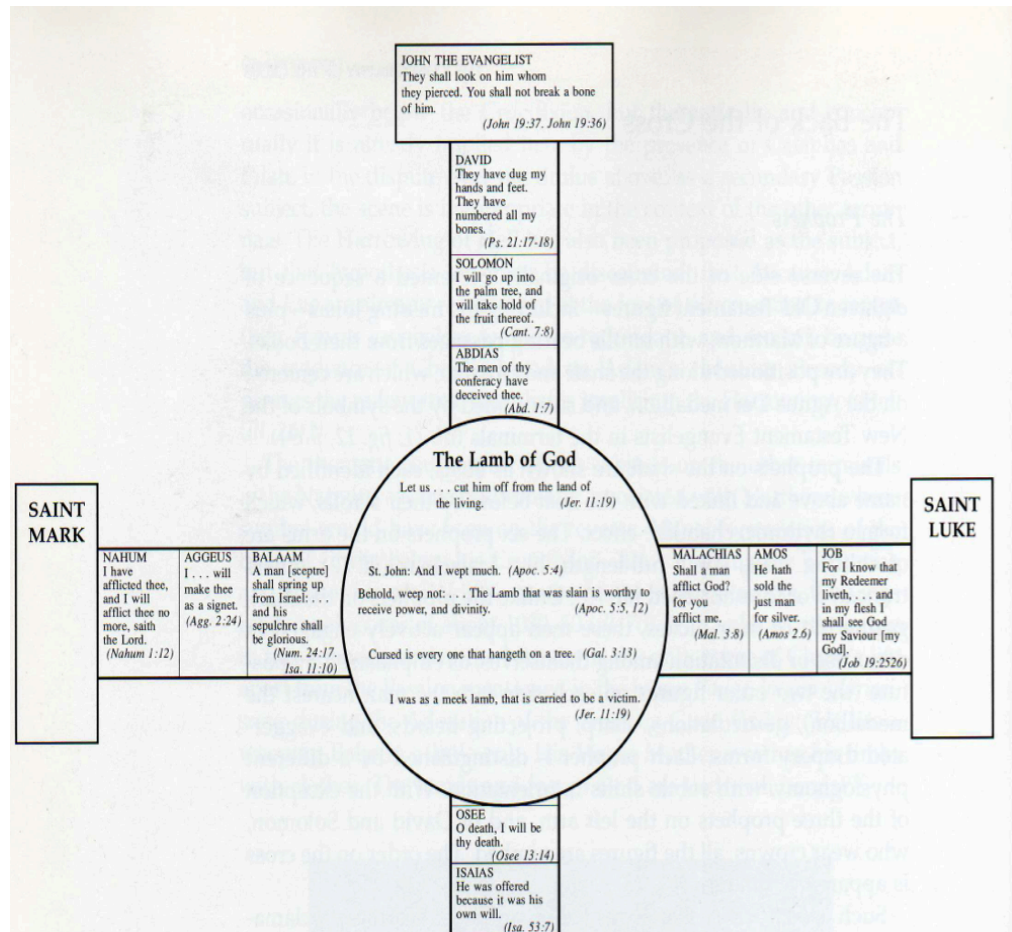


Figure 51: Detail of Latin inscriptions on the reverse of the cross (in English), Cloisters Cross (Bury St. Edmunds Cross), Twelfth Century, Morse Ivory, 23 inches x 14.5 inches. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 52: Detail of St. Thomas's Shrine in the Becket Miracle Windows of the Trinity Chapel. Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 53: View of the Becket Miracle Windows in the Trinity Chapel (viewing North). Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 54: Detail of the wall recess in which the Typological Window sits, Artwork in the public domain.



Figure 55: Detail of the *Three Righteous Men* panel in the Sixth Typological Window.

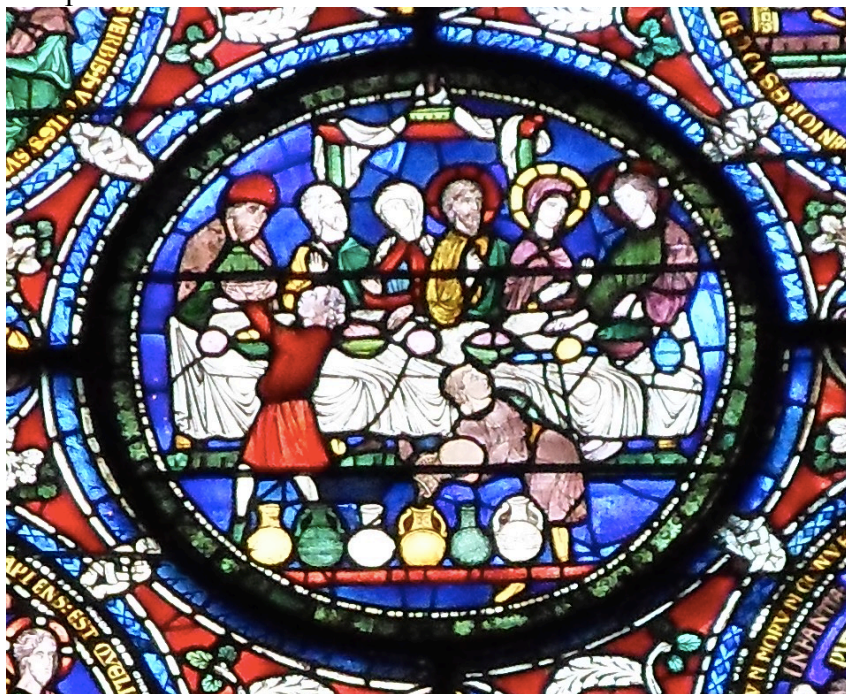




Figure 58: Detail of asterisk-like shape from the Canterbury Roll, Charter C246, Early fourteenth century, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Ink on vellum.



Figure 59: *The Mystical Mill* nave capital, 1120-1138, Vézelay, Abbey Church of Ste.-Marie-Madeleine.

Appendix A

Cambridge Verses

1. Moises cum rubo.
2. In medio angelus cum maria.
3. Misericordia et veritas.
4. In medio maria et elizabet.
5. Justicia et pax.
6. Applaudit regi precursor gratia legi. Oscula iusticie dat pax cognata marie.
7. Puer in presepio.
8. In medio maria.
9. Ut contra morem dedit arida virgula florem. Sic virgo puerum uerso parit ordine rerum.

Canterbury Roll

1. Moises cum rubo.
2. In medio angelus cum maria.
3. Misericordia et veritas.
4. In medio maria et elizabet.
5. Justicia et pax.
6. Applaudit regi precursor gratia legi. Oscula iusticie dat pax cognata marie.
7. Puer in presepio.
8. In medio maria.
9. Ut contra morem dedit arida virgula florem. Sic virgo puerum uerso parit ordine rerum.

Oxford Verses

1. Moyses in rubeo.
2. Anunciacio dominica
3. Misericordia et veritas obuiauierint.
4. Salutacio Marie et Elizabeth.
5. Justicia et pax osculate sunt.
6. Applaudet regi previsor gratia legi. Oscula iusticie dat pax cognata marie.
7. Missing
8. Nativitas Christi.
9. Ut contra montem dedit arida virgula florem. Sic virgo puerum uerso parit ordine rerum.

Cambridge Verses

10. In medio angelus et
pastores.

11. Operuit celos gloria
eius et laudibus eius
plena est terra.

12. In medio tres reges
equitantes.

13. Isaias et Jerusalem.

14. In medio herodes et
magi.

15. Qui sequitur me non
ambulant in tenebris.

16. In medio maria cum
puero. Magi et pastores.

17. Admoniti sunt magi
ne herodem adheant

18. Ut trucis insidias
jezabel declinat helyas.

Sic deus herodem
terrore remotus eodem.

Canterbury Roll

10. In medio angelus et
pastores.

11. Operuit celos gloria
eius etc.

12. In medio tres reges
equitantes.

13. Isaias et Jerusalem.

14. In medio herodes et
magi.

15. Qui sequitur me non
ambulant in tenebris.

16. In medio maria cum
puero. Magi et pastores.

17. Admoniti sunt magi
ne herodem adheant.

18. Ut trucis insidias
jezabel declinat helyas.

Sic deus herodem
terrore remotus eodem.

Oxford Verses

10. Pastores loquebantur
ad inuicem.

11. Operuit celos gloria
eius om...

12. Tres reges
equitantes.

13. Ysagas et ciuitas
iuerusalem.

14. Tres reges cum
pharone.

15. Qui sequitur me etc.

16. Maria cum puero
magi et pastores.

17. Admoniti sunt magi
ne redeant ad herodem.

18. Ut crucis incidias
jezabel declinat elias.

Sic deus herodem
terrore more eodem.

<u>Cambridge Verses</u>	<u>Canterbury Roll</u>	<u>Oxford Verses</u>
19. Missing	19. Missing	19. Eva gule cedit.
20. Missing	20. Missing	20. David superat goliath.
21. Mistake: (repeat) Ut goliath david sathanam christus superavit.	21. No mistake	21. No mistake
22. Mistake: (includes text for window six) 1. De quinque panibus et doubus piscibus saciauit multa milia hominum. 2. Dominus sacerdos et rex. Hii panes legem pisces dantem sacra regem. Signant quassatos a plebe nec adnichilatos. 3. Synagoga cum moyse et libris. Ecclesia cum johanne.	22. Mistake: (includes text for window six) 1. De quinque panibus et doubus piscibus saciauit multa milia hominum. 2. Dominus sacerdos et rex. Hii panes legem pisces dantem sacra regem. Signant quassatos a plebe nec adnichilatos. 3. Synagoga cum moyse et libris. Ecclesia cum johanne.	22. Does not include text from window six in window three.

Cambridge Verses

23. Christus mutauit
aquam in vinum et sex
ydrie.
24. In medio ihesus legit
in synagoga.
25. Moyses in montem
suscipit legem tabulus.
26. Drusiana vestit et
pascit egenos.
27. Samaritana adduxit
populum ad ihesum.
28. Sunt deus et turbe
mulier quas duxit ab
urbe.
29. Pharisei
30. Pharisei temptantes
ihesum.

Canterbury Roll

23. Christus mutauit
aquam in vinum et sex
ydrie.
24. In medio ihesus legit
in synagoga.
25. Moyses suscipit
legem.
26. Drusiana vestit et
pascit egenos.
27. Samaritana adduxit
populum ad ihesum.
28. Sunt deus et turbe
mulier quas duxit ab
urbe.
29. Pharisei
contempnunt.
30. Pharisei temptantes
ihesum.

Oxford Verses

23. Christus mutauit
aquam in vinum.
24. Jhesus legit in
synagoga.
25. Moyses suscipit
legem.
26. Drusiana vestit et
pascit pauperes.
27. Samaritana adduxit
populum ad ihesum.
Aquarii.
28. Missing
29. Pharisei recedunt.
30. Pharisei temptantes
ihesum querentes signa
de celo.

Cambridge Verses

31. Seminator et
volucres.

32. Pharisei recedentes a
ihesu.

33. Diuites huius mundi
cum pecunia.

34. (repeat)
Semen cecidit in terram
bonam.

35. Tres filii noe cum
ecclesia.

36. Piscatores hinc
pisces boni inde mali.

37. Isti in vitam
eternam.

38. Mistake: (includes
text from window eight)

1. Rex fecit nupcias filio
et misit servos.

Rex pater ad natum
regem sponse sociatum.

Canterbury Roll

31. Seminator et
volucres.

32. Pharisei recedentes a
ihesu.

33. Diuites huius mundi
cum pecunia.

34. (repeat)
Semen cecidit in terram
bonam.

35. Tres filii noe cum
ecclesia.

36. Piscatores hinc
pisces boni inde mali.

37. Isti in vitam
eternam.

38. Mistake: (includes
text from window eight)

1. Rex fecit nupcias filio
et misit servos.

Rex pater ad natum
regem sponse sociatum.

Oxford Verses

31. Exiit qui seminat
seminare.

32. Pharisei recedunt a
ihesu dicente.

33. Julianus et Mauritius
cum diuitiis mundi.

34. Missing

35. Ecclesia. Sem.
Cham. Et Japhet.

36. Elegentes bonos in
vasa.

37. Jhesus dicens
gentibus venite huc.

38. Does not include
text from window eight
in window six.

Cambridge Verses

Precipit asciri populus
renuuntque venire. Quos
vexat cura caro quinque
broum iuga rura.

2. Excusant se quidam
per villam.

Nuncius excusans hic
ortans ille recusans. Sunt
ascire volens deus hunc
hic credere nolens.

3. Petrus docens sed
sequuntur moysen et
synagogam.

Petrus docens isti que
studens Judea fuisti.

Vox invitantis cause tres
dissimulantis.

4. Iohannes preiudicat
intente audientibus.

Sponsam sponsus amat
vox horam previa clamat

Canterbury Verses

Precipit asciri populus
renuuntque venire. Quos
vexat cura caro quinque
broum iuga rura.

2. Excusant se quidam
per villam.

Nuncius excusans hic
ortans ille recusans. Sunt
ascire volens deus hunc
hic credere nolens.

3. Petrus docens sed
sequuntur moysen et
synagogam.

Petrus docens isti que
studens Judea fuisti.

Vox invitantis cause tres
dissimulantis.

4. Iohannes preiudicat
intente audientibus.

Sponsam sponsus amat
vox horam previa clamat

Oxford Verses

Cambridge Verses

Ecclesiam christe
iunctam tibi predicat
iste.

5. Ysaïas predicat
audientibus turbis.

Hiis imitate gens est ad
edenda parata. Hic regio
factum confirmat
apostolus actum.

6. Quidam sequuntur
regem quidam fugiunt.
Credit et accedit cito
gens iudea recedit.

7. Contemplatur rex
comedentes. Resurgunt
mortui.

Ad mensam tandem cito
plebs sedet omnis
eandem.

8. Dominus dicit electis.
Venite benedicti.

Canterbury Roll

Ecclesiam christe
iunctam tibi predicat
iste.

5. Ysaïas predicat
audientibus turbis.

Hiis imitate gens est ad
edenda parata. Hic regio
factum confirmat
apostolus actum.

6. Quidam sequuntur
regem quidam fugiunt.
Credit et accedit cito
gens iudea recedit.

7. Contemplatur rex
comedentes. Resurgunt
mortui.

Ad mensam tandem cito
plebs sedet omnis
eandem.

8. Dominus dicit electis.
Venite benedicti.

Oxford Verses

Cambridge Verses

Rex plebem pauit spretis
quos ante uocauit.

Christus se dignos reficit
reicitque malignos.

9. Invenitur et eicitur
non vestitus vest
nupciali.

Diues et extrusus servus
tenebrisque reclusus.

Quem condempnauit rex
eiecit cruciauit.

10. Ananias et saphira
moriumtur a petro.

Dominus eiecit
vendentes a temple.

39. Petrus orat et
animalia dimituntur in
lintheo.

40. Angeli vestiunt
mortuos resurgentes.

Canterbury Roll

Rex plebem pauit spretis
quos ante uocauit.

Christus se dignos reficit
reicitque malignos.

9. Invenitur et eicitur
non vestitus vest
nupciali.

Diues et extrusus servus
tenebrisque reclusus.

Quem condempnauit rex
eiecit cruciauit.

10. Ananias et saphira
moriumtur a petro.

Dominus eiecit
vendentes a temple.

39. Petrus orat et
animalia dimituntur in
lintheo.

40. Angeli vestiunt
mortuos resurgentes.

Oxford Verses

39. Petrus orat et
animalia dimittuntur.

40. Angeli vestiunt
mortuos.

Cambridge Verses

41. Hic stater extractus
precium datus in cruce
factus.

42. Pastor sine versu
reportat ovem.

43. Missing

44. Servus percutit
conservum.

45. Mistake: (includes
text from window ten)

1. Mitit dominus duos
discipulos propter
asinam et pullum.

Imperat adduci pullum
cum matre magister.

Paruit hunc opera
succinctus uterque
minister.

Canterbury Roll

41. Missing

42. Pastor sine versu
reportat ovem.

43. Missing

44. Servus percutit
conservum.

45. Mistake: (includes
text from window ten)

1. Mitit dominus duos
discipulos propter
asinam et pullum.

Imperat adduci pullum
cum matre magister.

Paruit hunc opera
succinctus uterque
minister.

Oxford Verses

41. Hic stater extractus
precium datus in cruce
factus.

42. Pastor reportat
ovem.

43. Tartara seua subit
qui crimina nulla
pereggit.

44. Conservus servo
redde quod debes.

45. Does not include
text from window ten in
window eight.

Cambridge Verses

2. Spiritus sanctus in
specie columbe inter
deum et hominem.
Signacius simplex quod
sit dilectio duplex.
Ala deum dextra fratrem
docet all sinistra.
3. Ihesus stans inter
petrum et paulum.
Adducunt discipuli
asianm et pullum.
Genti que servit petris
petrum petra mittit.
Escas divinas iudeis
paule propinas. Quo duo
solvuntur duo sunt
animalia bruta.
Ducitur ad christum
pullus materque solute.
4. Petrus adducit
ecclesiam de gentibus.

Canterbury Roll

2. Spiritus sanctus in
specie columbe inter
deum et hominem.
Signacius simplex quod
sit dilectio duplex.
Ala deum dextra fratrem
docet all sinistra.
3. Ihesus stans inter
petrum et paulum.
Adducunt discipuli
asianm et pullum.
Genti que servit petris
petrum petra mittit.
Escas divinas iudeis
paule propinas. Quo duo
solvuntur duo sunt
animalia bruta.
Ducitur ad christum
pullus materque solute.
4. Petrus adducit
ecclesiam de gentibus.

Oxford Verses

Cambridge Verses

De populo fusco petri
sermone corusco.
Extrahit ecclesiam
veram reserando
sophiam. Sic radio fidei
ceci radiantur hebrei.
5. Paulus ducit
ecclesiam de gentibus.
Per pauli verba fructum
sterilis dedit herba. Dum
plebs gentilis per eum fit
mente fidelis. Gentilis
populus venit ad
christum quasi pullus.
6. Occurunt pueri
domino sedenti super
asinam.
Vesitibus ornari patitur
salvator asellam. Qui
super astra sedet. Nec

Canterbury Roll

De populo fusco petri
sermone corusco.
Extrahit ecclesiam
veram reserando
sophiam. Sic radio fidei
ceci radiantur hebrei.
5. Paulus ducit
ecclesiam de gentibus.
Per pauli verba fructum
sterilis dedit herba. Dum
plebs gentilis per eum fit
mente fidelis. Gentilis
populus venit ad
christum quasi pullus.
6. Occurunt pueri
domino sedenti super
asinam.
Vesitibus ornari patitur
salvator asellam. Qui
super astra sedet. Nec

Oxford Verses

Cambridge Verses

habet frenum neque
sellam.

7. Isaias dicit. Ecce rex
tuus sedens super
asinam.

Qui sedet in celo ferri
dignatur asello.

8. David. Ex ore
infantium etc.

Sancti sanctorum laus
ore sonat puerorum.

46. Creatur adam
formatur eva.

47. Missing

48. elevator serpens.

49. Scribatur tau.

50. Educitur populus.

Canterbury Roll

habet frenum neque
sellam.

7. Isaias dicit. Ecce rex
tuus sedens super
asinam.

Qui sedet in celo ferri
dignatur asello.

8. David. Ex ore
infantium etc.

Sancti sanctorum laus
ore sonat puerorum.

46. Creatur adam
formatur eva.

47. Missing

48. elevator serpens.

49. Scribatur tau.

50. Educitur populus.

Oxford Verses

46. Adam formatur eva
formatur.

47. Moses ducit
populum Israel per mare
rubrum.

48. Serpens elevator in
heremo.

49. Missing

50. Missing

Cambridge Verses

51. Adorat vitulum.

52. Prohicio ihesu.

53. ancilla accusat
petrum

54. Missing

55. In medio cena
domini.

56. Missing

57. Includes Typological
Window Twelve.

Canterbury Roll

51. Adorat vitulum.

52. Prohicio ihesu.

53. ancilla accusat
petrum

54. Missing

55. In medio cena
domini.

56. Missing

57. Includes Typological
Window Twelve.

Oxford Verses

51. Populus adorat
sculptile.

52. Christus capitur a
judeis.

53. Missing

54. Christus sistitur ante
pilatum.

55. Cena domini.

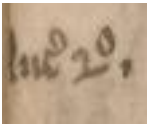
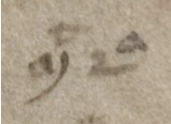
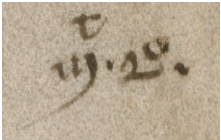
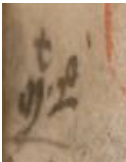
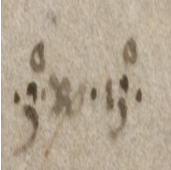
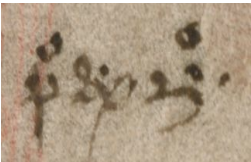
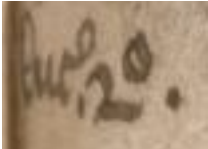
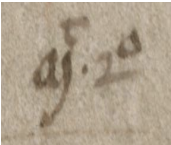
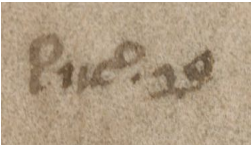
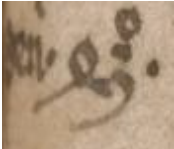
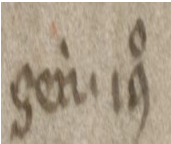
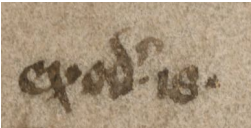
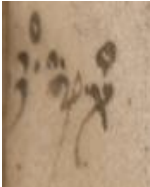
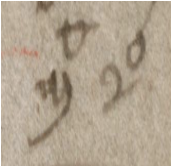
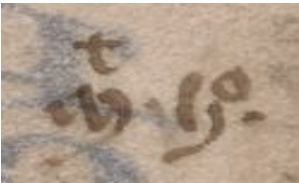
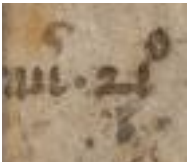
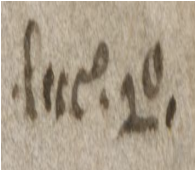
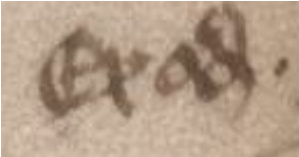
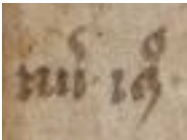
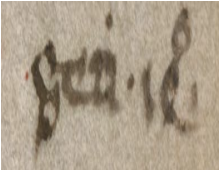
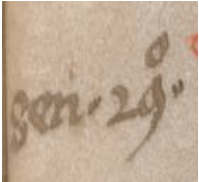
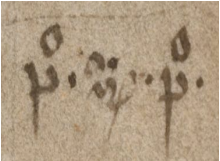
56. Heliseus derisus a
filiis prophetarum.

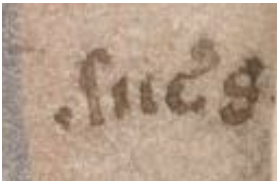
57. Does not include
Typological Window
Twelve.

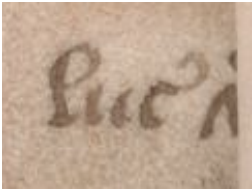
Appendix B

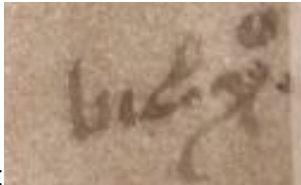
List of Biblical Citations in Cambridge Verses

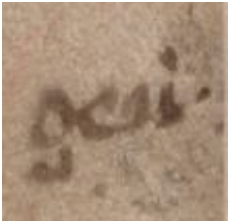
L=Left Margin R=Right Margin

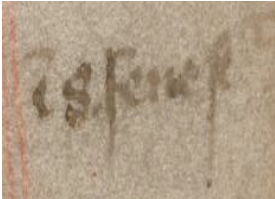
L1: 	R1: 	R9: 
L2: 	R2: 	R10: 
L3: 	R3: 	R11: 
L4: 	R4: 	R12: 
L5: 	R5: 	R13: 
L6: 	R6: 	R14: 
L7: 	R7: 	R15: 
L8: 	R8: 	R16: 

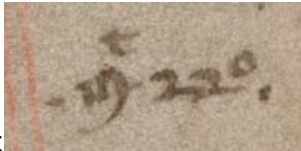
R17:  .Luc'g.

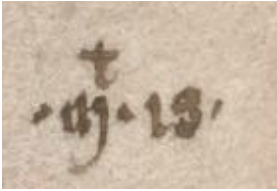
R18:  Luc'g.

R19:  Luc'g.

R20:  Luc'g.

R21:  Luc'g.

R22:  Luc'g.

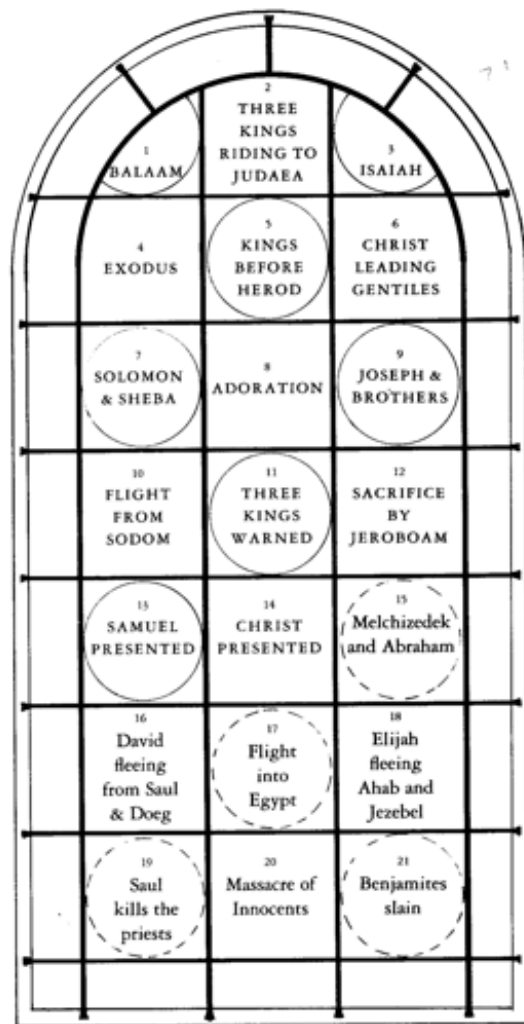
R23:  Luc'g.

Appendix C

Recreation of the Twelve Typological Windows

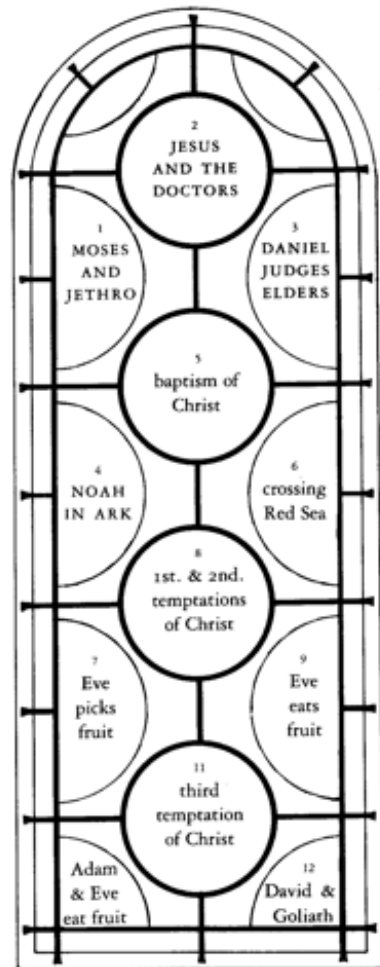


Appendix fig. 8. Conjectural reconstruction of First Typological Window (n: XVI, blocked).

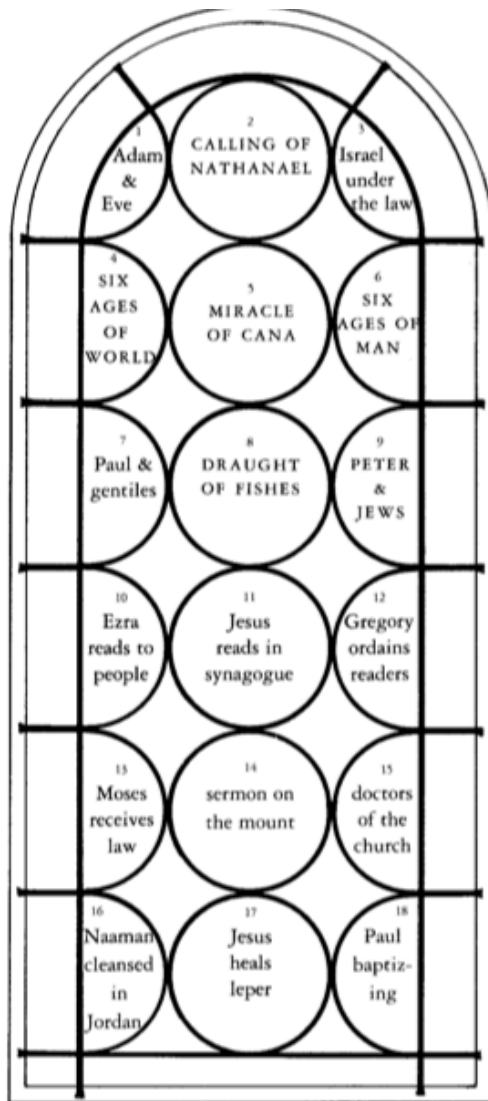


Scale 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Feet

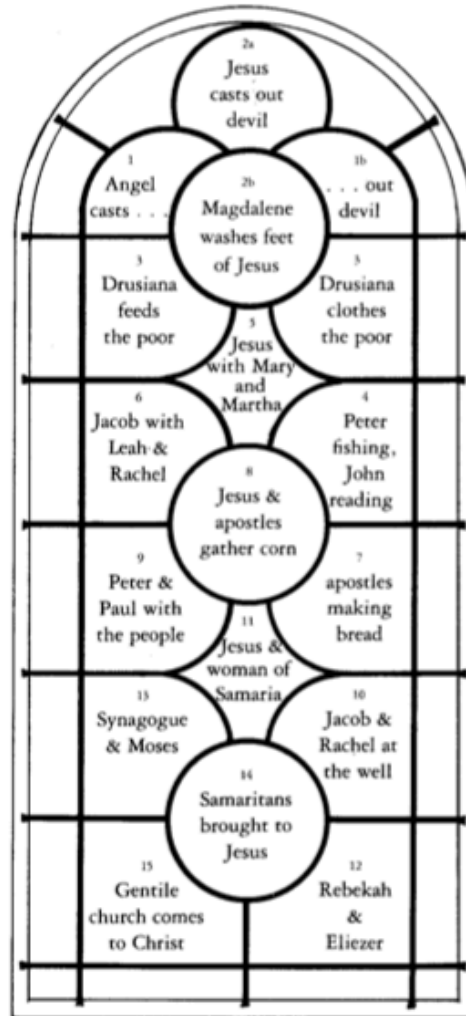
Appendix fig. 9. Reconstruction of Second Typological Window (n: XV).



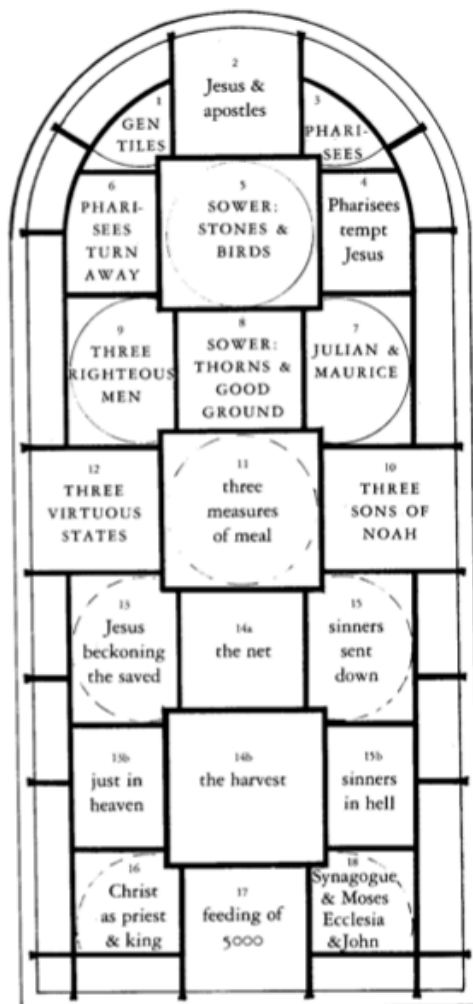
Appendix fig. 10. Reconstruction of Third Typological Window (n: XIV)



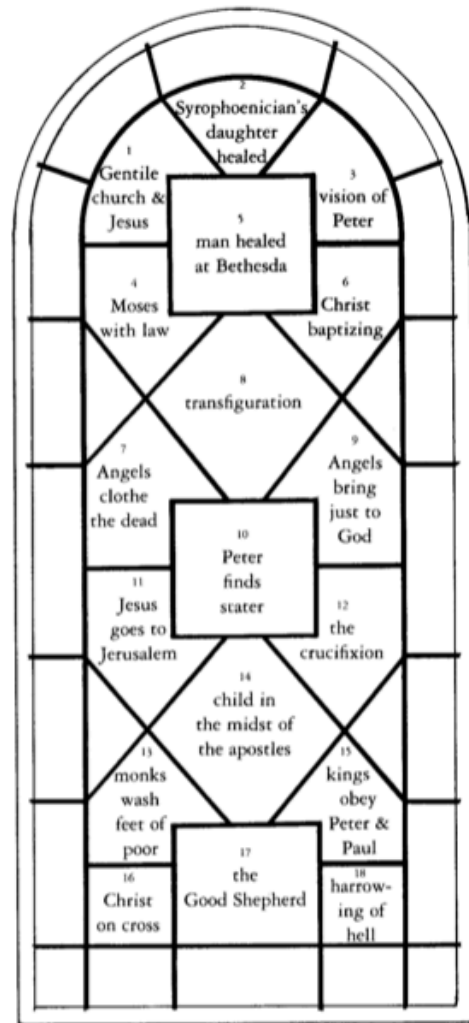
Appendix fig. 11. Reconstruction of Fourth Typological Window (n: XIII).



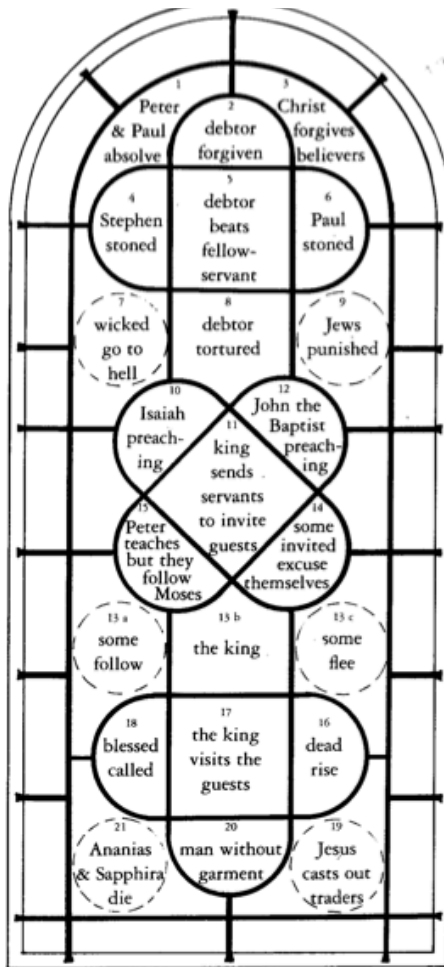
Appendix fig. 12. Reconstruction of Fifth Typological Window (n: XII).



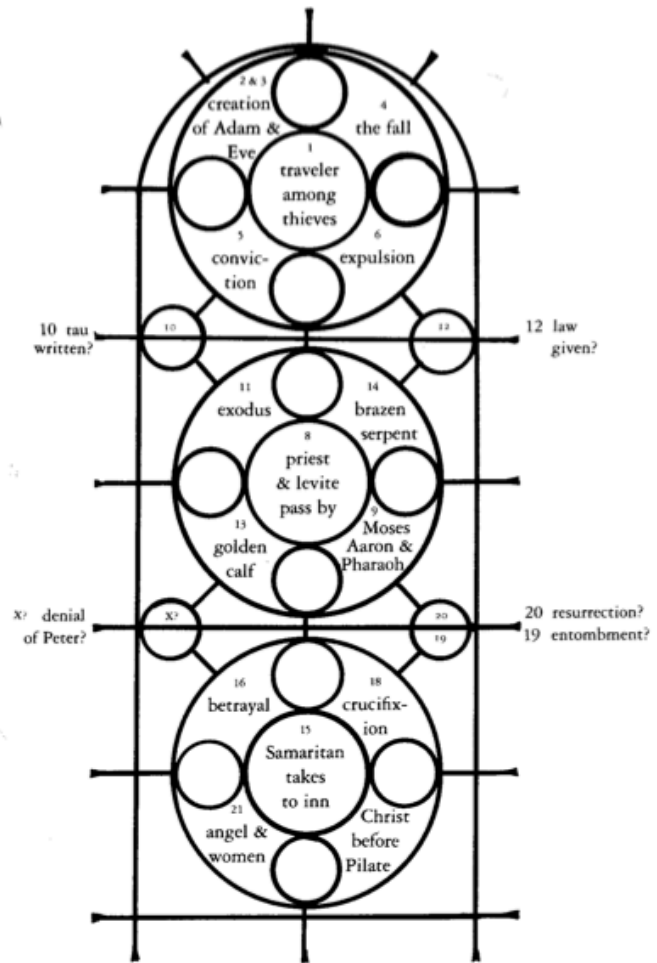
Appendix fig. 13. Reconstruction of Sixth Typological Window (n: XI).



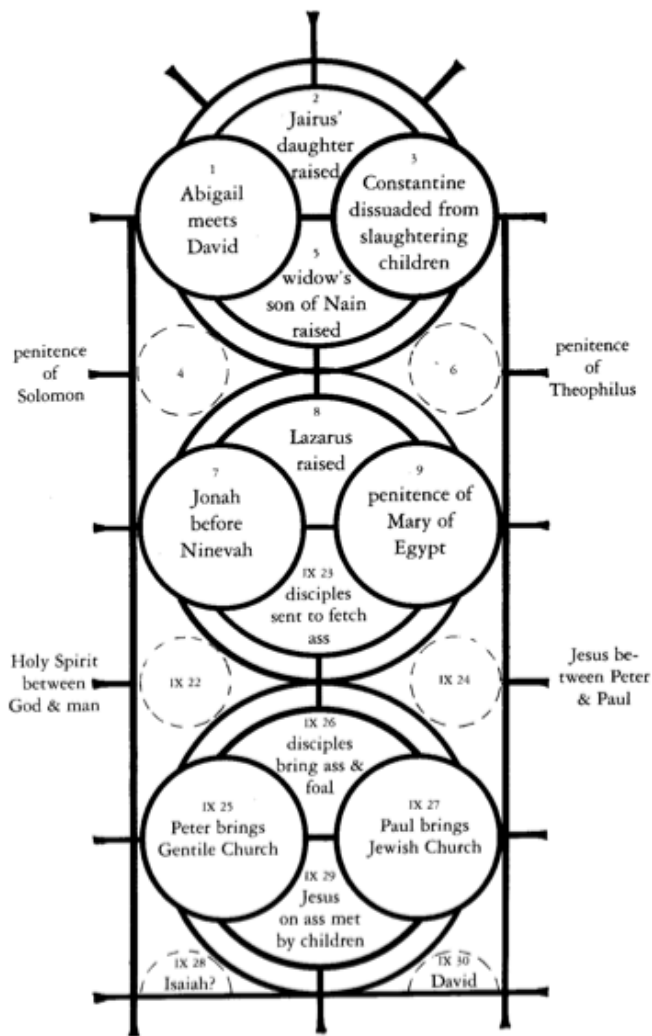
Appendix fig. 14. Reconstruction of Seventh Typological Window (n: VIII).



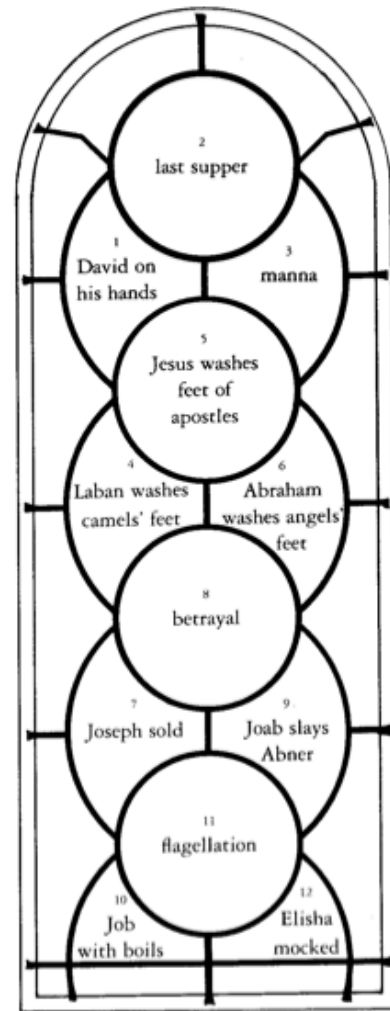
Appendix fig. 15. Reconstruction of Eighth Typological Window (s: VIII).



Appendix fig. 16. Reconstruction of Ninth Typological Window (s: XI).

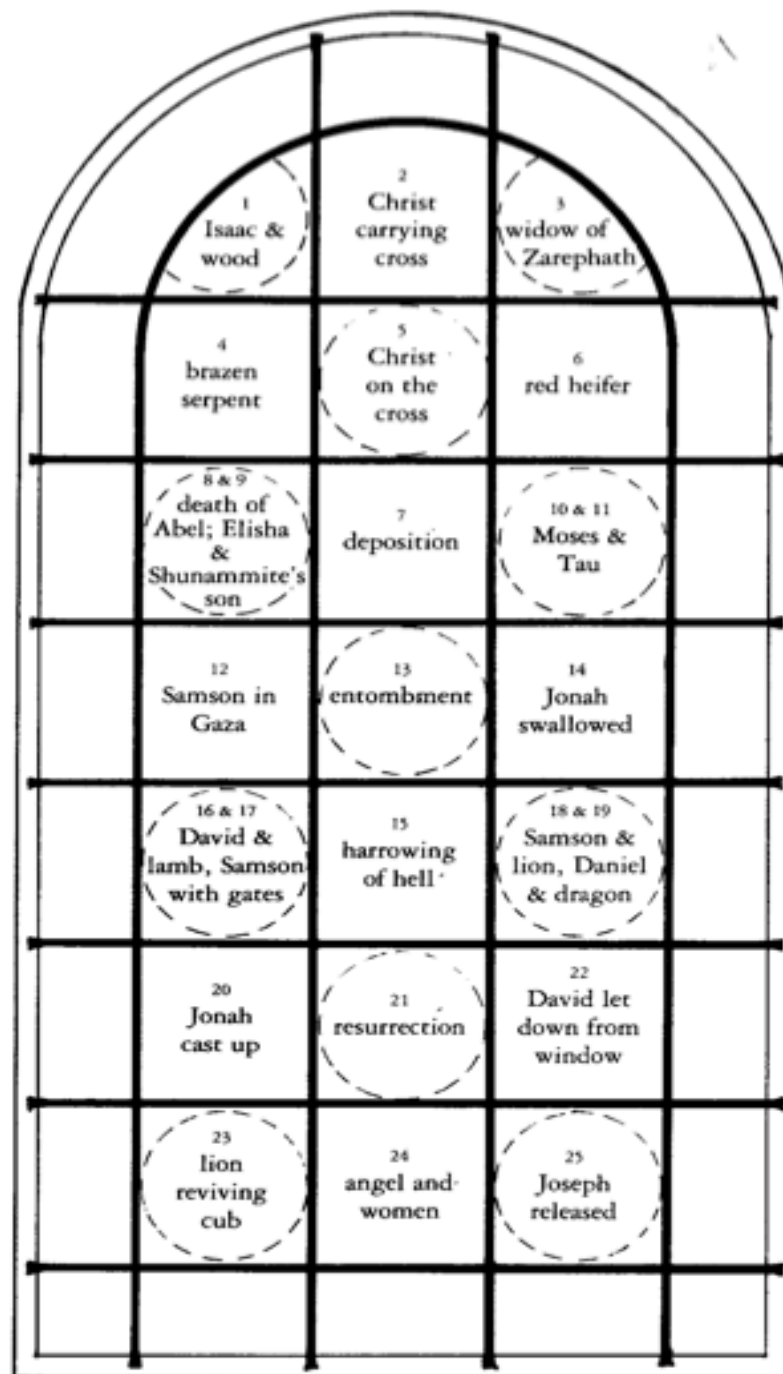


Appendix fig. 17. Reconstruction of Tenth Typological Window, with part of the Ninth (s: XII).



Appendix fig. 18a. Reconstruction of Eleventh Typological Window (s: XIV).





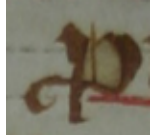
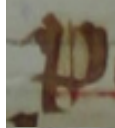
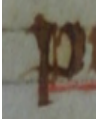
Appendix fig. 19. Reconstruction of
Twelfth Typological Window (s: XV).

Appendix D

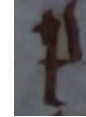
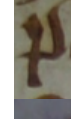
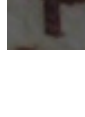
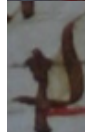
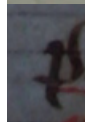
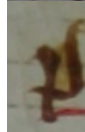
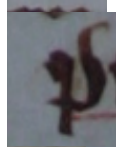
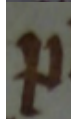
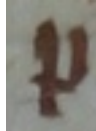
Variations in the letters 'P' and 'S' in the Canterbury Roll

'P'

Possible Hand 1:

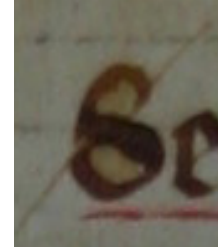


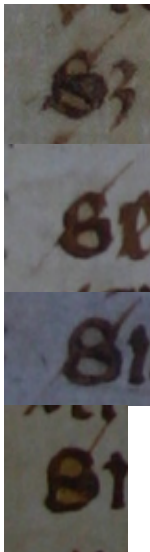
Possible Hand 2:



'S'

Possible Hand 1:

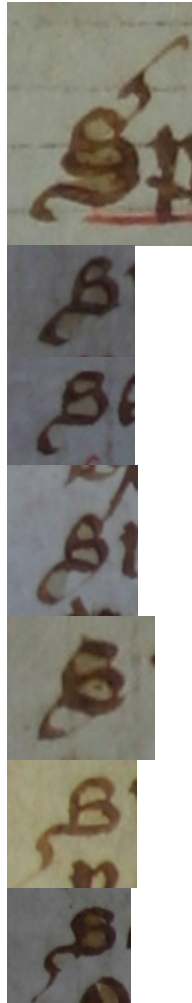




Possible Hand 2:



Possible Hand 3:



Appendix E

Surviving Stained Glass Panels with Panel Labels

1. Balam Prophesying

Panel Label: BALAM

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

2. Isaiah Prophesying

Panel Label: ISAIAH

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

3. The Magi Before Herod

Panel Label: HERODES : TRES MAGI

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: In medio herodes et magi.

4. The Exodus of the Israelites[§]

Panel Label: ISRL SEQUENS COLUMPNAM : PHARO : REX : EGITPI

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Pharao et moyses cum populo exiens ab eypto.

5. Christ Leading the Gentiles^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Christus et gentes.

6. The Adoration of the Magi^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: In medio maria cum puero.

7. The Queen of Sheba Before Solomon

Panel Label: REX SALOM : REGINA SABA

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

8. Joseph's Brothers and the Egyptians[§]

Panel Label: IOSEPH : FRS IOSEPH + EGIPTII :

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Joseph et fratres sui cum egyptiis.

9. The Magi Warned in a Dream not to Return to Herod^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Admoniti sunt magi ne herodem adheant.

10. Lot Escaping from Sodom^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Subversio sodom et loth fugiens.

11. The Prophet in Bethel Warned not to Return to Judah[§]

Panel Label: REX IEROBOAM : PPHA

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Propheta et rex jeroboam immolans.

12. The Presentation of Samuel in the Temple

Panel Label: HELI SACERDOS

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Oblatio Samuel

13. The Sower on Stony Ground^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Seminador et volucres.

14. The Pharisees Turn Away^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Pharisei recedentes a ihesu.

15. The Church and the Three Sons of Noah[§]

Panel Label: ECCLESIA : SEM CHEV IAPHET

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Tres filii noe cum ecclesia.

16. Three Virtuous States

Panel Label: VIRGO : CONTINENS : CONIUGATUS

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

17. The Sower Among Thorns^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Semen cecidit inter spinas. Semen cecidit in
terram bonam.

18. The Deceitfulness of Riches^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Diuites huius mundi cum pecunia.

19. Three Righteous Men

Panel Label: DANIEL : IOB : NOE

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

20. Christ Among the Doctors

Panel Label: IHC DUODENNIS IN MEDIO

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Ihesus sedet in medio doctorum.

21. Moses and Jethro[§]

Panel Label: MOYSES : JETHRO

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Moyses et jethro cum populo.

22. Daniel Judges the Elders[§]

Panel Label: DANIEL

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Daniel in medio seniorum.

23. Six Ages of the World

Panel Label: SEX ETATES SUNT MUNDI :
IECHONIAS: DAVID : ABRAH : NOE : ADAM

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

24. Noah in the Ark

Panel Label: NOE IN ARCHA

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

25. The Crossing of the Red Sea[§]

Panel Label: MARIS RBRI

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Submersio pharaonis et transitus populi.

26. Six Ages of Man

Panel Label: SEX AE...HOMINIS
INFANTIA : PUERITA : ADOLESCENTIA : IVVENTUS
VIRILITAS : SENECTUS

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

27. Miraculous Draught of Fishes[§]

Panel Label: PISCATIO AP LORUM UBI RETE RUPITUR

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Piscatores apostolorum.

28. Peter and the Jewish Church

Panel Label: S PETRUS : ECCLIA DE IUDEIS

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Same

29. Calling of Nathanael[§]

Panel Label: PETRUS : ANDREAS : FICUS : NATHANAEL : PHILIPP

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Vocatio natanael iacentis sub ficu

30. The Pharisees Scorn^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Pharisees

31. The Gentiles Listen^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Gentes audiunt

32. Miracle of Cana^{*}

Panel Label: No Title

Canterbury Roll Image Caption: Christus mutauit aquam in vinum et sex ydrie.

Results

38% of the panel labels are the same as the Canterbury Roll's image captions; however, a majority of these panel labels are simply name-labels and not descriptions.

§ 9/32 [28%] of the panel labels in the windows differ from what is included in the Canterbury Roll's image captions.

* 11/32 [34%] of the image captions included in the Canterbury Roll are not in the glass.

Total: 62% of the image captions listed in the Canterbury Roll for the surviving image panels are not actually included in the windows themselves.

Appendix F

Canterbury Roll's Image Captions

Typological Window One:

1. Nebuchadnezzar and Stone with Statue.
2. The Boy in the Crib.

Typological Window Two:

3. The Pharaoh and Moses with the People Leaving Egypt.
4. Joseph and his Brothers with the Egyptians.
5. The Magi Warned not to Return to Herod.
6. Sodom Destroyed and Lot Escaping.
7. The Offering of the Boy in the Temple and Symeon.
8. Melchizedek Offering Bread and Wine to Abraham.
9. The Flight of the Lord into Egypt.
10. David Fleeing from Doeg.
11. The Massacre of the Innocents.
12. The Killing of the Lord's Priests under Saul.
13. The Benjamites Slain in Gabeon.

Typological Window Three:

14. Jesus sits in the middle of the Doctors.
15. Moses and Jethro with the People.
16. Submersion of the Pharaoh and the Crossing of the People.
17. The Temptation of Gluttony and Vainglory.
18. Eve Picking the Fruit.
19. Eve eats the Fruit.
20. The Temptation of Desire.
21. Adam and Eve Eating.

Typological Window Four:

22. Calling of Nathanael lying under the Fig Tree.
23. Adam and Eve with the Fig Leaves.
24. The People under the Law.
25. Christ Changing the Water into Wine and the Six Water Pots.
26. Saint Peter with the Church of Jesus.
27. Paul with the Church of Gentiles.
28. In the middle Jesus reads in the Synagogue.
29. Ezra reads the Law to the People.

30. Saint Gregory Ordains Readers.
31. Sermon of the Lord on the Mount.
32. Moses Receives the Law.
33. Christ Descends from the Mount. He Heals a Leper.
34. Paul baptizing the people.

Typological Window Five:

35. Jesus casts out the Devil.
36. The Angel binds the Devil.
37. Mary Anoints the Feet of Christ.
38. Drusiana Clothes the Needy and Feeds the Needy.
39. Jesus and the Apostles gather Corn.
40. The Mill, Oven, and Apostles making Bread.
41. The Gentile Church comes to Jesus.
42. The Samaritan Woman leading the People to Jesus.
43. Rebekah gives Drink to Eliezer.
44. Jacob meets Rachel with the Flock.

Typological Window Six:

45. Jesus speaks to the Apostles
46. The Gentiles listen.
47. The Pharisees scorn.
48. The Sower and the Birds.
49. The Pharisees turn away from Jesus.
50. The Pharisees tempt Jesus.
51. The seeds fall among the thorns.
52. The wealthy of this world with money.
53. The Seeds fall on Good Ground.
54. Job, Daniel, and Noah. Seed on Good Ground.
55. Jesus and the Woman eating the Three Grains.
56. Noah's Three Sons with the Church.
57. The Fishermen: here the Good Fish, there the Bad.
58. These in the Eternal Life.
59. The Reaper restores the Crop in the Granary.
60. The Weed in the Fire.
61. The Just in the Eternal Life.
62. The Rejected in the Eternal Fire.
63. He satisfied many Thousands of People with Five Loaves and Two Fishes.

Typological Window Seven:

64. Jesus cured the Widow's Daughter.

65. Gentile Church with Jesus.
66. Peter prays and the Animals are lowered on Linen.
67. Jesus healed the Man at the Pool.
68. The Lord baptizes.
69. Angels clothe the Arisen Dead.
70. Angels bring the Just to God.
71. Peter the Fisher finds the Stater.
72. Jesus goes up to Jerusalem.
73. The Lord Crucified on the Cross.
74. Jesus places a Child in the midst of the Disciples.
75. The Monks washing the Feet of the Poor.
76. Kings submit to the Teachings of Peter and Paul.
77. The Shepherd returns without a Row of Sheep.
78. Christ hanging on the Cross.

Typological Window Eight:

79. The Master forgives the Begging Debtor.
80. Peter and Paul absolving Penitents.
81. The Servant strikes his Fellow Servant.
82. He surrenders him to Torture.
83. The Godless are sent to Hell.
84. The King provides the Marriage for the Son and sends for the Servants.
85. The Invited Guests excuse themselves because of their Farms.
86. Peter teaching but they follow Moses and Synagogue.
87. John the Baptist preaches intently to his Listeners.
88. Isaiah preaches to the Listening Crowd.
89. Some follow the King some flee.
90. The King surveys the Guests.
91. The Dead Arise.
92. The Lord calls the Blessed. Come ye Blessed.
93. The Man without a Wedding Garment is invited and turned out.
94. Jesus casts the Traders out of the Temple.

Typological Window Nine:

95. A certain Man was coming from Jerusalem into Jericho and falls among Thieves.
96. Adam created and Eve formed.
97. They eat the Fruit.
98. They are ejected from Paradise.
99. The Priest and the Levite see the Wounded Man and pass by.
100. The Samaritan takes the Wounded Man into the Stable with a Carriage.
101. The Angel speaks to the Marys.

Typological Window Ten:

102. Jesus revives the Girl in the House.
103. Abigail meets David and changes his intent.
104. Appeased Constantine with the Mothers and Children.
105. The Lord revives the Boy outside the Gate.
106. King Solomon worships Idols and weeps for his Sin.
107. The Lord raises Lazarus.
108. The Angel addresses Jonah under the ground before Ninevah.
109. Two disciples sent to fetch the Ass and Foal.
110. The Holy Spirit in the semblance of a Dove between God and Man.
111. Jesus standing between Peter and Paul.
112. The Disciples bring the Ass and Foal.
113. Boys meet the Lord seated on an Ass.
114. David. "Out of the Mouth of Babes, etc."
115. Isaiah says: "Behold your King sitting upon an Ass."

Typological Window Eleven:

116. David bearing himself on his Hands.
117. Manna falling from Heaven to the People.
118. Jesus washing the Feet of the Apostles.
119. Laban washes the Camel's Feet.
120. Abraham washes the Angel's Feet.
121. Joab kisses Abner and kills Him.
122. Job pierced with Boils.

Typological Window Twelve:

123. Christ carrying the Cross.
124. Isaac collecting Wood.
125. Woman gathers Wood.
126. Christ on the Cross.
127. The Bold Serpent elevated on the Column.
128. The Red Heifer is Burned.
129. The Lord deposed from the Cross.
130. Moses writes the Tau on the Door with the Lamb's blood.
131. Samson sleeps with his Friend.
132. Jonah in the Belly of the Whale.
133. The Lord binds the Devil and harrowing Hell.
134. David rescues the Lamb and Samson carries off the Gates.
135. Samson breaks the Lion's jaw and Daniel that of the Dragon.
136. Christ rising from the Sepulcher.
137. Jonah casts up from the Whale.

- 138. David let down from the Window.
- 139. The Angel speaks with Mary at the Tomb.
- 140. A Lion reviving its Cub.
- 141. Joseph released from Entrapment.