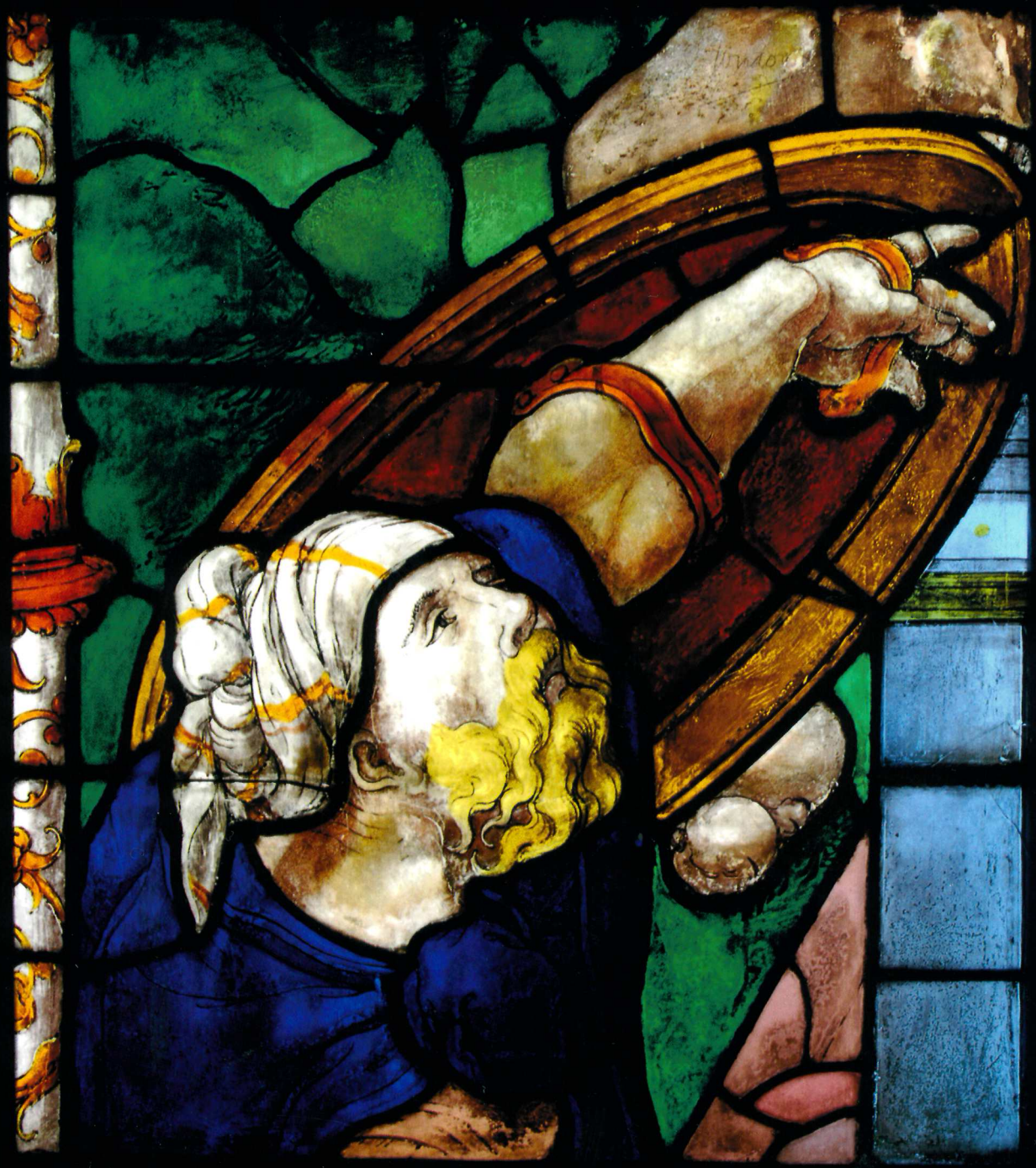
The Stained Glass of
HERKENRODE ABBEY



ISABELLE LECOCQ and YVETTE VANDEN BEMDEN

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The Stained Glass of Herkenrode Abbey

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VOLUME VII
HERKENRODE ABBEY

The Stained Glass of Herkenrode Abbey

by

ISABELLE LECOCQ and YVETTE VANDEN BEMDEN

with

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FOREWORD

After the Second World War, Jean Helbig – curator at the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels and author of the first three volumes in the Belgian Corpus Vitrearum series (published in 1961, 1968, and 1974) – estimated that around 300 historical windows were extant in Belgium. This is but a small fraction of the number that once adorned the country's churches and secular buildings. It is well known that many of these windows were lost to changes in fashion and war, not to mention the religious clashes of the sixteenth century. Others were sold off, at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, either finding new homes in England, France, and the United States of America, and being displayed in churches or museums, or coming to languish forgotten in storerooms. A systematic survey and detailed study of the circumstances under which these windows were removed, sold, and transported to their new destinations remain to be undertaken.

Completion of the present study therefore affords an immense pleasure, constituting as it does a landmark in studies in this field. The windows that form the focus here come from Herkenrode Abbey, near the city of Hasselt, one of the richest abbeys of the former Low Counties and the principality of Liège. In 1792, under the French régime, all the abbey's possessions, as those of other religious communities, were placed under the protection of the Republic, and in 1796, the Herkenrode community left its home for good. The abbey was put up for sale and was finally purchased in 1797 by two businessmen. It is from one of these, Pierre Libotton, that the abbey church's glazing was purchased by Sir Brooke Boothby, an English literary figure then in Liège, who made some astute purchases following the secularization of religious houses by the French. The dean of Lichfield – to whom Boothby had written in 1802, proposing that he purchase seventeen reportedly splendid windows for the cathedral – swiftly accepted Boothby's offer, and the glass was transported to England via Rotterdam. Most of the glazing was installed in Lichfield Cathedral between the years 1804 and 1807.

The windows' move from Herkenrode to Lichfield was undoubtedly also their salvation. Belgium should acknowledge England for having had the foresight to preserve, with such care, a heritage that is exceptional in many regards. The Corpus Vitrearum (Belgium) today considers these windows to be ambassadors for Belgium's rich artistic past, and for the art and craftsmanship of the Renaissance in the former Low Countries, particularly in Antwerp. This context means that both the careful restoration from which the windows have benefited at Barley Studio in Dunnington and the present scholarly publication are causes for celebration. It was thanks to this restoration that the windows could be the subject of the meticulous study undertaken by Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden during their many stays in England.

This collaboration between the committees of the Corpus Vitrearum (Great Britain) and the Corpus Vitrearum (Belgium) is unique, and I would like to take this opportunity to extend my heartfelt thanks to Sarah Brown (chairman of the British Corpus Vitrearum) and Liliane Masschelein (former president of the Belgian Corpus Vitrearum) for having instigated this project and supported it throughout.

Madeleine Manderyck
October 2020

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The present volume on the early sixteenth-century glass from the Cistercian abbey of Herkenrode, the majority of which is now so happily conserved and protected in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral, is a landmark publication for the Corpus Vitrearum (Great Britain), representing the first, but hopefully not the last, full-scale collaboration with colleagues from the Corpus Vitrearum International community. Among Great Britain's many native stained-glass treasures are thousands of European importations, most of them collected and installed in their new homes in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The jewel in this particular crown is undoubtedly the collection from Herkenrode, the outstanding significance of which is alluded to above by my colleague Madeleine Manderyck and set out at length in the pages that follow. The glazing's status as a touchstone of excellence in glass-painting was first recognized in England by the pioneering stained-glass scholar Charles Winston (1814–64), who described the Herkenrode windows as 'the finest specimens of pictorial glass-painting in the world', and their outstanding quality and artistry has been celebrated in Lichfield and beyond ever since.

This volume has been achieved by the collaborative labours of a remarkable team of art historians, architectural historians, and conservators, who have worked together seamlessly to shed new light on every aspect of the history of the glass and of the building in which it is now so lovingly preserved and appreciated. I would like to thank the English contributors to this volume. John McNeill's knowledge provides a welcome historical and architectural context for the building that came to frame the glazing, and Penny Hebgin-Barnes applied her broad authorial experience to the section on Shrewsbury. The extensive primary research undertaken by Marie Groll has resulted in a fascinating and detailed account – unparalleled in stained-glass studies – of the Herkenrode glazing's 'second life' in England. Dr Joseph Spooner, editor and translator of the volume as a whole, has also contributed sections on the Herkenrode glass now in Shrewsbury and Ashtead, ensuring that our catalogue of the rehoused glass is complete. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, for their encouragement and interest throughout, and to Yvette Vanden Bemden, Isabelle Lecocq, and Keith Barley MBE, who have worked together so closely over a number of years to record and interpret this remarkable ensemble. Lastly, I would like to extend my personal thanks to my opposite numbers, Liliane Masschelein and her successor Madeleine Manderyck, for their enthusiastic support of this innovative research and publication partnership, and for their part in securing the necessary additional financial support.

Sarah Brown
October 2020

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Cat. I.32	Panel I 13b: panel with the Virgin and St Anne flanking the Christ Child.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.33	Panel I 14c: grotesque figure.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.34	Panel I A1: grotesque profile face in foliage.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.35	Panel I B3: foliate dolphins.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.36	Panel I E2: head of an elephant in a foliate scroll.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.37	Panel I F1: grotesque mask.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.38	Window nII, before restoration.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.39	Panel nII 4c: scratched figure '3'.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.40	Window nII, scene A: the Annunciation and the Visitation, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.41	Window nII, scene A: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.42	1804 drawing: 'N°. 1. | The ~~Salutation~~ Visitation. A' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.43	Panel nII 1c: prie-dieu with stop-gap.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.44	Panel nII 4c: the legs of a small figure, cut off from the rest of the body.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.45	Panels nII 1–2a: the Angel Gabriel with attendant angels.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.46	Panels nII 1–2c: the Virgin Annunciate.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.47	Panel nII 2b: the Visitation.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.48	Panel nII 2a: kitchen utensils behind the Angel Gabriel.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.49	Panel nII 2a: drilled insertion in the Angel Gabriel's sleeve (now with mending lead).	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.50	Panel nII 2c: the Virgin's hand, with sanguine wash.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.51	*Annunciation to the Virgin*, drawing attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1535–40 (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. no. NM Anck 520).	©Hans Thorwid/Nationalmuseum
Cat. I.52	Panel nII 3b: background landscape and rear wall of the vault.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.53	Panel nII 1b: vase of lilies casting a shadow on the ground.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.54	*St Luke Painting the Virgin*, attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1537–40 (Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. 1678).	©Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes
Cat. I.55	Panel nII 4c: shell motif in the spandrel.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.56	Panel nII 3b: scroll with grotesque mask by the lunette.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.57	Window nII, scene B: the Crowning with Thorns and the Derision of Christ, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.58	Window nII, scene B: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.59	1804 drawing: 'N°. 6. The Derision. G.' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office

Cat. I.98	Window nIII, scene B: woman at prayer, presented by St John the Evangelist, before the Virgin and Child, accompanied by an angel bearing her arms, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.99	Window nIII, scene B: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.100	1804 drawing: 'Lady adoring Infant Christ – L | N°. 19' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.101	Panel nIII 3b: interior face in reflected light, showing corrosion on the prie-dieu and the figure's kneeler.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.102	Panel nIII 4b: head of woman at prayer.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.103	Panels nIII 3–4a: angel bearing a shield.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.104	Panel nIII 3a, etching of flashed-ruby glass: (a) for the shield; (b) for the cuirass of the shield-bearer.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.105	*Allegories of Wisdom and Justice*, attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst; 29.2cm × 20.6cm (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. no. 22642).	©Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Martine Beck-Coppola
Cat. I.106	Panel nIII 3c: decorative motif on the Virgin's seat.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.107	Window nIII, scene C: the Lactation of St Bernard, an emperor, and an abbess, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.108	Window nIII, scene C: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.109	1804 drawing: 'Abbot adoring Infant Christ | Emperor & Abbess supporting. B | No. 18.' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.110	Panels nIII 5–6c: the Lactation of St Bernard.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.111	Panel nIII 5a: the emperor.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.112	Panel nIII 6a: background figure.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.113	Panel nIII 6b: background landscape.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.114	Panel nIII 5c: decoration of the side column base.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.115	*The Lactation of St Bernard*, by Dirk Vellert, 1524; engraving (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 1941).	©The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Cat. I.116	*Le Cellier Triptych*, by Jean Bellegambe, c.1508–1509; central panel, 101.6cm × 61cm (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 32.100.102).	©The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Cat. I.117	Hoogstraten, church of St Catherine, window of Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg, 1533: St Charlemagne and Charles de Lalaing.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.118	Window nIII, scene D: couple at prayer to either side of St Agnes, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.119	Window nIII, scene D: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.120	Panel nIII 7b: the lamb of St Agnes.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.121	Panels nIII 7–8a: Gerard van Velpen and his son.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.122	Panels nIII 7–8c: Agnès de Mettecoven.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.124	Panel nIII 8c: green glass with red filaments in the body of the glass and silver stain.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.125	Etched glass: (a) belt-bag of Gerard van Velpen's son (nIII 7a); (b) St Agnes's jewel (nIII 8b).	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.126	Panel nIII 7b: shadows cast in different directions – the hoof of the lamb and the leg of St Agnes.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.127	Stained-glass panel of the Virgin and Child; 65cm × 43.5cm (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK 14605).	©Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Cat. I.128	Window nIII, scene E: couple at prayer presented by their patron saints, flanking saintly figures, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.129	Window nIII, scene E: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden

Cat. I.165	Liège, cathedral of St Paul, window of the Coronation of the Virgin, the Conversion of St Paul, and Leon d'Oultres, 1530, lower section: the Presentation of Léon d'Oultres by St Lambert to St Paul.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.166	Panel nIV 3a: shadows on the fingers of St Lambert.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.167	Window nIV, scene B: noble couple at prayer with their patron saints, beneath an architectural superstructure and on a heraldic basement, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.168	Window nIV, scene B: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.169	1804 drawing: 'Knight of the Golden Fleece & Lady | N°. 22 p. 4. Case 2. no letter or No.' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.170	Example of corrosion in scene B, 3b.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.171	Panel nIV 1f: the van Egmond shield and motto.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.172	Panel nIV 4e: Floris van Egmond, after restoration.	©Barley Studio
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Cat. I.174	Panel nIV 3f: Marguerite de Berghes and St Margaret, (a) before and (b) after restoration and cold-painting.	Before ©Isabelle Lecocq; after ©Barley Studio
Cat. I.175	Panel nIV 3d: the image of the Virgin and Child on the altar, (a) before and (b) after restoration and cold-painting.	Before ©Isabelle Lecocq; after ©Barley Studio
Cat. I.176	Panel nIV 5e: central element of the architectural superstructure.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.177	Top of the architectural superstructure: (a) 5d; (b) 5f.	(a) ©Barley Studio; (b) ©Barley Studio
Cat. I.178	Liège, basilica of St Martin, window of Floris van Egmond, 1527.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.179	Panel nIV 1e: etched glass.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.180	Panel nIV 1d: drilled insertions.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.181	Panel nIV 3d: silver stain used for architecture and the marbling of the column supporting the altar.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.182	Panel nIV 1e: sanguine used to emphasize details in the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.183	Panel nIV 4e: foot of the Christ Child, with six toes.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.184	Window nIV, scene C: couple at prayer with their patron saints, beneath an architectural superstructure and on a heraldic basement, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.185	Window nIV, scene C: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.186	1804 drawing: 'N°. 24. | Nobleman & Lady by curtained Picture.' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.187	Panel nIV 6a: winged figure holding a garland containing the motto of Jean de Hornes.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.188	Panel nIV 9c: Christ of Pity in a picture above the altar.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.189	Panel nIV 8a: medallion with allegory of Justice.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.190	Panel nIV 10c: adolescent at the top of the architectural superstructure.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.191	Panel nIV 10b: vegetal and zoomorphic scroll.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.192	Panel nIV 9b: skilful glass-cutting, for the hand of St John holding the chalice.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.193	Panel nIV 8a: etched ruby glass for Anna van Egmond's sleeve.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.196	Panel nIV 8b: shading using sanguine to indicate the rear hand of Jean de Hornes.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.197	Panel nIV 9b: unhomogenous corrosion on the face of St John.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.198	Panel nIV 9b: landscape.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.199	Panel nIV 7c: helm and gauntlets.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.200	Panel nIV 9b: small figure in the landscape.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.201	Panel nIV 9a: group of St Anne and the Virgin and Child.	©Isabelle Lecocq

Cat. I.240	Window sII, scene B: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.241	1804 drawing: 'N°. 2 | Christ's Entry into Jerusalem' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.242	Panel sII 6b: stop-gap in the donkey.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.243	Panel sII 7a: background scene with the Apostles.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.244	Panel sII 6c: skilful glass-cutting for the hands of a figure at the gate to Jerusalem.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.245	Panels sII 8c: sanguine used to emphasize architectural elements.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.246	*The Entry into Jerusalem*, workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1534, 102cm × 64.5cm (Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum, inv. no. 1001246).	©Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht
Cat. I.247	Window sII, scene C: the Last Supper, after restoration and before cold-painting.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.248	Window sII, scene C: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.249	1804 drawing: 'N°. 3. | Last Supper I. p. 13' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.250	Panel sII 11a: the Evangelist reading in the background.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.251	Panel sII 11c: background scene of the Washing of the Feet.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.252	Panel sII 10b: morsels of bread arranged in a dish.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.253	Hoogstraten, church of St Catherine, window of the States of Holland, 1532–35, upper section: detail of Christ blessing the chalice at the Last Supper.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.254	*The Last Supper with Donor*, Master of 1518, c.1520–25, 68cm × 58cm (Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. no. 3242).	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.255	Window sII: heads of main lights and tracery, after restoration.	©Christopher Parkinson
Cat. I.256	Panel sII E2 (upper foil): scroll terminating in a man's head.	©Barley Studio
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Cat. I.258	Window sIII, after restoration.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
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Cat. I.260	Panel sIII 1b: inscription '*John*'.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.261	Panel sIII 3a: initials '*H G*' and signature '*H. Grew. 1534.*'.	©Barley Studio
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Cat. I.264	Window sIII, scene A: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.265	1804 drawing: 'No. 13. Christ appearing to St Thomas and the Apostles' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.266	Panel sIII 3a: new piece for the hand and sleeve of St John.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.267	Panel sIII 3c: shaded faces.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.268	Panel sIII 1c: shadows cast from feet.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.269	Window sIII, scene B: Pentecost, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.270	Window sIII, scene B: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.271	1804 drawing: 'Descent of Holy Ghost | O. page 11 | No. 15' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.272	Panel sIII 7c: tongue of flame coming to rest on an Apostle.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.273	Panel sIII 5a: drilled insertion in the cover of a book.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.274	Panel sIII 6c: phantom glass-paint in the ochre garment of an Apostle.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.275	*Pentecost*, from the retable formerly at the abbey of Sint-Truiden (Cape Town, Michaelis Collection, inv. no. 62/2).	©Iziko Museums of South Africa Art Collections (photograph by Michael Hall)

Cat. I.309	Sketch for possible installation of the Resurrection at Lichfield (SRO, LD30/6/3/4).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.310	Panel sIV 4d: background landscape.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.312	Window sIV, scene B: architectural superstructure.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.314	Panel sIV 3d: skilful glass-cutting of narrow bands of colour for a figure's garment.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.315	Panel sIV 1f: etching of flashed-blue glass in a figure's boot.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.316	Panel sIV 1f: drilled insertion (now with mending leads) in the shield.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.317	Panel sIV 1f: decoration of the shield with contrasting shades of silver stain.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.318	Use of sanguine to shade (a) a hand in 1d; (b) a forearm and a hand in 2d; (c) legs in 3d.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.319	*The Resurrection*, triptych attributed to Jan van Dornicke (Bruges, Museum of the Basilica of the Holy Blood).	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.320	*The Resurrection*, attributed to Jan van Dornicke (unlocated private collection).	©Speltdoorn
Cat. I.321	Panel sIV 1–2d: soldier in the lower right-hand corner of scene B.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.322	Panel sIV 1e: detail of flail.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.324	Panel sIV 5d: palmettes, scrolls, and motif terminating in a dolphin head in the arch.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.325	Panel sIV 2e: sarcophagus with frieze and medallions in the antique manner.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.326	Window sIV, scene C: the Carrying of the Cross, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.327	Window sIV, scene C: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.328	1804 drawing: 'Bearing of the Cross. N° 8' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.329	Panels sIV 11b and 11c: the upper part of scene C, showing the lack of coherence in the arrangement of the panels.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.330	Panel sIV 8a: light retouchings in a face, by Barley Studio.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.331	Panel sIV 8a: the Virgin and St John, before restoration.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.332	Panel sIV 7–8c: Mary Magdalene, with detail.	©Barley Studio; ©Isabelle Lecocq (detail)
Cat. I.333	Panel sIV 9a: man on horseback behind the Virgin and St John.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.334	Panel sIV 9c: soldier and other background figures.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.339	Panel sIV 8a: etching of ruby glass for the border of St John's sleeve.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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Cat. I.341	Panel sIV 8b: the hand of Christ.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. I.342	Window sIV, scene D: the Deposition, after restoration.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.343	Window sIV, scene D: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.344	1804 drawing: 'Descent from the Cross | No 10' (some of the annotation is on a blank area in the top right-hand corner; SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.345	Panel sIV 10e: man on the left taking Christ down from the cross, before and after retouching with cold paint.	©Barley Studio
Cat. I.346	Panels sIV 9–10f: man on the right taking Christ down from the cross.	Photographs ©Barley Studio; montage ©KIK-IRPA, Brussels

Cat. I.382	Window sXII: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.383	1804 drawing: 'The Crucifixion. No Letter. Next to L.' (SRO, LD30/6/3/5).	©Staffordshire Record Office
Cat. I.384	Window sXII, light a: fragments, including part of the angel collecting the blood of the crucified Christ from the right-hand side of the Herkenrode Crucifixion Window.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.385	Window sXII, light b: fragments, including part of the angel collecting the blood of the crucified Christ from the left-hand side of the Herkenrode Crucifixion Window.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
Cat. I.386	Window sXII, light b: head and shoulders of the Virgin at the Crucifixion.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
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Cat. I.389	*The Crucifixion*, triptych by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1530 (Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. no. ABM s107).	©Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
Cat. I.390	Original positioning of the fragments from the Herkenrode Crucifixion Window.	Montage ©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. I.391	Window sXIII.	©Alison Gilchrist
Cat. I.392	Window sXIII, light b: lowest piece, inscription.	©KIK-IRPA, Brussels
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Cat. I.401	Garland panel.	©Marie Groll
Cat. I.402	View of the exhibition about the stained glass of Herkenrode Abbey now in the Lady Chapel at Lichfield, held in the restored grange of Herkenrode Abbey (27 June – 31 October 2013).	©Het Belang van Limburg

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II.1	Shrewsbury, church of St Mary: exterior from the north-west.	©Isabelle Lecocq

II. Shrewsbury: Catalogue

Cat. II.1	Shrewsbury, church of St Mary, nXIII (north window in the western wall): St John the Evangelist.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. II.2	Window nXIII: restoration diagram.	©Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Cat. II.3	Lower part of the figure of St John the Evangelist from the Crucifixion Window: detail of robe.	©Isabelle Lecocq
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III. Ashtead: Introduction

III.1	Ashtead, church of St Giles: view from the south-west.	©Isabelle Lecocq
III.2	Ashtead, church of St Giles: the Crucifixion with St George, St Anne with the Virgin and Child, and St Bernard.	©Isabelle Lecocq

III. Ashtead: Catalogue

Cat. III.1	Ashtead, church of St Giles: east window.	©Christopher Parkinson
Cat. III.2	(a) Godefroid Guffens[?], Herkenrode, former private chapel of the abbess, 1852; watercolour (Herkenrode, Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre); (b) C. Bamps, Herkenrode, former private chapel of the abbess, drawing, 1897.	(a) ©Isabelle Lecocq; (b) ©KBR, Brussels
Cat. III.3	Ashtead, church of St Giles: watercolour of the east window by Edward Hassell, 1831 (Lambeth Archive, SP 77/713/GIL.2).	Reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Archives department
Cat. III.4	Ashtead, church of St Giles: interior, with detail of east window, 1904 or earlier.	
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Cat. III.6	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 2–4b, Christ on the Cross.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.7	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 2–4a, the Virgin.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.8	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 2–4c, St John.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.9	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 1a, St George battling the dragon.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.10	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 1a, St Anne with the Virgin and Child.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.11	Ashtead, church of St Giles: I 1c, Abbess Mathilde de Lexhy presented by St Bernard.	©Isabelle Lecocq
Cat. III.12	*The Crucifixion*, attributed to Bernard van Orley or Isenbrant; 74cm × 50cm (Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, inv. no. MLG G3424).	©Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid

Appendix 8

App. 8.1	Barton-under-Needwood (Staffordshire), church of St James, east window: head of the Virgin from the Crucifixion.	©Christopher Parkinson
App. 8.2	Caboolture (Queensland, Australia), Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology, panels formerly at Abbey Folk Park: (a) symbol of St Mark in the vestry of the Abbey Church (reg. no. W01501); (b) symbol of St Luke in the vestry of the Abbey Church (reg. no. W01502); arms of Aragon with supporters (reg. no. W01507).	Reproduced by kind permission of the Board of the Abbey Museum of Art and Archaeology, Caboolture, Queensland
App. 8.3	Elford (Staffordshire), church of St Peter, west window of the south aisle: the Virgin as a child processing to the Temple.	
App. 8.4	Hasselt (Limburg, Belgium), béguinage, panels of 1624 from the church: arms of Curé Caloen and the Abbess of Herkenrode, Marguerite de Berghes, with the evangelists Sts Luke and Matthew (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, acc. no. C.54:1-1910).	©London, Victoria and Albert Museum
App. 8.5	Shrewsbury, church of St Mary, window nXII (first window from the west in the north nave aisle): panels from the former Low Countries.	©Isabelle Lecocq
App. 8.6	Shrewsbury (Shropshire), church of St Mary: nXII 1b.	©Isabelle Lecocq

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The Herkenrode glazing's 'second life' was placed by an English collector in the hands of enlightened amateurs, at a point when this glass's homeland was no longer in a position to care for it. The history presented here of the glass – its commissioners and creators, and those who secured it for posterity – is a multi-faceted collaboration worthy of its subject.

Isabelle Lecocq and Yvette Vanden Bemden
Summer 2020

The British Academy

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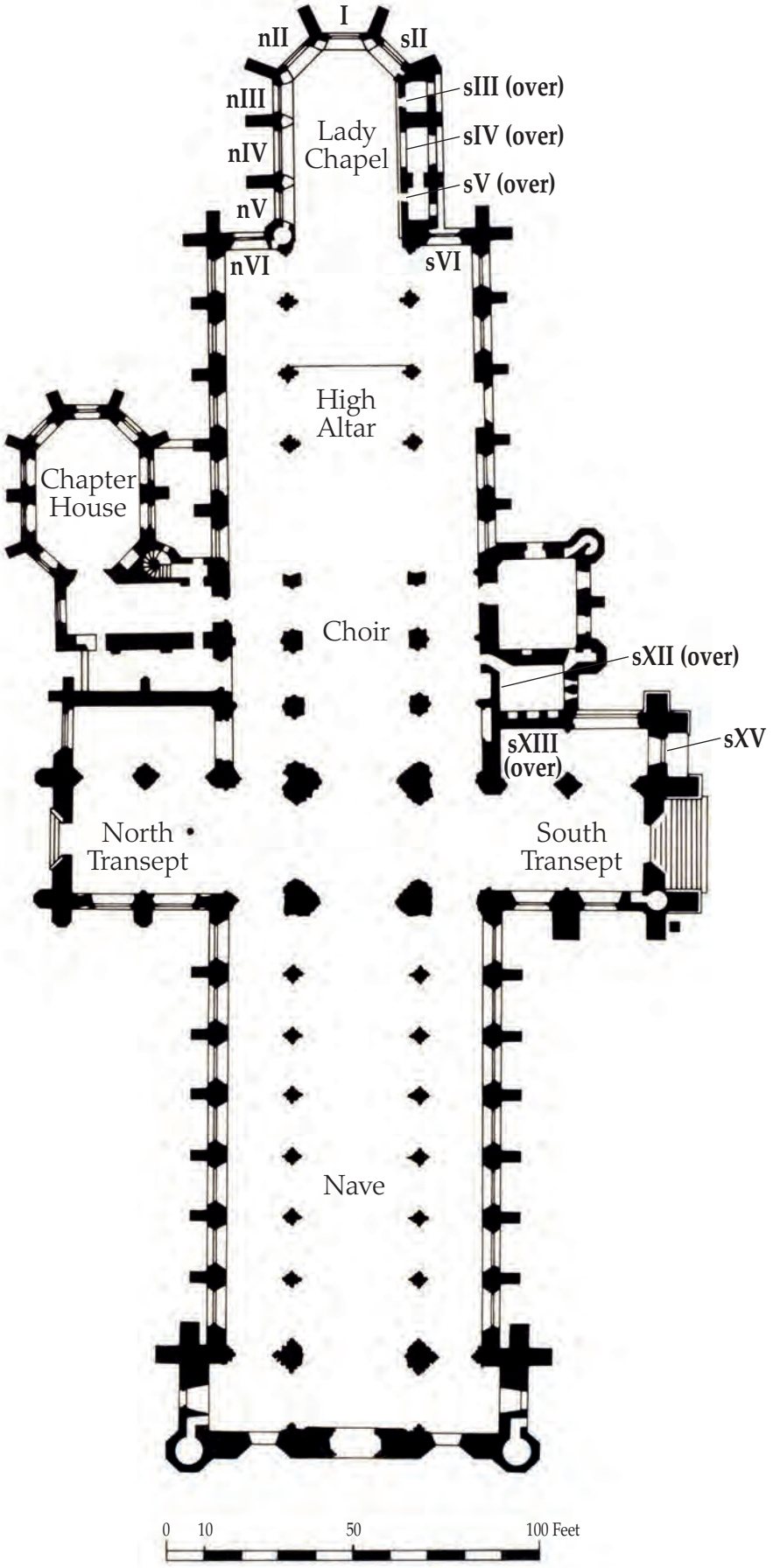
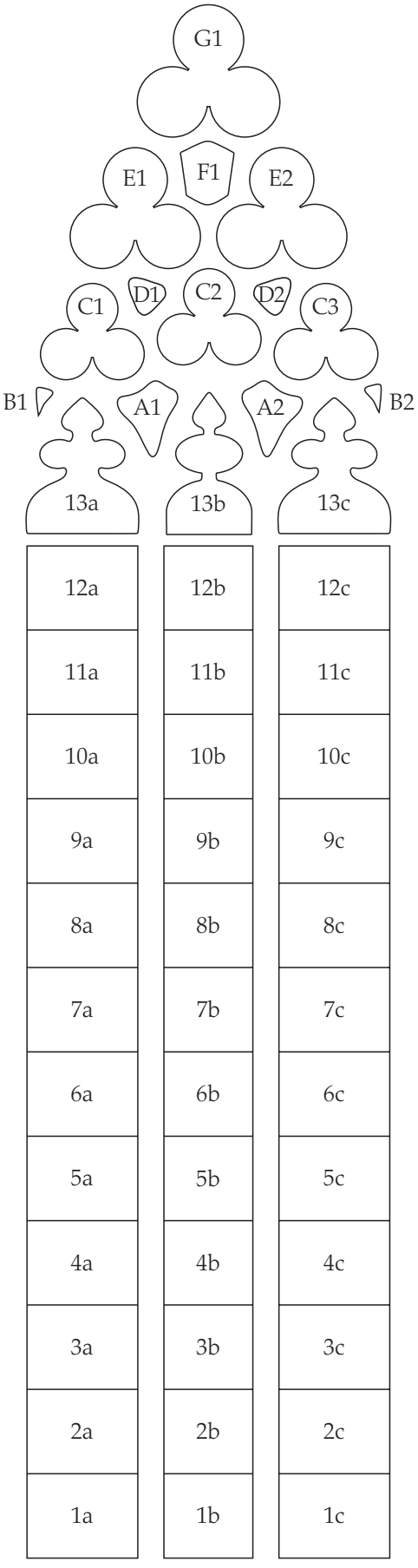
PAUL MELLON CENTRE *for Studies in British Art*

GROUND PLAN of LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL



Ground plan of Lichfield Cathedral, showing the CVMA window-numbering system.

WINDOW PLAN



Lichfield, Lady Chapel, window nII, showing the CVMA panel-numbering system.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ABRADE: to scrape or grind away FLASHING to expose the base glass.

ARMATURE: a framework of metal bars used to hold panels in place. Armatures were used until the late thirteenth century.

BACK GLAZING: an alternative term for plating, used when only the exterior face of the old glass is fitted with modern glass.

BACK-PAINTING: painting on the exterior face of the glass.

BADGER: a broad brush (traditionally made of badger hair) used to spread glass paint evenly.

BOTTLE GLASS: see CROWN or BOTTLE GLASS.

BULL'S EYE: see CROWN or BOTTLE GLASS.

CALMES or CAMES (from Latin *calamus*, reed): strips of lead used to assembly a panel of glass. Calmes are H-shaped in section and in the medieval period they were cast, cut, and shaved to the desired width and length; in later times they were milled. The central part is called the heart or core, and the part that covers the glass is called the leaf or the flange. Individual calmes were soldered to each other where the strips met.

CARTOON: a full-size design for a window or panel.

CORROSION: deterioration of the surface of the glass, normally resulting in pitting or crusting; it may occur on either face.

CROSS-HATCHING: a dense net-like pattern used as infill.

CROWN or BOTTLE GLASS: made by spinning molten glass attached to a pontil iron so that it is spread by centrifugal force into a sheet that is thickest at the centre, where the iron was attached. The resulting thick knob of glass is known as a BULL'S EYE.

DIAPER: a repeated geometrical pattern used as a background or to decorate garments, etc.

ENAMELS: colours consisting of a metallic oxide colouring agent and a flux of molten glass, which can be fired onto the inner surface of white glass, enabling multicoloured, painterly effects to be achieved.

FERRAMENTA: ironwork, set in the masonry of the window, supporting the panels of glass. This includes ARMATURE, SADDLE-BAR or TIE-BAR, STANCHIONS, and T-BARS.

FLASHING: a thin coat of coloured glass applied to a base glass. Flashed ruby is most commonly found.

GLASS-PAINT: a mixture of finely ground glass, iron or copper oxide, and a flux, applied to glass and fired.

GRISAILLE: delicate geometric or leaf patterns of regular design painted on or leaded into white glass (usually with little or no pot-metal).

GROZING: the method of shaping glass by means of a metal tool with a hooked end, which gives the glass a characteristic 'bitten' edge.

GROZING IRON: the metal tool used for GROZING.

LUG-BAR: see T-BAR.

MATT (WASH): a thick or thin wash of paint that has not been modulated by SMEAR SHADING or STIPPLING.

MEDALLION: a (generally) circular panel of several pieces of glass leaded together.

MUFF: a cylinder of blown glass, cut along its length when hot and flattened.

MURREY: a colour ranging from purple to pink and reddish brown.

NEEDLEWORK: fine relieving done with a needle or sharp instrument; scratching out.

OVAL: a unipartite panel of oval shape bearing a self-contained design. See also RECTANGLE and ROUNDEL.

PAINT: see GLASS-PAINT.

PICK OUT: see STICKWORK.

PITTING: cavities in the surface of the glass caused by CORROSION.

PLATING: protecting old glass by fitting modern glass to the exterior face, sometimes both faces.

POT-METAL: glass coloured throughout when molten with one or more metallic oxides.

PRELIMINARY DRAWING: a drawing used in the execution of a cartoon; it can be a pre-VIDIMUS sketch, or a finished drawing to scale that indicates a window's structural elements and the definitive placement of the subjects to be painted.

QUARRY (from French *carré*, square): a small pane of glass, usually diamond-shaped. Imitation quarries are glass panels that have lead lines painted on them to simulate the appearance of quarries.

RECTANGLE: a unipartite panel of rectangular shape bearing a self-contained design. See also OVAL and ROUNDEL.

RELIEVING: the removal of paint from the surface of the glass prior to firing, to allow light to come through; see also NEEDLEWORK and STICKWORK.

REVERSED: set inside out.

RINCEAU: a foliage design usually used as a background.

ROUNDEL: a unipartite panel of round shape bearing a self-contained design. See also OVAL and RECTANGLE.

RUBY: red glass, normally made by FLASHING red glass onto a base glass.

SADDLE-BAR or TIE-BAR: a bar fixed across the opening of a window, set on the inside or outside, to which panels may be attached by lead ties. Saddle-bars were used either alone or in conjunction with STANCHIONS.

SANGUINE: a glass-paint rich in hematite that turns pink to red-brown on firing, applied to the internal or external face of the glass, in fine washes or as contour lines.

SCRATCH OUT: see NEEDLEWORK.

SILVER STAIN or YELLOW STAIN: a stain produced by applying a silver-compound solution to the surface of the glass. When fired, the stain turns yellow, which can range in hue from pale lemon to orange. It is nearly always found on the exterior face of the glass.

SMEAR SHADING: an application of thin paint on the glass.

SORTING MARK: a small mark, relieved from a wash, or painted or scratched onto the glass, used by the glazier to sort the pieces of fired glass after removal from the kiln.

STAINED GLASS: the term commonly but misleadingly used to denote a medium that comprises pieces of glass painted with glass paint and set within lead calmes in a mosaic technique. Colour was inherent in the pieces of glass for most of the Middle Ages. Glass-paint is found in shades of brown or black, and from the early fourteenth century SILVER STAIN was developed and used extensively for glass-painting. Sanguine and a range of enamel colours that could be painted onto the glass were developed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

STANCHION: a vertical support bar set on the inside or outside (or both) of panels. A stanchion is used in conjunction with SADDLE-BARS, which sometimes have eyes through which the stanchion can pass. Stanchions were not always required.

STICKWORK: relieving done with the end of a brush or blunt instrument; picking out.

STIPPLING or STIPPLE-SHADING: a method of shading by dabbing paint.

T-BAR: a horizontal bar set between panels that transfers the weight of the panels to the vertical frame enclosing them. The panels are sometimes held in place by lugs (wedges), in which case the bars are known as lug-bars.

TIE-BAR: see SADDLE-BAR.

TRACE-LINE: a line of paint produced as part of the drawing of the design on the glass.

VIDIMUS (Latin, 'we have seen'): a term used to denote the approved design for a window prior to the cartoon used by the glass-painter.

YELLOW STAIN: see SILVER STAIN.

NOTE TO THE READER

Bibliography

The bibliography is limited to sources to which explicit reference is made in the text. Recent years have witnessed a proliferation of studies on the evolution of drawing and painting in the first decades of the sixteenth century in Antwerp, and on the commercial life and functioning of workshops producing retables and tapestries, works, like stained glass, in which the collaboration between different crafts played a primary role. Although these scholarly studies have informed the present authors' thinking, they are not cited individually in the text, as the volume's bibliography is already very extensive.

The Windows

Windows at Lichfield are designated in roman typeface, using the Corpus Vitrearum window-numbering system. The windows formerly in the abbey church at Herkenrode are designated in italic typeface.

The trefoil heads of the main lights in the Lady Chapel at Lichfield Cathedral fall into the same category as the tracery compartments, in that they do not belong with the scenes they surmount, and are filled, like the tracery compartments, with 'left-overs' of Herkenrode provenance and fragments added during the works undertaken by English glaziers in the nineteenth century. In the Catalogue, these trefoil-headed panels and the tracery compartments are described in brief, with commentary supplied only where significant pieces of glass can be securely associated with the scenes in the various windows' main lights.

The Lady Chapel glazing was examined at Barley Studio, in order from nIV to sIV, during periodic research trips undertaken as conservation permitted, over a stretch of more than four years. Our understanding of the various questions posed by the material matured during this time, but clearly it was not possible to revisit the first panels we examined, as they had left the studio. It is possible therefore that the reader will encounter some variation in the technical remarks across the ensemble.

The suggestions made here concerning the locations of the windows in the abbey church at Herkenrode are based in deductions made from the available information, but it should be stressed that these are hypotheses; the same should be said of the associations of particular sacred scenes with particular donor scenes.

Proper Names

The names of many of the families mentioned here (donors in the main) feature aristocratic particles. In the territory of what is now Belgium, the particles *de* and *van* (and even the spelling of surnames) can vary, depending on which branch of the family is being discussed, where its principal place of residence was, and sometimes which family member is being addressed in a document; it also varies in line with the language of the publication in which the individual is mentioned. For the purposes of the present volume it was necessary therefore to make some choices and standardize some forms. For example, the de Lexhy family, which features extensively here, had its origins and flourished in the principality of Liège. The branch of the family at Sint-Truiden, to which the de Lexhy abbesses of Herkenrode Abbey belonged, had medieval forebears and received the freedom of the city in the fourteenth century. This branch of the family adopted different spellings for its name, mainly Lexhy and Lechy, though there are further variants. Here (apart from in quotations, where the original spelling has been retained), we have adopted systematically the form Lexhy.

Placenames are given in the form by which they are most commonly known in English. The regions of Belgium are given in Flemish for the Flemish Region and in French for the Walloon Region.

The Restoration Diagrams

The restoration diagrams distinguish between the 'ancient' portions of the glass (that is, the glass as it was on its removal from Herkenrode, so not necessarily all 'original') and the interventions that postdate the glazing's arrival in Lichfield. We can reasonably assume that the windows of an abbey as wealthy at Herkenrode were well protected within its bounds and only subjected to minor interventions over the course of the centuries.

No restoration diagrams are provided for the panels in the heads of the main lights or the traceries, on the grounds that they are assemblages made in the nineteenth century from pieces of Herkenrode provenance and English fragments. Notable pieces of old glass are mentioned in the Catalogue.

The significant corrosion from which the glass suffers appears for the most part to postdate the glazing's arrival in England. This corrosion lends a highly uniform appearance to all the glasses.

It was not possible to undertake any scientific analysis, either of the glass itself or the media with which it was painted. As a result, it was not possible to carry out certain checks (relating to the status of specific glasses, or passages of doubtful painting).

Many of the panels have become extremely disturbed in the course of their recent history, and it is not a simple matter, for example, even when examining panels in the studio, to distinguish between pieces that have been reused, pieces that are in fact old restorations, and pieces that are original but which are no longer legible as part of the ensemble. Sometimes, even in cases where it can be presumed that a piece of glass has been replaced, the information available does not permit absolute certainty on the matter. In such cases, the authors have systematically opted to give such pieces the benefit of the doubt.

The Herkenrode glazing at Lichfield not in the Lady Chapel was not examined in the studio, and difficulty of access meant that conditions for assessing this glass *in situ* were not optimal. The restoration diagrams provided for these windows can therefore only be considered indicative. The glass at Ashtead cannot be viewed from close up inside the church, and opaque protective glazing prevents the window from being examined from the outside. Since this glass has been subjected to significant restoration, and because there are replacement pieces that have been executed with great skill, the authors have chosen not to provide a restoration diagram.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGR	Archives générales du Royaume de Belgique - Rijksarchief in België (State Archives of Belgium)
KIK-IRPA	Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium - Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique (Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, Brussels)
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België - Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (Royal Library of Belgium)
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office
VCH	Victoria County History
YGT	York Glaziers' Trust, York

KEY TO THE RESTORATION DIAGRAMS

Grey
All portions of the glass inserted into the panels in England during the nineteenth century (apart from insertions that constitute restoration pieces in the proper sense), which are not of Herkenrode provenance (borders, the panels introduced to fill out I (scene A), nVI, sVI, and sXV). These portions may have been extended or restored since their insertion, particularly the borders, but they do not fall within the scope of an assessment of the Herkenrode glazing's authenticity. Glass coloured grey in the restoration diagrams is discussed at the appropriate points in the text.

Yellow
First intervention in England, dating to the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Lichfield) or the second third of the century (Shrewsbury).

Orange
Restoration dating to the late nineteenth century (Lichfield, 1886–1895).

Blue
Restoration by Barley Studio, 2011–2014 (Lichfield Cathedral, Lady Chapel)

Mauve
Probable restoration.

Green
Restoration of indeterminate date.

Brown
Stop-gaps of old glass.

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An account of the old painted glass taken out of 11 cases opened in the chapter house of the Cathedral Church of Lichfield, June 20th 1803, with lists of painted glass selected in 1803 and arranged in 1804, and related papers and letters including two from the bishop to Woodhouse re subscriptions, 1805, and one from Rowland re bishops' coats of arms with coloured designs, 1806, LD30/6/3/3

Six sketches of windows, pen and ink, some with pencil; one watercolour of window after Sir Joshua Reynolds; list of glass arranged at Lichfield, 1804; sketches and notes on dimensions, with letter re removal of glass, 1806, LD30/6/3/4

Sketches: possible arrangement of scenes in the Lady Chapel, 24 sheets with sketches of Herkenrode scenes (numbered 1–29, nos. 18–19 on one sheet, nos. 17 and 27–29 not sketched), sketch of Wyatt's screen, design for a heraldic panel (for nV or sV), c.1804, LD30/6/3/5/1–27

Subscriptions to windows in cathedral, 1805–8, with draft of bishop's approbation of repairs to third residentiary house, 1805, and letter re reserved rent of prebend of Bobenhull, 1804, LD30/6/3/6

Insurance documents for Bridgeman's workshop, 1887–88, LD30/6/3/7

Designs for chapter house windows, with estimate and suggested schemes by Burlison & Grylls, 1885, LD30/6/3/8/1–5

Report on the stained-glass windows in the Lady Chapel by Noel Heaton, technical chemist, 1932, LD30/6/3/11

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[1] This account was published by T. G. Lomax without identifying the author, but from the sixth edition onwards, a note indicates that the text was by John Chappel Woodhouse, assisted by Canon John Newling (1762–1838); see Bright 1932 and 1950/1958, p. 10.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Former Abbey of Herkenrode and Its Stained Glass (IL, YV)

The Former Abbey of Herkenrode

The surviving buildings of the former abbey of Herkenrode, in the commune of Kuringen (Curange), stand near the city of Hasselt, in the Belgian province of Limburg (figs Int. 1–2).

Fig. Int. 1. Aerial view of Herkenrode Abbey.

Fig. Int. 2. Map of present-day Belgium, showing the location of Hasselt.

At the time of its foundation, the abbey was situated in the old county of Loon (also known as Looz),[1] which covered more or less the same area as the modern province of Limburg. The county was annexed by the episcopal principality of Liège in 1362 and became part of it definitively in 1366 (fig. Int. 3). From that time onwards, the prince-bishops of the principality held the title of count of Loon, though the former county retained a certain degree of autonomy. In 1795, after the French Revolution and during the French occupation of the region, the episcopal principality was suppressed, and it was subsequently incorporated into the new country of Belgium. Kuringen remained part of the diocese of Liège until 1967, when it was attached to the new diocese of Hasselt.

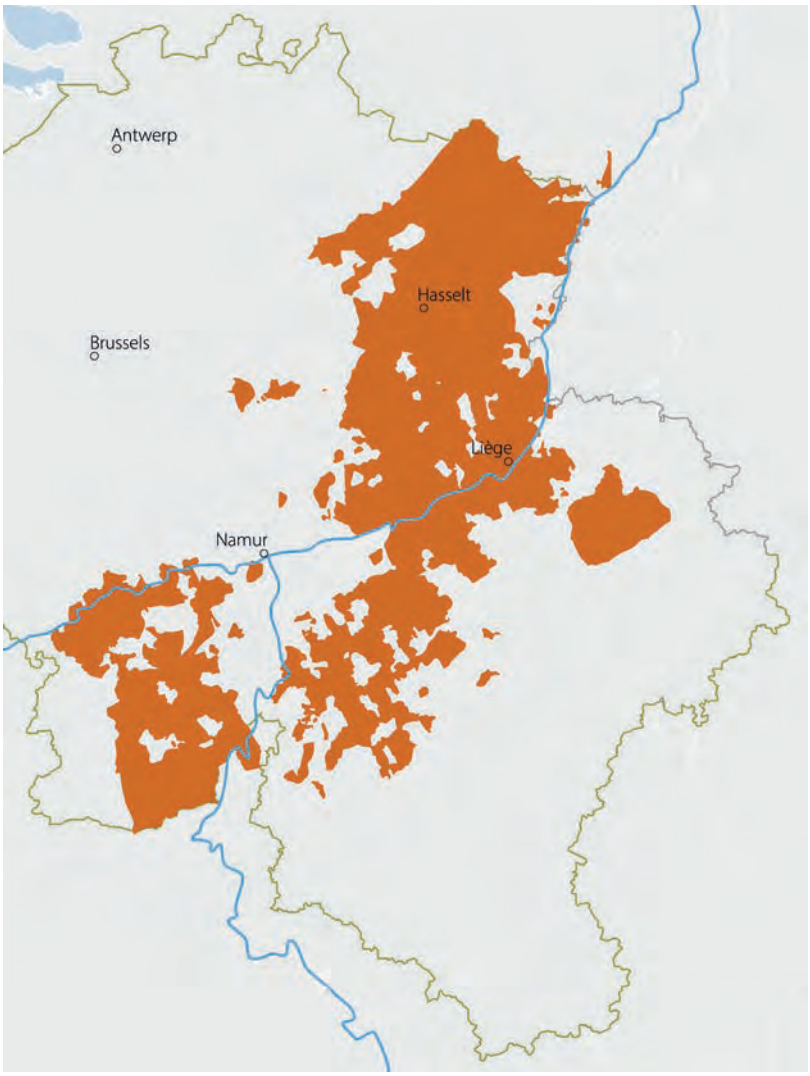


Fig. Int. 3. Map of the former episcopal principality of Liège in relation to present-day Belgium.

Herkenrode Abbey belonged to the Cistercian Order.[2] In 1098, wishing to return to a strict version of the rule of St Benedict (isolation, prayer, poverty, and manual labour), Robert of Molesme (Côte d'Or, France) left the Benedictine monastery there with around twenty monks and founded a new abbey at Cîteaux (Côte d'Or). Bernard (1090–1153) arrived there with his companions in 1112, and in 1115 founded Clairvaux Abbey (Aube, France), one of the four daughter houses of Cîteaux in France, together with La Ferté (1113, Sâone-et-Loire), Pontigny (1114, Yonne), and Morimond (1115, Haute-Marne). An important figure in the history of medieval Christianity and ardent reformer, Bernard of Clairvaux was opposed both to the wealth of a Church too preoccupied with worldly goods and power, and to the heresies prevalent in southern France; he preached unceasingly, encouraging, among other things, the Second Crusade (1147–49). The so-called *Charta caritatis* ('Charter of Charity') was drawn up in 1116, and the first general chapter of the Order was held at Cîteaux in 1119. The *Charta* set out the Order's organization, outlining the powers exercised at different levels, and the general chapter, which was held annually, had legislative, judicial, and coercive authority over its communities. The new Cistercian Order developed swiftly, and the rules governing the establishment of monasteries and their associated buildings enabled the Order to respond to the constraints of austerity and the availability of labour. There was a move towards decentralization from the fourteenth century.

[1] Vaes 2007; and Baerten 1969.

[2] See among others Duby 1976; 'Cisterciens', in Gerhards 1988, pp. 149–55; J.-B. Lefèvre 1990; Hoste, Nuyttens and van Bockstaele 1997, esp. pp. 41–45; Leroux-Dhuys 1999; von Linden 1999, esp. 'Bernard de Clairvaux' and 'L'Ordre cistercien', pp. 169–182; Eberl 2002; and Aubé 2003.

The first Cistercian abbeys for men in the territory of modern-day Belgium were those of Orval (c.1132, Luxembourg), Koksijde (1139, Duinenabdij, West-Vlaanderen), Villers-la-Ville (1146, Brabant wallon), and Aulne (1147, Hainaut).[3] At the beginning, the Cîteaux Order was not inclined to create a branch for women, even though from the start of the twelfth century there was a community at Jully-les-Nonnains (Yonne, France) that brought together pious women, some of whom had taken the veil, under the leadership of prioresses Elisabeth (Bernard of Clairvaux's sister-in-law) and Humbeline (Bernard's sister, who is considered the first female Cistercian saint). Communities of women soon began to live in the spirit of the Cistercian Order; they requested the Order's protection, and formal procedures for integration started in 1213. The female Cistercian houses were daughters of Cîteaux or Clairvaux.

Communities of Cistercian nuns consisted of two groups of women distinguished by their social origins, the ways in which they entered the convent, and their roles: the *dames de chœur* ('ladies of the choir') and lay sisters.[4] The first group, women from the aristocracy or privileged upper classes, was socially homogenous and fulfilled different roles within the community; they elected the abbess from within their ranks. The lay sisters were usually of peasant background from near the abbey and carried out a range of physical tasks. Daughters of the nobility were also received at the abbey for fixed periods so that they might obtain a good religious education and a certain level of secular instruction. Lay brothers and others not attached to the monastery attended to the management of the farms, heavy work, and contact with the outside world. The celebration of mass and the administration of the sacraments were entrusted to monks of the Order and a chaplain. In the former episcopal principality of Liège, communities of women supported by male Cistercian houses rapidly became vibrant and developed into centres of mysticism. They had a particular devotion to the Eucharist, and one notable figure in this respect was St Juliana of Liège (d.1258),[5] who was instrumental in the official establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi. These communities were later adherents of *devotio moderna* ('modern devotion').[6]

Legends surround the beginnings of Herkenrode Abbey,[7] which is said to have been founded in 1182 by Gérard II, count of Loon from 1171,[8] as seems to be attested by the

[3] Sabbe, Lamberigts and Gistelinck 1990.

[4] See among others Ploegaerts 1937; Henneau 1990; J.-B. Lefèvre 1990, esp. pp. 119–26; Montulet-Henneau 1990a; Montulet-Henneau 1990b; Henneau 2001; and Barrière and Henneau 2001, esp. pp. 8–12.

[5] Juliana (1192–1258), an Augustinian nun and then prioress at the leprosy convent of Mont-Cornillon (in the principality of Liège), frequently had mystical visions, and her devotion to the Eucharist was prodigious. After the official establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the principality of Liège in 1246, this solemn Eucharistic adoration was adopted generally across the Christian world at the start of the following century.

[6] *Devotio moderna*, a movement in Christian spirituality that started at the end of the fourteenth century with Geert Grote (1340–1384) and the Congregation of Windesheim (Overijssel, Netherlands), was influenced by the mystic Jan van Ruysbroeck and mystics from the Rhine region. It was enormously successful until the end of the fifteenth century, including among lay people. Focusing on Christian virtues, *devotio moderna* endeavoured to return Christ to believers' hearts and lives and was characterized mainly by practical and affective meditation.

[7] This introduction does not aim to be exhaustive on either the history or buildings of Herkenrode Abbey, as these are subjects that have been particularly well served in the bibliography, especially recently. See among others Averbode, Archief van de abdij van Herkenrode, 'Verdinckenisse Clooster van Herckenrode, 1512-1550' (a compilation of documents of 67 folios); Mantelius 1663, esp. pp. 175–223; Mantelius 1717, esp. pp. 123–25; Martene and Durand 1717, seconde partie, p. 199; Saumery 1744, pp. 220–23; Wolters 1849; Daris 1871a; Reusens 1879; Canivez 1926, pp. 39 and 123–31; Moons 1971; Opsomer 1976; Impe 1979; Van Aerschot-Van Haeverbeeck 1981; Moons 1982; R. Rombouts 1982; M. Van der Eycken 2002a; M. Van der Eycken 2002b; J. Van der Eycken 2002; Caluwaerts 2004; M. Van der Eycken 2005, pp. 9–42; and Henneau 2006 (which includes a very complete bibliography on the subject). On Cistercian architecture in the former Low Countries, see also the bibliography listed in Coomans 2000. The four volumes of *Monasterium Herkenrode* published in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014 are the most complete and recent accounts of issues relating to Herkenrode Abbey; see among others Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008; De Dijn 2008; Luyten 2010; Waegeman 2012a, esp. pp. 20–44; and M. Willems 2012.

[8] See Daris 1871b, pp. 141–54; Wauters 1880–1883; Bussels 1946, pp. 20–26; Baerten 1966; Baerten 1969; Moons 1992, pp. 125–53, esp. 134–35; J. Van der Eycken 2002, p. 23; De Dijn 2008, pp. 19–21; and Vaes 2016, esp. pp. 138–39. Gérard II's date of death is not given consistently in the sources; the one given here (1194) is that found in the most recent sources.

inscription on the latter's funerary monument,[9] executed in 1532 for the choir of the abbey church during the abbacy of Mathilde de Lexhy. The Herkenrode estate was indeed part of the ancestral lands of the counts of Loon, but Gérard II did not donate the lands, as has long been claimed: he sold the lands that did not form part of his fief to a certain Henri, a layman, between 1179 and 1194, so that Henri might himself found an abbey. Gérard left on crusade and died at Acre, probably in 1194. Gérard's sale of the land to Henri was confirmed in a charter of 1213 by Louis II, count of Loon 1195–1218, and reiterated in charters of 1220 (by Arnold III, count of Loon 1218–1221), and 1222 (by Louis III, count of Loon 1221/22–1227). Although Henri, who had earlier withdrawn to Aulne Abbey, was still alive at this time, the nuns probably preferred having a count of Loon as their supposed founder, since Henri was not of noble stock. Because the counts of Loon, unlike other sovereigns of the era, did not have a familial religious foundation on their territory, it was Herkenrode Abbey that came to fulfil this role, and members of the ruling family had themselves buried there; one might even regard it as a 'dynastic necropolis'.[10]

We do not know therefore the exact foundation date of Herkenrode Abbey, but the years around 1182 could reasonably be proposed, as the count of Loon had suffered military reverses at the hands of the prince-bishop of Liège's troops, which compelled him to dispose of some of his goods and borrow money; this is also the time (1179) at which the count left his castle in Borgloon (Limburg, Belgium), which had been destroyed, and came to occupy that at Kuringen. A place of worship and the presence of religious brothers are attested at Herkenrode in 1209, and it was probably these brothers who constructed the first buildings and set about cultivating the land; at least some of them must have left subsequently for elsewhere. Women are mentioned at Herkenrode for the first time in 1213, and an abbess is mentioned in 1214. In 1217, their community was officially integrated into the Cistercian Order with the support of several abbots, a status that was ratified in 1218 by Pope Honorius II, who took the abbey and the abbey's assets under his protection.[11] The list of abbesses established in the eighteenth century mentions a certain Ingeltrude (1182–1205) as the first abbess, but Abbess Jutta II (1257–1272) seems to be the first to appear by name in a charter. As at other female Cistercian houses, lay brothers administered the abbey's temporal goods, attending to dealings with the outside world and fulfilling certain roles within the abbey.[12] From the fourteenth century however, nuns appear more and more frequently in official documents. Although Herkenrode was a daughter of the male house at Clairvaux, it was the abbot of Aulne who exercised jurisdiction there;[13] in the eighteenth century, the abbot of Aulne was succeeded in this task by that of Val Dieu (Liège province, Belgium).

[9] 'Anno ab orbe redempto 1182 fundatum et dotatum hoc celebre Monasterium de Herckenrode per piissimum Dominum Gerardum Comitem Lossensem, hujus loci Protectorem, sub hoc tumulo cum uxore et prolibus quiescentem: pro quibus ad Deum preces fundite [...]'. See among others Moons 1998, p. 156; and Naveau de Marteau and Poullet 1928, p. 128, no. 1614. The abbess had collected together the remains of Count Gérard II, his wife, Adelaïde of Guelders (d.1196), and eight children into the same vault, and all members of the family were commemorated with a funerary monument that she had placed in the choir of the new abbey church in 1532. Two counts of Loon were not buried in the abbey church, including the last, Diederik (Thierry) of Heinsberg (1336–1361), as the nuns believed him still to be excommunicated; see among others R. Rombouts 1982, p. 7.

[10] See Coomans 2005a, esp. pp. 96–97; Coomans 2006; Caluwaerts 2010, p. 37; and the bibliography cited above.

[11] Daris 1871a, p. 16; and J. Van der Eycken 2002, pp. 20–26.

[12] At the signing of a deed in 1214 drawn up with the chapter of St Servatius in Maastricht, Herkenrode Abbey was represented by monks; and for another deed, drawn up with the same chapter in 1219, the witnesses for the abbey were one monk and five brothers. See among others Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008, 'Dames ende zusters', esp. pp. 82–83; and M. Smeets 2007, esp. pp. 34–35. In 1218, the duke of Lorraine agreed with the abbess that the lay brothers might pass freely with their goods, without being subjected to customs duties, tolls, excise duties, etc.; this privilege was renewed by Duke Philip in 1460. See Daris 1871a, esp. p. 6; Daris 1874, pp. 207–208; and Verwilghen 1952.

[13] Aulne Abbey (now Gozée, Hainaut) was founded as a Benedictine monastery in the seventh century and became a Cistercian abbey in 1147. After a difficult period, the abbey's fortunes improved under the abbacy of Gérard Bosman de Beausart (1497–1529), with the support of its lord protector, Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck (1472–1538). At the end of the eighteenth century, it suffered the same sorts of problems as other monasteries during the French occupation. It was burnt down in 1794.

Fig. Int. 4. Turret-monstrance from the former abbey of Herkenrode, 1286 (Hasselt, collectie Het Stadsmus, inv. no. SMU.1986.0014.00, 45cm high).

Herkenrode Abbey's original estate consisted of woods, meadows, and both cultivated and uncultivated lands. Its holdings are known from surviving transactions, accounts, inventories, and documentations of land measurements, as well as the maps drawn up to accompany these.[14] The abbey's wealth grew swiftly, thanks to donations and legacies from the counts of Loon and the local nobility, as well as ground rents, tithes, and personal contributions from the nuns themselves; the latter were heirs to family fortunes, and often had the benefit of private incomes, which passed to the abbey, together with ownership of their goods, after their deaths.[15] In the thirteenth century, the abbey's prosperity came mainly from farming its agricultural lands, but from the fourteenth century and certainly from the start of the fifteenth the brothers were progressively replaced by *rentmeester* (lay stewards), who ran the abbey's estate in return for annuities and land rents. Life at the abbey was very comfortable until the mid-fifteenth century, when the political situation in the principality of Liège became turbulent, mainly as a result of struggles with the duke of Burgundy, culminating in the sack of the city of Liège by Charles the Bold in 1468. The economic situation at Herkenrode started to deteriorate; revenues shrank, and the nuns were forced to borrow money on several occasions.

The community was overseen by an abbess,[16] a coadjutress who stood in for the abbess as necessary, a prioress, and a sub-prioress,[17] and in the sixteenth century had around thirty *dames de chœur*. It is worth noting that on several occasions members of the same family were nuns at the abbey. The community's household included priests, who conducted religious services and took confessions, and a chaplain. Lay sisters continued to ensure that manual tasks were carried out. In the early sixteenth century, some of the stewards, whose daughters or relations were nuns at Herkenrode, donated windows for the abbey church.[18]

The Eucharistic devotion typical of female Cistercian houses in the episcopal principality is attested at Herkenrode Abbey from the thirteenth century, as is witnessed by a very beautiful turret-monstrance of 1286 (fig. Int. 4).[19] As often in the Middle Ages, it was a miracle, or the report of a miracle, that secured the abbey's fame. Legend recounts that in 1317 blood gushed

[14] For a guide to the sources relating to Herkenrode, see *Herkenrode: Bronnenwijzer voor het leven in en rond de abdij (12de-20ste eeuw)*. See also *Monasterium Herkenrode*, 4, esp. Beyls 2014; Dury 2014; M. Willems 2014; and Verboven and M. Willems 2014.

[15] See among others Bussels 1964.

[16] Henneau 2012.

[17] See 'Liste nécrologique' 1862; Verwilghen 1953; Henneau 1990; Henneau 1996; Henneau 2006, esp. pp. 161–65; Caluwaerts 2002; and Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008, pp. 43–93, 95–154, 157–332, for a prosopographical and biographical study of the abbey's nuns.

[18] For example, Gerard van Velpen, Henri de Mettecoven, and Henri de Lexhy. See further the Catalogue.

[19] The turret-monstrance of 1286, which was made in Paris of gilded silver, displayed the miraculous host. Following the flight of the nuns at the end of the eighteenth century, it passed through several hands, finally finding refuge, in 1804, in the church of St Quentin in Hasselt; it is currently at the Stadsmus (the Hasselt city museum), inv. no. 1986.0014, 44.5cm × 18.5cm.

from a profaned host in the village of Viversel, near Herkenrode. The parish priest decided to transport the host to the abbey, and after a series of miracles, when the host came into view, the abbey bells began to ring of their own accord, which was taken as a sign that the host should remain with the nuns. The miracle led to the abbey's becoming a place of pilgrimage, the forming of a brotherhood, and the giving of numerous donations; it was also probably the reason for the reconstruction or restoration of the abbey church in the first half of the fourteenth century.[20] In an indulgence letter from Avignon of 6 April 1363, signed by two archbishops and sixteen bishops, Pope Urban V granted a plenary indulgence of forty days for a pilgrimage undertaken to the Blessed Sacrament of the Miracles (fig. Int. 5).[21] The abbey furthermore housed a precious collection of 114 sets of bones (including 47 skulls), which were at Herkenrode until the end of the eighteenth century.[22] These remains, discovered in cemeteries in Cologne, were thought to belong to St Ursula and her companions, who, while on pilgrimage to Rome, were killed by Huns in the same city; the relics of these martyrs

Fig. Int. 5. Letter of indulgence dated 16 April 1363; parchment, silk ribbons, wax (Hasselt, Provinciaal Bibliotheek Limburg, Oude drukken, HS-X-0002).

[20] On the construction of this church, see pp. lxxxiii–xciv.

[21] Hasselt, Provinciaal Bibliotheek Limburg, Fonds Collectie Oude Drukken, HS-X-2002. In 1655, Hilaire d'Awaigne, a monk of Aulne and confessor to the nuns of Herkenrode, published a history of the miraculous host (d'Awaigne 1655). Among the many publications on Herkenrode's miraculous host, see Wolters 1849, esp. pp. 17–38; Bogaerts 1854; Daris 1896b; Daniëls 1932; van Laere 1982; De Dijn 2008, pp. 23–25; and (for references to antiquarian works on the subject) Henneau 2005, esp. p. 641 n. 6, and Denhaene 2006, pp. 157–67, esp. p. 159.

[22] Ceulemans, De Jonghe and Vereecken 1994; Sorber 2010; Van Cleven 2013; and Van Cleven, Reyniers and Ervynck 2019.

were especially prized by female houses, including those of the Cistercian Order. The mystic and stigmatic Elisabeth van Spalbeek (c.1247 – 1304), who was associated with the recognition of these relics as being of the martyrs, died at Herkenrode. The skulls were wrapped in linens and the most luxurious textiles, ranging in date from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[23] The relics were also the object of pilgrimage and the reason for donations. From 1826, they were exhibited at the church of Our Lady in Kermt (near Hasselt), and then transferred, in 1978, to the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre on the site of the former abbey of Herkenrode, and then to the church (now cathedral) of St Quentin in Hasselt (fig. Int. 6).

As noted, the fifteenth century was difficult for Herkenrode, and when Gertrude de Lexhy became abbess (1491–1519), she found the abbey in a lamentable state. Between 1490 and 1509, the abbey suffered further from damage and pillage,[24] and in 1491 Gertrude purchased a building in Hasselt as a refuge, so that the nuns might protect themselves from army rabbles.[25] The abbey's spiritual life was moreover in decline, as in other Cistercian monasteries of the Liège region, and reform had become a necessity. Conditions improved from 1510; Gertrude gradually remedied the house's financial circumstances, re-establishing the smooth functioning of the community and reforming discipline. She was encouraged in these ventures by Prince-Bishop Érard de

Fig. Int. 6 (*above and below*). Relics that arrived at Herkenrode in the fourteenth century, purportedly belonging to St Ursula and her companions, martyred at Cologne (Hasselt, cathedral of St Quentin).

[23] In some cases, there were four or five layers of wrapping.
[24] Particularly in 1509, at the hands of cavalry under the command of the lord of Nassau, governor of Diest (Vlaams-Brabant).
[25] Bamps 1897.

La Marck (1505–1538),[26] who had taken the abbey under his protection. He had the castle at Kuringen rebuilt and refurbished between 1515 and 1524,[27] and regularly spent periods of time there – he was therefore a near neighbour of the abbey. In 1512, Gertrude commissioned new lodgings for the nuns from Conradt van Nurenbergh, *bouwmeester* (architect) to the chapter of the collegiate church of St Servatius in Maastricht (Limburg, Netherlands), who also worked at the church of St Quentin in Hasselt. Between this date and the end of her abbacy, she had both the new abbey church and claustral buildings constructed.

After Gertrude, Mathilde de Lexhy (fig. Int. 7), who took the veil in 1498, at the same time as her sister Marie, became abbess (1520–1548). She continued the ventures and works instigated by her sister, and the abbey's prosperity burgeoned. New contracts were drawn up with Conradt van Nurenbergh in the period 1520–22, for the construction or refurbishment of the conventual buildings: the chapter house, the cloister walkways, refectory, latrines, calefactory, library, infirmary, nuns' lodgings, staircase to the first-floor dorter (which

Fig. Int. 7. *Mathilde de Lexhy*, by an unknown artist, c.1700–10; oil on canvas, 84cm × 66cm (Kuringen, Convent of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, formerly Herkenrode Abbey).

[26] For Érard de La Marck, see the Lichfield catalogue for nIV, scene A.
[27] Daniëls 1923b.
[28] Caluwaerts 2010.
[29] See section III.

Fig. Int. 8. Herkenrode, abbey gatehouse, 1531, seen from the south.

would be refurbished subsequently), and passages between different parts of the cloister and the church. Construction of the monumental gatehouse (fig. Int. 8), a symbol of the abbey's power and an entrance through which pilgrims and visitors were obliged to pass, followed a contract dated 1531, and it bears the arms of Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck and those of the de Lexhy abbess.[28] Further contracts followed, with other craftsmen, for the reconstruction of the refuge in Hasselt (1542–44), the brewery (1545, finished under Abbess Aleyde de Lexhy), and other small service buildings belonging to the abbey. Mathilde de Lexhy brought the works on the abbey church to completion, and above all did a great deal towards its embellishment (see further below). Lastly, she had a new range of buildings constructed for the abbess on a grand scale; her arms, still visible in some of the rooms, bear witness to this (fig. Int. 9a–c). The altar of her private chapel was blessed in 1538, and stained glass from this chapel is now housed in the church of St Giles in Ashtead (Surrey).[29] In 1547, the abbey acquired a further building, in

Fig. Int. 9a–c. Herkenrode, former abbess's quarters: (a) painted vault; (b) vault springing with the arms of Mathilde de Lexhy; (c) vault springing with the arms of Zelighs.

Maastricht (Limburg, Netherlands), to function as a refuge when times were uncertain.[30] In the second half of the sixteenth century, the abbey suffered during the religious troubles between Catholics and Protestants in the principality of Liège,[31] and from the effects of the Dutch War of Independence (1558–1648). This led to a deterioration, once again, of the abbey's financial situation, although Aleyde de Lexhy (abbess 1548–1561), sister of Mathilde and her coadjutress from 1544, was able to have a *herenhuis* (men's house) constructed, which was reserved for priests, chaplains, and probably guests and travellers requiring hospitality. She also had a collection of charters compiled relating to all the assets granted to the abbey since the time of Louis II, count of Loon.

Peace returned with the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621) between the United Provinces and Spain at the start of the seventeenth century, but was interrupted by periods of troubles and pillaging, during which the nuns were compelled to escape to their refuge in Hasselt; another refuge was bought at this time at Sint-Truiden (Limburg, Belgium).[32] A notable figure from later in the century was Abbess Anne-Catherine de Lamboy (1653–1675, fig. Int. 10), who instigated repairs and important refurbishment and construction works at the abbey

Fig. Int. 10.
Anne-Catherine de Lamboy, dated 1658; engraving, 42cm × 17cm (Hasselt, Bibliotheek Hasselt Limburg).

[30] Impe 1979, esp. pp. 174–94; and Caluwaerts 1990, pp. 74–76.
[31] Halkin 1936.
[32] Caluwaerts 1990, pp. 77–78.

Fig. Int. 11. Herkenrode: the farm buildings.

(fig. Int. 11): lodgings for the nuns; a monumental grange (1656), which features Anne-Catherine's arms and motto 'Pie et Provide'; a new infirmary (1658); a new 'sacristy' behind the apse of the abbey church's choir (1661);[33] farm buildings that featured two corner towers (1669); and a covered gallery joining the eastern walk of the cloister and the abbess's quarters (1669–70). She commissioned from geometer Peter Meysman (1669–1685) a complete survey, which came to be contained in a five-volume atlas (fig. Int. 12); this unique document provides precious information on the abbey's properties, and also shows, on two maps dating to 1669 and 1670, the configuration of the abbey buildings at the time.[34]

Fig. Int. 12. Cadastral plan of Herkenrode; 155cm × 197cm (Liège, Archives de l'Évêché, Fonds Herkenrode, Plan Meysman, register GI, 5).

[33] It is also possible that this was a space for devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and it may have replaced a previous structure; two unused tomb vaults were found during the course of the excavations.

[34] For the abbey in the seventeenth century, see among others Grauwels 1982; and R. Rombouts 1982, p. 21. For the different plans of Herkenrode Abbey from the sixteenth century onwards, see Liège, Archives de l'Évêché de Liège, P. Meysman, GI, 5–9; Dury 2014; and M. Willems 2014.

Fig. Int. 13. Remacle Leloup (1694–1746), 'Vue de Labbaïe de herkenrode [...] dans le Comté de Looz', c.1740; drawing, 18cm × 32cm (Liège, Bibliothèque des Croisiers-Chiroux; engraved version produced by Kints Everardus and published in Saumery 1744, between pp. 221 and 222).

The eighteenth century was a period of calm. One description of 1717 attests: '[…] Only aristocratic ladies are received here, and in order to distinguish themselves from other houses of the Order (where nobility does not have to be demonstrated), they wear a black habit. The abbey has an appearance of grandeur, which is not common.'[35] In his work of 1744, Saumery published an engraving of the abbey after a drawing (fig. Int. 13)[36] by Remacle Leloup (1694–1746) and bore witness to the scale of the abbey's grandeur:

> Herkenrode is […] built in the middle of a large wood of tall, mature trees that form various woodland plots; these are separated by magnificent avenues, formed for the most part by eight rows of oak trees that disappear into the distance and are watered by various branches of the River Demer. The same river encircles the abbey and separates its various buildings. This grand agglomeration, which resembles a small town nearly a league in circumference, is an ensemble of Gothic and modern buildings. One enters through a vast low court, which has nothing to recommend it but its solidity. One encounters in a second court a façade one hundred feet long fronting a building designed to be bakehouse and adjacent to a mill […] From there one passes on to the abbesses' quarters […] One then passes along a long glazed corridor that stands beside a large orchard among pretty gardens, and leads

[35] '[…] l'on y reçoit que des demoiselles, qui pour se distinguer des autres maisons de l'ordre, où l'on ne fait pas preuve de noblesse, portent un habit noir. L'abbaye a une apparence de grandeur, qui n'est pas ordinaire.'; Martene and Durand 1717, seconde partie, p. 199.

[36] Liège, Bibliothèque des Croisiers-Chiroux, c.1740, 18cm × 31.5cm; published in engraved form in Saumery 1744, between pp. 221 and 222.

> to the infirmary and the cloister. The plan of the latter consists of two squares, each 140 feet along each side, with vaulted galleries around the edge that provide access to the church, the dormitories, the chapter house, and the refectories […][37]

Life at the abbey changed profoundly over the century: there was more freedom, the manner in which monastic life was conducted evolved, and there was a desire on the part of the nuns to conform to French tastes. Abbess Anne de Croy (1744–1771) therefore conceived a very grand project to transform and rebuild the abbey, which she entrusted to architect Laurent-Benoît Dewez (1731–1812)[38] in 1767–68. Dewez established the then plan of the abbey[39] (fig. Int. 14) and conceived a new one for it, but the works stopped soon afterwards, and only

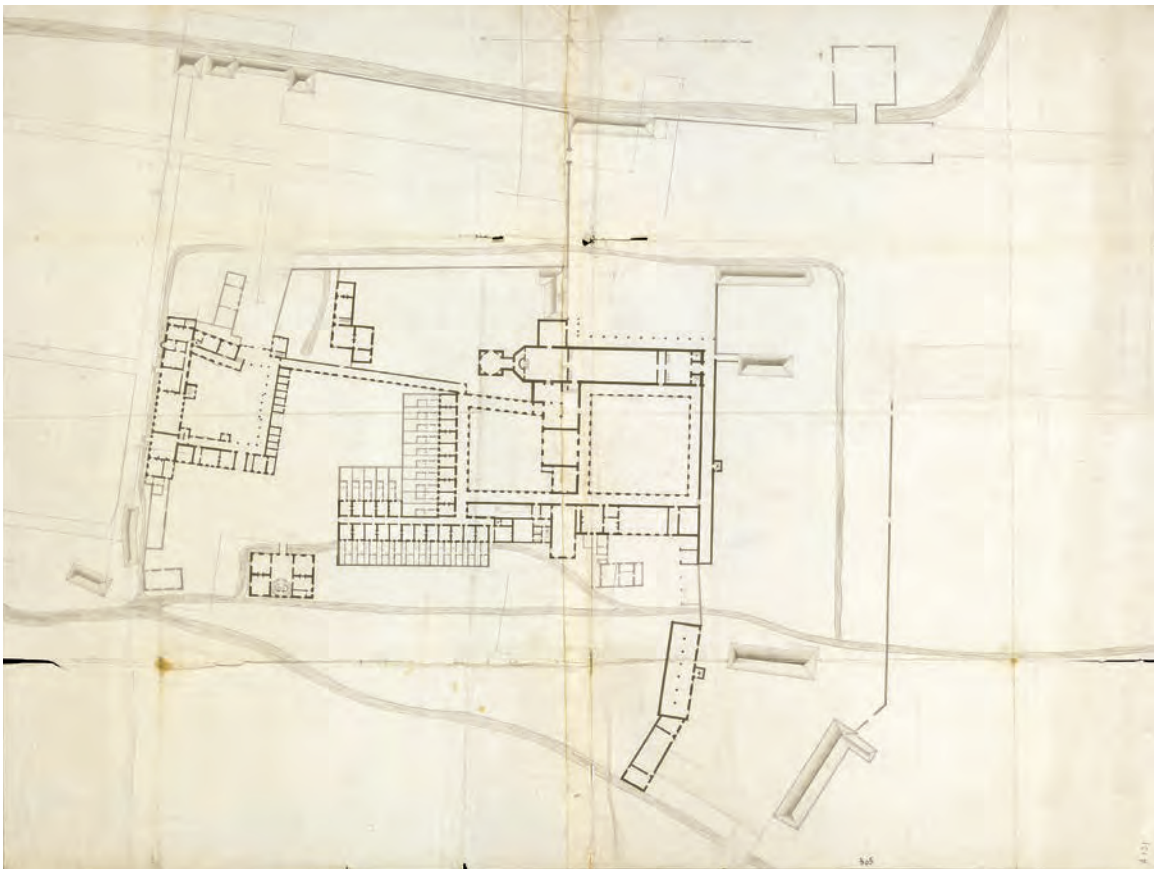


Fig. Int. 14. Laurent-Benoît Dewez, plan of the abbey as it was in 1767–68; 92cm × 123cm (Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, Plans Dewez, no. 305).

[37] 'Herkenrode est […] bâtie au milieu d'un grand Bois de haute futaie qui forme divers plants séparés de magnifiques Avenuës à perte de vûe, formées la plûpart par huit rangs de chênes, & arrosés par divers bras de la Rivière de Demer. Cette même Rivière environne l'Abaïe & en sépare les divers Bâtimens. Ce grand Edifice, qui ressemble à une petite Ville de près d'une lieuë de tour, est un composé de Bâtimens gothiques & modernes : on y entre par une vaste basse Cour qui n'a rien de recommandable que sa solidité. Une seconde Cour présente une façade longue de cent piés, attachée à un Bâtiment destiné à la Boulangerie, & contigu à un Moulin […] De-là on passe au logement des Abbesses […] On passe ensuite un long Corridor vitré qui cotoie un grand Verger acompagné de jolis Jardins, d'où il communique à l'infirmerie & aux Cloîtres. Le plan de ceux-ci consiste en deux quarrés chacun de cent & quarante piés de face, bordés de Galeries voutées qui font la communication de l'Eglise, des Dortoirs, Chapitre & Refectoires […]'; see Saumery 1744, pp. 220–23 (p. 221 for the quotation).

[38] Dewez, who subscribed to the neo-Classical style, constructed or transformed several abbeys in Belgium, including those of Orval (Luxembourg), and Gembloux and Floreffe (Namur). He was named *premier architecte* by the governor of the Austrian Netherlands, Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine, in 1767, and received numerous official commissions, but he fell from favour in 1780 and after that only worked on private commissions. See de Braekeleer 1992.

[39] Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, Fonds Laurent-Benoît Dewez, plan of the abbey no. 305, c.1767–68, 123cm × 92 cm; and de Braekeleer 1992.

Fig. Int. 15. Herkenrode, the abbess's quarters, constructed by Dewez, late eighteenth century.

the new abbess's quarters were built (fig. Int. 15). A little later, Abbess Augustine van Hamme (1772–1790) asked the Liège architect Barthélemy Digneffe (1724–1784)[40] to draw up other plans for a new convent and a new church, but this project never came to fruition (fig. Int. 16). There were also problems: the nobility of the principality of Liège, which had endeavoured in vain, in the second half of the seventeenth century, to transform the Cistercian abbey into a secular chapter for the nobility, attempted the same at the end of the eighteenth century. The majority of the nuns however refused to become a chapter of canonesses: this would have entailed on the abbey an obligation to provide for the *dames de chœur* sixteen sets of quarters fit for the nobility, but also significant revenues for them and their families.[41]

The abbey's real misfortunes began after the French Revolution and the occupation of territory that now forms part of Belgium. In 1791, Joséphine de Grimberghe d'Assche de Gondrecourt became the thirty-third and last abbess of Herkenrode. After the first invasion and French victory over the Austrians at Jemappes (Hainaut) on 6 November 1792, the French Convention Nationale promulgated a decree, on 15 December that year, placing all the assets of religious communities under the protection of the Republic. An inventory of Herkenrode's assets was drawn up on 1 January 1793 by two commissioners from the Republic,[42] but it does not feature the abbey's most precious possessions, which must have been hidden away by the nuns. Soon afterwards, in March 1793, the territory was retaken by the Austrians and Prussians, and everything seemed to return to normal. It was at this point that the steward Pieter Gocy drew up, at the abbess's request, an inventory of the abbey's assets and revenues[43] and copied out the principal acts in the abbatial archives. The extent of the abbey's land holdings outstripped by far that of other abbeys at the period, and Herkenrode was the wealthiest female foundation on the territory of modern-day Belgium. It was also in 1793 that an emigrant, H. Lesage (1757–1832), described the abbey as a particularly pleasant place.[44]

[40] Digneffe worked for the Abbey of St Lawrence in Liège (among others), and for several churches in the same city; see Bouchat 1986, esp. pp. 883–86; and Stiennon 1986, esp. pp. 925–26.

[41] See among others Daniëls 1909; Kwanten 1952; Kwanten 1959; and E. Willems 1960.

[42] Daris 1896a.

[43] Mechelen, Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief, Abdij Herkenrode, Pieter Gocy.

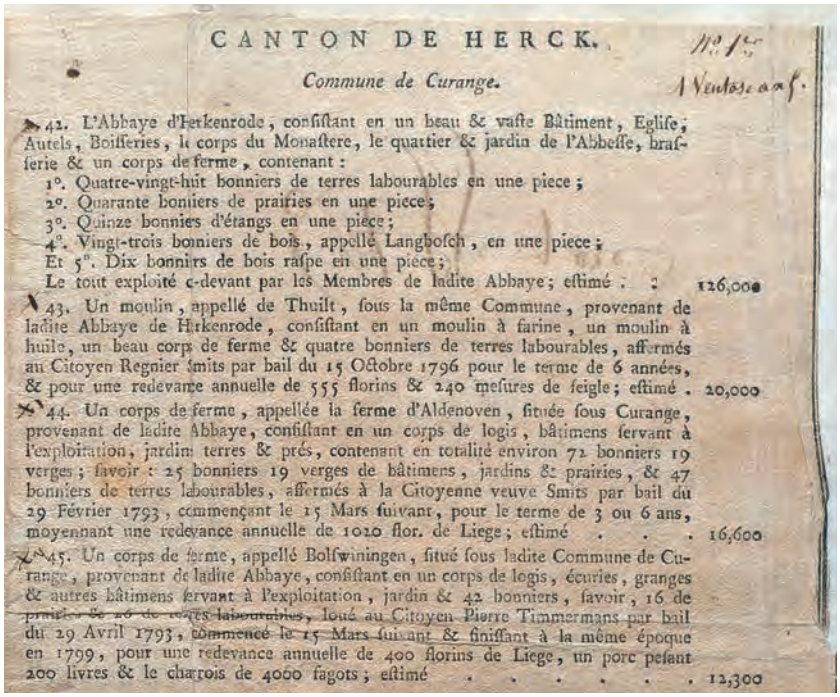
[44] Lesage 1980, esp. pp. 197ff.; and Gerits 1962, pp. 275–77.

Fig. Int. 16. *Augustine Van Hamme*, with Barthélémy Digneffe's elevation for a new convent in the background, by an unknown artist, c.1772–90; oil on canvas, 118cm × 87.5cm (Kuringen, Convent of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, formerly Herkenrode Abbey).

Less than a month after the French renewed their victory over the Austrians, at Fleurus (Hainaut) on 26 June 1794, the Herkenrode community fled to what is now Germany, initially to Ratingen, and then to the castle at Ostendorf (both Nordrhein-Westfalen). On 1 October that year, the former Austrian Netherlands and the principalities of Liège and Stavelot-Malmedy were annexed by France, and Hasselt and Herkenrode Abbey became part of the French *département* of the Meuse-Inférieure, the administrative centre of which was Maastricht (now Limburg, Netherlands). On 1 September 1796, all religious communities were suppressed and their assets confiscated.[45] On 12 December 1796, the nuns were obliged

[45] On the confiscation of the assets of religious communities under the French régime, see for example Ulens 1928. An inventory of the abbey's goods was drawn up in 1796 (Grauwels 1958, esp. pp. 153–54), but this was only of furnishings and it makes no reference to the glass.

to leave their abbey for good, which they did the following day. Herkenrode Abbey was put up for sale on 19 February 1797, and the sale notice specified that it consisted of a very large and beautiful building, a church with altars and woodwork, the abbess's quarters and garden, a brewery, a group of farm buildings, the whole surrounded by water on all sides, cultivable lands, pastures, ponds, woodlands, etc. (fig. Int. 17).[46] The abbey was bought in one lot for the price of 94,500 pounds by Martin Kar of Maastricht, on behalf of six former nuns from Liège convents, using the *bons de retraite* (retirement coupons) issued to them by the state in lieu of pensions. In accordance with an agreement drawn up before the sale, the nuns resold the lot on the same day to Pierre Libotton (1761–1845) and Guillaume Claes (1752–1841)[47] from Hasselt in return for life annuities; Libotton and Claes acquired other religious houses on the same day.[48]



CANTON DE HERCK.

Commune de Curange.

42. L'Abbaye d'Herkenrode, consistant en un beau & vaste Bâtiment, Eglise, Autels, Boiseries, le corps du Monastere, le quartier & jardin de l'Abbesse, brasserie & un corps de ferme, contenant :
1°. Quatre-vingt-huit bonniers de terres labourables en une piece ;
2°. Quarante bonniers de prairies en une piece ;
3°. Quinze bonniers d'étangs en une piece ;
4°. Vingt-trois bonniers de bois, appellé Langbosch, en une piece ;
Et 5°. Dix bonniers de bois raspe en une piece ;
Le tout exploité ci-devant par les Membres de ladite Abbaye ; estimé . . 126,000

43. Un moulin, appellé de Thuilt, sous la même Commune, provenant de ladite Abbaye de Herkenrode, consistant en un moulin à farine, un moulin à huile, un beau corps de ferme & quatre bonniers de terres labourables, affermés au Citoyen Regnier Smits par bail du 15 Octobre 1796 pour le terme de 6 années, & pour une redevance annuelle de 555 florins & 240 mesures de seigle ; estimé . 20,000

44. Un corps de ferme, appellée la ferme d'Aldenoven, située sous Curange, provenant de ladite Abbaye, consistant en un corps de logis, bâtimens servant à l'exploitation, jardin terres & prés, contenant en totalité environ 72 bonniers 19 verges ; savoir : 25 bonniers 19 verges de bâtimens, jardins & prairies, & 47 bonniers de terres labourables, affermés à la Citoyenne veuve Smits par bail du 29 Février 1793, commençant le 15 Mars suivant, pour le terme de 3 ou 6 ans, moyennant une redevance annuelle de 1020 flor. de Liege ; estimé . . . 16,600

45. Un corps de ferme, appellé Bolswiningen, situé sous ladite Commune de Curange, provenant de ladite Abbaye, consistant en un corps de logis, écuries, granges & autres bâtimens servant à l'exploitation, jardin & 42 bonniers, savoir, 16 de prairies & 26 de terres labourables, loué au Citoyen Pierre Timmermans par bail du 29 Avril 1793, commencé le 15 Mars suivant & finissant à la même époque en 1799, pour une redevance annuelle de 400 florins de Liege, un porc pesant 200 livres & le charrois de 4000 fagots ; estimé 12,300

Fig. Int. 17. Sale notice for Herkenrode Abbey, 1797.

At the time of the sale of the abbey, the central administration of the Meuse-Inférieure had reserved the works of art in the abbey church, and the sale contract specified that these would remain the property of the French state. However, a number of ambiguities resulted in long discussions as to the interpretation of the contract, which finished advantageously for Libotton. In 1800, Libotton decided to dispose of some of the movables, but having learnt of this, the subprefect of Hasselt had seals placed on the doors of the church and undertook a new inventory.[49] The same year, it was decided that some movable furnishings could be removed, but the plan does not appear to have been carried out at this time. In 1802 however, Libotton removed the glazing from the abbey church; the process took eleven days and was attended by Sir Brooke Boothby, who purchased the glass and sold it on to Lichfield Cathedral.[50] Having been alerted to the glass's removal, Subprefect Arnoul visited Herkenrode Abbey in person on 13 floréal of year 10 of the French Republic (3 May 1802); when there, he was told that the empty window embrasures would be filled with straw the following day.[51] Arnoul returned the following day to check the arrangements made by Libotton, but deemed them insufficient to protect the works of art in the church;[52] on the same day, he wrote to the Prefect, informing him of what he had done:[53]

[46] Hasselt, Rijksarchief, Registratie en Domeinen, Franse en Hollandse Tijd (1796–1830), n° 79, Affiches van verkopen van domeingoederen, affiche n° 1. See among others Flament 1890, pp. 11–12, esp. 12; Grauwels 1958, esp. p. 154; Paquay 1928; and Mertens 2002.

[47] Libotton and Claes did not however own all of the lands, and those they did not hold were subsequently sold off by the French state; Paquay 1933.

[48] For the history of the abbey, its owners and occupants from 1780, see among others Caluwaerts 2004.

[49] Moons 1998, esp. pp. 185–86; and Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008, esp. p. 153.

[50] See SRO, LD30/6/3/1 (Appendix 4, no. 5, letter from Sir Brooke Boothby offering the Herkenrode glass to Lichfield, 1 June 1802).

[51] For Arnoul's official report of 3 May, see Appendix 3, no. 13.

[52] For Arnoul's official report of 4 May, see Appendix 3, unnumbered document (a).

[53] Appendix 3, no. 11.

> I have just returned from Herkenrode. All the windows, apart from two, have been deprived of their glazing. I was not able to establish whether this loss was the cause of any regret, but I could not fail to see this conduct on the part of Citizen Libotton as a great act of recklessness. While the building remained intact, preservation of the furnishings it contained was sufficiently assured. Since the mutilation undertaken on the orders of this citizen, the safety of the works of art, which were reserved by decree of the prefecture council on 4 fructidor, year 8 [22 August 1800], has been compromised. The straw with which efforts have been made to fill the window openings to replace the glass provides little protection against wrong-doers and the injurious effects of the air. […] Until such time as other measures have been taken by him, an armed guard will be instated in the interior of the church at night. No further change will be made until the monuments have been seen by the eyes of the proprietor (that is you, Citizen Prefect) [...]

The windows were clearly not considered important works of art, and their value lay in their ability to protect the furnishings of the abbey church. The authorities acted swiftly: the subprefecture ruled that very day (4 May 1802) that it was Libotton's responsibility to ensure the safety of works of art belonging to the state, and that the right of assessment of his arrangements lay with the state.[54] Furthermore, the subprefect decreed that Libotton should repair any damage caused to the church and that he was liable for any compensation claims that might arise; the decree was affixed to the abbey church's door.[55] Bamps later recorded a different version of events, noting that Libotton's son related that his father sold the stained glass, as well as the bells, 'to an individual who, abusing the seller's trust, appropriated these objects without paying the price'.[56]

Eventually, in 1803, because he wished to instal machines in the church, Libotton wanted to have all that remained in the way of works of art removed.[57] Some of the movables were transported, at the Republic's expense, to Hasselt, and other items were dispersed by Libotton.[58] Libotton set up a spinning mill in the church and (in 1810) a textile factory in other parts of the abbey. In 1818, he became bankrupt, and sold all his enterprises. It was ultimately Guillaume Claes who became the owner of the whole abbey. He converted Dewez's abbess's quarters into a pleasure home, created a park in the English manner, and developed a large agricultural operation. Together with his son Ulysse (1841–1880), he installed in the abbey buildings one of the first sugar refineries (for refining sugar beet), as well as a genever distillery and a brewery.[59] The church was destroyed in a fire (no doubt a case of arson) in 1826, and its ruins, together with those of several other conventual buildings (which had become dilapidated over time), stood until 1843, when Ulysse had the land levelled. In 1884, part of the former abbess's quarters was demolished by Télémaque Claes (1831–1913, Guillaume's grandson), as restoration of the roof would have proved too costly.[60]

In 1907, the abbey gatehouse was bought back by the state from a descendant of Telemaque Claes and restored, but new damage was caused to it on various occasions, including when the gatehouse was occupied by soldiers during both world wars. In 1972, other descendants of Guillaume Claes sold lands, the park, and the old and new abbess's quarters (of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries) to the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of the priory of Sion at Bilzen (Limburg, Belgium);[61] the infirmary (of 1658) was sold to them at a later date.

[54] Appendix 3, no. 12.
[55] Appendix 3, unnumbered document (b).
[56] Bamps 1874, p. 11 ('à un individu, lequel, abusant de la confiance du vendeur, s'était approprié ces objets sans en payer le prix').
[57] See among others Grauwels 1958, esp. p. 159; and R. Rombouts 1982, esp. pp. 60–62.
[58] Caluwaerts 2004, esp. pp. 15–16.
[59] See among others Mertens 2006, esp. pp. 542–43.
[60] For biographies of the Claes and Libotton families, as well as their involvement with Herkenrode Abbey, see among others Caluwaerts 2004, esp. pp. 11–43.
[61] This is the female branch of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which has its origins in a chapter of canons created in 1099 by Godfrey of Bouillon in Jerusalem to be of service to the Church and the Holy Sepulchre. See among others De Dijn 1986, pp. 35–37.

In 1974, after decades of negotiations, a royal decree designated the abbey and some parcels of land that had belonged to it a historical monument and site. In 1982, the canonesses acquired more of the remaining conventual buildings. They envisaged having built, on the site of the former abbess's quarters, a new and more suitable convent, and a little later they commissioned the Studiegroep Haeldewijn to consider not only this, but also the upgrading of the former abbey site and the conservation/restoration of their abbey buildings.[62] In 1998, the Flemish Region bought the remaining buildings that did not belong to the canonesses, as well as large amounts of land,[63] and ordered archaeological excavations.[64] Since then,

Fig. Int. 18. Plan of Herkenrode Abbey at the end of the eighteenth century, indicating the locations of the extant portions: 1, gatehouse; 2, farmer's lodging; 3, farm buildings; 4, grange; 5, men's quarters; 6, abbey church; 7, sacristy; 8, cloister, with (9a) chapter house and (9b) refectory; 10, nuns' lodgings and old infirmary; 11, seventeenth-century infirmary; 12, former abbess's quarters; 13, new abbess's quarters (end of the eighteenth century); 14, school; 15, stables; 16, crafts area; 17, fishery; 18, water-mill; 19, bakery; 20, brewery.

[62] De Dijn 1982.

[63] The following year, these acquisitions were ceded on a very long-term lease to the Erfgoed Vlaanderen foundation (which has since become Herita), on condition that the latter restore the buildings and present the site to its best advantage in collaboration with a not-for-profit organization called 'Herkenrode'.

large-scale restoration works have rehabilitated the abbey's remains, and the whole site has been promoted as a tourist destination.[65] Since 2001, the site has also been affiliated to the European Charter of Cistercian Abbeys and Sites, an international organization in charge of tourism to Cistercian sites (fig. Int. 18).[66]

The layout of the abbey buildings over the centuries is therefore known, at least in part, from archival and bibliographical sources; archaeology; cadastral plans that show the positions of the abbey's various buildings, principally those of Peter Meysman (1669–1670) and Laurent-Benoît Dewez (1767–1768); and early iconographic sources, particularly the engraving after a drawing by Remacle Leloup, published in Saumery's work (fig. Int. I.13). Parts of the former abbey dating to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still stand: the gatehouse of 1531, which, as noted, bears the arms of Érard de La Marck and Mathilde de Lexhy; the old infirmary (1547–50); part of the abbess's quarters of the sixteenth century, where the abbess's arms survive on shields on the springings of the vaults (fig. Int. 9a–c); part of the nuns' quarters from the start of the seventeenth century; as well as the 'sacristy' (1661), infirmary (1658), and monumental grange (1656), which features the arms and the motto of Abbess Anne-Catherine de Lamboy. The 'castle' (fig. Int. 15), the abbess's residence constructed by Dewez, is the only witness to the vast modernization plan drawn up in 1768 for Abbess Anne de Croy (1744–1771). Finally, substantial buildings survive from the abbey's farm, as well as various other small buildings.

The Abbey Church and Its Decoration

The churches of female Cistercian houses were subject, like those of male houses, to certain constraints. Different groups – nuns, lay sisters, lay brothers, and lay people not affiliated to the abbey – had to be able to participate in the same services without rubbing shoulders, and to gain access to the church by separate routes. The nuns could either be placed on a different level from the other groups, or – as at Herkenrode in the sixteenth century – the building could be compartmented on one level by means of enclosures that separated the different categories of the faithful; the presbytery, where the priest officiated, was in any event separate from all these other spaces. The different areas so created necessitated the presence of several altars. As with male Cistercian houses, the abbey churches of the female houses did not have a fixed plan, and at Herkenrode, the abbey church's function as a dynastic necropolis does not appear to have had an impact on the building's layout,[67] at least for the sixteenth century.

We know nothing of the church that existed at the abbey in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[68] The oldest known representation of the abbey church appears in the 1363 letter of

[64] A brief excavation took place in 1973. There were further excavations in 2004–2005, carried out under the direction of M. Smeets and the aegises of the Stichting Erfgoed Vlaanderen V.Z.W. and the Vlaams Instituut voor het Onroerend Erfgoed (VIOE); see Impe 1979, esp. pp. 167, 172–73; M. Smeets 2005b; M. Smeets 2006; M. Smeets 2007; and M. Smeets 2014. Archaeologists have ascertained several extensive building campaigns. A first phase dates to before the official foundation of the abbey and its early years (twelfth and early thirteenth centuries); a second phase lasts from the second quarter of the thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth century, and corresponds to the period of expansion that resulted from pilgrimages and the community's increasing wealth; a third long phase can be divided into three stages – the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. After this, we are dealing mainly with destruction phases.

[65] Thanks to the partnership of the Flemish Region (Natuur en Bos department), the not-for-profit organizations Herita and Herkenrode, and the city of Hasselt.

[66] See the file on Herkenrode in the archives of the Agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed in Hasselt (DL 149, 'Hasselt (Kuringen). Abdij van Herkenrode'). See also Agentschap Onroerend Erfgoed 2016: Abdij van Herkenrode; Van Lishout 2002; and Berx, Reymen and Ilsen 2004, esp. pp. 45–58.

[67] For female Cistercian houses and an architectural overview of female houses in the former Low Countries and the principality of Liège, see among others Dimier 1974; Pieteraerens 1999; Kosch 2001, esp. pp. 21–24; Coomans 2004; Coomans 2005a, esp. pp. 96–98; Coomans 2005b; and Coomans 2006.

[68] The abbey's bells are said to have rung when the host arrived in 1317, so presumably it had a bellcote. See among others J. Rombouts 2002, p. 112.

indulgence from Pope Urban V, in which a procession of the Blessed Sacrament of the Miracles is represented in front of the abbey church (fig. Int. 19).[69] It is here depicted as an aisleless nave, with six tall, two-light windows; running along the south side is a low gallery entered through a door at each end, with five bays of windows between. Also on the south side is a chapel, a sort of low transept that reaches up to the level of the windows, whose south wall is pierced with a two-light window surmounted by a small rose window; a very shallow annex is seen on the east side of the chapel. Three faces of the apse wall are also visible, featuring windows with semicircular heads, and two crosses and a bellcote rise up on the roof. This church cannot have been vaulted (there are no buttresses), but would have been covered by a ceiling.[70] According to tradition, it was supposedly built by Béatrice de Lobosch (1341–1354), but it is probably Abbess Margareta van Stein (1303–1333) who should be credited with this new construction:[71] it was during her abbacy that the miraculous host arrived at Herkenrode (1317), and construction of the new church may have been connected with this. In 1321, Arnold V, count of Loon 1279–1323, paid for a chapel in honour of St John to be built at the abbey church[72] – yet he was not buried there, but at Averbode Abbey; it is therefore possible that the new abbey church was not yet complete at this date. More than one hypothesis has been put forward concerning the placement of this fourteenth-century building: perpendicular to the sixteenth-century abbey church,[73] or on the same alignment.[74] In the latter case, the church would have included a chapel on the north side and would have measured about 40m × 8m.

One of the scenes from the later abbey church's sixteenth-century glazing includes a reminder of the appearance of the fourteenth-century abbey church, which is depicted behind the crozier and arms of Béatrice de Lobosch, to whom the then new construction was traditionally attributed (fig. Int. 20; Lichfield Cathedral, nIII, scene A, dated 1532). In this

Fig. Int. 19. Letter of indulgence dated 16 April 1363, detail of the abbey church (cf. fig. Int. 5)

Fig. Int. 20.
Lichfield Cathedral, nIII, scene A:
depiction of the former abbey church at Herkenrode.

[69] See Daniëls 1923a; Impe 1979, esp. pp. 170–72; Gancedo, Reicher and Wouters 1993; and Caluwaerts 2012.
[70] Some believe that this is in fact a mirror view of the church, and that the low gallery is one of the cloister walks seen from the north; M. Smeets 2007, p. 40.
[71] M. Smeets 2007, esp. p. 39; and M. Smeets 2014, pp. 16–17.
[72] Daris 1874, pp. 22–23.
[73] Waegeman 2012a; and M. Willems 2012.
[74] M. Smeets 2007, esp. pp. 36, 40.

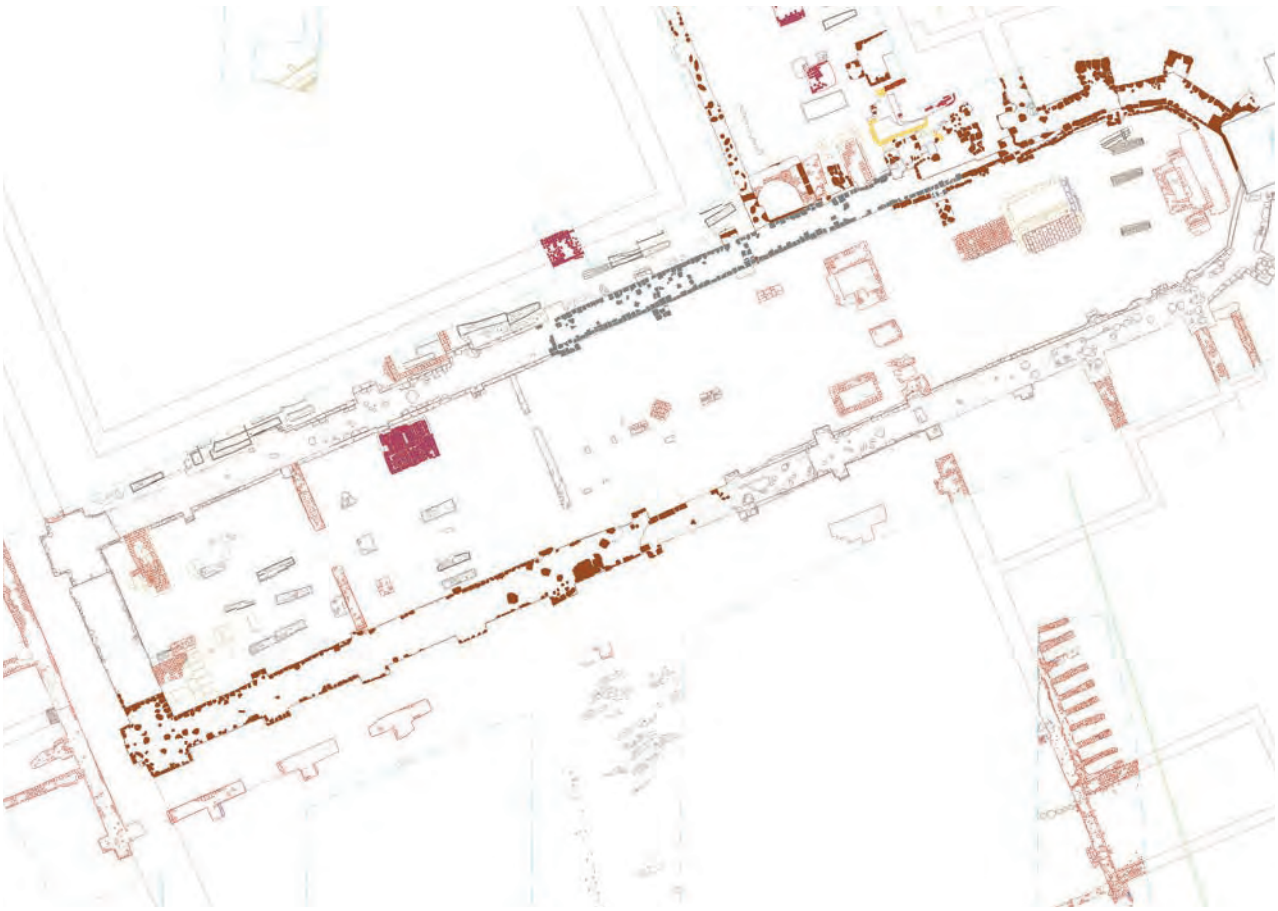


Fig. Int. 21. Herkenrode, abbey church: archaeological plan by M. Smeets and M. Willems.

representation, above the low gallery, which has a single door at the west end and four bays with semicircular-headed windows, three bays of nave windows are visible, with a central circular tracery form in the heads of the windows. The south end of the south chapel (which here is much higher than in the depiction in the letter of indulgence) is lit by two bays of windows with a rose window above. Three faces of the apse wall can be seen, featuring the same window type as seen in the south chapel. Small buttresses support the lower part of the gallery wall, and others the massive lower walls of the south chapel and choir. The choir windows are of the same height as those of the nave, which was surely not the case in the sixteenth-century abbey church, which also had a longer nave. A bellcote rises above from the roof at the west end.

Our knowledge of the sixteenth-century works on the abbey church (which, as noted, was destroyed by fire in 1826 and razed in 1843) comes to us mainly through surviving contracts. It was seen above that Abbess Gertrude de Lexhy (fig. Int. 21) engaged Conradt van Nurenbergh in 1512 to construct new lodgings for the nuns.[75] Work on the abbey church must also have begun, because a contract dated 7 March 1521 between Conradt and Gertrude's successor, Abbess Mathilde de Lexhy, mentions a 'new' church (which therefore must have already existed) and an 'old' church, parts of which were used either for the new nave or, more probably (according to recent publications), for the northern chapel.[76] The previous year, Mathilde

[75] Impe 1979, esp. pp. 165–228; and *Monasterium Herkenrode*, 3, 2012, esp. Waegeman 2012a and M. Willems 2012.

[76] '[...] maken sal ende continueren sal die alde kercke staende tusschen die groote nieu kercke ende dat nieu capittelhuys [...]' ('[…] shall make good and continue the old church, which is situated between the new church and the chapter house […]'); see Impe 1979, p. 178. See further M. Smeets 2007, p. 40; M. Willems 2012, esp. pp. 61–66; and Waegeman 2012a, esp. pp. 20–26.

Fig. Int. 22. Drawing by Remacle Leloup: detail of the abbey church at Herkenrode (cf. fig. Int. 13).

had signed a contract for the tomb of Abbess Gertrude de Lexhy, who had died a year earlier – a sign that the choir was ready, or nearly ready, to receive it. The area between the church and the chapter house seems to have been an important circulation space, from which it was possible to reach the church, the cloister, the rooms used by the community, the nuns' lodgings, the infirmary, and the abbess's quarters.[77] According to a contract dated 16 January 1522, Conradt van Nurenbergh was further required to construct, in addition to a gallery that would allow direct access from the infirmary to the church, a large façade, with a window (which would be glazed) like that in the chapter house, a carved image of the Virgin, and an armorial shield.[78]

The engraving after the drawing by Remacle Leloup (fig. Int. 22) published in Saumery's work depicts the abbey church in the form it had supposedly achieved in the early sixteenth century. It has eight windows in the nave (one of them not shown) separated by buttresses; the ground-level gallery running along the south side has the same number of bays. The choir is not visible, but the south chapel is, as is a small building attached to it to the east. Two bellcotes rise from the roof, one at the west end and the other (taller) one at the point of the 'crossing'. Saumery's representation of the windows needs to be treated circumspectly however, in as much as they are shown to consist of two lights, whereas the windows conserved at Lichfield are three panels wide, and there is nothing to lead one to suppose that there may have been a modification at any point. Neither of the cadastral plans that includes a representation of the abbey – that of Peter Meysman (1669–70, fig. Int. 12),[79] and that in the *Inleijdinge of Cort Begryp tot ware kennisse der origineele charters, stipalboeken ende voordere documenten* […][80] (c.1791–93) – is very precise in its depiction of the church. The plan executed by Dewez in 1767–68 of the abbey as it was then clearly shows the ecclesial space (fig. Int. 14):[81] the lateral chapels, and a nave, where the nuns' choir was situated, separated from the liturgical choir and the area to the west of it. To the east, the remains of the walls of the apse, in Gobertange stone with foundations of reused ferruginous stone, were partly uncovered in 1973,[82] and later excavations (particularly the most recent ones of 2004–2005)[83]

[77] M. Willems 2012, esp. pp. 62–66.

[78] Impe 1979, pp. 178–81; and Waegeman 2012a, p. 29.

[79] Liège, Archives de l'Évêché de Liège, P. Meysman, GI, 5, folio A.

[80] Mechelen, Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief, Abdij Herkenrode, Pieter Gocy. The *Inleijdinge* dates to 1793, but the plan is older than the text.

[81] Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, Fonds Laurent-Benoît Dewez, plan of the abbey no. 305, c.1767–68, 123cm × 92 cm.

[82] Impe 1979, esp. pp. 172–73.

[83] M. Smeets 2005a, 2005b, 2007, and 2014. We are also grateful to L. Van Impe, M. Willems, and M. Smeets for the information they have so generously shared with us.

Fig. Int. 23. View from above of the excavated abbey church, with outlines highlighted.

confirm Dewez's plan, as well as the antiquarian descriptions, even if certain details remain unclear.

Internally, the church (fig. Int. 23) measured 64m in length and 10m in width. The presbytery (liturgical choir), consisting of a five-sided apse and two straight bays, housed the high altar, the tomb of the presumed founder, and other tombs;[84] from here there was access to a small building of unknown function to the east. The presbytery was separated from the lateral chapels. The nave, which was supported by internal and external buttresses spaced c.4.7m from one another (with some exceptions), was of eight bays, the six easternmost of which formed the nuns' choir, and the two westernmost of which were probably intended for lay people. According to Saumery's mid-eighteenth century description (see below), the presbytery was separated from the nuns' choir by a colonnade of black and white marble; two altars, clearly visible in Dewez's plan of the later eighteenth century, stood against this colonnade. The nuns' choir was separated from the two westernmost bays by a screen or an organ tribune (excavations have revealed the bases of three pillars apparently intended to support this structure). The north chapel, from which there was direct access from the cloister and a view of the choir,[85] may have served as a space for private prayer for the community, and also as an area from which the lay sisters might follow services, as is the case in some other Cistercian churches.[86] According to the surviving archaeological remains, this chapel stood against three straight bays (the second, third, and fourth bays counting from the axial bay) on the north side. To the south, the chapel was probably an oratory to which access was gained through the low gallery on that side; together with the annex on its east side, it stood against the first three straight bays on this side of the abbey church. Finally, the 'sacristy' (which survives and is 5m high) adjoined the eastern face of the apse, built in the seventeenth century on the site of the small

[84] 'Le tombeau de Gerard de Looz fondateur du monastere, est devant l'autel; & dans le chœur, celui de l'abbesse qui a fait faire l'autel, qui est un chef d'œuvre.' ('The tomb of Gerard de Loon, founder of the monastery, is before the altar; and in the choir is that of the abbess who commissioned the altar, which is a masterpiece.'); Martene and Durand 1717, seconde partie, p. 199.

[85] According to M. Willems (2012, esp. pp. 61–66) and Waegeman (2012a, esp. pp. 20–26), this chapel may have stood on the site of the choir of the earlier building.

[86] Saumery (1744, esp. pp. 221–22) only mentions the nuns' choir. See also Bolly and J.-B. Lefèvre 1990, esp. pp. 209–227. In Cistercian churches, lay sisters could be seated in the transept or the first lateral chapel; this was the case, for example, at La Cambre Abbey (Brussels). In La Paix-Dieu Abbey (Liège province) on the other hand, lay sisters occupied the western part of the nave, and the monks had an oratory in the southern arm of the transept (at La Paix-Dieu, the cloister was located to the south of the church); guests and visitors could follow the offices in the chapel sited in the northern arm of the transept. See Boulez 2016, esp. pp. 73–98. Within any particular house however arrangements around the reservation of different spaces may have changed over time, and the situation needs to be assessed on a case by case basis, over time.

building mentioned. The nuns gained access to the church from the cloister, through the northern chapel, and via a door next to the northern altar within their choir. An entrance at the west end of the church gave access to the first two bays of the nave, and the gallery that ran along the southern wall terminated at the southern chapel.

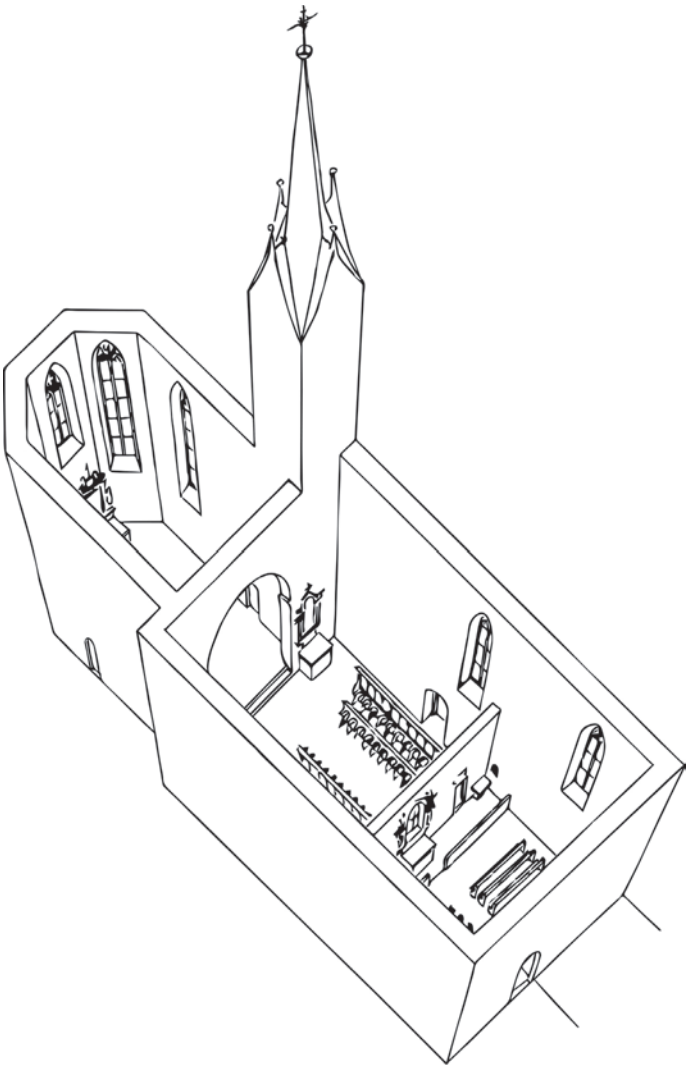


Fig. Int. 24. Wurmsbach, Cistercian abbey: reconstruction of the abbey church, c.1600. After Sennhauser 1990, p. 327.

The plan and organization of the sixteenth-century abbey church at Herkenrode is not uncommon for female Cistercian houses (fig. Int. 24),[87] and the building must have been sufficiently spacious to accommodate the pilgrims who converged to benefit from proximity to the relics there: the miraculous host (which would have been exposed in the liturgical choir) and the skulls of the companions of St Ursula of Cologne (whose location within the abbey church is not known). Among Cistercian abbeys, some of them in the Low Countries, there are examples of churches consisting of an apse and one or two straight bays, one or two chapels (rather than a true transept), and an aisleless nave. One might point in particular to the abbey church of La Cambre in Brussels, founded in c.1200 and rebuilt from 1340 onwards (fig. Int. 25). It consisted of a choir with five-sided apse and two straight bays to the west, as well as a nave of seven bays (the westernmost originally being separated from the others), and two chapels, one to the south (parts of which date to the thirteenth century) and one to the north (of the fifteenth century), both separate from the choir used by the nuns. The chapels here had specific functions: that on the south was an oratory used for the lay sisters, who gained access to it from the cloister, and that on the north was an oratory accessible to the public and not linked to the choir enclosure. One might also mention the church of Vrouwenpark Abbey[88] in Rotselaar (Vlaams-Brabant), founded shortly before 1215; the church was built after 1266 and had a choir with a five-sided apse and one straight bay, an aisleless nave (probably vaulted) of seven or eight bays, one or two chapels, a gallery on the north side, and a bellcote at the 'crossing'.

While it was Gertrude de Lexhy who instigated reconstruction of the abbey church at Herkenrode, it was Abbess Mathilde de Lexhy (1520–1548) who commissioned numerous works of art for it (in addition to the windows, which will be discussed below), as is witnessed by various contracts.[89] The abbess had collected together the remains of Gérard II, count of

[87] See Dimier 1949 and 1967 (I–II); Sennhauser et al. 1990, p. 327; Pieteraerens 1999; Coomans 2000; Coomans 2005b, esp. pp. 87–113; and Brion 2010.

[88] Minnen, Claes and Hooft 2000; and Minnen 2005.

[89] For some of the architectural works and the furnishings for which contracts survive, see *Monasterium Herkenrode*, 3, 2012. For the furnishings and liturgical objects, see also Selfslagh 1987, esp. pp. 49–129 and the related appendices.

Fig. Int. 25. Brussels, La Cambre, church of Notre-Dame (former abbey church): interior.

Loon, and of his wife Adelaïde of Guelders and their eight children into a funerary monument in marble and copper that she had placed in the choir of the new abbey church. She also commissioned a clock and bells,[90] an organ,[91] sculptures, ceramics, textiles,[92] metalwork,[93] pictures, and manuscripts.

Some of these works merit closer attention here, as they bear witness to a taste for the new style coming from Italy, which was interpreted in various ways by artists of the former Low Countries and also had repercussions for the stained glass. In 1532 (which is also the earliest date to feature in the extant stained glass from the abbey church), Mathilde commissioned

[90] In 1526, Mathilde de Lexhy commissioned a new clock for the tower of the abbey church, and the founding of two new bells; see Waegeman 2012b; and Forgeur and Papeleux 1968, p. 286.

[91] The making of a new organ was entrusted to Jan Verrijt in a contract of 1 March 1522; the instrument was to be installed in the old organ case in 1523. This organ (or its replacement) was replaced under Abbess Anne de Croy (1744–1772) with a new instrument from the Liège organ-maker Jean-Baptiste Le Picard in 1746–47. Sir Brooke Boothby, who bought the windows for Lichfield Cathedral, had also suggested to Lichfield that it purchase the organ, but in the end it was bought in 1804 by the church of St Michael in Leuven, and unfortunately destroyed during a bombardment in 1944. See SRO, LD30/6/3/1 letter from Sir Brooke Boothby offering the Herkenrode glass to Lichfield, 1 June 1802 (Appendix 4, no. 5); Lemmens 2012; and Grauwels 1964.

[92] Mathilde de Lexhy commissioned various textiles for liturgical use, including complete sets of vestments (chasubles, dalmatics, tunics, choir copes, amices, albs, stoles) embroidered with sacred scenes and saints; vestments for funerals; altar frontals; and a processional canopy. She commissioned these from a member of her family, the Brussels broiderer Paulus van Horn, and Paulus van Malsen from Antwerp. Some of these liturgical ornaments bear the arms or initials of Mathilde or Aleyde de Lexhy. These rich embroideries are currently housed mainly in the Musée d'Art religieux et d'Art mosan in Liège and in the Stadsmus in Hasselt. See P. Lefèvre 1965; Forgeur and Papeleux 1968; Delmarcel 1982; Montulet-Henneau 1990a, pp. 88–89; Sorber 2012; and Waegeman 2012a, pp. 47–50.

[93] Reliquaries were commissioned in 1547 from the Mechelen goldsmith Jan Vermeulen; P. Lefèvre 1927. See also Waegeman 2012a, pp. 51–52.

a superb Renaissance maiolica pavement (fig. Int. 26) from Guido Andries of Antwerp, with Peter Frans acting as intermediary, with a view to its being delivered in time for Easter the following year. Fortunately, more than 500 tiles of this were purchased in 1888 from Télémaque Claes by the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels.[94] The pavement bears decorative patterns, each of which is spread across five tiles; the central tile is decorated in the Italianate manner, generally with a bust, while the four hexagonal surrounding tiles bear ornamental motifs. Among the many liturgical ornaments commissioned by Mathilde was an altar frontal (1528–29, fig. Int. 27, in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, since 1911) executed by Paulus van Malsen (of Antwerp) with a representation of the Last Supper flanked by allegories of the Old and the New Law (Synagoga and Ecclesia); it was initially intended to include sibyls and feature Mathilde's arms.[95] The Last Supper is surrounded by a foliate garland with ribbons, in the antique manner, and for its iconography two works by the Master of the Groote Adoration

Fig. Int. 26. Pavement produced in Antwerp for the abbey church at Herkenrode (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. no. 2878).

Fig. Int. 27. Antependium commissioned by Mathilde de Lexhy and produced by Paulus van Malsen of Antwerp, 1528–29 (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. no. TX1391).

[94] Inv. no. 2878. See Nicaise 1935; Coenen 1952; Dumortier 1985; Dumortier 2003, esp. pp. 220–26; and Waegeman 2012a, pp. 32–35. Guido Andries or di Savino established the reputation of Antwerp majolica in the 16th century. He settled in Antwerp before 1508, acquired several properties in the city, including a building that housed a dyeing works or dye manufactury, which he sold on in 1529 to Peter Frans, who was awarded the contract for the paving at Herkenrode Abbey. Andries's studio, 'Den Salm', provided works in majolica for princes and high dignitaries such as Philip of Burgundy (1465–1524), illegitimate son of Philip the Good. See also Dumortier 2002, esp. pp. 15–24.

[95] Inv. no. TX1391. For the antependium, see in particular P. Lefèvre 1965; Delmarcel 1982; Delmarcel 1984; and Delmarcel 1989.

Fig. Int. 28. Stokrooie, church of St Amand: Lambert Lombard (1506–1566), *Judith and the Head of Holofernes*, from the *Femmes illustres* series, 1541–60, commissioned for Herkenrode Abbey; oil on canvas, 133cm × 187cm.

– in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York – may serve as comparanda.[96] The garland decoration, together with the initial choice of sibyls and the type of crimson velvet used, are indicative of the abbess's modern taste for Italian art.

This predilection for the new style and for humanism is even more apparent in the paintings that the abbess commissioned from the eminent Liège painter Lambert Lombard (1506–1566) representing Virtuous Women (fig. Int. 28).[97] They were executed for Herkenrode Abbey in 1547–48 and are now in Liège (Musée de l'art wallon) and Stokrooie (Limburg, Belgium, church of St Amand), but it is not known exactly where in the abbey these canvases were displayed. The eight women represented prefigure the salvific role of the Virgin and are utterly in keeping with the humanist spirit and the controversy surrounding women and their access to knowledge. Perhaps the abbess was familiar with the works of Christine de Pizan (whose *Livre de la Cité des Dames* ('Book of the City of Ladies') was translated into Flemish in 1475), Boccacio, and other authors; she was perhaps also influenced by the humanist milieu of Érard de La Marck, 'where it was said all the same, following on from Erasmus, that knowledge led to virtue, even for women'.[98]

[96] Inv. nos. 6908 and 17.190.18a-c respectively.

[97] For the most recent overview of Lambert Lombard, see Denhaene 2006. The Virtuous Women were restored by the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage and were the focus of an exhibition in 2006; see in particular Montulet-Henneau 1990a, p. 78; Oger 2006; and Marie-Elisabeth Henneau, in Denhaene 2006, esp. pp. 164–65, with bibliography. See also Vasselin 1994.

[98] Henneau 2006, p. 164 ('où il se dit tout de même, à la suite d'Erasme, que la connaissance mène à la vertu, même pour les femmes.').

One final example of an extant work imbued with the new style and commissioned by Mathilde de Lexhy is a two-volume antiphonary commissioned in 1544 from Boudewijn van Rensmen at Aulne Abbey (fig. Int. 29); he received the final payment for his work in 1548.[99] Folio 2 of the first volume bears a depiction of the Lactation of St Bernard, an eminently Cistercian theme that is also found in Herkenrode glazing now at Lichfield Cathedral. The decorative framing includes in the lower border the bust of a woman in a medallion, which has been identified as Mathilde de Lexhy (though this seems unlikely on account of her dress); the medallion is flanked by two lozenge-shaped shields held by angels (each quarterly, 1 de Lexhy, 2 Pickaerts, 3 de Hamal, 4 *Argent three pallets retracted issuant from the base gules in chief three martlets sable*, for a female forebear linked by marriage to the Pickaerts family). Both the vignette of the Lactation, with its architectural setting, and the borders, with bust medallions and decorative elements, bear witness to new artistic trends rather than tradition.[100]

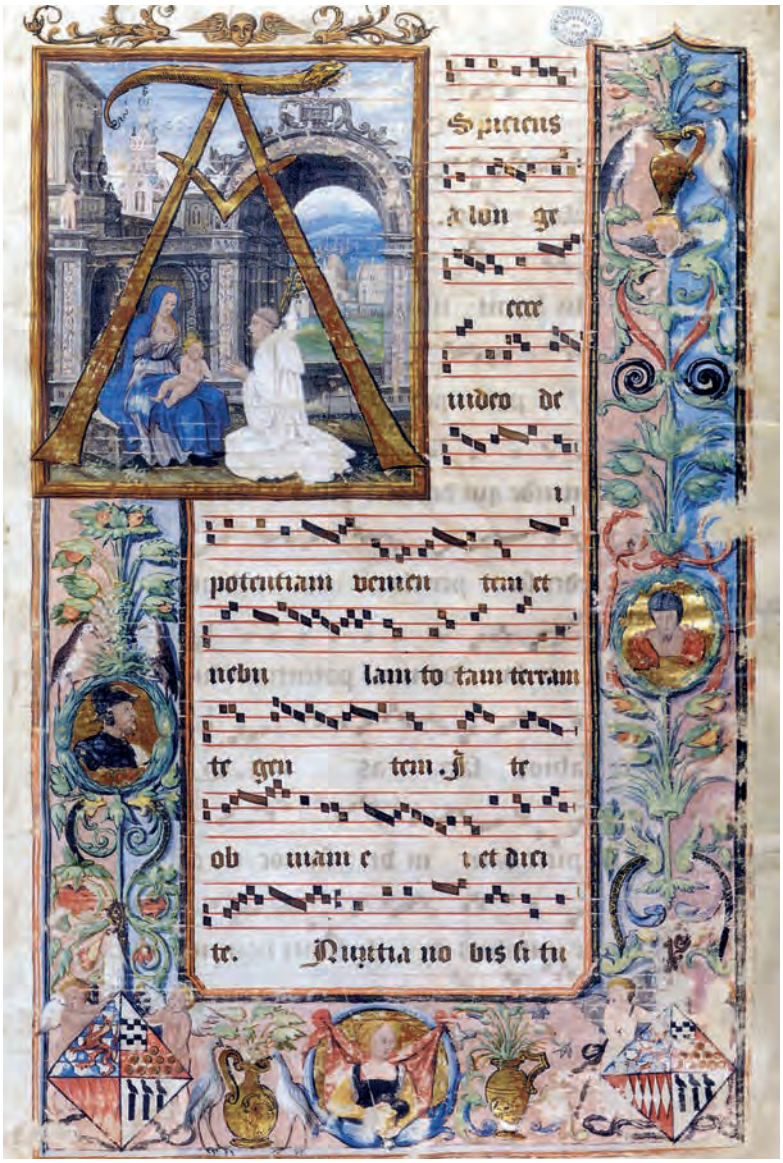


Fig. Int. 29. The Lactation of St Bernard in an antiphonary from Herkenrode, 1544–48 (Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani (KY, USA), Dom Edmond Obrecht Collection, Obrecht MS 122, f.2).

[99] Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani (KY, USA), Dom Edmond Obrecht Collection, MSS 122 and 164. See Wolf 1937, pp. 174–75 and pl. XXXV; Mareck 1978, pp. 17–19; Forgeur 1986; and Erwin and Steuer 2012.

[100] A missal of Herkenrode provenance is also preserved in the John F. Lewis Collection of the Public Library in Philadelphia (PA, USA). This was probably given to Herkenrode Abbey c.1547, on the occasion that Catherine (1532–1576), daughter of Jean de Falloize and Marguerite de Krekenbeeck, entered the abbey.

Aleyde de Lexhy (abbess 1548–1561), who succeeded Mathilde as abbess, commissioned further significant works for the abbey church – metalwork,[101] liturgical ornaments, and, notably, the stalls.[102] The richness of the church's furnishings was further increased by succeeding abbesses, especially Anne-Catherine de Lamboy (abbess 1653–75), who was also responsible for a range of building works (see above). She commissioned a monumental high altar that also functioned as a setting for the monstrance containing the miraculous host.[103] The altar was transported in 1803 to the church of Our Lady in Hasselt (now the Virga Jesse Basilica), where two magnificent tombs from Herkenrode taken there in the same year survive, those of abbesses Anne-Catherine de Lamboy (commissioned from Artus Quellinus the Elder in 1668 and finished in 1674 by Artus Quellinus the Younger (1625–1700)), and Barbe de Rivière d'Aarschot (1728–44) (executed by Ignace Kerricx (1682–1745)).[104]

In 1744, Saumery bears witness to the church's sumptuousness in the middle of the eighteenth century:[105]

> Though built in the Gothic style, the church can pass for beautiful, even without taking its ornaments into account. The nave is cruciform, 145 feet in length, and two spires rise above, one over the portal, the other situated at the centre of the crossing. The interior of the main body of the church is separated into two parts by a magnificent colonnade in black and white Italian marble. The eastern part, which serves as the nuns' choir, is paved with marble, and has fine pictures in the panelling. The stalls are sculpted and depict various episodes from the Old and New Testaments; two altars in black and white marble standing against the colonnade complete the decoration of this part.

[101] In particular a new monstrance for the miraculous host, in 1533. See among others Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008, p. 123.

[102] As noted by Saumery, these stalls (some of which survive in the church of St Quentin in Hasselt and the Diocesan Museum at Namur) bore bas-reliefs with episodes from the New Testament and figures from the Old Testament. See Martene and Durand 1717, seconde partie, p. 199; Saumery 1774, p. 222; and Henneau 2006, esp. pp. 161–65. For the three stalls in store at the Société archéologique de Namur and temporarily on loan to the Diocesan Museum at Namur, see Lefftz and Patriarche 2010. Aleyde de Lexhy also commissioned manuscripts: the copper clasps of the binding of a chartulary commissioned by her bear her arms; Liège, Archives de l'Évêché de Liège, GI, 1, 'Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Herkenrode I' (1213–1521). See Daris 1870; Daris 1871a; Daris 1872; and P. Lefèvre 1970.

[103] Artus Quellinus the Elder (1609–1668) produced a design for it, but the commission was finally awarded to the sculptor Jean Delcour (1631–1707). This altar, which is signed by the artist, was brought to completion under Abbess Claude de Mérode (1675–1702) by 1694 at the latest. For Jean Delcour, see Lefftz 2007, esp. pp. 132–33 and 166.

[104] The same church used to house the pulpit from Herkenrode, donated by Ludgarde de Borggraeve and executed by Delcour in 1699; this was destroyed during a bombardment in 1944. See Philippot, Coekelberghs, Loze and Vautier 2003, pp. 668 and 890–91.

[105] 'L'église quoique bâtie dans le goût gotique, peut passer pour belle, indépendenment de ses ornemens. C'est une Nef en croix de cent & quarante-cinq piés de long, surmontée de deux Fleches, dont l'une couvre le Portail, & l'autre est placée au centre du Croison. L'intérieur de ce Vaisseau est séparé en deux parties par une magnifique Colonnade de marbre d'Italie blanc & noir. La partie inférieure qui sert de Chœur aux Religieuses, est pavée de marbre, & lambrissée de bons Tableaux. Les Stalles en sculpture, représentent diverses histoires de l'Ancien & Nouveau Testament : deux Autels de marbre noir et blanc adossés à la Colonnade, achevent l'ornement de cette partie.
Le Sanctuaire qui ocupe le reste a aussi ses ornemens particuliers, entre lesquels on distingue le grand Autel, qui quoique bâti du marbre le plus rare, vaut moins par la richesse de la matiere, que par l'élegance du dessein & la justesse de l'exécution, qui en font un des chef-d'œuvres du fameux Delcour : dix colonnes de marbre blanc le soutiennent ; & son architrave est surmonté d'une Cartouche où est placé un Agneau Pascal revêtu de plaques d'argent, & environné de raions de cinq piés de diametre ; c'est en cet endroit qu'est placée l'Hostie miraculeuse dont nous avons parlé, dans une Custode d'or massif. Quatre anges de marbre blanc grands comme nature, accompagnent ce riche Tabernacle, qui se termine par un magnifique Crucifix de bronze. On y monte par un escalier de marbre qui est placé derrière l'Autel. Plus bas entre les bases des Colonnes, on voit encore un second Tabernacle de marbre blanc, dont la porte revêtuë d'argent représente JESUS-CHRIST rompant le pain avec les Disciples d'Emmaüs. Deux Médaillons du même marbre accompagnent ce beau morceau, adossé à une Frise de marbre noir qui regne à la hauteur des bases des Colonnes. Cette belle Ordonnance s'apuie à deux Portails assortissans, au-dessus desquels deux excellentes Figures de marbre blanc, représentant la sainte Vierge & saint Bernard. Cette Eglise est encore remarquable par plusieurs magnifiques Tombes & Mausolées de marbre & de bronze qui couvrent les cendres de plusieurs Abesses, aussi bien que celles du Fondateur, Gerard, Comte de Looz & de sa famille.' Saumery 1744, pp. 221–22. No mention is made of stained glass.

> The sanctuary, which occupies the rest of the building, also has ornaments of its own, among which one might single out the high altar. Although built of the rarest marble, it is valued less for the richness of its material than for the elegance of its design and the fitness of its execution, which make it one of the chef d'œuvres of the famous artist Delcour. It is supported by ten columns of white marble, and its architrave is surmounted by a cartouche within which is placed the Paschal Lamb, adorned with plaques of silver and surrounded by rays five feet in diameter; it is here that the miraculous host, of which we spoke earlier, is placed, in a massive pyx [*sic*] of gold. Four life-size angels in white marble are in attendance at this rich tabernacle, which terminates in a magnificent bronze crucifix. One ascends to the tabernacle via a marble staircase placed behind the altar. Lower down, between the bases of the columns, one sees a second tabernacle in white marble, the door of which is covered in a scene, in silver, of Jesus Christ breaking bread with his disciples at Emmaus. Two medallions in the same marble accompany this beautiful piece of workmanship, which is set against a frieze of black marble that reaches to the height of the column bases. This beautiful arrangement is flanked by two matching doorways, above which are fine figures in white marble representing the Blessed Virgin and St Bernard. This church is also remarkable for the several magnificent tombs and mausolea in marble and bronze that stand over the ashes of several abbesses, as well as those of the founder, Gérard, count of Loon, and of his family.

It is no longer possible however to gain a full impression of the appearance of the abbey church's interior, on account of losses arising from the suppression of the abbey at the end of the eighteenth century, and the dispersal and destruction of its various artworks.[106]

The Herkenrode Glazing: Material History and the Original Scheme

We know little of the windows in the fourteenth-century abbey church at Herkenrode. Abbess Béatrice de Lobosch is recorded as having had the quarterly arms of Diederik (Thierry) of Heinsberg, count of Loon 1336–1361, placed in the choir windows.[107] When the glazing of the new abbey church was executed in the sixteenth century, Mathilde de Lexhy is recorded as having had the same arms painted again and set above the high altar. The sixteenth-century glazing, now housed for the most part in Lichfield Cathedral, must have been one of the abbey's most beautiful ornaments. Unfortunately, no contract for it survives among the *Verdinckenisse Clooster van Herckenrode. 1512-1550* ('Memorials of Herkenrode Abbey 1512–1550'),[108] nor is there any record of works carried out at Herkenrode on the windows after they were installed.

In all likelihood, the sixteenth-century windows did not suffer greatly over the two and a half centuries during which they adorned the abbey church, situated as it was within an abbatial precinct. We know that the religious struggles of the second half of the sixteenth century did not engender much in the way of real damage, and, accidents apart, the windows would potentially only have suffered during heavy hail showers or storms, during incursions by armed troops, or after the abbey had been abandoned by the nuns at the end of the eighteenth century. For its running repairs, the abbey probably had recourse to a designated glazier, as was also generally the case at other important religious buildings and foundations. Strangely, no publication prior to the nineteenth century makes any real reference to the

[106] See in particular Grauwels 1958, p. 159; Caluwaerts 1990, p. 38; Montulet-Henneau 1990a; and J. Rombouts 2002.

[107] 'in vitreis fenestris antique chori'. Noted among others in Mantelius 1663, p. 218. See also Bamps 1874, pp. 12–13; and Wolters 1849, p. 38. In the 'Mélanges généalogiques' (cited in Goole and Potargent 1965, p. 81), the arms are labelled with the inscription 'glasschildering-venster kapel' ('stained glass window, chapel'). For M. Willems (2012, p. 66) this is the present north chapel.

[108] Averbode, Archief van de abdij van Herkenrode, 'Verdinckenisse Clooster van Herckenrode, 1512-1550'.

Fig. Int. 30. Liège, church of St James, apse windows, c.1525, the axial window with the Crucifixion above and the arms of the abbot of Cromois below.

riches of the abbey's glazing. One might suppose that for Saumery in the eighteenth century it had become very old-fashioned.

The historiated windows of the abbey church illustrated the history of redemption, prefaced by the Annunciation. After the preparatory scenes of the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper, scenes from the Passion culminated in the Crucifixion. This was followed by the triumphal scenes of the Resurrection, Christ's appearances to his disciples, and finally the Ascension and Pentecost. The Resurrection of the Dead brought both the cycle and the history of redemption to a close. Each window featured at least one sacred scene (often with a further, small scene in the background) placed above a register with donors at prayer.

Four of the monumental windows of the choir's apse (*NIII*, *NII*, *SII*, *SIII* in the reconstruction below) consisted of two sections, one above the other, of roughly equal dimensions; the two sections would probably have been separated by a stone transom.[109] These windows were of three lights each, with each light containing eleven or twelve panels, as well having arched or trefoil panels at the head. Windows with similar arrangements may be found in Liège, in the apses of the church of St James, formerly the church of the Benedictine abbey (windows of c.1525, c.11.5m high, fig. Int. 30), and of the basilica of St Martin (windows of c.1527,

[109] It is not known if the east window had a lower register akin to those of the four other apse windows.

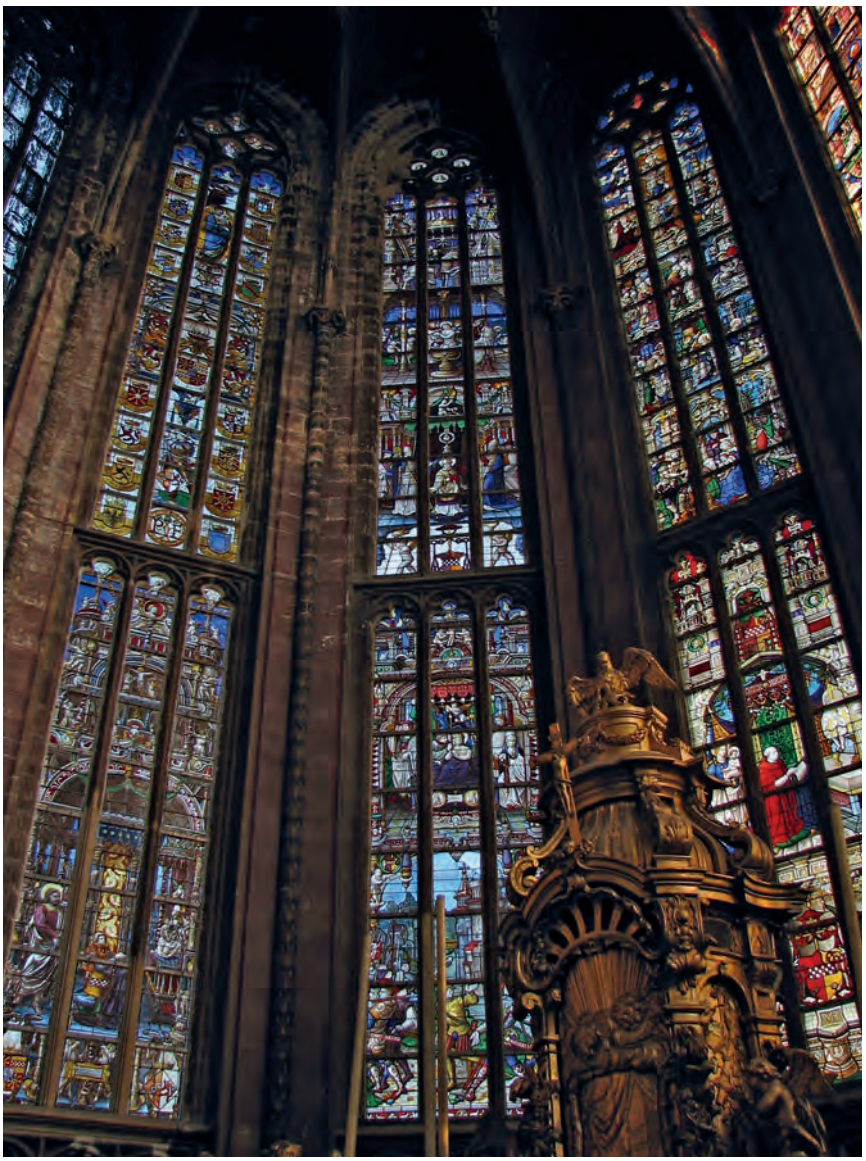


Fig. Int. 31. Liège, basilica of St Martin, apse windows, c.1527.

c.14.9m high, fig. Int. 31). Any other windows in the straight bays of the Herkenrode liturgical choir to the west of the apse, whether blind or not, must have been of smaller dimensions than those in the apse at the east end.

The three-light windows located above the stalls in the nuns' choir (the easternmost bays of the nave) contained only six rows of panels below the heads of the lights (which were either semicircular or trefoil in form), with the four upper rows constituting the sacred scene and the two lowest rows the donor register.

Both the windows in the liturgical choir and those in the nuns' choir must have had small-scale, simple traceries, as the engraving published in Saumery's account seems to attest, and as is the case with the windows in the two Liège churches cited. Windows to two different scales for the choir and the nave are also found elsewhere, including in Cistercian abbey churches. The apse of the church of the Cistercian abbey at La Cambre cited above is lit by five tall windows (fig. Int. 25), the sills of which are near ground level, and the windows of the former nuns' choir (the current nave) are shorter. In Herkenrode, as in other Cistercian churches, the window behind the altar was shorter than the other apse windows on account of the altar.[110]

[110] See for example the reconstruction of the church at Wurmsbach (St. Gallen, Switzerland); Sennhauser et al. 1990, p. 29; and De Dijn 2008, fig. 13, p. 348.

The Glazing of the Liturgical Choir

The Crucifixion would have occupied the central apse window in the sanctuary at Herkenrode; most of this scene has been lost, though a few portions survive, at Lichfield Cathedral and the church of St Mary, Shrewsbury.[111] It was common to have the Crucifixion scene above the high altar, where Christ's sacrifice was recalled during each mass. The scene had a particular significance for Herkenrode, on account of the miraculous host housed there that was venerated not just by the community, but also by numerous pilgrims. We do not know if the Crucifixion Window was accompanied below by a scene of figures at prayer, as the other sacred scenes in the apse windows were. If it was, it is not clear who would have been powerful and important enough to feature in this place of honour in the abbey church, seeing as the prince-bishop of Liège, the first person of the principality, was depicted kneeling in the window to the left of the axial window (as will be seen below). It cannot have been Abbess Mathilde de Lexhy. On the other hand, like Abbot Cromois in the Crucifixion scene in the central window of the church of St James in Liège (1525, fig. Int. 30),[112] she could have had her personal arms, or more probably those of the abbey, placed at the foot of this window above the altar.[113] The monumental seventeenth-century altar later came to obscure the eastern window for the most part, but we know nothing of the size of the sixteenth-century altar, nor of the door that gave access to the eastern 'sacristy'. Whatever the case, the sill of the central apse window was probably situated at a higher level than those of the neighbouring apse windows.

It is fairly straightforward to reconstruct the contents of the four windows that flanked the Crucifixion: they must have included the sacred scenes that immediately preceded and followed the Crucifixion, that is (to the north) Christ Leaving Pilate, and the Carrying of the Cross, and (to the south) the Deposition and the Resurrection. These four sacred scenes have been brought together in window sIV at Lichfield.[114] It was also here, near the altar, that the most prestigious donors, three of them accompanied by their spouses, must have featured: the prince-bishop of Liège, Érard de La Marck; Floris van Egmond; Maximiliaan van Egmond; and Jean de Hornes. These four donor scenes have been brought together in window nIV at Lichfield.[115] The four donors knew one another, and Érard de La Marck, the abbey's 'neighbour' and a visitor during his stays at Kuringen Castle, would have been in a position to persuade the others to join him in making these prestigious donations. Érard de La Marck must undoubtedly have been placed beneath the Carrying of the Cross, to dexter (heraldic right, viewer's left) of the Crucifixion (*NII*), and Floris van Egmond beneath the Deposition to sinister (heraldic left, viewer's right, *SII*). Jean de Hornes would have accompanied Christ Leaving Pilate in *NIII*,[116] behind Érard de La Marck, and Maximiliaan van Egmond the Resurrection in *SIII*, following his father Floris. The associations of these individuals with these scenes can be made securely, in so far as they are the most important noble figures among those that survive, and they are the only figures at prayer to be depicted within monumental architectural frames. These donors were therefore situated in a place of honour in the abbey church that allowed them to be seen, but also to be near to the miraculous host that they and visiting pilgrims venerated.

Any further windows in the liturgical choir were probably shorter, and most of them must have been blind, as there were buildings adjacent to the eastern bays of the abbey church (fig. Int. 22); on the north side these included a staircase that gave access to the dorter.[117]

[111] The head and fragments of Christ, the head of the Virgin, and parts of the angels receiving the blood of Christ, as well as Mary Magdalene, survive at Lichfield (see the Catalogue for windows sXII, sXIII, sXV); part of St John has been installed at the church of St Mary, Shrewsbury (Shropshire). According to the 1804 drawing of this window, 12 of the scene's 15 panels arrived in Lichfield; see fig. Cat. I.383 (p. 389).

[112] Vanden Bemden 1981, pp. 82–92; and Jacques, Lecocq, Tonon and Vanden Bemden 2012.

[113] On the hypothesis concerning the presence of the arms of the count of Loon in this window, see above.

[114] Scenes A, C, D, B respectively.

[115] Scenes A, B, D, C respectively.

[116] For the arguments associating this scene with this location, see p. 267.

[117] We would like to express once again our warm thanks to M. Willens for his pertinent remarks concerning blind bays in the abbey church's liturgical choir. See also M. Willems 2012, pp. 59–68.

Indeed, we would like to suggest that there was probably only a single glazed window, on the north side, housing, for reasons of precedence, the only senior male ecclesiastic known from Herkenrode other than Érard de La Marck, of which only the bust survives, as part of the figure now in sXV at Lichfield (see pp. 397–98).

The Glazing of the Nuns' Choir

All the extant glazing not assigned to the liturgical choir must therefore have been installed in the windows of the nuns' choir.[118] The easternmost bay on the north side here was possibly blind, or obscured by the buildings mentioned above; if the latter was the case, then the opposite bay on the south side may have been blind too.[119] This was also the point where the nuns' choir was partitioned from the liturgical choir. Such an arrangement would leave ten window openings in the nuns' choir that could house the remainder of the iconographic programme, together with the window proposed for the north side of the liturgical choir. The windows on the northern side featured, from west to east: the Annunciation and Visitation, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Arrest of Christ and Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives, the Flagellation, and the Crowning with Thorns (in the window on the north side of the liturgical choir),[120] that is, the scenes that preceded those in the apse of Christ Leaving Pilate, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Resurrection. In the windows on the south side there followed from east to west in the nun's choir: the Supper at Emmaus and Encounter on the Road to Emmaus, the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Incredulity of St Thomas, the Ascension, Pentecost, and finally the Resurrection of the Dead.[121] After the glazing was sold in 1802 (see below), it was packed into cases; the number of windows and panels reported to have been packed is not given consistently in the documentary record, but seventeen windows are mentioned more than once.[122] There is now however physical evidence for only sixteen windows, and this number is consistent with the arrangements suggested above, including the blind bays.

While the sacred scenes in the nuns' choir at Herkenrode had the same number of panels as those of the apse (ignoring the architectural superstructures), the donor scenes were shorter than those of the apse.[123] Such an arrangement is not uncommon in windows of the former Low Countries.[124] Although it is straightforward in the apse to associate donors with sacred scenes in the arrangement they had at Herkenrode, it is rather more difficult to connect the sacred scenes in the nuns' choir with their donors, and it is not always possible to find irrefutable stylistic or formal arguments that make certain combinations inevitable. We do however have three sources of information that are useful in partly cementing these associations: the archives of Lichfield Cathedral (now at Staffordshire Record Office); some references in heraldic manuscripts;[125] and comparisons made between the types of glass or motif employed. All the dated glazing from the abbey church at Herkenrode that survives

[118] It appears that there were no historiated windows in the part of the nave to the west of the nuns' choir – or at least, nothing is known of their contents.

[119] When Subprefect Arnoul visited Herkenrode, having heard that the windows had been removed from the abbey church, two unidentified openings remained glazed; these openings were probably plain-glazed. See Appendix 3, no. 11.

[120] Respectively, nII, scene A; sII, scenes B, C, A; and nII, scenes C, B.

[121] Respectively I, scene B; sIII, scene A; I, scene C; and sIII, scenes B, C.

[122] On the changing numbers of windows and panels in the documentary record, see Appendix 4, nos. 5, 15, 19, and 20.

[123] Now in Lichfield Cathedral, nIII, nVI, sVI and sXV.

[124] See the several windows dating to the first half of the sixteenth century (sadly remade for the most part since the nineteenth century) in the collegiate church of Sts Sulpitius and Dionysius in Diest; Jean Helbig and Vanden Bemden 1974, pp. 185–219. One might also mention the now-lost glazing of the church of the former charterhouse at Scheut (Brussels). The Scheut windows (dating to 1527–30) included (in the apse) sacred scenes and members of the ruling family, and (in the nave) members of the nobility, abbots, and bishops, who here too appear to have occupied scenes that were two panels high; Damen 2009, esp. pp. 98–103 and 109.

[125] A number of manuscripts currently housed in various libraries contain accounts of ancient monuments and works of art in religious buildings, accounts drawn up by heralds, and collections of epitaphs assembled by genealogists from the eighteenth century onwards. Some of these manuscripts were subsequently compiled together and copied, sometimes with variants. See Lecocq 2002, esp. p. 25.

in England stems from the years between 1532 and 1539, an extremely brief period for significant stylistic changes to become established; furthermore, while the sacred scene and donor scene for each window may have been executed at the same time, this may not have been the case for the cartoons used, as some of those for the figures at prayer appear to have been reused (see further below). From a technical point of view, similar glasses are used in several windows, but these cannot be used as dating criteria in such a narrow timeframe.[126]

The principal means of associating particular sacred scenes with specific donors are therefore the positions of these scenes in the cases that arrived in Lichfield on 28 May 1803, a year after the glazing had been purchased for the cathedral by Sir Brooke Boothby (1744–1824), 6th baronet, a native of Lichfield.[127] Yet the history of the cases is complex, since they were repacked twice during their journey to Lichfield. Most of the windows of the abbey church had been removed by 3 May 1802, an eleven-day process witnessed by Boothby (p. lxxx). The panels were initially placed in seventeen cases, and the glaziers took the time to wrap them and to stick paper onto the panels to protect them.[128] By 5 July 1802, the cases had been transported to a depot in Liège belonging to Messrs. Larbalette & Ecke, correspondants of the bankers Hammersley & Herries of Pall Mall (London), waiting to be transported to a maritime port in the Low Countries.[129] There were two possibilities for a crossing: via the River Meuse, or towards Antwerp (though this would have entailed crossing territory occupied by the French). While they were being stored in Liège, the panels were repacked, and the seventeen cases were reduced to eleven: ten large ones (containing the seventeen windows mentioned previously), plus a small eleventh (with 'some pieces found elsewhere not complete but containing some fine things', which Boothby suggested could be used for repairs).[130] The cases were eventually transported via the Meuse to Rotterdam, arriving there in March 1803. They left for England the following day in the *Ann* (fig. Int. 32), captained by William Jackson.[131]

When the panels arrived at Lichfield Cathedral, the first inventory of the cases, which were opened in the chapter house on 20 June 1803, was made by Francis Eginton (1737–1805), who had been closely involved with the cathedral's glazing until that point.[132] Strangely, the cases contained very unequal numbers of panels, and without exception, the inventory for each case was divided into several parts ('case X' and 'case X continued'). In some cases (for example, no. 5), it is clear that these subdivisions correspond to different windows, but this is not always the case, and the total number of subdivisions is more than seventeen (the initial number of cases). Eginton's inventory did not aim to reconstruct the sacred scenes, or to identify all the panels, but it was used by others later to record various items of information, including the identities of most of the sacred scenes. Expressions found in the inventory include 'uncertain', 'Fragments of different sorts', 'on Table', 'in paper', 'paper'd', 'paper'd on

[126] See the Catalogue for Lichfield Cathedral, nIII, p. 35.

[127] For a detailed history of the glass since its removal from Herkenrode, see the section below by Marie Groll, pp. 20–67.

[128] Initially, Boothby talks of seventeen windows in seventeen cases (so perhaps five in the choir and twelve in the nave): 'I have contracted for the purchase of 17 windows […] They are extremely well secured in 17 strong cases […]'; SRO, LD30/6/3/1, Boothby's offer of the Herkenrode glazing to Lichfield, 1 June 1802 (Appendix 4, no. 5). 'All the 17 windows from the great chappel are […] numbered as they stood.'; ibid., LD30/6/3/1, letter from Boothby to Lichfield, 5 July 1802 (Appendix 4, no. 6).

[129] Ibid., LD30/6/3/1, letter from Boothby (Appendix 4, no. 6).

[130] '[…] we have diminish(e)d the number of cases as more convenient'; ibid., LD30/6/3/1, letter of 13 September from Sir Brooke Boothby to William Mott, deputy diocesan register (Appendix 4, no. 11). 'This morning the cases of painted glass have sailed by my windows for Rotterdam. They consist of ten large, and one smaller. The former contain twelve smaller windows and five larger ones, besides the remains of another that may be useful to repair. The smaller some pieces found elsewhere not complete but containing some fine things.'; ibid., LD30/6/3/1, letter from Boothby to Lichfield, 8 January 1803 (Appendix 4, no. 19).

[131] On 27 November 1802, Boothby had said that before the cases were embarked, he would examine their contents carefully to ensure that all the panels were indeed there; ibid., LD30/6/3/1 (Appendix 4, no. 17). In his letter of 8 January 1803, Boothby writes that the panels had all had paper pasted on them and that most of them had been numbered, continuing: 'I should hope their [*sic*] will be no great difficulty in finding their order'; ibid., LD30/6/3/1 (Appendix 4, no. 19). Boothby seemed less optimistic in his correspondence on the subject a few months later.

[132] 'An account of old Painted Glass taken out of 11 Cases opened in the Chapter house of the Cathedral church of Lichfield June 20th 1803.'; ibid., LD30/6/3/3 (Appendix 4, no. 40).

Fig. Int. 32. Robert Salmon, the *Ann* off Birkenhead, c.1810; oil on canvas, 85cm × 135.8cm (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, BH3196).

both sides', 'missing' (possibly implying that the panels were numbered in some way), etc. At this stage, the descriptions are also extremely summary: 'figures', 'part of a figure', 'ornament', 'figure and ornament', etc. Furthermore, the number of cases opened was only nine: it seems that Eginton's ninth case was Boothby's small eleventh case of fragments, and Eginton's fifth case, which contained the enormous number of 70 panels, is described as 'Case N(umber) 5 and suppos'd to contain the Glass of N(umbers) 10 & 11'.[133] The point at which this second rearrangement of the packing was undertaken cannot be established. Although the two repackings will have disrupted the original arrangement, and although the information in Eginton's inventory is imprecise and incomplete (the number of main-light panels known to have arrived in Lichfield is greater than the number listed in Eginton's inventory),[134] one can nevertheless establish certain links between the sacred scenes and the donors of the windows. The associations for apse windows support those suggested above on the basis of the physical evidence; those offered for the nuns' choir, while all plausible on the grounds of internal consistency and lack of evidence to the contrary, remain in some cases hypothetical.

At the head of the inventory for case no. 1 (pp. 1–3) is a later annotation '*contains the Ascension | some Portraits | Christ before Pilate*'. Two series of panels are listed, one of 18 numbered panels, and one of 25 panels marked simply with an X, making a total of 43 without counting the 'Tops of Windows' that are also mentioned. Certain panels can indeed be readily associated with the Ascension and Christ Leaving Pilate (respectively I, scene C, and sIV, scene A at Lichfield). Because the scene of Christ Leaving Pilate can be associated with Jean de Hornes (see p. 267), panels identified as a 'Coat of Arms' and a 'Head in a circle' can plausibly be associated with the Ascension scene. The praying figures now in nVI and sXV at Lichfield have their heads 'in a circle', but only those in nVI (of Jean de la Blocquerie and his wife Gertrude Meys) are accompanied by shields of arms.

[133] According to Keith Barley, each of the windows' rectangular panels weighs c.3.8kg, so without packaging materials, this case must have weighed at least 277kg, which is enormous. It is hard to see why this second repacking was considered necessary.

[134] Around 324 panels are known to have arrived in Lichfield: 12 of the 15 panels of the Crucifixion are recorded in an 1804 drawing (see fig. Cat. I.383, p. 389), portions of which are extant, together with 312 other panels that survive in windows at Lichfield. The number of panels listed by Eginton is c.301.

At the head of the inventory for case no. 2 (pp. 4–5) is an annotation '*supposed to contain Knight of Golden Fleece | & Descent from Cross*'. All of these panels, 27 in number, are marked with the letter X (in two cases a double X), and the panels are divided into two groups. The glass in this case can therefore be identified as that of the Deposition and the donor Floris van Egmond (respectively sIV, scene D, and nIV, scene B at Lichfield). Even though Eginton's identifications are vague, none of the panel descriptions is incompatible with the annotation.

At the start of the inventory for case no. 3 (pp. 5–7) a later annotation runs '*St X*(hris)*topher & Kn*(igh)*t | Resurrection*'. The 33 panels here (numbered from 1 to 25, plus 8 panels marked with an X) are divided into three groups; there were also 'Many Fragments Date 1532'. None of the panels is incompatible with the Resurrection (sIV, scene B),[135] and although the descriptions are again very vague, the number of panels is roughly what one might expect for the window depicting the Resurrection and the donor Maximiliaan van Egmond being presented by St Christopher (nIV, scene D).

A later annotation at the start of the inventory for case no. 4 (pp. 7–9) notes: '*contain*[s] *the Scourging 12 | the Derision – | Portraits*', referring to the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns (nII, scenes C and B) and possibly their donors. The 28 panels are numbered 1–13 and 1–15, but these two series do not correspond exactly with the groupings given in the heading. The majority of the identifications are vague, nor is there any precise information on the subject of the 'Portraits' mentioned in the description of the case contents. The only clues might be the 'Parts of a Lamb' and 'Coat of Arms' – yet no lamb features in the two sacred scenes given in the case contents. There is a lamb in the arms of St John the Baptist presenting Jean de Mettecoven (sIII, scene E), and another leans against the legs of St Agnes (sIII, scene D), but the 'Parts of a Lamb' cannot have come from these representations, as the latter are found in other cases. For the donor scenes associated here with the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns, see p. cii.

The 70 panels of case no. 5 (inventory, pp. 9–13) are divided into four series that do not always correspond to individual scenes. The first, of 18 panels indicated by the letter A and annotated '*all selected and arranged 12 contain the ~~Salutation~~ Visitation*', certainly includes some of the panels that belong to the Annunciation and Visitation (nII, scene A). The 'Coat of Arms' here probably refers to the heraldry of one of the praying figures that accompanied the scene; for the donor suggested for this scene, see p. cii. Under the annotation '*Those marked X compose Emmaus Those ✓ nuns adoring completed*' are 19 numbered panels. Apart from those panels that do indeed belong to the Emmaus scene (I, scene B), there are others that clearly belong to a donor scene (nIII, scene A): three nuns, the Virgin and Child, the date '1332 [*sic, lege* 1532]', and a shield with a cherub. Under the heading '[…] *Descent of Holy Ghost marked + all selected*' are 18 panels marked with either + or ✓, some of which can be attributed to the Pentecost scene (sIII, scene B). The pairs of panels 'Figure with a Shield & helmet *N*(umber) *3* ✓' with 'Two heads one with a Lamb *N*(umber) 1 ✓', described as '*male praying*[?] *St John Sup*[ra?]', and '[...] Saint *N*(umber) *2* ✓' with 'A Figure praying *N*(umber) *4* ✓', described as 'female [...]', can be associated with the donors now in nIII, scene E: Jean de Mettecoven and Marguerite de Lexhy. Finally, under the annotation '*Apprehension &c*(etera)' are 18 numbered panels, all also marked with an X, some of them linked to the Arrest of Christ (sII, scene A). The 'Coat of Arms', 'Part of a figure praying […]', 'A female Saint *St Agnes*', and 'Two heads and a Coat of Arms' can be associated with the donors now in nIII, scene D: Gerard van Velpen and Agnès de Mettecoven.

There were few panels in case no. 6 (inventory, pp. 13–14), and they were divided into two groups. They are marked with the signs including X and I, and/or numbered, though several are given the same number (10, 11, 13, 14). Not many of the panels under the later

[135] That is, if the date is not 1532: the Resurrection window is of later date; see p. 352.

annotation at the head – '*all compleat* | *Last Supper* | *& Portrait with horn*' – can be definitively linked to the Last Supper (sII, scene C), but 'part of a dead Christ' and 'Figures with a horn […] *praying*' can clearly be identified with panels now in sVI, where they are accompanied by the arms of Roelant de Weert. The panel described as 'David with a harp & a Figure' can be associated with light a of sXV, at least as far as 'David' is concerned.[136]

In case no. 7 (inventory, pp. 14–16) were 18 panels under the later annotation '*All selected 1803* | *Those marked X day of* | *Judgement* | ✓ *Lady abbess*'. Some certainly do belong to the Resurrection of the Dead (sIII, scene C); the '[…] *Lady abbess*' and '*Virgin & Child and Priest adoring*' are now nIII, scene C. There are 18 further panels in the case, under the annotation '*all selected those marked* ✓ *compose Entry into Jerusalem* | *those marked X Lady adoring infant Christ*'. The descriptions given for the panels of the Entry into Jerusalem (sII, scene B) are very vague; other panels however – 'Coat of Arms', 'An Angel X *supporting arms upper part*', 'Figure & head X *St John Evang*(elist) *supporting* ***O'***, and '*Virgin & Child*' – can be associated with those now in nIII, scene B.

The 38 panels under the annotation '*Bearing the Cross* | *and the Cardinal*' in case no. 8 (inventory, pp. 16–18) can be linked unhesitatingly to the Carrying of the Cross (sIV, scene C) and the presentation of Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck (nIV, scene A). Also in this case however were the 'Virgin and Child', 'descent from the Cross', 'A counts coronet', and 'Ornaments & a plume of Feathers'; these cannot belong to the same window, and are in fact panels from the Deposition (sIV, scene D), for which the donor was Floris van Egmond (nIV, scene B), who has a plumed helm at his feet and is praying to the Virgin.

With the repackings it is perhaps unsurprising to find that the windows were not in cases numbered in accordance with their locations within the abbey church. Eginton's cases nos. 1, 2, 3 and 8 contained the majority of the glass from the four apse side windows, and case no. 1 furthermore contained parts of the Ascension. Case no. 4 contained the 'Scourging' (Flagellation) and the 'Derision' (Crowning with Thorns); case no. 5 the 'Visitation', 'Emmaus', 'Descent of the Holy Ghost', and the 'Apprehension' (Arrest); and case no. 7 the 'Day of Judgement' (Resurrection of the Dead) and the 'Entry into Jerusalem'. Case no. 9 (inventory, pp. 18–19) contained only fragments recorded with summary descriptions that are insufficient to allow the panels to be identified.[137] The scenes of the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles (sIII, scene A) and the Crucifixion are not mentioned explicitly in the inventory, for reasons that are not clear, even though they must have formed part of the cargo.

For the four windows for which suggestions for donor figures cannot be drawn from Eginton's inventory (*NIX*, *NV*, *NIV*, *SV*), we may turn to the extant glass. One scene of praying figures not explicitly identified in the 1803 inventory represents Henri de Lexhy and Christine Zelighs, the parents of Abbess Mathilde (nIII, scene F), who as such may have enjoyed a choice location. Husband and wife face each other and may have been situated in *SV* behind their daughter, which would mean there were three members of the de Lexhy family together on the south side of the nuns' choir. The two figures of the couple now in sXV at Lichfield appear to face each other, but the head and shoulders in light a belong to an ecclesiastic turned to the viewer's right, presented by a figure of David with his harp. As a high-ranking ecclesiastic, this figure would have been situated in a prestigious location, and a northern window in the liturgical choir is proposed for him above. The couple in sXV (identified here as Jean de Pipenpoy and Barbara Was) belongs to one of the two locations at Herkenrode (*NIX* and *NV*) for which donors have not yet been suggested. The donor scene for the other of the two locations is missing, though shields in the heads of main lights and traceries at Lichfield (window nII, sIII, and sIV) belong to the family of Maria van Eyck, a nun at Herkenrode.

[136] David is only presenting the upper portion of a figure; the lower part belongs elsewhere. See the Lichfield Cathedral Catalogue, p. 384.

[137] The case also contained much 'green', perhaps uncoloured glass.

Manuscripts drawn up by heralds – familiar figures from the start of the seventeenth century – often provide interesting information relevant to glazing, and in some there is information concerning the heraldry formerly on tombs and in windows at Herkenrode.[138] Since the principal matter of interest to these kings-at-arms was the heraldry, for those windows where heraldry was recorded, it is generally only the shields that are noted; sometimes there is a sketch of the associated figures, but never a record of the window's iconography in its entirety. Nevertheless, the information can be useful, particularly when shields that are otherwise hard to identify are labelled with the name of the family that bore the arms, or when the location of the window within the church is noted. It was possible to verify some of the hypotheses presented above by means of such manuscripts, and several instances of this will be found in the Catalogue.

From the preceding, the following arrangement may be proposed for the original layout of the windows in the abbey church at Herkenrode (fig. Int. 33). The locations of *NII–III*, *I*, and *SII–III* in the apse are known. For the other windows the projected number indicates on which side of the church the glass was, and in what sequence.[139]

NIX	The Annunciation and Visitation (nII, scene A) Possibly Jean de Pipenpoy and Barbara Was (sXV, lights a and c, with nIII, scene E, light b); or the family of Maria van Eyck, nun at Herkenrode (shields in nII E1; sIII 13a, 13c, and C1; and sIV 12a)
NVIII	The Entry into Jerusalem (sII, scene B) Joanna van den Heester (nIII, scene B)
NVII	The Last Supper (sII, scene C) Roelant de Weert (sVI)
NVI	The Arrest of Christ (sII, scene A) Gerard van Velpen and Agnès de Mettecoven (nIII, scene D)
NV	The Flagellation (nII, scene C) Possibly the family of Maria van Eyck, nun at Herkenrode (shields in nII E1; sIII 13a, 13c, and C1; and sIV 12a); or Jean de Pipenpoy and Barbara Was (sXV lights a and c, with nIII, scene E, light b)
NIV	The Crowning with Thorns (nII, scene B) Unidentified ecclesiastic (sXV), perhaps Corneille de Berghes
NIII	Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV, scene A) Jean de Hornes and Anna van Egmond (nIV, scene C)
NII	The Carrying of the Cross (sIV, scene C) Érard de La Marck (nIV, scene A)

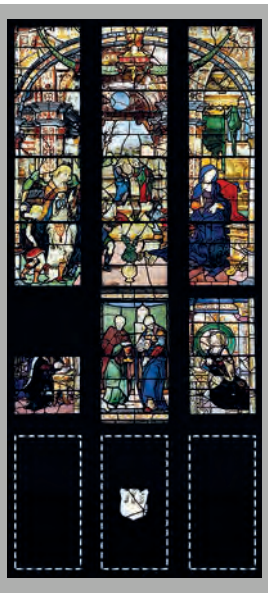
I	The Crucifixion (no donor figures)
SII	The Deposition (sIV, scene D) Floris van Egmond and Marguerite de Berghes (nIV, scene B)
SIII	The Resurrection (sIV, scene B) Maximiliaan van Egmond and Françoise de Lannoy (nIV, scene D)
SIV	The Supper at Emmaus and Encounter on the Road to Emmaus (I, scene B) The three nuns praying to the Virgin and Child, with the arms of Abbess Béatrice de Lobosch (nIII, scene A)
SV	The Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Incredulity of St Thomas (sIII, scene A) Henri de Lexhy and Christine Zelighs (nIII, scene F)
SVI	The Ascension (I, scene C) Jean de la Blocquerie and his wife Gertrude Meys (nVI)
SVII	Pentecost (sIII, scene B) Jean de Mettecoven and Marguerite de Lexhy (nIII, scene E)
SVIII	The Resurrection of the Dead (sIII, scene C) St Humbeline, an emperor, and the Lactation of St Bernard (nIII, scene C)

[138] See especially the manuscripts assembled by Victor Goethals in the nineteenth century, housed in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels, and the heraldic manuscripts of the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège; Lecocq 2002, esp. pp. 7–31.

[139] The numbering only takes into account openings that (according to the arguments presented in this volume) housed historiated glass.

NORTH SIDE

NIX



NVIII

NVII

APSE

NIII

NII

I

SOUTH SIDE

SIV

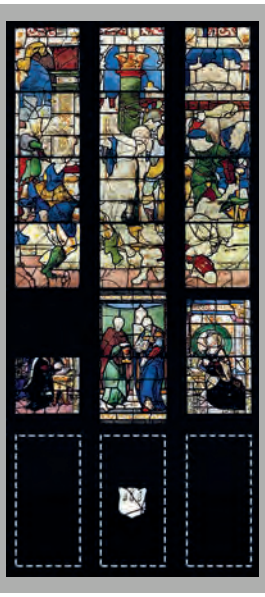
SV

SVI

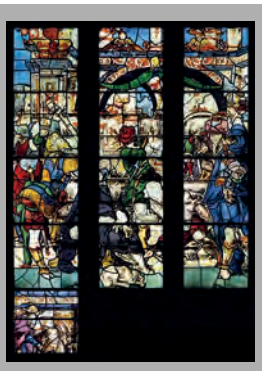
Fig. Int. 33.
Possible reconstruction of the glazing scheme in the abbey church at Herkenrode.
There are two possibilities for the donor scenes of windows *NIX* and *NV*.

NVI

NV



NIV



SII

SIII

SVII

SVIII

The Glazing of the Abbess's Private Chapel

Saumery spoke very highly of the abbess's quarters constructed in the first half of the sixteenth century by Mathilde de Lexhy.[140]

> From there, one passes on to the abbess's lodgings, which are planned around a square courtyard. One enters the apartments through a portal supported by columns of the Corinthian order flanked by pavilions with mansard rooves. Along the three other sides of the courtyard runs a porticoed gallery crowned with pediments. The rear façade of the principal building looks out onto a large garden at the end of which is a terrace that ends in two lodges, from where two beautiful avenues of verdure that border the garden stretch out. The waters of the River Demer fill the canals that enclose this garden […]

No contract survives for the construction of the abbess's chapel, though one can reasonably suppose that it was the work of Conradt van Nurenbergh. Parts of the quarters, which for the most part were later replaced by Dewez's new building, survive, including two rooms with decorative painting on the stonework of the vaulting, where the corbels from which the vaults spring are sculpted with shields bearing the abbess's arms (fig. Int. 9a–c). The chapel glazing depicting the Crucifixion was probably sold in the 1820s, and it was installed in the east window of the church of St Giles in Ashtead (Surrey) by 1831.[141]

In 1887, when the chapel was razed to the ground, Télémaque Claes (grandson of Guillaume Claes, whose purchases at the abbey included the abbess's quarters) discovered in a niche beneath the site of the altar an Italian faience vase containing some relics and a parchment recording the consecration of the chapel. We therefore know that the chapel was blessed on 8 May 1538 by Gedeon van der Gracht, suffragan to the bishop of Liège, and that the chapel was dedicated 'in honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, of the blessed and most glorious mother of God the Virgin Mary, and of St Anne her mother, as well as of St Bernard and St George'.[142] The appearance of the chapel is known from a watercolour showing it from a distance of c.1800, now at the convent of the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre; a photograph dated 22 May 1884;[143] and a drawing published at the end of the nineteenth century that may be based on the photograph.[144] Following the construction of the new convent for the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre, the few vestiges of the abbess's chapel were completed in contemporary fashion. The old chapel had a three-sided oriel window, oriented to the east, and was crowned with a tall roof. In the late nineteenth century, each of the oriel's three faces was pierced with a single, trefoil-headed light, glazed with colourless quarries in four panels, one in the head of the light, and three rectangular ones below, each with a roundel at the centre. The abbess had direct access to this chapel from her private apartments.

[140] 'De-là, on passe au logement des Abbesses, dont une Cour quarrée fait le plan. On entre dans les Apartemens par un Portail soutenu de Pilastres d'Ordre Corinthien, & flanqué d'un beau Pavillon à la mansarde. Les trois autres côtés de la Cour sont bordés par une Galerie en portiques couronnés de Frontons. La façade postérieure du Corps de Logis regarde un grand Jardin que termine une Terrasse abouttisante à deux Cabinets où répondent de belles Alées de charmille qui le bordent. Les eaux du Demer remplissent des Canaux qui font la cloture de ce Jardin'; Saumery 1744, p. 221.

[141] See further part III.

[142] 'en l'honneur de la Sainte et indivisible Trinité, de la bienheureuse et très glorieuse mère de Dieu, le Vierge Marie et d'Anne sa mère, ainsi que des Saints Bernard et Georges'. See among others Bamps 1897, pp. 37–38 (p. 38 for the quotation); Caluwaerts 1990, esp. p. 59; Goossens 2002, p. 18; De Dijn 2008, esp. pp. 26–27; and Caluwaerts and M. Van der Eycken 2008, esp. p. 119.

[143] Impe 1979, p. 193.

[144] Drawing by C. Bamps (1897, p. 37).

Glazing at Other Locations in the Abbey

The most important stained glass decorating the former Herkenrode Abbey in the first half of the sixteenth century was that of the abbey church and, to a lesser extent, the abbess's private chapel. Stained glass with armorials, inscriptions (including on tablets associated with shields), and roundels undoubtedly ornamented other spaces in the abbey – the cloister galleries and other passageways, communal rooms, and probably also the nuns' lodgings.[145] We have seen that after the removal of the glazing from the abbess's chapel, the new owner of the site seems to have had no difficulty in sourcing roundels to place at the centre of the colourless-quarry panels installed in the chapel windows; these were perhaps sourced on site.

The early sixteenth century did not however constitute the final phase in the installation of stained glass at the abbey, even though Mathilde de Lexhy had given such extraordinary impetus to the commissioning of abbey's furnishings. Later armorials that may be associated with figures are found at Lichfield: sIII C3, possibly Ernst of Bavaria (prince-bishop of Liège 1581–1612); and sIV N1 (Abbess Anne-Catherine de Lamboy).

Glazing from the Abbey Conserved in Belgium

Various roundels, armorial panels, inscriptions, and fragments formerly housed by the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre at Herkenrode are now conserved in the Stadsmus (the Hasselt city museum).[146] Inscriptions and arms relating to abbesses and nuns at Herkenrode Abbey, as well as to other Cistercian abbeys, bear witness to the provenance of the majority of the Stadsmus pieces. A good number of them can be dated to the abbacy of Anne-Catherine de Lamboy (1653–1675), who, as noted, instigated numerous works within the abbey. She clearly encouraged the donation of stained glass, probably intended for the abbey's communal areas. The remains of the abbess's arms in the tracery of window sIV bear further witness to her interest in the medium. Many more pieces are known to be in Belgian private collections.[147]

Two panels consisting of old fragments 'from Herkenrode' were given by Lichfield Cathedral to the city of Hasselt and housed by the Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre at Herkenrode.[148] The various pieces from which these panels were made do not however originate from Herkenrode, but formed part of the glazing schemes that now adorn nV and sV in the Lady Chapel at Lichfield, glass that has been attributed to the Carmelite church in Antwerp.[149] These panels are now housed in the Stadsmus.[150]

[145] See Berserik and Caen 2016. Such shields and inscriptions still decorate, for example, the cloister walkway of the Cistercian abbey at Marche-les-Dames (Namur, Belgium).

[146] Eight panels of inscriptions and armorial glass are conserved at the Stadsmus: inv. nos. 2014.0370.00, 2014.0371.00, 2014.0372.00, 2014.0373.00, 2014.0374.00, 2014.0375.00, 2014.0376.00, and 2014.0377.00. See Berserik and Caen 2014, pp. 294–321; and Berserik and Caen 2016.

[147] Berserik and Caen 2007, pp. 163–205; and Berserik and Caen 2014, pp. 475–76.

[148] Rock 2018; and Vandenreyt 2003.

[149] See further Appendix 8: Caboolture.

[150] Inv. nos. 2018.0076.00 and 2018.0075.00.

The Herkenrode Glass at Lichfield Cathedral: Historical and Art-Historical Analysis (IL, YV)

Scholarly Interest in the Herkenrode Windows at Lichfield Cathedral in the Nineteenth Century

The windows of the former abbey church at Herkenrode attracted the attention of English scholars from an early stage.[532] In 1811, John Chappel Woodhouse published with great erudition on the windows, including their iconography;[533] and in 1864 Charles Winston published an analytically highly refined study of the glass.[534] In 1873, Gordon Hills, a member of the British Archaeological Association, sent a request for information concerning the windows to the Belgian ambassador in London; the latter passed the request on to the Belgian government, who transmitted it to the Commission royale des Monuments. It was to the questions posed in this request for information that first Bamps and then Jules Helbig responded (in 1874 and 1877).[535] Van Neuss took up the issues raised by his predecessors in 1895 and published a summary giving the layout of the scenes in the windows of the Lady Chapel at Lichfield.[536] For this, he availed himself of an account of a visit made to Lichfield Cathedral by an inhabitant of Hasselt, who had furnished Van Neuss with an unnamed publication in its third edition dating to 1823, no doubt Lomax's work. Belgian scholars thus began to take interest in these exported windows, though without completely grasping at the time their great significance for the history of art in the former Low Countries.[537]

Locations of the Herkenrode Glazing at Lichfield

Seven windows in the Lady Chapel at Lichfield (I, nII–IV, sII–IV) house glass from Herkenrode, with sacred scenes illustrating episodes from the Bible and the history of redemption; ten donor scenes of figures at prayer presented by saints; other figures of saints; and armorials (figs I.36–37, overleaf). The traceries of these windows are filled with decorative fragments – heads of winged angels, initials, and shields and other motifs (some incomplete) – as well as fragments of nineteenth-century English glass. All this glass was installed in the early nineteenth century. The Lady Chapel windows are of differing dimensions, as are the sacred and donor scenes, with the result that window I contains two sacred scenes, nII three sacred scenes, nIII six donor scenes, nIV four donor scenes, sII three sacred scenes, sIII three sacred scenes, and sIV four sacred scenes. Originally, most of the panels were of the same width (56–59cm) and the same height (56–58cm), and were thus essentially square; those in nIV and sIV however, although of the same height, are only 51cm wide, so the scenes they illustrate must have been in a different location at Herkenrode. As has been seen above (pp. xcvii–cv), the latter were in the liturgical choir, and the former (with one probable exception) in the nuns' choir (the eastern part of the nave) in the abbey church at

[532] See among others Woodhouse 1811–1870; Britton 1820, pp. 52–53; Winston 1864 (1865); and Jameson 1872, p. 146. See subsequently *Hand Guide* 1898 (which was published in several editions); Day 1909, pp. 209–10; Bright 1932, 1950/1958, etc.

[533] The *Short Account of Lichfield Cathedral; More particularly of the Painted Glass, with which Its Windows Are Adorned* was produced by T. G. Lomax and ran to several editions (see Woodhouse 1811–1870 in the bibliography). No author was identified, but from the sixth edition onwards, a note indicates that the text was by John Chappel Woodhouse, assisted by Canon John Newling (1762–1838); see Bright 1932 and 1950/1958, p. 10.

[534] Winston 1864 (repr. 1865).

[535] Bamps 1874, pp. 10–17; and Jules Helbig 1877, pp. 366–82. Ferdinand de Lasteyrie had already mentioned that there were windows from Herkenrode in Lichfield Cathedral; de Lasteyrie 1852, p. 162.

[536] Van Neuss 1895, pp. 177–90.

[537] See further Ouverleaux-Lagasse 1926, pp. 89–97; and Nicaise 1936, etc.

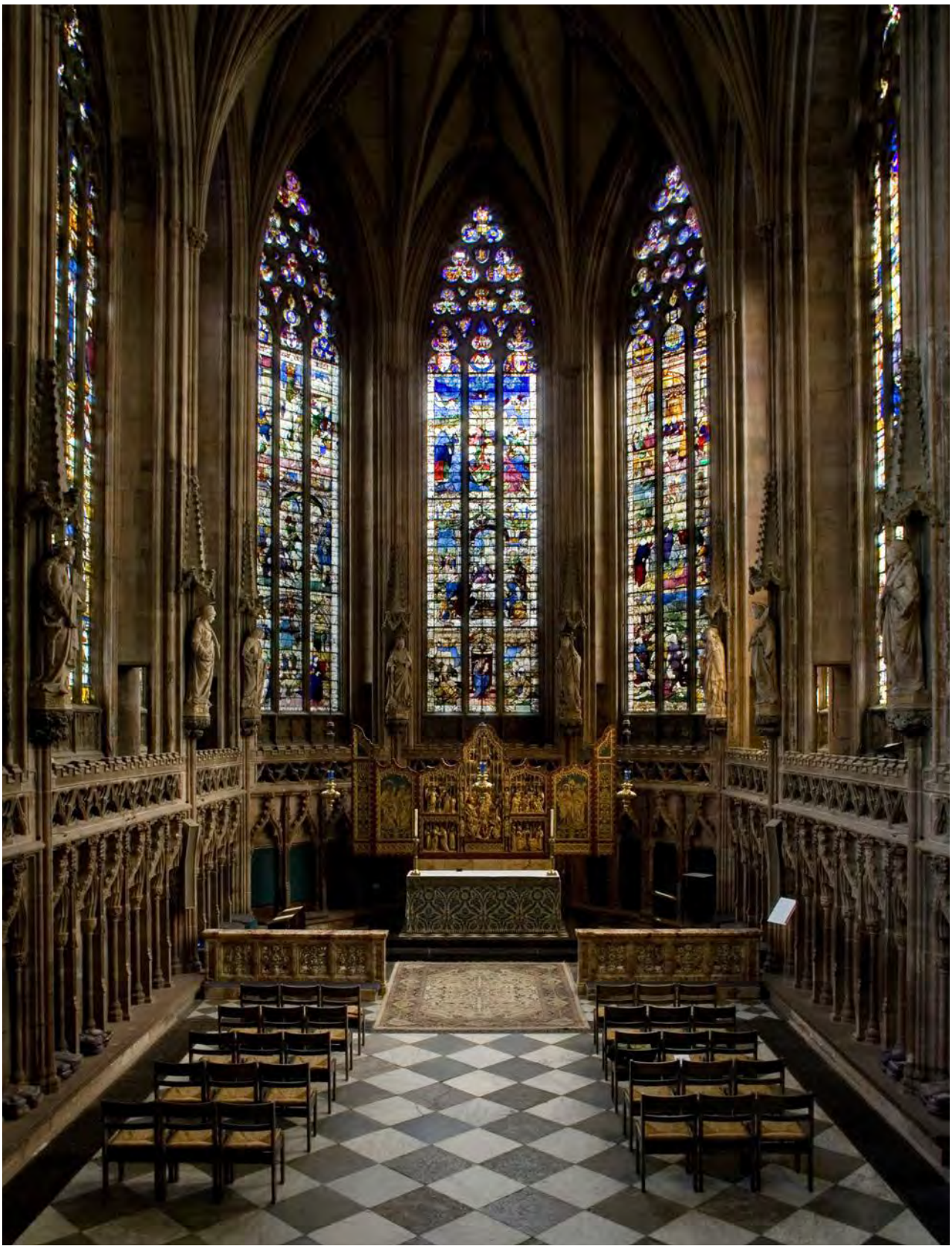


Fig. I.36. Lichfield Cathedral, the Lady Chapel.

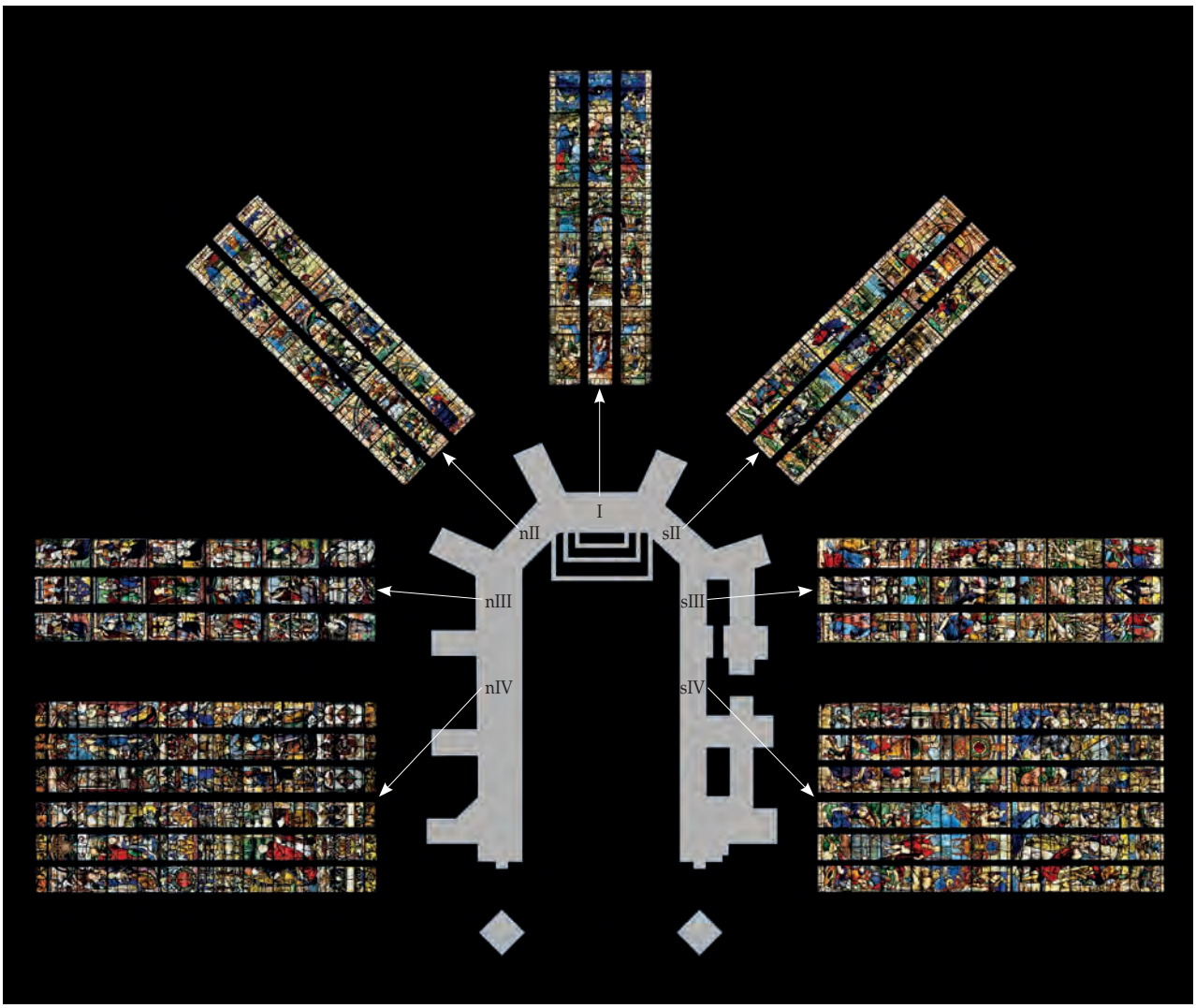


Fig. I.37. Overview of the Lady Chapel glazing.

Herkenrode. The westernmost windows of the Lady Chapel, nV and sV, which have scenes of the Dormition of the Virgin and the Fountain of Mercy respectively, are also of Continental origin, but are not from Herkenrode (figs I.38–39, overleaf).[538]

The two east windows of the choir aisles (nVI, sVI) house images of figures at prayer, shields, saints, and the Blessed Trinity. Only six panels in each window are originally from Herkenrode; they are of the same dimensions as those in the Lady Chapel that once stood over the nuns' choir. The panels were installed at the start of the nineteenth century, shortly after those in the Lady Chapel. There is complementary nineteenth-century glass in both windows: the panels in the lowest row are reminiscent of those in nIV, and the trefoil-headed panels in the heads of the main lights and the traceries contain decorative motifs and shields. Each window is dated 1803 in the central tracery compartment, a reminder of the year in which the Herkenrode glass arrived in Lichfield, and a long inscription at the foot of sVI records the glass's Herkenrode origin and its donor, Sir Brooke Boothby (see pp. 56–57).

[538] Jean Lafond associated this glazing with the master-glazier Arnold of Nijmegen (1475–1540); Lafond 1942, pp. 60–71 and 91–94. Jean Helbig attributed the windows to the Carmelite church in Antwerp, and proposed that the window with the Dormition of the Virgin be attributed to Jacques Floris; Jean Helbig 1944, p. 137. See further Appendix 8: Caboolture.

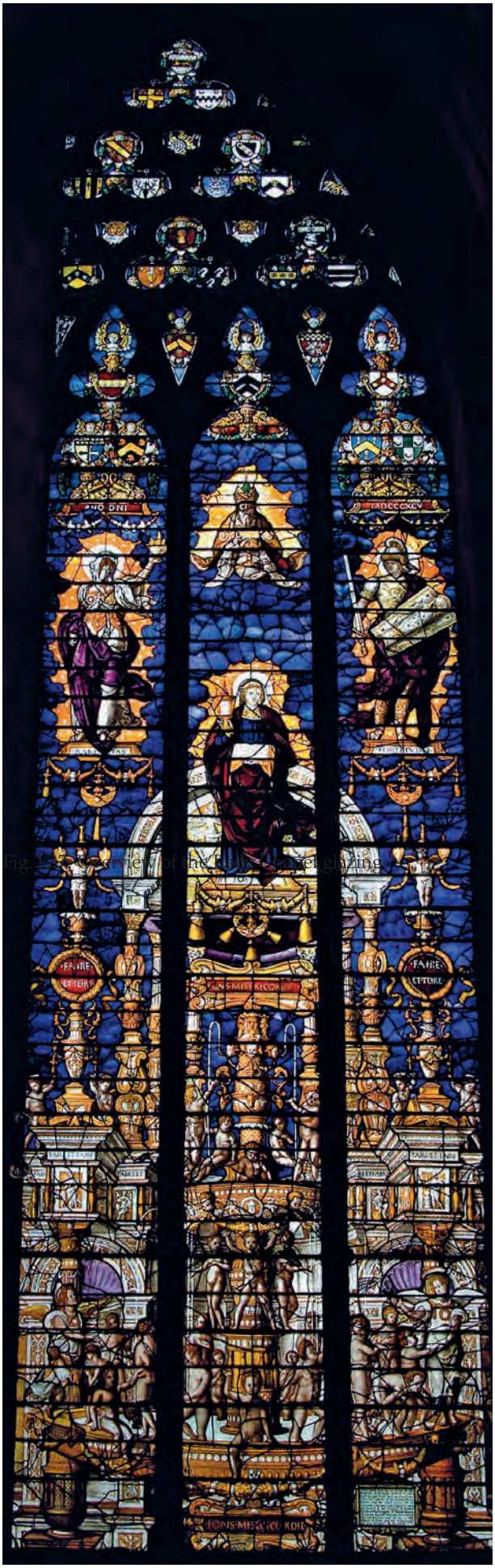


Fig. I.38. Window nV.

Fig. I.39. Window sV.

Window sXV contains two original Herkenrode panels in each of its three main lights (fig. Cat. I.397, p. 395); the window is again made up above, and below (in the central light), with complementary English glass, here probably by Kempe. The Herkenrode panels in lights a and c show two figures at prayer (whose heads and bodies do not belong together) and are of the same dimensions as the other panels that were originally in the nuns' choir at Herkenrode. The two old panels in light b however, which are from the Crucifixion formerly in the central apse window at Herkenrode, have been enlarged, as is evident from the additions to the left- and right-hand sides. They are also narrower than those formerly in the two pairs of windows that flanked the central window. (The glass of the flanking windows is now housed in nIV and sIV at Lichfield.) Further parts of the Crucifixion scene remain in sXII, and possibly sXIII.

Fig. I.40a–b. (a) Window nXII, a composite of various pieces; (b) panel with a fragment from Herkenrode.

A glazing scheme in a window in the north choir aisle (nXII, fig. I.40a–b) includes a composite panel of old fragments formerly attributed to Herkenrode; with one exception, these fragments are not of Herkenrode provenance,[539] but can be associated with the Continental glass now in nV and sV in the Lady Chapel. The westernmost window on the north side of

[539] The decorative motif on this small fragment is reminiscent of that found on the pillars in nIII, nVI, and sVI at Lichfield, where three thin cords issue from a bucranium. Two further composite fragment panels were formerly in the hands of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre and are today in Hasselt, in the Stadsmus. The fragments in these panels stem for the most part from the glazing now in windows nV and sV at Lichfield, and not from Herkenrode; Berserik and Caen 2014, esp. p. 295; and p. cvii.

Fig. I.41. Window nXXII: cartouches with *'MARIA'* and *'IHESUS'*.

the nave contains two pieces with red scrolls into which the words *'IHESUS'* and *'MARIA'* have been etched, but it is not possible to confirm whether these are of Herkenrode provenance (fig. I.41).

Condition and Authenticity

Modifications Made during the Installation of the Herkenrode Glazing at Lichfield[540]

The windows of the abbey church at Herkenrode each contained a sacred scene above a donor scene. Although after removal the sacred scenes are reported to have been packed with their respective donor scenes, the two types were considered separately after the glass arrived in Lichfield in 1803. Once the Lady Chapel windows had been settled as their final destination, it was necessary to adapt some of the window openings to receive the glass. The various scenes, now reassembled, were then installed in these openings, having themselves been adapted. At this time, certain panels were incorrectly assigned: in the registers with figures at prayer certain associations of panels (or part-panels) with one another can now be seen to be erroneous, either with regard to heraldry (some shields, like that in nIII, scene F, 11b, bear no relation to the figures that surround them), or figures of saints that did not originally accompany the figures at prayer in the register in which they are now found (for example, nIII, scene E, light b). In sXV, heads have even been associated with bodies to which they do not belong (fig. I.42).

Fig. I.42. Window sXV, light a: head and body belonging to two different male figures.

[540] For the material history of the windows, see the sections by Marie Groll (pp. 20–67), and Keith Barley and Alison Gilchrist (pp. 68–76), as well as the Catalogue.

First and foremost, installation of the various scenes in the window openings at Lichfield entailed modifications to the architectural superstructures above the donor and sacred scenes. The presentations of donors in nIV (which were originally sited in the lower halves of the north and south apse windows at Herkenrode) were formerly five panels high; at Lichfield, in order to fill the window opening completely, it was necessary to combine the two lower presentations with architectural superstructures that originally belonged with other scenes. For the same reason, the upper parts of all the sacred scenes, which at first glance seem to be coherent, have been modified: panels, or parts of panels, have either been omitted or added (see, for example, nIV, scene A).[541] Even though these arrangements were carried out with a high level of competence, further inconsistencies – in addition to the superstructures that do not belong with the scenes over which they are now situated – may be observed, such as incomplete garlands (see, for example, sIV, scene D), and cut-off figures. The untutored eye would not notice this reorganization straightaway, leading one to appreciate the skill of the master-glaziers at the start of the nineteenth century (figs I.43–45).

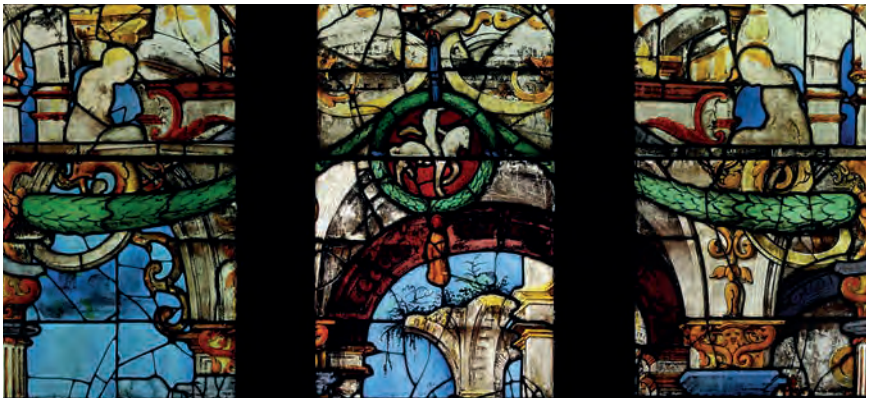


Fig. I.43. Window I, scene B: architectural superstructure, after restoration.

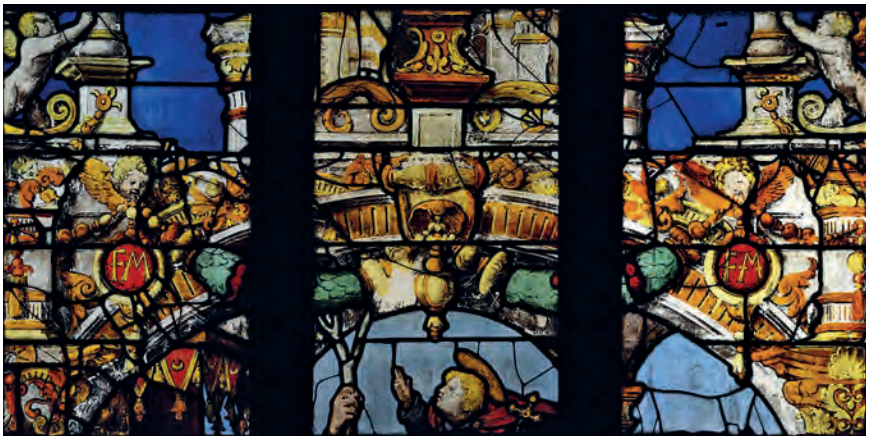


Fig. I.44. Window nIV, scene B: architectural superstructure, after restoration.

Fig. I.45. Window sIV, scene C: architectural superstructure, after restoration.

At the time the glass was installed in the five easternmost windows of the Lady Chapel, it was necessary to add lateral borders to the panels in lights a and c,[542] with those in windows I, nII, and sII being wider than those in nIII and sIII. The wider borders are decorated with

[541] See the Catalogue, p. 248.

[542] SRO, LD30/6/3/4 (Appendix 4, no. 74).

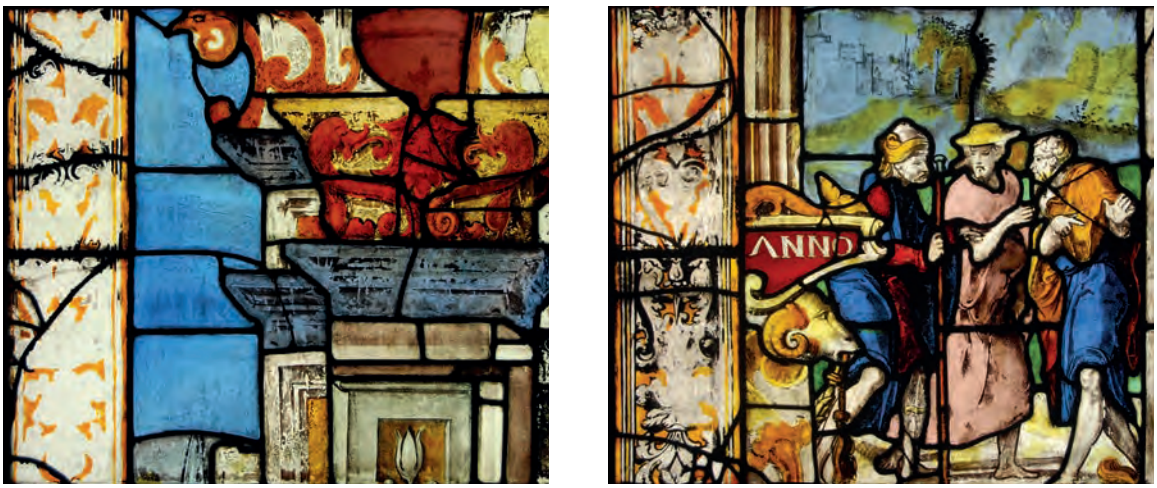


Fig. I.46a–b. Borders added at the sides of panels in the nineteenth century: (a) nII 8a; (b) I 5a.

Renaissance-style motifs (fig. I.46a–b) and the narrower ones are simply painted grey. No lateral borders were added in nIV and sIV. Horizontal bands with Renaissance-style motifs were also included below and above the scenes in windows I, nII, sII, and sIV; in nIII and sIII there are narrow bands painted grey, and in nIV there are wide bands, at the foot and the head of the window, painted with broad motifs (fig. I.47a–b). All these borders are clearly

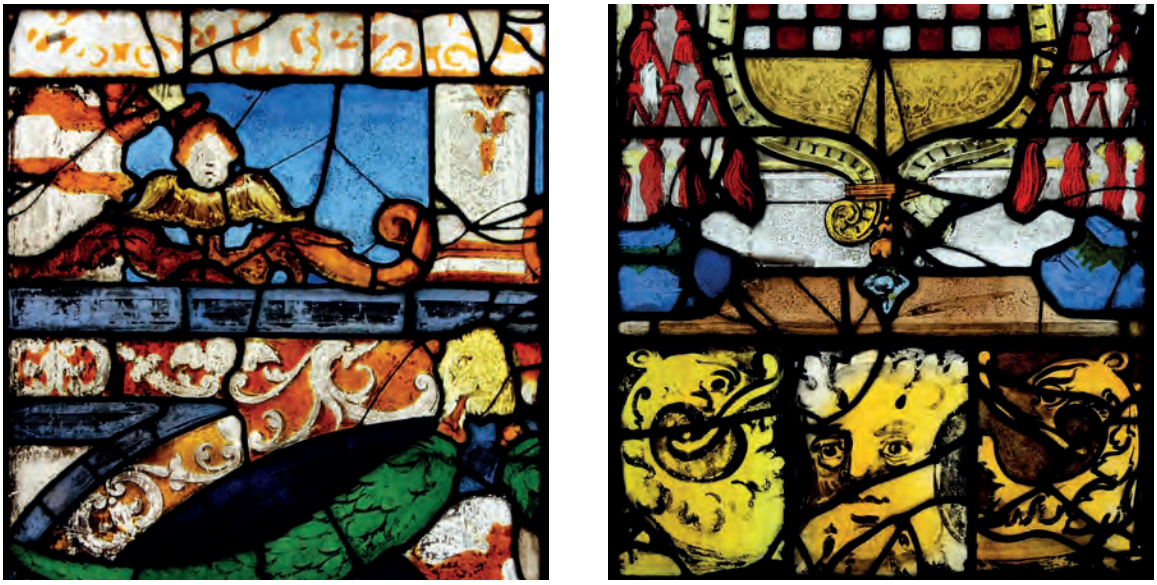


Fig. I.47a–b. Borders added at the tops and bottoms of panels: (a) nII 8b; (b) nIV 1b.

visible in the view of the Lady Chapel published in Britton's *History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Lichfield* of 1820 (fig. I.48). Over the course of time, the borders have been damaged, probably because, on the various occasions when the glass was removed from the windows, they were considered to be 'sacrificial strips'. The constituent panes of these borders therefore date from different periods, as is evidenced also by the manner in which the glass was manufactured. Those that date from the time the glass was first installed are of extremely thin glass, and the glass-paint, which is thick, black, and powdery, and has a 'spongy'[543] appearance in places, has almost completely disappeared. The borders to scene A in window I date to 1876 and differ from the earlier ones, in that the glass-paint is better

[543] At the time, glass-paint was probably mixed with sugar (instead of gum Arabic, for example), which gave it this 'spongy', bubbly, and granular appearance, and which reduced its ability to adhere to the glass. Information kindly supplied by Keith Barley.

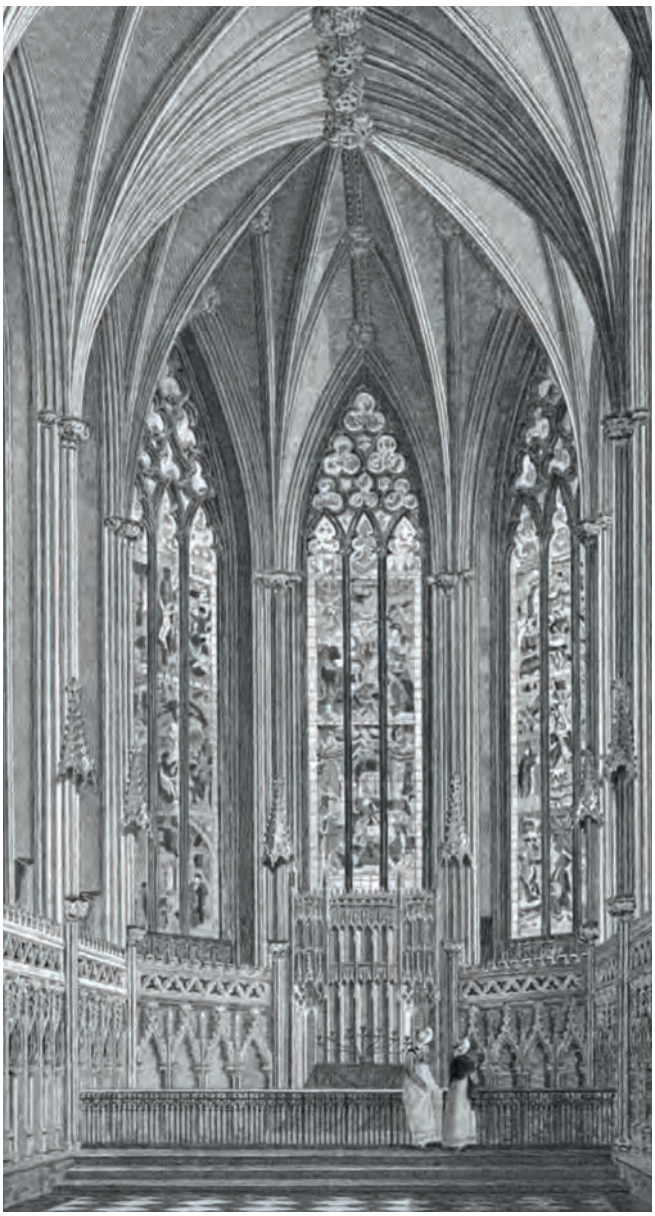


Fig. I.48. View of the windows in the Lady Chapel with their borders (Britton 1820, pl. XI, between pp. 42 and 43, detail; cf. fig. Cat. I.4).

preserved. Replacement border pieces probably dating to the Burlison & Grylls restoration of 1885–89 are of thicker glass, with glass-paint that is redder in colour under reflected light, and the wide borders now in nIV date in all likelihood stem from the 1892 intervention undertaken by Winfield and Camm.[544] Lastly, there are some unassignable pieces that have been painted clumsily, or simply, with grey paint.

The panels from the heads of the main lights at Herkenrode, which were either trefoil- or round-headed, could not be reused at Lichfield in their original form; similarly, we do not know the form of the tracery panels at Herkenrode, nor which pieces of glass were retrieved from them. The 1803 inventory has one mention of 'Tops of Windows',[545] and the 'small' case that arrived contained fragments that may have been of this type, as well as colourless glass. When the glass was installed in the Lady Chapel traceries, the glaziers included pieces that probably came from the Herkenrode traceries – heads of winged angels, decorative motifs, initials, and shields. Pieces were sometimes set on salvaged glass, creating the appearance

[544] Payments are made on several occasions for making borders. These were no doubt entrusted to less experienced glaziers, and while the Renaissance-style motifs harmonize very well with the period at which the glass was executed, their pictorial qualities still leave something to be desired.

[545] SRO, LD30/6/3/3, Eginton's inventory, p. 3 (Appendix 4, no. 40).

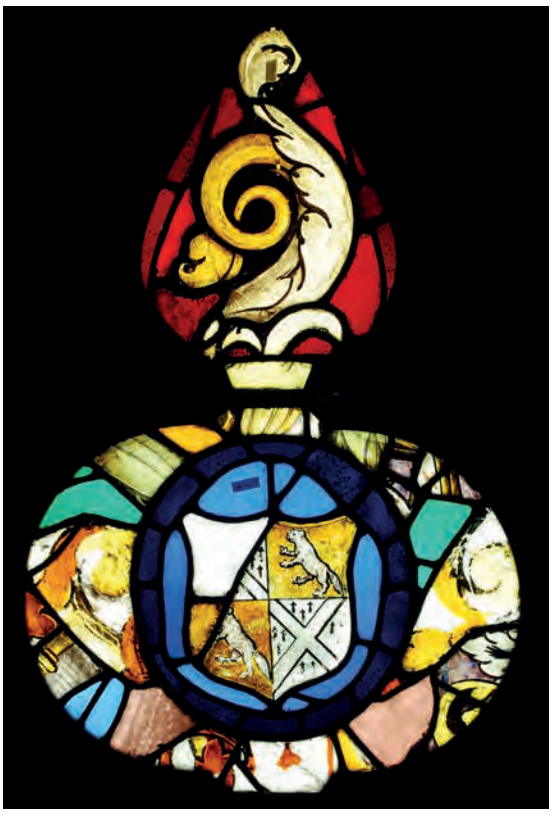


Fig. I.49a–b. Nineteenth-century arrangements in the heads of the main lights in the Lady Chapel: (a) nII 14–15b; (b) nIV 11c.

of medallions, which in turn were set on grounds of miscellaneous fragments of old or nineteenth-century English glass (figs I.49–50).[546] The traceries of windows I, nII, sII, and sIII consist almost exclusively of Herkenrode glass bearing decorative motifs; in contrast the traceries of nIII, nIV, and sIV consist mainly of salvaged English pieces of nineteenth-century date.

Fig. I.50a–b. Nineteenth-century arrangements in tracery compartments in the Lady Chapel: (a) I C1; (b) sII E1.

[546] See the Catalogue, pp. 204–205.

Stop-gaps and Replacements

The panels that were listed as missing in the 1803 inventory of the cases that arrived from Herkenrode were clearly identified subsequently, as they are shown in the sketches of the different scenes executed in 1804 and are now in place in the windows. For the gaps within panels, the early nineteenth-century glaziers generally did not attempt to replicate the design in new glass: pieces that were missing or in too poor condition were replaced with stop-gaps, or (for very small gaps) white glass with a grey wash. Indeed, one of the principal observations concerning the glass's authenticity is the particularly high number of stop-gaps. They are found mainly along the edges of panels and in corners, locations that are the most likely to have been affected by the removal of the glass from Herkenrode in 1802. The different stop-gaps were often carefully chosen from the stock of Herkenrode glass to harmonize with the surrounding colours (fig. I.51b, nIV 9d); in some cases, the choices of stop-gap were slightly more fanciful (fig. I.51a, sII 6b, donkey). They were sometimes inserted reversed (sII 6c), or upside down (I 8a).

Fig. I.51a–b. Stop-gaps inserted in the early nineteenth-century: (a) sII 6b; (b) nIV 9d.

Some panels have a very large proportion of stop-gaps, in clothing, architecture, ornament, and backgrounds. Several areas of clothing and background are assembled from pieces that may be of various dates, but the state of the glass-paint does not allow them to be dated more precisely. The scenes with the presentations of figures at prayer from the former nuns' choir seem to have suffered more damage than the sacred scenes, and the stop-gaps are more numerous in the lower registers of these scenes than in the upper ones. The level of damage to nIV, scene D is especially high: there are stop-gaps and a large number of pieces of nineteenth-century date in the left-hand side of the donor, in the panels with the donor's wife, and in the architecture and background; the left-hand side of the tablecloth contains well-chosen pieces salvaged from elsewhere; and a floral stop-gap replaces the upper part of the Crucifixion on the altar. In several cases, the damage clearly resulted from strikes that caused multiple fractures, most frequently in star-formation. Most of these must date to the final days of Herkenrode Abbey. In sXV, the figures at prayer in lights a and c are clearly assembled from the final usable pieces from Herkenrode, as the large number of stop-gaps attests; yet at a distance these stop-gaps pass more or less unnoticed.

Some new heads were inserted in the nineteenth century, as is documented in the archives – two heads of Christ's companions at Emmaus (I, scene B, 4a and 5c), and the head of the Virgin of the Annunciation (nII, scene A, 2c); this last one is characterized by a total loss of glass-paint that has left no trace on the glass itself. The heads executed during the Burlison & Grylls restoration of 1885–89 may in some cases replace heads introduced at the start of the century, for example, the heads in lights a and c of scene B in the east window (fig. I.52) have a dense paint that appears red in reflected light, which can be compared with that on the heads in the firm's new glass of 1876 in scene A below. Only a small number of pieces date from the reinstallation of the glazing in 1945, and the same can be said of Barley Studio restoration in 2011–2014, during which only very small pieces that were completely splintered, mainly at the borders, were replaced. The only significant replacement from this phase is found in the damask of the canopy in the scene of Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV 3b, fig. I.53): a very disfiguring unpainted yellow piece that was probably inserted in 1945 was replaced by a piece painted with a pattern identical to that of the adjacent damask; this was possible because of the repetitive nature of the textile's decoration. All the new pieces inserted during the course of the Barley Studio intervention are signed and dated (fig. I.54).

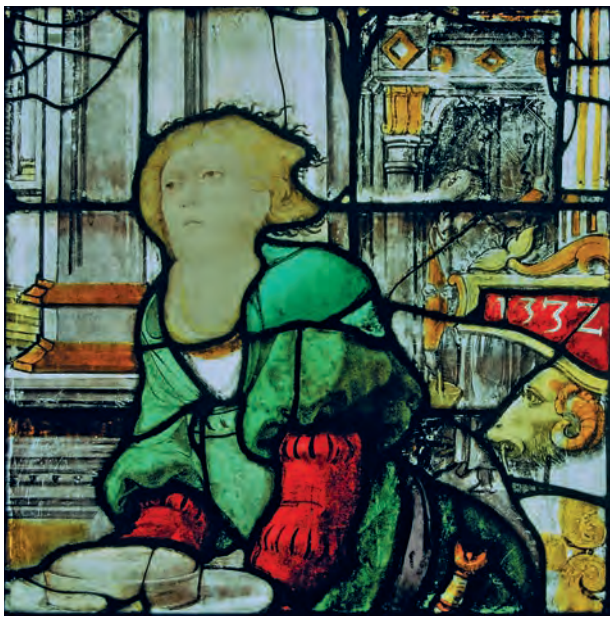


Fig. I.52. Figure with replacement head by Burlison & Grylls, late nineteenth century, I 5c.

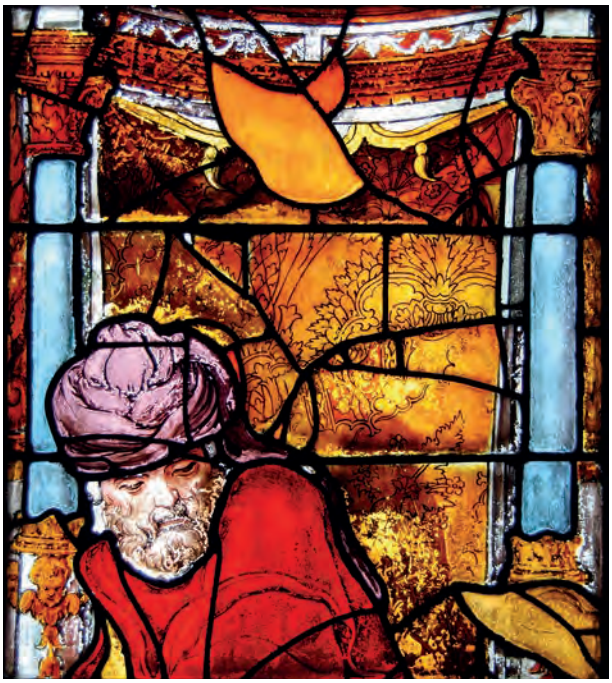


Fig. I.53. Replacement of a lost piece with one painted by Barley Studio: the canopy in sIV 3b.

Fig. I.54. Barley Studio signature on replacement pieces in nIII 7b.

Condition

In 1803, the terms employed in the drawing up of the inventory to describe the unwrapped panels give an idea of their then state: 'fragments', 'fragments of different sorts', 'fragments joind together', 'missing', 'uncertain', 'paper'd on both sides', etc. Repairs proved necessary, not only to mend breaks, but also to replace missing or severely deteriorated pieces (see above). Some of the painting was also retouched. As noted, it was also necessary to adapt the scenes to the windows in which they were to be placed (and, in the case of nIV and sIV, to adapt the stonework of the openings). Despite the copiousness of the documentation relating to the purchase, transport, and installation of the glazing, which is exceptional for the period, there are relatively few details in the archives on specific tasks.

Leading

Apart from that associated with some of the armorial bearings and decorative elements that exemplify complex glass-cutting,[547] no leading earlier than the nineteenth century has been found in the glazing, though the presence of leads from several different periods may be observed. Generally speaking, it is evident that the numerous later interventions have disturbed the original lead networks and therefore also the legibility from a distance of individual forms and scenes.

Some of the early nineteenth-century leads survive; these occur in two widths and are either flat or rounded. Both types are sometimes found in the same panel; the narrower ones serve as repair leads and were introduced in some cases without grozing the edges of the fragments. The leads in scene A of window I date to 1876 (Burlison & Grylls). In windows nII, I, and sII–IV there are leads narrower than those of the start of the nineteenth century, with a rounded profile; these date from the general restoration of the windows undertaken between 1885 and 1889 by Burlison & Grylls, although there was no general systematic releading at this time (pp. 58–61).[548] Evidence from the archives shows that this restoration was interrupted, probably for financial reasons, and that restoration of the last two windows in the Lady Chapel (nIII and nIV) was entrusted in 1892 to Winfield and Camm of Birmingham, whose releading was heavier (pp. 61–63).[549] In rare cases, leading was doubled up during earlier restorations to rectify problems associated with panel sizes. In addition, patches of solder, sometimes of considerable size, were added at the edges and to block small holes when repair leads were inserted. During the most recent invention, solder was again used, to fill in very small holes along the edges, but these are hidden by the ironwork.

If one compares the photographs of the windows that appear in Hugh Bright's guide *Lichfield Cathedral: The Lady Chapel Windows*, first published in 1932, with the state of the windows before the Barley Studio intervention of 2011–14, an increase in the number of leads is apparent. These are the strap-leads added in 1945, which were intended to seal the breaks in the glass; there was no general releading at the time. During the Barley Studio intervention, no complete releading of scenes was undertaken, and it was only deemed necessary to replace the lead or repair the soldering in a few isolated instances. The 1945 strap-leads were removed, as were some of the multiple repair leads within panes and more clumsy individual repair leads, and the pieces of glass edge-bonded; recent breaks were also edge-bonded. This process has greatly improved certain heads previously disfigured by repair

[547] See Technique, pp. 108–14.

[548] The 1885–89 leads are also of different widths: the horizontal leads (corresponding to the original positions of the tie-bars) are wider, as these are structural; the others are narrower. In the same way, the contour leads are wider than those found within figures or architecture, for example.

[549] We are grateful to Alison Gilchrist for this information. Scene A in nIII escaped being releaded during this phase: it had previously been removed so that a copy of the Virgin and Child in light b, destined to be the (new) scene A of window I, might be made; it was releaded on this occasion by Burlison & Grylls.


Fig. I.55a–b. Replacement of a mending lead by means of edge-bonding during the Barley Studio restoration, panel nIII 12a: (a) before; (b) after.

leads (fig. I.55a–b), while allowing all the original glass to be preserved. Other especially disfiguring repair leads were reduced in width in order to mitigate their visual impact (fig. I.56a–h, opposite). The head of an angel of the Annunciation in nII, which was splintered after being struck by a stone, was retained in its entirety, but reglued and retouched (fig. I.57).

Corrosion

The ancient glass has unfortunately been affected by corrosion and the disappearance of glass-paint. In 1864, Charles Winston underlined that 'although they have hitherto fortunately escaped "restoration", they have suffered materially from three centuries of exposure to the weather. The whole outer [*sic*] surface of the glass has become corroded, by which not merely the high lights, but the unpainted parts, have been toned down and subdued, and thereby not only a flatter appearance has been imparted to the windows than they must have possessed when recently executed, but even much of the effect intended by the contrast of the clear brilliancy of the sky with the comparative obscurity of the painted figures, architecture, and landscape, has been lost.'[550] From this one might conclude that in the

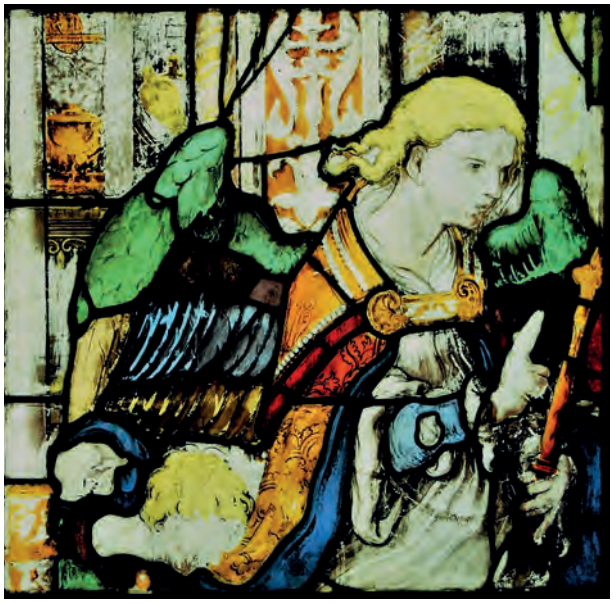


Fig. I.57. Head of the angel of the Annunciation in nII 2a, restored by Barley Studio.

[550] Winston 1864, p. 202 (1865, p. 320).

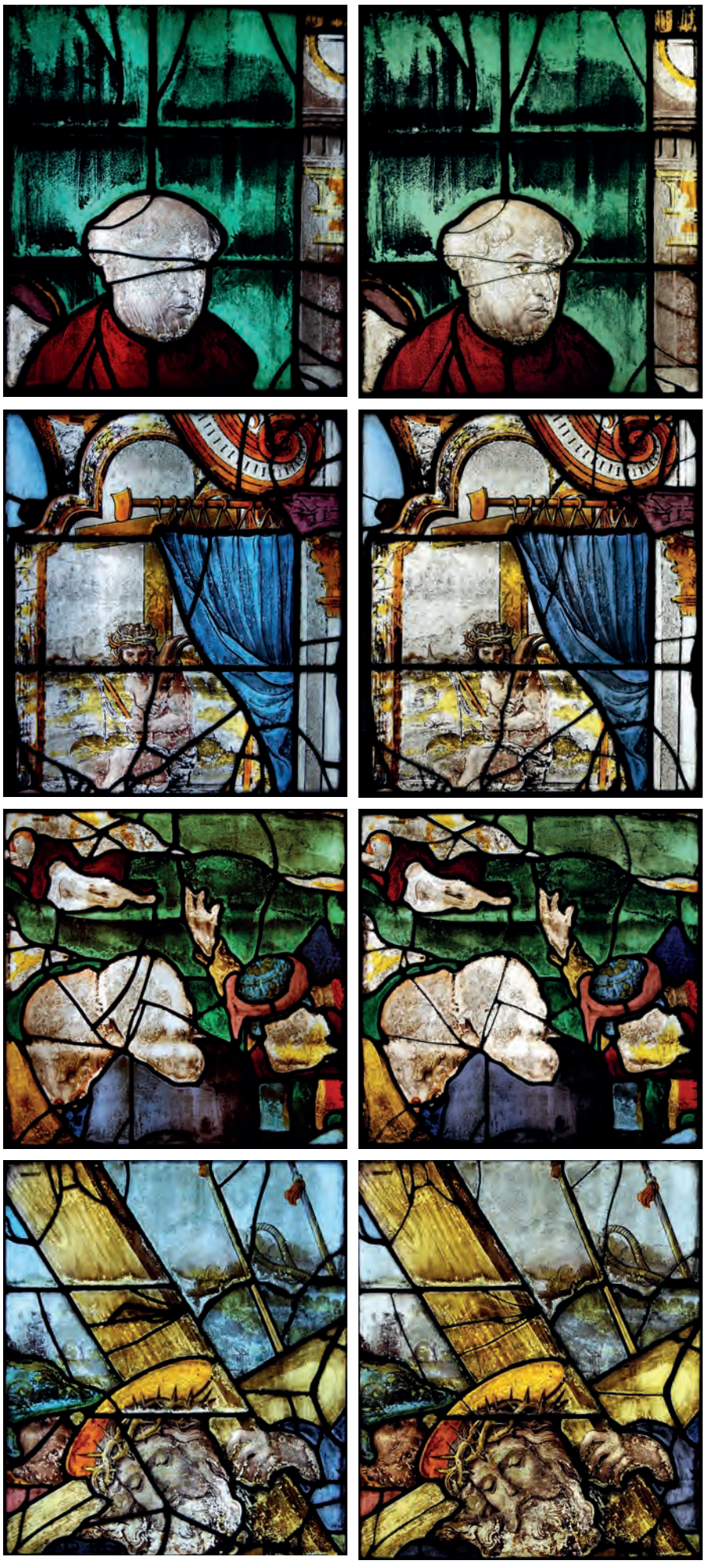


Fig. I.56a–h.
Treatment of mending leads: thinned, eliminated, or with the leaves eliminated: (a–b) the Presentation of Érard de La Marck, nIV 4b; (c–d) the Presentation of Jean de Hornes, nIV 9c; (e–f) the Arrest of Christ, sII 3b; (g–h) the Carrying of the Cross, sIV 9b.


Fig. I.58a–b. Corrosion on the internal face of the glass: (a) nIII 7b; (b) sII 1a.

middle of the nineteenth century the glass was already suffering from corrosion (or deposits), and that the contrasts between the clear and the painted areas (including the figures) had been lost. Before the most recent restoration, although the glass was suffering from a 'normal' level of blemishing on both the internal and external faces, it was in fact on the interior surface that the corrosion was substantial (fig. I.58a–b).

It is not a simple matter to determine the proportion of corrosion that occurred while the glass was still at Herkenrode, and what developed after the glass's arrival in Lichfield: the glass has spent roughly the same amount of time in each location. Some stop-gaps, installed reversed (as in nIV, scene B), are corroded on what was formerly the external surface, which would seem to indicate that some corrosion certainly took place before 1800. Yet Sir Brooke Boothby may not have found the Herkenrode windows truly beautiful if the corrosion had attained a significant level and if so much paint had been lost by the time he acquired the glass, and it seems likely that the majority of the corrosion dates to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; this 'recent' corrosion is not an uncommon phenomenon in England (see, for example, the glass at Fairford, Gloucestershire).[551] Other observations also confirm the recent development of corrosion at Lichfield: for example, in sII, scene C, 9c, a stool that was clearly drawn at the time the panels were being assembled into scenes in 1803–1804, is now illegible, as are the figures and architecture in panel sII 11c (see Catalogue). The six nineteenth-century panels in scene A of window I, installed in 1876, do not show any particular signs of corrosion, either on the inside or the outside, but nineteenth-century glass was obviously more stable than ancient glass.

Certain glasses suffer from high levels of general corrosion (fig. I.59): the mauves have sometimes become completely opaque on both faces, as have the reds (in the flashed layer), apart from one type of red (for example, in sII, scene C, 10a), which has resisted all forms of decay. A particular type of corrosion with micro-fissures that lends certain glasses a petrified appearance, has rendered them completely opaque; cases of this are thankfully very rare,[552]

Fig. I.59. Example of extensive corrosion: nIII 3b.

[551] Keith Barley, personal communication.

[552] In light of the fragility of these pieces, Barley Studio preferred not to intervene.

and the original colour of the glass can still be established from the glass under the leads, which served to protect those portions. The uncoloured glasses have likewise suffered greatly, but others (the blue glasses for example) much less. Other factors, such as the positions of the various pieces within the panel, have exacerbated the corrosion locally: it is more marked above leads, where condensation gathered over the years. Corrosion is also less significant in the areas beneath the tie-bars and saddle-bars, albeit on the exterior faces. The painting media – glass-paint and sanguine – and the yellow stain also seem to have protected the glass, which can be corroded between painted contour lines or matts.

In many cases, the corrosion is not homogeneous. Its current generally very smooth appearance is clearly the result of a previous, vigorous cleaning (evidenced by scratches and other marks) undertaken with inadequate cleaning products. The rubbing involved caused new damage to the glass, which is not very resistant; this in turn has produced an increase in the level of corrosion.[553] The corrosion can vary from scene to scene within a window (nIII). On some pieces of glass, the corrosion is more substantial in the centre of the piece than at the edges; on others its distribution is more random, with individual parts of a single piece of glass spared its effects.[554] In certain cases, isolated corrosion pits, which may or may not still hold corrosion products, are clearly visible (fig. I.60a–b). It should be noted that on occasion

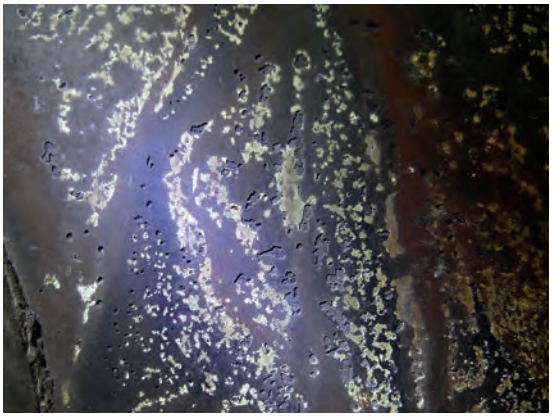


Fig. I.60a–b. Corrosion pits: (a) sIII 4c; (b) nII 2c.

pieces cut from the same sheet of glass (as is shown by the striations on the surface that continue perfectly from one piece to the next) are very corroded, whereas another piece of glass inserted between them and stemming from another sheet is not corroded. This demonstrates that the composition of the glass is one of the determining factors in its corrosion (e.g., sII, scene A, 4a). Lastly, there can be more than one type of corrosion on the same piece of glass (e.g., nIII 1c or nIV 9b), which may indicate a lack of homogeneity in the glass before blowing (fig. I.61).[555]

Fig. I.61. Unhomogenous glass exhibiting different levels of corrosion on the same piece: nIV 9b.

[553] Burlison & Grylls must have cleaned the glass; its appearance, noted as dull in the 1880, was later stated as being 'unnaturally bright post-restoration'; Lonsdale 1895, p. 15.

[554] These differences in level of corrosion stem from a lack of homogeneity in the glass: during the blowing process, the softer part of the glass gathered on the pipe is worked along with the rest of the parison. This part is less resistant to corrosion, and glass-paint adheres to it less well.

[555] For budgetary reasons, no chemical analysis of the glass could be undertaken.

Loss of Glass-Paint

The loss of glass-paint obviously leads to problems of legibility and comprehensibility in the windows, mainly those of the Lady Chapel (fig. I.62). In some cases, the lost paint has left a negative trace of itself, where the unpainted surrounding glass had already had time to corrode or develop a patina before the paint disappeared. In other cases, there is no negative trace, and the corrosion has a more uniform appearance. Several types of glass-paint were used in these windows, probably employing different binding agents that fused to the glass at different temperatures, with this variation not being entirely under the glaziers' control. In some cases, the firing would have been sufficient to obtain good vitrification of the matts and washes, but not of the contour lines, which were thicker, and may have fused to the glasses insufficiently. The fragility of the thicker black glass-paint is also attested by the scratches and blemishes that deface it much more than the fine glass-paint, which is much shinier. Heaton noticed the fragility of the glazing's painted surface and the loss of glass-paint in most of the figures as early as 1932.[556] In some scenes, the paint loss is almost total and has rendered many faces, hands, and drapery movements illegible (fig. I.63); the paint is also sometimes preserved to differing degrees in the same scene, or even (more strangely) on the same piece of glass. From time to time, the paint has disappeared from the interior surface, but proved resilient on the exterior surface. Yet there are instances where the black glass-paint has survived very well, including for faces. It is in much better condition in windows nVI, sVI, and sXV,[557] probably because these windows have been subjected to fewer restoration and cleaning interventions.

Fig. I.62. Loss of glass-paint: sIV 3a.

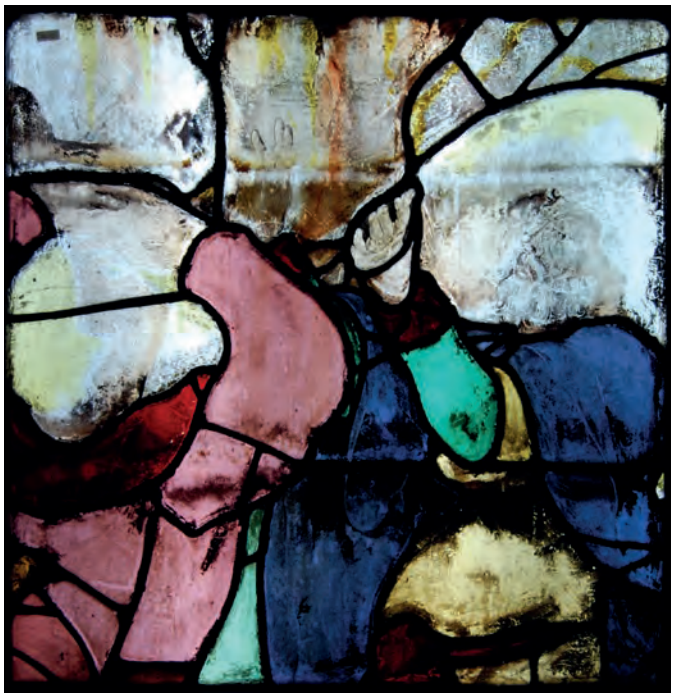


Fig. I.63. Total loss of glass-paint and therefore legibility of facial features: I 10b

[556] SRO, LD30/6/3/11, technical report by Noel Heaton (Appendix 4, no. 101).

[557] It is also interesting to note that the ancient pieces of two lower panels from the figure of St John at the Crucifixion (now in Shrewsbury), together with the other portions of the same scene preserved in sXV, have also retained their glass-paint much better than the Lady Chapel windows; they have not been subjected to the same degree of cleaning.

During the most recent restoration by Barley Studio, in order to rectify the total lack of legibility in faces where the glass-paint had disappeared completely, it was proposed to the restoration advisory committee that legibility be restored by painting some outlines on the exterior face in a reversible procedure, though adopting a minimalist approach. The proposal was accepted for those cases where the procedure could genuinely improve the legibility of the scene, and the outlines were painted by Helen Whittaker.[558]

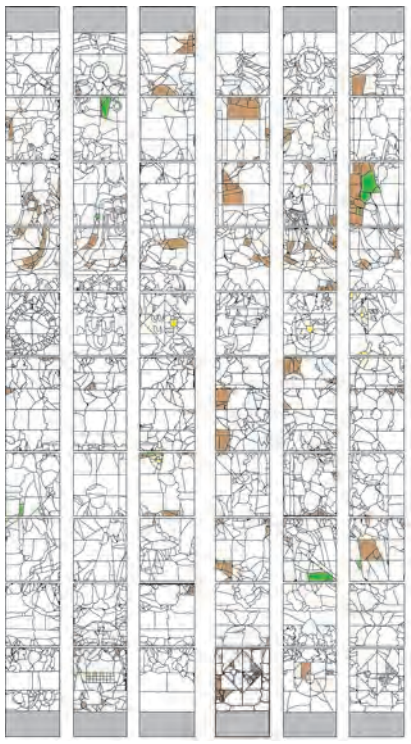
Authenticity

The assessment of the originality or otherwise of the various constituent pieces of glass undertaken *in situ* with the aid of binoculars at the end of the 1970s[559] has now been superseded by the examination undertaken of the panels while they were in the studio in 2011–2014. The very low percentage of replacement pieces identified during this four-year period is in strong contrast to the massive restorations suffered by nearly all stained glass in Belgium in the nineteenth century. Some observations however did call into doubt the authenticity of individual pieces or parts of panels: large areas of dark paint in backgrounds allowed the possibility to be entertained that the glass had been repainted, and significant differences in the treatment of the glass-paint led to suspicions that there were replacement pieces, including heads, beyond those known from documentary sources. Close examination on the light-table however was able to allay doubts as to the authenticity of faces that had been executed in various ways: the faces in fact bear witness to the glass-painters' broad technical and expressive capabilities, as well as the presence of several hands. Furthermore, the dark areas in the backgrounds were seen to constitute one aspect of a very characteristic method of depicting shadow.[560] Examination of the panels on the light-table when assembled as complete scenes made it possible to check the continuity or otherwise of particular motifs, which were sometimes puzzling, from one panel to another; observe the logic of the symmetry of motifs in different panels; understand the relevance of certain small pieces that did not seem to belong; and compare the texture and surfaces of the different glasses, etc.

It was also possible to verify the authenticity of the glazing, though only on a very general level, by comparisons with the sketches executed in 1804 after the scenes had been reconstructed at Lichfield.[561] Unlike the backgrounds in these sketches, which often lack detail, the drawing of the figures, their poses, and other details was executed with a great degree of precision in some cases, although in others it was much more summary. It is sometimes possible to establish that there was a gap or discontinuous passage in the sketch, which confirms that these parts had already disappeared or were missing in the early nineteenth century, and that the insertions in these areas can be attributed to the English glaziers. In contrast, in rare cases, the stop-gap appears to have been present before the panel's arrival in Lichfield, which demonstrates that makeshift repairs were carried out in Herkenrode; for example, the stop-gap in the corner of sII is visible in the 1804 sketch. The sketches also made it possible to dispel doubts concerning the authenticity of certain elements. It was not possible however to establish with absolute certainty whether any restorations (other than the insertions of stop-gaps) predate the arrival of the panels in England, so one cannot but wonder at the glass's excellent state of preservation. The pieces that may be pre-nineteenth-century replacements do not disturb the coherence of the scenes as they are now, and the significant corrosion on the interior face of the glass has had the effect of endowing the whole with a certain uniformity. Furthermore, there are very few instances of variation in the colour of the glass-paint that might have provided evidence of old replacements.

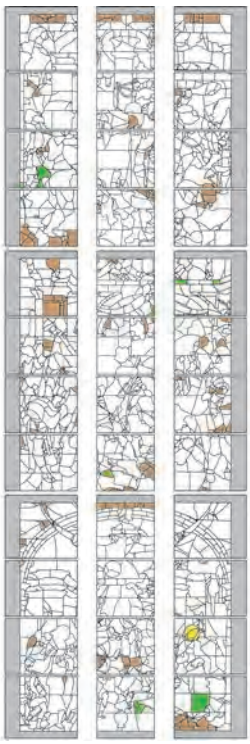
In the restoration diagrams published here only replacement pieces that are undeniably such are marked (fig. I.64a–b, overleaf). Some areas of uniform colour in the background

[558] See further p. 75 and Appendix 7.
[559] Vanden Bemden and Kerr 1986.
[560] See Style, pp. 121ff.
[561] See the section by Marie Groll, p. 44.

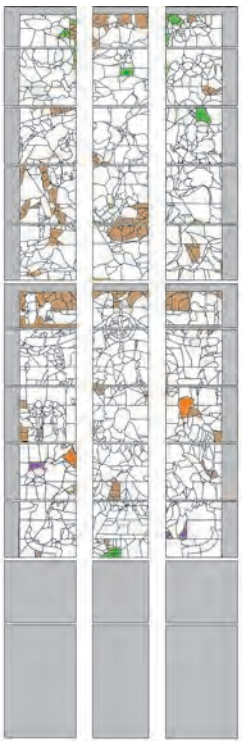


Window nIV

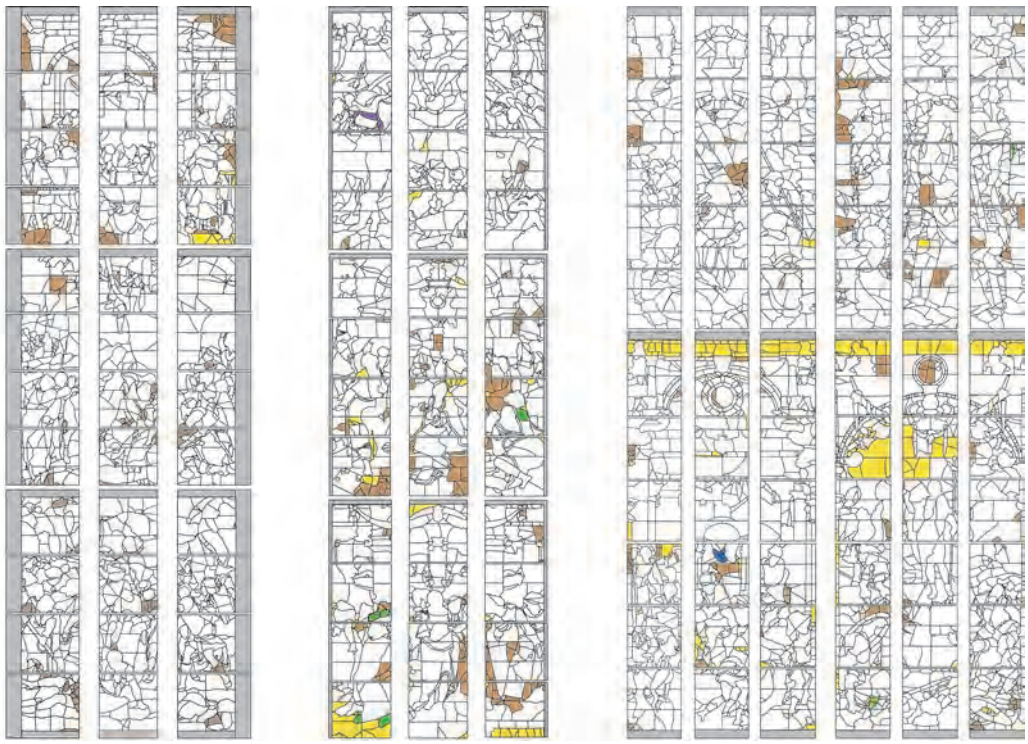
Window nIII



Window nII



Window I



Window sII Window sIII Window sIV

Fig. I.64a–b.
(a) The Herkenrode glazing in the Lady Chapel;
(b) restoration diagrams of the Lady Chapel windows, demonstrating the significant proportion of glazing from Herkenrode.

(sky and clouds) or clothing could possibly be replacements, but it is difficult to determine their age, either as a result of corrosion, or because there is a lack of paintwork. In cases of doubt, these pieces are here considered to be unrestored. Grey has been used for the borders added in England at the start of the nineteenth century, as well as for panels created to complete the glazing of I, nVI, sVI, and sXV; brown for stop-gaps of old glass, whatever the date of the inserted glass or the date of its insertion; yellow for restorations from the first quarter of the nineteenth century (especially 1803–1816); orange for those of the last quarter of the nineteenth century (especially 1885–89 and 1892–95); and blue for restorations undertaken by Barley Studio 2011–2014. Green indicates an intervention of indeterminate date, and violet a probable but only hypothetical restoration. No differentiation has been made between repair leads and assembly leads; in the same way, the narrowing of leads has not been noted in the diagrams, nor have instances of edge-bonding, as these do not affect the authenticity of the piece in question.[562] The parts of the panels added at the heads of the lights that did not originally belong with the scenes above which they are now situated are not included in the diagrams.

Glaziers' Marks and Inscriptions

The written and scratched markings on the Herkenrode glass in the Lady Chapel, which are found on both the interior and exterior faces, fall into several categories: marks relating to the assembly of a panel; marks (that can be associated with various interventions) relating to the position of the panel in the window; those recording the initials or names of glaziers; and nineteenth-century inscriptions by glaziers giving the year in which glass was reinstalled, sometimes even specifying the exact date, and signatures. The meanings of other markings have escaped interpretation. Difficulties of access to the glass that was not removed and examined on the light table during the Barley Studio restoration (and therefore only examined *in situ*) meant that it was not possible to study any marks or inscriptions on them in detail (nVI, sVI, sXII, sXIII, sXV).

Arabic and Roman Numerals Scratched on the Exterior Face

The Arabic numerals on the exterior faces of panels clearly go back to the start of the nineteenth century (fig. I.65).[563] They number the panels of each scene, from 1 to 12 for the sacred scenes in nII, sII, and sIII; from 1 to 6 for the presentations of figures at prayer in nIII; and from 1 to 15 or 1 to 18 for the scenes in nIV and sIV. These numbers must have been scratched on when the scenes were being assembled at Lichfield, and they correspond to the numbers added in ink to the drawings of the different scenes executed in 1804 (with two exceptions: the drawings of the Arrest of Christ and Christ Leaving Pilate). Some of the numbers are partly hidden beneath restoration leads dating to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The numbering is complete for some scenes, but incomplete or confused for others, and in some cases there are errors.

Fig. I.65. Arabic numeral of the type scratched on the reverse of panels at the start of the nineteenth century to indicate their positions within each scene (sII 6a).

[562] All information on these various points may also be found in the restoration files in Barley Studio.

[563] Roman numerals are also visible on the exterior face of certain panels, though these are less easy to explain.

Pencil Markings on the Interior Face

Some inscriptions in pencil, sometimes very hard to detect, were noted on the obverses of panels while they were being examined in the studio before restoration (fig. I.66). They date from the removal of the panels in 1939 or their reinstallation in 1945. The logic of these markings was fairly easy to establish. They consisted of the window number (2 for nIV, 3 for nIII, 4 for nII, 5 for I, 6 for sII, 7 for sIII, and 8 for sIV), followed or preceded by the word 'window' or the letter W. The window number was followed by a row number, with the rows counted from top to bottom, and the letter A, B, C, D, E, or F to indicate the light. The markings are not consistently preserved: sometimes they survive almost in their entirety and are repeated several times on the same panel, but occasionally they are very incomplete. The markings were mainly noted at the heads of the panels, and during the Barley Studio intervention many disappeared during cleaning.

Fig. I.66. Inscription in pencil indicating the position of a panel in a window, specifying the light and the row ('*5 window | B10*'), 1939 or 1945.

A few crosses (e.g., sIII 2a–c) or numerals (e.g., '*5*' in sIII 10c) were scratched from the paint on the obverse side, although they do not appear to have a meaning for the scheme as a whole. There are also marks scratched into the paint or the glass (e.g., '*O*' in I G1), the meaning of which is unclear, and others that cannot be identified.

Markings in the Tracery Glass

In the traceries, there are scratched markings that are clearly assembly marks, but they are sometimes difficult to interpret, in so far as the pieces are often no longer associated with those originally adjacent to them. In sIII, for example, in the upper lobe of C2, all the red pieces of the chevron on the shield are scratched with a cross, and the shells are marked I, II, III; the lower piece of ermine is scratched with a '*y*' (the two upper pieces of ermine, which are not marked, could be replacements). In G1 there are some scratched letters in the lower right-hand lobe, and the red bobbins on the shield are numbered I, II, III, IIII on the exterior face (fig. I.67).

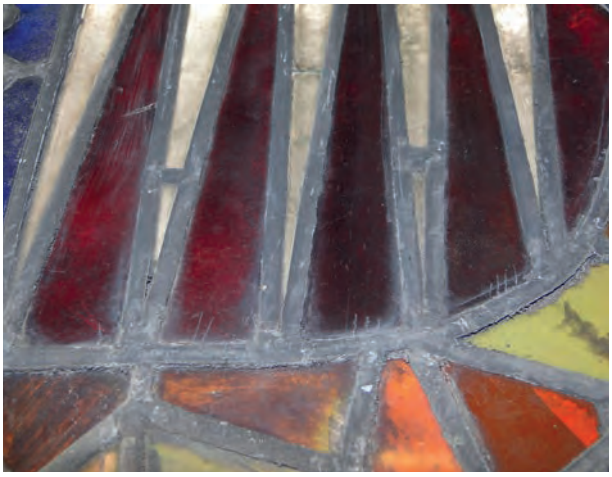


Fig. I.67. Assembly marks for the constituent elements of a shield in sIII G1.

Glaziers' Inscriptions[564]

Several glaziers etched their names clearly onto the glass, generally in the tracery, sometimes adding a specific date at which the work was undertaken (see further the Catalogue); this occurred both during the installation of the glass at the start of the nineteenth

[564] See the section by Marie Groll, pp. 48–51.

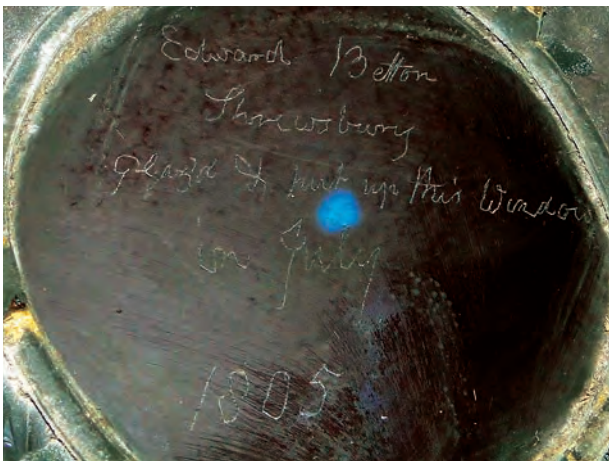


Fig. I.68a–c. Signatures of glaziers made during the installation of the windows at Lichfield in the early nineteenth century: (a) Edward Betton, 1805, sIII A2; (b) Thomas Bayley and Robert Roberts, 1806, sII G1; (c) Thomas Bayley and Richard Harris, 1807, nIV G1.

century (fig. I.68a–c) as well as during the Burlison & Grylls restoration and the work undertaken by Winfield (fig. I.69a–b). Other glaziers were content to scratch the glass, which was easily done, simply in order to record their names (fig. I.70a–b). In one case, the late nineteenth-century restorers added their signatures to those of their predecessors from the early nineteenth century (nIII 13b, fig. I.71).

Fig. I.69a–b. Signatures of glaziers made during the reinstallation of the windows at Lichfield in the late nineteenth century: (a) H. Underhill, 1887, sII E2; (b) H. J. Davis and R. Kimpton, 1892, sII E2.

Fig. I.70a–b. Names scratched into the glass-paint: (a) H. Grew, sIII 3a; (b) John, sIII 1b.

Fig. I.71. Signatures of the late nineteenth-century glaziers H. J. Davis and R. Kimpton (1892) added to those of the early nineteenth-century glaziers Thomas Bayley and Robert Roberts (1806) on the same cross.

Iconography

The Figures at Prayer

The figures at prayer clearly belong to two distinct categories: the high aristocracy and the local gentry.[565]

Four high-status figures at prayer occupied honorific and prominent positions within the apse in the former abbey church, thereby affirming their familial and social standing:[566] Érard de La Marck (1472–1538), prince-bishop of the principality of Liège; Floris van Egmond (1469–1539), who knew the prince-bishop well and was his testamentary executor, and his wife Marguerite de Bergues (1469–1539); Floris's son Maximiliaan (1500–1548) and his wife Françoise de Lannoy (1513–1560/62); and Floris's daughter Anne (1502–1574) and his son-

[565] There is not space in the present work to probe the donors' socio-economic, institutional, and ecclesiastical contexts more deeply. Dedicated studies by specialist authors will no doubt cast further light on these issues in future.

[566] See the Catalogue for nIV, pp. 244ff.

in-law, Jean de Hornes (1495–1540/41). All the figures are accompanied either by their name saint (Jean de Hornes); their familial saint (Floris and Maximiliaan van Egmond); or, in the case of the prince-bishop of Liège, by St Lambert, patron saint of the diocese and the city of Liège. In Lichfield, these donors have been brought together in window nIV (as scenes C, B, D, and A respectively). Each of the male figures kneels at a prie-dieu, on which there is an open book. Behind the married men are their spouses, likewise kneeling, in the same attitude and accompanied by their patron saints (although the saint accompanying Maximiliaan's wife in nIV, scene D, has not been identified). The couples all pray before an altar on which there is a holy image: the Virgin and Child (nIV, scene B), Christ awaiting death (nIV, scene C), and the Crucifixion (nIV, scene D). There is no holy image on the altar of Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck; this is not uncommon at this period however, and in a humanist context, he may have preferred to have the emphasis placed solely on the text in the book. The figures are also accompanied by their personal devices and armorials, surrounded by ornaments, and wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece (in the cases of those who were members of that Order); the arms of the prince-bishop, along with his cardinalatial insignia, are framed by his motto. Apart from Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck, the donor in sXV is the only senior prelate known to have been represented in a window at Herkenrode. Several suggestions can be made as to his identity, one of which receives particular support from the presence of a shield in sII 13b; the individual in question could be Corneille de Berghes, Érard de La Marck's coadjutor and successor. The figure presenting him can be identified as David (fig. I.72). The glazing has been assigned to window *NIV* in the abbey church at Herkenrode, a privileged location that would reflect his ecclesiastical status. This glass could have been in

Fig. I.72. David presenting an ecclesiastic in sXV.

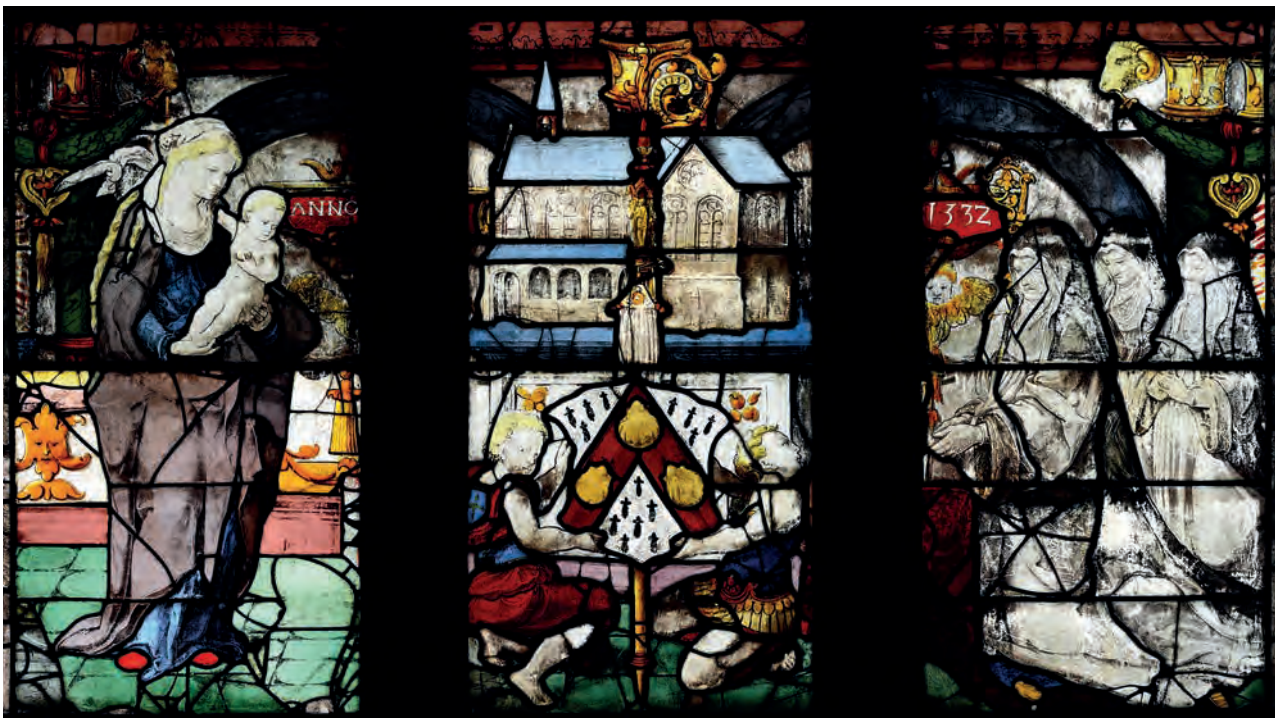


Fig. I.73. Window nIII, scene A: the de Lexhy sisters at prayer.

the easternmost window on the north side of the nuns' choir, as its composition is similar to that of other windows that were there, but the buildings that formerly obscured the opening in this bay render this suggestion unlikely, so *NIV* was probably on the northern side of the liturgical choir. See further pp. xcvii–xcviii.

The scenes with figures at prayer formerly located in the nun's choir at Herkenrode, now found in windows nIII, nVI, sVI, and sXV at Lichfield,[567] are less developed than those formerly in the apse at the abbey church, because the windows were of smaller dimensions. These figures also kneel at prie-dieus that carry a book (open or closed), and can be accompanied by one or more saints, a spouse, a son, as well as one or more shields placed between or above them. Unfortunately, some shields may have been omitted when the glass was installed at Lichfield, and a few were poorly integrated (e.g., nIII, scene F). These shields can be large in scale, as is the case of the de Weert and van den Heester glass (nIII, scene B, and sVI).

In nIII, scene A is a depiction not of an individual nor a couple, but of three nuns, who can be identified as Mathilde, Aleyde, and Marie de Lexhy. There is nothing to remind the viewer of their familial origin, but they are very clearly associated with the abbey and its past, as is indicated by the armorial of Abbess de Lobosch (fig. I.73). Mathilde de Lexhy also commissioned a beautiful Crucifixion window for her private chapel (now in the church of St Giles in Ashtead), as well as stained glass for other sacred contexts.[568] In contrast, the family of the de Lexhy nuns (Gertrude, Mathilde, Aleyde, Marie) is well represented among the figures at prayer now in window nIII at Lichfield: scene F shows the parents of Abbess Mathilde (Henri de Lexhy and his wife Christine Zelighs); scene E features Mathilde's sister and brother-in-law (Jean de Mettecoven and Marguerite de Lexhy); and in scene D we see Abbess Mathilde's niece (Agnès de Mettecoven), the daughter of Jean and Marguerite, and her husband (Gerard III van Velpen), with their son. The de Lexhy family clearly responded to Mathilde's call for help with ornamentation of the church. Members of the families of other nuns were also generous, such as Jean de la Blocquerie and his wife Gertrude Meys (nVI); Roelant de Weert and Joanna van den Heester (nIII, scene B, and sVI); and the Pipenpoy

[567] See the reconstruction, pp. ciii–cv.

[568] See section III.

Fig. I.74. Window nIII, scene C: the Lactation of St Bernard, Emperor Lothair, and St Humbeline.

(sXV) and van Eyck families (shields in various tracery lights). Scene C of nIII, like those of the other figures at prayer in this window, was destined to feature beneath a sacred scene in the nuns' choir. Uniquely, it consists of representations of saints, with the donors remaining anonymous. The figures make clear reference however to the Cistercian Order, with the Lactation of St Bernard in the middle; an abbess with her staff and a tree (identified as St Humbeline, sister of St Bernard); and an emperor (who has been identified as St Lothair, fig. I.74). The 'Cistercian' nature of this group probably indicates that this window was donated by nuns of Herkenrode Abbey. Was this perhaps envisaged from the start, or did the abbey finance the stained glass itself once the stream of patronage had run dry?

The figures at prayer are accompanied either by their name-saints; or by the name saint of one of the pair (as, for example, St Agnes in nIII, scene D); or by saints that had a special significance for the family. In nVI, the donor Roelant de Weert is accompanied by Roland, who was not a saint, but who was chosen as a patron.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the old shields spread among the Lady Chapel traceries. The arms identified relate to the donors detailed above and could have constituted parts of the tracery or other panels of the windows they donated to Herkenrode.[569]

The Sacred Scenes

The sacred scenes from Herkenrode depict episodes recounted in the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, as well as the Resurrection of the Dead (fig. I.64a–b, pp. 96–97). Various factors dictated the order in which the sacred scenes were installed at Lichfield, including the space available in the windows. They were not installed at Lichfield in accordance with the iconographic programme that existed at Herkenrode, even though the 1804 sketches of the scenes show that the correct order had been identified. For reasons unknown,[570] the Crucifixion, which existed in an incomplete state in 1802, was not placed in the Lady Chapel; some of it was later relegated to the choir nave (sXII) and the chapel of St Michael in the south transept (sXV and possibly sXIII). With this glass and the lower portion of the figure of St John in the church of St Mary in Shrewsbury, the scene can be reconstructed in part.

[569] See Appendix 6.

[570] See the section by Marie Groll, pp. 46–47. Less glass is extant now than in the drawing made after the glass arrived in Lichfield, which shows fifteen of the eighteen panels.

In all probability, the sacred scenes at Lichfield constitute the whole of the original cycle at Herkenrode (see above, pp. ciii–cv). The cycle focuses on redemption, which is announced in the Annunciation and Visitation (nII, scene A). This is followed by episodes from the Passion, beginning (at least in the gospel of St John) with the Entry into Jerusalem (sII, scene B), followed by the Last Supper (sII, scene C); the Arrest of Christ and Christ praying on the Mount of Olives (sII, scene A); the Flagellation (nII, scene C); the Crowning with Thorns and Derision of Christ (nII, scene B); Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV, scene A); the Carrying of the Cross (sIV, scene C); the Crucifixion (fragments in sXII, possibly sXIII, sXV, and in Shrewsbury); and the Deposition (sIV, scene D). There followed the Resurrection (sIV, scene B); the Supper at Emmaus and Encounter on the Road to Emmaus (I, scene B); and the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Incredulity of St Thomas (sIII, scene A). The cycle concluded with scenes of Christ's departure at the Ascension (I, scene C); the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (sIII, scene B); and the Resurrection of the Dead (sIII, scene C), the final page in the history of humanity.

Beyond consideration of its individual scenes, an iconographic cycle of this kind can be examined in relation to the type of building in which it was situated, and the person(s) who commissioned it.[571] Here, the cycle focuses mainly on the Passion and the episodes that follow it.[572] There are no episodes from Christ's infancy or public life. The cycle's first scene, the Annunciation, bears witness to the role of Mary in the work of redemption: without her acceptance, redemption would not have been possible.[573] A cycle of this scope is not exceptional for the first half of the sixteenth century. One might cite as further examples the windows (from the Annunciation until the end of time) in the choir of the collegiate church of St Waudru (Waltrude) at Mons (Hainaut, Belgium), with the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Flight into Egypt, Christ in the Temple, Crucifixion, Appearance of Christ to his Mother, Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption, Holy Trinity, and the Apocalypse (fig. I.75). The cycle dates for the most part to the period

Fig. I.75. Mons (Hainaut), collegiate church of St Waudru (Waltrude), choir glazing.

[571] Perrot 2009.

[572] Marrow 1979.

[573] The feasts of the Annunciation and the Visitation were solemn celebrations in the Cistercian Order; Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung* (online source).

Fig. I.76. Cambridge, King's College Chapel, windows on the north side: Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Adoration of the Shepherds, and Adoration of the Kings, with Old Testament antetypes.

1511–24, apart from four windows of later date (1536 for the Holy Trinity, 1542 for the Visitation, 1581 for the Nativity, and 1581–82 for the Apocalypse); a window of St Francis receiving the stigmata dates to 1615 and may have replaced a Last Judgement window.[574] In the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge (1515–31, fig. I.76)[575] – most of whose painters came from the Continent, including the former Low Countries – is an extremely developed typological cycle, which starts with the Refusal of Joachim's Offering and finishes with the Coronation of the Virgin. Over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century however, the number of very extensive cycles diminished, with schemes focusing on the most important episodes and, in some cases, mainly on glorious events.

At Herkenrode, the Crucifixion was given the location traditionally assigned to it, above the main altar, where Christ's sacrifice was repeated each day in the Eucharist. The illumination of the altar by a stained-glass window above it was also in line with the belief, strongly held from the Middle Ages onwards, that light symbolizes the divine, which is present during the sacrifice at the altar. The apse windows at Herkenrode took on particular significance, as they formed a jewel-like casket for the abbey's miraculous host,[576] which was the object of veneration for devoted pilgrims. The iconography of the cycle of windows at Herkenrode can also be compared with that of retables from the end of the fifteenth and start of the sixteenth centuries, one of the common themes of which was the Passion, sometimes accompanied by episodes from after it, and very often associated with scenes from the infancy of Christ.[577] With few exceptions, these latter scenes are never reduced in number to the Annunciation with the Visitation, as at Herkenrode. Devotion focussing on Christ's humanity, to which episodes from his infancy and Passion bear witness, developed very early in the Middle Ages, thanks to devotional literature and mystics, among whom one might single out Bernard of Clairvaux, the father of the *via affectiva*; at a later date of course, *devotio moderna* insisted on devotion

[574] Vanden Bemden 2000, esp. pp. 243–79; and Lecocq 2011, pp. 217–89.
[575] Wayment 1972, esp. pp. 5–9.
[576] See pp. lxxxiv and xcvii, among others.
[577] D'Hainaut-Zveny 2008, esp. pp. 133–47, with detailed bibliography on the subject.

at a domestic level. As with the retables,[578] the episodes represented in windows reflected the cycle of the liturgical year. Each scene plainly corresponds to an episode in the history of redemption as recounted by the evangelists, and could also function as a focus for meditation during each phase of the Eucharistic celebration, as recommended by various authors in the context of *devotio moderna*. Thus the Annunciation is proposed as a subject for meditation at the start of the liturgy, during the *introitus*; the believer should further meditate on Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane after the *sanctus*, and on Judas's kiss when the priest kisses the altar.[579] Recommendations continue in this vein right up to the end of the mass, when, during the final prayer that grace be granted, the believer should think of Christ ascended to heaven and surrounded by angels. A real connection, a 'spiritual communion', was thereby sought between the believer and Christ, between the believer's meditation during the liturgy and episodes represented on retables or, as at Herkenrode, in windows.[580]

One might wonder about the extremely compressed manner in which allusion is made to the infancy of Christ in the Herkenrode windows. The Annunciation and Visitation already encapsulated the whole idea of Christ's humanity: they must have been considered sufficient at the time, and they highlight the primary role afforded Mary in a female foundation. The various episodes from the infancy of Christ may well have seemed too narrative in nature to Abbess Mathilde. One final point should be underlined: in the Carrying of the Cross and the Deposition, Christ and the Virgin have haloes, as do the patron saints of the donors of these windows, St Lambert and St Christopher, but this is not the case in the Crucifixion, nor in any of the other windows from Herkenrode. No convincing explanation has been put forward, except perhaps that this reflects the sources on which the designer(s) drew (fig. I.77).

Fig. I.77. Virgin with halo, in the Carrying of the Cross (sIV, scene C).

The representations of the biblical episodes take the texts of the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles as their basis. In many cases, the evangelists recount the various episodes in a fairly similar manner, but in some cases and in some details, the Herkenrode scenes make reference specifically to one evangelist or the other. For example, Luke is the source for the Annunciation and the Emmaus narratives, and he is the only evangelist to mention the short man who climbed a tree in order to see Christ better as he journeyed to Jericho, a detail often taken into the iconography of the Entry into Jerusalem. Mark and Matthew recount

[578] For retables, see also Nieuwdorp 1993.

[579] D'Hainaut-Zveny 2008, pp. 254–55.

[580] For St Bernard, see among others Van Hecke 1990, pp. 15–27. Meditative practices were encouraged by authors who were adherents of *devotio moderna* at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries, such as Geert Grote, Jean Mombaer, and Simon van Venlo. For this devotional literature, its authors, and the relationship with images, see among others D'Hainaut-Zveny 2008, esp. pp. 249–58; Falque 2011; and Falque 2019.

the Crowning with Thorns, and Matthew is the only one to mention Pilate's washing of his hands and the tomb guards at the Resurrection. John is the only one to mention certain details of the Arrest, such as the torches, but also the Washing of the Feet and the departure of Judas during the Last Supper; he is also the only writer to describe Christ's Carrying of the Cross unaided, and his appearance to Thomas. Indeed, John is the only one to set out three separate appearances by Christ after his Resurrection, including that where Christ demonstrates to Thomas that he is physically real. As for the Ascension and Pentecost, these are recounted in the Acts of the Apostles. Two episodes recounted by all four evangelists vary however in their chronologies: the synoptic gospels place the Entry into Jerusalem before Christ's final ministry in the city, while John places it directly before the Last Supper and the Passion. As far as the Crowning with Thorns and the Flagellation are concerned, Matthew and Mark place them after the last confrontation with Pilate, and they are the final incidents before the Carrying of the Cross. In John's gospel however, the dialogue between Pilate and Christ is punctuated with consultations with the Jews, as well as by the Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns, and the dressing of Christ as a king for the Derision; it is after all the arguments have been set out that Pilate then sends Christ off to be crucified. There could therefore have been some doubt as to the original locations of the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, and Christ Leaving Pilate at Herkenrode. A formal analysis however allows us to determine the position of Christ Leaving Pilate: in view of its great size, this episode must have been placed in the apse above the presentation of Jean de Hornes, that is in *NIII*. This is incidentally the order in which the episodes are placed in King's College Chapel, among others.[581] If therefore the texts of all four evangelists were consulted, it was John who was consulted the most. The choice of scenes and their sequence therefore probably depended on an iconographic programme established by the nuns, who may subsequently have consulted the donors as to the manner in which they wished to be depicted, and the sacred scene with which they wanted to be associated.

Technique

Although the various technical aspects of the Herkenrode windows are not especially innovative, evolution is evident, beyond the virtuosity of the workmanship, in the means employed in order to achieve excellence. Thus the first windows to be executed can no doubt be considered products of the glazier's 'noble craft', whereas what comes to prominence in later windows is a diversification in the types of glass-paint used (and their skilful combination), variously applied, as well as an intensive and very pictorial use of sanguine.

Glass[582]

The majority of the glasses are flat, but they can also be irregular and thick. The dimensions of individual pieces are sometimes considerable: 42cm (for the yellow glass of the shield in nIV 6c), and 33cm (for the etched red glass in nIV 6a). They are generally muff glass, as is evidenced by networks of bubbles and striations in parallel straight lines, though the presence elsewhere of striations in relief, curved and in parallel, shows that some of the material was crown glass. Among the uncoloured glasses, two main types can be distinguished: in the first type, which is always used for flesh tones, the unpainted surface has a flat, uniform and smooth appearance; glass of the second type – which has bumps, irregularities, and numerous extended bubbles (sometimes very large), as well as striations – seems to have been used mainly for ground and architecture. The glass of higher quality was therefore

[581] Wayment 1972, pp. 73–85.

[582] On the material and technical aspects of glass, see Philippe 1998, pp. 85–182; and Caen 2009, pp. 226–50.

reserved for figures and that of lesser quality for areas of secondary importance. The coloured glasses can also be uneven in quality and appearance; for example, one type of yellow glass, unlike the others, contains very numerous bubbles close together. The surface of the glass occasionally has faults, the results of accidents that occurred during the blowing or casting processes; these are not of any particular significance (e.g., the wrinkled glass in nIV 5f). In a few cases, two parts of the same motif were not painted on the same piece of glass, as is apparent from their differing surfaces and characteristics.

Any overall understanding, *in situ*, of the colour palette is partly distorted by the many yellow and white borders that were added to the Lady Chapel windows, as well as by the loss of glass-paint (the latter increases contrasts of colour and light values). Judgement of the overall colour range is also affected in windows where old panels have been integrated into a nineteenth-century arrangement (e.g., nVI, sVI). Everywhere the colours and tones of the glasses are modified by glass-paint of differing intensity or tonality, by yellow stain, and by different concentrations of sanguine.

Attention must be drawn nevertheless to the superb variety and richness of colour in the glasses of the Herkenrode windows. One or two colours can dominate a scene, such as the blue and violet in the Supper at Emmaus (I, scene B), the red and gold in the presentation of Érard de La Marck (nIV, scene A); in other episodes large areas of bright colour set against a multi-coloured background attract attention. Glasses of primary colours (yellow, red, and blue) are used widely, to which green is often added; complementing these are glasses of composite hues in a subtle range of tones (including mauve, violet, wine-red, purpurin, and pink). The blendings of the hues with one another sometimes afford contrasts, and can be very sophisticated, as in the scene of Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV, scene A), where the robe of the young warrior in the foreground includes no fewer than seven colours (fig. I.78), or the clothing of St Peter in the scene of the Ascension (I, scene C). The architecture is dominated by 'white' (i.e., uncoloured) glass and yellow glass (which is either yellow-coloured, or, as is usually the case, colourless glass to which yellow stain has been applied), while the majority of the open-air scenes stand out for the background blue of the sky, which dictates their overall tonality.

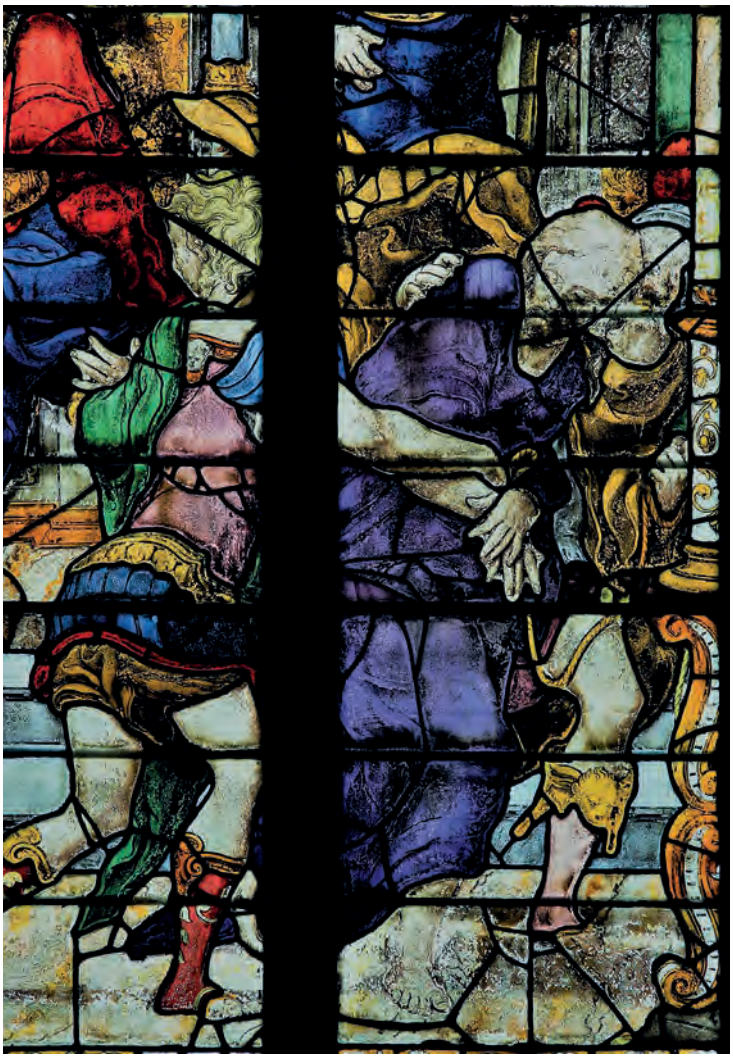


Fig. I.78. Multi-coloured garment of the warrior dragging Christ away (nIV, scene A).

In the scenes with figures at prayer, the glass-painters were constrained in their choice of colours by the armorials, heraldic tunics, and conventional hues of the clothing of women and saints. Yet the glass-painters knew how to create sumptuous effects, particularly in the donor scene with Érard de La Marck (nIV, scene A), by means of golds and reds. In this scene there are also some very subtle and unusual hues, such as the pale green and pink/light brown of

Fig. I.79a–b. Angels bearing inscription cartouches in the Érard de La Marck donor scene, nIV, scene A: (a) 1a; (b) 1c.

the lower cherubs' garments in 1a and 1c (fig. I.79a–b), and the blue/grey used for pier bases. Also among these are a few exceptional colours, including the 'turquoise' of fruits in garlands (a colour whose authenticity is demonstrated by an original lead that surrounds the fruit in one case, fig. I.80a), and a red glass that is very different from the lively red usually used, and which can be distinguished from the latter not only by hue, but also by the complete absence of corrosion (the result of a different chemical composition, fig. I.80b). It can be seen then that the choice of colours everywhere was judicious and refined.

The cutting of numerous pieces of the Herkenrode glass was done in virtuoso fashion, with inward curves, parts left proud of the main edge, and long, narrow tongue-like pieces (fig. I.81a–c). The care lavished on the cutting – also apparent in background figures, the contours of hands, details of clothing or decoration, jewels, and other secondary details – may seem gratuitous, but it does demonstrate the glaziers' dexterity. In some instances however, the glaziers appear to have been economical with the cutting, such as when different elements are painted on the same piece of glass (a face, a hand, and the completion of a

Fig. I.80a–b. (a) Turquoise-coloured fruit in nIV 10a; (b) corrosion-resistant flashed-ruby glass in nIII 4a.

Fig. I.81a–c.
Examples of skilful glass-cutting:
(a) nIII 5c;
(b) sII 2a;
(c) nIII 11b.

piece of landscape for example); where the glass-paint has subsequently been lost, the passage becomes totally incomprehensible (fig. I.82).

Some glasses were used for drilled insertions to create various elements: ornaments on clothing, jewels, armorials, stars, etc. In some cases, this work is very delicate and sophisticated, especially where there are multiple insertions in the same piece of glass, for example in a shield, or where an element has been created by means of a drilled insertion within a drilled insertion (fig. I.83a–c).

Fig. I.82. Figure in glass-paint on a colourless ground that has become difficult to read (sII 8c).

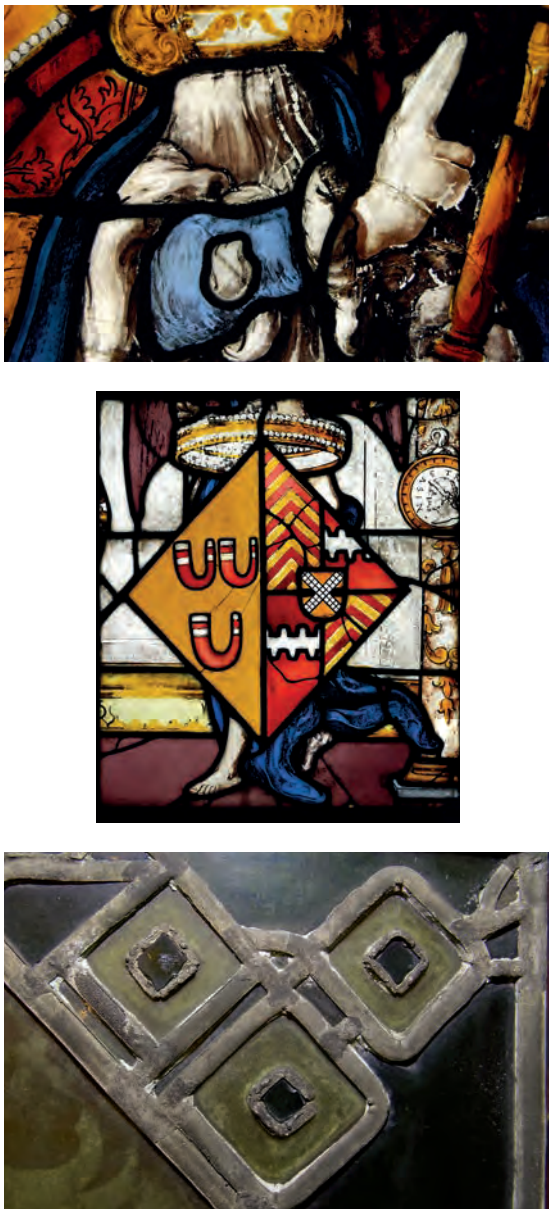


Fig. I.83a–c. Drilled insertions: (a) single insertion in a piece of glass (nII 2a); (b) several insertions in the same piece of glass (nIV 6c); (c) double insertions (originally) in the same piece of glass (nIV 1d).

The use of flashed glasses was particularly diverse at Herkenrode and allowed the glaziers to achieve very delicate tonalities. Although these glasses were usually red, other tints – blue, pink, yellow, and purpurin – were obtained by flashing. These glasses (except red, which is always flashed) are sometimes difficult to detect when not being viewed on the studio bench. The process was commonly used in other stained glass of the period, such as the window donated in 1530 by Provost Léon d'Oultres to the cathedral of St Paul in Liège.[583] The flashed glasses are sometimes etched, particularly the reds and blues, whether it be for friezes and architectural ornaments, or for canopies, decorative medallions, cartouches with initials or dates, and parts of clothing or accessories (such as heraldic tunics, slashed sleeves, gaiters, copes, mitres, jewels), book clasps, crests, shields, etc. (fig. I.84a–f).

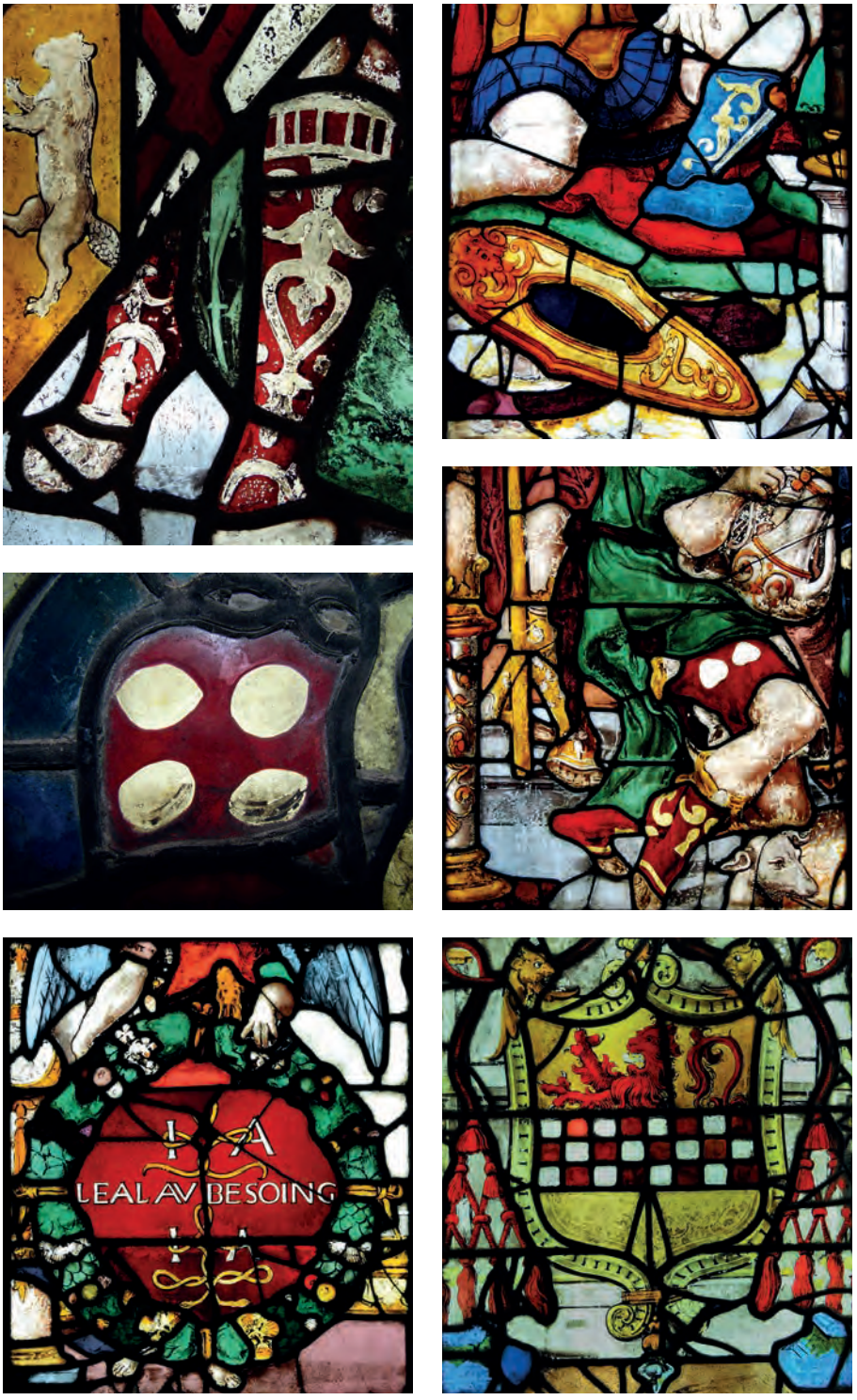


Fig. I.84a–f. Etching of flashed glasses: (a) nIII 3a; (b) sIV 1f; (c) nIV 8a; (d) sIV 2a; (e) nIV 6a; (f) nIV 1b.

[583] Lecocq 2016.

Fig. I.85a–b.
Etching out of circles:
(a) nIII 7a; (b) nIV 4a.

Small circular motifs were etched using a mechanical drill, such as a bow-drill (fig. I.85a–b). For other etched shapes, the glaziers had recourse to several techniques that seem to have been used throughout the whole of the period over which the windows were made. In some instances, the etching has been achieved by mechanical means from start to finish, and it is generally executed with great care; the bottoms of the etched grooves are very smooth, even though there are some slight striations and traces of incisions in the sides. In other cases, the work to define a form is initiated by mechanical means but finished with acid. There are also instances where the etching is executed completely with acid, sometimes for shapes of large size, such as the lion in the shield of Érard de La Marck and the crests in nIV 1b. Not all of the etching is executed very delicately: traces of somewhat carelessly etched lines are sometimes found, and occasionally an element that should have been etched has been omitted (such as the cross-bar of the A of '*Anno*' in I 5a). In some cases, elements of the same motif are etched in one place but achieved with leading in another: thus for example in nIV 1e, the crenelated fess is etched from the flashing, unlike the same element in nIV 6e, which is leaded.

Fig. I.86. Glass marbled with spattered ruby and yellow (silver stain) (nIII 2a).

Some very beautiful glasses with red 'spattered' on colourless glass were used, notably for the shafts and capitals of piers (fig. I.86). One might posit that this glass, which is found in all the windows, from the oldest to the most recent, was a bulk purchase made by the studio at the start of work on the Herkenrode glass. One further

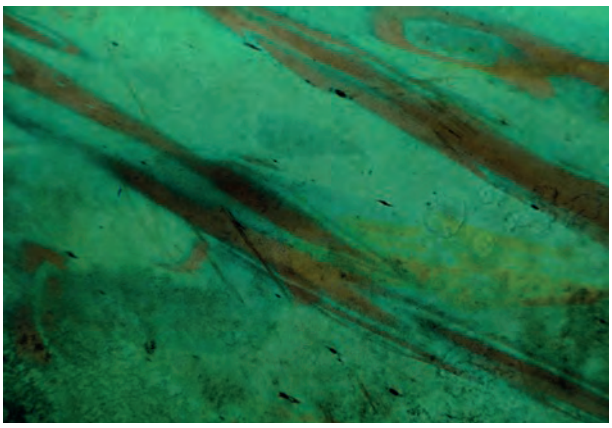
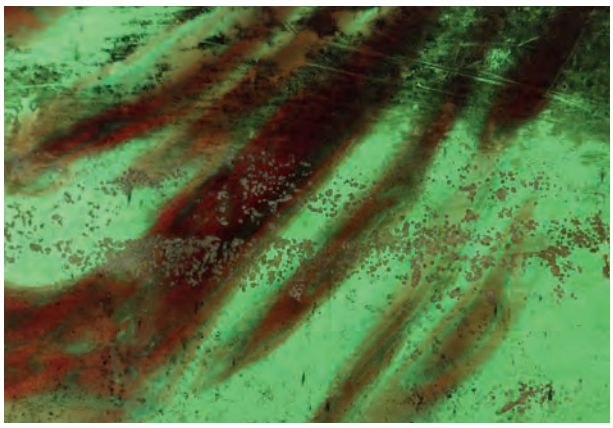



Fig. I.87a–b. Green glass with fine strokes of red and yellow (silver stain): (a) nII 11b; (b) nIII, 8c.

type of glass should be noted: a green including filaments of red in the body of the glass and highlighted with yellow stain, used for the column in the Flagellation (nII, scene C), as well as for columns behind figures at prayer in nIII (fig. I.87a–b).

Painting[584]

A variety of painting techniques was employed for the Herkenrode windows, but they are not such that conclusions can be drawn concerning a clear division of glazing work. On the other hand, it is clear that glass-painting methods evolved: in the earlier windows, faces are painted with glass-paint, adopting tried and tested traditional techniques, and with perfect mastery of the craft. In the later windows, the employment of swift gestures seems intended to bring out effects, and sanguine is used copiously in matts for modelling (figs I.88–89).

Fig. I.88. Modelling in glass-paint, 1532 (nIV 1c).

Fig. I.89. Modelling in glass-paint and sanguine, 1539 (sIV 3b).

[584] See among others Caen 2009, esp. pp. 251–87.

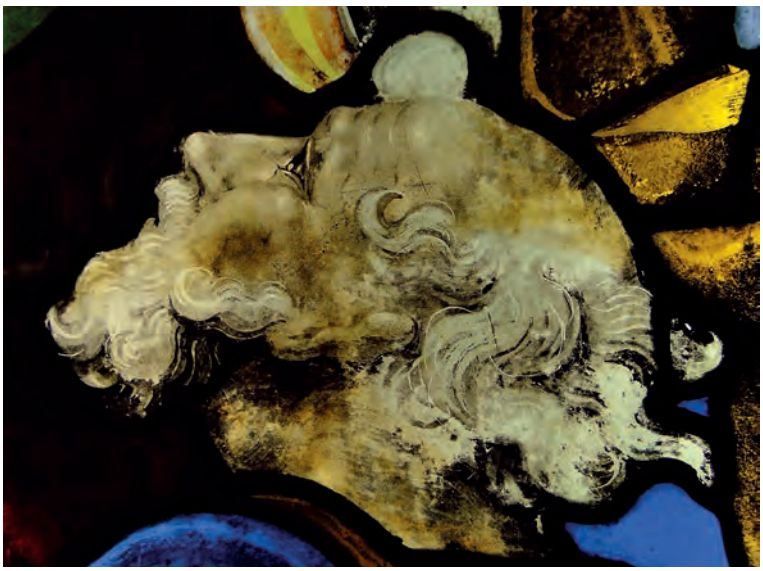


Fig. I.90a–b. Modelling by means of a wash and thicker and thinner strokes of glass-paint: (a) I 9c; (b) sIII 3c.

Glass-Paint

The glass-paint applied to the interior face of the glass varies in hue (grey, brown, black), as well as in consistency, method of application, and function. It is applied with varying degrees of precision and sensitivity, providing possible evidence for the presence of several hands in the glass. Generally speaking, different types of glass-paint, methods of application, and types of effect can be found within the same panel.

Applied either in fine, thin, and smooth matts, or in thicker matts, glass-paint serves to model and shade the flesh tones (fig. I.90a–b) of the faces (the neck, parts of the face), legs (the curve of the calf, the fold of a knee), arms (the hollow of the elbow), hands (the palm, the shadow between the fingers) – either with great delicacy, or in a manner that produces greater contrasts (fig. I.91a–b). It is also used to distinguish between two faces that are very close to each other; to create thickness, volume, and movement in clothing; to indicate the distance of various objects or the relative positions of different architectural

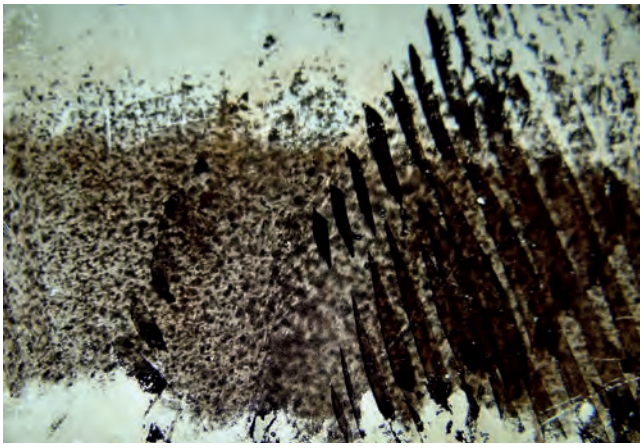


Fig. I.91a–b. Use of glass-paint to create thickness and volume: (a) nIII 7b; (b) nIII 8c.


Fig. I.92a–b. Use of glass-paint: (a) to distinguish different planes (sIV 1d); (b) to emphasize the depth of architectural elements (sII 7c).

elements (for example, the side face of a pier or a capital); to give depth; and to underline the distance between different planes (fig. I.92a–b). Thicker applications of glass-paint allowed the glass-painters to characterize figures with more emphatic traits, and to reinforce contours, so that forms could be read easily from a distance, especially when these needed to stand out against a background of the same tint. In brightly coloured clothing hollows are rendered by smooth, subtle matts; in darker clothes (blue, green, red) the shadows are rendered with black glass-paint applied with dabs of the stippling brush. The edges of folds can often be emphasized with a stroke of black paint, or rendered by reserving a strip from the glass-paint.

In some cases, grey or black glass-paint has been warmed through the addition of brownish glass-paint, in order to emphasize a flesh tone or render certain textures. The whole is then sometimes reworked with a stippling brush, and lightened and modelled, vigorously or subtly, with reserved areas, stickwork, and needlework. In addition to its traditional form of small repeated parallel marks, the stickwork sometimes also take unusual forms, such as zig-zags. Particular care is often taken with faces and the decorative elements of clothing and architecture, and nothing is neglected: the bridges of noses, cheekbones, foreheads, eyes, etc. Some clothing, damasks, and hangings were painted using a stencil.

Glass-paint was also applied to the exterior face. When applied in light, uniform washes (sometimes worked with the stippling brush), the paint reduces the glass's transparency. When applied in strokes, it determines the positions of drapery folds (I, scene B) or shadows (sII, scene A, 1a), or emphasizes part of a face or a piece of clothing, or the ridges in architecture (nII, scene B, 8a). On occasion it is used to finish off the rendition of damasks, tablecloths, and clothing (nIV, scene B), and is sometimes also applied using a stencil (fig. I.93a–b).

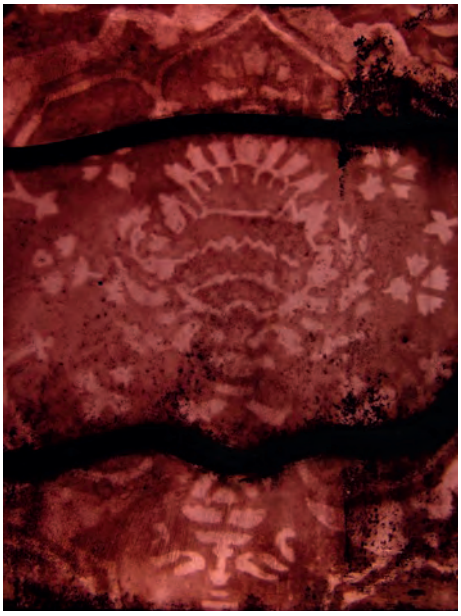



Fig. I.93a–b. Damask in nIII 11a: (a) interior face; (b) reverse, painted with damask pattern.

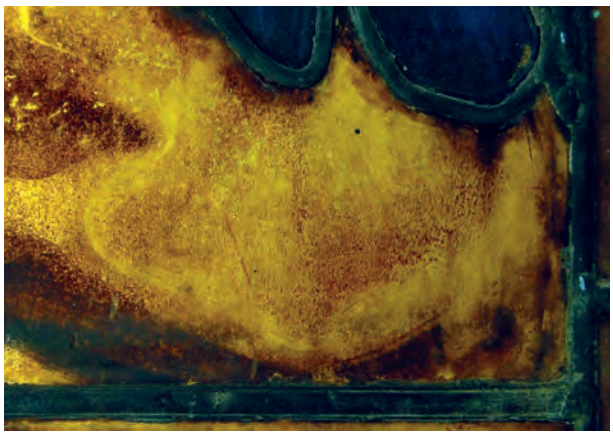


Fig. I.94. Two views of the same detail of phantom glass-paint in the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Incredulity of St Thomas (sIII, scene A, 2a).

Fig. I.95. Marbled effects obtained with silver stain (sIV 1a).

Fig. I.96. Different shades of silver stain used to build up a design (sIV 10f).

Occasionally phantom strokes of glass-paint are found; see, for example, I, scene B, 9c and 10a, nII 5a, and sIII, scene A, 2a and 3a, where the strokes correspond respectively to the drawing of folds and the trimming of the border of a piece of clothing (fig. I.94).

Yellow Stain

Yellow stain is used widely to brighten the Herkenrode glass, and in some cases, its presence stands in stark contrast to the darker matts of glass-paint. It intensifies the brightness and luminosity of the frameworks of the scenes and was often preferred to yellow pot-metal glass.

As was traditional, yellow stain was used to colour hair and ornaments on clothing; to brighten ground, landscapes, and vegetation; and for highlights in architecture, decorative elements, and furniture and other objects. More specifically, it acquired in the Herkenrode glass a pictorial value of its own, being used as a contrast to black or brown glass-paint and sanguine, to distinguish more clearly between heads that are close to one another, or to enhance the rendition of materials, textures, and surfaces by means of special effects, for example in marble columns or floors (sIV, scene A, fig. I.95).

To create a wide spread of tonalities, from lighter tones (straw yellow) to more intense ones (orangey yellow, ochre), the glass-painters played skilfully with different concentrations of yellow stain, and with harmonious contrasts of it with neighbouring tints (fig. I.96). While the yellow stain has sometimes been applied with extreme precision, for example in the outlines of architectural elements, in other cases it has been daubed on quickly, as may be seen in the hair on certain heads.

Sanguine

Sanguine was applied to both the interior and exterior faces of the glass, sometimes to both faces of the same piece, in order to create refined colour effects. The enormous variety of surface effects thereby obtained attests to an exceptional mastery of application methods for this medium (including level of concentration and choice of applicator). Sanguine is generally used together with yellow stain and glass-paint in order to enhance chromatic effects. On the Herkenrode glass, glass-paint and sanguine were interchangeable from a pictorial point of view: the two types of paint are found together on the same piece of glass, applied in the same manner, conspiring to produce a sophisticated effect. In scenes of later date modelling was often achieved in figures, clothing, and various objects by means of a thick layer of sanguine.

Fig. I.97. Sanguine used to enhance faces (sII, scene B, 7c).

Fig. I.98. Sanguine used to differentiate adjacent faces (sIII 3c).

On the interior face, the way in which sanguine was applied was adapted to the medium's function locally. Where it provided shading for faces and flesh tones, it often has the appearance of a glaze – very smooth and transparent. It could be applied in several layers, depending on the situation, the element depicted, and the desired effect. It was used to provide highlights in architectural furnishings (such as altars) and various architectural elements (piers, mouldings); and to accentuate shading and reinforce modelling in flesh tones (fig. I.97), clothing (see the fur in nIII), and architecture. When applied in dabs or light strokes of different intensities, it was used to render elements such as lips, and to create marbled effects for the ground and architectural panels. The sanguine varies in colour from a bright tint to a more orangey one, and it was used within the same area to differentiate areas of skin and hair that are near each other (fig. I.98). Sanguine was likewise used, where two faces are near each other, to indicate depth, with the further face rendered with sanguine and the nearer with glass-paint (sII, scene B, 7a), or to make it easier to appreciate figures occupying a more distant plane (nIV; sII, scene A).

When applied to the exterior face of the glass, sanguine seems to have had the function (as with washes of glass-paint) of mitigating the transparency of the glass (nIV, scene A, 1a, 1c, 4a); enhancing flesh tones (faces, hands, feet) or textiles; differentiating between planes; and highlighting certain background architectural elements (fig. I.99a–b). These applications create subtle tonalities when viewed from inside the church (see, for example, the bays of Herkenrode abbey church depicted in nIII, scene A, 2b, which are shaded with sanguine on the reverse).

Fig. I.99a–b. Sanguine applied to the reverse: (a) to provide emphasis to a fur sleeve (nIII 9c); (b) to shade various architectural elements (sII 8b) (internal and external faces of the glass).

Fig. I.100. Old lead (sIII 4a).

Lead[585]

A few old leads that are probably original survive, mainly in decorative details and heraldic parts of the glazing, in places where restorers preferred to retain the leading surrounding drilled insertions (fig. I.100) or small charges, such as lions. The extents of the pieces did not always coincide with those of the forms they delineated. This can sometimes affect legibility, but shows that it was the master-glaziers rather than the designers of the cartoons who decided on the placements of the leads.

[585] Ibid., pp. 295–300.

Dating

Thanks to the dates found in the Herkenrode glass, several of the sacred scenes and donor scenes with patron saints are dated precisely, to between 1532 and 1539: 1532 for both Érard de La Marck and St Lambert (nIV, scene A), formerly associated with the Carrying of the Cross (sIV, scene C), and for the Supper at Emmaus (I, scene B), formerly associated with the Virgin and Child and Herkenrode abbesses (nIII, scene A); 1534 for Pentecost (sIII, scene B), formerly associated with Jean de Mettecoven and Marguerite de Lexhy (nIII, scene E); 1538 for the Entry into Jerusalem (sII, scene B), formerly associated with Joanna van den Heester (nIII, scene B), and the Last Supper (sII, scene C), associated with Roelant de Weert (sVI), as well as the Resurrection (sIV, scene B), associated with Maximiliaan van Egmond; and 1539 for the Annunciation (nII, scene A), associated with Jean de Pipenpoy and Barbara Was or the van Eyck family, and Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV, scene A), associated with Jean de Hornes and Anna van Egmond.

The sacred scenes that do not bear a date can however be dated on stylistic grounds, or by association with a dated donor scene: c.1532–34 for the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles (sIII, scene A), associated with Henri de Lexhy and Christine Zelighs, and the Ascension (I, scene C), associated with Jean de la Blocquerie and his wife Gertrude Meys; between 1535 and 1539 for the Arrest of Christ (sII, scene A), associated with Gerard van Velpen and Agnès de Mettecoven, the Flagellation (nII, scene C), associated with Jean de Pipenpoy and Barbara Was or the van Eyck family, and the Crowning with Thorns, associated with the upper part of an ecclesiastic in sXV; and lastly c.1539 for the Resurrection of the Dead (sIII, scene C), associated with St Humbeline, an emperor, and the Lactation of St Bernard. Érard de La Marck donated his window in 1532, and that given by Floris van Egmond was probably donated around the same time; this is therefore probably also the period of the central Crucifixion Window at Herkenrode.

In the nuns' choir the windows seem to have been installed from east to west, starting on the south side. Nuns from the de Lexhy family donated the window with the Supper at Emmaus (I, scene B, formerly *SIV*, 1532); this was followed by Christ Appearing to the Apostles, given by the abbess's parents (sIII, scene A, formerly *SV*, c.1532–34); the Ascension (I, scene C, formerly *SVI*, c.1532–34); and Pentecost (sIII, scene B, formerly *SVII*, 1534). There was then clearly a break from the south side, and the next windows were installed on the north side: the Crowning with Thorns (nII, scene B, formerly *NIV*, between 1535 and 1539); the Flagellation (nII, scene C, formerly *NV*, between 1535 and 1539); the Arrest of Christ (sII, scene A, formerly *NVI*, between 1535 and 1539); the Last Supper (sII, scene C, formerly *NVII*, 1538); and the Entry into Jerusalem (sII, scene B, formerly *NVIII*, 1538). The window with the Resurrection donated by Maximiliaan van Egmond (formerly *SIII* in the apse at Herkenrode) is dated 1538; both the Annunciation (the westernmost window of the cycle on the north side at Herkenrode) and the window of Christ Leaving Pilate donated by Jean de Hornes (*NIII* in the apse) are dated 1539; and the Resurrection of the Dead, which completed the cycle on the south side in the abbey church, can be dated to c.1539.

The gap in the installation sequence in the abbey church can probably be connected with the attested absence of the artist to whom the principal conception of the scheme is attributed here, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550). He left for Istanbul in 1533, but the different stages of his peregrinations are not known, nor is the date of his return.[586]

[586] Born 2018, esp. pp. 89–112.

[587] Winston 1864, pp. 199–201 (1865, pp. 317–19).

Style

A true appreciation of the nature of the Lichfield windows' style is unfortunately often hampered by the loss of glass-paint, which has worn away over the years. In 1864, Charles Winston described the Herkenrode windows at Lichfield succinctly and cogently, making a very good summary of their characteristics:

> The picture is extremely simple in its composition, consisting of a foreground group, a landscape background of a sketchy character, and a clear blue sky. As a rule, it is represented as if seen through an architectural framework or canopy, which is more or less connected with the group by means of piers or columns introduced in the background. The whole is harmoniously colored […] The more positive colors, and those possessing the greatest degrees of depth, are confined to the foreground, being used in the group and in the ornaments of the architectural framework. The more qualified—the lighter shades and retiring tints—are employed in the background and sky. […] the eye is insensibly led up to some striking point or spot, produced by the decided introduction of one of the primary colors, or by a strong contrast, which gives light and spirit to the composition. […] The force and expression of the picture are of course chiefly given by its chiaroscuro. […] The result of these various experiments and contrivances has been the production of a series of pictures in painted glass, harmonious in their coloring, simple and intelligible in their composition, distinct and powerful in effect, yet always brilliant and translucent. They also display a very advanced state of art in the grouping and figure drawing, and, as works intented to be seen from a moderate distance, they are of unsurpassed merit.[587]

All of the points elaborated by Winston are confirmed by close observation and analysis of the windows' stylistic characteristics.

Composition and Order of Execution

The composition of the windows from Herkenrode followed a scheme that was traditional in the southern parts of the former Low Countries and subject to the expectations of the genre: the individual depicted, kneeling at a prie-dieu on which is found an open or closed book, is accompanied by a patron saint, and prays to a saint or pious image on an altar. Occupying a space totally distinct from that of the rest of the composition in the window, these scenes are simply designed and architecturally defined, with piers supporting an entablature that can be more or less elaborate in its construction. This is how donors were often represented in the former Low Countries between 1530 and 1540, and even later, the formulae being adapted to the space available and the configurations of specific windows. When donor figures are not shown at a lower level in a fictive space completely independent of the sacred scene above, as was the case at Herkenrode (1532–39) or is in the windows of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule (1540–47), Brussels, they are sometimes shown on the same level as the sacred scene, in which they therefore participate in a way, as at Lier (Antwerpen province), church of St Gommarius, transept (1534–35, fig. I.101, overleaf). Alternatively, donors can be shown only with their patron saints, but with no associated sacred scene, as at Hoogstraten (Antwerpen province), in the window donated by Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg (1533, fig. I.102, overleaf), and Brussels,

Fig. I.101. Lier, church of St Gommarius, transept, window of Denis van Zeverdonck, abbot of Villers, 1535.

cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule, in the window donated by Charles V (1537) and Mary of Hungary (1538). In these last two scenarios, there may be a holy image on the altar before which the donor prays.

The compositional principles of the sacred scenes are more diverse than those of the presentations of donors. The scenes are powerfully ordered around horizontals, diagonals, and triangles, the latter either constructed from a baseline, or balancing on a corner. Composition based on the triangle is the most frequent sort, and is found, with variations, in the Annunciation and Visitation, Carrying of the Cross, Resurrection, Supper at Emmaus, Ascension, and Pentecost. In the latter scene, the composition is structured around triangles balancing on corners, and compositionally it is among the most complex schemes from Herkenrode. Each of the three lights shows a figure in the foreground with two further figures in the background, which together form a triangle. Compositions structured in this way are readily legible, and in most cases focus attention on the Virgin and Christ, with one or the other always being placed in the centre of the composition. The only exceptions are the Annunciation and Christ Leaving Pilate; here the small background representation of the Visitation and the figure of Pilate are placed in the centre of the composition.

The number of characters in the Herkenrode sacred scenes is generally limited, a choice that confers a greater degree of monumentality on their composition. The scenes are rendered broader in scope and more complex by the inclusion of a secondary scene, placed in the

Fig. I.102. Hoogstraten, church of St Catherine, window of Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg, 1533.

Fig. I.103. Background scene: the Visitation (nII 2b).

background, such as the Visitation at the centre of the Annunciation scene (fig. I.103); the Washing of the Feet to the right of the Last Supper; the abuse of Christ behind the Flagellation; Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane behind the Arrest of Christ; the appearance of Christ to Peter behind the Resurrection; the Entombment to the left of the Deposition; and the Encounter on the Road to Emmaus behind the Supper at Emmaus (fig. I.104). Furthermore, the background landscapes are often peopled with small outline figures that bear no relation to the foreground narrative (fig. I.105).

Fig. I.104. Background scene: the Encounter on the Road to Emmaus (I 5a).

Fig. I.105. Small figures in a landscape background (the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles, sIII, scene A).

Architecture, Decoration, and Framing

The architecture represented in the Herkenrode windows is now sometimes not readily legible, both because of the disappearance or reassignment to other locations of certain panels or parts of panels, and because of the complexity of the architecture's construction over successive planes, which has become less comprehensible on account of the loss of glass-paint. Notwithstanding this, the precision with which architectural details are depicted – cornices, mouldings, etc. – goes beyond the demand for legibility of these elements from a distance, and one is tempted to see here the hand of a figure familiar with architecture, perhaps even active in this field, at least at the design stage of the project. Study of the scenes' architectural surrounds, the decorative repertoire employed both for these and the architectural elements within the scenes, as well as of other ornamental motifs, shows that there were numerous potential sources of inspiration for these elements in the Herkenrode glass, and that there was emulation between different areas of artistic activity, as is evidenced by the implementation of comparable formulae in windows, prints, and manuscripts (fig. I.106).[588]

When it lends itself to such treatment, the composition of the scenes is underlined by elaborate architectural constructions. These are harmoniously integrated into the scenes of the Annunciation, Crowning with Thorns, Flagellation, Supper at Emmaus, Last Supper, Appearance of Christ to the Apostles, and Pentecost. Various solutions were adopted: simple piers, or complete constructions positioned either at the centre of the scene to

Fig. I.106. Comparanda for columns in print, tapestry, painting, and glass: (a) title page of *Ain Sermon auff de(n) tag der verkündung Marie gepredigt zu Rotte(n)burg Durch Andream Keller 1.5.24.*, after Hans Springinklee, 1524; (b) tapestry from the *Los Honores* series, manufactured in Brussels to a design by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, 1520–25 (Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional); (c) Simon Bening, MS Ludwig IX 19 (83.ML.115), f.19v (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum), 1520–30; (d) church of St Peter, Solre-le-Château (Nord, France), Christ before Pilate, 1532; (e) Lichfield Cathedral, Presentation of Érard de La Marck, 1532.

[588] The Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage is currently conducting a research project on the architectural and ornamental arrangements observable in stained glass and more widely in the arts of the southern Low Countries and the principality of Liège.

balance the composition (Annunciation, Appearance of Christ to the Apostles), or to one side in order to achieve a more dynamic effect (Crowning with Thorns, Last Supper). These architectural solutions allow figures to be represented in vast, airy spaces, while at the same time maintaining links between the figures in the foreground, the midfield scenes, and the background landscapes, with their buildings and small characters (fig. I.107a–c). The scenes are sometimes characterized by particularly complex architectural forms for which clear use

Fig. I.107a–c.
Architecture integrated into biblical scenes:
(a) the Supper at Emmaus (I, scene B);
(b) the Crowning with Thorns (nII, scene B);
(c) Christ Leaving Pilate (sIV, scene A).

of the architectural orders is made. The Last Supper (1538) is celebrated in a space dominated by two monumental columns with fluted shafts and Corinthian capitals with carefully rendered volutes and acanthus leaves (fig. I.108). The importance of this should not be overlooked, as it is among the earliest examples of an architectural order in the windows that survive from the former Low Countries. Corinthian half-capitals appear discreetly on the sumptuous triumphal arches represented in the windows given by Charles V (1537) and Mary of Hungary (1538) in the transept of the cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule in Brussels (fig. I.109).

Fig. I.108. Corinthian capital in the Last Supper (sII 12a).

The majority of the scenes also have an architectural framing, or at least did originally (sometimes the architecture has been truncated at the top). These architectural frameworks are most spectacular in the windows that came from the apse of the abbey church and are especially opulent for the sacred scenes from there. The elaboration of the architectural decoration on such a scale must have been the natural consequence both of the windows' size, their location in the most sacred part of the building, and the status of their donors. Érard de La Marck would have been capable of taking aesthetic decisions as to the type of framing he desired – here in the antique, rather than the 'modern' manner, which at the time meant 'Gothic', a style still commonly adopted at that period – and to rally Floris van Egmond to his choice, since the windows they donated formed a pair.

Between the earliest windows (1532) and the latest (1538–39), there is a noticeable development in the conception and construction of the architectural framing, probably (and notably) under the influence of the framing devices developed in the Francis I Gallery at Fontainebleau by Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) between 1532 and 1539. Through his activity as a designer and entrepreneur in the field of tapestry and his position as a court artist, Pieter Coecke van Aelst – who was doubtlessly involved in the design of the windows (see further below) – certainly visited the château at Fontainebleau.[589] Other routes for such artistic transfer can be envisaged: in 1532 Primaticcio was sent to Brussels to supervise the weaving of the tapestry of Scipio Africanus after designs by Giulio Romano.[590] In the early stages, a variety of ornaments is applied to the architectural structure in great profusion, practically

Fig. I.109. Capital in the window of Charles V and Isabel of Portugal, 1537, north arm of transept, cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule, Brussels.

[589] Lecocq and Kavaler 2016, esp. pp. 53–59.

[590] Scailliérez 1992, p. 30.

Fig. I.110.
Architectural superstructure: window donated by Érard de La Marck: the Carrying of the Cross, 1532 (sIV, scene C).

masking it; the scenes of the Carrying of the Cross (Érard de La Marck, 1532) and the Deposition (Floris van Egmond, 1532) stand out for their opulence and the richness of their ornament (fig. I.110). Although the window with the Emmaus scenes dates from the same year, ornament is applied to the architectural superstructure sparingly (fig. I.107a, p. 126). At a later stage, the framework, which has become distinctly more legible, integrates the elements chosen – satyrs, herms, ephebes – with a certain sophistication (fig. I.111a–b). The friendly putti (fig. I.112a–b) that enliven the uppermost level of the architecture in Érard de La Marck's and Floris van Egmond's windows are replaced in the windows donated by Jean de Hornes (1539) and Maximiliaan van Egmond (1538) by graceful and elegant figures (fig. I.113). In the window donated by Jean de Hornes, young men sit on a ledge whose sole function is to act as a support for them. A reference to Fontainebleau immediately leaps to mind: the figures above the image of the Royal Elephant in

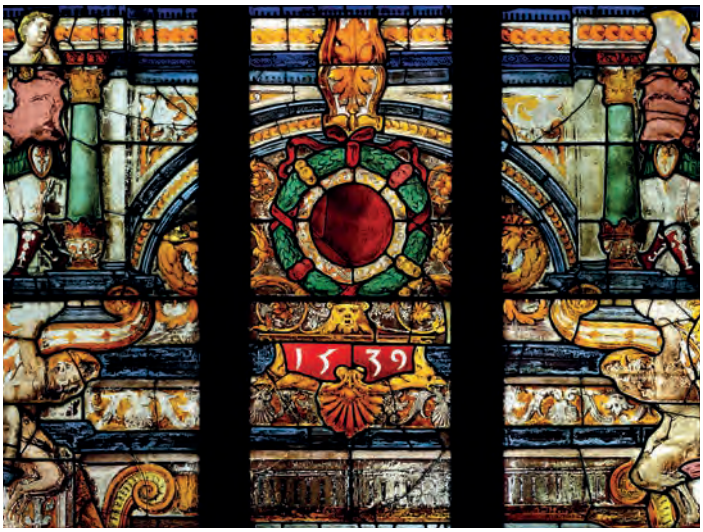


Fig. I.111a–b. Architectural superstructures: (a) Christ Leaving Pilate, 1539 (sIV, scene A); (b) the Resurrection, 1538 (sIV, scene B).

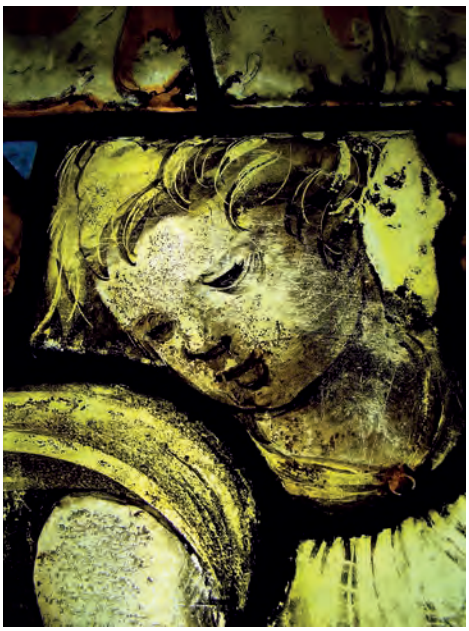


Fig. I.112a–b. Putti enlivening architectural superstructures: (a) sIV 11d; (b) nIV 5d.

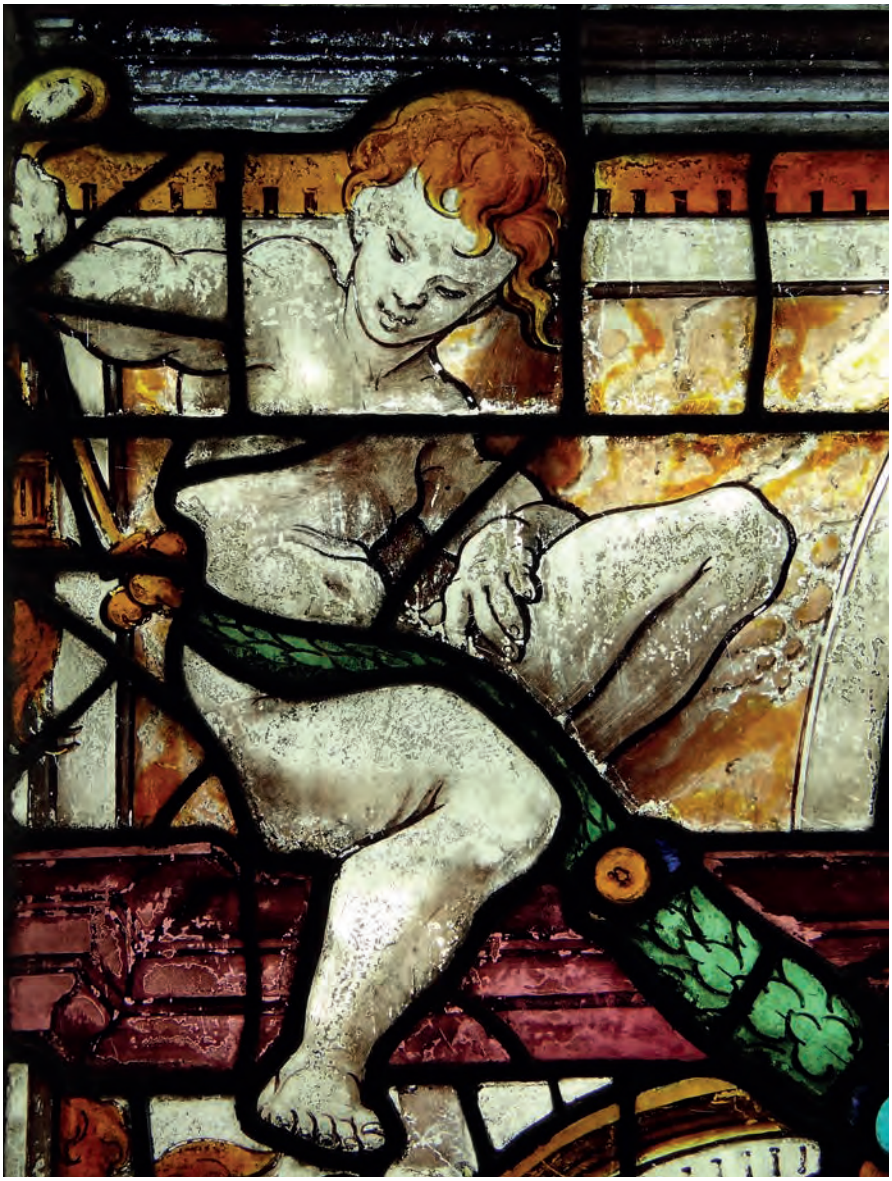


Fig. I.113. Adolescent enlivening the architectural superstructure in nIV 10a.

Fig. I.114. Francesco Primaticcio and Rosso Fiorentino, *The Royal Elephant*, Château de Fontainebleau, Francis I Gallery, 1532–38.

the Francis I Gallery (fig. I.114). Such an arrangement of figures in a stained-glass window is unprecedented in the extant glazing from the former Low Countries. It is also seen however in a design for stained glass preserved in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (fig. I.115), formerly attributed to Léonard Thiry, and currently to a Flemish artist close to Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550).[591]

The architecture and decorative elements of the Herkenrode windows are strongly rooted in their period and the artistic milieu of the former Low Countries in the 1530s, but perhaps more than elsewhere, the elaboration and complexity of the architecture in the glass is unprecedented in the region. The columns and pilasters can be simple and smooth, or fluted, and decorated around the central axis with candelabrum-type or other motifs, such as dentilation, medallions, tied ribbons, and garland strings; they are sometimes divided into short shafts. The piers stand on bases with two tori or wide footings that can be decorated with griffin claws. The capitals can be simple, or with foliage, acanthus, volutes, or heads (of angels, grotesques, and rams). Sometimes the capitals are surmounted by a large volute or a small Atlas figure supporting an arcade. The arcades can be decorated with simple or double volutes (sometimes with a zoomorphic termination); heads (of grotesques or winged

[591] Inv. no. OP-8679, For the attribution to Thiry, see Brugerolles and Guillet 1994, p. 124. For that to Coecke or an artist close to him, see Cordelier 2008, p. 206; and Gasnault 2011, II, pp. 134–35. Hélène Gasnault entertains the possibility that this drawing stems from Coecke's circle, though does not express this view with any great certainty. We are inclined to agree with this assessment, in light of the characteristic drawing styles and the artist's closeness to the stained glass at Lichfield, notably in the figure types, composition, and conception of the architectural framing. We are grateful to Hélène Gasnault for having kindly allowed us to consult her thesis.

Fig. I.115. Drawing depicting Jonah emerging from the whale, prefiguring the Resurrection, formerly attributed to Léonard Thiry and currently to Pieter Coecke van Aelst or an artist close to him (The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. OP-8679).

angels); shells; cartouches; and friezes. The friezes and other architectural elements include ova, acanthus leaves, gadroons, glyphs, S-shaped elements, rinceaux, fluting, lozenges, pellets, etc. Some decorative and architectural elements are seen in perspective, and great care is always exercised in their combination. The spandrels are filled with medallions with human heads or initials, wreathes, or profuse foliage, and higher up are seen torches, and figures (some mentioned above) of putti, small angels, warriors, and ephebes, either standing, or sitting with their legs hanging over an edge, or leaning against an architectural element. The centres of the arches are emphasized by a keystone, which sometimes has a hanging element that can serve as the attachment point for garlands strung out sideways.

Many of the decorative motifs now distributed across the traceries at Lichfield were probably also previously found in tracery compartments in the abbey church at Herkenrode. These consist of a range of vegetal motifs; frontal foliate masks; profile masks in a half-moon shape, with long tongues, or blowing on flames; elephant heads, etc. They all constitute evidence of the glass-painters' far-reaching decorative exuberance and are distinguished by their inventiveness from the majority of contemporary tracery decoration in the former Low Countries, which consisted principally of angels or vegetal motifs (fig. I.116, overleaf).

The decorative motifs seen in the main-light panels of the Herkenrode windows belong to a repertoire held in common with other stained-glass windows from the former Low Countries. If in the 1520s artists from the Low Countries were still a little hesitant in adopting the new fashions from Italy, the same cannot be said of the 1530s, as is shown by windows from this decade that survive in Lichfield (fig. I.117, overleaf) and in

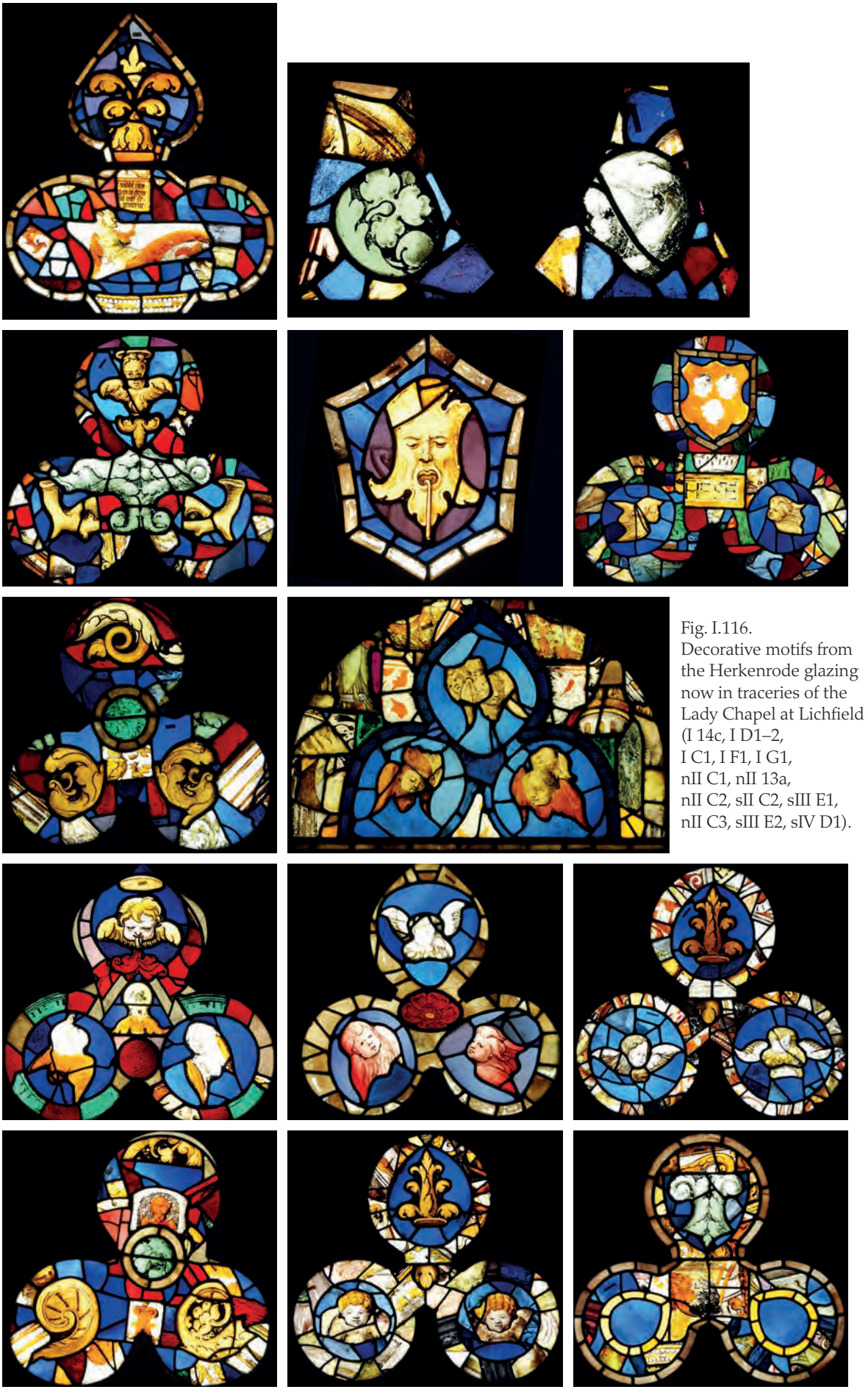


Fig. I.116.
Decorative motifs from the Herkenrode glazing now in traceries of the Lady Chapel at Lichfield (I 14c, I D1–2, I C1, I F1, I G1, nII C1, nII 13a, nII C2, sII C2, sIII E1, nII C3, sIII E2, sIV D1).

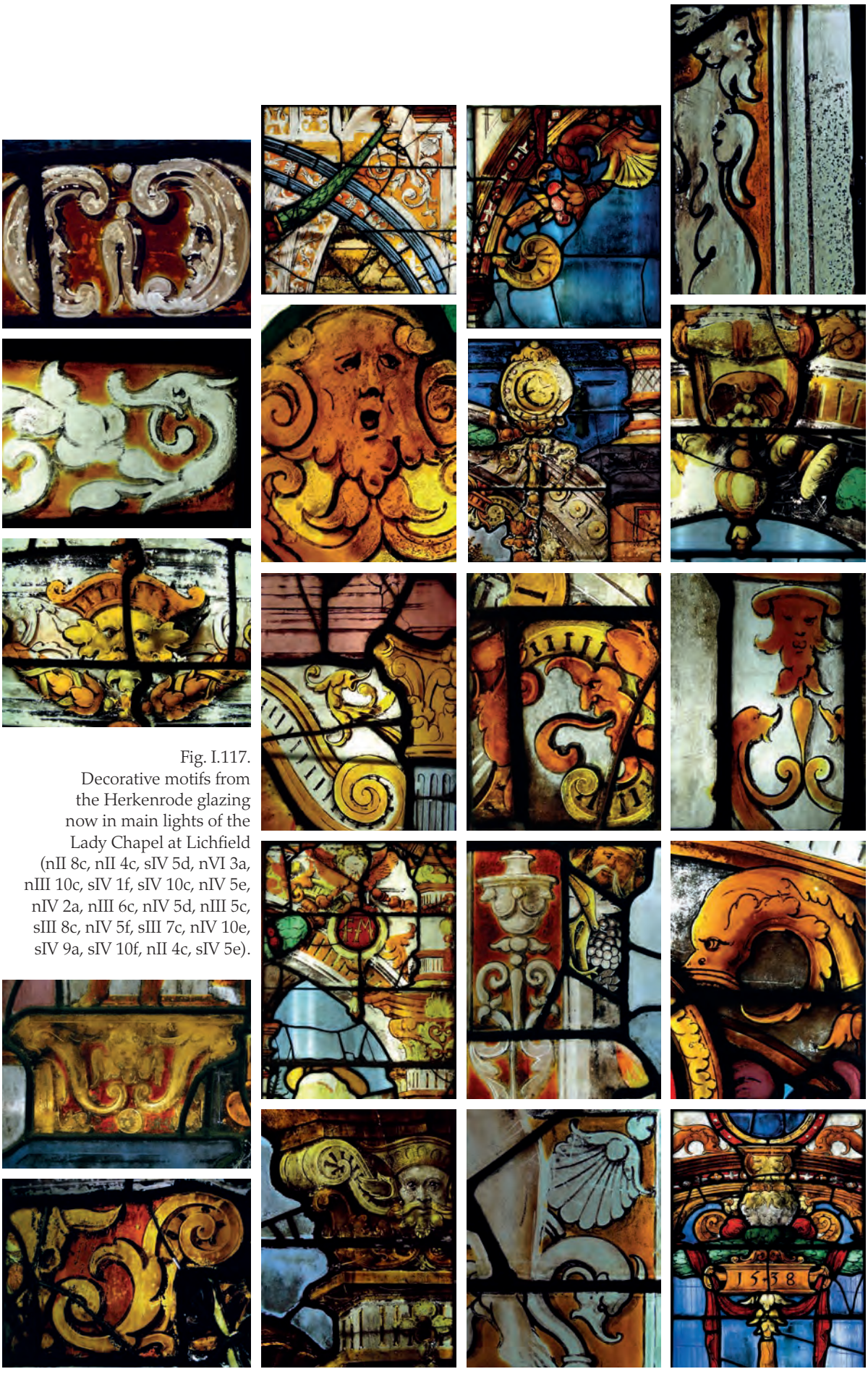


Fig. I.117. Decorative motifs from the Herkenrode glazing now in main lights of the Lady Chapel at Lichfield (nII 8c, nII 4c, sIV 5d, nVI 3a, nIII 10c, sIV 1f, sIV 10c, nIV 5e, nIV 2a, nIII 6c, nIV 5d, nIII 5c, sIII 8c, nIV 5f, sIII 7c, nIV 10e, sIV 9a, sIV 10f, nII 4c, sIV 5e).

Belgium. These are quite numerous, but some of them have unfortunately been remade, for the most part in the nineteenth century.[592] Such windows are found notably in Liège (cathedral of St Paul, window donated by Léon d'Oultres, 1530); Hoogstraten (church of St Catherine, windows donated by Philippe de Lalaing and Anne de Rennenberg, 1530–32, Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg, 1533, and the States of Holland, 1532–35); Lier (church of St Gommarius, windows donated by Arnold Streyters, 1534–35, Denis van Zeverdonck, 1535, and Marcus Cruyt, 1535); Steenhuffel (church of St Stephen, window of the Seven Sorrows of Our Lady, 1534–35); Mons (collegiate church of St Waudru, window donated by Antoine de Lalaing, 1536); and Brussels (cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule, windows donated by Charles V, 1537, Mary of Hungary, 1538, and Francis I, 1540). To these might be added a window of 1532 with scenes of Christ before Pilate and Ecce Homo – clearly the product of a workshop in the former Southern Low Countries – preserved in the church of St Peter in Solre-le-Château (in the former county of Hainaut, now Nord, France).

Comparisons of the Herkenrode glazing with the windows preserved in the church of St Catherine in Hoogstraten also demonstrate clear links in the conceptualization of the architectural framework. The window at Lichfield with the Emmaus scene is particularly close to the window donated by Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg executed by Claes Mathyssen (1533), or that given by Philippe de Lalaing and Anne de Rennenberg (1530–32, fig. I.118). In both places one finds the same characteristic elements: piers at the side on which rest carved

Fig. I.118. Hoogstraten, church of St Catherine, window of Philippe de Lalaing, 1530–32.

[592] Two windows in Antwerp Cathedral donated by Antoine Fugger (1537) and Ferdinand Dassa (c.1537); five windows in the church of St Stephen in 's Herenelderen (Limburg, Belgium) executed in 1539–40, of which a few old pieces survive; likewise the window of the Baptism of Christ (1533) in the collegiate church of St Waudru in Mons (Hainaut), and the windows of the Seven Sacraments (1531–33) in the Church of St Catherine in Hoogstraten (province Antwerpen) painted by Antonis Evertsoen of Culemborg.

architraves terminating in volutes; S-shaped elements that terminate in vegetal or zoomorphic elements; C-shaped ornaments in which anthropomorphic faces nestle; spirals that terminate in zoomorphic elements (dolphins) among foliage; rams' heads in profile holding garlands in their mouths, or placed on consoles beneath cartouches with the date, etc.

Figures

Apart from their composition and architectural framing, the Herkenrode glazing stands out for the quality and treatment of the figures. This is seen to best advantage in the sacred scenes. In general, figures are distinguished by physiognomical type and anatomical details, and by the vigour of their expressions. Complex relationships are established between them, not only through their relative positions, but also their contrasting attitudes and the play between their expressions. The fall of their clothes is rendered in a refined and elegant manner, with thicker folds when the clothing is rolled up above a knee, an elbow or a shoulder, or when the material is stretched over a raised leg. Beyond these common characteristics, certain groupings can be clearly distinguished, revealing different styles, both synchronically and diachronically. These groupings, established on the basis of the figures' morphology, make it possible to distinguish at least three approaches.

Fig. I.119. The Presentation of Érard de La Marck (nIV, scene A).

In some of the sacred scenes (the Crucifixion, Carrying of the Cross, Deposition) and the presentations of donors that formerly accompanied them in the apse at Herkenrode, dated or dateable to 1532, the figures are distinguished by their solidity and stockiness, and their realistic proportions (fig. I.119). The architecture, also massive in nature, is well depicted, though without a real structural logic, with imposing piers, animated and coloured with numerous ornaments and chubby-cheeked cherubs.

The scenes of the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Ascension (neither of which is dated) form a coherent group, from the point of view of the figure type, with the Supper at Emmaus and

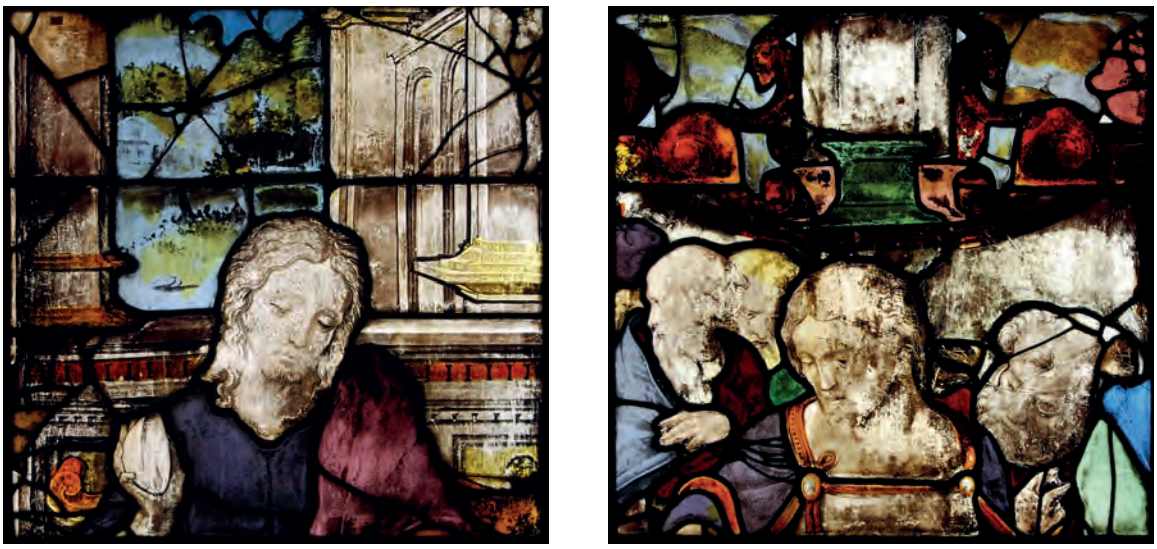


Fig. I.120a–b. Christ: (a) in the Supper at Emmaus (I, scene B); (b) in the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles (sIII, scene A).

Pentecost (dated 1532 and 1534 respectively). The individual figures here are more slender in outline, while being very powerful, and form part of balanced compositions with a small number of other figures. The same figures are repeated, so to speak, from one window to another: the figure of Christ in the scene of the Supper at Emmaus and the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles and the Incredulity of St Thomas (fig. I.120a–b), and the figure of St Peter in the scenes of the Ascension (c.1532–34) and Pentecost (1534).

In the next grouping are three scenes whose execution can be placed around 1535–39: the Flagellation (c.1535–39); the Crowning with Thorns (c.1535–39); and the Arrest of Christ (c.1535–39, fig. I.121a). These display a Mannerist approach – a fine and dynamic treatment that is a feature of the later sacred scenes and their associated donor scenes: the Entry into Jerusalem (1538); the Resurrection (1538, fig. I.121b); the Last Supper (1539); the Annunciation (1539, fig. I.121c); Christ Leaving Pilate (1539); and the Resurrection of the Dead (c.1539). Generally speaking, attitudes are more agitated, and poses are more bent, sometimes even acrobatic. In some cases, the drawing has a tendency to be less accomplished in the hands and feet, and even for some heads, which occasionally appear simplified. Nevertheless, some individuals receive robust treatment, such as Judas in the Last Supper, or the soldiers at the Resurrection. These scenes therefore reveal an evolution across the Herkenrode windows towards a more pronounced Mannerism, associated with a matching tension in movements that can be dynamic, contorted, and occasionally somewhat unrealistic. Figural outlines become more etiolated; they are sometimes rendered less powerfully and also appear in three-quarter view, which diminishes the figures' stature (see the scenes in nIII, and nIV, scenes C and D). Chubby-cheeked cherubs give way to nude adolescents or particularly elegant women. These female figures, with long necks and lightly wavy hair, lean forwards delicately. The use of sanguine increases in parallel with these developments. Sometimes large matts of sanguine of greater or lesser density replace modelling with glass-paint and create form. The painting of the scenes of the Annunciation and Christ Leaving Pilate (1539) is especially accomplished. Unfortunately, the Annunciation is particularly affected by paint loss, and the scene is not readily legible. This grouping is also characterized by the coexistence of different tendencies, sometimes within the same scene. The harmonious compositions and the balancing of the figures in the Last Supper and the Annunciation stand in contrast to the slightly more chaotic groupings in the Crowning with Thorns and Flagellation, where some protagonists seem to be seized with frenetic agitation. These contrasts may have been accentuated by divisions of labour, probably among the glass-painters in the studio rather than those creating the cartoons.

The evolution in the way in which figures are represented in the windows at Lichfield is clearly dependent on the various fashions in the art of the former Low Countries at the time. From the second decade of the sixteenth century, style evolved very rapidly as a result of various influences, principally German and Italian.[593] Although proof of this is not found in any one particular comparison, the influence of the Germanic milieu, and especially Dürer, makes itself felt in the earliest windows from Lichfield. Thus, the Deposition can be compared with the drawing on the same theme from Dürer's *Green Passion* series (Vienna, Albertina, 1504), and with a print from the *Small Passion* (published 1511). In the Deposition, one of the figures bringing Christ down from the cross is a faithful rendition of the corresponding figure

Fig. I.121a–c. (a) the Arrest of Christ (sII, scene A); (b) the Resurrection (sIV, scene B); (c) the Annunciation (nII, scene A).

[593] This phenomenon has been observed by Yvette Bruijnen; Bruijnen 2001–2002.

Fig. I.122a–b. The Deposition: (a) from Herkenrode (sIV, scene D); (b) Albrecht Dürer, engraving from the *Small Passion* series, no. 26, 1511; woodcut (British Museum, inv. no. 1895, 0122.531).

in the *Small Passion* (fig. I.122a–b). Further, the windows clearly exhibit Italian influence, notably that of Raphael and his collaborators, transmitted, among other routes, via the tapestry cartoons that arrived in Brussels from 1516 onwards.[594] These cartoons contributed to the renewal of visual culture for many artists in the former Low Countries, by introducing a new repertoire of figures and attitudes integrated into particularly dynamic compositions. The Lichfield windows are significant in this regard: the protagonists in the sacred scenes often interact by means of facial expression and effective and expressive gestures, deployed in space with bold foreshortening. Familiarity with this new repertoire is illustrated in the glazing by an explicit reference: in the Resurrection scene, the figure in the lower left-hand corner is depicted for the most part in the same pose as the corresponding soldier in the *Resurrection* tapestry in the *Life of Christ* (*Scuola Nuova*) series in the Vatican[595] – a very uncomfortable and unstable pose, with one arm leaning on the ground and the other stretched away from the horizontal, holding up his shield (fig. I.123a–b).

Close Attention to Picturesque Details

Generally speaking, the Lichfield windows are characterized by the careful attention paid to the rendering of details, even though these are difficult to read at a distance. One could point to numerous highly evolved renditions of picturesque details: household objects, textiles,

[594] See notably Dacos 1980, and Campbell 2002, pp. 187–261.

[595] On this set of tapestries, which are less well known than the Acts of the Apostles series (*Scuola Vecchia*), see Delmarcel 1992; and Campbell 2002, pp. 237–41.

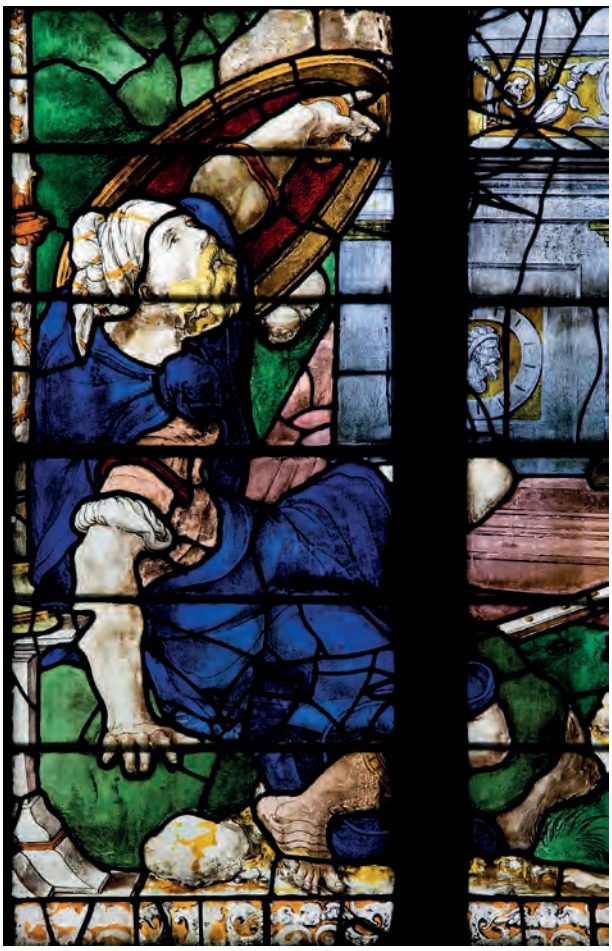


Fig. I.123a–b. (a) Detail of the Resurrection from Herkenrode: warrior from the lower left-hand corner (sIV 1–2a); (b) detail from the tapestry of the Resurrection from the *Scuola Nuova* series, manufactured in Brussels to a design by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1524–30, after a design by Giovanni Francesco Penni and collaborators (Vatican, Musei Vaticani).

Fig. I.124a–c. Picturesque and domestic details: (a) lantern in the Arrest of Christ (sII 1c); (b) pot in the Supper at Emmaus (I 4a); (c) platter with pieces of bread at the Last Supper (sII 10b).

and heraldic charges; objects on tables or shelves, fluttering pages of books on prie-dieus, and details of foliage and flowers in garlands; the ways in which tablecloths hang over the edges of tables, or hangings fall (drawn along straps or horizontal bars), the very delicate damasks for the fields of shields, certain items of clothing, etc. (fig. I.124a–c).

Fig. I.125a–c.
Shadows from various objects:
(a) the struts and rungs of a ladder (sIV 10e);
(b) a garland (sIV 11d); (c) drapery (sIV 6f).

Shading, Shadow, and the Structuring of Space[596]

In 1864, Charles Winston had been seduced by the light and shade values evident in the Lichfield windows, as mentioned above.[597] He made special mention of these effects in relation to the scenes of the Annunciation, Christ Leaving Pilate, and the Appearance of Christ to the Apostles.

The designer of the scheme always took care to create coherent modelling that took into account the position of every element in relation to the light. This approach is in line with the conventions of the period, but has been implemented with a great deal of sensitivity throughout, down to the last detail and the least important objects depicted – prie-dieus, benches, cups, crowns, platters, helmets, lamp bases, lanterns, etc. (fig. I.125a–c). There is a sculptural approach to the use of glass-paint, with deep folds depicted in clothing, sleeves and edges of gowns rolled up, individual parts of garments ruffled, and material dark when in hollows and lit up when not; all of these things combine to give physicality and life to the figures (fig. I.126a–b). Light and shade are sometimes also used to outline a leg, thigh, or shoulder beneath clinging material.

Faces are modelled more or less vigorously, and one side generally remains in shadow. The side that does not receive light (which generally shines obliquely or horizontally from the left) is covered with grey or brown glass-paint, applied in large matts, with a soft appearance, in lighter or darker tone depending on

Fig. I.126a–b. Shading to give volume to clothing: (a) angel bearing the arms of Lobosch (nIII 1b); (b) St Barbara (nIII 9b).

[596] Lecocq and Vanden Bemden 2016a.
[597] Winston 1864, esp. pp. 199–201 (1865, pp. 318–19).

the desired result. In certain scenes, the glass-paint used for shadow is replaced by sanguine that is sometimes very orangey in tone. The transition from light to shade is managed very delicately at times, and sometimes in a more clear-cut manner, and the shaded area can furthermore be enhanced by parallel strokes of glass-paint of darker hue. The same is true for some figures where the head is tilted and the face lit from above, with the neck remaining completely in shadow. Light can also be cast on individual parts of a face, an earlobe, the bridge of a nose, a cheekbone, an eye socket, etc. The flesh tones of the parts of the body – a torso, a bent leg, the hollow of a knee, the rear of a calf, the arch of a foot standing on its toes, an arm, the hollow of a hand, and even the sides of the fingers, or the bent joints of a hand – vary depending on the level of light cast on them. Essentially, everything that is not directly exposed to light is modelled by shadow, with glass-paint that is more or less dark, or sanguine of varying intensity (fig. I.127a–e).

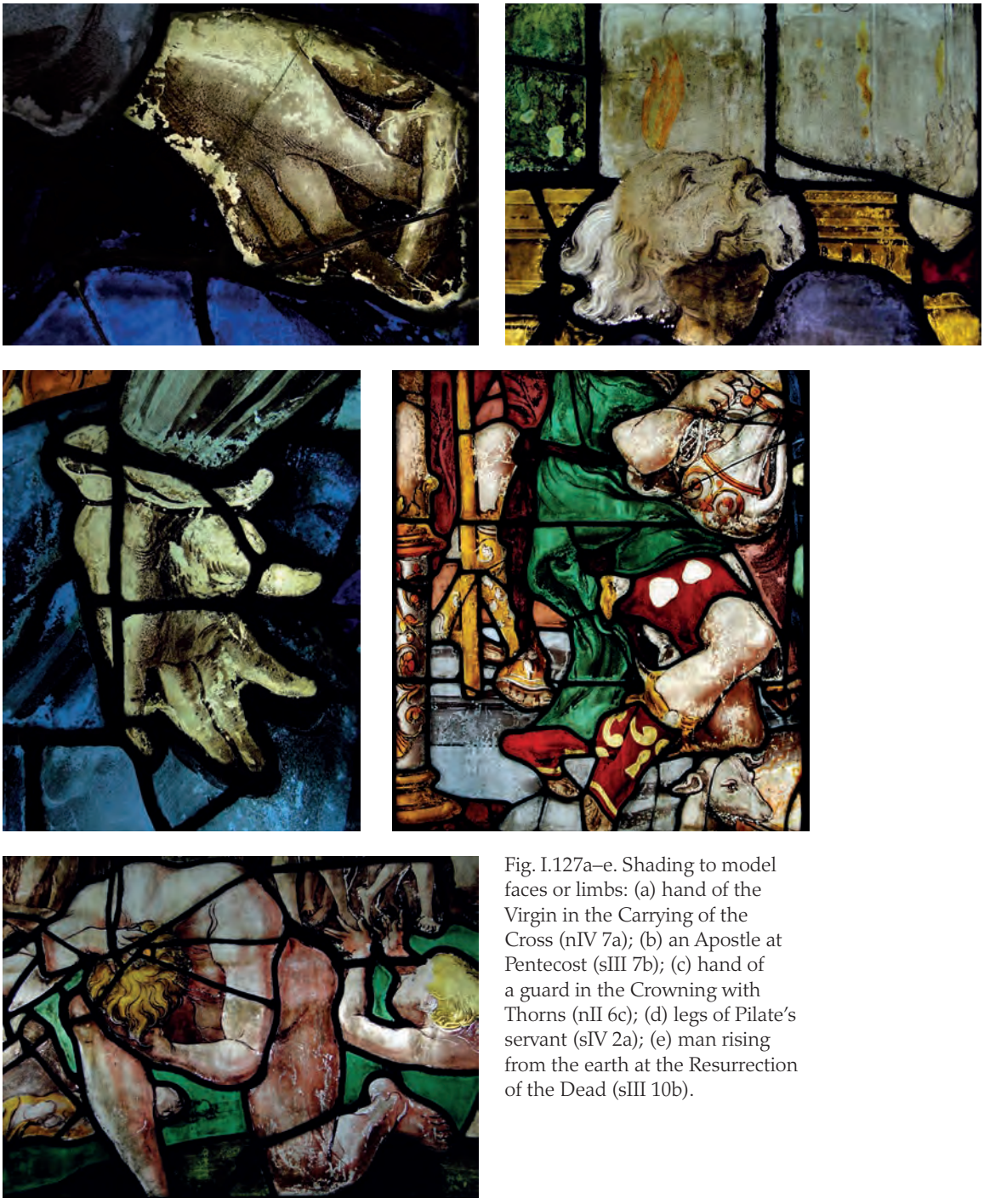


Fig. I.127a–e. Shading to model faces or limbs: (a) hand of the Virgin in the Carrying of the Cross (nIV 7a); (b) an Apostle at Pentecost (sIII 7b); (c) hand of a guard in the Crowning with Thorns (nII 6c); (d) legs of Pilate's servant (sIV 2a); (e) man rising from the earth at the Resurrection of the Dead (sIII 10b).

Fig. I.128a–e. Shading in architecture: (a) sIV 11a; (b) nIV 4d; (c) I 4c; (d) nII 3b; (e) sIV 6f.

Shading is used to define the mouldings applied to architecture (fig. I.128a–e); the different faces of column capitals, bases, and piers; the intrados and rear wall of arcades; vaults and porches; and the different parts of architectural constructions, which can sometimes be complicated in the extreme. The decorative framing does however conform to symmetrical conventions, which is why the interior faces of the framing piers are shaded with glass-paint, even if the light source is on the left-hand side.

The designer also took care to distinguish between the planes in which the various parts of a scene were enacted, using shading as well as different tints and tonalities. As a result, elements that are in the background or less visible are darker: an arm, a leg, a leg behind a stool or a table, an item of clothing seen between spread legs, etc. In some cases, the legs of a walking figure can appear in the same plane, but with one rendered in darker tones – not to indicate recession, but rather to express movement. The care taken to convey the positioning of things in space is evident in the smallest details, including the architectural settings. This is why the back walls of architectural constructions, though lit from the left, can in some cases remain in complete darkness.

The use of projected shadows in the Herkenrode windows at Lichfield is one of their most significant traits (fig. I.129a–d). This practice was increasingly adopted by painters from the former Low Countries, including Jean Gossaert (1478–1532), Bernard van Orley (1488–1541), and Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550). In the original portions of stained-glass windows from this period preserved in Belgium, projected shadows are generally reduced to shadows on the ground that render the outline, for example, of the edge of a piece of clothing; they imply neither the position of the light source nor the direction in which the light is cast.

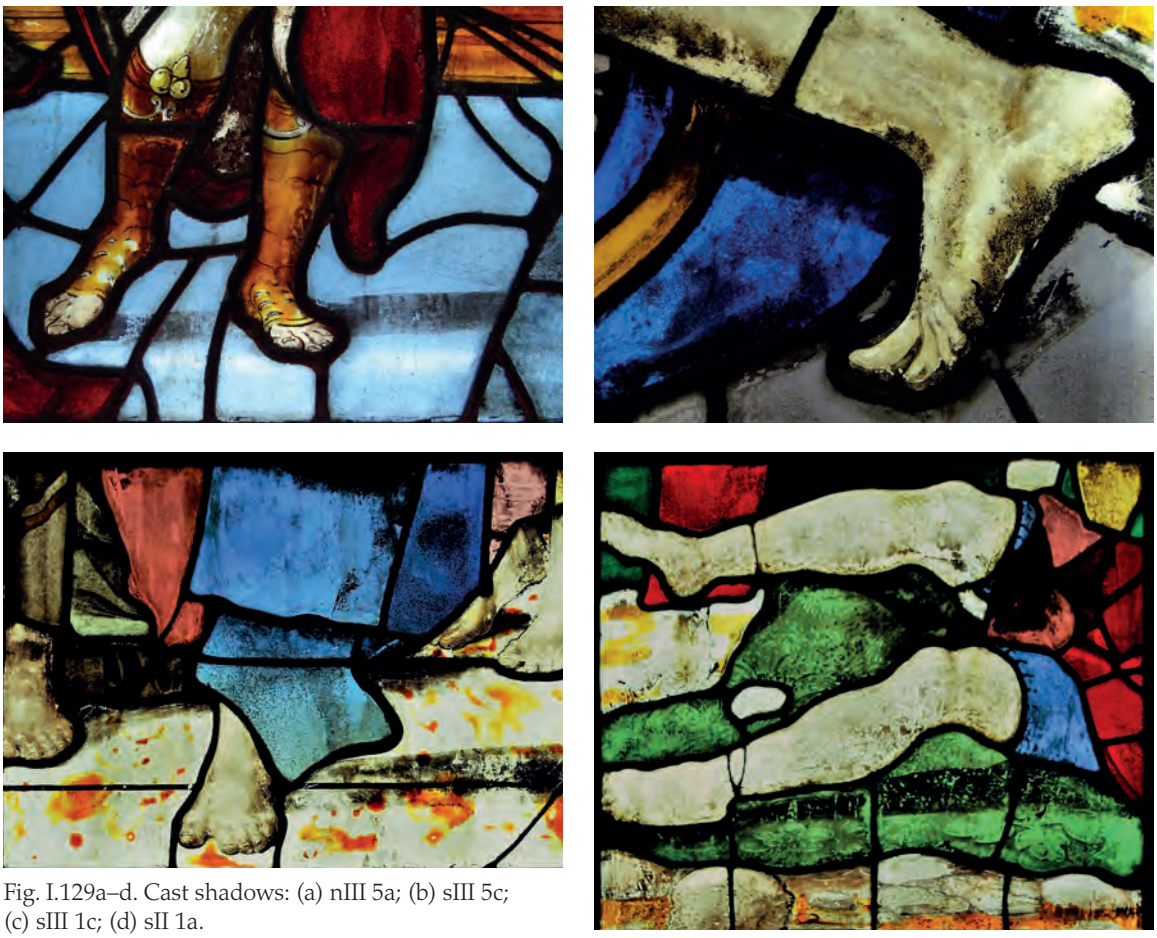


Fig. I.129a–d. Cast shadows: (a) nIII 5a; (b) sIII 5c; (c) sIII 1c; (d) sII 1a.

However, the presence of numerous projected shadows is a characteristic of the windows in the church of St Catherine in Hoogstraten, which may for this reason be compared to those at Lichfield. The window of the States of Holland (Antwerp, 1532–35, fig. I.130, overleaf) is particularly interesting in this respect, both for the lower register, with its representations of the counts of Holland, and the upper part with the Last Supper, the design of which has been attributed to the circle of Pieter Coecke van Aelst. It should be noted that at Hoogstraten the projected shadows are not completely coherent. Projected shadows were introduced into all the windows formerly in the abbey church at Herkenrode dated to between 1535 and 1539, mostly for legs, feet, hands, fingers, clothing, and architectural and decorative elements (pier bases, capitals, columns, volutes, garlands, pendant elements, masks, ribbons), but also for furniture (prie-dieus, seats), various objects (vases or pots, torches, loaves, a platter on a table, book clasps), or even stones on the ground.

One might expect that the treatment of projected shadow would differ from scene to scene as a result of the positions they originally occupied in the abbey church at Herkenrode. In all the scenes however, the light comes consistently from the left (individuals can also be lit from above), and the shadows, which are generally horizontal, are projected to the right, in line with pictorial convention. The designer therefore did not take the placing of the windows within the abbey church into account, nor did he fix on a single light source for all the scenes. Attention should be drawn to a few inaccuracies: shadows can be more or less oblique, and the shadows of a figure's two feet (or indeed of two neighbouring elements) are not necessarily parallel and can even converge.

The treatment of shading and shadows in the Herkenrode windows can be associated without hesitation with Pieter Coecke van Aelst and his studio, which, it is argued below,

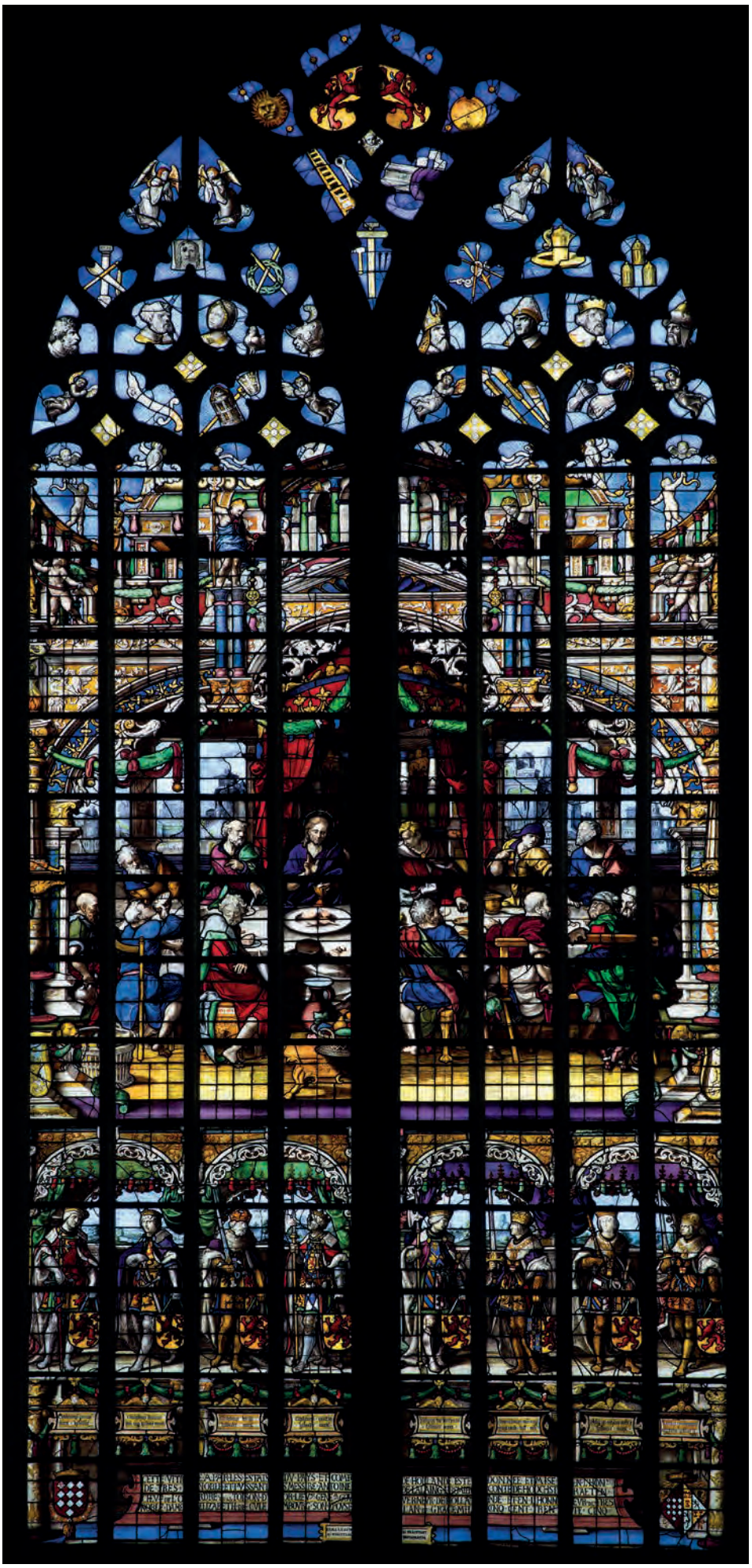


Fig. I.130.
Hoogstraten, church of St Catherine, window of the States of Holland, 1532–35.

Fig. I.131. *The Circumcision*, by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1534–40; drawing (Print Room, University of Warsaw Library, inv. no. INW.zb.d.75.48).

played a determining role in the design of the windows, as we will see below. Working with shade and shadow is an essential characteristic of Coecke's graphic and pictorial output. Study of the shading and shadows in the underdrawings of works attributed to him however demonstrates that there are significant differences in the quality and degree of finish, indicating that they are the work of different hands;[598] these variations in the treatment of shadow are characteristic of the designs for both tapestries and stained glass.

At present, three designs for monumental windows are attributed to Pieter Coecke himself: for a window depicting St Nicholas (Vienna, Albertina); for the window of John III of Portugal (St Petersburg, Hermitage); and for a window with a monk praying before the Virgin and Child (St Petersburg, Hermitage).[599] In these designs, the work with shading and shadows is understated, unlike that seen in small designs to scale for tapestries. Other designs for windows ascribed to Coecke's circle evince more accomplished thinking on light and shade. The projected shadows are distinctly more developed in the small design to scale for the window of the Arrest of Christ at Lichfield (see further below). In the design for the Circumcision (Warsaw University Library, Print Room, 1530–33, fig. I.131)[600] projected shadow is combined with the shading of deep folds in clothing in order to accentuate the dynamism of the composition.

Designs for roundels and small panels have also been associated with Pieter Coecke van Aelst and his circle, and in some instances, many works were executed to the same design. Roundels or panels after these designs are now found in public and private collections in

[598] See among others D. Martens et al. 2000, pp. 25–31; Jansen 2003; and Jansen 2006a.

[599] Respectively inv. no. 15122, inv. no. OP-5850, and inv. no. OP-5849. See the most recent catalogue of the artist's drawings, Alsteens 2014, pp. 292, 293, 312, 333–34 and 336.

[600] Kozac et al. 1993, p. 36; Born 1996, p. 37, fig. 2; and Talbierska 2019, pp. 95–98.

both Europe and North America,[601] and were either painted directly from the design, or after other roundels, which can put some distance between the glass and the original design.[602] The roundel/panel designs, which are real cartoons to scale that were transferred directly onto the glass, feature both shading and projected shadow, though it should be observed that these are not always faithfully reproduced on the glass. A comparison between the design of c.1535–40 for the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes in the British Museum, London, in the manner of Pieter Coecke,[603] and a roundel executed after it in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels,[604] reveals that projected shadows, which are precisely drawn and few in number in the design, have been expanded and increased in number in the glass (fig. I.132a–b).[605]

Fig. I.132a–b.
The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes: (a) drawing for a roundel in the manner of Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1535–40 (London, British Museum, inv. no. SL, 5226.182); (b) roundel to the same design (Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History, inv. no. I.A.556B).

[601] See among others Cole 1993; Husband 1995; Ritsema van Eck 1999; Berserik and Caen 2007; Berserik and Caen 2011; and Berserik and Caen 2014. One should nevertheless note that projected shadows, both in roundels and elsewhere, are not entirely exclusive to Pieter Coecke van Aelst: they are also found in roundels of the same period attributed to other artists.

[602] One could cite the *Triumphs of Petrarch* series, for which there are numerous examples of drawings and roundels; see Husband 1995, pp. 158–65, and Berserik and Caen 2014, pp. 98–102. These designs are currently attributed by Alsteens to the Master of the Clinging Draperies. It was suggested by Stijn Alsteens in a personal communication to the authors and later in a lecture given at the symposium *Grand Design: "Pieter Coecke van Aelst and the Renaissance"* (10–11 January 2015, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) that this Master was probably responsible for most of the designs for stained glass in Coecke's workshop: '[...] one of the various hands that have been confused with Coecke van Aelst. Probably mostly responsible for the stained-glass part of the workshop; probably also responsible for the roundels at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris' (email dated 8 June 2013). For the Master of the Clinging Draperies, see https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/record?query=clinging+draperies&start=0/ (accessed 24.9.2017). In the present study, we choose not to distinguish between what could be attributed to Coecke himself, and what to the Master of the Clinging Draperies. If the latter master did exist, he must have been a close collaborator of Coecke's, and distinguishing between the two hands would not be a straightforward task.

[603] Inv. no. SL, 5226.182.

[604] Inv. no. I.A.556B

[605] Husband 1995, pp. 158–65, esp. 159.

Attribution

Design

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the Italian influence on the Herkendode windows was highlighted. They were attributed to the 'Italian-Flemish school'[606] and thought to have very much the character of the glass at Liège.[607] For Jules Helbig, 'there was not anything to persuade the donors […] to look far from home, at a time when some very capable men devoted themselves to the art of the master-glazier', and he even suggested that the Herkenrode windows at Lichfield and those from the church of St James in Liège (c.1525) were the products of the same studio.[608] This hypothesis does not stand up to analysis however when one takes the significant nineteenth-century restorations of the Liège windows into account: the figures in the Liège windows are much more static, and the composition is a far cry from the animated, dynamic, spacious, and monumental scenes from Herkenrode. More specifically, the Herkenrode windows have in the past been attributed to Lambert Lombard (1505/1506–1566).[609] Lombard was a major artistic figure in the principality of Liège, in the service of Prince-Bishop Érard de La Marck, who was a significant force in the introduction of a new aesthetic replete with antique and Italianizing references.[610] The attribution to Lombard does not stand up to scrutiny however, even on a superficial level.

As has been already mentioned in relation with the stained glass of the church of St Catherine in Hoogstraten, the Herkenrode windows are especially close to the circle of artists working in Antwerp, which is hardly surprising. At the time at which these windows were designed and executed, Antwerp was the most important economic centre north of the Alps and the principal city for artistic activity in the former Low Countries, with close ties to other artistic centres such as Brussels, Mechelen, and Liège. Study of the extant glazing (see further below) inevitably leads to the proposition that the artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550,[611] fl.1527–50) was involved in the scheme's design. Coecke would be the only artist-designer associated with the Herkenrode scheme who can be identified by name, but it is clear that other artists may have collaborated, particularly in the older windows, which are noticeably different from the later ones, in the rendition of both the figures and the architectural decoration.

Coecke was a significant figure in the former Low Countries who came to prominence, as noted, in relation to tapestry-makers in particular. He trained in Brussels, the capital of the duchy of Brabant, in the studio of Bernard van Orley (1488–1541). Together with van Orley, Jan Gossaert (1476/8–1532), Jan van Scorel (1495–1562), and Michiel Coxcie (1499–1592), he actively promoted a new aesthetic in the art of the former Low Countries, directly inspired by Italian models, seen notably in prints and the tapestry cartoons, executed after Raphael and his collaborators, that were brought to Brussels at the command of Pope Leo X from 1516 onwards to be woven there. Coecke was settled in Antwerp from 1522/23, from the start no doubt with the painter Jan van Dornicke, who would become his father-in-law, and whose

[606] Winston 1864, p. 193 (1865, p. 310).

[607] Van Neuss 1895, pp. 180–81; and Day 1909, p. 214. See also Jules Helbig 1877, p. 367.

[608] Jules Helbig 1877, pp. 378–79 (p. 379 for the quotation: 'rien ne devait porter les donateurs [...] à s'adresser au loin à une époque où, dans la principauté, l'art du peintre-verrier était cultivé par des hommes très-capables').

[609] Bright (1950, p. 20) thought that the best windows at Herkenrode were conceived by Lambert Lombard and comments as follows: 'He is known to have done work in painted glass besides easel pictures. The windows in S. Jacques, S. Martin and S. Paul's Cathedral at Liège are all much of the same type, and some of these are said to be by him.'

[610] Denhaene 2006.

[611] For an overview of Pieter Coecke's activity as an artist, mainly as a draughtsman and producer of cartoons for tapestries, see Marlier 1966, Marlier 1968, Cleland 2014, and Alsteens 2014. For his involvement in the field of monumental glass-painting, see Vanden Bemden and Kerr 1986, Vanden Bemden 2008, Lecocq 2017, and Lecocq 2019a. For the journeys and travels definitely and probably undertaken by Coecke, see Born 2016, Lecocq and Kavaler 2016, and Born 2018. On the functioning of his studio, see D. Martens et al. 2000, Jansen 2003, Jansen 2006a, Jansen 2006b, and Jansen 2007. On the status of a court artist and Coecke's activity as a theoretician of architecture, see Offerhaus 1988, De Jonge 2002, De Jonge 2010, and Heringuez 2019. All the works cited refer to further literature on their subjects.

studio he took over in 1526/27. He played an important role in the painters' guild, of which he was dean in 1537. Like other artists of his time, he established himself as an *inventor*, drawing compositions destined to be executed as panel paintings, tapestries, stained glass, and even metalwork. The numerous painted works attributed to Coecke, often variants or replicas of prototypes that have since disappeared, tirelessly revisit themes popular at the period, especially in the Antwerp milieu – the Adoration of the Magi, the Holy Family, the Crucifixion, the Last Supper, etc.[612] Large numbers of works on these themes however were produced from the start of the sixteenth century to satisfy the demands of important clients; their authors remain anonymous for the most part, and they have been designated as various 'Masters of' and grouped under the heading 'Antwerp Mannerists'. Among the former is the 'Master of 1518', who has been identified convincingly by Friedländer as Jan van Dornicke. Only a limited number of works has been ascribed with confidence to the hand of Pieter Coecke.[613] The full catalogue of works attributed to him is far from definitive, and the degree to which the artist was involved in works attributed to his 'studio' is not easy to assess, so discussion of Pieter Coecke here should be taken to mean both Coecke and his collaborators.[614]

Coecke had the distinction of being the 'master artist to the emperor',[615] a role that is attested notably in the correspondence between Mary of Hungary and the emperor, her brother; we do not know however exactly what advantages this conferred in practice. The position certainly allowed the artist to expand his professional network, which was already extensive on account of his designs for and involvement in the tapestry business: we know that Coecke delivered sets of tapestries to Francis I and Henry VIII,[616] and it was also the tapestry trade that took Coecke to Constantinople, in 1533.[617] He brought back with him drawings on the theme of the *Mœurs et Fachons de faire de Turcz*; a figure from one such drawing was employed in the Herkenrode glazing, in the scene of the Flagellation. Coecke also played a crucial role in the field of architecture: his translation of Vitruvius's *De architectura* into Dutch, *Die inventie der colommen met haren coronementen ende maten*, was published in Antwerp in 1539, and in 1542 Book IV of Sebastiano Serlio's *I sette libri dell'architettura*.[618] With his (unauthorized) translation, Coecke was the first to make this handbook on the column orders available to a non-Italian audience, at the same time making it the most popular publication of its type in sixteenth-century Europe: for instance, the well-known English translation by Robert Peake (c.1551–1619) of Serlio's Book IV has its roots not in the Italian original but Coecke's work.[619]

Pieter Coecke is associated directly with stained-glass windows in two archival sources. One is Coecke's receipt,[620] dated 26 March 1537, of the sum of 38 pounds for a design (*een*

[612] See among others Jansen 2003, pp. 173–80.

[613] See principally Friedländer 1975 and Marlier 1966, as well as the most recent publications and bibliography on the artist cited in Jansen 2007, Cleland 2014, and Alsteens 2014.

[614] See Roobaert 2004, p. 29.

[615] Marlier 1966, p. 43; and De Jonge 2010.

[616] The tapestries were given to Francis in January 1533. A set of tapestries on the theme of the Seven Deadly Sins was catalogued among the goods of Henry VIII between 1535 and 1536.

[617] Born 2018, esp. p. 94. Born sets out the hypothesis that Coecke could have also travelled to Italy not at the start of his career, but after his voyage to Constantinople. There are no archival documents to support this hypothesis, but the author considers that from 1535 the artist's works evince a new stylistic development, probably the result of the direct assimilation of Italian sources. It might be noted that there is a very perceptible stylistic change in the Herkenrode glass between 1534 and 1538.

[618] For an overview of Pieter Coecke's activity as a publisher and translator of works on architecture, see especially Heringuez 2019, which cites all the most recent bibliography on the issue.

[619] De Jonge 2013, pp. 218–19.

[620] Cited in Cleland 2014, p. 78 (cat. no. 14): 'Anno .15 37. den .26. martij. / Also ic peeter coucke alias van aelst aengenome[n] heb te leueren een forme oft glasen venster (inhoudende va[n] / van .Sinte Nicolaus.) vanden dekens vander meersen[iers] de welcke hemlieden geleuert hebbende thandwerpe[n] / in onser lieuer vrouwen kercke en [de] te / vollen betaelt te wetene. vander somme van achtendertich ponden. Vlems.tot.vj.karolus gulden tpo[n] t / also dat ic hemlieden vande voergenoemde comenscap niet meer eischende en bin in kinneßen mij[n]s hantscrifts aldus geteekent / Peeter. Coucke.' ('26 March 1537. I the undersigned Peeter Coucke, also known as van Aelst, undertook to deliver to the elders of the textile merchants the design of a window representing St Nicholas. With this window having been delivered to them in the church of Our Lady in Antwerp and having been approved by them, I have been fully paid by the same the sum of 38 Flemish pounds (with 1 pound being worth 6 Carolus florins). I therefore declare that I will make no further claim for any sum of money for this work and sign with my own hand, Peeter Coucke.')

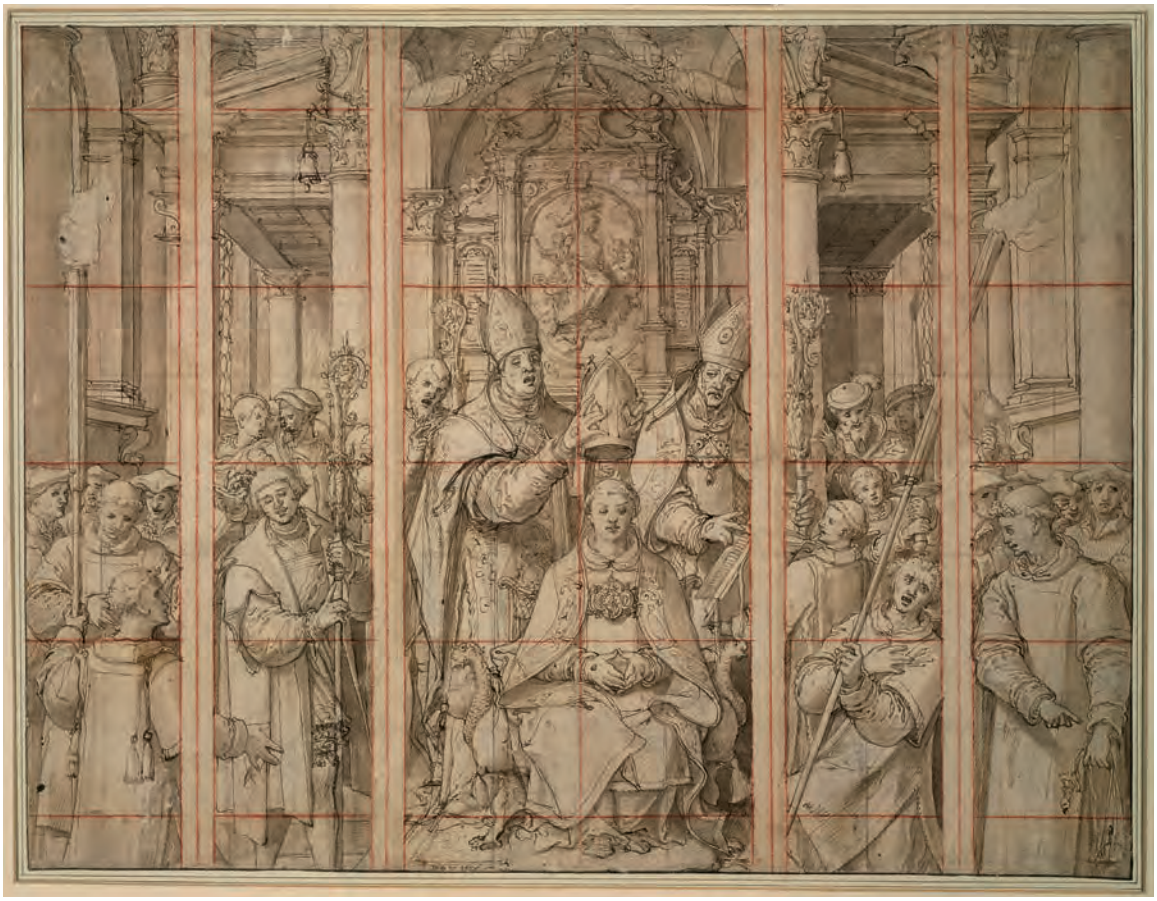


Fig. I.133. Small-scale design for a window of St Nicholas intended for Antwerp Cathedral, attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst (Vienna, The Albertina Museum, inv. no. 15122).

forme), following delivery and installation of the corresponding window, commissioned by the drapers' guild, above the altar of St Nicholas in the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp;[621] a later payment made to Coecke for the same commission seems to indicate that he had also overseen the installation of the glass (fig. I.133).[622] The other source is the accounts of the cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule in Brussels, which contain record of a payment made to Pieter Coecke in 1542–43 of 2 gold crowns, for *een patroen int cleijne* (a small design to scale) for the window of John III, king of Portugal;[623] this drawing is preserved in the Hermitage in St Petersburg (fig. I.134, overleaf).[624] John III's window was eventually realized after a design by Michel Coxcie.

Some other designs for stained glass, both monumental windows and small panels,[625] have been attributed to Coecke on the basis of their style,[626] though in many cases it is not easy to pin down whether they are the work of Coecke himself or his studio, or whether they were executed under his influence or in the wake of the studio. A corollary of the association

[621] Friedländer (1917, esp. pp. 90–91) identifies one design as being this very one. For more recent discussion of this design, see Cleland 2014, pp. 78–81.

[622] See Cleland 2014, p. 78 (cat. no. 14). 'Peter van Aelst' received 57 pounds for a stained-glass window situated above the altar of St Nicholas in the church of Our Lady, with the assistants who installed the window having been paid a tip of 3 stuivers.

[623] Cited in P. Lefèvre 1945, p. 152, and Jean Helbig and Vanden Bemden 1974, pp. 129–30: '1542-1543: « Item ter ordinantie van den heeren fabrijckmeesteren gegeven Peeteren van Aelst, schildere, voor een patroen int cleijne, dwelck hi gemaect hadde totter gelase venstere gegeven bij den coninck van Portugale, 2 goude croonen, videlicet 19 stuv. grossor ».' ('1542–1543: "Item. By order given by the church fabric managers, to Pieter van Aelst, artist, for a small design to scale, which he had made of the glass window executed for the king of Portugal, 2 gold crowns, that is, 19 *stuiver*.')

[624] Inv. no. 5850. See Jean Helbig and Vanden Bemden 1974, p. 88; Vanden Bemden 2005, pp. 82–83; and Larionov 2010, pp. 211–13, 359.

[625] Wayment (1980) associated Coecke, along with Bernard van Orley and other collaborators, with the stained glass at The Vyne (Hampshire).

[626] See notably Marlier 1966, pp. 353–75, and the identification made by Friedländer.

set out below of Pieter Coecke with the Herkenrode windows is the involvement of Coecke or his studio in the design of several windows in the church of St Catherine at Hoogstraten. As has been noted, the windows of Philippe de Lalaing and Anne de Rennenberg (1530–32), Charles de Lalaing and Jacqueline de Luxembourg (1533), and the States of Holland (1532–35) are very close to several of the Herkenrode windows with regard to the figures, the conception of the backgrounds with their small figures, and certain aspects of the architectural framing.[627] Two other monumental windows have also been compared to Pieter Coecke's output, but unfortunately in the case of the window donated by Thierry of Alsace (1541) formerly in the Chapel of the Holy Blood in Bruges, the comparison was made on the basis of a drawing that postdated the window (which has disappeared),[628] and in the case of the window donated by Antoine and Jean-Jacques Fugger to Antwerp Cathedral, executed by Robrecht van Ollim in 1537, no ancient glass remains, as the work was completely renewed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[629]

Fig. I.134. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, design for a window representing John III of Portugal and his wife Catherine of Aragon, c.1542 (St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. OP-5850).

Several scenes in the Herkenrode windows at Lichfield can be shown however, through comparisons with paintings, drawings, and engravings, to have clear links to the art and the milieu of Pieter Coecke. The comparisons can relate to a scene in its entirety, or to limited borrowings, and make it possible to associate Coecke directly with the windows at Lichfield. A design for a three-light window preserved in Munich, considered to be a work from Coecke's studio,[630] appears to be a preliminary sketch for the scene of the Arrest of Christ at Lichfield,

[627] Marlier 1966, pp. 360–62; Lauwerijs 1948; Lauwerijs 1960; and Jean Helbig 1968, pp. 138–52, 201–27.
[628] Marlier 1966, p. 364; and Lecocq 2011, pp. 153–55.
[629] Jean Helbig 1968, pp. 67–74.
[630] This design, which is preserved in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich and was initially attributed by Marlier (1966, pp. 354–56) to an artist working in the manner of Pieter Coecke, is currently attributed by Stijn Alsteens to the Master of the Clinging Draperies.

Fig. I.135a–b. (a) Window sII, scene A: the Arrest of Christ and Christ Praying on the Mount of Olives; (b) design for a window of the Arrest of Christ (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 41041).

dateable to the years 1535–39 (fig. I.135a–b). It constitutes a perfect match for the window as executed, apart from the section lower left, the iconography of which was adapted, perhaps at the request of the nuns. In the drawing, St Peter prepares to cut off the ear of Malchus, who is kneeling, while a soldier attempts to restrain Christ with a rope; Judas is not clearly identifiable. In the window, the role of Judas is clarified, and Christ's mercy is brought to the fore. Judas kisses Christ to indicate to the warriors which man they have to arrest; at the same time, he receives the bag containing the thirty pieces of silver that were the price paid for him to betray Christ. Malchus has been thrown to the ground and dropped his lantern, while St Peter puts his sword back in his scabbard on Christ's order. The sketch is less finished than other window designs attributed to Coecke, such as that of the Circumcision in Warsaw.[631] The two drawings probably fulfilled different functions: the sketch would have served to position the various elements of the composition and help develop the theme in line with the commissioner's wishes; the Warsaw drawing is a completely finished design ready to be enlarged into a cartoon. The Crucifixion scene (c.1532) formerly at the centre of the apse in the abbey church at Herkenrode (parts of which survive, now dispersed between Lichfield and Shrewsbury) also attests to the use of a model deriving from the workshop of Pieter Coecke; this is evident from a comparison between the Virgin and St John and the corresponding figures in a triptych attributed to Pieter Coecke housed in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (fig. Cat. I.389, p. 391).[632]

Three further scenes in the Herkenrode glass can be compared to a retable attributed to Coecke's studio and commissioned by Joris Sarens, abbot at Sint-Truiden (Limburg, Belgium)

[631] Born 1996, p. 37.

[632] Inv. no. ABM s107. See Jansen 2006b, pp. 120–22.

Fig. I.136a–c. Three scenes from the retable formerly at the abbey of Sint-Truiden, conceived on the same models as the three corresponding Herkenrode scenes: (a) the Entry into Jerusalem (Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum, inv. no. 1246); (b) Christ Leaving Pilate (Berlin, Jagdschloss Grunewald, inv. no. GK I 2029); (c) Pentecost (Cape Town, Michaelis Collection, inv. no. 62/2).

1532–1538:[633] the Entry into Jerusalem, Christ Leaving Pilate, and Pentecost (fig. I.136a–c). The retable was dismembered and its panels were dispersed; the scenes corresponding to the Herkenrode ones are preserved respectively in the Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht (Limburg, Netherlands); the Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin (Germany); and the Michaelis Collection, Cape Town (South Africa).[634] In both the glass and the retable there are similar groups of figures, which lead one to think that there may have been models common to both the retable and the glass designs: in the Entry into Jerusalem, the figures of Christ, the young man in the tree, the man placing his coat on the ground in the foreground, and the man raising his arms in the background; in the scene of Christ Leaving Pilate, the figures of Christ and Pilate; in the Pentecost scene, the Virgin, the figures in the foreground, and several secondary figures.

Various figure types and physiognomies typical of Coecke and his circle are also readily found in the Herkenrode glass. The figures are nervy and supple, with well-defined musculatures and very characteristic physiques, depicted in attitudes that are dynamic, poses that are choreographic and sometimes even acrobatic, and with gestures that are expressive, sometimes even shameless. In the scene of Christ Leaving Pilate, in which Pilate is shown washing his hands as Christ is led away by a soldier, the attitude of the young man turning back towards

[633] Buijsen 2000.

[634] Bonnefantenmuseum, inv. no. 1246; Jagdschloss Grunewald, inv. no. GK I2029.

Fig. I.137a–b.
(a) Guard in the Crowning with Thorns (nII 5–7c);
(b) Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Mœurs et Fachons de faire de Turcz*, detail.

Pilate while continuing to walk and maintain his hold on Christ occurs frequently in the work of Coecke, who was fond of figures engaged in a double movement of turning back and walking; an example is seen in the tapestry of St Paul in Malta, from the *Life of St Paul* series. The dignitary shown in profile, wearing a turban and holding a halberd, on the right of the scene of the Crowning with Thorns has his alter ego in Coecke's *Mœurs et Fachons de faire de Turcz* series (fig. I.137a–b); the drawings for this series, which were published as engravings only after Coecke's death, by his widow, were therefore clearly in use at an earlier date. On the left of the scene of the Flagellation the acrobatic and very individual pose of the torturer is borrowed from Coecke, as is shown by a roundel design representing Neptune and the elements preserved at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. I.138a–b, overleaf).[635] The man and woman in the foreground of the Resurrection of the Dead scene can be compared with figures in the *Story of the Creation* tapestry series (c.1548) conserved in the Palazzo Pitti collection, the design of which has been attributed to Pieter Coecke,[636] particularly *God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall* (fig. I.139a–b, overleaf).

[635] Inv. no. PM455. See Alsteens 2014, p. 312.
[636] Cleland 2014, pp. 304–16.

Fig. I.138a–b. (a) Figure in the Flagellation (nII 9–11a–b); (b) design for a roundel of Neptune (Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. PM 455).

Fig. I.139a–b. (a) Figures from the Resurrection of the Dead; (b) *God Accuses Adam and Eve after the Fall*, tapestry manufactured in Brussels to a design attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, c.1548 (Florence, Palazzo Pitti).

The modernity of these nudes is startling, and they are in no way related, for example, to those in the Last Judgement Window by van Orley in the cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule in Brussels, executed ten or so years previously (fig. I.140). In the depiction of the Holy Trinity

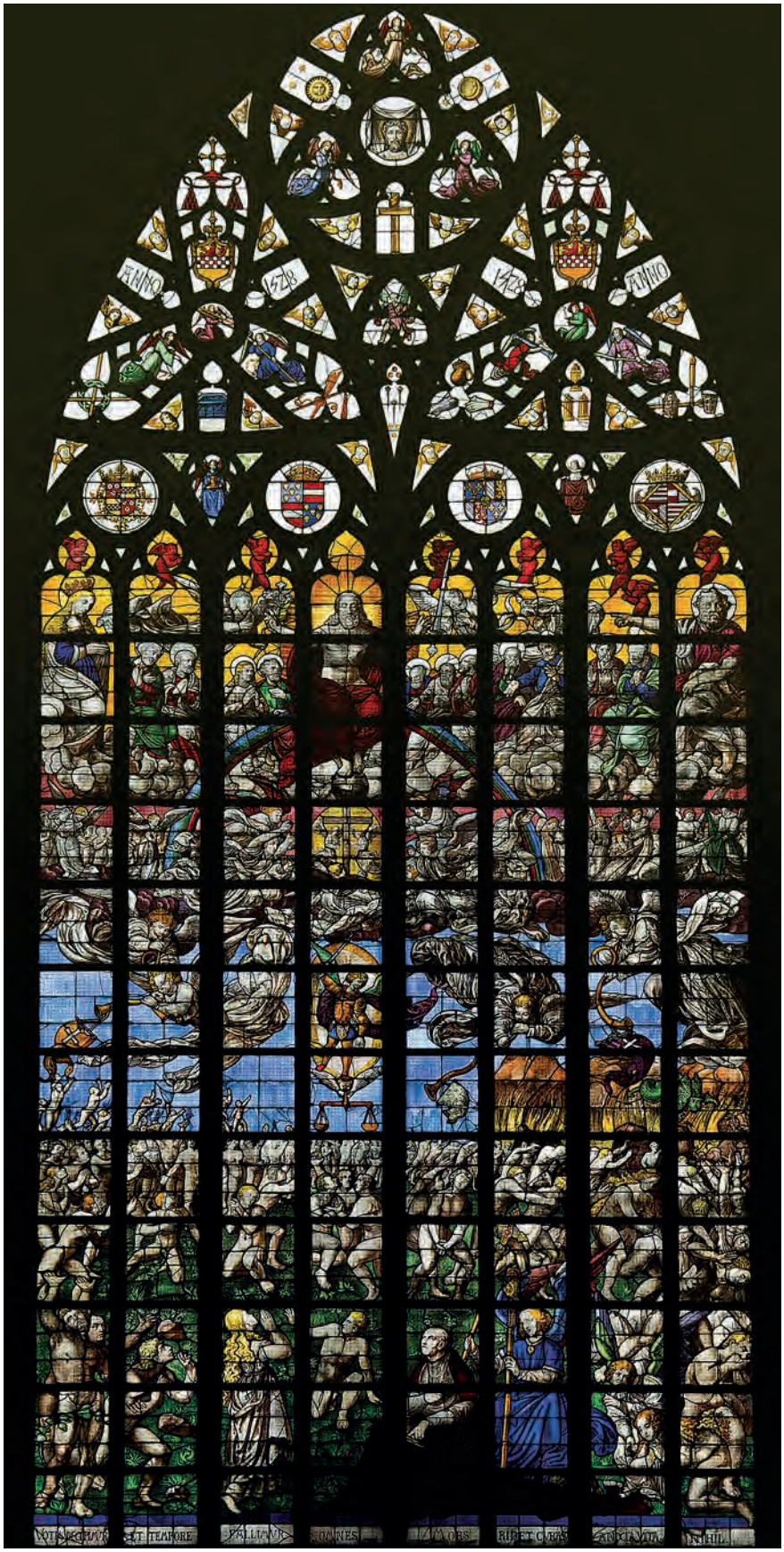


Fig. I.140. Brussels, cathedral of Sts Michael and Gudule, west window, the Last Judgement, 1528.

Fig. I.141a–b.
(a) Central panel of *The Trinity*, triptych attributed to Pieter Coecke van Aelst; 88cm × 53cm (Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. no. ABM s78); (b) The Trinity (sVI, light b, detail).

in sVI at Lichfield, the figure of the dead Christ is also close to Coecke, as is shown by a comparison with a painting on the same theme preserved in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (fig. I.141a–b).[637]

Many of the female figures represented in the various Herkenrode windows at Lichfield are also related to those in Coecke's repertoire, whether it be on account of their hands, head, hair, or graceful appearance, etc. The 'Coecke style' can be recognized in the figures of Sts Barbara (nIII, scene E) and Agnes (nIII, scene D) and the shield-bearing angels (nIII, scene B, and nIV, scene D), with their tall, elegant, and sinuous outlines, presented in three-quarters view, gently leaning forwards, and characterized by graceful necks, blond hair (gently wavy around the temples, with fluttering strands), and collars bedecked with jewels. The closeness of the Herkenrode glazing to Pieter Coecke van Aelst and his studio however goes beyond the compositional parallels and the reuse of forms and motifs outlined above: it is also evident in a common pictorial approach. Especially characteristic of the latter is the systematic use of projected shadows – for architectural elements, garlands, and even everyday objects – something that is rarely found in the domain of glass-painting.[638]

The parallels with the work of Coecke and his collaborators necessitate consideration of his or their precise role in the creation of the Herkenrode windows. Was Coecke and his studio's contribution limited to providing scaled designs, or was he also involved in the production of

[637] Inv. no. ABM s78, 88cm × 53cm.

[638] Lecocq and Vanden Bemden 2016a.

the cartoons? Priority should be afforded to the second of these two scenarios: the cartoons were clearly not the product of a glaziers' workshop, and the draughtsmen responsible for them do not seem to have taken into account the techniques specific to glass-painting, since the pictorial manner adopted is not really appropriate for the medium, especially in the widespread use of large dark matts and significant areas of shadow.[639] The cartoons must sometimes have been extremely complicated, with the draughtsman including details that did not take into account how feasible it would be to render them in glass, or how legible they would be once transposed to the new medium. As a result, the glass-painters do not always seem to have interpreted the designer's intentions correctly, particularly in the depiction of complex architectural forms (for example, I, scene B, and nII, scene A).

The cartoons prepared for the Herkenrode windows must have been similar, in their overall appearance, to extant cartoons for windows, like those for the church of St John at Gouda (if we consider only the sixteenth century),[640] or the cartoon prepared for the *Martyrdom of St Paul* tapestry housed in the Brussels City Museum (except that this lacks the colouring and technical indications, such as panel divisions, found in cartoons for windows). Within the crafts of both glass-painting and tapestry, the monumental context for which works were destined required line drawing that was well-defined and precise, and the subtle modelling of forms, especially for faces. Detailed comparisons between the Brussels cartoon (which has recently been the subject of extensive restoration)[641] and the Herkenrode glazing at Lichfield (in the absence of cartoons for the latter) evince such a kinship that one is led, inevitably but reasonably, to associate both the tapestry and window cartoons with draughtsmen active in the Coecke workshop responsible for cartoon production (figs I.142a–b, and I.143a–b (overleaf)). We know that Coecke became a significant figure in the production of cartoons for tapestries, and was recognized as such: the account books for the city of Antwerp for 1541–42 designate him a 'painter and maker of cartoons', and on this account he received financial support towards the rental of his house.[642] In her study of the size of Pieter Coecke's studio and the way in which it functioned on a practical level, Jansen concluded that the studio was one of the largest in Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century.[643] It is therefore all the more plausible that Coecke assumed the role of artist-in-chief to the studio and took a close interest in the production of cartoons for windows.[644]

Fig. I.142a–b.
(a) Cartoon of the *Martyrdom of St Paul*, detail (Brussels, Museum of the City of Brussels); (b) the Entry into Jerusalem, detail (sII 7c).

[639] Ibid.
[640] Van Ruyven-Zeman, van Eck and van Dolder-de Wit 2002.
[641] See Paredes 2016; and de Laveleye and Paredes 2019.
[642] Roobaert 2004, p. 31.
[643] Jansen 2007.
[644] Heringuez (2019 p. 263) opines: 'Dans cet atelier en partie financé par la ville d'Anvers, l'artiste pratiquait peut-être aussi la peinture de cartons de vitraux.' ('In this studio, partly financed by the city of Antwerp, the artist may also have been engaged in the painting of cartoons for windows.').


Fig. I.143a–b. (a) Circle of Pieter Coecke, cartoon for the *Martyrdom of St Paul*, c.1535, detail (Brussels, Museum of the City of Brussels); (b) Pentecost, detail of the Virgin (sIII 6b).

While the input of Coecke and those collaborating with him is apparent in the conception of the large sacred scenes and (at least in part) their frameworks, it is harder to establish it in relation to the Herkenrode donor scenes, apart from certain saints that can be compared to figures by Coecke (nIII, scene B: the Virgin and Child; nIV, scene C: St Anne, the Virgin and the Child). It is clear that cartoons were reused in donor scenes (nIII, scenes D and F; nVI and sVI; sXV (body)), as is shown by the silhouettes, the cut of clothing to allow a calf or a foot to appear, etc. There are however small variants, and the heads have clearly been personalized. Any unease felt in associating specific sacred scenes with specific donor scenes on account of apparent stylistic inconsistencies can be allayed by presuming that the same cartoons were used for the donors by the workshop from the start, simply being adapted for the various commissioners.

Realization by the Glaziers

While the similarities of the Herkenrode windows to works attributed to Coecke and his studio are clear, differences in their rendering can be detected, revealing that the glass was the work of several hands. This is not unexpected, but what do we know of the glaziers who executed the windows? Based on a material analysis of the different scenes and the consistency with which the various techniques were employed, one might reasonably suppose that overall responsibility for execution of the windows, from the earliest to the latest, fell to a single studio or master glazier. The techniques employed did however evolve over the seven-year period during which the stained glass was realized for the abbey church, notably in the increased use of sanguine for modelling and flesh tones.

From documentary sources we have the names of master-glazier Maarten Tymus (or Tymans)[645] from Antwerp, who may have been connected with the production of the windows for Herkenrode Abbey, and of master-glazier Lambert Spulberch (Speelberch) from Mechelen, who was certainly involved in the production of at least one window there. Coecke and Tymus knew each other sufficiently well for them both to be witnesses for the last will and testament of Joos van Cleve (d.1541).[646] Tymus is mentioned on two separate occasions

[645] P. Rombouts and Van Lerius 1864, pp. 110 and 152; Nicaise 1936; Nicaise 1937, esp. pp. 197–201; and Dumortier 1985.

[646] Cleland 2014, p. 19; and Leeflang 2015, p. 21 (where Maarten Tymus is described as an 'obscure glass painter').

in 1533:[647] on 7 February, Peter Frans van Venedigen,[648] a citizen of Antwerp, acknowledged receipt from 'Marten Temes', *gelaesmaker* ('glass-maker'), the sum of 50 Brabant florins for *pakken* ('packets'); and on 23 June in the same year, Abbess Mathilde de Lexhy paid Tymus 55 Brabant florins for an unspecified reason (probably a reimbursement). A deed issued on 17 July 1539 by the assistant burgomaster in Antwerp reveals that Tymus was related to Barbelen Baecx, daughter of Barbara Tymans and a sister at Herkenrode.[649] In the register of the Guild of St Luke in Antwerp, Tymus appears in 1528 as a qualified glazier, in 1543 as *busmeester van de armen bussen* ('box keeper of the poor box', so in charge of the guild's poor funds), and in 1545 as dean.[650] Tymus was therefore a sufficiently important figure to be involved in one way or another in the new windows at Herkenrode.[651]

Lambert Spulberch, a *ghelaesmaker* ('glass-maker') at Mechelen who was probably related to the eminent van den Houte family of glaziers,[652] received the sum of 60 Brabant florins in 1535 as payment for a window donated by Érard de La Marck and installed in the place of honour in the choir of the abbey church.[653] The expressions used in his receipt include *gemaect* ('executed') and *gestelt ende gelevert* ('installed and delivered'), and the document specifies that the window is signed with Spulberch's mark (although no signature is now found on Érard de La Marck's window in Lichfield Cathedral, dated 1532). We do not know if Spulberch was also in charge of other work in the abbey church at Herkenrode. Although no other window by Spulberch is known, he is mentioned several times in the documentary sources: for the first time in November 1523, when he paid a sum in rent; for a second time in 1541 (as 'Lambert Spielberch'), when he appears in the Mechelen *ambachtboek* (trades book);[654] and for a third time in a document concerning the sale of the revenue rights relating to the lands and a chapel of a certain Jan Verreykken, resident at Sint-Niklaas (in the land of Waes), to 'Lambrechts Speelberch', described as *woonde in Mechelen* ('resident in Mechelen').[655]

Despite significant publications on the subject,[656] light still needs to be shed on many aspects of studio practice in Antwerp in the sixteenth century, including glass-painters' studios. Different workers in a glaziers' studio must have collaborated on the same work, but how would the work have been organized? The process clearly involved subcontracting, but how did subcontracting practices between different studios or with collaborators become established? As a creator of designs, including ones for stained glass, Coecke must have been in contact with the studios of various master-glaziers, for which designs would have been executed, or to which execution of windows would have been entrusted (whether by means of small designs to scale or full-scale cartoons). Yet for Herkenrode, only the names of glaziers are mentioned in the archives; the same is true for the windows of the church of St Catherine in Hoogstraten, where Coecke's style, despite significant restorations, is readily discernible, but where the archives only mention that the windows were executed by Claes Mathyssen,

[647] Nicaise 1936.

[648] Peter Frans van Venedigen, *burger tot Antwerpen* ('citizen of Antwerp'), had been contracted in 1532 to deliver the pavement for the abbey church's choir by Easter 1533. He was not a manufacturer of ceramics, but a dyer in scarlet and a merchant, probably originally came from Brescia, who had settled in Antwerp in 1510. Peter Frans was the brother of the ceramic maker Jan Frans, who was probably working in the famous workshop of Guido Andries, also from Antwerp. See Dumortier 2002, esp. pp. 15–22.

[649] Dumortier 1985, esp. p. 124.

[650] P. Rombouts and Van Lerius 1864, pp. 110 and 152.

[651] Nicaise 1936; and Nicaise 1937, esp. pp. 200–201.

[652] For the van den Houte family, see mainly Wayment 1967, 1968, and 1969. Neefs (1876, p. 322) refers to a 'Willem Speelberch glaesemaker' in connection with the van den Houte family, but unfortunately not a single work by Willem has been identified. Elisabeth Speelberch had married the glazier Herman van den Houte, father of Adrian, who was also a glazier. Like the van den Houte family, the Spulberch (Speeberch) family must have been a dynasty of glaziers.

[653] For this document, see Appendix 2. See also Vanden Bemden and Kerr 1986, pp. 189–226; and Vanden Bemden 2008, pp. 78–79.

[654] Mechelen, Stadsarchief, Schepenakten (scabinal register), nº 146, f.94; and Schoeffer 1877, III, p. 50.

[655] Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Schepenregister, 226, f.135v (1546). We are grateful to Claire Dumortier for sending us this reference, and to Emmanuel Joly for his help in reading the document. There were other glass-painters from the same family in Mechelen; see among others Neeffs 1876, p. 322.

[656] M. P. J. Martens and Peeters 2006.

between 1528 and 1533. Further questions remain, as to the actual commissioning process. Did the nuns commission the designs and their execution separately? Did they commission the windows from a glazier, and if so, why not Maarten Tymus, who was related to a sister at Herkenrode and close to Pieter Coecke, known as an entrepreneur? Or did the commissioning happen the other way round, with Pieter Coecke being approached?

The most significant aspect of what has gone before is undoubtedly the highlighting of Pieter Coecke van Aelst's involvement with stained glass. The connections linking the Herkenrode glazing and works by Coecke are close and undeniable, whether these are with paintings, tapestries, or preparatory drawings for monumental windows, roundels, or engravings, or with other windows associated with him. This Antwerp artist and his workshop appear to have been involved in the creation of windows, both at conception stage and in the making of cartoons. As an artist-entrepreneur, Coecke may have been involved in monitoring the work of the glaziers himself. The Herkenrode glazing at Lichfield is there extremely precious, both for its intrinsic artistic qualities as for the light it casts on this major artist.

INDEX

This index covers people, places, and iconography. Entries for the latter are indicated in italic typeface. All entries are alphabetized up to the first comma, ignoring any spaces. Events in the lives of Christ, the Virgin, or specific saints are listed under those individuals. Rulers and historical prelates are listed under their forenames. The particles van, Van, de, De, le, Le are taken into account for alphabetization; exceptions are medieval individuals where 'de' or 'of' indicate provenance.

The surviving glazing from Herkenrode Abbey in modern-day Belgium constitutes the most significant body of Flemish stained glass in the world. Much of it was executed, in the 1530s, for the abbey church, and some of the rest was made for the abbess's private chapel. An Englishman, Sir Brooke Boothby, took advantage of the secularization of the monasteries to purchase the abbey church glazing, in 1802, and it now adorns windows in Lichfield Cathedral and the church of St Mary (Shrewsbury); the glazing from the abbess's private chapel came to England via a different route and now stands over main altar in the church of St Giles (Ashtead). Recent conservation has afforded a unique opportunity to study the glass in Lichfield Cathedral in depth, and the ensemble is presented here fully for the first time. A general historical introduction on Herkenrode Abbey prefaces sections on the three locations in England where the glass is now found. The account draws on extensive research into artistic practice in the Low Countries to outline the glazing's art-historical context, and on the rich documentation in the Lichfield Cathedral archives to trace a detailed history of the glazing's reception in England.

The Stained Glass of Herkenrode Abbey is the seventh volume in the monograph series of the Corpus Vitrearum (Great Britain), https://www.cvma.ac.uk.

Front cover: soldier at the Resurrection (Lichfield Cathedral, sIV 2d).
Back cover: the abbey church at Herkenrode (Lichfield Cathedral, nIII 2b).

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