

Illuminating Saint Anne:
York's Medieval Stained Glass as a Window to Understanding Lay Devotion

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Introduction

Late Medieval England witnessed an increase in lay devotional practice because a growing number of parishioners were able to study the Bible and religious texts without the immediate guidance of a priest. This increase was due to the rise in education of both lay men and women. The external growth in education contributed to the tradition of fathers willing books and manuscripts to their sons and encouraged women passing books down to their daughters.¹ An increase in literacy among women allowed new customs to form that drove social changes in their education and reading, which in turn provoked the shift in lay devotion. Along with this, Saint Anne, the beloved mother of Mary, became an increasingly important symbol to many men and women.² The developing interest in Anne and what she embodied provide evidence of an evolving fifteenth century society. Her patrons found their values were expressed by her iconography, especially since medieval culture was changing to a society that valued faith through family as well as one that upheld celibacy as an expression of faith. Studying the stained glass of several parish churches one city in particular attests to this change. As the city with the second largest population in England, York was a bustling northern port, with a strong population of merchants and a curiously strong devotion to Saint Anne.³ York is an ideal case study with abundant primary evidence and material for investigating the changes in politics, economics, and the social structure, all of which affected lay piety. The excellent survival of the city's stained glass windows contributes evidence of medieval culture. These cultural changes

¹ John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995) 6-8.

² Pauline E. Routh, "A Gift and Its Giver; John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, (Arthur Wigley & Sons Ltd., Bradford, 1988), 109. And E.A. Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, Vol. CII (Society of Antiquaries of London; Oxford, England, 1969), 151. Both articles establish the donors for the windows.

³ P.J.P Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy; Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 14.

coincided with an increased devotion to Saint Anne. She reflected medieval culture as the laity attached their own values to her.⁴ Anne examined within the parish community provides a window into medieval life, religion, and culture as this thesis demonstrates in York and presents possible insight into the rest of England.

In York, the saint is found in three fifteenth century stained glass windows in three different parish churches, as well as in a fourth window in the Minster.⁵ The remaining three windows are found in parish churches and originate from the fifteenth century. The parish churches are All Saints, North Street (Figure 1); Holy Trinity, Goodramgate (Figure 2); and St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street (Figure 3).⁶ Holy Trinity and St. Martin-le-Grand both have late fifteenth century windows that show Anne with Joachim and Mary, and at Holy Trinity, the east window includes a representation of the Holy Kindred.⁷ At All Saints, the window is from the earlier half of the century showing Anne as an endearing mother teaching Mary to read. Chapter two discusses these windows, offering an analysis of each window and its social and religious context.

It is unusual to have more than one remaining image of Saint Anne glass, let alone four.⁸ More commonly, her depiction is found in woodcuts, stone carvings, and manuscripts. For

⁴ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies", *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 22.

⁵ This thesis does not examine Saint Anne in the Minster because I am looking at her depiction exclusive of monumental architecture to focus purely on lay culture. However, it is important to note what the window is depicting. It is a large narrative consuming multiple panels, illustrating Joachim greeting Anne at the Golden Gate, their marriage, the Holy Kindred with each Mary, her husband and children.

⁶ For the remainder of this thesis they will be referred to as their title without the street name.

⁷ John A. Knowles, "The East Window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, York 23 (1928), 23. These two windows demonstrate the same image of the saint, with slight discrepancies indicating that the two images originate from the same cartoon. A cartoon is a single drawing that was often reused, it would be laid out on a table while the glazier glassed and leaded the panel.

⁸ A possible counter argument is that York has an unusually high retention of stained glass, and other cities may have had more depictions of Anne, only they were destroyed. However, it is still striking that this many remain in York.

example, depictions of her in fifteenth and sixteenth century Germany can be found in sandstone carvings or in paintings, as in the case of many Italian portrayals, rather than in stained glass.⁹ With time, the saint's popularity moved west; evidenced by her cult being stronger in Continental Europe before becoming firmly established in England.¹⁰ Within York, the multiple stained glass windows distinguish the city from the rest of England, clearly indicating the significance of the saint's importance. There are several other windows depicting Anne in England, but nowhere with multiple examples as in York.¹¹ As a declaration of their faith and values, several members and clergy of the different parishes made donations for these windows to proclaim their devotion to Saint Anne.¹² Since they were incredibly expensive "the community looked to donors for individual stained glass windows."¹³ These windows are indicative of a saint's popularity growth and a reflection of the patrons' ideologies.

These stained glass images of Saint Anne raise several issues since she is represented in a variety of ways. Historically, in western European depictions of her, the emphasis was on her role as a religious mother, stressing the portrayal of motherhood and marriage as a way to demonstrate religious devotion that did not involve celibacy.¹⁴ The wealthy middle class was able to identify with Anne as the figural embodiment of their familial values.

⁹ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies," 2,4. Note, also in the same centuries. Her image is shown in stained glass, but more commonly found in the above listed forms of art.

¹⁰ Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004) 18. In the first chapter I will provide these images as contrasts to her depiction in stained glass.

¹¹ Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, England,: Routledge, 1993), 63 and 75. One is at West Wickham, Kent dated 1490-1500; Thenford, Northamptonshire, and Stanford on Avon, Northants dated 1325-40. Each window is a depiction of Anne and Mary reading, a common motif in English medieval art.

¹² Marks, 4.

¹³ Marks, 4, and Barbara Wilson and Frances Mee. *The Medieval Parish Churches of York; the Pictorial Evidence* (York: York Archaeological Trust), 1998, 26.

¹⁴ Gail McMurray Gibson, "Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed, Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans" in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (99).

This paper focuses on her depiction in the York stained glass windows as a reflection of societal and devotional change. In contrast to the early typical methodological approaches of recording and cataloguing the historiography of stained glass, this paper asks different questions. What can employing a gender perspective approach to Anne's image within glass indicate to scholars about medieval society as women became increasingly educated and literate? And, how can we use material culture manifested by Saint Anne being depicted in a window as a way to understand the shift in lay devotional practices? A fairly recent publication, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* is a collection of essays by various scholars who examine Anne from different perspectives, taking into consideration the evidence of art, literature, and folklore. The editors Pamela Sheingorn and Kathleen Ashley emphasize Anne's role as a woman in medieval society. This book is a springboard for my own study. By using their assessments, I demonstrate how a prominent saint became not only the reflection of a changing medieval culture but also a projection of lay beliefs and values. These ideas are developed further in chapter one when the history of the saint in England is discussed.

My approach would not be possible without first studying the work of early twentieth century stained glass historians. They provided the groundwork upon which this entire thesis is based. These historians deliver a catalogue of the glass and its condition before and shortly after World War II. Earlier discussion of Anne in stained glass windows does not inquire about the culture surrounding the donors. Most if not all literature focuses on simply identifying the patron, with the recent scholarship on Anne looking at her image in other media that excludes stained glass. The brief amount of attention given to examining her image in glass has always been in conjunction with a painting or other work of art, as exemplified in Pamela Sheingorn's article

“The Wise Mother: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary.”¹⁵ Understanding the work produced by scholars’ examining just the glass, rather than its content as well, offers the foundation for this project. The literature on stained glass provides essential material regarding locations, conditions, and history about the School of York stained glass. My project combines approaches to studying stained glass and Saint Anne’s depiction in York in the Late Middle Ages in order to determine her relationship to lay piety as a saint who was depicted as a literate, educating mother.

Medieval York was the capital of northern England and second only to London in terms of importance. A skyline dotted with nearly fifty parish churches and the Minster, the city was a hub of religious activity as well as a growing fifteenth century mercantile center.¹⁶ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, York, together with neighboring cities, Hull and Beverley, had an increase in their populations, particularly among the merchant class. Naturally this led to a more active mercantile presence within York's government and society.¹⁷ In the city, Anne’s patrons were primarily from this burgeoning middle class of wealthy merchants who promoted her cult in the form of stained glass windows, chantry chapels, and other dedications that validated the popularity of her cult.¹⁸ During the height of the later Middle Ages, one of the largest merchant fraternities in York, Mercers and Merchants Adventurers Guild, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Dedication to Mary often intersected with aspects of Saint Anne’s cult; this interaction is indicative of the growing popularity of Anne.¹⁹ For example, the Guild of Corpus

¹⁵ Sheingorn, Pamela. “The Wise Mother: The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary”, in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 108.

¹⁶ Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley, and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: U.K.; New York: Cambridge University’s Press, 1998), 8.

¹⁷ Goldberg, 15. However, York fell as quickly as it grew, and by the middle of the sixteenth century their prominence diminished as well as the overall population within city limits.

¹⁸ Nixon, 18.

¹⁹ Jenny Kermode, 16.

Christi focused on Christ's lineage by often centering on both Mary and Anne. Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, is the best example of the depiction of Corpus Christi because it includes, and even places emphasis on Saint Anne as a matriarchal head and then focuses on Mary.²⁰ As the mother of Christ, Mary's role within Christianity was well established as evident in Lady Chapels and guilds devoted to the Marian cult. In mid-fifteenth century Yorkshire (county around York the city), there were one hundred five guilds dedicated to the Virgin Mary and three guilds to Saint Anne.²¹ While a small number were dedicated to Anne, overlapping devotions shared by Mary and Anne's cults such as Corpus Christi Guild, created a bridge between the two, allowing lay patrons to find comfort in those qualities and easily add Anne to the saints they worshipped.²² Rich primary sources found in wills, guild records, and churchwarden accounts for York facilitate our understanding of lay culture as they indicate what was considered important by the lay class, such as financial donations to particular guilds or fraternities.²³ Churchwarden accounts are parish church records of the church, which document financial donations for chantries, devotions, and contributions of art or sculpture for saints. Wills and churchwarden accounts provide documentary evidence for two of the three windows that are under discussion in this thesis; All Saints, North Street, and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. Wills and church documents inform scholars about the culture of lay devotion and piety in the Late Middle Ages by recording the material and religious goods. The survival of these documents allows scholars to infer cultural significance of the materials willed, but they fail to explicitly identify why a

²⁰ David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power; Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk: St. Edmundsbury Press Ltd, 2000), 163-164.

²¹ Crouch, 99.

²² There is a direct correlation between merchant membership to the guild and stained glass depictions that will be demonstrated further on in chapter two.

²³ Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours", *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain, Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 220. One of the donors in this thesis wills money to the Dominican Friars, a monastic order dedicated to education and literacy among women.

saint or particular image was chosen.²⁴ With this evidence, we can better understand the values of medieval lay culture as they were materialized into stained glass and channeled through Anne.

Before using wills to learn about the patron, scholars in the early twentieth century recorded York's parish churches and stained glass. First published in 1927, *The Painted Glass of York; an Account of the Medieval Glass of the Minster and the Parish Churches*, by Reverend F. Harrison was designed as a "short treatise" on stained glass.²⁵ A member and librarian of the Dean and Chapter Library in York, Harrison had easy access to parish churches and their medieval glass.²⁶ While not the first work published on York's medieval stained glass, Harrison's treatise is instrumental to understanding the condition of the glass from the interwar period. Harrison notes that previous scholars fell short in their attempts to describe the stained glass found in the Minster and parish churches. He provides a detailed recording of the surviving York parish churches and the condition of stained glass found there, right after World War One.²⁷ His emphasis is on cataloguing the medieval glass at the churches, entirely skipping any glass added in the later centuries.²⁸ Providing a broader context for Harrison's work, a second twentieth century scholar, John A. Knowles, studied stained glass in York in comparison to other major glass schools in England. His book, *The York School of Glass Painting* was published just nine years after Harrison's.²⁹ A prominent art historian and glass painter, he offers more than just an observation and recording of the glass. Knowles' book establishes the stylistic differences and similarities among English glass. He also examines the composition of the images. He compares

²⁴ Marks, xxiv.

²⁵ Frederick Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York; an Account of the Medieval Glass of the Minster and the Parish Churches* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, 1927), vii.

²⁶ Ibid, vii.

²⁷ The project started in 1920 and was published seven years later.

²⁸ Harrison, 17.

²⁹ John A. Knowles, *The York School of Glass Painting*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, 1936).

stylistic elements from the Minster and various parish churches all around York to other windows in England and a few on the Continent. The methodological techniques employed by Knowles and Harrison complement one another to produce a more complete picture of York's stained glass. Both scholars present a significant amount of information by creating an inventory of the churches and their windows during the first half of the twentieth century. These catalogues provide a foundation for later studies, including this one by identifying subject matter, dates, and stylistic properties. As the twentieth century progressed, a wider range of approaches developed for studying stained glass.

Sarah Brown is a stained glass historian as well as Senior Lecturer at the University of York and the director and chief executive of York Glaziers Trust where she is currently in charge of the conservation of the east window of the Minster. One of her two books, *Stained Glass in England; c.1180-c.1540*, addresses the large popular audience of "seasoned church visitors and the enthusiastic newcomer".³⁰ This text covers a range of topics, such as how windows are made, their subjects and style, and the role of the donor. Similar to Knowles, Brown records the glass but expands on his approach by asking questions about the donors and patrons. She relies heavily on primary sources, such as donor wills and churchwarden records as support for understanding the culture of lay devotion. She also relies on present-day evidence of the windows regarding their condition and location by comparing them to the original. Brown's second work, *Stained Glass, an Illustrated History*, is also written for a popular audience, covering the history of glass from its origins (pre-medieval) to the production of stained glass in the twentieth century.³¹ Still using formal analysis, Brown brings to the conversation insight regarding the early stained glass

³⁰ Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass in England c.1180-c.1540* (London: H.M.S.O, 1987), 2.

³¹ Sarah Brown, *Stained Glass, an Illustrated History* (New York: Crescent Books, Avenel, N.J., Outlet Book Co., 1992).

work produced in York by comparing and contrasting those examples stylistically to the work produced in the rest of England.

Richard Marks, another prominent English stained glass historian, employs some of the same methods as Brown but addresses a more scholarly audience. He expands on Brown's methods in his book; *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*.³² He uses formal analysis, textual evidence, wills, and iconographical comparisons to deliver a more holistic approach to the study of medieval glass. In his introduction, he notes that a key issue is missing primary evidence because many records did not survive prior to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³³ York is again, however, a prime example of the excellent survival rate of probates, tax documents, and churchwarden records that allow this study to be possible. With these documents, we can infer what medieval English laity experienced as a whole. Only important buildings have been recorded, leaving smaller parish institutions out of major documents, with the less important papers lost or destroyed. Many of these primary sources belonged to small parish churches that unfortunately do not survive before the sixteenth century.³⁴ Marks recognizes this and that the research done by previous scholars typically fails to address fully the parish churches of England. His goal is to introduce known material on the parish churches and fit it into the larger scheme of all English churches (including cathedrals) while claiming that his work is not the final word on parish church glass. The most critical information gathered from his book is the identifications of donors and patrons, and the iconography of the glass. Marks makes use of surviving primary sources, such as churchwarden records and wills, to illustrate the histories of windows all across England. His current, unpublished work involves going through

³² Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, England,: Routledge, 1993).

³³ Marks, xxv.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiv. Many of the documents lost were from smaller churches and one sided, meaning they were "legal, financial or a civic record" of the donation and there is not documentation from both the institution and the patron

parish wills in England to match donors to windows.³⁵ By asking different questions from Brown, Knowles or Harrison, he has enhanced the conversation on medieval stained glass through careful analytical work by comparing windows and wills across the country. For example, he presents compelling evidence regarding the patrons and their roles within the parish church by examining the stained glass for clues through archived churchwarden accounts and tax records.³⁶ Marks supplies a methodological background for this thesis, while Brown contributes a historical understanding of the stained glass windows in York. This approach to amassing evidence provides present day scholars with a deeper insight into the world of patronage and lay piety, which directly concerns the process used for this thesis.

In order to understand the relationship between lay piety and the saint, my discussion on Saint Anne's iconography relies on researching two categories: scholars are either examining the stained glass specifically or investigating her image in other forms of media, but very rarely do they study her image within stained glass at any depth. Studies of other media provide a more complete discussion of her iconography as a literate mother, which I will apply to this glass. The fifteenth century is marked by the rise in the rich middle class who could afford to honor the saint through funding windows or chantry chapels.³⁷ There is very little discussion regarding the iconography of Saint Anne in stained glass; it continues to be overlooked. While each scholar successfully addressed the questions set forth in their work, they do not acknowledge the iconography of Saint Anne beyond the brief recognition that she is an important saint. Marks and Brown will serve as a model when applied to the approaches by scholars working on Saint Anne to create a broader understanding of her cult and her iconography within stained glass.

³⁵ Marks, "Wills and Windows Lecture", (York, England, June 2014).

³⁶ Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, 4-7.

³⁷ Nixon, 18-23.

Building upon previous studies the first chapter is on Saint Anne and reviews the literature of her iconography across multiple media by establishing the history of the saint in relation to the discussion of her within the stained glass itself. Additionally, this chapter expounds on her as a symbol for medieval women's education and literacy in fifteenth century England. By explicitly developing her significance for lay piety and her status as an important figure, it is possible to understand shifts occurring in society. The second chapter addresses her importance in York through an extensive examination of the donors and of the three parish churches with depictions of Anne in the windows. The windows are discussed chronologically from the early fifteenth to the late fifteenth century; All Saints, North Street; Holy Trinity, Goodramgate; and St Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street. Each of the three parish churches was constructed between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the majority of their stained glass is from the fifteenth century. Examinations of congregations, lay devotion, and religious culture at All Saints and Holy Trinity will help formulate conclusions about the lay life at St Martin-le-Grand for which little documentation has survived. Chapter three draws conclusions about Saint Anne regarding lay devotional practice, literacy and women, and the influence of the mercantile culture. Chapters one and two will demonstrate her significance as a female saint by illustrating how lay devotion to Saint Anne is a wider reflection of medieval women.

Chapter One

History of Saint Anne

Saint Anne is the mother of Mary, grandmother to Christ and thus the matriarch of an important holy lineage. Accounts of Anne's story begin in early Christian and Byzantine history with the apocryphal texts, providing supplemental information that would eventually be left out of the canonical Gospels.³⁸ These accounts questioned whether the birth of Mary was part of the Immaculate Conception. Medieval Christians were apprehensive that Mary's birth was not immaculate if her mother, Anne, was not also by the notion of Immaculate Conception. Concern about this issue waxed and waned during the early Middle Ages, but during the fifteenth century, it was again a focus of attention. There are several English and French folktales that have unusual origins for Anne that try to answer the question of Anne's conception of Mary.³⁹ The portion of Anne's history that concerns this thesis is the development of her popular cult during the early Middle Ages in Western Europe. Evidence of Anne's cult in the west survives as early as the seventh century as witnessed by a painting in the Roman church of Santa Maria Antiqua, which depicts her holding the Virgin Mary as an infant (Figure 4). Thus the "earliest iconography of Anne in the West emphasizes her role as a mother," and the theme of motherhood continues into late Middle Ages.⁴⁰ During the mid-thirteenth century, the popularity of Anne began to grow, which is best demonstrated in the establishment of the first chapel dedicated to her in England.⁴¹ The papacy established her feast day, July 26, 1378, due to the widespread celebration of her cult.⁴² Historians associated Queen Anne of Bohemia's reign with

³⁸ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction; Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies," 7.

³⁹ Ashley and Sheingorn, 25. It was troubling for many to not have an immaculate conception for Mary and in order to settle that; some extreme stories were created about Anne's own birth and conception of Mary.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 10. Around the year 650.

⁴¹ Ibid., 21. The Chronicles of Evesham record a chapel dedicated to Anne before 1229.

⁴² Ibid., 21.

Saint Anne's rise in popularity, largely because Saint Anne was Queen Anne's namesake.⁴³ In 1382, Anne of Bohemia became Queen to King Richard II of England; official recognition of Saint Anne's cult was several months later in July. Pope Urban VI issued a bull for the saint, creating a new wave of admiration and popularity for her a year before Queen Anne's arrival in England. This papal bull suggests that Saint Anne already held a popular appeal for the masses, or that the bull was a publicity ploy in preparation for King Richard's marriage to prepare the English people for Anne of Bohemia's coronation.⁴⁴ Scholars continue to debate whether this was done intentionally to increase admiration for the new queen or if it was purely coincidental.⁴⁵ England took advantage of the opportunity by establishing a relationship between the saint and queen to bolster the queen's appreciation in England and to contribute to the widespread popularity of the saint's cult that began at the same time. Queen Anne's reign lasted only sixteen years due to her early death, which left the country heirless.⁴⁶ Her funeral was held within the octave of Saint Anne's feast day in July, and her headstone notes her "sympathies of pregnant women," though she was barren.⁴⁷ Poet of "Nobis Natura Florem" alludes to Queen Anne's noble birth and lineage connecting her to that of Saint Anne's. The poet links the saint's iconography of motherhood and patron of pregnancy to Queen Anne providing a "royalist version of Saint Anne devotion."⁴⁸ The relationship of the queen's piety to Saint Anne influenced public perception of royal piety and devotion, strengthening an already growing devotion to the saint. Even though in 1382 the church offered official recognition of her cult, it did not become a mandated Holy Day for the universal Catholic Church for another two hundred

⁴³ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies," 21.

⁴⁴ Michael Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia; Heresy and Communication in the later Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 29.

⁴⁵ Van Dussen, 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

years.⁴⁹ During this period of two hundred years her status as a mother and saint would become most influential in York. Shortly after approval of her feast and cult, images of the saint began appearing frequently in fifteenth century liturgical books and illustrated manuscripts such as the Book of Hours, where she is typically depicted teaching the Virgin to read (Figure 5).⁵⁰ Her cult has been characterized as an “undisguised celebration of family ties and the relationships of human kinship” which was stressed through the association to Queen Anne and her considerations of pregnant women.⁵¹ Through depiction of this prominent female saint with her husband and daughter (eventually all three of her daughters), the families of the Middle Ages found solace in Anne as a mother, an advocate for families, and the ideal role model for lay families.

As interest in her grew, association of her depictions as a loving mother and educator increased. Images of Anne teaching the Virgin to read are found in all media of medieval art in fourteenth and fifteenth century England.⁵² Signifying the breadth and influence of her cult, she appeared as a nurturing mother in woodcarvings, sculptures, and even in literature, especially poems. Woodworkers, mainly on the Continent, adopted Saint Anne as their patron because she bore a metaphorical connection to the craft, seeing the connection of Saint Anne as the “root of a tree whose wood produces the flower of Mary and the grape of Christ.”⁵³ This demonstrates one of the most important aspects of her cult, her lineage, which these stained glass windows address. It also informs us about the audience for her cult by acknowledging that wealth directly

⁴⁹ Gibson, 98.

⁵⁰ Ashley and Sheingorn, “Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies,” 21.

⁵¹ Gibson, 100.

⁵² Sheingorn, Pamela. “The Wise Mother: The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary,” *Gender in the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Late Middle*, (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 108.

⁵³ Francesca Sautman, “Saint Anne in Folk Tradition” in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, 77.

determined who in society could afford manuscripts that held depictions of the saint.⁵⁴ The less prosperous would have been restricted to viewing her image within the context of the church's stained glass or sculptures in the chapels dedicated to Anne or Mary. This was not just true of England but of mainland Europe as well where Anne's role as mother and grandmother is also celebrated.⁵⁵ The emphasis on her as a mother is seen in stained glass both in Europe and in England. The three stained glass windows of Saint Anne in York demonstrate how her iconography was a reflection of medieval society, the shift in lay devotional practice, and education reforms.

Iconography

There are several aspects of Saint Anne's iconography that provide a foundation for my study. Focusing on her iconographical role as a woman, she is depicted as a wife, a mother, the matriarchal head of the Holy Family, and as a pioneer for women's education and literacy. Consensus among scholars is that her position as a woman is the most important element to understanding her iconography. As a female saint, Anne's effect on laywomen was strong and powerful.⁵⁶ Approaching her cult through a gendered perspective, scholars such as Pamela Sheingorn, Kathleen Ashley, and Susan Bell have identified this as one of the primary departure points for studying her representation. There is a subcategory, the Holy Kindred that should be considered in employing a gendered approach because it pertains largely to every aspect of the saint's cult. Her role within the family unit is a particularly active position as it has been the main depiction of her in western European culture. It is, therefore, imperative that the Holy

⁵⁴ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 154.

⁵⁵ Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004) 18.

⁵⁶ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies," 19. Since Anne and Queen Anne were both sympathetic to pregnant or barren women, the Saint became a powerful symbol of hope.

Kindred is contemplated when studying her with a gendered lens. The Holy Kindred is composed of Anne and her first husband Joachim, their daughter Mary and her son, Jesus. Depictions usually extend to include Anne's other two daughters Mary Cleophas by her second husband Cleophas, and Mary Salome, by her third husband Salome. The Marys are typically shown with their husbands and their children, many of who become apostles or important religious leaders. This familial group establishes the large extended family of Christ by creating a human lineage that made Christ accessible for lay devotional practices.⁵⁷

Pamela Sheingorn approaches Anne's iconography through a gendered perspective in her article "Appropriating the Holy Kindred; Gender and Family History" by using art history "as a way of reading medieval culture."⁵⁸ She explains the Holy Kindred as "familial relationships among various named figures in the New Testament and apocryphal Gospels" by examining cross-cultural appropriations of Anne as the matriarch of the Holy Kindred in art from both Germany and the Netherlands.⁵⁹ In the representations chosen by Sheingorn, many other relatives are included in the family tree. This variation is generally restricted to the Continent within Northern Europe and the Rhineland, while in England it is a partial representation because not all the individuals are present (Figure 6).⁶⁰ Most early pictorial representations of the Holy Kindred are in Germany and the Low Countries, and they exemplify heavy symbolism for reading and education by showing women holding books or reading to groups of children.⁶¹ Depicting reading, however, was more commonly reserved for men in the paintings. As time

⁵⁷ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction; Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies", 12-13.

⁵⁸ Pamela Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship; Gender and Family History," *Interpreting Cultural Symbols; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, 169

⁵⁹ Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship; Gender and Family History," 169.

⁶⁰ Nixon, 16.

⁶¹ Sheingorn, "Appropriating the Holy Kinship; Gender and Family History", 176-177.

went on, Anne is shown wearing fifteenth century reading glasses.⁶² Sheingorn focuses on Saint Anne's role as the matriarchal head of the Holy Kindred, stressing her role as the lead figure and thus accentuating the importance of connecting Christ to his human lineage.⁶³ This in turn created a more attainable relationship between a saint and her lay patrons; they were able to understand her better as a mother and as a female saint. Lay patrons were witnesses to a central figure in Christianity who married three times, producing another daughter with each marriage. Sheingorn contributes to the discussion of Saint Anne by looking at her image within the Holy Kindred context and the way that the "pictorial arts presented the Holy Kindred's evol[ution] overtime" as a way to understand medieval culture.⁶⁴ Sheingorn examines one of the windows in a parish church in York. The church, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, has a panel that shows the smaller English version of the Holy Kindred (Figure 7). However, her discussion of the window at Holy Trinity is brief and only within the context of other art demonstrating the Holy Kindred, not exclusively this window. She acknowledges that the Holy Kindred here has been divided up into different window panels to create three, individual nuclear families.⁶⁵ Recognizing this simplified iconography provides a platform for greater assessment and discussion of Saint Anne referencing the same York window.

One of the most significant shifts in medieval society during the fifteenth century was the change in lay devotional practices that came with book ownership and literacy. Evidence of the shifting devotional practices suggests a growth in lay book owners that is directly related to the increase in fourteenth and fifteenth century depictions of Anne teaching the Virgin to read. Susan

⁶² Nixon, 141, Anne is seen wearing them in the Geertgen Tot Sint Jans Holy Kinship in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

⁶³ Ashley and Sheingorn, "Introduction: Locating Saint Anne in Cultural and Gender Studies," 41.

⁶⁴ Nixon. 170

⁶⁵ Anne went on to have three daughters, each named Mary, and these are part of the panels in the window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. A more elaborate analysis will be provided in chapter two.

Groag Bell directly attributes the rise in book production and consumption to increased devotion to Saint Anne and Mary during the fifteenth century in her article "Medieval Women Book Owners."⁶⁶ In addition, Bell suggests that this portrayal of Anne and Mary led to a change in the iconography of the Virgin in other art forms, from illustrated manuscripts to larger pieces such as sculpture by "showing the Virgin as a constant reader [which] in turn added respectability to lay women occupying themselves with books."⁶⁷ Bell has traced the culture of book ownership and literacy among middle class lay women to an increase in images of the Virgin and Anne shown holding or reading books in their depictions in the Book of Hours and other illustrated manuscripts.⁶⁸ Book of Hours were most commonly produced for women only, thus making it more significant when they show an image of a prominent female saint reading or encouraging literacy. Most often, Books of Hours were retained within the family and handed down from mothers to daughter(s), emphasizing the association of women and books to Anne and Mary reading.⁶⁹ Bell has contributed to the discussion of Saint Anne by forming conclusions based on primary sources such as wills that connect devotion to Anne through book ownership. Additionally, she has provided new insight by examining the "development of lay piety and vernacular literature" in relationship to Saint Anne and Marian cults.⁷⁰ Bell identifies three principle divisions in her article; the first addresses medieval laywomen's book ownership and inheritance; the second looks at woman's relationship with books particularly "mothers as they were the primary teachers of the next generation and acquired books as teaching texts," and

⁶⁶ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 173.

⁶⁸ Bell, 168 and 173.

⁶⁹ John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners And Makers in the Late Middle Ages*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 13.

⁷⁰ Bell, 150.

lastly, this relationship between women and books in terms of understanding the development of cultural change.⁷¹ Her research recognizes not only the impact that book ownership had on the culture surrounding lay devotion but also the way that York embodied this shift in lay patronage and medieval culture. By examining book ownership, Bell investigates similar questions to my own regarding how the image of Anne as an educator affected the women of the Middle Ages.⁷² The appearance of Anne teaching the Virgin to read in illuminated manuscripts and stained glass is the projection of the cultural changes in lay devotion into art.

Richard Marks simply categorizes Anne with saints who express “universal popularity throughout western Christendom,” without discussing her in detail although he acknowledges her status as an influential saint in lay devotion by addressing her image within stained glass.⁷³ He provides a brief account of her popularity in the Late Middle Ages in relationship to widespread images of other saints in England. The image of Anne reading with the Holy Kindred in attendance are frequently seen on the Continent, unlike in England where the images are primarily Anne reading with Mary.⁷⁴ Once again, an aspect of the Holy Kindred will be applied to this approach through the influence this family image had on lay devotion. Anne’s depiction as part of the Holy Kindred is central to emerging notions of lay piety as it sets an example of devoutness through marriage and family rather than celibacy. Her status as a prominent female saint, mother, and teacher brings to light many of the societal changes taking place in the later Middle Ages, particularly among the burgeoning merchant class in York. Studying Saint Anne as a part of the Holy Kindred is not an unusual approach; however, it has yet to be applied thoroughly to her depiction in stained glass and its relationship to lay devotion.

⁷¹ Bell, 150.

⁷² Even though Bell does not address York women and book ownership directly, she has examined England as a whole during the time frame addressed in this thesis.

⁷³ Marks, 74.

⁷⁴ Nixon, 1-4.

Kathleen Ashley has identified the impact of the cult of Saint Anne on lay devotion as manifested in her depiction in fifteenth century plays. She offers a comparative analysis of three plays; a Huy Nativity play, the N-town Cycle and the Digby manuscript play of Candelmas Day, and the killing of the children of Israel.⁷⁵ The Huy Nativity is a highly gendered play that honors the female lineage of Christ and enforces the relationship of Anne as a mother to her daughters. The Digby play is another example of gender distinctions where the female image is granted power as a mother in medieval society.⁷⁶ Each of the three plays “associate with the cult of Anne in a distinctive way” and provide an understanding that is relevant to the windows in York by offering a glimpse of women’s role in medieval society.⁷⁷ The N-Town Cycle reflects society’s dichotomy of men and women particularly highlighting marriage and Anne’s role as a devoted Christian through her actions as wife and mother. Understanding the N-Town Cycle play in the context of lay religious guilds offers insight into the narrative of Anne that is then reflected in lay devotion by donating windows depicting Saint Anne. In this particular context, Ashley is not asking what Anne represents or expresses but what seeing her image “triggers”, asking what about this depiction of the saint “activate[d] certain ideological formations within specific social genres” during the Middle Ages.⁷⁸ What did witnessing Anne in this context say about societal roles and gender norms within medieval culture? The play emphasizes Anne's role within the Holy Kinship together with Mary and Joachim (her first husband) representing the ideal family. Ashley suggests that, in this particular N-Town Cycle, Anne’s role emphasizes the gendered and family aspects of her iconography. The play would have been significant for the laity to grasp the

⁷⁵ Kathleen Ashley, "Image and Ideology; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative", in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols; Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990) 111.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 116.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 111.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 112.

characteristics of a prominent saint representing an attainable and realistic lifestyle.⁷⁹ A component of Saint Anne's iconography in the play is the Trinubium, which was stressed more on the continent than in England. It connected Christ to the apostles in a genealogical way, similar to the Holy Kindred, but included other important Holy figures.⁸⁰ In York, there is evidence of this trait of the Holy Kindred in the window at Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.

It is important to acknowledge the location of each of the churches in relation to the Minster and the type of economic activity in the surrounding areas of each parish. This allows scholars to understand the composition of the congregation as well as who patronized Anne. Two of the parish churches are less than a third of a mile from the Minster, the third church half a mile away, across town on the other side of the of River Ouse. Economic historian P.J.P. Goldberg has identified late fourteenth and early fifteenth century mercantile industries in his book *Woman, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy; Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520*⁸¹. All Saints borders the river, making access to the water for the mercantile and textile parishioners readily available for both transportation and manufacturing (Figure 8). Using primary sources such as wills and poll taxes, he determined with certainty the make up of the congregations for All Saints and St. Martin-Le-Grand. All Saints parishioners consisted mostly of dryers that later evolved in the fifteenth century to include tanners as well. Understanding the congregations' trades and occupations provides insight into the wealth and status of the parishioners. All Saints' congregation of tanners and dryers was not profoundly affluent, which

⁷⁹ The play depicts several scenes that show the life of Anne and Joachim, and birth of Mary. Many of which are depicted in the Anne window at the Minster in York.

⁸⁰ Ashley, 113.

⁸¹ P.J.P Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy; Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

left the church in a need of repairs and maintenances.⁸² The community certainly would not have been able to afford a window dedicated to Saint Anne, at least not prior to the arrival of an elite merchant family. St. Martin-le-Grand, whose street also borders the river, is known to be a part of a community of metalworkers and has been identified as a prominent mercantile parish within York.⁸³ Lastly, Goldberg does not mention the findings for Holy Trinity, leaving the demographics unclear.

York Mercantile Culture

As a port city, York had a lively class of merchants involved in both civil and church politics. Through evidence of primary sources such as wills, probate documents, and tax records, it has been possible to trace the patrons of two of the three windows.⁸⁴ Among these documents, the evidence for the Anne window at All Saints stated that the Blackburn family was the patron.⁸⁵ The Blackburn family was part of a wealthy, elite merchant class, belonging to All Saints. The family is representative of a flourishing class of merchants in York and is demonstrative of the mercantile culture during the Late Middle Ages. York's merchants covered a wide range of social statuses, ranging from the exceptionally wealthy, to the affluent middle class, like the Blackburn family, some of who were involved politically as mayors.⁸⁶ The connection of Anne's cult to the mercantile class in York is supported by evidence of long-standing devotion to Anne in Northern Europe by sailors and sea merchants prior to her cult's explosion in England. As a maritime patroness, her patrons would pray to her before sailing

⁸² P.J.P. Goldberg, *Woman, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy; Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 69. Discussion with Sarah Brown, June 2014. The parish was not in a affluent area, so the church was in poor condition until the early 1400s when a wealthy merchant family came and helped fund repairs and renovations.

⁸³ Goldberg, 70. Kermode, 20.

⁸⁴ Pauline E. Sheppard Routh, "A Gift and its Giver John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, (Arthur Wigley & Sons Ltd. Bradford, England, V. 58, 1986).

⁸⁵ Gee, 155.

⁸⁶ Kermode, 15.

down rivers or into the North Sea. This facet of her cult continued well into fifteenth century Northern Europe where evidence suggests a strong fellowship in sea and merchant guilds dedicated to Anne.⁸⁷ It is possible then that an established patronage of merchants and people of similar vocations could have traveled to England spreading the popular devotion to Anne through means of international interactions and trade. Her patronage by the mercantile class was not uncommon, however the continued dedication to her allows scholars to better understand her significance and growth among the wealthy medieval classes. Continual patronage by a similar class of people enabled devotion to flourish during the fifteenth century in the form of works of art and chantry chapels.

Medieval York is the best example of the culture of devotion in the form of stained glass and chantries that surround Saint Anne's cult. At the height of the city's prominence, York had a population reaching 14-15,000; it was a prosperous mercantile port city with the second largest population of merchants in England.⁸⁸ The city was well connected to Hull and Continental Europe by the River Ouse that allowed for ease of trade. Due to its international mercantile culture, the city had an unusually high number of guilds, reaching nearly fifty.⁸⁹ One of those guilds, the Fraternity of Mercers and Merchants Adventurers, is one of the larger fraternities in the city and was composed of merchants and often their wives. Mercers and Merchants Adventurers is an example of one of the many guilds dedicated to the Virgin Mary, seeking in her a way to establish Christ to humanity. Again, due to the similar aspects of Mary and Anne's cults, the members of the guild were well aware of the characteristics of Saint Anne's

⁸⁷ Nixon, 18. Saint Nicholas was also associated with maritime patronage; sailors belong to a guild for Anne and sea captains to a guild for Saint Nicholas.

⁸⁸ Kermode, 8.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 8.

iconography, paying particular attention her role as the head of Christ's human lineage.⁹⁰ While not many guilds were directly associated with Saint Anne, by default, she was included with the ones dedicated to Mary. The Guild of Corpus Christi demonstrates this intersection because it was the iconographical representation of the Holy Trinity.⁹¹ Many of York's merchants belonged to the Corpus Christi Guild and the Blackburn family helped institute the guild in the early 1400s.⁹²

The merchants in York were a large "subsection of urban society defined by occupation."⁹³ Membership in guilds and fraternities distinguished merchants from one another; it was a symbol of elevated status that indicated their quality of life and consumption of material goods. Guilds were closely associated with at least one saint, if not more. Membership was another platform that announced to the community a person's beliefs and values that were often associated with those particular saints. The social construct as set forth by guilds and fraternities establishes the culture surrounding the donors of the Anne windows under study.

The city's government was organized by a hierarchy extending from the "mayor, alderman, and council officials, to the craft and religious guilds with their own hierarchy of alderman and wardens, subordinate searchers, masters and journeymen, and ultimately down to the faceless, status-less majority."⁹⁴ Scholars do not always recognize this hierarchical arrangement because the corporatist merchants attempted to insert a mercantile oligarchy, which created tensions among York's ruling classes, between merchants and city officials. The tensions came from a complex social network that made up a majority of the mercantile culture. Due to the drastic differences between merchants at the economic base and the wealthier ones who had

⁹⁰ Kermode, 18.

⁹¹ Crouch, 101. Anne was typically shown in Corpus Christi depictions to further Christ's humanity.

⁹² Ibid., 167.

⁹³ Kermode, 15.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 12.

asserted themselves within the civic government, there were palpable tensions among them.⁹⁵ The tensions are not singularly important for this study, but it is critical to understand the role wealth and status play in each of the donors. Increased pressure and stress amid elite social classes could indicate that they used popular saints to their advantage to pressure the lower classes. Chapter two will elaborate on the Blackburn family; they are a perfect example of this influence. Wealthy families, such as the Blackburns, used their patronage of particular saints as a manner in which to announce to the community their beliefs and ideologies. The guilds and various fraternities helped reinforce these patronages by establishing a private and exclusive system of devotion that was achieved through literacy.

Literacy in the Middle Ages

As Bell has discussed, the changing culture in medieval society was influenced by book ownership among women. Middle to upper class merchants and social elites had the means necessary to acquire books. Book ownership was an already momentous statement for women. One that was accentuated more as the mother of Mary led this movement through depictions of her teaching Mary. This image was a reflection of women and the shifting ideals regarding education in medieval England. There is, however, a considerably less didactic focus than previous scholarship believed. Madeline Caviness successfully argues in her article, “Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles For the Poor?” against the original purpose that stained glass windows were a way for the illiterate to read.⁹⁶ She contends that the windows' function were to elicit recitation of particular Bible scenes in a devotional manner or to function as a visual accomplice to biblical lessons told by priests; rather, as some proposed, than reading the scenes as if they were pages from a book. The increase in lay devotional practice outside of the

⁹⁵ Kermode, 15.

⁹⁶ Madeline H. Caviness, *Stained Glass Windows* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1996), 122-126.

church supports Caviness' claim. The growth in literacy demonstrates a change in medieval society that is seen in York. Since windows lack the verbal cues that literature or manuscripts could provide when read aloud, the windows are not, in fact didactic, but are used to "evoke stories" that "will satisfactorily explain the relationships between events and between protagonists."⁹⁷ Therefore stained glass windows were used to inspire a devotional response to particular saints instead of prompting a literary reading of the glass. Without any reading component, the illiterate laity could develop a devotional practice that was comparable to their literate counterparts. For the wealthier church patrons, like the Blackburn family, who could afford funding and the donation of windows, it represented a much larger concept than simply educating the masses. As chapter two will discuss, stained glass windows announced to the parish community the faith and beliefs of that donor.

Understanding the historical origins of Saint Anne is essential to seeing how the laity embraced her as a reflection of late medieval societal shifts. Her association with Queen Anne supports a top-down social effect for her admiration. The Church, having approved the marriage of Anne to Richard II and after issuing the bull for Saint Anne's recognition, would have had a firm grasp of the royal and civil politics in medieval England. Approaching Saint Anne through a gendered perspective already established by Sheingorn, Ashley, and Bell is not a revolutionary concept. However, applying their methodological ideas to Anne within stained glass paves the way for a new avenue of examining the holy mother and medieval lay devotional culture. Saint Anne's history is embedded with gender issues from the start. Medieval families in particular adored Saint Anne as a projection of their beliefs about family, literacy and education, and motherhood on to Anne and the Holy Family. Their ability to choose the saint's depiction in this

⁹⁷ Caviness, 124.

manner, manipulates how the saint is perceived by the general public, indicates a level of control that the laity had in regard to championing saints for their own causes.

Chapter Two

The Churches, Anne Windows, and Patrons

An in depth analysis of these churches having Anne windows reveals her influence and importance in late Medieval York as manifested in material culture at the parish level. For two of the three parish churches, there are extensive documents indicating who contributed financial donations for the Anne windows. As time progressed, many repairs were made to the glass, sometimes in the windows' relocation. A majority of these maintenances and movements were documented. Especially at All Saints, remaining documents have provided important time frames in the parish church's history. This chapter explores each parish church beginning with the earliest Anne window in the most well documented parish, All Saints, North Street. All Saints is a perfect departure point since there is more information regarding the church's history, the windows, and the patronage. The stained glass here has been well catalogued.⁹⁸ The parish church Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, will be discussed second because of when the window was installed and the records available. At Holy Trinity the patronage is clerical instead of lay. Lastly, at St. Martin-le-Grand, due to the lack of parish records indicating the precise date and patron, conclusions are drawn based upon comparisons with the other two parish churches.

All Saints, North Street

All Saints is located about half a mile from the Minster with the east facade facing the River Ouse. The earliest surviving documents of the church from 1166 indicate that the original church was built in 1069 shortly after the Norman conquest of England (Figure 9 Plan).⁹⁹ Sometime during the fifteenth century, All Saints' Anglo Saxon design was expanded upon and

⁹⁸ Harrison, 173.

⁹⁹ P.M. Tillott, William Page, and University of London, *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*. London: Published for the Institute of Historical research by the Oxford University Press (1961), 369.

rebuilt.¹⁰⁰ Facing the east end exterior, there are medieval half-timbered complexes to the immediate right that were originally owned by All Saints (Figure 10). There are similarly constructed buildings from the same period near the other two churches, Holy Trinity and St. Martin-le-Grand.¹⁰¹ Those structures were built as housing to rent out and to provide financing for perpetual chantries and chapels. Records do not indicate which patrons or saints they were built for, possibly one was for Mary since there was the Marian Chapel. The deeds to at least eight foundation grants for the chantries have been lost, but notes in the city records indicate that they existed along with the land alienation licenses to build next door to the church.¹⁰²

Understanding the chantry grants hints at particular saints (Mary and by extension Anne) who held an especially high level of importance within the parish. The records documenting this prove the importance of establishing a chantry to Mary and later the importance of Saint Anne within the context of Mary. The interior of the church is comprised of “a narrow nave with north and south aisles extended eastward and westward to the lines of the chancel in tower,” resembling how All Saints looked during the fifteenth century.¹⁰³ In the early 1420s the north and south walls were widened, lengthening the parish church. By “the mid fifteenth century [All Saints] had been extended westward by two bays and had a slender tower with a one-hundred-twenty foot spire.”¹⁰⁴ The Blackburn’s wealth contributed to the physical and congregational growth at All Saints parish during the early fifteenth century by providing the necessary funds to elevate the church to a position and status within society that was comparable to other wealthy

¹⁰⁰ P.M. Tillott, William Page, and University of London, *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*. London: Published for the Institute of Historical research by the Oxford University Press (1961), 369. However, the first recorded documents of the church did not exist until 1166.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Wilson and Frances Mee, *The Medieval parish Churches of York; the Pictorial Evidence*. York: York Archaeological Trust (1998), 26.

¹⁰² Tillott, 369.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 369.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson and Mee, 26.

churches, such as St. Martin-le-Grand. The present day view of the church and the surrounding vicinity is very similar to how it would have been when the Blackburn family was at All Saints. When the Blackburn family eventually relocated to All Saints in the early fifteenth century they brought with them a certain level of class and wealth that the poor tanners church had yet to experience.¹⁰⁵ It was the Blackburns' presence that bolstered and elevated All Saints to become one of the most prominent parish churches in York during this time. Alterations to the hammer beam roof was done in the fifteenth century to span the length of the nave and chancel; today it remains one of the finest roofs among York's medieval churches (Figure 11).¹⁰⁶

Not only is the roof one of the best representations of medieval York architecture, but the stained glass at All Saints is remarkable for its craftsmanship, quality, and "is justly famous."¹⁰⁷ Nearly every piece of literature discussing stained glass in York hails All Saints' fourteenth and fifteenth century glasswork as the best examples of the medieval craft in England. The Blackburn family has been immortalized as the kneeling donors in the window dedicated to Saint Anne.¹⁰⁸ There are two windows that were donated by the family: *The Corporal Acts of Mercy* and the Anne window were both commissioned around the same time and each placed within the Marian Chapel (Figure 12). The Blackburn family, in dedication to Anne and Mary, commenced the now east window depiction of Saint Anne instructing the Virgin to read in 1412. Finished in 1417, the original Anne Window was located in the second window of the north aisle in devotion to Mary and Anne (Figure 12). Most of the glass was part of the original medieval design and has been restored, with the exception of the lower lights, which contain images of the donors.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Goldberg, 65-69. He does not explicitly say the Blackburns are responsible for the change, however, he does acknowledge a shift in church wealth after their arrival in the 15th century.

¹⁰⁶ Wilson and Mee, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 26.

¹⁰⁹ E.A Gee, 153.

Even with the majority of the glass being medieval, however, as time passed, the window deteriorated and was in need of cleaning and restoration. Documents indicate that in 1844 it took two years for the first cleaning and restoration to occur; this is when the newer glass of the lower-lights and tracery was installed. It was at this time that the window was relocated from its position in the north aisle to the present day location in the east window. Its most recent cleaning was after World War II when it was taken down for restoration, but none of the glass was replaced.¹¹⁰

Anne Window

Now positioned in the east window, the Anne panel is perceived in complex layers of iconography and history (Figure 13).¹¹¹ The visitor or parishioner is instantly overcome with the heavily restored, brightly colored ceiling and sculptures that line the nave.¹¹² The rood screen around the altar survives, preserving the physical boundaries that existed between the laity and clergy during the Middle Ages. This screen also creates a slight visual barrier to the window that would not have existed when the window was in its original location. Within the Marian Chapel, the window was extremely important because it contributed to the understanding of Mary's iconography. The window has three panels, with a different saint in each one. Facing the window, the saint on the left is St. John the Baptist, with the senior Nicholas Blackburn and his wife Margaret underneath him. On the far right panel is St. Christopher holding Christ as an infant, Nicholas Blackburn Junior with his wife, also named Margaret, are shown kneeling in devotion to Anne (Figure 14). The center panel contains Saint Anne and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Anne and Mary are distinguished against blue glass; the saint is also clothed in a blue

¹¹⁰ E.A. Gee, 153.

¹¹¹ Moving the window to its present day location challenges the way scholars interpret it, scholars must remember to understand the window in its original location, or the original influence and meaning is lost.

¹¹² As told by Sarah Brown, June 2014, that in the 1970s they interpreted what the building would have looked like in the Middle Ages. Not done to the best sense of accuracy, but it has remained nonetheless.

gown, with a red habit separating her from the background. St. Christopher and John the Baptist are both placed with a red background, creating a visual disruption that focuses the viewer's attention on Anne (Figure 13).

Anne is presented holding an open book with legible text inscribed on the pages (Figure 15). It is incredibly rare to be able to read text inscriptions that are shown on glass; most examples of text are illegible scribble. Mary is holding the book with Anne and a stylus, indicating one of two things; she is either using it to draw attention to the words on the book, accentuating that text specifically for parishioners or she is learning to read and write. Either way, it stresses the importance of education and literacy among the laity, predominantly among women. Translated from Latin the text reads, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with Thine ears consider my calling."¹¹³ There is an unusual amount of text on the glass in addition to this example. The donors, Margaret and Nicholas junior are facing the altar in the lower north light while Margaret kneels at a desk holding a book. The text inscribed says "O lord, rebuke me not in Thine indignation nor in Thy Displeasure."¹¹⁴ Nicholas Blackburn senior and Margaret are shown kneeling and glancing inwards, as Margaret looks at book in her hand. On this book in Latin it reads "Lord open mine lips, and my mouth [shall announce thy praise]."¹¹⁵ The unusual nature of the extensive text raises several concerns or questions regarding original intent of the writing. If the Blackburn family chose the text, what does it suggest about lay devotion? And, if they chose the text, what influence did the Dominican Order have, with whom they were quite active?¹¹⁶ Scholars have established a connection between patronage to the Saint and support by the Dominicans, by explaining that the Dominican Friars expressed "concern for learning and the

¹¹³E.A Gee, 155. *D(omi) ne exaudi or (ati) onem mea(m) aurib(us) p(er)cipe ob(secrationem meam.*

¹¹⁴ Sarah Pederson, "Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York," *Northern History*, XXXVI:1, May 2000 (The Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen), 34. And F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York* (1927), 176.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 176.

¹¹⁶ Cullum and Goldberg, 220.

written word in the legibility and length of the text on the Virgin's book."¹¹⁷ Lastly, what does intelligible text indicate for the education and literacy of women? This is significant because the text demonstrates patron influence on the creation of window design, and it establishes themes of women and literacy. Also, it embodies a physical materiality of the shifting change in medieval lay devotional practices as seen in their choice of subject matter, and dictating how the text reads.

Employing the gendered perspective with the Blackburn window at All Saints, we understand more of Anne's role as mother, educator and saint. Stressing the important familial bonds between mother and daughter, this image emphasizes Anne as a mother since she and Mary share the largest, central panel.¹¹⁸ There are a few ways of interpreting this relationship between Anne and Mary; primarily, it is thought that Anne is gazing down at Mary who is glancing at the book, definitively instructing her to read.¹¹⁹ This would support the idea that Anne is a loving, tender, educating mother. And there is nothing to say she is not; however, that remains constant if only studying the center panel. When examining the window at large, the gazes of Anne and Mary are drastically different. Anne can be understood to be glancing down at the donors, Nicholas Sr. and Margaret, while Mary is gazing at their son and his wife (Figure 16). This innovative way to read the window offers an additional way to study it than the original reading of the window by stressing elements of lay devotion in conjunction with an education aspect. In this view, a direct line of communication is established between saint and donor. It also advertises to the community that Mary and Anne watch out for the Blackburn families. This particular image was selected with "careful thought...its roots in the donor's

¹¹⁷ Pederson, 34.

¹¹⁸ Gee, 155., Pedersen, 33.

¹¹⁹ At the TEMA (Texas Medieval Conference) I presented a paper on Saint Anne and the commentary suggested new ways of studying her, that instead of looking at Mary she may be looking at the donors. October 6, 2014.

particular personal piety.”¹²⁰ By utilizing Anne, the Blackburns have chosen her because her traits as a saint embody their own values. As a result, she is a direct reflection of lay devotion during the Late Middle Ages by accentuating the laity’s own morals and values cast upon the saints.

Patron

The Blackburn families are illustrated in the east window although they were atypical parishioners of All Saints, North Street. As wealthy, prominent merchants, at the top of their social ranking, the parish church and its parishioners were out of the realm of their usual societal interactions. Active within city community, the family was involved with the Church, the Guild of Corpus Christi, the Dominicans, and the local civic administration with both father and son serving as leaders within their government. Nicholas senior was Lord Mayor in 1412, and two short years later records indicate he joined the Corpus Christi Guild, which was only six years old at the time.¹²¹ The guild was one of the more popular ones in England and one of at least a dozen devoted to Mary’s cult.¹²² Membership to the Corpus Christi Guild coincides with many ideological aspects of the Holy Kindred found within Anne and the Blessed Virgin’s cults, such as the “apex of the worship of Christ as God in man, and of the late medieval obsession with the physical nature of Christ’s redemptive sacrifice.”¹²³ The Blackburn Family’s connection to the Corpus Christi Guild is strengthened by the guild’s importance in the Bolton Book of Hours through the cult of Richard Scrope.¹²⁴ The Bolton Book of Hours' origins and original owners are unknown except that Margaret Blackburn was in possession of it sometime after Scrope’s death

¹²⁰ Sarah Pedersen, “Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York,” *Northern History*, XXXVI:1, May 2000 (The Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen).

¹²¹ Crouch, 270.

¹²² Ibid., 99.

¹²³ Ibid., 99.

¹²⁴ Cullum and Goldberg, 218. Archbishop Richard Scrope of York, was a martyred political leader in York who had a cult status.

in 1405 and evidence suggests that she read from the devotional instruction to her daughters.¹²⁵

The manuscript “contains a commemoration, a hymn, and two different illuminations of Richard Scrope, the martyred Archbishop of York” and was passed down from Margaret to her daughter Alice Blackburn (later Bolton, where the book gains its name).¹²⁶ Scholars have determined three factors that indicate that the Bolton Book of Hours was passed between mother and daughter.

The most apparent evidences within the book are the prayers and the “three single patronal figures in the illuminations are all female” (Figure 5).¹²⁷ And lastly, by the “illumination of Saint Anne and the Virgin, [making] sense of mother-daughter patronage.”¹²⁸ Their book was made around the same time as the windows. We can determine that the patronage to Anne extends beyond a window and is a direct result of their family’s increased devotion to the saint. Further associations with religious orders also have proved relationships with Anne and women’s literacy. Examining probates and wills from the Blackburn family, scholars have determined a relationship between the Blackburn family (senior) and the Dominicans, where Nicholas and Margaret willed sufficient finances to establish “two perpetual chantries...in the conventual church of the Friars Preacher.”¹²⁹ In Margaret Blackburn’s will (senior) she “left 10s. to the York Dominicans, but only 20s. to be divided among the other three orders...and left 40 shillings to [a Dominican] Friar John Orre.”¹³⁰ The abundant evidence from the Blackburns is unusual although incredibly valuable as it provides insight regarding lay piety in the later Middle Ages. Even though the Blackburns represent a wealthier class of laity, their values and ideas resonate throughout lay culture as scholars begin to understand Anne’s association with different guilds

¹²⁵ Cullum and Goldberg, 219.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 217.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 217.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 221-222.

¹²⁹ Pedersen, 36.

¹³⁰ Cullum and Goldberg, 221.

and fraternities as well as the development of worship outside of the strict guidance of the Church.

Holy Trinity, Goodramgate

Today Holy Trinity is tucked away on Goodramgate, hidden behind renovated shops; it is easy to walk past the iron-gate that leads to Holy Trinity (Figure 1). The location of each parish is important for understanding both the congregational make up and the economic activity of the parishioners as a way to examine the donors. Built in the eleventh century, there is some confusion regarding its actual date of completion, but Holy Trinity was “confirmed to the [Durham Cathedral] priory in a document dated between 1121 and 1128.”¹³¹ As at All Saints, in 1316, a vicar in the ministry was granted permission to construct buildings in the churchyard whose rent would support a perpetual chantry for the Virgin Mary.¹³² Those buildings are still visible today but have been modified into the shops that hide Holy Trinity from Goodramgate street view. Again, similar to chantries at All Saints, Holy Trinity acquired “licenses for the alienation of lands” to found multiple chantries.¹³³ The constructed buildings include interiors that retain the original materials. These buildings were used as housing, were capable of keeping eleven tenants, and were called “Our Lady’s Row” for the Marian chantry (Figure 17).¹³⁴ Again, the buildings were built for Mary, and since aspects of Mary and Anne were so intimately connected, comprehending when and why these were built contributes to the overall understanding of the parishioners of Holy Trinity.

Holy Trinity dates to the eleventh century with remodeling and additions occurring in the fifteenth century to provide the current building seen today (Figure 18). As a product of the

¹³¹ Tillott, 372. The church was recorded in earlier priories to Durham but were forged documents. The parish existed, it was more likely a moiety to St. Cuthbert than a charter to Durham Cathedral.

¹³² Wilson and Mee, 39.

¹³³ Tillott, 373.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 373.

fifteenth century, the church is an example of rare “double-sloping, or saddle back” roof with a central roof over the nave and two more extending to cover the north and south aisles to give it an uncommon structure (Figure 19). In addition to unusual exterior architectural features, Holy Trinity is the sole church to retain its boxed pews slightly restricting movement and blocking views of the altar and east window (figure 20).¹³⁵ Overall, it has the air of a eighteenth and nineteenth century parish church rather than medieval, and the church managed to resist heavy restoration during the nineteenth century.

Anne Window

The Anne window at Holy Trinity is located in the east window where it was originally installed in the early 1470s to 1480s; the precise date remains contested (Figure 7).¹³⁶ The donor, Rector John Walker is seen kneeling in red, immortalized in the center panel (Figure 21).¹³⁷ Placing him in the center of the window symbolizes his importance as donor, and rector. It is a much larger window than at All Saints, with five large lights, each with tracery and middle and lower panels. What is currently visible of the window is not a complete demonstration of its original condition, which a cartoon indicates it included another row of even lower lights, but this was filled in with brick sometime after the mid eighteenth century (Figure 22).¹³⁸ The original cartoon was also used at St. Martin-le-Grand for their Anne window.¹³⁹ From the exterior of the church, it is noticeable where the glass once was by the material change from rough-cut stones to smoother stone blocks. At the altar inside, there is a mid-eighteenth century

¹³⁵ <http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/medieval/holy-trinity-church>. Accessed March 2014.

¹³⁶ Historian John Knowles has it sometime after 1470, in his article “The East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York” (1) and architect George Benson has it as 1470 in *The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of the City of York* (148).

¹³⁷ Pauline E. Sheppard Routh, “A Gift and its Giver John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate”, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, (Arthur Wigley & Sons Ltd. Bradford, England, V. 58, 1986), 114.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 116. A drawing by Henry Johnston from 1670 shows a lower set of glass, of what would have been the patrons.

¹³⁹ Knowles, 23.

wooden reredos blocking what would have been the lower lights.¹⁴⁰ Documents record when the reredos was put in place; thus, scholars know it was sometime after that when the window was filled with brick. Although it is unknown what happened to the original glass, this depiction demonstrates the second aspect of Anne's iconography of her relationship with the Holy Kindred.

The east window at Holy Trinity is less obviously Anne-centric than at All Saints; it is through dedication to Mary that leads to Anne in this window. Reading the window from left to right, then top to bottom in the panel, the first is of St. George stabbing a ruby dragon. Beneath St. George in a blue background is Anne's second daughter Mary Cleophas and her husband Alphaeus, their children saints Simon, Thaddeus, James the Less, and Joseph Justus (Figure 23). The next panel is a of St. John the Baptist, again in a blue background; he is shown in an image above Saint Anne. Below John are Anne, Joachim, their daughter Mary, and Christ as a child (Figure 24). The center panel is God the Father, holding the dead body of Christ. The lower lights of the center panel are the coronation of Mary by the Holy Trinity. Each of the "Three Persons" is cloaked in red, or maroon for ruby, and the Eternal Father holds a crown for the Blessed Virgin who is seated in front of them. Panel four is St. John Evangelist against a blue background. He is seen holding a chalice from which the dragon is produced, his head also is not original, and probably a recreation of fifteenth century techniques "by some eighteenth century glazier."¹⁴¹ Underneath St. John Evangelist are Anne's third daughter, Mary Salome with her husband Zebedee and their children, James Major and St. John the Evangelist (as an infant) (Figure 25).¹⁴² The final panel is of St. Christopher in the upper lights holding Christ as an infant

¹⁴⁰ Routh, 115.

¹⁴¹ Knowles, "The East Window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York," *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* v. 28 (Leeds: Pr. F. York Archaeological Society, 1900) 2.

¹⁴² Mary Salome is Anne's third daughter and product of her marriage to Salome.

on his shoulders as Christ holds two fingers up in blessing. In the right bottom corner is a crowned St. Ursula, shown in a white cloak and maroon robe, which she uses to protect and shelter several people (Figure 7).¹⁴³

The remaining lower lights now bricked over, were initially images of various donors that helped contribute to the window.¹⁴⁴ Their immortalization in the window served the same purpose as the Blackburn's, behaving as an advertisement of their values and the saints they used to embody those beliefs. A close up of the panel with Anne and her family's faces demonstrates their gazes looking away from one another. With the exception of Christ, each is glancing down towards what would have been the last row of lights. While it is at Holy Trinity that scholars are able to understand an elaborate version of the English interpretation of the Holy Kindred, the emphasis remains on the donors as demonstrated by the gazes of Anne and her family. It represents the aspect of Anne's iconography that accentuates devotion and piety through family, a trait that donors held in high regard. As stated before, the Holy Kindred on the Continent extends to include several other obscure family members, which is visible in Figure 5. Anne is still depicted as a mother as she is in each of the examples presented; it is in this particular window, however, that it is understandably her role within Christ's human family. Understanding that the Corpus Christi Guild were interested in reinforcing the concept of Christ's human lineage strengthens the different iconography of Anne that is evident in York. The emphasis on his maternal family and Anne, literally and figuratively, illuminate the representation of lay values and the shift in culture.

¹⁴³ Knowles, "The East Window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York," 2-4.

¹⁴⁴ Routh, 117.

Patron

John Walker, Rector of Holy Trinity, donated the funds necessary to build the Anne window. Following the death of Rector William Laverock in 1471, Walker's term as rector began and with that he donated the window.¹⁴⁵ Walker's will, dated ten years later in 1481, suggests possible connections to the textile trade. Pauline Routh, a scholar who worked on his will and window, suggests that his surname, Walker, is most likely indicative of textile trade connections.¹⁴⁶ She then implies that it is because of his name, and textiles "account for the will's emphasis on bequests of clothing and cloth, and perhaps also for the priest's affluence", and that most of the goods willed pertained to his mortal condition rather than his spiritual.¹⁴⁷ Presuming he is associated to the textile manufacturing trade, it is easy to draw similar conclusions about his patronage to Saint Anne as with the Blackburn families. There is no solid confirmation of any associations between Walker and the Corpus Christi Guild; there is a John Walker mentioned by Bolton Percy, but both John and Walker were common names.¹⁴⁸ His potential association, however, to the Corpus Christi theme is plausible and reinforced by the imagery in the east window. The central subject is "of the Corpus Christi/Trinity...and there is a particularly strong loyalty to the Virgin" because she or members of her family are displayed in several lights.¹⁴⁹ Through the iconography of the Holy Kindred and the Corpus Christi Guild's devotion to Mary, Anne is clearly established as an important female figure to lay piety.

¹⁴⁵ Routh, 110.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 111.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 111. Routh fails to support where she concludes that *Walker* is related to textiles. After some research on the etymology of Walker, it is determined to be connected to people who walked on wool as a way of pounding it smooth.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 121.

¹⁴⁹ Routh, 122.

St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street

St. Martin-le-Grand, unfortunately, is no longer the magnificent parish church that stood in the Middle Ages because it barely survived World War II (Figure 26). It serviced an area that used to be densely populated with wealthy middle class merchants.¹⁵⁰ Today, St. Martin's is inconspicuous except for the seventeenth century clock.¹⁵¹ The church was appropriated by an unknown date, but documents confirm it to the chapter in 1194.¹⁵² In the early fourteenth century, "six other capitular churches were annexed to St. Martin's: these were St. Michael-le-Belfrey; St. John's, Ouse Bridge End; St. Mary's, Layerthorpe; St. Andrew's St. Andrewgate; St. John's Hungate; and one moiety of St. Helen-on-the Walls" bringing in a great deal of prosperity when the profits of those churches fell to the parish.¹⁵³ Also during this time, in 1355, half-timbered buildings used to run along the northern perimeter of the churchyard similar to the ones found at All Saints and Holy Trinity. Just as in the case at the other two parish churches, the buildings were rented to provide for five chantries and a chapel for the Virgin Mary.¹⁵⁴ During the mid-fifteenth century, St. Martin's was rebuilt in the perpendicular style to become "one of the largest and most splendid in York with painted rood and rood loft, gilded chancel ceiling and rich glass."¹⁵⁵ St. Martin's was expanded to include wider north and south aisles, a western tower, and a south porch. The surviving church demonstrates the same brightly colored and gilded interior that would have been seen by parishioners of the late Middle Ages. The window depicting St. Martin of Tours is "the largest and consider[ed] to be the finest [window] in any

¹⁵⁰ Goldberg, 87.

¹⁵¹ Wilson and Mee, 106.

¹⁵² Tillott, 387.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 387.

¹⁵⁴ Wilson and Mee, 106.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 106.

York church (Figure 27).”¹⁵⁶ Unfortunately, not much of the medieval glass remains, due to the bombings of 1942, the windows not removed in 1940 exploded into Coney Street.¹⁵⁷ The air raids destroyed most of the church; part of the nave and south aisle survived, but the remaining exposed structure was left standing. With fire burns still fresh on the masonry, it serves as a reminder of World War II. George Pace rebuilt St. Martin’s on the remains of the south aisle, using modern techniques and some of the original masonry.¹⁵⁸ There are some slight disparities as to where the original window and Lady Chapel were when the window was installed in the fifteenth century (Figure 28). Harrison identifies the window as originally located in the Lady Chapel from the north aisle; however, other scholars have placed the Lady Chapel in the south aisle. The confusion influences how the window is interpreted today versus how it was understood in the mid-fifteenth century; if it was part of the Lady Chapel, the window addresses Marian and Saint Anne’s iconography similarly to the Anne window at All Saints. If the window was in Lady Chapel, and it was in the north aisle and not in the south, as Harrison suggests, then it indicates that Anne and Mary share aspects of their iconography and thus, their patrons would cross. It is also indicative of the donor; they also have similar devotions to the Blackburn families. Either way, the window was highly respected four hundred years later, even as they removed it shortly before the bombing of St. Martin’s.¹⁵⁹

Anne Window

Fortunately, the fifteenth century window with Saint Anne was protected; it survived and was reinstalled after the war when the church was rebuilt (Figure 29). Its current location is in the first window of the south aisle and is in poor condition. The window consists of three panels

¹⁵⁶ Wilson and Mee, 106. .

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 106

¹⁵⁸ A.L. Laishley, *The Church of St. Martin-le-Grande, Coney Street, York* (Vicar and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Martin with St. Helen; Herald Printers, York, 1968), 10.

¹⁵⁹ Harrison, 132.

with Anne, Joachim, Mary and Christ in the first panel on the left. Since windows are read left to right and bottom to top, this places a significant amount of focus on Anne in this particular scene. The second panel shows a kneeling woman, possibly a donor, but her origins and validity remains unknown. Using the window at Holy Trinity it is possible to inspect the faces of Anne and her family. Again, their gazes are not looking at one another or even at Mary (Figure 30). Following Mary and Christ's glances, it is easy to return to the middle panel and possible donor. Each window expresses that the saints are looking at their patrons, which represents just how important the role of the donor was in these windows. The final panel is a depiction of Corpus Christi, which was around the height of the guild's popularity.

As several historians have noted, Knowles included, there are striking similarities in the window design to that at Holy Trinity. This similarity allows scholars to read the window at St. Martin's more thoroughly. Anne is shown with her immediate family in the exact same manner, indicating that each panel came from the same cartoon drawing for the windows. There is a slight difference in the placement of Anne's hand in the Anne window at St. Martin, but the reuse of the cartoon represents the importance and frequency in which Anne was depicted.

Patron

Unfortunately, there is limited documentation for many of the windows at St. Martin-le-Grand, leaving the patron unknown. Using tax records and visual documentation of the window, however, assumptions about who was the donor can be made. Jeremy Goldberg has identified the parish community of St. Martin-le-Grand as one that was heavily mercantile.¹⁶⁰ St. Martin's parish community averaged at least two servants per household, if not more, making it one of the

¹⁶⁰ Goldberg, 163.

highest averages of wealth in all of York.¹⁶¹ Studying the poll tax evidence gathered by Goldberg, it is possible to determine that the parishioners of St. Martin-le-Grand were not only wealthy enough to have servants, but that it was the parish church with the largest “mean household size” of nearly six people per household compared to an average of four throughout the rest of York.¹⁶² This disparity in household size and servant ratio indicates that the parishioners of St. Martin-le-Grand were members of the elite middle class merchants of which the Blackburn families were part. If we continue to assume that the majority were of that status, then we can determine that the donors of the Anne window were most likely wealthy merchants, who, like the Blackburns and Rector Walker, felt that Anne was the best spiritual embodiment of their beliefs and value systems.

Studying the visual evidence of the window in its present condition and the recording by Harrison in 1927 illustrate two very different windows (Figure 31). The first panel of each remains unchanged except that the condition of degradation has drastically worsened. As figure 29 and 31 demonstrates, in the second panel, the lower light is different from the 1920s to June 2014. Harrison has described the image of a horned beast above a woman in blue kneeling in prayer, below that, a head and fragments, and finally the shield of Sir Richard Yorke.¹⁶³ Yorke, like the Blackburns, was Lord Mayor of York twice, first in 1469 and again in 1482.¹⁶⁴ Recordings of York mayors include Richard Yorke’s occupation as “sometimes Mayor of the Staple of Callis, Merchant of York and twice Lord Mayor.”¹⁶⁵ Examined in the present day, the window no longer bears any heraldic imagery; instead, it appears that his shield and the rest of

¹⁶¹ Goldberg, 181.

¹⁶² Ibid., 308.

¹⁶³ Harrison, 133.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 133.

¹⁶⁵ Christopher Hildyard, “The Antiquities of York City, and the Civil Government Thereof: With a List of all the Mayors and Bayliffs, Lord Mayors and Sheriffs; etc. 1719,” *Eighteenth Century Collections*; Online, Gale. University of Virginia Library, 15 Feb 2013. <<http://find.galegroup.com.proxy.its.virginia.edu/ecco/infomark>.

the glass in the lower section has been removed, and the upper half of the panel shifted down to fill it in, replacing the upper lights with similar images as the first and third panel. Currently, from left to right, the top panels are saints or members of the Holy Trinity in blue and red alternating backgrounds, set in a throne or architectural setting. Harrison's previous record shows the middle panel quite different in the upper lights; instead of a saint, it is a roundel with a horned beast inside.¹⁶⁶ In documents from the late twenties and recordings of the parish after World War II, scholars failed to acknowledge the change in the middle panel. And, while Sir Richard Yorke is not directly accredited as the donor to the window, characteristically he matches that of the Blackburns and Rector John Walker, making it plausible that his shield indicates that he is the donor of the Anne window at St. Martin-le-grand.

Conclusion

As evident through the study of these three windows in York, there was a strong lay devotion to Saint Anne in the later Middle Ages. As a port city, York was an attractive destination for many merchants and mercantile craftsman who brought with them a traditional admiration for the saint that was established a few hundred years before by sailors of Northern Europe.¹⁶⁷ The Blackburn family at All Saints' was the first family to donate a window dedicated to Saint Anne within the parish churches; this early donation was surely representative of the societal shifts that were occurring quite early in the fifteenth century. Accepting Sir Richard Yorke's role in the window at St. Martin-le-Grand establishes all three donors (or people connected to the windows) as merchants, which allows scholars to look at lay piety through the lens of mercantile life. Studying lay piety through this method is a narrow approach for this project, but it has allowed for a complete insight into the world of the upper middle class

¹⁶⁶ Harrison, 132.

¹⁶⁷ Nixon, 18.

merchant. These windows function as a mirror to society's changing opinions on education and shifting practices in lay piety, such as the family unit and reading devotionals outside of the church.

Chapter Three

Conclusion

This thesis demonstrates how the depiction of Saint Anne in stained glass was a reflection of medieval lay religious practices during a time of great societal evolution. Saint Anne represented a culture that valued devotion through marital and familial values by means of emphasizing the Holy Kindred and education. This thesis came from a desire not only to understand lay piety in medieval England but also to shed light on an often-unrecognized aspect of late medieval culture - that women were literate and that religion helped champion this idea.

Previous scholars helped establish a foundation for this thesis as they provided important information that allowed me to form conclusions about late medieval lay piety and devotion. The topic is interdisciplinary because it addresses issues in art and architectural history, medieval studies, religious studies, and women's studies. Due to the wide breadth of subjects, there were several different methodologies for studying Saint Anne that provided a diverse approach on which this thesis is based. Within their respective fields, the scholars offered valid historical information; when studied singularly, however, they were insufficient methods to approaching the image of Anne in stained glass. Gender studies by Sheingorn and Ashley were close to achieving this. Combining their approaches, I have been able to show new insight into the ways that a particular class of merchants in York used saints as a reflection of their own ideals and values.

Two of the three most important aspects of Saint Anne's iconography, motherhood and family, were reinforced and encouraged by the royalty, specifically by Queen Anne. The particularly strong devotion to Anne was a direct result of two things. The first was a heightened attention drawn to the new Queen of England, especially since Saint Anne's feast day was

declared a year prior to Anne of Bohemia coming to England.¹⁶⁸ Second, devotion to Anne came by way of an established mercantile devotion with an extensive history connected to the Continent. Just as it was on the continent, Saint Anne's popularity was widespread in England. Principally in York, her image in stained glass survives more often due to a greater number of depictions and a robust dedication to protecting them, even hundreds of years after they held most of their influence. Much of Saint Anne's popularity comes from the laity casting their personal values and morals on the saint. For example, Anne of Bohemia was introduced to England through the saint, so she was expected to share similar qualities as Saint Anne, as she was her patron saint.¹⁶⁹ Queen Anne, like Saint Anne, was sympathetic to pregnant women. Although she died before she provided England with an heir, her sympathies were inscribed on her tombstone.¹⁷⁰ As motherhood is one of the important tenets of Saint Anne's iconography, the identity to Queen Anne made her more relatable to the lower classes. Her conception of Mary at such a late age offered specific hope for barren medieval women. Queen Anne's particular devotion to the mother aspect of Saint Anne's cult resonated with lay devotion and their changing view of women as well as it provided insight to royal devotion. The laity was able to witness a woman in a position of power praying for the same things for which they themselves would pray. It made relating to the saint more attainable and certainly increased admiration for the queen by sharing the saint. It establishes that patronage to Saint Anne was not restricted to elite, royal piety, but that the saint's iconography was a reflection of everyone because she became a representative for society's changing needs and wants.

Thirty years after the declaration of Saint Anne's feast day and the arrival of the new queen, the first window was installed in York dedicated to the saint and demonstrating several

¹⁶⁸ Van Dussen, 29.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 28.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 28.

points of her iconography. The Anne window at All Saints illustrates her as the endearing educating mother to whom many prayed. The wealthy Blackburn families held financial and personal power that allowed them to specifically dictate the image of the saint. The downward gazes of Saint Anne and Mary to the donors emphasize the Blackburns' private and personal relationships to the saints. Also, the element of education is stressed most in this window, unlike the Holy Kindred at the other two windows. At All Saints, not only is the window the first of the three, but it also is the only one to be donated by an entire family. The Blackburn families were able to display their patronage to Saint Anne in a manner that most medieval families could not. Their status as wealthy merchants aided in their ability to fund such a project, but it was their prominence within the civil government and community that was unquestionably more influential within the parish community of All Saints. Without the Blackburns, the church would have been left to a congregation of poor tanners who could not provide a means to renovate. The choice to show Saint Anne teaching Mary to read and write is a reflection of the Blackburn's appreciation for women's education. It stresses how important they felt literacy was for their parish community. The window was an announcement to their parish about the donors' morals and what they were hoping to encourage in the community. In this case, the emphasis of Anne as a mother and the choice of her leading Mary's education coincides with Margaret Blackburn teaching her own daughters to read by aligning with the shared beliefs of the Dominican Friars.¹⁷¹ The Dominican Friars were long-standing advocates for education and literacy of women.¹⁷² The stained glass depiction of an educational scene directly reflects Margaret Blackburn reading to her own daughters from the Book of Hours. As discussed in chapter two,

¹⁷¹ Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours", *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain, Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Brepols; Turnhout, Belgium, 2000), 217.

¹⁷² Pederson, 36.

the depictions of Anne in the Blackburn, later Bolton Book of Hours shows Anne instructing Mary and several other young women how to read. Their choice in depicting this scene literally brought to light the issue of women's literacy in the Middle Ages and how society was quickly shifting so that more and more women were reading. More importantly, it demonstrates Susan Bell's point that literacy was increasingly related to Anne. Devotion to her was also found outside the church in family primers; these primers were passed down through generations and established a family tradition of dedication to Saint Anne. Another aspect, that of Anne as a caring mother, is illuminated at All Saints. Not only is she illustrated instructing Mary, a very motherly action, but she is with her husband Joachim and their grandson Christ as well. The window shows the Holy Family as a close-knit, intimate family, reflecting the personal lives of the Blackburns and many medieval families.¹⁷³

Holy Trinity represents clerical devotion from Rector Walker, and as documents have suggested based upon his surname, he was also associated with merchants.¹⁷⁴ Accepting his merchant connections, there is now a second window that has been donated by a person of mercantile rank. As rector, he held an extremely influential and prominent position within his church community. The St. Martin-le-Grand window was installed last, and it is here that we also have a possible donor connected to a wealthy position as merchant and civil leader within York's government. Each donor's association to a mercantile vocation comes as no surprise. A prominent scholar on the life of Anne, Virginia Nixon, has mapped out early records of sailors and merchants from Northern Europe who held particular devotion to Saint Anne as they sailed

¹⁷³ Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York; Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere," *Household, Women and Christianities, in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* ed., Anneke B Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2005), 224-225.

¹⁷⁴ Routh, 111.

to and from England and the Continent.¹⁷⁵ It is entirely plausible to assume that through trading of goods, ideas, and culture that Anne's cult spread that way as well. Also, accepting Sir Richard Yorke as a donor, each of the three patrons held extremely influential positions, either within their parish or the larger community. Their influence dramatically alters the way we can study general lay devotion to Saint Anne, but it is also indicative of the hierarchy within the merchant culture sphere as well as society as a whole.¹⁷⁶

The family structure is incredibly important to take note of within the depictions of Anne in York. Specifically, this is best illustrated at the Anne windows in Holy Trinity and St. Martin-le-Grand where she is shown with her immediate family and within the larger depiction of the Holy Kindred. These two scenes share identical cartoons, indicating that they originate from the same drawing and possibly the same stained glass workshop.¹⁷⁷ Since the patron at St. Martin's is unknown and deduced from evidence in an earlier condition of the window, it is unclear why the Holy Kindred depiction would have been chosen. Unless this choice stems from Sir Richard Yorke's connection to the window through his familial affiliation with merchant, who influenced his choice in the depiction based on his own family and sense of community.¹⁷⁸ The assumption is based upon the Blackburn's close family bonds and the economics of a merchant family unit structure. Thus, Yorke would have chosen to demonstrate the Holy Kindred.¹⁷⁹ Anne's patrons saw her as they saw themselves. Each of the primary patrons is a man who dictated what the stained glass would show.¹⁸⁰ The patriarchal head of their families choosing the Holy Kindred asserted

¹⁷⁵ Nixon, 18-19.

¹⁷⁶ Kermode, 23. Walker was not a member of the lay class; but he is representative of them and we study his choice for the window depiction as a reflection of his parishioners.

¹⁷⁷ Knowles, 23.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁷⁹ Goldberg, 87.

¹⁸⁰ Pedersen, 34. Routh, 110-11. Cullum and Goldberg, 223-224. Each of these articles addresses the patron and their will. In Cullum and Goldberg it discusses both Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn Sr.'s wills.

Anne, a woman, as the head of her family. Directly associating their position within their families to Saint Anne's contributes to her position as the leader of Christ's human lineage by accepting a woman in charge. This power move in the Middle Ages assists the changes occurring in society to promote women's education and literacy. At Holy Trinity, Rector John Walker's choice in the depiction of the extended Holy Family is probably due to a merchant background. Choosing to illuminate the extended family, which includes important holy figures, he can connect himself to one of many important Christian leaders. If he had chosen a saint other than Anne, the establishment of himself to the Holy Family and prominent leaders would not have been as explicit because Anne represented the link between Christ and humanity. Depictions of the Holy Kindred not only assert Anne's role within the family, but they also emphasize the importance of devotion through family, a new concept during the later Middle Ages. Through shifting societal roles, such as women reading, and the changing viewpoint of the way to practice religion, the family unit was not only the focus of economic life but also became a pivotal point in religious culture.

One of these shifting societal roles was the increase in literacy among women, the development of their book ownership, and what reading removed from monastic environments demonstrated about lay piety and devotion. Prior to the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, wealth was the only way to obtain manuscripts. New technological advances in those centuries, however, helped make the production cheaper for "manuscripts...and in printing of small books."¹⁸¹ The majority of books owned by the laity during this time were personal devotion books that were handwritten, such as parts of the Bible, or a Book of Hours.¹⁸² The significance in the inheritance of books between women and family members helped to "[shape] the

¹⁸¹ Kermode, 153.

¹⁸² Ibid., 154.

iconography of books, thereby offering new images of womanhood.”¹⁸³ The symbol for mother-daughter instruction was most commonly found in fourteenth and fifteenth century Books of Hours that coincides with the Bolton Book of Hours. The family figures within the Bolton book show drawings representing masculine and feminine domains within medieval homes.¹⁸⁴ The increased involvement of women selecting the content of their books demonstrates the shift of piety and devotion by providing women power to choose saints such as Anne and Mary to place within their texts. By depicting images of the saint instructing Mary, the laity were beginning to project their lifestyles into bound pages, which was later reflected within the window at All Saints.

Most importantly what scholars can learn from studying Saint Anne in York’s parish church windows is how stained glass was used as a vehicle for expressing a patron’s beliefs and as a tool to demonstrate the societal shifts occurring among the laity. As established, two of the three confirmed donors were well known leaders within their civil and church communities, and the third’s association with the window also indicates a person of high regard. The Blackburn families were able to use their wealth as means of affording the window at All Saints. The window, installed in 1417 after Margaret Blackburns possession of their Book of Hours, is another tool to profess the families’ patronage to Saint Anne. Only instead of the depiction of Anne instructing Mary remaining in a private primer, the creation of her image in stained glass deliberately and publically announced the families’ view on literacy. As the product of architectural achievements, stained glass windows were literally an instrument of illumination, meant not to be read, but to elicit thoughts, prayers, and devotions to the saints and people depicted within them.

¹⁸³ Bell, 167.

¹⁸⁴ Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, 225.

This project set out to examine the culture and history surrounding Saint Anne and determine why there is such an abundance of her depiction in stained glass in fifteenth century York. This thesis uses materially based evidence, stained glass, with textual support to gain an understanding of the significance that Anne played in lay piety. Employing stained glass this way elaborates on previously established methods, but also creates a new manner in which to approach the study of lay devotion. At the very least, a study on the saints in glass deserves equal attention to that which has been awarded to other art forms depicting saints. Applying art historical methods to studying medieval saints' lives in art and Saint Anne's image in stained glass has shed light on a class of society that is often underrepresented. Through these windows, it is possible to learn more about the practices and interests of lay piety among upper class merchants, and to understand that these individuals projected themselves onto Anne, using her as an avenue to reflect change in late medieval society.

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 C. 1887-1900
 M. 1886-1900
 Y/MCS 13 MF.1771
 Banns 1823-1884

York, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate
 Reg. 1-10, 10a, 11, 108 MF.82
 C.1573-1876
 M.1573-1957
 B.1572-1884

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Figures



Figure 1:
Exterior of All Saints, North Street, York. Photograph. Source: Hatton, Gordon. "All Saints, North Street," 2012. < (<http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2809820>)>.



Figure 2:
Exterior of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. Photograph. Source: Green, Tim. "Holy Trinity, Goodramgate; Exterior," 2008.
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Figure 3:
Exterior of St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. Photograph. Source: York, England.
<<http://www.pocketbritain.com/StMartinLeGrand.html>>.



Figure 4:
First Image of Saint Anne: Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome. Ca. 650, Photograph. Source: Pageau, Jonathan. "Santa Maria Antiqua-The Heart of the East in the Centre of Rome," 2014. <
<http://www.orthodoxartsjournal.org/santa-maria-antiqua-the-heart-of-the-east-in-the-centre-of-rome/>>.



Figure 5:
 Bolton Book of Hours, c. 1410, Photograph. Source: Patricia Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg.
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 Hours” in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain; Essays for Felicity
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Figure 6:
 Example of the Holy Kindred on the Continent. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Inv. Nr. 59. Ca. 1420. Source: "Follower of the Master of Saint Veronica, Holy Kinship." Cologne, Germany: Sheingorn, Pamela. *Appropriating the Holy Kinship; Gender and Family History* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press), 174.



Figure 7:

East Anne Window: Saint Anne, Joachim, Mary and Christ are in the second panel, lower light; Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 1471, Photography. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 018351, York, England: 2006.

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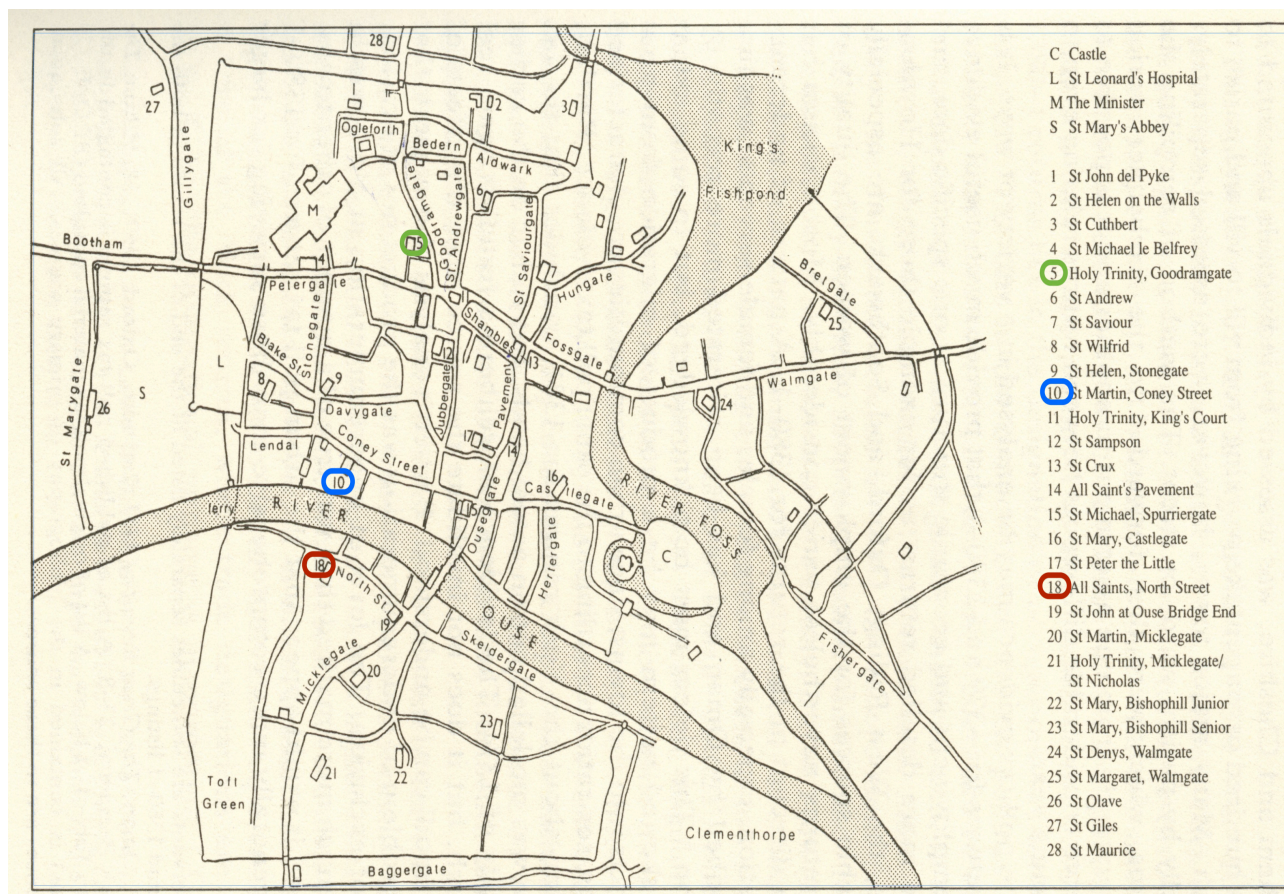


Figure 8:

Map of Fifteen-Century York. 1992, drawing. Source: Goldberg, P. J. P. *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford; New York, 1992), 41.

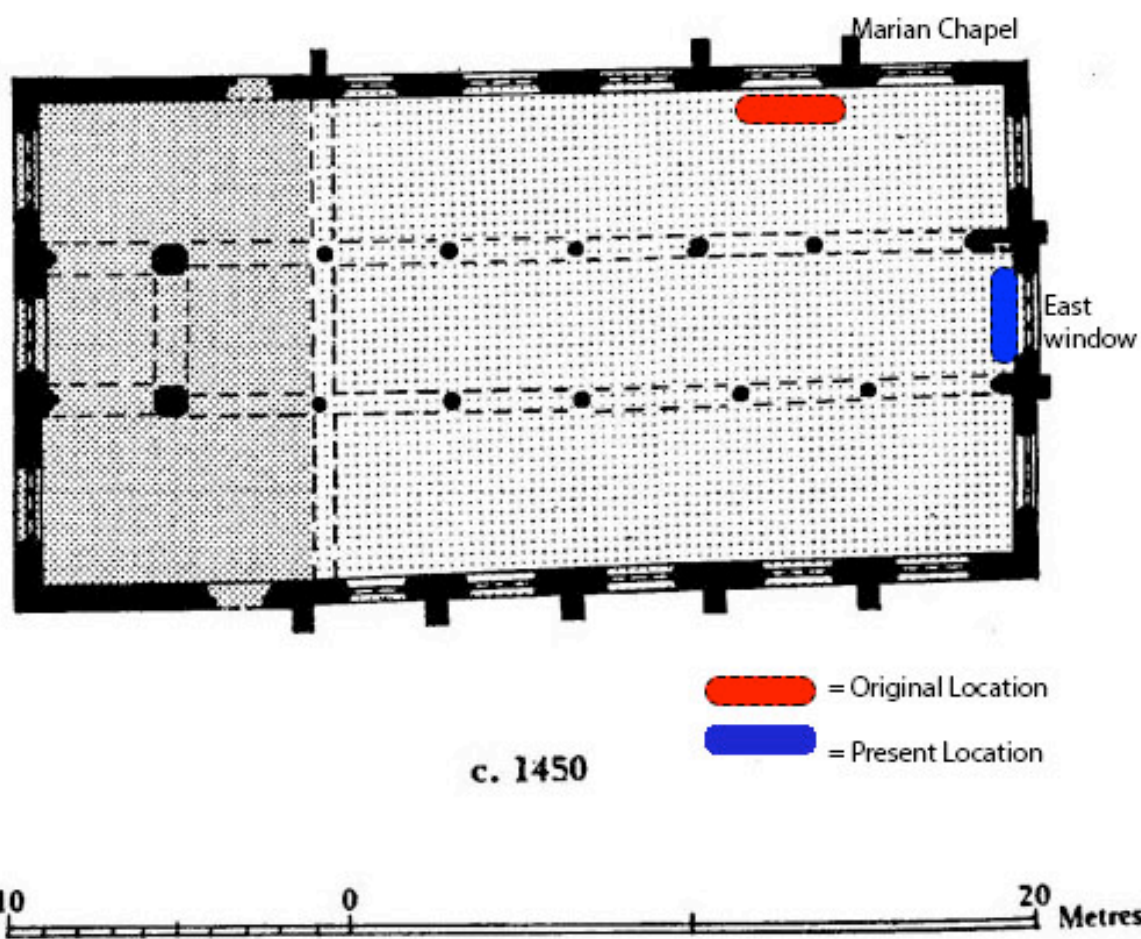


Figure 9:

Plan: All Saints, North Street, York. 1450 c., drawing. Source: 'Ecclesiastical Buildings,' in An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 3, South west (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972), 3-48 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol3/pp3-48>>.



Figure 10:
Chantry Buildings: All Saints, North Street, York. 14th c., photograph. Source: Brown, Phil.
York, England: 2000-2013. <<http://www.docbrown.info/docspics/yorkscenes/yspage03.htm>>.



Figure 11:
North Aisle Roof: All Saints, North Street, York. 15th c., photograph. Source: Thomson, Aidan
McRae. York, England: August 2014.
<<https://www.flickr.com/photos/amthomson/14944136963/in/album-72157646509142463/>>.



Figure 12:
Marian Chapel: All Saints, North Street, York. 15th c., photograph. Source: Renmans, Roel.
York, England: August 2013. <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/roelipilami/10631773685/>>.



Figure 13:

East Window: All Saints, North Street, York. 1412-1428, photograph. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 024133, York, England: 2009.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=23421&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=3>.



Figure 14:

Detail of the Donors: Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn, Sr. (bottom left, lower lights), All Saints, North Street, York. 1412-1428, photograph. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA No. 025035, York, England: 2009.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=25518&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=4>.



Figure 15:

St. Anne's Reading to the Virgin/East Window, Main-Light Panels. 1412-1428, photograph.

Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 024140, York, England: 2009.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=23428&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=19>.



Figure 16:
Detail of Donors: Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn, Jr. (Bottom right, lower lights), All Saints,
North Street, York. 1412-1428, photograph. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA. No. 024135, York,
England: 2009.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=23424&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=8>.



Figure 17:
Our Lady's Row: Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 14th c., photograph. Source: Brown, Phil. York, England: 2000-2013. <<http://www.docbrown.info/docspics/yorkscenes/yspage17.htm>> (accessed 4/15/15).

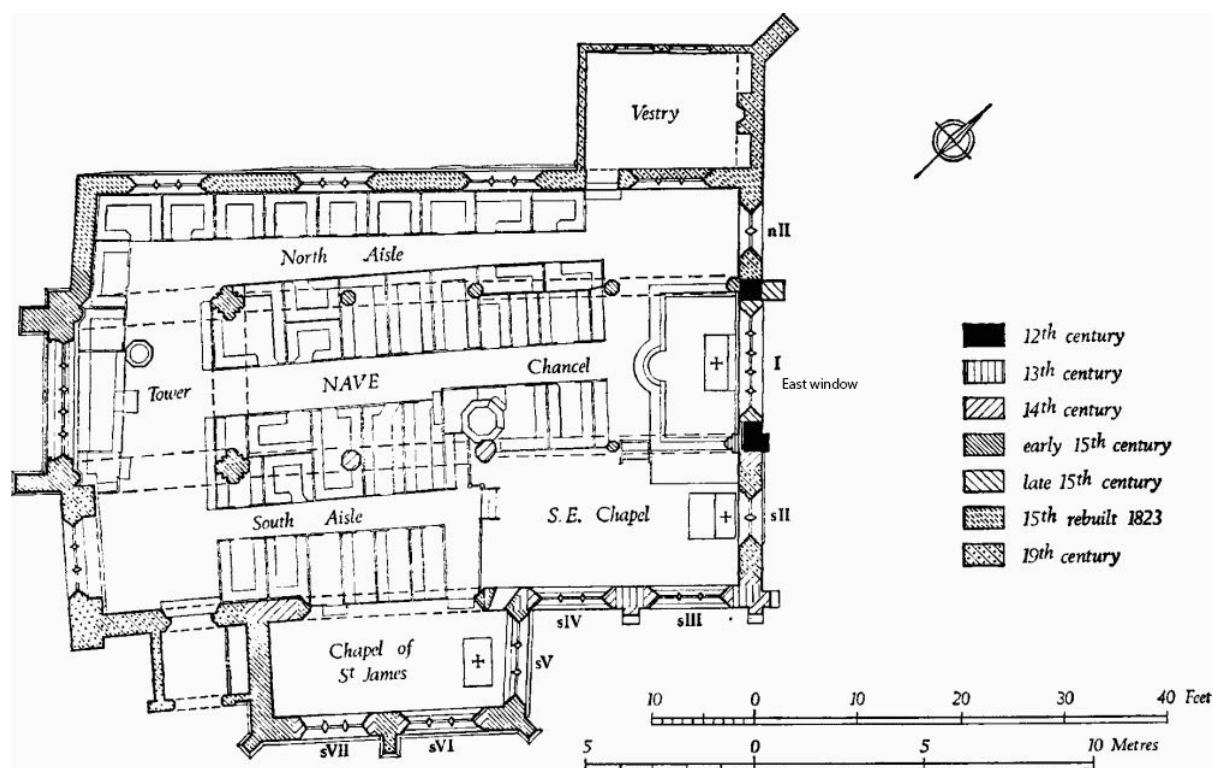


Figure 18:

Holy Trinity Plan: Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. Drawing. Source: 'Parish Church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate,' in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5, Central* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 5-9. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol5/pp5-9>>.



Figure 19:

Roof: Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York Double Saddled Roof. 15th c., photograph Source: Woodytyke. York, England: 2011.

<<https://www.flickr.com/photos/45777493@N06/5429153852/>>.



Figure 20:
Interior Box Pews: Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 18th c., photograph. Source: Cowen, Painton. York, England: 2009. <www.therosewindow.com/pilot/York-H-T/table.htm>.



Figure 21:
Donor Detail: Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. Figure of John Walker; center panel of east window, York. 1471, photograph. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 018374, York, England: 2006. <
http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=18374&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=2&recPagePos=6>.



Figure 22:

Original Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, drawn by Henry Johnston illustrating the bottom lights and other donors, York. 1670, drawing. Source: Routh, Pauline E., "A Gift and its Giver, John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 58, (Bradford: Arthur Wigley & Sons Ltd., 1986), 116.

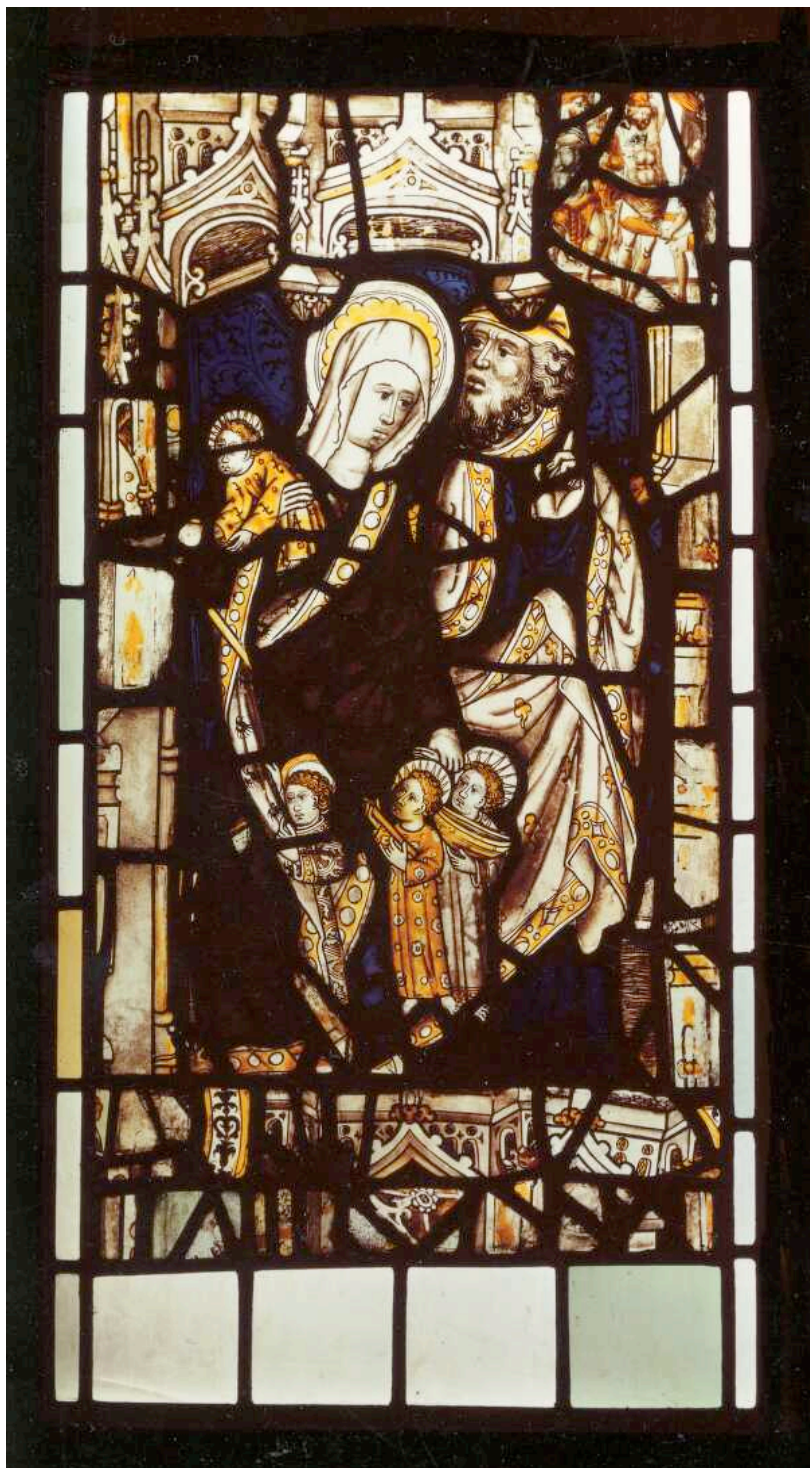


Figure 23:
 Holy Kindred: Mary Cleophas and Family, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 1471, photograph.
 Source: CrownCopyright NMR CVMA no. 003837, York, England: 1974.
http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=3837&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=5 (accessed 5/4/14).

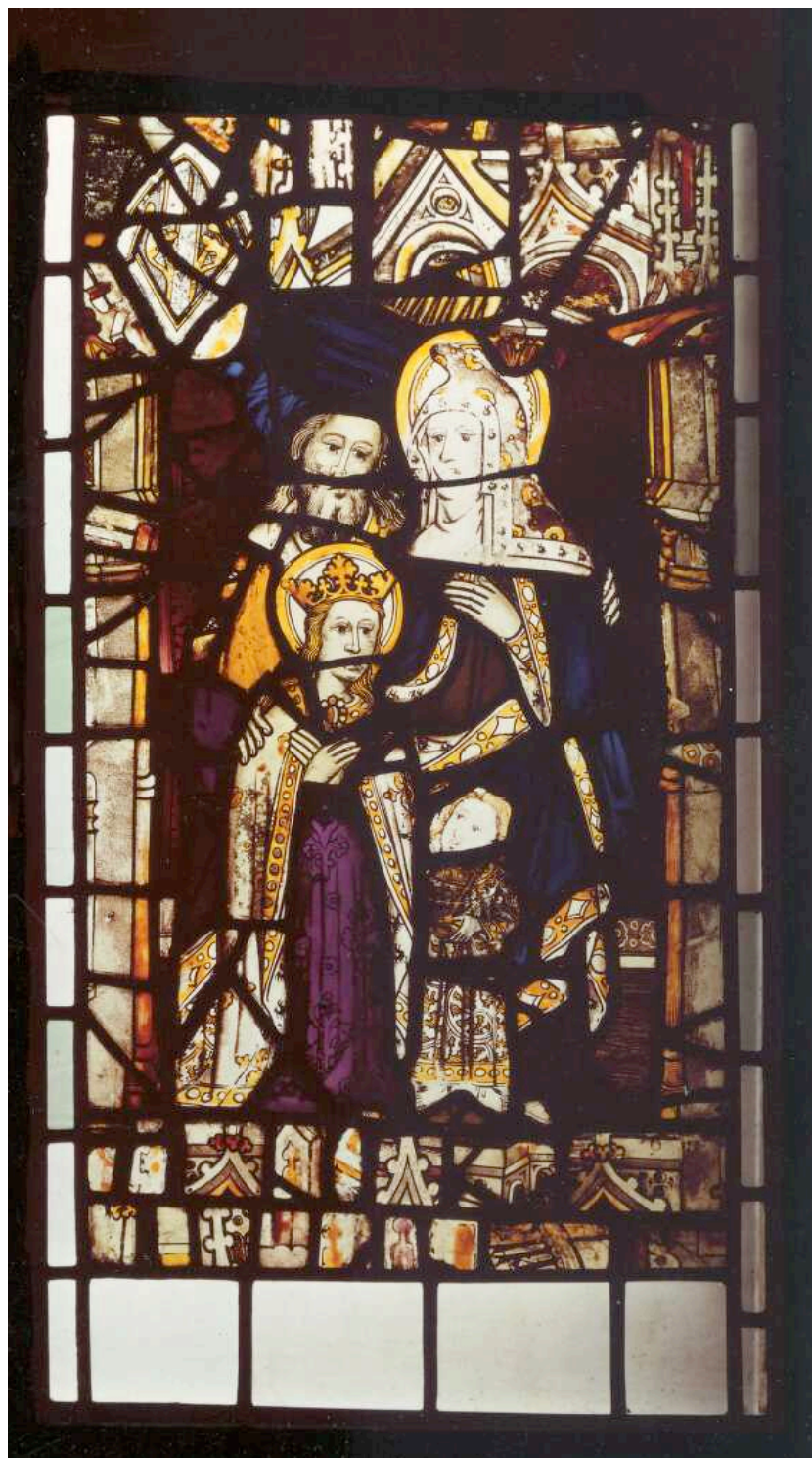


Figure 24:
 Holy Kindred: Anne, Joachim, Mary and Joseph, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 1471. From:
 CrownCopyright, CVMA no. 003837, York, England: 1974.
http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=3837&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=5.



Figure 25:

Holy Kindred: Mary Salome and family, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. 1471, photograph.
Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 018351, York, England: 2006.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=3837&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=5>.



Figure 26:
World War II Bombing: St. Martin-le-Grand, York. 1942, photograph. Source: York, England:
2012. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-17872824>>.

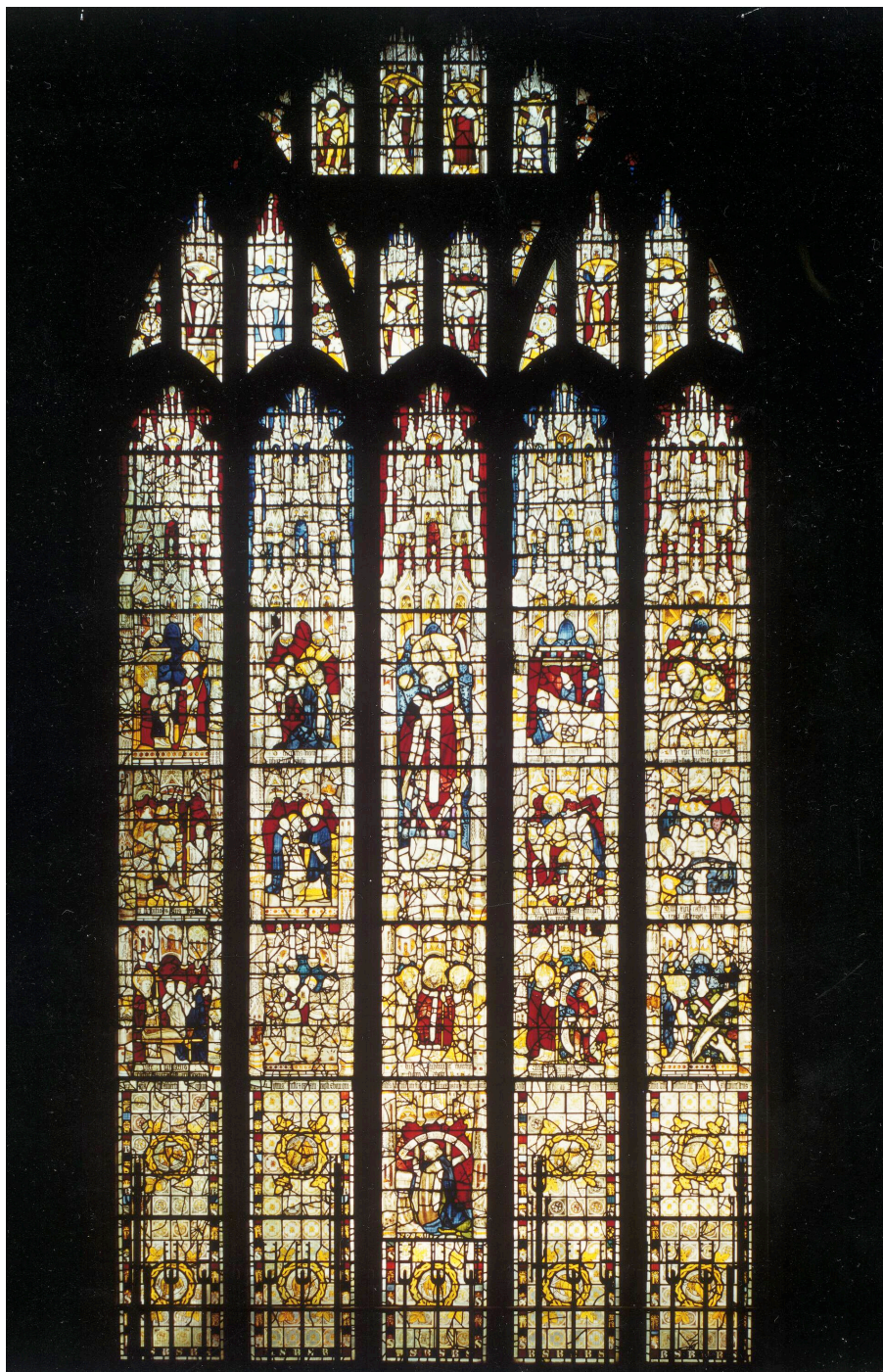


Figure 27:
Nave, North Window: St. Martin of Tours, St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. 15th c.
photograph. Source: CrownCopyright NMR CVMA no. 003654, York, England: 1999.
<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=3654&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=1>.

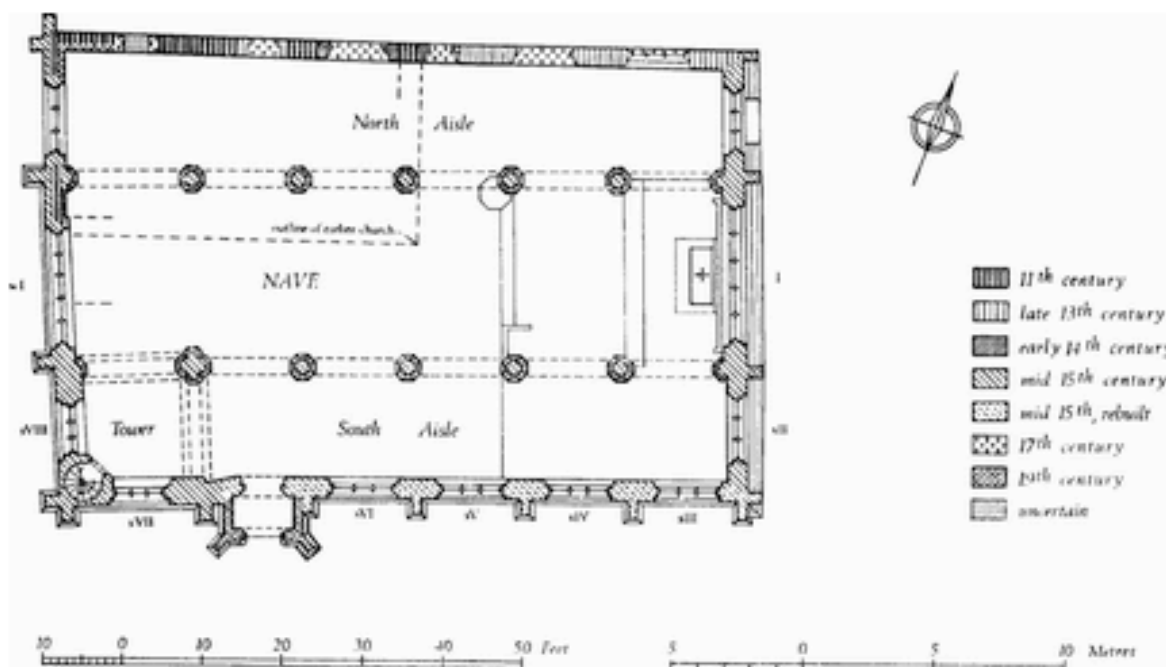


Figure 28a:

Plan Pre-1942: St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. Drawing. Source: 'Parish Church of St. Martin,' in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5, Central* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 25-29, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rehme/york/vol5/pp25-29>>.

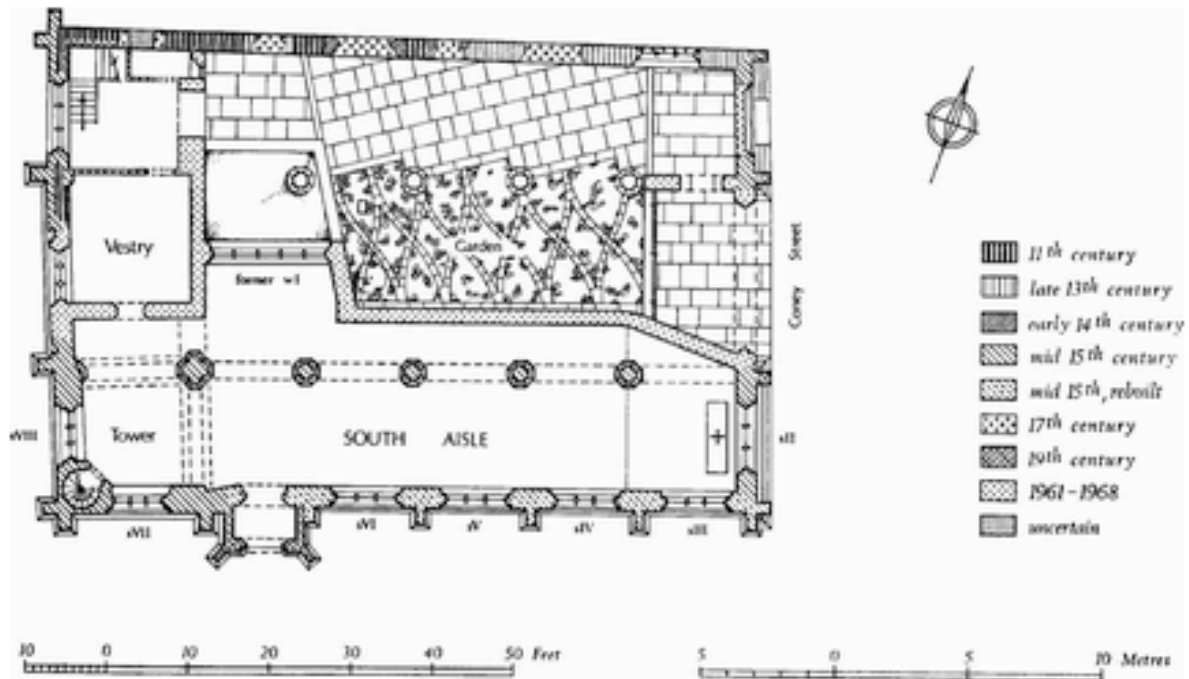


Figure 28b:

Plan-Present Day: St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. Drawing. Source: 'Parish Church of St. Martin,' in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5, Central* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), 25-29, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol5/pp25-29>>.

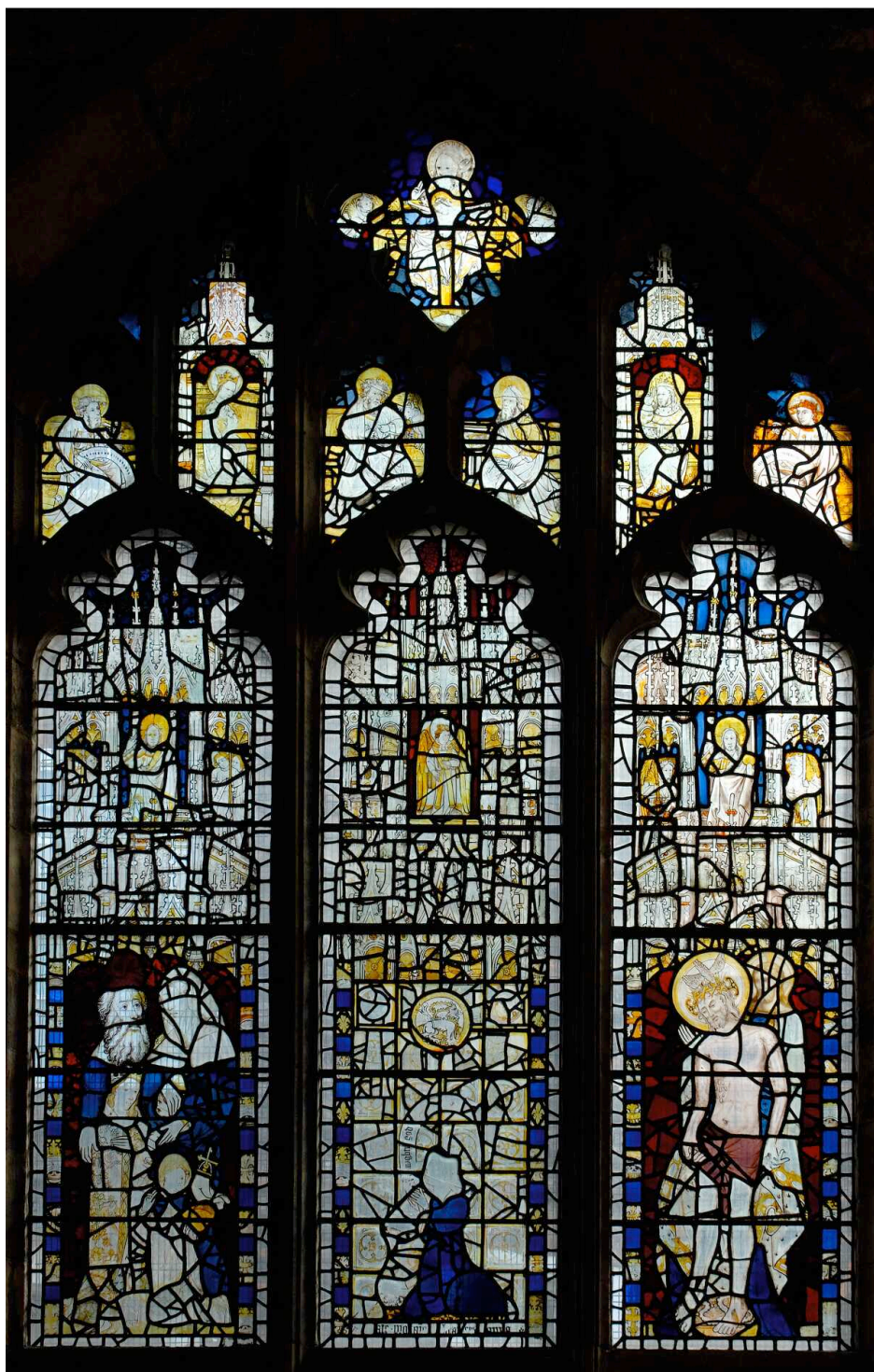


Figure 29:

Anne Window: St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. 15th c., Photography.

Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 018216, York, England: 2006

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=18216&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=3&recPagePos=15>.

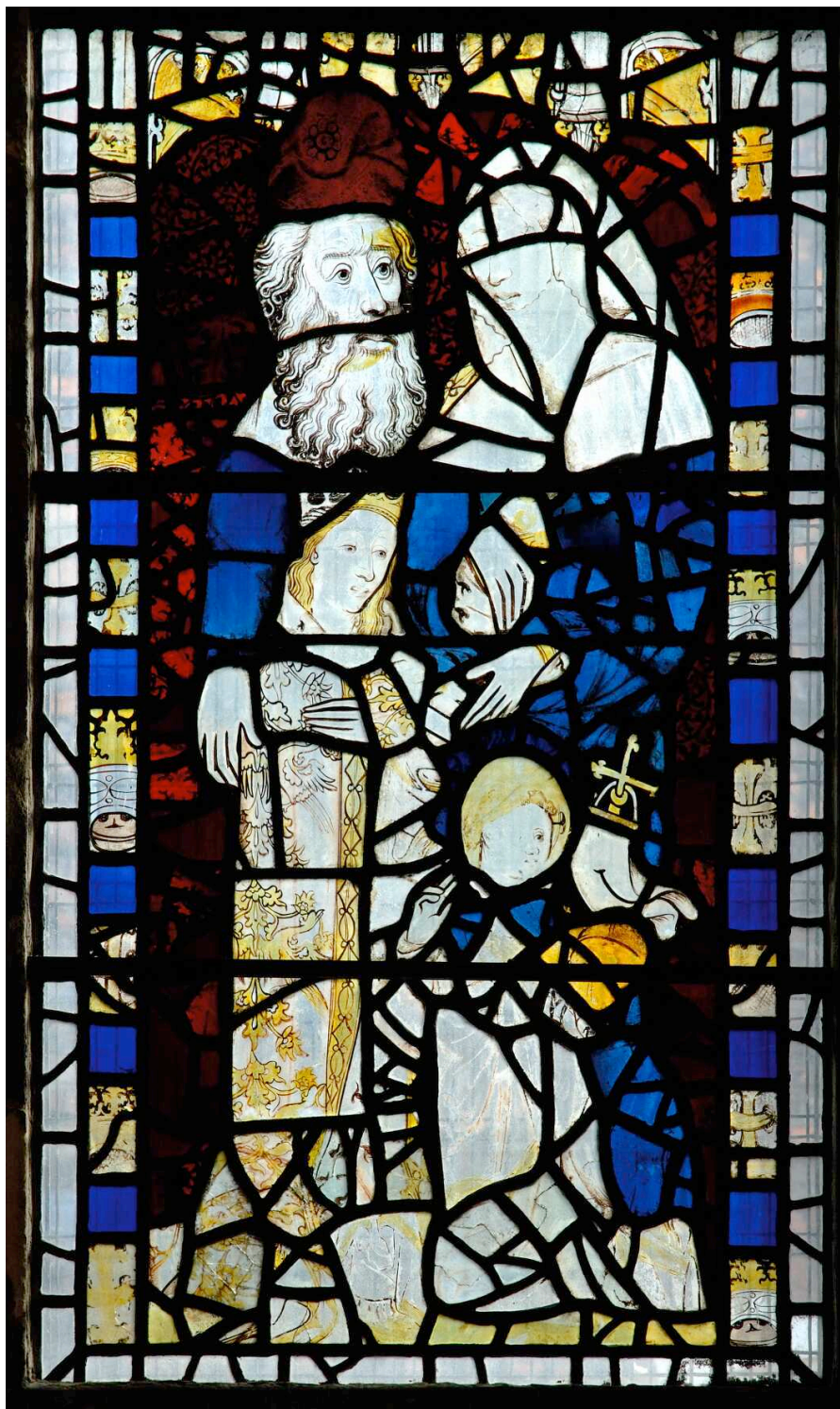


Figure 30:

Anne Detail: St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York. 15th c., photograph. Source: Plumb, G. CVMA no. 018196, York, England: 2006.

<http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=COUNTY&photodataKey=18196&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=3&recPagePos=17.>.



Figure 31:

Previous Anne Window, 15th c., this shows the original middle panel with the shield of Sir Richard Yorke; St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York, 1927. From: Harrison, Frederick. *The Painted Glass of York, an Account of the Medieval Glass of the Minster and the Parish Churches*. The Historic Monuments of England. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, 1927),133.