

# THE APOSTLES' CREED AND THE NORTH CRAWLEY ROOD SCREEN

DAVID J CRITCHLEY

*This paper reviews the painted prophets on the dado of the rood screen at North Crawley, and explains their association with the Apostles' Creed. It compares them with similar selections of prophets, and considers the reasons for this choice of subject for the dado. The paper also considers similar painted figures from the screens at Monks Risborough and Quainton.*

## DESCRIPTION

St Firmin's Church, North Crawley (SP 92686 44649), has what is arguably Buckinghamshire's finest surviving rood screen.

The screen comprises a waist-high dado, open-work arches, and the ribbed coving or vaulting which originally supported the loft. The screen is divided into eight bays, each 2' 1" (0.64m) wide. A pair of doors occupies the two central bays. The dado is 3' 11½" (1.21m) high, but the floor level has

risen over the years, burying the sill, so the intended height may have been higher. At dado level, each bay is divided into two panels, measuring 11" by 3' 5¼" (0.28m by 1.05m) and decorated with blind tracery, giving a total of sixteen panels.

The screen is thought to date to the late fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Some confirmation of the dating is provided by the relatively simple mason's mitre joints at the junction of the transom (the top rail of the dado) and the muntins (the principal vertical posts): in joints of this sort short, moulded projec-



FIGURE 1 North Crawley: Panels 1–6



FIGURE 2 North Crawley: Composite photograph of Panels 7–10

tions from the muntin present flat vertical faces to the ends of the transom.<sup>2</sup>

Panels 1–6 bear six painted prophets, each with a scroll (Fig. 1). Panels 7–10 bear two bishops facing each other, Sts Blaise and Martin, and two kings facing each other, Sts Edward the Confessor and Edmund. St Blaise is shown with the iron comb with which he was tortured; St Martin with two fingers pointing heavenward, perhaps an allusion to his defence of the dual nature of Christ against Arian attacks;<sup>3</sup> St Edward with the ring that he gave a pauper; and St Edmund with the sword with which he was beheaded (Fig. 2). Panels 11–16 bear a further six prophets, again with scrolls (Fig. 3).

The prophets are dressed in what might be called ‘Saracenic’ fashion; they wear soft hats or turbans, and long mantles with prominent borders

or stripes, generously equipped with fur, typically ermine, linings.<sup>4</sup> Each prophet stands on a ‘wine glass’ pedestal. Two prophets face straight ahead, but most of them are shown taking part in discussion: they extend an index finger in the manner of one instructing, stroke or tug their beards, or open their palms in the attitude of one listening.<sup>5</sup>

Each figure appears to have been painted on a separate board or set of boards.

Some of the surviving paint on the coving, which is likely to have been blue, has turned black, and so the backgrounds of the panels, now virtually black, may also originally have been blue. The background to the David panel is decorated with white stars. The inner surfaces or soffits of the blind tracery are coloured alternately red and either green or blue.<sup>6</sup>



FIGURE 3 North Crawley: Composite photograph of Panels 11–16

Clive Rouse, accompanied by Audrey Baker, visited the church on 29 October 1968, and proposed the removal of varnish and oak-grained paint. Anna Hulbert and Ann Ballantyne conserved the paintwork under Rouse's direction in 1973–4, and an interim report on the work was published, but there appears to be no final report.<sup>7</sup> Rouse noted that there may have been an inscription on the bressumer (the horizontal beam supporting the front of the rood loft), although there is no visible trace of an inscription now. There are two empty socket holes on each side of the central bay immediately below the bressumer, as if some objects, such as shields or angels, were affixed. Rouse also observed that the figures on the doors seem to be by a different and inferior hand, and closer examination does indeed suggest that the painting was carried out in several stages. Thus, in Panels 7–16 the pedestals are treated differently from those in Panels 1–6; while in Panels 11–16 the scrolls omit the prophet's name, the blind tracery differs from that of Panels 1–6, and painted decoration replaces the carved mouchette wheels of Panels 1–10.

The scrolls contain the prophet's name and the prophetic text, with the initial letters of the name

and of the text picked out in red Lombardic capitals (Table 1). As will become clear, the texts are chosen so that each illustrates a successive article of the Apostles' Creed.

## DISCUSSION

### The Association of the Creed with the Prophets and Apostles

The tradition under which each article of the Creed is attributed to a particular apostle can be traced back as far as the fourth or fifth century. There are several different ways in which the Creed can be divided into twelve articles; and lists of the apostles do not always follow the same order. The result is that there is considerable variety in how the articles of the Creed are apportioned among the apostles.<sup>8</sup>

The allocation of a prophetic text, and hence of a prophet, to each article appears to be a development of the twelfth, or at the latest, of the thirteenth century. It is first found in a student's aide-memoire detailing the principal features of the Christian faith, copied in the thirteenth century but in the opinion of its editor of an earlier

TABLE 1 The 12 articles of the Creed, and the inscriptions on the corresponding North Crawley panels

Article Number	Credal Text	Name on Pedestal / Text of Scroll
1.	I believe in God, the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth,	<i>Jeremy / Jeremy Patrem vocabi[s] me dicit d(omi)n(u)s</i> (Thou shalt call me Father, saith the Lord, Jer 3:19)
2.	and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord,	<i>David / David Filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te</i> (Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee, Ps 2:7)
3.	who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary,	<i>Isaias / Ysayas Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filiu(m)</i> (Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, Is 7:14)
4.	suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried;	<i>Daniell / Daniell Post ebdomadas septuaginta duo C(hristu)s occidetur</i> (And after seventy-two weeks Christ shall be slain, Dan 9:26)
5.	he descended into hell; on the third day he rose again from the dead;	<i>Osee / Osee Ero mors tua O mors morsus tuus inferne</i> (O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy bite, Ho 13:14)
6.	he ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right hand of God the Father almighty,	<i>Amos / Amos Qui aedificat in celos [ascensionem suam]</i> (that buildeth his ascension in the heavens, Am 9:6)
7.	from there he will come to judge the living and the dead.	<i>Sophonias / Atceda(m) ad vos i[n] iudicio (e)t ero testis velox</i> (I will come to you in judgment, and will be a speedy witness, Mal 3:5)
8.	I believe in the Holy Spirit,	<i>Johell / Effund(am) de spir[itu] meo sup(er) omn(es) gente(s)</i> (I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, Joel 2:28)
9.	the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints,	<i>Michias / Invocabu(n)t o(mn)es nome(n) d(omi)ni</i> (All will call upon the name of the Lord, Zeph 3:9)
10.	the forgiveness of sins,	<i>Malachias / Deponet d(omi)n(u)s o(mn)es nostras [i]niquitates</i> (He will put away our iniquities Mic 7:19)
11.	the resurrection of the body,	<i>Daniell / Educa(m) vos de sepulcris ves[tris] p(o)p(u)le meus</i> (I will bring you out of your sepulchres, O my people, Ez 37:12)
12.	and life everlasting. Amen.	<i>Ezechias / Evigilabu(n)t o(mn)es alii ad vita(m) etern[am] alii ad gehenna(m)</i> (Many shall awake, some unto life everlasting, and others unto reproach, Dan 12:2)

date.<sup>9</sup> Another selection of prophetic texts, which differs particularly over the texts to be assigned to the second half of the Creed, appears in the *Tractatus Metricus de Septem Sacramentis Ecclesiae* (Versified Account of the Seven Sacraments of the Church), a short listing designed for students, of

William de Montibus (c.1140 to 1213).<sup>10</sup>

These two selections of prophetic texts often reappear: the Bruges selection reappears in the 'Table of the XII Articles of Faith' incorporated into the set of diagrams known as the *Speculum Theologiae* (The Mirror of Theology), compiled

by a Franciscan, John of Metz, probably at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Other selections of prophetic texts are known, and there is even more variety among the prophets assigned to the articles of the Creed than there is among the apostles.

### **The Depiction of the Association in Illuminated Manuscripts and Stained Glass**

In the early fourteenth century, the theme of the prophetic anticipation of the Creed starts to appear in illuminated manuscripts. Typically we find a prophet with his text paired with an apostle with the corresponding article. The Bruges selection appears in the Howard and de Lisle Psalters (c.1308–40), the Queen Mary Psalter (1310–20), and the Sherborne Missal (c.1399–1407); what appears to be a modified form of de Montibus' selection appears in the Peterborough Psalter and Breviary (1304–21) and the Teymouth Hours (second quarter of the fourteenth century).<sup>12</sup> The scribe of the now incomplete Belleville Breviary (1323–26)<sup>13</sup> incorporated the theme into his breviary's calendar.

It is not clear when the theme first found architectural expression. Le Couteur, in his analysis of the fragments of the great west window of Winchester Cathedral, installed by 1375 but largely destroyed in 1642, concluded that the window included 'the twelve apostles, in two rows, each with ... a scroll inscribed with a portion of the Creed' as well as 'twelve prophets, each with a scroll bearing some corresponding Old Testament passage.'<sup>14</sup> The Lady Chapel clerestory windows in York Minster, perhaps commissioned between 1388 and 1396, contain a now incomplete series of apostles and prophets, all with credal articles or prophetic texts.<sup>15</sup> Later examples where the prophetic texts survive are Fairford Church, Gloucestershire (between 1500 and 1517), and the Withcote Chapel, Leicestershire (1536 or 1537).<sup>16</sup> On the continent, the theme is frequently represented in choir stalls and stained glass.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Depiction of the Association on Rood Screens**

In England, the theme appears on several rood screens.<sup>18</sup> Thus – if we restrict consideration to screens which include the prophets' texts – at Chudleigh, Devonshire, ten pairs of alternating prophets and apostles survive on the dado, with credal articles or prophetic texts on scrolls below

their feet.<sup>19</sup> At Kenton, Devonshire, twelve such pairs survive on the dado, holding in their hands scrolls bearing the articles and the prophetic texts.<sup>20</sup> At Thornham, Norfolk, twelve prophets appear on the dado, holding scrolls bearing prophetic texts: the first six prophets are ordered from right to left, the second six from left to right. At Poringland, Norfolk, the screen no longer survives, but prophets and apostles appear to have alternated and ten of the prophetic texts were recorded before the screen's destruction.<sup>21</sup> At Coddendam, Suffolk, eight prophets survive in part: the texts associated with all eight have been recorded, although only four texts are now visible.<sup>22</sup> At Marston Moretaine, Bedfordshire, four prophets hold scrolls bearing texts and a fifth is recorded.<sup>23</sup>

The prophets make little sense on their own: it is only when their texts are juxtaposed with the articles of the Creed that we understand why they are present. Where prophets alone are depicted on a dado, it is likely that the corresponding apostles were represented on the rood loft, no doubt in a corresponding order.<sup>24</sup> Equally, where the apostles with their articles are depicted on a dado, as at Gooderstone, Norfolk, the loft may have depicted the prophets.

Where the prophetic texts survive, we can identify the tradition that they represent (Table 2). At North Crawley, Thornham, and Chudleigh the selection of texts is largely the Bruges selection, though at North Crawley, as commonly happens, Dan 9:26 replaces Zech 12:10 in article 4. At Coddendam and Marston Moretaine many of the texts are missing, but we appear to deal with the same selection. At Kenton, by contrast, the texts are those found in the *Tractatus Metricus*. The selection at Poringland is unique, but has points of contact with both traditions. Manuscripts clearly played a major part in the dissemination of the traditions, though the minor textual variations and the frequent occasions when the text is correct but attributed to the wrong prophet suggest that painters and scribes were often working from memory.<sup>25</sup> David Griffith suggests that craft ateliers may have had pattern books or similar exemplars.<sup>26</sup>

### **The Purpose behind the Depiction of the Association**

The original reason for copying out the articles of the Creed and the corresponding prophetic texts was,

TABLE 2 Prophetic texts displayed by selected manuscripts and screens

Article Number	Text cited by Bruges manuscript, Chudleigh, North Crawley, & Thornham rood screens	Text cited by <i>Tractatus Metricus</i> & Kenton rood screen	Text cited by Poringland rood screen
1.	Jer 3:19 & 32:17 (Bruges manuscript, Chudleigh, & Thornham), Jer 3:19 (North Crawley)	Jer 3:19	Gen 1:1
2.	Ps 2:7	Dan 7:13	Ps 2:7
3.	Is 7:14	Is 7:14	Is 7:14
4.	Zech 12:10 (Bruges manuscript, Chudleigh, & Thornham), Dan 9:26 (North Crawley)	Zech 12:10	Dan 9:26
5.	Hos 13:14 & 6:3 (Bruges manuscript), Hos 13:14 (Chudleigh, North Crawley, & Thornham)	Hos 13:14 & 6:3	Hos 13:14
6.	Amos 9:6	Amos 9:6	lacking
7.	Mal 3:5	Joel 3:12	lacking
8.	Joel 2:28	Hag 2:6	Hag 2:6
9.	Zeph 3:9	Zeph 2:15	Ju 20:2
10.	Mic 7:19	Mal 2:16	Mal 2:16
11.	Ezek 37:12 (Chudleigh lacking)	Zech 9:12-13	Zech 9:13
12.	Dan 12:2 (Chudleigh lacking)	Obad 1:21	Jer 21:8

as the editors of those documents noted, to provide aide-memoires for students of theology. That raises the question of the motives of those who introduced this theme into illuminated psalters and books of hours, and of their successors who gave this theme architectural expression. Did they just see the theme as providing an opportunity for artistic expression, or did they have a deeper motive?

Unusually, we have answers from some of those involved in the process. One of the first books to make wider use of this theme was, as we have seen, the *Speculum Theologie*. Lynn Ransom drew attention to a note at the front of one copy of the *Speculum*, dating to the early fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup> 'This book can be called the orchard of solace. For who wants to enter in by thought and by study finds there pleasing trees and nourishing fruits for sustaining the soul and for leading the heart and learning.' Ransom explains that the book offers the reader 'a place, an orchard, in which one's heart and mind will find solace and nourishment for the soul.' She adds that the book is 'is not a text to be

read through once and put away but to be meditated upon repeatedly so that the reader can continuously feel the solace of the orchard and savour the fruit of the trees.' The paired texts and articles function, in short, as prompts for meditation.

The creator of the Belleville Psalter allocates each pair of prophet and apostle to a month. He depicts each prophet as removing a stone from the Temple and giving it to the Apostle, who uses it to build up the church. The creator, quoting Solomon to the effect that wisdom comes from hearing and understanding, explains himself in a note at the start of the Breviary. God, he says, cannot change, and there must therefore be a concordance and unity between the Old and New Testament. This concordance is the meaning of the images that follow. The stones that the prophets remove from the Temple represent their veiled prophecies: the apostles uncover these prophecies and make them into articles of the Creed. These articles of faith are 'the road and the entrance gates of paradise.' This elaborate scheme thus enables the reader to savour the link between

each article and its prophetic text, and to grasp the unity of the two Testaments, and thus to put himself on the road to heaven.<sup>28</sup>

It would seem reasonable to suppose that those who chose this subject for their rood screen were similarly motivated. Such a screen offered parishioners something on which they could base their own devotions during the Mass, not least during the silent offering of the Canon.

This suggestion raises the question of the extent to which parishioners understood their faith, and how far they could make use of Latin texts.<sup>29</sup> We might initially consider their knowledge of the Apostles' Creed itself. Since the Council of Lambeth in 1281, every parish priest had been required to explain the Creed in the vernacular once a quarter.<sup>30</sup> Godparents were expected to teach their godchildren the Creed, along with the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*.<sup>31</sup> Where these requirements had been followed, it is reasonable to suppose that even unlettered parishioners might be able to recite the Creed in Latin and give the English equivalents of its articles. The association of individual articles with individual apostles would have helped: each image of an apostle would help to recall his article. If the catechetical instruction extended to the relevant prophetic texts, as well it might if they were prominently displayed in the church, the mental tasks involved would not have been of a different order: the images of the prophets would form a foundation on which one could build, using first their texts and then the English translations. Several of the prophetic texts, moreover, might be familiar from their presence in the liturgy: thus, in the Sarum Missal, Ps 2:7 forms the Introit and Gradual for the Christmas cock-crow Mass; Is 7:14 forms the Postcommunion antiphon for Ember Saturday in September, the Mass of St Mary in Advent, the Fourth Sunday in Advent, and the Feast of the Annunciation; Joel 2:28 is part of the *Lectio* for Ember Saturday in Whitsunweek, and Mic 7:19 part of the *Lectio* for Ember Saturday in September.<sup>32</sup> Parishioners did not necessarily need to be able to construe Latin, or even to read.<sup>33</sup> We shall never know for certain, but it is arguable that with sufficient assistance from the pulpit, the great majority of parishioners would have been able to make devotional use of the series of prophets.

It is noteworthy in this context that St Martin is here not shown with his more usual attribute,

the cloak that he divided for a beggar, but with an apparent reference to his defence of Christian belief.

### Conclusion

Screens were a major undertaking. Audrey Baker provides numerous illustrative details: at Tintinhull, Somerset, no doubt an exceptional case, it took 43 years to complete the screen. Elsewhere, three testators each left enough money to pay for a single panel painting: the sums ranged from £2 13s 4d to £3 6s 8d. At Yatton, Somerset, what was perhaps a fairly simple screen cost £31 2s 11d. The greater part of screen donors seem to have been laymen, and in particular lesser landowners.<sup>34</sup>

All this suggests that screens are a testament to lay support for the church. No doubt there was discussion about the scheme of decoration to be adopted in each case, and the parish priest may have given his advice, but the final completion of a screen must be a witness to the efforts of the laity. Here at North Crawley, the laity chose to create a work that would help them to meditate on the themes of the Creed.

### MONKS RISBOROUGH AND QUANTON

#### Monks Risborough

St Dunstan's Church, Monks Risborough (SP 81267 04419), has a rood screen spanning the width of the chancel arch.

The screen comprises a dado and open arches, but lacks a loft. It is 16' 5" (5.0m) wide, and is divided into five bays, each approximately 3' 1" (0.94m) wide: the central bay is open. The height of the dado is 3' 3" (0.99m), and in each bay it is divided into three panels, measuring approximately 11¾" by 2' 5¼" (0.30m by 0.74m) giving a total of twelve panels. The transom bars, the muntins, the arches of the openings, and the boards on which the figures are painted appear to be original.

The screen dates to the late fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The muntins are joined to the transom with mason's mitres. In 1811 the curate, the Rev John Mountfort, noted that the screen bore the date 1638, which he took to be the date of construction but, as the architect W D Carøe surmised, is more likely to be the date of a Laudian restoration, probably involving the repainting of the figures and the provision of new blind archlets with relief carving in the spandrels. Further work may have taken place in 1661, when the plastered partition filling the space between the

top of the screen and the chancel arch – perhaps the original tympanum which had borne the painted backdrop to the carved figure of Christ – was decorated with the tetragram, the royal arms of Charles II, and a pair of Latin hexameters *Det Deus ut vivat multos feliciter annos / CAROLUS ense potens victor domito hoste triumphet* (God grant that Charles may live happily for many years / May he with powerful sword triumph over his conquered enemy).<sup>36</sup> Lipscomb in 1847 noted that the chancel was entered through a ‘pair of doors’ between two pews, and that ‘small portions’ of the rood loft remained in paintings ‘now forming the backs’ of these pews.<sup>37</sup> The inner faces of the two central muntins, either side of the central passageway, are provided with projecting

returns to meet non-existent transom bars, and may support the possibility that the central opening was once closed by doors. Sheahan in 1862 counted twelve painted figures.<sup>38</sup> Accounts of the restoration of 1863–4 say that the screen was ‘restored and replaced across the entrance to the chancel,’ and that nine painted figures were re-used, as being ‘in a perfect state of preservation.’<sup>39</sup> Carøe said that the screen suffered so much restoration then that ‘its authenticity is seriously compromised,’ but he gave no details.<sup>40</sup>

The northern half of the screen has three blank panels and three painted panels (Fig. 4). The southern half has six painted panels (Fig. 5). Green and red backgrounds alternate. In two panels the back-



FIGURE 4 Monks Risborough: Panels 4–6





FIGURE 5 Monks Risborough: Panels 7–12

ground is peppered with white five-petalled flowers. The figures wear soft caps trimmed with ermine, and have ermine coifs around their shoulders. Their long fur-lined mantles are red or green, generally contrasting with the background colour. Most of them hold a book in one hand and gesture with the other. They are in pairs, facing each other. Their dress, their books and gestures, and the absence of a halo, all suggest that they are prophets. The figures lack feet and their cloaks lack hem lines, and it is likely that part of each panel, including the prophet's name, if not a text, has been trimmed off at the bottom: the panels show evidence of damage from damp, and an additional 9" (0.23m) would improve the proportions of the panel and give what may have been the standard dado height of 4' (1.22m).

Each set of three panels is composed of five boards, approximately 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" (0.20m) wide. Since the boards cannot be rearranged without upsetting the design, each group of three figures was clearly painted as a single whole, and preserves the original order of the figures.

### Quainton

Holy Cross Church, Quainton (SP 74999 20155), preserves part of the dado of the rood screen.

The surviving material comprises one long and two short sections of transom, four painted panels, each measuring approximately 10<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>" by 2' 9" (0.27m by 0.84m), a single plank cut into a series of cusped arch heads, two panel mullions, and portions of perhaps a couple of muntins

including decorative buttresses. A sketch by Charlotte Piggott dating from the 1840s suggests that at that date the lower part of the rood screen still survived, an impression confirmed by Sheahan, who noted that what remained of the screen bore eight figures.<sup>41</sup> The present assemblage dates from the restoration of 1866. The dado as reconstructed is 3' 11" (1.19m) high, including the modern sill. The assembled block of four panels is 3' 7" (1.09m) wide, and allowing for the muntins we may suppose that a bay was some 4' 1" (1.24m) wide. The chancel arch, which is 12' 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" (3.77m) wide, would accommodate three such bays.

The screen dates to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

Green and red backgrounds alternate: they are peppered with five-petalled flowers. Each panel bears a painted figure (Fig. 6). The figures have haloes filled in with yellow paint, are wrapped in long red or green mantles with decorative yellow borders and fur linings, and hold a book in their right hands. The colour of the book and of the background contrasts with that of the mantle. Three figures wear woollen caps of the sort common in depictions of Old Testament figures. Two figures hold up their left hand in a receptive gesture. The centre two turn to face each other, while the outer two turn away, as it were, towards missing neighbours. Parts of the figures' shoes and hem lines are missing, suggesting that the lower parts of the panels, perhaps including the prophet's name, have been trimmed off.



FIGURE 6 Quainton: Surviving Panels

The set of four panels is composed of five boards, each approximately 8½" (0.23m) wide, and so clearly preserves the original order of the figures.

### Discussion

In both cases, we are dealing with prophets rather than saints or apostles, despite the haloes on the figures at Quainton. All the figures wear 'Saracenic' dress and the woollen caps supposed to be typical of Jews. They nearly all hold a book, suggesting that they are authors of part of Scripture. Many of them engage in discussion in the manner typical of prophets. At Monks Risborough, twelve figures would occupy the whole dado, with the central opening excepted; at Quainton there is room for twelve figures if we suppose that the central opening contained two doors with two figures on each door.

### Conclusion

This suggests that both these sets of figures once formed part of a set of prophets, very possibly accompanied by the apostles on the corresponding rood loft, and that these figures too formed credal compositions.

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### Notes

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18. Frederick Bligh Bond and Bede Camm, *Rood-screens and Roodlofts* (1909), vol 2, 230–32; Audrey Baker (Ann Ballantyne and Pauline Plummer, eds), *English Panel Paintings 1400–1558: a Survey of Figure Paintings on East Anglian Rood Screens* (2011), 76. For a wider discussion, see Charles Tracy, ‘The 14th-Century Canons’ Stalls in the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Astley, Warwickshire,’ in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* **162** (2009), 88–124.
  19. Mary Jones, *The History of Chudleigh in the County of Devon* (1852), 102–5; Bond and Camm, vol 2, 305.
  20. Oliver Jones, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon* (Exeter, 1828), 3–4; Bond and Camm, vol 2, 325–7.
  21. Francis Blomefield, *An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk* vol. 5 (1775), 440.
  22. Personal communication by Dr Lucy Wrapson.
  23. For the fifth, see A[rthur]R[ansome], in *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 10 May 1901.
  24. Thus Richard Marks, ‘Framing the Rood in Medieval England and Wales,’ in Bucklow, Marks, and Wrapson, *op cit*, 22.
  25. In addition to the MSS mentioned above, there are currently in the United Kingdom, to the author’s knowledge, four copies of the *Speculum Theologie* containing the ‘Table of the XII Articles of Faith’ (listed in Sandler, *op cit*), one complete copy of de Montibus’ *Tractatus Metricus de Septem Sacramentis Ecclesiae* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 419), three MSS containing the Bruges selection (MSS Bodl. 709 and 805; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 155), two MSS containing a list derived from that of de Montibus (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 500 and 518), and one MS containing a sermon on the Creed incorporating a selection similar to that of de Montibus (MS Bodl. th. e. 19).
  26. David Griffith, ‘Texts and detexting on late medieval English church screens,’ in Bucklow, Marks, and Wrapson, *op cit*, 71–99.
  27. Lynn Ransom, ‘The *Speculum Theologie* and its Readership: Considering the Manuscript Evidence,’ in *Proceedings of the Bibliographical Society of America*, **93/4** (1999), 476–7.
  28. For a full text and translation, see Sandler, ‘Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures,’ *The Art Bulletin*, **66.1** (Mar. 1984), 94–6.
  29. The author is indebted in this paragraph to Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 1–59.
  30. F M Powicke and C R Cheney (eds.), *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, II: AD 1205–1313 (Oxford, 1964), vol. 2, 900.
  31. Eamon Duffy draws attention to the inscription on a fourteenth-century font, *Pater Noster Ave Maria Criede / Leren the childe yt is nede* (Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*, 2nd ed (2005), 53).
  32. John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916).
  33. For Latinity in the late medieval parish, see Griffith, *op cit*.
  34. Baker, *English Panel Paintings*, 91–98, 215–6. See also H Harrison and J West, ‘West Country Rood Screens: Construction and Practice,’ in Bucklow, Marks, and Wrapson, *op cit*, 123–49; Eamon Duffy, ‘The parish, piety and patronage in late medieval East Anglia: the evidence of rood screens,’ in Katherine L French, Gary G Gibbs, and Beat A Kümin (eds), *The Parish in English Life 1400–1600* (Manchester, 1997), 133–62.
  35. RCHM, *op cit*, I 259.
  36. John Mountford, note dated 20 April 1811 (Buckinghamshire Record Office PR 176/1/4).
  37. George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (1847), vol. 1, 425.
  38. James Joseph Sheahan, *History and Topography of Buckinghamshire* (1862), 186.
  39. *Bucks Advertiser & Aylesbury News*, 10 May 1864.
  40. *The Architectural History of the Church of St Dunstan, Monks Risborough, without Reference to Documents* (MS dated 8 October 1906, Buckinghamshire Record Office PR 176/1/3/11).
  41. Elliott Viney, Buckinghamshire Churches in the Eighteen Forties, *Recs Bucks* **31** (1991), 79; Sheahan, 421.
  42. Pevsner and Williamson, *op cit*, 607; RCHM, *op cit*, II 242.