

Fragments of the 15th-century Reredos and a Medieval Cross-Head from North Hinksey Discovered at All Souls College Chapel, Oxford and some New Light on the 19th-century Restoration

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SUMMARY

During refacing work in October 1983 to the north exterior wall of All Souls College Chapel, a blocked doorway was uncovered in the second bay from the east. The infilling contained a large number of carved architectural fragments. The majority of these were found to bear close resemblance to the architectural framework of the mid-15th century reredos, restored by Sir George Gilbert Scott between 1872 and 1879. Some decorative details were also recovered, and can be provisionally dated to between 1480 and 1520. The assemblage also included a fragment of a 14th-century cross-head which was previously in North Hinksey churchyard.

The chief significance of the discovery is that many of the fragments retain considerable traces of medieval paintwork which, along with the details of their carving, can be used to check the accuracy of Scott's restoration.

INTRODUCTION

The chapel was begun in 1438 under the supervision of the architect and master mason, Richard Cheynton, and was consecrated by the College's founder, Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1442. John Massingham was master-carver and appears to have been responsible for the design and construction of the reredos, in which task he was assisted by his son, John.¹ The reredos stands at the East end of the chapel, behind the High Altar, and rises from floor to ceiling. In its original form the centre consisted of a retable supporting a Crucifix 10 ft. in height, with its arms flanked by a series of canopies, which crowned the panels on either side. Niches to the right and left probably contained the figures of Chichele and Henry VI. Right and left of this centre were eight other niches (four on each side) containing figures, and above again were two tiers of niches, thirteen to a tier, also containing figures. Crowning the whole was a representation of the Last Judgement surmounted on the roof truss collar beam by the inscription *Surgite mortui venite ad iudicium* in black Gothic lettering. The reredos was highly enriched with gilding and colour decoration.²

¹ John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954), 182-3.

² Henry Clutton, *A Narrative and Correspondence Relating to the Restoration of All Souls College Chapel, Oxford*, (1872, printed for private circulation), 4. See also: E.F. Jacob 'The Building of All Souls College, 1438-43', in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (1933), 121-35; Aylmer Vallance, *The Old Colleges of Oxford* (1912), 46, Pl. xxiii.

It appears that the niches were originally blank, and only filled gradually. For instance, in 1493 Robert Este left £22 13s. 4d for images over the High Altar³ and as late as 1498 Bishop James Goldwell of Norwich donated £50 *circa edificationem summi altaris*.⁴ This may well account for some of the variations in style noticeable in the recently-discovered fragments of vaulted canopies and pedestals from the reredos, and which were also brought out by Scott in his restoration.

At the Reformation the reredos suffered the usual destruction. In 1548 30 s. was paid to a Mr. Plummer *detrudenti imagines super altari summo* and in 1551 the High Altar itself was destroyed.⁵ It appears that nothing was done to redecorate the East end of the chapel, and that the niches of the reredos remained empty until 1664 'at what time the Chapel [reredos] was adorned with painting [Isaac Fuller's 'Last Judgement'], being then stopped with stones and mortar'.⁶ Incidentally, this statement made by Anthony Wood and repeated by later writers, including Ackermann in 1814,⁷ makes it unclear why the College was apparently so surprised at the 'discovery' late in 1871 of the hidden reredos, whose presence had been so accurately forecast by Henry Clutton, the architect then in charge of the restoration work, over two years earlier. Surely if he had read Wood's and later accounts, Professor Montagu Burrows would not have believed that 'not the slightest tradition had survived that the modernised east end concealed anything behind it save a bare wall' or that the discovery was 'as unexpected as [that of] the sculptures of Nineveh'.⁸ Indeed, it is more than likely that Wood, who visited the chapel with Elias Ashmole to see Fuller's new painting in 1669,⁹ must also have seen the reredos before it was covered up in 1664. If so, however, he has unfortunately left no description of it.

In 1714 Fuller's painting (which had been on wooden boards) was taken down, the reredos plastered over and Sir James Thornhill was commissioned to paint a *Resurrectio Vestita* of the founder on the East wall. At the same time, again under Thornhill's direction, a general scheme of redecoration was put in motion, which included the space between the wainscot (stalls) and the marble altar (erected by the gift of Dr. Clarke in the previous year) being 'painted with neiches, vases etc, heighten'd with Gold'.¹⁰ With the addition of the *Noli me Tangere* by Raphael Mengs (1769) over the altar, the East end of the chapel was to assume the appearance shown in G. Cooper's etching of 1817.¹¹

This shows a painted niche and urn in exactly the position of the blocked doorway in which the architectural fragments were recently found, which formerly led to the north vestry, demolished, according to the *V.C.H.*, c. 1730. The *V.C.H.*, however, must almost certainly be mistaken in this since it is known that the painting was part of the redecoration programme of 1714. As a niche would hardly have been painted over the doorway had the

³ J. Gutch (ed.), *Anthony Wood's History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls of the University of Oxford*, iii (1786), 289.

⁴ Visit of the OAHS to All Souls College in 1872 printed in *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society* n.s. iii (1872-80), 48.

⁵ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 184. The use of the word *super* rather suggests these may have been free-standing images on the altar.

⁶ J. Gutch, op. et loc. cit.

⁷ R. Ackermann, *History of the University of Oxford*, i (1814), 219.

⁸ Montagu Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls* (1874), pp. vi-vii. In fact it is tempting to speculate that the College's surprise was at least partly feigned in an attempt to make the sacking of Clutton in 1872 (q.v.), on the grounds that the discovery of the reredos was so unexpected, more acceptable.

⁹ A. Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ii (O.H.S. xxi), 164.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 184.

¹¹ G. Cooper, *Oxford Portfolio*, Bodl. G.A. Oxon. b. 82.

vestry still been in existence, the latter was most probably demolished between 1706¹² (when a measured sketch-plan of it was drawn) and 1714. A date of 1713/14 would seem most likely as part of Thornhill's redecoration scheme.

THE 19TH-CENTURY RESTORATION

In June 1869 the architect Henry Clutton, who had been asked by the College to survey the chapel, which was in a poor state of repair, submitted the first of his reports to the Restoration Committee. In this he suggested that if Thornhill's painting were removed 'the skeleton of the once celebrated reredos, which rose from floor to ceiling' would be revealed. In the event, however, work on the chapel did not begin until almost exactly two years later, and it was not until December 1871 that he was authorized to take down Thornhill's canvas false ceiling panels, which had been put up at the same time as he had painted his *Resurrectio Vestita*. Underneath them was found a whole series of wooden panels painted by Fuller, which in turn were removed to expose the original hammerbeam roof, which 'retain[ed] all the characteristics that marked its original construction'. It was then that Clutton also discovered at the eastern end 'fragments of the fifteenth century colouring and decoration' with the inscription *Surgite mortui venite ad iudicium*, referred to above. After making further reports to the committee he 'discovered the position of the High Altar, the retable, crucifix and niches belonging to the base of the reredos' so that to quote Clutton further, 'by April (1872) the chapel . . . gave promise of soon reappearing in the beauty and splendour it presented at the close of the fifteenth century.'

On the thirteenth of that month, however, Clutton received a letter from the Revd. J.W. Nutt, on behalf of the committee, stating that the recent discovery of the reredos had 'very much changed the views originally entertained by the members of the College with reference to the nature and extent of the work'. On the completion of the 'works already ordered – viz, the roof, windows, cleaning down the walls, and the repairing of the internal masonry' which were to be finished at 'the earliest possible date', Clutton was to be dismissed as architect to the restoration.

In the final paragraph of the letter the true reason for Clutton's dismissal is revealed: ' . . . there is a strong and general feeling against placing such a work as the restoration of the newly discovered reredos in the hands of any architect whose views are not formed on the same theological basis as that of the members of the College'. In other words, Clutton was being removed because the College had found out that he was a Roman Catholic.

Despite a protracted correspondence, in which Clutton protested against what he understandably considered a slight on his professional character and pointed out that his religious views had not in any way altered since his appointment, the decision was upheld and his connection with the restoration came to an end.¹³

The result of this rather sorry and distasteful episode was that the College now turned to Scott to complete the work. It would appear that Scott's main task was to uncover the remainder of the reredos and, with the aid of a generous donation from the then Senior Fellow of All Souls, Lord Bathurst, to restore those parts which were beyond repair. He also undertook the restoration of the stalls.

¹² *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 184. The sketch-plan is kept at Worcester College. In fairness a note of caution should also be added. It is in fact possible, although unlikely, that the vestry was not demolished at this time. The doorway could have been blocked, leaving the vestry standing but used for other purposes, with an external entrance. The vestry is not, however, shown on an engraved prospect plan by Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1717.

¹³ Clutton, *op. cit.*

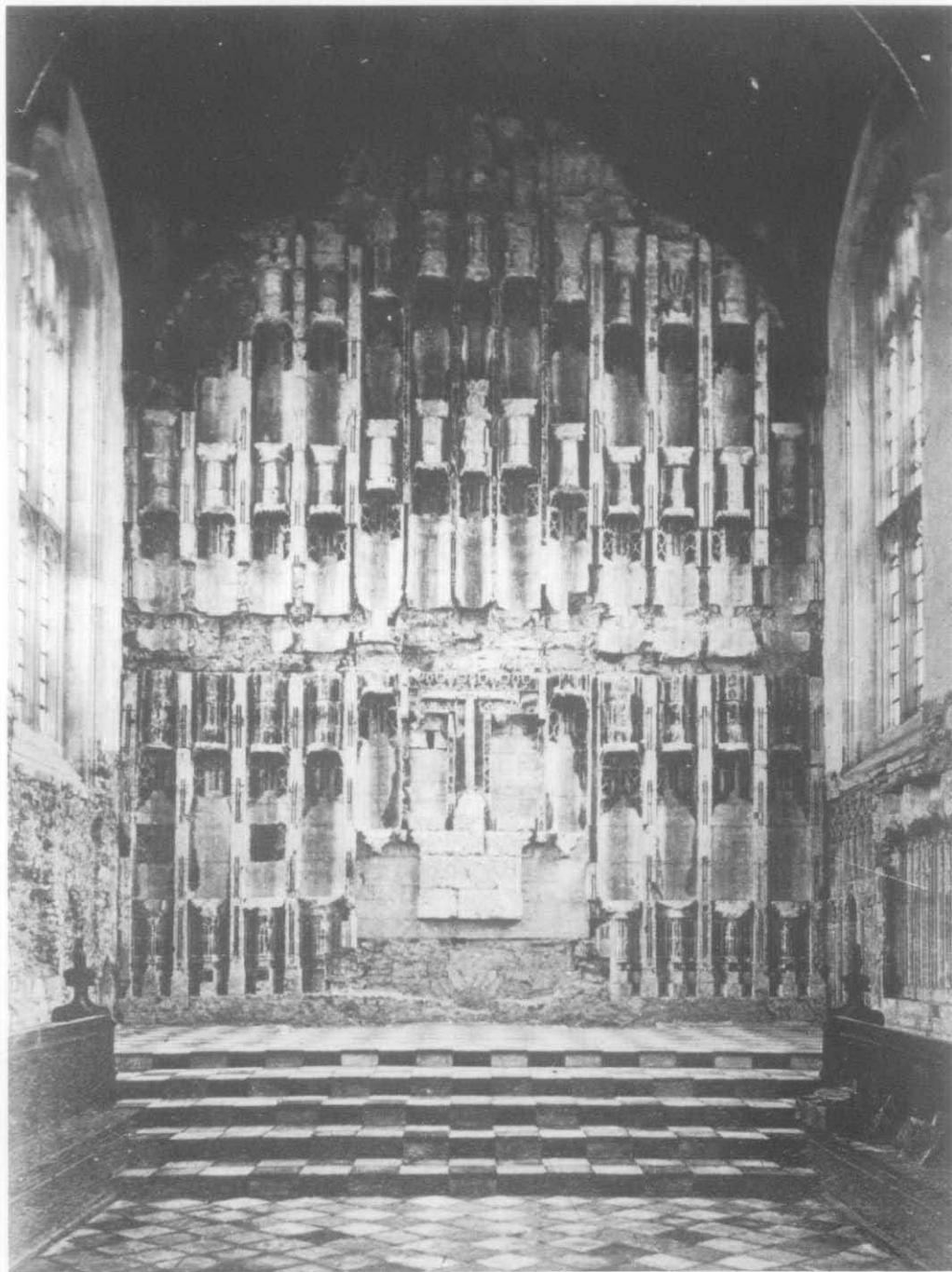


Plate 1. The All Souls College reredos, as revealed in 1872 by the removal of Thornhill's '*Resurrectio Vestita*', and before Gilbert Scott's restoration. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library (Minn Coll. 22/4).

A photograph in the Bodleian Library,¹⁴ which must have been taken in 1872 before the niches were filled with statues by the Polish sculptor, E.C. Geffowski, shows how extensive Scott's restoration must have been (Plate 1). None of the present crocketed finials to the canopied niches is original, although the backs of the niches themselves appear to be in a relatively good state of repair. The bottom tier of statue pedestals is also in good condition and does not appear to have been over-restored. The photograph also provides evidence for the position of the High Altar and the Crucifixion above it. In the upper part of the reredos the preservation is less good. The inscription, referred to by Clutton, on the roof truss collar beam is not visible, and it was never incorporated in Scott's restoration. Was it perhaps obliterated by him for some reason or was it, as Burrows suggested, already beyond repair? Basically, though, the photograph seems to support the generally held view that the actual structure and general framework of the reredos is genuine medieval work, while all the decorative details, except that at the back of the niches and somewhat surprisingly, on the bottom tier of statue pedestals, belongs to Scott's restoration. Indeed, the whole of the front part of the reredos seems to have been shaved off, presumably to form a smooth face for Fuller's painting, and further damage may of course have occurred in 1714.

What the photograph does not show, however, is the state of the reredos when first revealed by Clutton, as the reredos has very much the appearance of having been 'cleaned up' for the photograph. For instance, no builder's rubble or any loose material whatsoever is visible. It is now that we can turn to the fragments recently uncovered in the blocked doorway as a source of evidence for the accuracy of the restoration.

THE ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE REREDOS

In the account of the reredos for the Restoration Committee in 1872, Scott writes of 'very beautiful tabernacle work, the carving of which was singularly delicate and graceful and richly coloured with blue, red and gold'.¹⁵ This accords well with the large number of fragments from the canopied niches and other parts of the reredos uncovered in the blocked doorway but, before looking in more detail at some of these, it is as well to consider how they came to be there.

It is now established beyond reasonable doubt that the doorway to the former vestry was first blocked by 1714, and it would appear that this was still the situation when Clutton began his restoration in 1871. Either he or Scott (there is no real way of telling which) reopened the doorway, probably to use as a builders' entrance for taking material in and out of the chapel. When the restoration was complete (1879) the door was again infilled. Inside it was given a horizontal hoodmould and cornicing (which it still retains) and outside it was covered by the re-facing of the north wall. In the blocking were placed original fragments of the reredos which Scott could not use in his restoration and various other fragments also removed during his work on the chapel. We can be almost certain that this was the sequence of events, because the reredos fragments found in the doorway would have been unlikely to be available for packing material in such quantity had the doorway been finally sealed when the vestry was demolished between 1706 and 1714.

It is admittedly just conceivable that some material from the reredos could have been dislodged when Fuller's painting was replaced by Thornhill's in 1714, and could have been put in the doorway then rather than in 1879, but the relatively large amount of structural as

¹⁴ Bodl., Min. Coll. Neg. 22/4.

¹⁵ Quoted in C. Grant Robertson, *All Souls College* (Oxford College History Series, 1899), 14.

well as decorative material from the reredos (much of which is exactly copied in Scott's restoration), the presence of carved marble (presumably from Thornhill's own re-decoration scheme) and soot-blackened fragments of window tracery (almost certainly removed in the 19th-century restoration) make this unlikely.

What is quite clear, however, is that the material found in the doorway is mainly from the reredos and cannot have formed part of an altar, which is said to have stood in the vestry.¹⁶ Not only are the fragments inconsistent with a small altar but many can be matched directly with the reredos, or the piscina and sedilia, which were also restored by Scott.

A helpful clue to ascertaining which parts of Scott's reredos are original is to examine which parts retain traces of paint. It is immediately noticeable that none of the statues provided by Geflowski has any traces of paint, and the same is true for many of the decorative details including the crocketed finials and the carvings beneath the corning on the statue pedestals; these can then also be taken as restorations, a fact which is further suggested by their somewhat harsh carving.

Among the material from the blocked doorway which can be matched against the reredos is a very large number of red and blue painted tracery fragments with trefoiled heads, some of which come from the canopied niches and others from the statue pedestals. The former are clearly similar to the carving on the backs of the niches, which is still preserved *in situ*. Another distinct group is that made up by the crocketed finials which formed pinnacles to the canopied niches. Unfortunately none of these survives *in situ* (nor are any shown on the 1872 photograph), but, although they are somewhat larger than those currently on the reredos, we can be reasonably certain that this was their provenance. Pieces of coffered vaulting and a miniature hanging boss are also clearly from the canopied niches.

There are several fragments of cornice moulding, including one with a bunch of red painted grapes below the cornice, which can be identified with the corning to the statue pedestals. An encaustic tile probably comes from the restoration of the floor by Clutton, and is similar in type to the two rows of tiles which survive immediately in front of the choir-stalls. Small fragments of drapery and pedestals are probably to be associated with the subsidiary figures, which extended up the reredos uprights (in much the same way as they do now), while the few pieces of moulded marble are likely to be from Dr. Clarke's 'noble ornament of marble' removed in the Victorian restoration.

Several larger architectural fragments can also be directly related to the structure of the reredos, including three large pieces of rectangular moulding and five red- and blue-painted pieces of octagonal moulding. These latter formed part of the uprights to the reredos, and in places it can be seen where the original mouldings have been cut out to be replaced by Scott's copies. There are also several pieces of traceried panelling, which are perhaps more likely to have come from the piscina and sedilia than from the reredos. A similar provenance is probable for fifteen moulded cornice fragments, which clearly do not come from the statue pedestals, but which are identical with the corning below the quatrefoil panels on the restored sedilia. This corning can be seen in a mutilated condition on the 1872 photograph, and indeed one piece of what looks like original moulding is retained in the sedilia. (Alternatively, these cornice fragments could come from the stone retable above the High Altar, uncovered by Clutton and restored by Scott.) Various other fragments, too numerous to mention individually, cannot necessarily be matched directly with the reredos, piscina or sedilia but it is safe to say that such a

¹⁶ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 184.

provenance is not inconsistent with their character while, of course, it should be noted that the original appearance of the reredos is unknown.

Although a mid to late 15th-century date seems likely for the mouldings, the decorative fragments (from the canopied niches and crocketed finials) can be tentatively assigned a date between 1480 and 1520. This is rather later than that given by the R.C.H.M.¹⁷ for the reredos as a whole, but suggests that further embellishment took place when statues were added to the niches in the 1490s.

A number of ogee and trefoil headed fragments of window tracery (again probably dating to the late 15th or early 16th century) were also recovered from the blocked doorway, and as these show signs of soot blackening and extensive weathering, it seems likely that they too were removed during the Victorian restoration.

It might be considered surprising that so much material was apparently removed by Scott during his restoration of the reredos. Undoubtedly, though, much decayed stonework would have had to be removed to allow for the insertion of the new. However, it is also possible that some of the material may already have been dislodged in 1664 and 1714. It would then, of course, have been covered up behind Fuller's and later Thornhill's painting and would not have been removed until the reredos was exposed and restored.

There remains one important fragment found in the blocked doorway, which has not yet been mentioned and was difficult to associate with the reredos. This is a carved stone, bearing on one side what seems to be the remains of a Crucifixion and on the other traces of a figure in a cloak or gown. The writer is indebted to Philip Lankester for the following note, and for the remarkable discovery that this was not the first time that this fragment had been built into a wall.

THE CROSS-HEAD FRAGMENT By PHILIP J. LANKESTER (Fig. 1)

The fragment is the lower part of the head of a medieval shafted cross. It measures approximately $0.36 \times 0.15 \times 0.18$ m. One side is carved with part of a Crucifixion; the part above the waist is missing. The loin-cloth has fairly bulky folds. Christ's right leg crosses over the left about half-way between the knee and ankle, to enable the feet to be so positioned over one another that one nail could secure both to the cross. The lines defining the edges of the cross, slightly raised from the background, are visible behind the legs.

The other side depicts the lower half of a robed figure which, on the evidence of surviving crosses elsewhere (see below), must represent the Virgin and Child. As is usual, the long undergown falls in vertical folds to the feet and the outer garment reaches to the knees, or just below. The latter hangs vertically down on the wearer's left and on the right it is gathered in bulky V-folds. This strongly suggests that the Christ Child was supported in the Virgin's left arm. Below the figure is the remains of the supporting bracket.

The fragment came originally from North Hinksey (new Oxon., old Berks.) where it was found built into the east gable wall of the church. It was drawn by John Buckler (1770-1851)¹⁸ together with further fragments, forming the upper part of the cross with its gable, which have since been lost. The shaft and base still survive today in the churchyard, to the south of the chancel.

Buckler's drawings show that the cross itself had terminals branching into five pointed

¹⁷ R.C.H.M. *City of Oxford* (1939), 18.

¹⁸ Aymer Vallance, *Old Crosses and Lychgates* (1920), 48 and 75, Figs. 83-85. This reproduces Buckler's drawings. The originals are probably in the British Library, but this has not been ascertained at time of going to press.

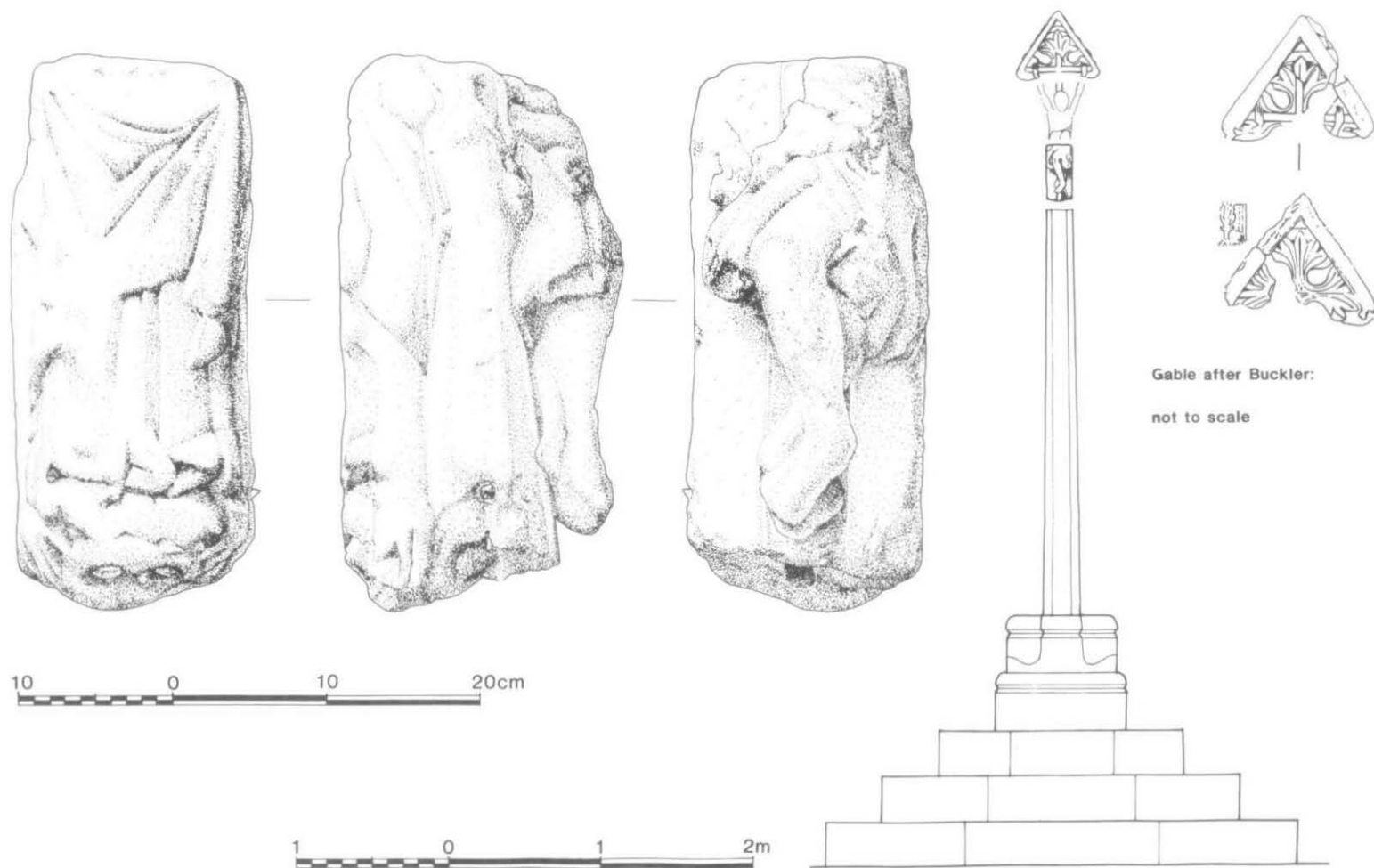


Fig. 1. *Left*: the cross-head fragment from All Souls; *right*: reconstruction of the cross with the identical fragment, found in North Hinksey church, Oxford in the 19th century and illustrated without scales by J.C. Buckler (A. Vallance, *Old Crosses and Lychgates*, Figs 83–85). The gable is now missing, and its scale is therefore a matter of conjecture.

leaves, possibly symbolising the tree of life.¹⁹ On the crucifix side, the cross itself was superimposed on this foliate cross.

Figural heads on surviving, simple, shafted, later medieval crosses are mostly of two types: a cross with a crucifix on one side, and the Virgin and Child on the other, usually, as in this example, with a gable over; and the 'lantern' head with the same figures, but each placed under a canopy resulting in a cross-head of somewhat cubic shape. The latter type, which is almost certainly a later development, often also has figures of saints on the sides. In later examples other scenes featuring the Virgin, such as the Coronation, are sometimes shown in place of the Virgin and Child.²⁰

Parallels for the gabled type of cross are found at Somersby (Lincs.), Tyberton and Madley (Hereford and Worcester).²¹ None of these has foliate cross terminals though this feature is present on a cross-head from Croxden Abbey.²² The base of the North Hinksey cross is similar to one at Cumnor (Oxon.).²³ Medieval crosses are difficult to date. The North Hinksey example probably dates to the 14th century, and the mid 14th-century date opined by Vallance seems a reasonable guess.

The North Hinksey fragment is the only part of a cross-head to survive in the vicinity of Oxford, which must once have had several such crosses.²⁴ The socket of a cross, carved with figural scenes and probably dating to the late 12th or early 13th century, is preserved in the Cathedral.²⁵ Bases and shafts survive at Cumnor (see above), Iffley and Headington, the latter having a base with a quartrefoil frieze.²⁶

In the old counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, bases and shafts are found at Charlton-on-Otmoor, Cottisford, Dorchester,²⁷ Longford, Launton, Shipton-on-Cherwell, Steeple Aston, Toot Baldon, Waterperry and Kiddington (old Oxon.), and at Ardington, Great Shefford, Hampstead Norris and Thatcham (old Berks.).²⁸ At Sarsden (Oxon.) there is a cross with a base decorated with blank niches and, on a shortened shaft, a head composed of four gabled canopy tops, possibly the remains of a lantern head.²⁹

More elaborate shafts and bases are found at Eynsham and Yarnton (Oxon.). Both have figures under canopies decorating the base of the shaft, and the base of the Yarnton cross is also decorated with figures.³⁰

The North Hinksey fragment is of considerable local importance. No theories are here put forward to explain how the fragment came to be immured in a doorway in All Souls College. The loss of the fragments of the top of the cross and the gable, recorded by Buckler, is much to be regretted.

¹⁹ For a general discussion of the symbolism of the tree in the Crucifixion image see Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, trans. Janet Seligman (1972), 133ff.

²⁰ E.g. at Derwen, Denbighshire, – Vallance, *Old Crosses*, 86, Fig. 110. Vallance's book provides the best general survey of medieval crosses.

²¹ Ibid., 73, Fig. 81; 82 and 83, Figs. 100–103.

²² Ibid., 77 Fig. 88 which reproduces a drawing by Buckler. It is not known whether this piece still survives.

²³ Ibid., 61, Fig. 59 reproduces a drawing by Buckler.

²⁴ Ibid., 19f. for the evidence for two: the Jew's cross and another without the east gate.

²⁵ Ibid., 19. Figs. 21–23; RCHM *City of Oxford* (1939), 45f. and Pl. 9. The theory, supported by Vallance, that this base belonged to the Jew's cross lacks sufficient evidence.

²⁶ Ibid., 65, Figs. 69, 70.

²⁷ Ibid., 63, Fig. 65.

²⁸ Except for Thatcham this list is based on extracted entries from *The Buildings of England* volumes (ed. Nikolaus Pevsner) for *Oxfordshire* (1974) and *Berkshire* (1966). Vallance, *Old Crosses*, 61, Fig. 61 illustrated the Thatcham base and shaft from a street cross reproducing a Buckler drawing. It is not known if this piece still survives.

²⁹ This observation is based on an old post-card in the E. Morris collection of photographs of medieval stone crosses in the library of the Council for the Care of Churches.

³⁰ Vallance, *Old Crosses*, 56, Fig. 50; 57, Figs. 51, 52.

THE REREDOS IN ITS CONTEXT

Two other Oxford Colleges, Magdalen and New College, have medieval reredoses, restored in the Victorian period. As at All Souls, the reredoses were constructed behind the High Altar (in place of an East window) because the wall of the hall directly abutted against the chapel. Both reredoses also seem to have undergone similar vicissitudes and much the same pattern of restoration as at All Souls.

The older of the two is at New College, and dates from the late 14th century. The first restoration here was undertaken by Wyatt in 1789–94, and his plaster ‘copy’ is said to have been based on remains he found cut back against the wall. This was later replaced by Scott’s design in stone (1877–81) and figures were added to the empty niches between 1888 and 1891. The present reredos is therefore almost entirely Victorian, although parts of the backing of the upper ranges of the niches may be original. When these were first uncovered Wyatt found them to be of a ‘deep ultramarine blue’ and the carved work ‘richly gilt’.³¹

At Magdalen, L.N. Cottingham’s reredos of 1829–34 (statues added 1865), which replaced a 17th-century painting of the Last Judgement, is probably also based on an original reredos³² constructed between 1474 and 1480.

Outside Oxford one of the closest parallels to the 19th-century restoration of the All Souls reredos is at St. Albans Abbey (cathedral). The reredos here was erected by Abbot Wallingford in 1484. It was extensively restored by Lord Grimthorpe between 1884 and 1890, with the result that the figures with which he filled the empty niches look ‘repulsively ungenuine’.³³ The basic structure and architectural framework are, however, essentially original. Fragments said to have been removed during the restoration are now kept in store in the cathedral.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing account it can be concluded that Scott’s restoration was basically accurate. Although one cannot help feeling sympathy for Clutton at his apparently unfair dismissal, it is probably true to say that Scott’s work on the reredos was as good as any that might have been undertaken at that time. His work at All Souls certainly does nothing to diminish his recently revived reputation as a careful and sensitive restorer. Perhaps Geflowski’s ‘immortalising’ of some of the then fellows in his statues is less easy to justify on artistic grounds, but it is a practice which has its medieval antecedents and also its later imitators³⁴. Most importantly, however, the basic structure of the reredos was left unaltered.

Finally, it should also be pointed out that the present appearance of the East end of the chapel is not quite as Scott left it. An engraved woodcut in *The Builder* (May 3rd, 1879)³⁵ and a photograph (c.1880) now in Oxford Central Library,³⁶ show the East end soon after the restoration had been completed. The central Crucifixion panel is supported on a stone retable (this was also the medieval arrangement, as indicated on the 1872 photograph). This retable is now, however, covered by a wooden rectangular panelled retable, which, to

³¹ *V.C.H. Oxon.* iii, 50.

³² There is a drawing of the chapel before Cottingham’s restoration in G. Cooper’s *Portfolio of Oxford* (See note 11).

³³ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Hertfordshire* (1977 edn., revised by B. Cherry), 306.

³⁴ Lord Bathurst and Lord Salisbury are recognisable in the lowest row of figures (most northerly and third from the southern end respectively).

³⁵ A copy of this is in Bodl. G.A. Oxon. a. 48.

³⁶ Oxford Central Library; Local History Collection (Photographs) OCL 62.

judge from another photograph in the Central Library,³⁷ was already in position by 1897.

In the north-east corner of the chapel, where Clutton had removed the early 18th-century panelling (part of Thornhill's scheme), Scott inserted blank traceried panelling from the window to the ground. The centre of this was pierced by an ogee arch and there was also a projecting basin supported by a moulded pedestal. In 1918 this was drastically altered when a canopied altar-tomb to the late Warden, Sir William Reynell Anson, was cut into the centre of it, although some of Scott's Gothic surround was retained.³⁸

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³⁷ Ibid; OCL 63.

³⁸ The changes brought about by this can be compared by looking at a photograph taken for *Country Life* in 1906 (Bodl. G.A. Oxon a. 48 p. 69 No. 130) and a photograph taken of the tomb in 1919 (G.A. Oxon a. 48 p. 71). The photograph of 1872 seems to indicate that there was nothing on the north wall beneath Thornhill's panelling which was removed in the Victorian restoration.