

York Minster's Chapter House and its Painted Glass Narratives

Volume 2 of 3

Ann Hilary Moxon

PhD

University of York

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Summary of the features associated with the three Workshops involved in the production of the chapter house glass

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Summary of the identifications, current locations and suggested original locations of the narrative panels in the chapter house glazing

Appendix A: Chronological list of identified repair projects and descriptions of the Chapter House windows, together with transcriptions of the Fabric Rolls and Accounts for the main interventions

Overview

1399	John Burgh¹
1582-83	Robert Thompson and John Buckbarowe²
1611-12	Robert Thompson³
1658	Probably Edmund Gyles⁴
1661	Gyles⁵
1661	Edward, George and Marmaduke Crosby⁶
1670	Edward Crosby⁷

James Torre, 1690-91⁸

1693-97 **Charles Crosby⁹**

Thomas Gent, 1730¹⁰

Francis Drake, 1736.¹¹ Etching of the windows to the west of the Chapter House

1757-58 **William Peckitt¹²**

1762-71 **Thomas Sanderson¹³**

Joseph Halfpenny, 1795.¹⁴ Etching of the windows to the west of the Chapter House

1807-8 **Thomas Clarke¹⁵**

¹ YMA E3/3 Fabric Rolls, ca.1399. See below, A.1.

² YMA E3/58 Fabric Rolls, 1582/3. See below, A.2

³ YMA E/3/62/2 Fabric Rolls, 1611/2. See below A.3.

⁴ Noted by Torre in YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol.1, fol. 64r.

⁶ YMA E3/M1-3 (Account of Henry Johnson, 1661/2). See below, A.4.

⁷ YMA E3/65/13 Fabric Rolls. See below A.5.

⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 120-30.

⁹ YMA B3/1/1-3 (Documentation relating to Charles Crosby's repair work in the Chapter House, 1693-95). See below, A.6.1-6.

¹⁰ Gent, "Antient glass," 49-53.

¹¹ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹² YMA E3/124V Fabric Rolls, 1757/8 (Account of William Peckitt). See below, A.7.

¹³ YMA E3/129V-136V Fabric Rolls, 1762-71 (Accounts of Thomas Sanderson). See below, A.8.1-5.

¹⁴ Halfpenny, *Gothic Ornaments*, Pl. 102.

¹⁵ YMA E3/172V Fabric Rolls, 1807/8 (Account of Thomas Clarke, 1807/8).

John Britton, 1819¹⁶ Etching of CHn3

Sydney Smirke, 1844¹⁷ Letter describing the condition of the glass, dated 4 September 1844.

1844 William Noton¹⁸

1845 John Barnett¹⁹

John Browne, 1845²⁰ Described all of the windows except CHn4

1855-56 William Noton²¹

1876 Insertion of protective glazing to one window²²

1882 and 1885 Joseph Robinson²³

1896 John Ward Knowles²⁴

Photograph of CHs4 and most of CHn4 pre-1899²⁵

J.W.Knowles, pre 1903²⁶

1903-8 Installation of Protective glazing²⁷

1904 Stonework repairs to 2 windows, by 1904²⁸

George Benson, 1915²⁹

UNDATED Watson photograph of CHn3 by 1917³⁰

¹⁶ Britton, *York*, Pl. XXXII.

¹⁷ YMA B.3.4.73 Bankers' Book (Letter lodged inside). See below A.9.

¹⁸ YMA B3/6/1 Beckwith Restoration Fund (two accounts of William Noton, 1844). See below, A.10.1 and 2.

¹⁹ YMA E3/215 Fabric Rolls, 1849/50; YMA B3/6/1 Beckwith Restoration Fund (five receipts signed by John Barnett, 1845); YMA B3/5/2 York Minster Repairs Account, 1842-45.

²⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 9-82.

²¹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 11th August 1855; Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.107v; YMA Hornby Scrapbook, 320; YMA E/4e Fabric Accounts, 1826-65, 287-299; YMA E3/220V Fabric Rolls, 1855/56 (account of William Noton). See below, A.11.

²² YMA H11/1-3 Chapter Acts, 1842-1914, 1876.

²³ YMA E3/248V and E3/ Fabric Rolls, 1883 and 1886 (Two accounts of Joseph Robinson, relating to 1882 and 1885). See below, A.12.1 and 2.

²⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.107v.

²⁵ See Figure 21.

²⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.137r-fol.202r.

²⁷ Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, *York Minster Restoration: Fourth Occasional Paper* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1902), 18 and 28; Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, *York Minster Restoration: Eleventh Occasional Paper* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1908), 26.

²⁸ Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust, *York Minster Restoration: Seventh Occasional Paper* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1904), 6.

²⁹ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 14-27.

³⁰ See Figure 23.

J.W.Knowles, ca. 1920³¹

Frederick Harrison, 1927³²

R.C.Green pre-releading photograph of CHn3, panel 8, located in 2c³³

1929-32 R.C.Green: releading the windows³⁴

R.C.Green: 1930s photographs of individual panels.³⁵

World War II Removal of panels³⁶

1955-62 Eric Milner White: Re-insertion of panels after World War II³⁷

Post-(EMW) Restoration photographs³⁸

Post 1962 Some possible post Milner White action

Current descriptions and photographs³⁹

³¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 48r-fol.107v.

³² Harrison, *Painted Glass*, 48-54. As with Benson, this work is insufficiently clear to be used when considering the narrative panels.

³³ YMA Green Photographic Collection.

³⁴ SPAB York Minster Correspondence File, 1899-1935; SPAB York Glass Correspondence File, 1920-27; SPAB York Glass File, 1927-30. See Appendix A.13.

³⁵ YMA Green Photographic Collection. See Appendix C.

³⁶ H.N Bate, "Letter from the Dean," *FYMAR* (1940): 8. Milner White, "Letter from the Dean", *FYMAR* (1942): 5.

³⁷ William Jesse Green, "Report of the Clerk of Works," *FYMAR* (1955): 37; Eric Milner White, "The Dean's Letter," *FYMAR* (1952): 11; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1956): 36-39; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1957): 29-40; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1958): 39-41; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1959): 30-35; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1961): 17-20; Eric Milner White, "The Return of the Windows," *FYMAR* (1962): 29-33.

³⁸ RCHME Photographic Collection.

³⁹ See Appendix C.

Appendix A.1. Entry in the Fabric Rolls for the year 1399 for work done by John Burgh⁴⁰

“Custos Vitri

Et in emendacione fenestrarum capituli et nauī ecclesie per Johannem Burgh
glasier et servuien-tem sum
per j mensem
summa xxij s. [...].”

Appendix A.2. Entry in the Fabric Rolls for the year 1582-83 for work done by Robert Thompson⁴¹

“Item to the said [...] for [iij] daies work on the leades of the Chapter house.”

Appendix A.3. Entry in the Fabric Rolls for the year 1611-12 for work done by Robert Thompson⁴²

“Item paid the xiiijth of June to the said Robert for xxi daies on the windowes in the Chapter House and other places xxijsh xi d. Item to his Man ther for xxj daies xxij sh xj d. Item to his Apprentice for xx daies xiiij sh. Item paid the 29 to the said Robert for xx daies xxij sh xi d. Item to his man ther for xxj daies xij sh xi d. Item to his Apprentice for xx daies [...]. Item paid the 6 of Julie to the said Robert for [...] daies x shh. Item to his man there for 6 daies x sh. Item to his Apprentice ther for 6 daies iij sh. Item paid the xx [i] of Julie to the said Robert for xij daies x sh. Item to his man ther for xj daies xsh. Item to his Apprentice for 12 daies xiiij sh.”

Appendix A.4. Accounting extracts from the Fabric Rolls for 1661.⁴³

“For plumbers and glaziers work upon the Chapter house and the gutters of the long rooffe of the body of the Minster. 12th daye of October 1661
To Martin Croft for 6 dayes 15s: To his Sonn for 4 dayes 8s: To Edw. Crosby for 6 dayes 9s: To Geo Crosby for 6 dayes 9s: To Edw Crosbys man for 6 dayes 6s: To George Crosby’s man for 6 dayes 6s: To Mar. Crosby for 4 dayes 4s: To George Heworth for 4 dayes 6s: To Thomas Haggis for 6 dayes 9s:”

Comment: This work was carried out two months after Richard Marsh had been installed as Dean, presumably in preparation for the speedy re-creation of Chapter,⁴⁴ and in time for the three residentiary canons’ protestation of residence on 24 October 1661.⁴⁵

Appendix A.5. Work might be fabric rolls and/or accounts by Edward Crosby, 1670.

“To Edward Crosby for work abt ye Chapter house Windows as per note. 7£ 12s–04d”⁴⁶

This is repeated, “To Edward Crosby for work about the Chapter house windows as per note [...] vij£:xiis:iiijd”⁴⁷

⁴⁰ YMA E3/3 Fabric Rolls (account for 1399). I am grateful to Mrs Sylvia Thomas, former archivist for West Yorkshire for her clarification (pers. comm. 30 March 2010).

⁴¹ YMA E3/59 Fabric Rolls (account for 1582/3).

⁴² YMA E3/62/2 Fabric Rolls (account for 1611/2).

⁴³ YMA E3M/3 (Accounting extracts for August 1661-February 1662).

⁴⁴ Dorothy Owen, “From the Restoration until 1822,” in *York Minster*, eds. Aylmer and Cant, 233.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ YMA E4(a) Fabric Accounts, fol. 5v and fol. 6r.

[Side note] “Repair of the Stonework of the Chapter house window [alongside a pointing hand in margin] To ye Workmen part [...] the Chapter house Windows ii£: Mr Wm Johnson [...] To Martin Croft 3£12s To Edw. Crosby i£:13s. To Edw. Haggis i£:8s.6d. To Wm Briggs repaire of that stonework of ye Chapter house windows 11£.10s.”⁴⁸

Comment: The windows were clearly being repaired, but the main emphasis of the project was on the structure itself. Intermittently from 1667 to 1670, masons, smiths and joiners were employed there for lengthy amounts of time.⁴⁹ At one point, a finger, pointing at either one or a group of entries, was drawn in the margin of the Accounts, with the caption “repair to the Stonework of the chapter house window”.⁵⁰ Both the singular form and the fact that CHs3 was in the most disarray by the time of Torre suggests that this may have been the window involved or the singular was written in error.

Appendix A.6. Work by Charles Crosby in the Chapter House, 1693-97

Comments: Charles Crosby, son of Edward Crosby, carried out work in the Chapter House between 1693 and 1697. The sequencing of the documentation appears to be as follows. First there is a copy of Articles of Agreement dated “second day of January Anno Dmi 1692”, and hence would represent the modern “1693” (Appendix A.6.1). The terms stipulated that work on a window in the Chapter House was to be complete by 25 March [1693] at a cost of £13 15s 0d excluding materials. If the work were to start immediately, it would allow twelve weeks for Crosby and his two regular employees to have been engaged. This logic suggests that there were sufficient sums and manpower for up to a possible maximum of 180 days’ labour for the window. The invoice was paid on 12 October 1693 (Appendix A.6.3).

One window had clearly already been repaired, given that the subject of the current agreement was that “next adjoyneing southward on ye window lately new sett up” (Appendix A.6.1). Because of the octagonal shape of the Chapter House it is not possible to be certain which window was involved on either occasion. A speculation is that it is more likely to be on the south side of the building, possibly CHs2 as the earlier window and CHs3 as the one “next adjoyeing southward”.

An invoice for a third window was also paid on 12 October 1693 (Appendix A.6.3), relating to work agreed after the 2 January 1693 agreement. It was for £20 9s 8d and covers April to October 1693. It is, confusingly, headed “Bill of Glass Work done by Charles Crosby in the Minster Bill no ye 4th 92”. This suggests that there, had been in fact three earlier agreements, one of which would have been the one dated 2 January 1693, one the previous window alluded to in the 2 January 1693 agreement and one for the work paid on 12 October 1693. The fact that the invoice is described as “1692” may suggest that there was a series of agreements made in 1692, even if the work was not carried out until 1693. As the agreements seem to have been grouped together it is concluded that four windows were repaired at this stage. If the reference to the “4th” can be relied on, it means that four windows were involved.

⁴⁷ YMA E3M/13 (Accounting extracts for 1670).

⁴⁸ YMA E4(a) Fabric Account, fol. 7r.

⁴⁹ YMA E4(a) Fabric Accounts, fol. 5v and fol. 7r; YMA E3/65/10 Fabric Rolls, 1666/67.

⁵⁰ YMA E4(a) Fabric Accounts, fol. 7r.

The second surviving bill covers the period 17 June to 7 October 1695 and was settled on 15 November 1695.⁵¹ The total amount charged was £28 1s 2d, with a single entry for a fifth Chapter House window at £12 10s 0d “for setting one window anew in ye Chapter house per Agreement” (Appendices A.6.4 and A.6.5). This is separate from the work itemised in the rest of the bill, which probably represents a sixth window. In 1697 £12 12s 5d was paid for work on a seventh window (Appendix A.6.6).

Appendix A.6.1. Text of Articles of Agreement in the Fabric Rolls made between Charles Crosby and Robert Oates, dated 2 January 1692 [1693]⁵²

“Articles of agreement made [space] and agreed upon by and between Charles Crosby of the City of York Glazier of the one part and Robert Oates of the City of York Notary Public and Clerk of the works of the Cathedral Church of York by and with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of York of the other part
Paid 12th October 1693.

[...] the said Charles Crosby shall take downe a certaine window in the Chapter House (now in decay and ruinous) next adjoyneing southward on ye window lately new sett up and amended containeing five lights and the Tracery work, And shall well and carefully amend and sett all ye said Glass in ye said window anew in a very good and substantiall manner – and as well as ye window aforesaid was and is done. And furthr that y said window shall be soe repaired amended and sett up againe at or before the twenty-fifth day of March now next ensueing.

Item it is further covenanted and agreed upon by and between the parties aforesaid that the said Charles Crosby shall help and assist the Pointer in setting up and takeing downe the Ladders and other thinks requisite and necessary to be used in pointing the said window.
Further covenanted That after the said window is amended and sett up and alsoe pointed and fixed as aforesaid and [missing? The] work allowed to be well and sufficiently done by the said Dean and Chapter that he the said Robert Oates shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Charles Crosby or his Assigns the whole and just sume of thirteen pounds and fifteen shillings of lawfull English money and further that all things requisite and necessary for ye doing amending and repairing the Window as aforesd shall be found by ye said Robt Oates or at his Cost and Charge. In witness whereof and for ye true performance of ye promises the parties aforesaid doe bind themselves unitl each other in ye Sume of twenty pounds and interchangeably sett their hands and seales this second days of January Anno Dmi 1692 [1693]
Witness whereof Oswald Langwith
Thomas Richardson
Sig Robt Oates” [seal lost]

⁵¹ Appendix A.6.3.

⁵² YMA B3/1/2 (Articles of agreement between Charles Crosby and Robert Oates, dated 2nd January 1692 [1693]).

Appendix A.6.2. Extracts of the receipted account in the Fabric Rolls presented by Charles Crosby 12 October 1693⁵³

		£	s	d
<u>“April 17th</u>				
Charles Crosby	1 day	0	1	8
Joseph Burton	1 day	0	1	6
Thomas Allanson	1 day	0	1	3
<u>April 24th</u>				
Charles Crosby	4½ days	0	7	6
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>May 2nd</u>				
Charles Crosby	4 days	0	6	8
Joseph Burton	4 days	0	6	0
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>May 9th</u>				
Charles Crosby	5 days	0	8	4
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>May 15th</u>				
Charles Crosby	3½ days	0	5	10
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0	7	6
<u>May 22nd</u>				
Charles Crosby	5 days	0	8	4
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>May 29th</u>				
Charles Crosby	4 days	0	6	8
Thomas Allanson	3½ days	0	4	4
<u>June 5th</u>				
Charles Crosby	5 days	0	8	4
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>June 12th</u>				
Charles Crosby	4½ days	0	7	6
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>June 19th</u>				
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>June 26th</u>				
Charles Crosby	4 days	0	6	8
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0	6	3
<u>July 3rd</u>				
Charles Crosby	5 days	0	8	4
Joseph Burton	6 days	0	9	0
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0	7	6
<u>July 10th</u>				
Charles Crosby	2½ days	0	4	2
Joseph Burton	5 days	0	7	6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0	6	3
<u>July 17th</u>				
Charles Crosby	5½ days	0	9	2

⁵³ YMA B3/1/1 (Receipted account presented by Charles Crosby, dated 12th October 1693).

Joseph Burton	6 days	0:=9:=:0
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0:=7:=:6
<u>July 24th</u>		
Charles Crosby	4 days	0:=6:=:8
Joseph Burton	5 days	0:=7:=:6
Thomas Allanson	4½ days	0:=5:=:7
<u>August 7th</u>		
Charles Crosby	4½ days	0:=7:=:6
Joseph Burton	2 days	0:=3:=:0
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0:=6:=:3
<u>August 21st</u>		
Charles Crosby	5 days	0:=8:=:4
Joseph Burton	5 days	0:=7:=:6
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0:=7:=:6
<u>August 28th</u>		
Charles Crosby	3 days	0:=5:=:0
Joseph Burton	4 days	0:=6:=:0
Thomas Allanson	4 days	0:=5:=:0
<u>September 4th</u>		
Charles Crosby	6 days	0:=10=0
Joseph Burton	6 days	0:=9:=:0
Thomas Allanson	6 days	0:=7:=:6
<u>September 11th</u>		
Charles Crosby	4½ days	0:=7:=:6
Joseph Burton	5 days	0:=7:=:6
Thomas Allanson	5 days	0:=6:=:3
<u>September 18th</u>		
Joseph Burton	1 day	0:=1:=:6
Thomas Allanson	1 day	0:=1:=:3

Delivered white glass for the Chapter House window that I did by greatt and the little window at the West End 6 tables at 18 pence per table. 0:=9:=:0

For painted glass for that work 9 foot at 6 pence per foot 0:=4:=:6

April 24th

More 11 and a halfe tabls of whitt glass at 18 pence per table. 0:=17=:3

For 17 foott of painted glass at 6 pence per foot 0:= :8:=:6

Total 20:=: 9:=:8

October 12th 1693⁵⁴

This Bill examined and allowed amounting to twenty pound nine shillings and eight pence

Joh Burton

W Stainforth

Received the contents of this note by Mr.Charles Crosby”

Appendix A.6.3. Extract from the Fabric Accounts indicating the payment for the bill of 12 October 1693⁵⁵

“Charles Crosby 020-09-08”⁵⁶

“Paid to Charles Crosby for setting anew a window in the Chapter House according to covenant 013-15-00”.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ In a different hand.

⁵⁵ YMA E4(a) fol. 24v.

⁵⁶ This is the sum claimed in Appendix A.a.6.2 above.

⁵⁷ This is the sum agreed in the contract in Appendix A.a.6.1 above.

Appendix A.6.4. Extract from the Fabric Rolls of a receipted account presented by Charles Crosby relating to work completed June to October 1695⁵⁸

“[...] for setting one window anew in the Chapter House per agreement
12£=10s=0.

£ = s = d

June 17th

Charles Crosby	5 days	00=8=00
Thomas Allanson	3 days	00=4=06
Lawrence Burgess	3 days	00=4=06

June 24th

Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	4 days	00=6=00
Lawrence Burgess	4 days	00=6=00

July 1st

Charles Crosby	5½ days	00=9=02
Thomas Allanson	4½ days	00=6=09
Lawrence Burgess	6 days	00=9=00

July 15th

Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	5 days	00=7=06
Lawrence Burgess	6 days	00=9=00

July 22nd

Charles Crosby	5 days	00=8=04
Thomas Allanson	4 days	00=6=00
Lawrence Burgess	5 days	00=7=06

July 29th

Charles Crosby	3 days	00=5=00
Thomas Allanson	5 days	00=7=06
Lawrence Burgess	5 days	00=7=06

August 5th

Charles Crosby	2 days	00=3=04
Lawrence Burgess	2 days	00=3=00

August 12th

Charles Crosby	6 days	00=10=00
Thomas Allanson	5½ days	00=8=03
Lawrence Burgess	5 days	00=7=06

August 19th

Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	1 day	00=1=06
Lawrence Burgess	5 days	00=7=06

August 26th

Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	6 days	00=9=00
Lawrence Burgess	6 days	00=9=00

September 2nd

Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	5 days	00=7=06
Lawrence Burgess	6 days	00=9=00

September 9th

Charles Crosby	5 days	00=8=04
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⁵⁸ YMA B3/1/3 (Receipted account presented by Charles Crosby).

Thomas Allanson	4days	00=6=00
Lawrence Burgess	5 days	00=7=06
<u>September 16th</u>		
Charles Crosby	5 days	00=9=04
Thomas Allanson	6 days	00=9=00
(no 23)		
<u>September 30th</u>		
Charles Crosby	2 days	00=3=04
Thomas Allanson	2 days	00=3=00
<u>October 7th</u>		
Charles Crosby	4 days	00=6=08
Thomas Allanson	4 days	00=6=00

Ten foot of new glass over the clocke 00=5=00

Three new panes on the southside of the East end and 25 foot of new glass

12=[...]

8 tables of glass 00=12=00

4 foot of painted glass 00=2=00

Total 028=01=02

November 15th This bill amounting to twenty eight pounds one shilling and two pence allowed by us.

Ja Fall

Jon Burton”

Appendix A.6.5. Entry in the Fabric Accounts for 1695 relating to a payment of £28 1s 2d⁵⁹

“Paid to Charles Crosby for setting a new window in the Chapter house and other work 28-01-02”

Appendix A.6.6. Entry in the Fabric Accounts for 1697 relating to a payment of £12 12s 5d⁶⁰

Payment to Charles Crosby for “setting of one window in the Chapter House and other work

12:02:5 $\frac{1}{3}$ ”

Appendix A.7.

William Peckitt presented a bill in 1757/8 for the purchase of glass for £15-05-00. One item was specified as being for the Chapter House, for 4/6d:

“7 pieces of spire work for the light that belong’d to the Chapter House, containd $\frac{3}{4}$ of a foot square at 6 shillings the foot square”⁶¹

Appendix A.8. Extracts from the Fabric Rolls relating to work carried out in 1762-71 by Thomas Sanderson.

Comments: Table 1 summarises the contents of the accounts relating to all Sanderson’s glazing work.⁶² The mason, Sissons, stated a singular window for

⁵⁹ YMA E4(a) fol. 25v.

⁶⁰ YMA E4(a) fol. 26v.

⁶¹ YMA E3/124 Fabric Rolls, 1757/58.

1767/8, when he supplied 164ft of stone,⁶³ 1768/9, when he used 267½ ft,⁶⁴ and one labelled in the Rolls as 1770/1, for which he provided 161ft.⁶⁵ A second bill in 1770/1 made it clear that an additional two windows were being repaired that same year, for which 467ft of stone were needed.⁶⁶ There is a break in the Rolls in 1769/70, when no repair accounts were presented. Given that most of the tradesmen are recorded as presenting two bills in 1770/1, the conclusion is that no accounts were prepared in the earlier year and that the earlier of the two bills for both Sissons and Sanderson in 1770/1 reflected work done in the previous year.

Summary of the work carried out by Thomas Sanderson to the Chapter House windows, between 1762-63 and 1770-71

Date	Days worked	Type of Glass bought	Quantity of Glass	Total glazing claim
1762-63 ⁶⁷	277½	50ft white glass "margens" 46ft crown glass Possibly 14ft crown glass 2 tables	96ft together with a possible 14ft and 2 tables	£25/07/03
1767-68 ⁶⁸	319	24ft old painted glass 50ft margins 20ft ditto quarries	94ft	£27/13/03½
1768-69 ⁶⁹	478	108ft margins Poss 40ft margins. ⁷⁰	108ft Possibly 40ft	£42/08/04
1770-71 [1st] ⁷¹	350	150ft crown glass quarries	150ft	£29/03/07
1770-71 [2nd] ⁷²	516 (probably for 2 windows)	100ft crown glass quarries	100ft	£38/08/03

Appendix A.8.1. Fabric Rolls for 1762-63⁷³

"For myself 101 days at 1/6d work at the Chapter House new Window	£7-11-6
Thomas Lawson 82 Days of ditto	£7-1-9
Jo Lawford 94½ days ditto	£7-1-9

⁶² YMA E3/129V-136V Fabric Rolls, 1762/71 (Accounts of Robert Sissons, Mason, and Luke Hicks, Blacksmith).

⁶³ YMA E3/129V Fabric Rolls, 1762/63 (Account of Robert Sissons).

⁶⁴ YMA E3/134V Fabric Rolls, 1768/69 (Account of Robert Sissons).

⁶⁵ YMA E3/135V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (Account of Robert Sissons).

⁶⁶ YMA E3/135V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (Account of Robert Sissons).

⁶⁷ YMA E3/129V Fabric Rolls, 1762/63 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

⁶⁸ YMA E3/134V Fabric Rolls, 1767/68 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

⁶⁹ YMA E3/135V Fabric Rolls, 1768/69 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

⁷⁰ This entry is from the bill of a separate glazier, Joshua Jackson, who may also have been involved in the chapter house.

⁷¹ YMA E3/136V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (1st Account of Thomas Sanderson, dated 1770).

⁷² YMA E3/136V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (2nd Account of Thomas Sanderson, dated 28th January 1771).

⁷³ YMA E3/129V Fabric Rolls, 1762/63 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

50 foot of white glass Margen at 3.5d	-14-7
14 squares of Crown glass 8.5 by 6.5 and 3lb of putty for Libre Windows	-5-10
46 foot of Crown glass squares at 6.5 for the worksho	-17-3
2 tables of [Common] glass at 20d	- 3-4"

Appendix A.8.2. Fabric Rolls for 1767-68⁷⁴

"Myself working at the windows 95 days at 18d	£7- 2- 6
Robert Hartley 100 days at 18d	£7-10-0
Thomas Clark 96 days at 18d	£7- 4- 9
Edward Dawson 28 days at 18d	£2- 2 -0
24' of old painted glass at 18d	£1-16-0
50' of crown glass for Margens at 4½d	-18-9
20' of ditto quarries at 4½d	- 7-6"

Appendix A.8.3. Fabric Rolls for 1768-69⁷⁵

"Myself 134 Days at 1/6d	£10-0-3
Robert Hartley 148 days at 1/6d	£11-2-0
Edward Dawson 95½ days	£7-3-3
Thos Clarke 148½ days	£11-2-9
108 feet of crown glass margens at 4½d	£ 2-0-0
6 [lbs] putty up new windows at 4d	-2-0."

Appendix A.8.4. Fabric Rolls for 1770-71 (first account)⁷⁶

"Myself at 98 days working at 18d	£7- 7- 0
Robert Hartley 79½ days at 18d	£5-19-6
Ed Dawson 68½ days at 18d	£5- 2- 9
Thos Clark 104 days at 18d	£7-16-0
150 feet of crown glass quarries and margen pieces for the windows at 4½d	£2-16-3
7lb putty for windows at 4d.	-2-4".

Appendix A.8.5. Fabric Rolls for 1770-71 (second account)⁷⁷

"Myself 140 days at 18d	£10-10-0
Ed Dawson 145 days at 18d	£10-17-6
Thos Clark 154 days at 18d	£11-11-0
A boy 77 days at 9d	£2-17-9
100 feet of Crown glass quarries and margen Pieces for the window at 4d	£1-13-2".

Appendix A.9. Letter of Sydney Smirke to Revd S. Creyke, Chairman of the Restoration Subcommittee, dated 4 September 1844⁷⁸

"[fol.1r]: Your note respecting the glass rather alarmed me, as I feared that Allen might have been exceeding his instructions. I therefore devoted some time to a careful examination of what has been done and what remains to be done to the glazing at the Chapter House.

⁷⁴ YMA E3/134V Fabric Rolls, 1767/68 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

⁷⁵ YMA E3/135V Fabric Rolls, 1768/69 (Account of Thomas Sanderson).

⁷⁶ YMA E3/136V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (1st Account of Thomas Sanderson, dated 1770).

⁷⁷ YMA E3/136V Fabric Rolls, 1770/71 (2nd Account of Thomas Sanderson, dated 28th January 1771).

⁷⁸ YMA B.3.4.73 Bankers' Book (Letter lodged inside).

[fol.1v]: [...]. All that has been hitherto done consists of scraping, brushing and otherwise cleaning the glass – pointing the joints that were open or perished, making good all the lead ties and scraping and aligning the iron saddle bars. Many small pieces of glass were found wanting. These have been supplied by the [fol.2r] substitution of pieces of the same coloured glass which it has been easy to do out of the large quantity of fragments in the Minster stores. The windows hitherto repaired have presented no instances of damaged figures – except for the colored [sic] drapery which as I have above stated it has been easy to replace. But other windows are more damaged and it will [fol.2v] be necessary to insert many small pieces with portions of faces and hands painted on them. Considering how small these pieces are and how remote from the eye I cannot consider it at all necessary to employ on them any artist superior to such as can be found in York. I feel no doubt whatever that the person usually employed at the Minster, properly directed, is competent to carry out these trifling repairs.

I should, however, appraise you that there is not, perhaps, a square foot in the whole glazing of the Chapter House windows that does not present some patchwork. These patches are of all dates and degrees of merit – some done with tolerable care and some with a total disregard of propriety. Besides these innumerable patches, you are aware that there are some considerable and conspicuous parts, wholly modern and inferior. Were we to undertake the complete restoration of these windows to their original state, no doubt we should require another bequest at least [fol.3v] equal in amount to Dr Beckwith's.

With our present means, I believe all that can be effected is the repair we are now engaged on – which will improve the general effect of the windows and very materially stop the progress of decay.

Should the funds be not exhausted when the more important repairs and the restorations are effected, [fol.4r] I shall not fail to invite the attention of the Dean and Chapter to those parts of the windows that are in the least satisfactory condition.”

Appendix A.10. Extract from the Fabric Rolls for work by William Noton in 1844

Appendix A.10.1. Account of William Noton for glazing work carried out in August 1844⁷⁹

“Chapter House

10 th August	Item 3lbs window lead at 3d	9d
	To 2lbs putty at 4d	8d
	Chapman 2 days, Welsman 2 days	16/-
17 th August	To 2 feet [] red glass at 7/6	14/7 [sic]
	8 inches of purple glass at 6/-	4/-
	7 inches of yellow glass at 4/6	2/7½
	7lbs window lead at 3d	1/9
	7lbs putty at 4d	2/4
	Chapman 6 days, Welsman 6 days	£2/08/-
24 th August	To 4 feet of figured glass at 4/9	19/-
	To 4 feet of crown glass for margins	3/4
	To 4lbs of putty at 4d	1/4
	Chapman 6 dys, Welsman 5½ dys	£2/06/-
	To a casement part leading new [banding] glass for []	6/-
31 st August	To 2 feet crown glass for margins	1/8
	To 4lb of putty at 4d	1/4
	Chapman 6 days, Welsman 6 days	£2/08/-
	TOTAL	£11/01/-“

Appendix A.10.2. Account of William Noton, paid 14 November 1844⁸⁰

“1844 Repairing windows in Chapter House

7 th Sep	Chapman 6 days at 4/-	
	Welsman 6 days at 4/-	£2/08/-
14 th Sep	Chapman 6 days	
	Welsman 5½ days	£2/06/-
21 st Sep	Welsman 1 day	4/-
	TOTAL	£4/18/-“

Appendix A.11. Material relating to the 1855-56 repairs

Appendix A.11.1. Account of William Noton, 1855-56⁸¹

Summary of William Noton’s bill for 1855-56

Item on bill	Amount supplied
Ruby glass	25ft 7½ inches
Other coloured glass	30ft ½ inch
Window lead	84lbs
Linseed oil	27 gallons
Putty	109lbs
Days worked	484¼

“28 th March 1855	Garnett 1 day rep-iring leads in Chapter House	4-2
	8lb window lead at 4d and 14lb of putty at 4d	7-4
	3’ 1” ruby glass at 3/- and 1’7” yellow and blue	

⁷⁹ YMA B3/6/1 Beckwith Restoration Fund (Account of William Noton, August 1844).

⁸⁰ YMA B3/6/1 Beckwith Restoration Fund (Account of William Noton, paid 14th November 1844).

⁸¹ YMA E3/220V Fabric Rolls, 1855/56 (Account of William Noton).

	at 2/6	13-2½
	1 gallon boiled linseed oil	3-8
	Garnett 6 days, Warrell 6 days at 4/2	2-10
	Hibbertson 5 days at 2/2 Woodhouse	
	5¾ days at 4/-	2- 3-10
5 th May	To the Chapter House windows repairing	
	8lb window lead at 4d and 14lbs putty at 4d	7-4
	3'1" ruby glass at 3/- 1'7" yellow and blue at 2/6	13-2½
	1 gall boiled linseed oil	3/8
	Garnett 6 days, Worrell 6 days at 4/2	2-10
	Hibbitt 5 at 4/2...Woodburn 5¾ at 4/-	2- 3-10
12 th May ⁸²	7lb window lead and 7lb putty at 4d	4-8
	1 gall linseed oil	3-8
	1'6" of ruby glass and 2'3" of blue and green glass	10-1½
	Garnett 6 days Warrell 6 days	2-10
	Hibbert 4 days Woodhouse 6 days	2- 0-8
19 th May	To the Chapter House windows repairing	
	8lb window lead and 7lb putty	5-
	1' of Ruby glass 3/- and 2 galls linseed oil at 3/8	10-4
	Garnett 6 days Hibbert 5 days	2- 5-10
	Wood 4½ at 4/2 and Woodhouse 6 days at 4/-	2- 2-9
26 th May	To 2'3" of ruby glass and 1' of yellow	9-3
	To 1 gall linseed oil 3/8 Garnett 6 days	1-8-8
	Wood 5¾ days Woodburn 4¼	2-0-11½
2 nd June	To 8lb window lead	2- 8
	Garnett 6 days...Wood 4 days	2 -1 -8
	Atkinson 2 days @ 4/2 Woodburn 3 days	1 -0 -4
9 th June	To 2'1" ruby glass and 3'2" of blue and yellow	14 -2
	7lbs window lead 7lbs putty	4 -8
	Garnett 6 days Hibbert 5½ days	2-7-11
	Wood 5¾ Atkinson 3	1-16-5½
	Woodburn 5	1-
16 th June	To 3' ruby glass and 1' of yellow	11-6
	To 7lbs putty and 2 galls linseed oil	9-8
	Garnett 6 days...Hibbitt 6 days	2-10
	Wood 4 days...Atkinson 5½ days	1-19-7
23 rd June	To 1'2" ruby glass and 1'10" of blue and purple	8-1
	To 7lbs putty and 1 gal of linseed oil	6
	Garnett 6 days Hibbitt 2 days	1-13 -4
	Wood 6...Atkinson 5	2- 5- 10
	Woodburn 2 days	8
30 th June	2'3" ruby glass and 3'6" of yellow, blue and green	15-6
	1 gal of Linseed oil...Garnett 6 days	1- 8- 8
	Hibbitt 6 days...Wood 6	1- 17-6
	Atkinson 6 days Woodburn 4¼	2- 2-
7 th July	To 10½ inches ruby glass 7lbs window lead	4-11½
	7lbs putty 1 gall linseed oil 4/4	6-8
	Garnett 6 days Hibbitt 6	2-10
	Atkinson 5½ Woodburn 4	1-18-11
14 th July	To 10" ruby glass and 2' of yellow and purple	7-6

⁸² Not specified that this is chapter house.

	2 galls linseed oil at 4/4	8-8
	Garnett 6 days. Hibbitt 2 days	1-13-4
21 st July	Atkinson 2½...Woodburn 2½	1- 5
	3 galls linseed oil 7lbs putty	15-4
	Garnett 5 days. Hibbitt 6 days	2- 5-10
	Atkinson 6	1- 5
28 th July	To 1 gal Linseed oil 7lbs window lead	6-8
	Garnett 5¾ days...Hibbitt 1¾	1-11-1
	Atkinson 5 Woodburn 2¾	1-11-10
4 th August	2'1" yellow and blue glass 2 galls linseed oil	13-10½
	Garnett 5 days...Hibbitt 2 days	1- 9 - 2
	Atkinson 3½ days Woodburn 2	1 -2- 7
11 th August	1'2" ruby and 3' yellow blue and green glass	11
	Garnett 4¼ days Hibbitt 6 days	2- 2- 8½
	Woodburn 4	16
18 th August	To 3 lights new leading 4' at 9d	3
	7lbs putty and 2' yellow and blue glass	7- 4
	Garnett 5 days Atkinson 4 days	1-17- 6
	Woodburn 5	1-
25 th August	To 5 rough plate squares of glass in daylight wall Office	9
	To the Chapter House windows repairing	
	1 gall linseed oil	4-4
	1'9" yellow and blue glass and 7lbs window lead	6-8½
	Garnett 5½ days. Atkinson 6 days	2- 7-11
	Woodburn 3	12
1 st September	1'1" ruby glass and 10" yellow	5-4
	To 7lbs putty. Garnett 6 days	1- 7- 4
	Atkinson 5 days Woodburn 6	2-4-10
	To 3st 9½lbs milled lead for flashing gutter at 3/6	12-10½
8 th September	To 14¼ lbs solder at 1/2 for repairing gutters	16-7½
	To Chapter House windows repairing 2'3" ruby	6-9
	1'10" of yellow glass and 7lbs window lead	6-11
	Garnett 6 days Atkinson 5¾	2- 8-11½
	Woodburn 5¼	1- 1
15 th September	10½" ruby glass and 2'3" yellow	8 3
	To 7lbs window lead and 7lbs putty	4-8
	1 gall linseed oil	4-4
	Garnett 6 days...Hibbitt 6 days	2-10
	Atkinson 6 Woodburn 4¼	2- 2
22 nd September	1'6" ruby glass 1 gall linseed oil	8-10
	Garnett 6 days . Bewlay 2 days	1-13-4
	Hibbitt 5½ Atkinson 5	2- 3- 9
	Woodburn 6	1- 4
29 th September	Woodburn ½	2
6 th October	7lbs putty	2- 4
	Garnett 1 day Woodburn 1 day	8- 2
13 th October	7lbs window lead...1 gal linseed oil	6 -8
	Garnett 5½ days Bewlay 1 day	1- 7 -1
	Wood 5 days Park 5 days at 4/2	2- 1- 8
	Woodburn 3¾	15
	3st 1lb of milled lead for the ends of the matter	11-6

	3 squares of glass in robbing room at 3d	9
20 th October	2 gals linseed oil Garnett 6 days	1-13-8
	Wood 6 days Park 5 days	2- 5-10
27 th October	7 lbs putty Garnett 6 days	1- 7- 4
	Wood 2¼ days. Park 5¼	1-11-3
	To a new low box masons yard pump	2 -6
	To the Top Box leathering 1/6 Woodburn ¼	2 -6
3 rd November	To 1' ruby glass 1 gall linseed oil	7-4
	7lb window lead Garnett 5¾ days	1- 6- 3½
	Wood 3¼ days Park 5½	1-16-5½
10 th November	To the Chapter House windows repairing	
	1 gall linseed oil	4- 4
	Garnett 4 days Park 4	1-13-4
24 th November	To the Chapter House windows repairing	
	Garnett 4 days	16-8
	Park 4½ days Bedford 4 days	1-15-5"

Appendix A.11.2. Extract from the Hornby Scrapbooks commenting on the Noton repairs of 1855⁸³

"11th August 1855. The dilapidated condition of the beautiful stained glass windows of the Chapter House which adorned the sides of the Chapter House has been much deplored. They have, however, been restored by Mr Noton by means of the ancient scraps of glass found in the store rooms of the Cathedral. He has with great care filled up every chasm with a strict regard to the original design of the windows. He has been instructed to repair the windows in the Vestibule connecting the North Transept with the Chapter House. These windows contain some of the earliest glass in the Minster."

Appendix A.12. Extract from the Fabric Rolls relating to work by Joseph Robinson in 1882 and 1885

Appendix A.12.1. Account of Joseph Robinson, 1882⁸⁴

"22 nd Nov: Chapter House Repairing windows		
	4lb putty 2 men 8½ hours (11.8)	12.4
23 rd Nov: Repairing windows ⁸⁵		
	2 men x 8½ hours	11.4
24 th Nov: Chapter House repairing windows		
	1 man 8½ hours (5.8) 1 man 6½ (4.4)	10.9
25 th Nov: 1 man 5½ (3.8) 1 man 4 (2.8)		6.8
27 th Nov: 1 man 8½ hours (5.8) 1 man 1½ (1.-)		6.8
	Boy 7½ hours	2.6
28 Nov	1 man 8½ hours	5.8
	1lb putty (3d) Stained glass (8d)	11
29 th Nov: Man and boy 8½ hrs		9.3
30 th Nov: 6lb shot lead Joiner		1.6
	Repairing windows man and boy 8½ hrs	9.6
1 st Dec:	1lb putty Man and boy 8½ hrs	8.9
2 nd Dec: Repairing [mats] stone 6lb shot lead		8.6
	90 copper nails (1/6) Man and boy 5½ hrs	7.
	1 man 1½ hr	1."

⁸³ YMA Hornby Scrapbook, 320.

⁸⁴ YMA E3/248V Fabric Rolls 1882/83 (Account of Joseph Robinson).

⁸⁵ Location unspecified but it comes between two chapter house entries.

Appendix A.12.2. Account of Joseph Robinson, 1885⁸⁶

“8 th Jan: Repairing windows in the Chapter House	
3lbs putty (9d) 2 men and 1 apprentice 7½ hrs (12.6)	13.3
Cutting out lead for mats: apprentice 2 hrs	2.
9 th Jan: Repairing windows in Chapter House	
2 men and Apprentice 4½ hrs	17.6
10 th Jan: Repairing windows in Chapter House	
2 men and apprentice 2 hrs	2.4
12 th Jan: Repairing windows in Chapter House	
1 sq foot ground glass and 2lbs putty	1.2
2 men and apprentice 8½ hours	14.2
13 th Jan: 1 square foot ground glass and 3lbs putty	
Man and apprentice 5 hours	6.5
14 th Jan: Man 4½ hrs (3/-) Apprentice 8½ (8/6)	11.6
15 th Jan: Apprentice 5 hrs	5.
16 th Jan: Apprentice 4 hrs	4.
17 th Jan: Man 3 hrs Apprentice 5½ hrs	7.6
19 th Jan: Apprentice 8½ hrs	8.6
20 th Jan: 3lbs for puttying window lead	
Apprentice 8½ hours	9.9
21 st Jan: 3lbs for puttying window lead ⁸⁷	
Apprentice 8½ hours	8.6
22 nd Jan: 1 square ft stained glass and apprentice	
8½ hrs (8/6)	11.6
23 rd Jan: 1 square foot stained glass ⁸⁸	
Apprentice 5½ hours	5.6
24 th Jan: 1 square foot stained glass ⁸⁹	
Apprentice 5½ hours	5.6”

Appendix A.13. Interventions in the course of the re-leading exercise, 1929-32

Probable modifications to the glass in 1929-32, concluded from a comparison between the 1929-32 photographs in the Green Collection⁹⁰ and the earlier verbal descriptions of John Knowles.⁹¹ Those modifications which were subsequently modified again by Milner White⁹² are indicated in the right-hand column.

Window	Panel	Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”	Knowles, “Historical Notes”	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.1. CHn2	6	Pot of lilies near the Virgin		Not visible	MW
	7	Referred to		Not visible	

⁸⁶ YMA E3/251V Fabric Rolls 1885/86 (Account of Joseph Robinson)

⁸⁷ No charge alongside.

⁸⁸ No charge alongside.

⁸⁹ No charge alongside.

⁹⁰ YMA Green Photographic Collection.

⁹¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.137r-fol.202r and Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 48r-fol.107v.

⁹² Green, “Report,” 1955, 37; Milner White, “Letter,” 1952, 11; Milner White, 1956: 36-39; : Milner White, “Return,” 1957, 29-40; Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 39-41; Milner White, “Return,” 1959, 30-35; Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 17-20; Milner White, “Return” 1962, 29-33

		"wings" on the figure			
	8	Right-hand figure had part of pink face with flowing hair		Not visible	MW
	10	Foremost two kings' crowns falling off		Not visible	
	10	Third king falling off horse	Third king falling off horse	Not visible	
	16	Third king holding a "chalice shaped vessel"		Not visible	
	17	Three crowns "also of early design"		First king's crown not visible	
	18	Joseph "holding hands together"		Not visible	
	18	Sketch shows drapery over side of altar		Plain glass	
	18	"Part of [virgin's] head remaining"	"part of her head remaining"	Not visible	MW
	19	Virgin has "pink face and white wimple"		Single piece of clear glass	MW
	19	Child has pink face		An unpainted face	
	27	Sketch shows Joseph's head and cap		Not visible	
	28	Saw "a soul" in [cloak]	Saw "cloth in which is a small figure (representing a soul)"	Not visible	
	30	Under displaced heads he saw "a diapered cushion"		Only part visible	MW
	38	Christ's nimbus had "a cross on it"		Not visible	
	39	Three nimbed figures		Not visible	MW

Window	Panel	Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”	Knowles, “Historical Notes”	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.2. CHn3	26		Christ in the centre: “his hands and feet marked with the sacred wound”	Hands and feet not visible	MW
	38		A ring noted on finger of left-hand figure	No hand or ring visible	
	38		Central figure had “curly hair”	Not visible	
	38		Right-hand figure has hands “conjoined” off horse	Two hands are seen separate	
	39		Right-hand figure is showing “a crucifix to a youth or girl”	Not visible	
	39		“The lady has an expression of surprised pleasure on her face”	No face visible	

Window	Panel	Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”	Knowles, “Historical Notes”	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.3. CHn4	9	Old man in front “with rope around his neck”	Old man in front “with rope around his neck”	Not visible	
	9	Sketch of doctor’s hat		Not visible	
	20		Figure holds the saint’s arms in his grasp	Not visible	
	26	“A smaller figure leans out of the tower”	“A smaller figure leans out of the tower”	Not visible	
	30		The horse-	Not visible	

			rider was "crowned".		
	37	Figure holds her "hands up"		Not visible	
	38	Flames descend and kill the two men.	Flames descent and kill the two men.	Flames are not visible	
	38	"Hand of God" in the top right corner	"Hand of God" in top right corner	Hand not visible (though sleeve is)	
	39	Figure to left has a "mutch" under his cap		Nothing visible under cap	
	40		Soul represented by a "small nude figure"	Not visible	

Window	Panel	Knowles, "Manuscript Notes"	Knowles, "Historical Notes"	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.4. CHs2	6	Figure "girdled"		Not visible	
	8	Figure has "other [hand] under chin"		Not visible	
	8	Figure behind "holds his hand out in derisive attitude"		Not visible	
	8	Sketch shows hand held up		Not visible	
	9	Left-hand figure "the face although broken and released is like that of St Peter"		Not visible	
	10		Christ is "holding up his robe with one hand"	Not visible	
	10		Christ is "beckoning with his right hand to the two fishermen"	Not visible	
	16	St John and St Peter are in the boat		Only one figure is visible	

	20	Second figure to the left has "curly beard"		Not visible	MW
	20	Left-hand figure has "head of female type"		Not visible	
	29	Angel touches recumbent figure "on the head"		Not visible	
	29	Child has pink face		An unpainted face	
	29	Angel has "pink" hair		Only clear glass	

Window	Panel	Knowles, "Manuscript Notes"	Knowles, "Historical Notes"	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.5. CHs3	6	Post to throne terminates in fleur-de-lys		Not visible	
	6	Figure holds sceptre in hand		Not visible	
	6	Figure to right has scroll in right hand	Figure to right has scroll in right hand	Not visible	
	6	Blue and white and purple diapered	Blue and white and purple diapered	Not visible from lead lines	
	7	He seems to be saying the panel in the wrong way up		Now corrected	
	8	Figure might have had a "short green tunic"		Not visible from lead lines	
	8	Second figure [to right?] "older man with long hair and long curled beard"		Face not visible	
	9	"Part" of head in tub obliterated		Now all obliterated	
	10	Central figure holds "cross staff" in left hand		Hand lost	
	10	Figure to right "short curly hair"		Not visible	
	30	[Second] figure to left has long curly hair		Hair not visible (probably paint loss)	

	30	Second figure has "palms outwards"		Unclear	
	36	Man standing to left has "curly hair and beard"		Not visible	
	38	St Paul has his head resting in his hand		Hand not visible	

Window	Panel	Knowles, "Manuscript Notes"	Knowles, "Historical Notes"	Green Photographs	Milner White
A.13.6. CHs4	6	"Ring apparent"		Not visible	
	8	Prostrate figure has "hand lain across his chest"		Not visible	
	8	Right-hand of three standing figures has "pink hair" implying original glass		Not visible	
	9	Saint has white nimbus	Saint has white nimbus	No lead line visible	
	10	Head looking out of the tower has "red face with curly hair"		Not visible	
	18	The men in the boat have "all" got "bare heads pink faces curly hair"	Three heads are deep pink	Only one appears to have one	
	26	Figure to the left has "curly hair"		Not visible	
	26	Man sitting in centre "with cap"		Not visible	
	38	Saint has "cross in left hand"		Not visible	

Appendix A.14: Transcription of the description of the narrative panels in the Chapter House glass from the 1690-91 account by James Torre: YMA L 1/7, James Torre, 'The Antiquities of York Minster Collected out of the Record of the Saint Church and Some Other Authorities', 1690-92, 3-130

[Window identified as CHn4: Katherine of Alexandria]⁹³

In the upper Row of the Lights and in the first Light

1 3 little Images of men over the fire

⁹³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123-24

1st a Saint robed O glory vt leggs A
2^d a Man bowing down his head habited O
3^d a Bp habited vt Myter & Cross staff O

- 2 In 2^d Light stand 3 persons by a Church
1 habited A, 2^d vt & O, 3^d a boy habited vt
- 3 In 3^d Light sits a young Man in a green habitt
- 4 In 4th Light a Man stands bare-legged habited O striking at another yt
kneels before him of the like habitt
- 5 In 5th Light sits a Queen enthroned robed A vt & O on each side her
stands an Angell
1st Robed vt striped downwards A winged O
2^d robed O winged A
- 6 In 2^d Row and 1st Light is the representation of flames of Fire
- 7 In 2^d Light sits a King Enthroned in a golden Chair robed vt & gu
crowned O bearing a naked Sword pointed upwards
By him stands a Man habited vt striped down his breast A and a Woman
habited Murry, skirts B
- 8 In 3^d Light stands a Man habited O with a white whip in his hand
Scourging a Woman tied to a green pillar, habited A & Murry
By him stands another Man habited A legs sanguine
- 9 In 4th Light is a prison party coloured O A vt & gu. Before it leans a man
habited O leggs gu, brandishing a Sword for executing a Saint yt kneels
before him
- 10 In 5th light is a Church variously coloured O A & murry & vt from wh rides
a Man (on a white horse) habited murry

In next under Row & in first Light

- 11 stands St Paul robed A & B, holding a Naked sword in his right hand &
with the other delivers up a book closed to another Man yt kneels by him
habited vt. Behind him stands another Man habited B
- 12 In 2^d Light stand 4 persons together
1st a young man habited O with a green Rod in his hand
2^d a monk habited B
3^d a man habited A skirts O
4th another Man habited vt
- 13 In 3^d light are 4 persons together
1st a Fryer habited vt
2^d a King sitting in Azure & golden Robes crowned O
3^d stands a Man habited Murry
4th a monk habited O hooded vt

- 14 In 4th Light stands a man habited O skirts vt bareheaded with a white whip in his hand lashing another yt kneels before him habited murry
- 15 In 5th Light stand 4 together
 1st a Man, habited A
 2nd a King, robed O & vt
 3rd a Man habited O
 4th a Woman habited B & O striped down the breast A
- 4th row
- 16 In bottom Row & 1st Light sits a King enthroned robed gu & A. on one hand stands an Attendant habited murry, hose gu, Shoes O. on the other hand stands a Bp habited vt & O Myter of zd
 Besides the last stands a Noble Man habited O & sanguine having a little white dog in his Arms And another Greyhound standing by him
- 17 In 2^d Light stand 3 together each Elevating one of their hands
 1st a man habited O
 And another Man habited O & vt
 3^d a Woman habited vt & sanguine respecting both the other
- 18 In 3^d Light is a prison variously Coloured B, gu, vt & O by wh Stands a Queen robed sang & A Crowned O trayled to the sd prison by an Officer habited vt & O cap gu
- 19 In 4th Light stands an Angel habited A & O glory gu winged of zd presenting something to a Man kneeling under an Arch habited B & murry
- 20 In 5th Light sits a King in a Chair robed vt & O crowned of zd holding in his hand a Naked Sword poynted downwards.
 A Queen also sits by him robed gu.

[Window identified as CHn3: William of York]⁹⁴

The Lights of this window are filled with [5] Rows of Imagery

In the uppermost Row and first Light 1st Row

- 6 Stands a Man in gold and silver habitt with a Trumpet in his Mouth
7. In 2^d Light – nothing
8. In 3^d Light sitt 3 Saints together
 1st and last habited O glories gu
 The Middlemost habited purple
9. In 4th Light nothing
10. In 5th Light sitt 3 persons behind a Table
 1st Man habited vt
 2^d a Woman habited vt & murry

⁹⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124-25.

3^d a Monk habited A

In next under Row and 1st Light

- 11 Is an Altar Erected upon 3 pillars before wh stands a Man habited murry & O
And upon the Altar stands our Lord like a fair boy in white rayment
- 12 In 2^d Light two Women are kneeling at their devotions
1st habited vt & O, 2^d purple
- 13 In 3^d Light stand 2 Men before an Altar, one habited vt, 2^d murry
Also 3 other Men kneel before it habited purple
- 14 In 4th light are 2 Monks in a boat rowing with a golden Oar
1st habited B, 2^d vt & O
At the head of the sd Boat stand 2 other persons
1st a Man habited sanguine
2^d a Woman habited gu & A
- 15 In 5th Light stand 3 persons together whereof the middle most is a Saint
habited barr wayes A & vt, glory A
And a Man on each side him, 1st habited vt & murry 2^d purple
- 16 In 3^d Row and first light are 2 Porters wth burdens on their backs meeting
one the other. Both habited gu & bare legged
- 17 In 2^d Light sitts our Lady variously Robed A [& ?] Glory A. Crowned O
wth a white Dove hovering at her ear.
And an Angell in white Rayment and golden Wings saluting her
reverently on his knees.
- 18 In 3^d Light stands an Altar upon 4 pillars O & vt under wh a Man kneels
habited purple
And a Man walks from either end thereof both habited vt & A.
- 19 In 4th Light stands an holy Man habited A looking upwards to an Angell yt
stands over him robed A Winged O & delivering him a present
- 20 In 5th Light not plain

4th row

- 21 In the 4th row and first Light ride 2 Monks on white horses, one habited O
the other purple
- 22 In 2^d Light are two Men wrestling together and falling to the ground both
habited gu & bare-legged
- 23 In 3^d Light sitts an Abp robed purple pall A Myter & Cross-Staff O
- 24 In 4th Light is a Cart drawn by 2 white Kine, And a Man driving them,
habited O. [Margin note: "the Ark sent from the [philistines]

- 25 In 5th Light is a Church, variously coloured A O vt & gu
And 2 Men riding from it mounted on white horses both habited purple
And one End thereof kneels a Bp robed vt Myter & glory A
- 26 In 5th Row and first Light stands St Lawrence habit & glory gu wth
Gridiron in his hand B
- 27 In 2^d Light stands another Saint habited & Glory B with a pall down his
breast O
- 28 In 3rd Light stands St John naked in a Tub barry O & vt. On each side
him stands a Man pouring scalding Oyle upon his head both habited gu
leggs vt & gu
- 29 In 4th Light is a Crucifix of St Peter wth his head downwards robed vt
glory A both hands nayled to the Transverse beam of the Cross
- 30 In 5th Light stands a Saint St Stephen robed O glory A with 2 white
stones in his hand.

[Window identified as CHn2: the Virgin Mary⁹⁵

The 5 Lights contain 4 Rows of Imagery

- 6 In the Upper Row & first Light lyes a man in his winding sheet upon a
Table
& s'all holy Men stand about him
- 7 In 2^d Light stand 6 of the Apls together – 1st habited murry, 2^d & 4th B &
vt, 4th [probably error for "5th"] & 6th O
- 8 In 3^d Light stands a Man in an Ovall Circle habited O & B
And on either side him an Angell
1st Robed O & vt, 2^d A & murry
- 9 In 4th Light sitt s'all of the Aples about a Table variously habited
- 10 In 5th Light stand 3 Angells together
1st Robed Murray & gu
2d gu & B
3^d vt Winged O
- 11 In 2nd Row & first Light stands a Man habited Sang & O by another Man
riding on a white horse & in a green habitt
- 12 In 2^d Light is a great Church variously Coloured A O & gu, before wh a
man stands habited murry
- 13 In 3^d Light stand 3 Saints before an Altar, 1 habited gu & A, glory vt
2^d O & B glory gu
3^d A & murry & B, glory gu

⁹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125-26.

- 14 In 4th Light sits our Lady enthroned Robed vt & gu Crowned & sceptred O with her babe in her lap in golden habit
- 15 In 5th Light sits a King & Queen Enthroned he robed Sang crowned O She robed O & gu
- 16 In 3^d row & first Light are 3 Kings riding on black horses all robed vt & crowned O
- 17 In 2^d Light stand 3 Kings all Crowned O
1st Robed B/ 2^d gu & A, 3^d vt
before them sits Enthroned another King Robed & Crowned O Sceptre gu, top O
- 18 In 3^d Light the sd three kings are kneeling all Crowned O with their offerings in their hands
1st Robed vt & gu, 2^d gu & O, 3rd vt, sleeves gu, offering a golden cup covered
- 19 In 4th stand an Angell Robed vt & murrey, glory gu winged A. And 3 men by him 1st habited O & gu, 2^d vt & leggings gu
3rd O leggings bare
- 20 In 5th Light are 4 Men bearing on their Shoulders the [Rope] in a green Ark
1st habited A & gu, glory O
2^d O & A, Glory gu
The 2 other on the farr side not plain
Also 2 other Men stand under the Ark
1 habited vt
2^d Murrey
- 21 In the bottom Row & first Light stands an Angell
Robed O & vt, winged A with these words in an Escrowle viz Sta Maria saluting our Lady who stands by him robed gu & vt, glory A & gu
- 22 In 2^d Light stands a Saint habited murrey and O [or possibly a B] glory vt saluting an holy Lady yt stands by him habited vt & gu glory O
- 23 In 3^d Light stand 3 or 4 men together habited A & O
A little higher a Lady lyes in bed coloured vt
- 24 In 4th Light sits a King Enthroned Robed vt & murrey crowned O bearing in his right hand a naked Sword poynted upwards. Before him stands a Monk variously habited
- 25 In 5th Light lyes a King in purple Robes in a bed over whom stands an Angell with silver wings – robed O & vt

[Window identified as CH1: Passion and Resurrection]⁹⁶

The Lights contain 4 Rows of Imagery

- 6 In the Upper Row & first Light nothing plain
- 7 In 2^d Light sev'all persons standing together diversely habited.
- 8 In 3^d Light sitt a King and Queen enthroned he robed vt & O she A & gu
- 9 In 4th Light stand 3 Saints together 1st habited vt & A glory O 2^d & 3^d A
- 10 In 5th Light stands an Angell Robed Murry & O Winged of zd before whom 2 Kings kneel both robed O & B
- 11 In 2d Row & first Light stand 8 Saints together variously habited
- 12 In 2^d Light stand sevall persons together about the Corps of a Dead Man
- 13 In 3^d Light sitts our Lady Inthroned robed B on each side her stands an Angell
1 habited O & vt winged A
2d robed A winged O
- 14 In 4th Light kneels a Lady robed gu glory O wth hands Conjoynd at prayer, before an holy man habited A & B glory O bearing in his left hand a white Cross Staff headed O
- 15 In 5th Light sitt sevall holy persons about a Table And higher stand 5 other saints diversely habited

[3rd row]

- 16 In 3^d Row and first Light stand 3 together whereof one is an Angell robed B & vt winged O
- 17 In 2d Light stand 4 Saints together
1st habited A, B & gu, glory O
2^d habited O & vt, glory O
3^d habited murry & B, glory B
4th habited gu & A
- 18 In 3^d Light is a Crucifix of our Lord hanging on the Cross
And a Woman standing on each side it habited O & murry
- 19 In 4th Light is another Crucifix of our Lord and a Saint Standing on either Side his Cross
- 20 In 5th Light kneels a female Saint habited A & Sang, glory of 1st
- 21 In the bottom Row & first Light not plain

⁹⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126-27

- 22 In 2^d Light stand 5 holy persons together before a Church variously habited
- 23 In 3^d Light stand 3 Men together, 1st habited [A] B & A, 2^d gu/ 3^d O & vt
- 24 In 4th Light stand 5 Men together diversely habited
- 25 In 5th Light stand 3 Men together
1st habited vt, O & A
2nd O & B
3^d vt & A

[Window identified as CHs2: Peter]⁹⁷

The 5 Lights contain 4 Rows of Imagery

- 6 In the Uppermost Row & first Light stands a Saint habited vt & murry glory O
- 7 In 2^d Light stand 4 Monks together
1st habited A hooded gu
2^d A/ 3^d & 4th vt
- 8 In 3^d Light stand 2 holy persons together
1st habited vt B & murry Glory O
2^d vt & O glory vt
- 9 In 4th Light sitt 2 men together
1st habited O & vt/ 2^d Murry & A
higher stand 3 more together
1st a King robed vt Crowned O
Sceptre A top of it O
2^d an old man habited Murry
3^d a Souldier habited B & O
- 10 In 5th Light blank

In 2^d Under Row & in first Light

- 11 Stand 2 Men together
1st habited murry & vt/ 2^d B & O
- 12 In 2^d Light obscure
- 13 In 3^d Light Stand 4 Men together
1st habited O & purple
2^d vert & O
3^d gu
4th a King robed gu & vt. Crowned O
- 14 In 4th Light stand 4 persons together
1st a Saint habited vt glory O

⁹⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127-28

- The rgt other Men [one] habited O & vt
 Another Sang leggs A
 The last vt [] O leggs A
- 15 In 5th Light sits a King inthroned robed gu & vt. Crowned O. bearing in one hand a Naked Sword poynted upwards
 And 2 other persons Stand by him
- 16 In 3d Row and first Light a White Dove is desending upon 3 holy Men Standing together
 1st habited vt & purple
 2d purple & A
 3d vt
- 17 In 2d Light stand together 2 old men habited vt & O
 And a young Man habited vt & Murry
- 18 In 3d Light stand 3 holy men together
 1st habited murry glory vt
 2d O skirts vt glory gu receiving something from the 3d habited vt [cap/legs] O
- 19 In 4th Light stands a Bp robed vt & gu Mytered O wth a gold key in his hand. Two old men stand by him one habited vt the other O
 Also 2 others kneel before him one habited O
 2d murry & vt
- 20 In 5th Light is a Ship with one White Mast by wch walks a Monk on the Water habited vt saluting another Man habited murry & vt
- 21 In the bottom Row & first Light stands a Queen robed O & vt Crowned O before whom is a golden boat with 2 Men in it
 1 habited vt drawing a Net A
 2d habited O glory vt with one hand expanded
- 22 In 2d Light stand 3 Saints together
 1st habited A glory O leggs gu
 2d habited O & Sang/glory gu
 3d habited gu & A/glory A
- 23 In 3d Light stand 2 Saints together, 1st a Woman habited murry & vt glory gu
 2d a Man habited vt & O glory gu
- 24 In 4th Light Stands an holy King robed A & O glory B Scepter vt top O by him a Lady robed O & vt glory gu
 And a young saint, Robed vt glory O
- 25 In 5th Light kneels a Saint habited vt & murry glory O before whom stand 3 Men
 1 habited purple & vt/2d O skirts vt
 3d gu/4th O

[Window identified as CHs3: Paul]⁹⁸

In the 5 Lights hath 5 Rows of Images

[It is difficult to be certain of the distribution of the narrative panels across the rows, but, what little evidence there is suggests they were in rows 1, 2, 4, 6 and 8, the other possibility is 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9.]

In the uppermost Row & in the

6 3d Light is the representation of a golden Ship of one mast and sayl A
And 4 Men in her one of wh is a Saint habited vt glory O

7 In 4th Light stands an holy Man robed vt & A glory O
on one side him stands a boy bare-legged habited O & B & on the other
a Monk habited vt & O hood of the zd

2d Row

8 In 2d Row & first Light stands an holy Man habited vt & A glory B wth a
Cross-Staff in his hand O

9 In 2d Light stand 3 persons together
1st habited O & vt, 2nd vt & 3rd [nothing given]

10 In 3d Light stands a Saint habited gu & A glory O & a man on either side
him 1 habited vt the other O

11 In 4th Light a Saint habited vt & A sits at a prison door by him stands an
Executioner habited murry leggs A feet B running the sd Saint through
with a Naked Sword

12 In 5th kneels an holy Woman habited A & B bowing her head over whom
stands an Executioner habited vt leggs O

3d Row

13 In 3rd Row & first Light stand 2 Saints one habited vt & O glory O the
other vt & A Glory of zd
Also 2 other Men 1 habited A another purple leggs vt

14 In 2d Light stands a Bp his habitt Myter & Cross Staff all O on one side
him stands a Monk habited purple skirts vt
On the other another Man habited vt

15 In 3d Light sits a Man in a Chair habited B & vt Cap gu, delivering an
escrowle to an old holy Man standing by habited vt glory gu

16 In 4th Light stand 3 holy Men before a prison (Coloured A gu & B
1 habited O & vt glory A
2d A & Murry glory O/ 3d [nothing given]

17 In 5th Light 4 Men stand together 1 habited O/2d vt, 3d O the 4th being a
Saint robed A & vt glory O

⁹⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128-29.

4th Row

- 18 In 4th Row & first Light stand 3 persons before a prison door
1st a Woman habited vt & murry having a present in her hands
2d & 3d Souldiers one habited A the other O leggs bare
- 19 In 2d Light Stand 2 Men together one habited Murry & vt the other vt
[murry deleted] & O
- 20 [margin] St Paul's conversion
In 3d Light St Paul habited murry is falling prostrate from his white horse,
as Struck by certain Rays of Light issuing out of a Cloud
- 21 In 4th Light stands St John naked in a tub of Oyle barreways O & vt. And
on Either Side him stands an Executioner 1 habited vt & A the other vt &
O pouring Oyle out of a bottle upon the Saints head
- 22 In 5th Light 2 holy men Sitt about a Table at meat
one habited vt & O glory vt
The other vt & glory of the same
on either hand them stands a Monk both habited O & vt

5th Row

- 23 In bottom Row & 1st Light 4 men stand together
1 habited vt leggs O
2d habited gu leggs O
3d habited gu & A glory O being a Saint
4th O & vt leggs A
- 24 In 2d Light kneels an holy Man in a tabernacle habited B wth hand
elevated at prayer
- 25 In 3d Light In a tabernacle bordered with [Sing & foyles] A / stands an
Lady robed B & O vayed A glory O
- 26 In 4th Light stand 4 men together 1st habited O leggs vt
2d vt wth a book in his hand closed O
3d habited murry & O leggs O
4th habited vt & O legs O
- 27 In 5th Light sitti a King Inthroned Robed O & vt And an Ancient Monk
Extending his Right hand to him & holding in his other a Crosyer Staff
also another monk stands by habited vt & A hood murry

[Window identified as CHs4: The Five Saints]⁹⁹

The 5 Lights contain in them 4 Rows of Imagery

- 6 In the Uppermost Row & first Light kneels a Saint robed Sang glory O
over whom stands an Executioner habited vt Leggs murry with drawn
Sword in his hand brandished for beheading him

⁹⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129-30.

- 7 In 2d Light stands a Bp habited B/Mitered O
And another Man by him, habited vt
girl with a white girdle feet O
- 8 In 3d Light stands a Monk habited O with a Cross Staff in his hand And
another Man by him habited O & vt Leggs O
- 9 In 4th Light stand 2 Saints one habited vt & O glory A the other murry
glory gu wth something in his hand & a Dove hovering over him
- 10 In 5th Light are 3 Men kneeling & bowing, 1 habited O / 2d A/ 3d gu
- 11 In 2d Row & first Light stands a Saint habited vt & O glory gu bearing a
Cross Staff in his hand A top O
- 12 In 2d Light Stand 2 persons together both habited Murry
- 13 In 3d Light is a golden Ship with one Mast A & therein an Abp robed
Murry, mytred O & 2 other Men/one habited Murry / the other vt
- 14 In 4th Light kneels a Saint habited O before whom stands an Executioner
habited vt beheading him with a Sword by him stands another Man
habited Murry & vt
- 15 In 5th Light stand 3 Men together one habited [O & vt] 2d vt & O, 3d
Murry

3rd Row

- 16 In 3d Row & first Light kneels an holy Man in prayer robed Murry
Shoulders O glory gu
- 17 In 2d Light is a Ship (O) with one Mast under Sayl A & 3 persons in her
one habited B/2d vt/3d B
Also a Bp stands by habited vt Skirts A Myter & Crosyer O
- 18 In 3d Light sits a King in a golden Chair robed O & vt, crowned as zd
having in his hand a Naked Sword poynted Upwards & before him stands
a Man covering the Kings face wth his hands
And a Bp stands also by habited vt & O myter O
And also his Cross bearer wth a golden Crossstaff in his hands behind
the Chair stands an Attendant habited vt
- 19 In 4th Light a King sits behind a table Robed vt Crowned O on either side
him sits another man, habited O
- 20 In 5th Light sits a King enthroned robed gu & A Crowned O on either side
him stands an Executioner one habited B leggs bare shooting at the King
with an Arrow out of a bow
the other habited O leggs B shoes vt

5th Row [probably an error by Torre for "4th"]

- 21 In bottom Row & first Light sits a Bp in a golden Chair habited vt & O
Myter & Cross-Staff of zd
At his back stands an Attendant habited gu
And before him stand 3 Men
1 habited O & vt barelegged
Another gu & A/ 3d O
- 22 In 2d Light sits a Bp habited Murry, Mytre & Crosyer O before him stand
3 persons
1 habited vt & murry
2d vt & O/3d gu & O
- 23 In 3d Light sits an Abp robed O pall A Myter O Cross-staff vt headed O
on either side him stands a Man 1st habited O & A/2d vt & O
- 24 In 4th Light sits an holy Man at a prison door, habited B glory gu
by him stands an Angell robed vt B & A winged O
bearing a Church in his hand (O)
- 25 In 5th Light is a Church coloured O vt & A. And a King (mounted on a
white horse) riding from it, robed Murry, crowned O
before him stands another Man habited O

Appendix B: Description and Restoration History of Individual Windows

Key for Appendix B

Location of panels in historical descriptions (Appendices B and C)



Identification of panels in the grids whose cells are grey is “certain or probable”. This includes situations where there is a possibility of up to two panels in any one location. A number denotes the panel number.



Identification of panels in white cells in the grids is “possible”. A number denotes the panel number.

[] Panel numbers in the grids in square brackets represent the author’s own more tentative suggestions.

[?] Panel numbers in the grids with a query show even more tentative personal suggestions.



Medallions which had a blue background, in those windows where the distinction between red and blue is significant for the original design.



Medallions which had a red background, in those windows where the distinction between blue and red is significant for the original design.

Summary of previous descriptions

Text in italics: Suggested identifications.

() Words in the grids in brackets are the author’s interpretation of the original source.

Words with no brackets are a summary of the original source.

Indicates a pair or a group of descriptions/visual representations whose chronological relationship is not certain. This usually reflects the undated ordering of sources and photographs between c1900 and 1929.

SCHEMA: Occasionally Knowles provides a grid containing identifications of panels in addition to and separate from his detailed notes.

APPENDIX B.1: PASSION AND RESURRECTION (CH1)

Visual Features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England (*gules three lions passant gardant in pale or*).¹

E1 lower: Roger de Bigod, Earl of Norfolk (*per pale or and vert overall a lion rampant gules*).²

D1 upper: England.

D1 lower: William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (*gules crusilly and a fess or*).³

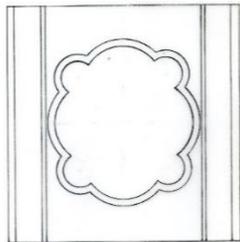
D2 upper: Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (*gules three lions passant gardant in pale or a label azure semy de lis of the second*).⁴

D2 lower: John Bulmer (*gules billey a lion rampant or*).⁵

A1: no evidence

A3: no evidence

Medallion shape



¹ The *Dering Roll*, B1; drawn in Dugdale (fol. 91v); indicated in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Top Yorks C 14 (Henry Johnston, 1669-70). Johnston, fol. 42. See Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

² St George's Roll in Thomas Woodcock and Sarah Flowers, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*. Vol. 1 (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1992-2014) 130. Drawn in Dugdale (fol. 91v); Johnston (fol. 42); and noted by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291. Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 126, saw only "or a Lyon ramp gu". Bigod was the Earl Marshall whose main northern connection was the fact that he was involved in the Great Cause hearings in 1291-92 over who should succeed to the Scottish throne, Michael Prestwich, "Bigod, Roger (IV), fifth earl of Norfolk (c.1245-1306)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

³ Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91v); Johnston (fol. 42); drawn and noted by Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 126, and noted by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

⁴ This is also in CHn2: E1 lower and CHs2: E1 lower. It was sketched by Dugdale (fol. 91v); Johnston (fol. 42) and noted by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291. Torre sketched "England", hence obviously failing to see the label, YMA L1/7, Torre, 126. Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, was brother to Edward I, who accumulated large estates in Lancashire, between the Ribble and the Mersey and the honour, county, town and castle of Lancaster. In Yorkshire he held the honour and castle of Pickering, Simon Lloyd, "Edmund, first earl of Lancaster and first earl of Leicester (1245-1296)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://oxforddnb.com>.

⁵ It is drawn as such by Dugdale (fol. 91v); probably by Johnston (fol. 42); who may have marked one small billet, and was described as such by Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 126. Browne drew it as Bulmer, Browne, *Representation*, facing page 66; but by Robert Davies, *The Heraldry of the Chapter House of York Minster* (London: J.G. and R.C. Nichols, 1870), 395 it had been changed to Arundel (presumably by losing the billets in 1855) and is identified as such by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Medallion background colour sequence (original): Presupposing a later switch of background colours for CH1:17 and 27.

[36]	[40]	[38]	[39]	[27]
[26]	[10]	[28]	[9]	[29]
[16]	[20]	[18]	[37]	[19]
[30]	[6]	[8]	[7]	[17]

The original border sequence:

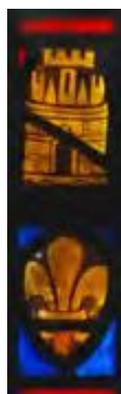
The original order of the borders of the lights was A-A-C-B-B.



Ivy⁶



Ivy



Tower and fleurs-de-lys⁷



Maple and falcon/eagle⁸



Maple and eagle

Border descriptions (Barnett copies):

Light-type	Foliage and features	Shape	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Ivy leaves	Snaking	White leaves	Red background	Blue and turned yellow uprights
B	Leaves and falcons/eagles alternating	Upright	White leaves, yellow falcons	Red background	Yellow and turquoise uprights
C	Fleurs-de-lys and towers alternating	Upright	Yellow towers and fleurs-de-lys	Blue background with red strips	Turquoise uprights

Original Panel Sequences

36	40	38	[39]	[27]
[26]	[10]	28	9	29
[16]	20	18	37	19
[30]	6	8	7	[17]

⁶ This was agreed by Browne, *Representation*, 61 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 22.

⁷ This was agreed by Browne, *Representation*, 61 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 22. Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 22. Benson attributes the Tower to the heraldry of Queen Eleanor of Castile and the fleur-de-lys to Queen Margaret. A preferred alternative is that they are included because of resonances of virginity and the Virgin.

⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 61 saw it as a "falcon", while Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 22 saw it as an "eagle".

A suggested original sequence for CH1:

Border A	Border A	Border C	Border B	Border B
CH1:36: The Ascension. ⁹	CH1:40: Pentecost. ¹⁰	CH1:38: The Coronation of the Virgin. ¹¹	CH1:39: Raising the Dead at the Last Judgement. ¹²	CH1:27: Christ in Judgement. ¹³
CH1:26: The Three Marys at the Tomb. ¹⁴ OR CH1:10	CH1:10: The Harrowing of Hell. ¹⁵ OR CH1:26	CH1:28: The Resurrection of Christ. ¹⁶	CH1:9: Noli me Tangere. ¹⁷	CH1:29: Doubting Thomas touches the wounds of the risen Christ. ¹⁸
CH1:16: The Flagellation of Christ. ¹⁹	CH1:20: Via Crucis: carrying the cross to Calvary. ²⁰	CH1:18: The Crucifixion of Christ. ²¹	CH1:37: The Deposition. ²²	CH1:19: The Entombment. ²³
CH1:30: Entry into Jerusalem. ²⁴	CH1:6: The Agony in the Garden. ²⁵	CH1:8: (Probably) Judas plotting with the High Priests. ²⁶	CH1:7: Christ healing Malchus's ear. ²⁷	CH1:17: The Arrest of Christ. ²⁸

Comments on original:

CH1:17 and 27: background colour transposed in 1762-71 or by Barnett in 1845, the implication being that originally CH1:17 had a red background and CH1:27 a blue background. A study of the movement of the panels suggests that the border design would originally have been, like CHn4, in an A-A-C-B-B pattern, although, judging from the copies of the grisaille now in CHs4, there were five different types of grisaille. It is notable that the borders of the centre light contained fleurs-de-lys (an obvious Marian symbol) and that the only other light

⁹ Mark 16:19; Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9-11 and 2:1-31.

¹⁰ Acts 2:1-31.

¹¹ Song of Sol. 4:8; Ps. 45:11-12; Rev. 12:1-7.

¹² Dan. 12:2; Matt. 27:52; 1 Cor. 15:52; 1 Thess. 4:16; Rev. 20:12-13.

¹³ Matt. 25:31; Acts 17:31.

¹⁴ Matt. 28:1-7; Mark 16:1-7; Luke 24:1-7; John 20:12-13.

¹⁵ 1 Peter 3:19-20 and 4:6.

¹⁶ There are no Biblical accounts of the Resurrection. Biblical evidence depends on the Marys at the Tomb, Noli me Tangere and Doubting Thomas.

¹⁷ Mark 16:9; John 20:14-17.

¹⁸ John 20: 24-29.

¹⁹ Matt. 27: 26; John 19:1.

²⁰ Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26; John 19:17.

²¹ Matt. 27:37-50; Mark 15:25-37; John 19:18-30.

²² Matt. 27:58-59; Mark 15:43-45; Luke 23:53; John 19:18-30.

²³ Matt. 27:60; Mark 15:46; Luke 19:1-5; John 19:41-42.

²⁴ Matt. 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:28-44; John 12:12-19.

²⁵ Matt. 26:36-45; Luke 22:41-46.

²⁶ Matt. 26:14; Mark 14:10-11.

²⁷ Matt. 26:47-56; Mark 14:43-49; Luke 22:47-53; John 18:2-9.

²⁸ Note that this identification has been revised since Moxon, "How lost," 40. This scene is usually combined with "Christ healing Malchus's Ear" (CH1:7). See John 18:12.

in the chapter house with this motif is the centre light of CHs3 (St Paul). The fleurs-de-lys alternate with castles or towers, associated with virginity.

History of the window

Intervention: After the creation of the window and, probably after the Reformation, the window repairs involved four panels being placed in their other light-type, namely CH1:6 and 30 (Type A in the first and second lights) and CH1:17 and 39 (Type B in the fourth and fifth lights). From the layout, it is possible to see that some panels (for example, CH1:19, 26, 27, 36 and possibly 16 and 29) had been moved into a different row in their original lights by the time of Torre’s description, hence interrupting the alternating red/blue background design. This may well have occurred in the 1582-83, 1611-12 or in the post-Restoration work. Thus, interventions involved moving panels within lights and between light-types.

Torre:²⁹

Comments: These identifications are based on the hypothesis that the original panels, as seen by Torre, were faithfully copied in 1845 by Browne and Barnett. Torre described eighteen panels: of the other two, one (in 2a) was “not plain” (the conclusion is that this was CH1:6), and one (in 8a) was “nothing plain”(this was possibly the location for CH1:16).

Nothing Plain , [6?], [16]	40	38	17	39
36	10, [19?]	28	9	[10?], 19
26	20	18	37	29
Not plain 6, [16?]	30	8	7	27

Because of formal features in the glass and a degree of similarity of colour, there are twelve panels in Torre which can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty. These are CH1:7 in 2d, CH1:9 in 6d, CH1:18 in 4c, CH1:20 in 4b, CH1:26 in 4a, CH1:27 in 2e, CH1:28 in 6c, CH1:29 in 4e, CH1:30 in 2b, CH1:37 in 4d, CH1:38 in 8c and CH1:39 in 8e. Probable from the locations that Torre gives, with their border patterns, are CH1:8 in 2c and CH1:17 in 8d. Also probable (or within a choice of two panels) are four panels, namely CH1:36 and 40 variously in 6a and 8b,³⁰ and CH1:10 or 19 in 6b and 6e.³¹

Torre:

Red and Blue backgrounds
Comments on Torre’s structure based on background colours, based on the preferred options above.

The result of the interventions was that, by Torre, the original pattern of alternating red and blue backgrounds had been disrupted. The background colours in the grid are based on the current colours with the exceptions of CH1:17 and CH1:27 which reflect the colours they may originally have had

Nothing Plain [16]	40	38	[17]	39
36	10	28	9	19
26	20	18	37	29
[6? R]	30	8	7	27
Not plain				

²⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126-27.

³⁰ Based on the number of figures.

³¹ CH1:19 clearly shows a dead body, but it is possible that CH1:10 could have been read in the same way.

before they were changed probably at some point after Torre. The photograph of the current appearance of CH1:37 shows red, but in fact is blue.

Gent: ³²

Description: “St John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness, the Rising of Lazarus from the Dead, the Passion of our Blessed Saviour, being led to his Crucifixion and forced in painful Sweat to carry his cross, his being nailed to the same, taken down from thence, laid in a Sepulchre where Angels surround him, and his appearing to St Thomas, shewing him his sacred Side.”

Intervention: probably in 1693-97, CH1:19, 29 and 39 were switched from the fifth to the fourth light, CH1:7, 17 and 37 from the fourth to the fifth lights, all at that time B lights.

Intervention: In 1762-71, all the panels were re-ordered to create two patterns across the window. Firstly, the background colour of the panels was used to create alternating rows of red and blue, although an error may have occurred and CH1:17 and 27 may have been switched to an incorrect row as far as their background and halo colours were concerned. Secondly, two lights were switched (the second and fifth lights) to create a symmetrical pattern across the windows based on the border design. This resulted in a design, based on the borders, of A-B-C-B-A, but, because of the 1690s switch, CH1:19, 29 and 39 remained in the fourth light and were not moved. CH1:7, 17 and 37 were shifted to the second light because they had earlier been moved to the fifth light.

Barnett copies made in 1845. Note the loss of paint particularly on the white but also yellow glass, which is reminiscent of the problems encountered elsewhere in the mid-nineteenth century.³³

Intervention: Browne oversaw the insertion of the copied glass into CH1. Beyond the switch of lights, movement of panels into rows reflecting their background colours and possible error with regard to CH1:17 and 27 in the 1760s, it is not possible to reconstruct the changes to the detailed narrative sequence in 1845. Unlike CHs3, because two lights had already been switched, it would have been impossible for Browne/Barnett to reconstruct the original. Either in the 1760s or in 1845 the colour schemes for CH1:27 and CH1:17 were switched.

In Chapter 2.3.1 it is argued that the copies were faithful to the original as far as the lead lines are concerned, with some attempt to reproduce the colour.

Browne:³⁴

Comments: The identifications are generally very clear and there is no problem in identifying the modern copies

Blue	36	37	38	39	40
Red	6/26	27	28	29	30
Blue	16	17	18	19	20
Red	6/26	7	8	9	10

from what Browne writes, with the exception of CH1:6/26. CH1:6 was probably in 2a and CH1:26 is 6a. The current numbering system is based on the panels' positions when Browne/Barnett re-inserted them.

³² Gent, “Antient glass,” 52-53.

³³ Alison Gilchrist, “The tears wept by our windows’: severe paint loss from stained glass windows of the mid-nineteenth century,” *Vidimus*, Issue 64 (2012).

³⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 54-61.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:³⁵

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:³⁶

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Pre-Milner White Restoration:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

**Panels moved by Milner White to nave clerestory: N19, N20, S21 and S22.
CH1:36 retained in CH1:2c.³⁷**

³⁵ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

³⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

³⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 31; Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol. 13r.

APPENDIX B.2: THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY (CHn2)

Visual Features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England.

E1 lower: Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (*gules three lions passant gardant in pale or a label azure semy de lis of the second*).³⁸

D1 upper: England.

D1 lower: John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey (*checky or and azure*).³⁹

D2 upper: England.

D2 lower: William de Ros (*gules three water bougets argent*).⁴⁰

A1: Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (*or three chevrons gules*).⁴¹

A3: Ranulf de Neville (*gules a saltire argent*).⁴²

³⁸ See footnote to CH1: D2 upper. This has been drawn as "England with a label" by Johnston (fol. 42) but neither Dugdale (fol. 91v) nor Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 125, saw the label. Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, has concluded it was Lancaster, probably because of the indications of points in the disturbed glass.

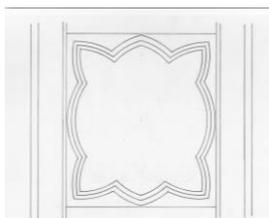
³⁹ Also in CHn3: A1. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91v); probably in D2 upper, but by Johnston (fol. 42) certainly in D1 lower. Johnston is confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, shows the current positions of Warenne and England transposed (in D1 lower and D2 upper respectively). It is suggested here that D1 lower was the original location. John de Warenne held extensive lands in Yorkshire at Conisbrough and Sandal Castles, and the town of Wakefield. He was prominent in negotiations with Scotland in 1290, Scott L. Waugh, "Warenne, John de, sixth earl of Surrey (1231-1304)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

⁴⁰ Lord Marshall's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 2, 211; Falkirk Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 2, 210; and Collins's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 2, 211. Also in CHs2: A1 and A3. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91v); Johnston (fol. 42); drawn and noted by Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 125; and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. William de Ros inherited the barony of Helmsley in 1285 at the age of 30, Colm McNamee, "Ros, William de, first Lord Ros (c. 1255-1316)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn. Oct. 2005, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

⁴¹ St George's Roll; *DBA*, Vol. 2, 419. Sketched by Dugdale (fol. 91v); sketched and identified by Johnston (fol. 42); and agreed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Torre's sketch and identification have Clare in D1 upper and England in A1, clearly an error, YMA L1/7, Torre, 125. It is also in CHn3: E1 lower and CHn3: D1 lower. Gilbert de Clare (d. 1295) held lands throughout England and was the brother of Bogo de Clare, Treasurer and Canon of York Minster. He was involved in the negotiations in 1291 over the succession to the Scottish throne, Clive H. Knowles, "Clare, Gilbert de, seventh earl of Gloucester and sixth earl of Hertford (1243-1295)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

⁴² Collins's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 4, 359-360. Drawn by Dugdale (fol.91v); Johnston (fol. 42); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Torre has "Neville" in D2 upper, transposed with England in A3, clearly another error on his part, YMA L1/7, Torre, 125. Robert de Neville died 1282. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ranulf de Neville whose arms appear in the chapter house. The Neville lands included Raby Castle in Co. Durham, a manor and forest at Sutton in Galtres in Yorkshire, Helen M. Jewell, "Neville, Sir Robert de (d. 1282)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddb.com>). They had also recently acquired Middleham Castle.

Medallion shape



Medallion background colour:

All the medallions have the same colour scheme: the outside edges of the inside of the medallions are red, while the centre is blue. The red is often presented outside a structural feature in the panel.

The original border sequence: ⁴³

The original order of the lights was A-B-C-B-A.



Border descriptions (Barnett copies):

Light-type	Foliage and features	Shape	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Ivy leaves	Snaking	White leaves	Red background	Blue uprights
B	Oak leaves	Snaking	White leaves, yellow falcons	Blue background	Red uprights
C	Ivy leaves	Upright	Yellow towers and fleurs-de-lys	Red background	Turquoise uprights

Grisaille: ⁴⁷

A light-types contain thorn, with a blue faced lion at the base, ⁴⁸ B light-types show the maple, while C contains oak leaves.

⁴³ Browne, *Representation*, 52 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 20.

⁴⁴ "Ivy" was agreed by both Browne and Benson, *ibid*.

⁴⁵ Also agreed by both Browne and Benson.

⁴⁶ Also agreed by both Browne and Benson.

⁴⁷ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 20.

Strip Features:



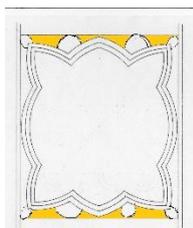
SF I: green background and yellow fleurs-de-lys



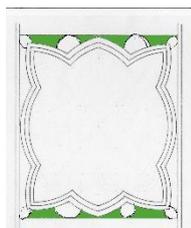
SF II: blue background and white fleurs-de-lys



SF III: green background and white castle-type structures



SF IV: yellow background and white fleurs-de-lys



SF V: green background and white fleurs-de-lys



SF VI: grey beading

Strip Features matched against Option 1:

Light 1	Light 2	Light 3	Light 4	Light 5
SF VI	SF VI	SF II	SF VI	SF VI
SF V	SF IV	SF VI	SF VI	SF V
SF VI	SF IV	SF unclear	SF unclear	SF V
SF I	SF IV	SF IV	SF VI	

Strip Features matched against Option 2:

Light 1	Light 2	Light 3	Light 4	Light 5
SF VI	SF IV	SF II	SF VI	SF VI
SF V	SF V	SF VI	SF VI	SF V
SF VI	SF IV	SF unclear	SF unclear	SF V
SF I	SF IV	SF IV	SF VI	SF III

Original Panel Sequences:

Option 1: 26/28 Borders A/B

37	29	40	[28?]	[36]
26/27	7	18	39	38
10	17	16	19	30
6	8	9	20	? not 26/27

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20; Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. XCII, showed the A lights with an animal at the base (as well as or instead of CHs3). Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. LXXIX, also showed the B lights with an animal at the base.

Option 2: 26/28 Borders B/A

37	7	40	29	28
27	26	18	39	38
10	17	16	19	30
6	8	9	20	36

Option 1 (borders of CHn2:26 and 28 originally A and B):

Border A	Border B	Border C	Border B	Border A
CHn2:37: The Funeral Cortège. ⁴⁹	CHn2:29: The Apostles witnessing the Assumption. ⁵⁰	CHn2:40: Christ taking Mary's soul. ⁵¹	CHn2:28: The Assumption of the soul of the Virgin. ⁵²	CHn2:36: The Coronation of the Virgin. ⁵³
CHn2:27: The Flight into Egypt. ⁵⁴ or CHn2:26: Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents. ⁵⁵	CHn2:7: The Fall of Idols, ⁵⁶ or the Holy Family returning to the Holy Land. ⁵⁷	CHn2:18: The Purification. ⁵⁸	CHn2:39: The Apostles at the Virgin's deathbed. ⁵⁹	CHn2:38: The moment of the Virgin's death. ⁶⁰
CHn2:10: The Magi on horseback	CHn2:17: The Magi before	CHn2:16: The Adoration of	CHn2:19: The Virgin and Child	CHn2:30: The Magi warned in a

⁴⁹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative*, *ibid.*, 208; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80-81.

⁵⁰ By a process of elimination and in the absence of any specific detail, all that can be suggested is that the panel marks some sort of link between scenes. See the discussion in Appendix C CHn2:29.

⁵¹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214-15 or the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208. Jean-Claude Schmitt, "L'Exception corporelle: à propos de l'Assomption de Marie," in *Mind's Eye*, ed. Hamburger and Bouché, 155 and Rubin, *Mother*, 170 have described the general imagery of the Dormition..

⁵² It is unusual to have two images of the Virgin's soul being moved, but none of the Corporal Assumption. Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 213 or *ibid.*, 216; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative*, *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80 or 82.

⁵³ T.A. (Sandy) Heslop, "Worcester Cathedral Chapterhouse and the Harmony of the Testaments," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), 297 and Heslop, "Coronation," 790. As Kitzinger points out, it was a "conspicuous [...] feature in French cathedral programs [sic] in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries," Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 7.

⁵⁴ Matt. 2:14.

⁵⁵ Matt. 2:16.

⁵⁶ Pseudo-Matthew, *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, XXIV, in James, *Apocryphal*, 75-76.

⁵⁷ No textual affiliate identified.

⁵⁸ Luke 2:22-35.

⁵⁹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu* in James, *Apocryphal*, 212; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica (*ibid.*, 208). Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* (*ibid.*, 217); Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 79.

⁶⁰ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal* 213.

following the star. ⁶¹	Herod. ⁶²	the Magi. ⁶³	receiving gifts from the Magi. ⁶⁴	dream. ⁶⁵
CHn2:6: The Annunciation, ⁶⁶ possibly doubling with the announcement of Mary's impending death. ⁶⁷	CHn2:8: The Visitation. ⁶⁸	CHn2:9: The Nativity. ⁶⁹	CHn2:20: The Angel appearing to the Shepherds. ⁷⁰	Neither CHn2:26 nor 27 is plausible.

Option 2 (borders of CHn2:26 and 28 originally B and A):

Border A	Border B	Border C	Border B	Border A
CHn2:37: The Funeral Cortège. ⁷¹	CHn2:7: The High Priest healing the blind from Jerusalem or the Jew watching the funeral procession. ⁷²	CHn2:40: Christ taking Mary's soul. ⁷³	CHn2:29: The Apostles witnessing the Assumption. ⁷⁴	CHn2:28: The Assumption of the soul of the Virgin. ⁷⁵
CHn2:27: The Flight into Egypt. ⁷⁶	CHn2:26: Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents. ⁷⁷	CHn2:18: The Purification. ⁷⁸	CHn2:39: The Apostles at the Virgin's deathbed. ⁷⁹	CHn2:38: The moment of the Virgin's death. ⁸⁰

⁶¹ Matt. 2:1.

⁶² Matt. 2:16-17.

⁶³ Matt. 2:9-11.

⁶⁴ Matt. 2: 9-11.

⁶⁵ Matt. 2:12.

⁶⁶ Luke 1: 26-38.

⁶⁷ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 210.

⁶⁸ Luke 1: 39-56.

⁶⁹ Luke 2: 7.

⁷⁰ Luke 2: 8-15.

⁷¹ See footnote for Option 1 above.

⁷² Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, James, *Apocryphal*, 214-15, or the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208. Schmitt, "L'Exception corporelle," 155, and Rubin, *Mother*, 170 have described the general imagery of the Dormition scene. The current writer has added the information about the presence of the small on-lookers.

⁷³ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214-15 or the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "L'Exception corporelle," 155 and Rubin, *Mother*, 170.

⁷⁴ See the footnote to Option 1 above.

⁷⁵ See footnote to Option 1 above.

⁷⁶ Matt. 2:14

⁷⁷ Matt. 2:16.

⁷⁸ Luke 2:22-35.

CHn2:10: The Magi on horseback following the star. ⁸¹	CHn2:17: The Magi before Herod. ⁸²	CHn2:16: The Adoration of the Magi. ⁸³	CHn2:19: The Virgin and Child receiving gifts from the Magi. ⁸⁴	CHn2:30: The Magi warned in a dream. ⁸⁵
CHn2:6: The Annunciation, ⁸⁶ possibly doubling with the announcement of Mary's impending death. ⁸⁷	CHn2:8: The Visitation. ⁸⁸	CHn2:9: The Nativity. ⁸⁹	CHn2:20: The Angel appearing to the Shepherds. ⁹⁰	CHn2:36: The Coronation of the Virgin. ⁹¹

History of the window

Intervention: Option 1: Two of the panels (26 and 28) were switched between the fourth and fifth lights, meaning that CHn2:26 was now in the fourth light, albeit still containing its A border and CHn2:28 now in the fifth light, still with its B border. This probably occurred as a result of error in the course of the repairs of 1582-83, 1611-12 or after the Restoration. Other panels in the fourth and fifth lights were retained in their original light, but in a different row. The first, second and third lights remained as they had been since initial installation.

Option 2: All the panels except CHn2:26 and 29 were in their original lights, albeit they had been moved around within the lights, again, probably in 1582-83, 1611-12 or after the Restoration. CHn2:26 and 29 were switched within their B light-types on the same occasion. In addition, the panels in the first and third lights were as they had been originally, but those in the second, fourth and fifth light had moved rows.

Torre:⁹²

38	29	40	39	28
27	7	18	19	36
10	17	16	20	37
6	8	[9]	26	30

⁷⁹ See footnote to Option 1 above.

⁸⁰ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 213.

⁸¹ Matt. 2:1.

⁸² Matt. 2:16-17.

⁸³ Matt. 2:9-11.

⁸⁴ Matt. 2:9-11.

⁸⁵ Matt. 2:12.

⁸⁶ Luke 1:26-38.

⁸⁷ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 210.

⁸⁸ Luke 1:39-56.

⁸⁹ Luke 2:7.

⁹⁰ Luke 2:8-15.

⁹¹ See footnote to Option 1 above.

⁹² YMA L1/7, Torre, 125-27.

Intervention: Probably in 1693-97, the panels were moved around considerably. Because of the management control that seems to have been exerted in the 1760s, the assumption is that the 1690s was the occasion for the following shifts.

Option 1: The outcome of the repairs was that one panel was shifted from the far right to the far left light A light-type (CHn2:36) and two were moved from the far left to the far right A light-type (CHn2:10 and 27). CHn2:26 might have been retained in the erroneous fourth light, and CHn2:28 in the erroneous fifth light, or they could have been switched so that they were, finally, in their correct light-type. The second light was unchanged, while other panels were moved within their own lights (CHn2:9, 16, 18, 19, 20, 37, 38 and 40).

Option 2: In addition to the general movement of panels outlined in Option 1 within lights and light-types, CHn2:26 was, on this occasion, moved into an A light and CHn2:28 into a B light, despite the fact that they still retained their B and A borders respectively. This created a situation in which, at the next intervention (1760s) the choice was either to switch the panels back or to change the borders to match their then light.

Gent:⁹³

Description: Arms of the Royal Family, Dacres and “the salutation of the Virgin Mary”.

Intervention: the Sanderson repairs of 1762-71.

Option 1: The general movement of panels occurred here if not in the course of the Crosby repairs. The switch of CHn2:26 and 28 to their correct light-type might have occurred on this occasion if it had not taken place in the 1690s.

Option 2: Given the stress on design and pattern, few changes were required. Only CHn2:26 and 28 were problematic. Here there was a choice for the repairers, either move CHn2:26 back into a B light and CHn2:28 into an A light or switch the borders. The medallions were contained within an inner rectangle, switching the rectangles into new borders was an easier manoeuvre than it would have been for windows where the medallion sat straight in the grisaille. As a result of this, the suggestion is that CHn2:26 and 28 acquired incorrect borders.

Browne:⁹⁴

Comments: The following are problematic. Browne provided two attributions to 6a, one of which was CHn2:26 and the other, CHn2:7. He

provided nothing for 6b. It is suggested that CHn2:7 (B light) may have remained consistently in 6b and CHn2:26 was in 6a.

It is not possible to identify the locations for CHn2:9, 29, 38 and 39, unless one works backwards from the more clearly identifiable panels in Knowles York and uses Knowles’s locations to fill in the gaps (these numbers are in brackets).

This is plausible because the other panels retained the same position between Browne and Knowles’s “Manuscript Notes”.

36	[29?]	16	[39]	37
[26?]	7	40	20	27
[38]	17	[9]	19	10
6	8	18	28	30

⁹³ Gent, “Antient glass,” 52.

⁹⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 45-51.

Knowles, Manuscript Notes.⁹⁵

Description: "It is difficult to arrive at any order of subjects for, although the borders of the lights are all in correct position as to pattern, the subjects may have been removed about, but that could only be done by the leading on of different borders to the panels than those now *in situ*."

36	29	16	39	37
26	7	40	20	27
38	17	9	19	10
6	8	18	28	30

<i>Intervention: the protective glazing for CHn2 was installed, 1903-1908.</i>
--

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁹⁶

Description: "The subjects contained in this have been so indiscriminately placed when the windows were replaced in 1846 that it is almost impossible to re-adjust them in order.

36	29	16	39	37
26	7	40	20	27
38	17	9	19	10
6	8	18	28	30

In their original state it seems that this window and the next one formed a coherent series illustrating the scenes from the life and death of our Lord and some also illustrating the same of the BVM but no doubt owing to the fragile state of the glass many of the panels were either put aside or destroyed as only one ancient panel appears in the restored window viz the 4th window. In the 3rd window we are fortunate in possessing a complete set of ancient pictures which cannot fail to prove of the greatest interest both of the [...] and the student of sacred art in stained glass.

The latter may find special interest in such subjects as those of the three kings which although [...] of the earlier artists do not find a place in later glass painting. That of the angel warning them is beautifully represented at Le Mans Cathedral date around 1255 at Bourges a little later and at Lyons and Canterbury. All the panels show the same motif in design the variations being seen in the position of the angel or in the accessories. At Lyons camels are introduced to emphasize the fact that the kings had travelled from afar.

In the burial of the V there is the same similarity of composition as is seen in the [...] of the relics of St Hugh in the Lincoln glass. The Presentation in the Temple again affords the student to study the ancient adornment of the altar which has the same simplicity as seen in the glass at Canterbury Cathedral and on other ancient examples."

1929-32 Re-leading:

<i>Intervention: The window was re-leaded in one of these years but no changes were made to the order of the panels. The work was sponsored by Mrs Joan Topham and her daughter Grace.</i>
--

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹⁷

36	29	16	39	37
26	7	40	20	27
38	17	9	19	10
6	8	18	28	30

⁹⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.163v- fol.169v.

⁹⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.76r.

⁹⁷ CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24b).

Storage during the Second World War:⁹⁸

Intervention: After removal to the "corner store", CHn2 was taken to Nun Appleton Hall on 22 October 1940.⁹⁹

Milner White modifications during the reinsertion:¹⁰⁰

Intervention: Certain modifications by Milner White: In order to achieve his suggested boustrophedonic order, Milner White changed the borders that existed before the war as follows:

*CHn2:8 from B to C
CHn2:9 from C to B
CHn2:16 from C to A
CHn2:20 from B to A
CHn2:27 from A to B
CHn2:28 from B to C
CHn2:37 from A to B
CHn2:38 from A to C
CHn2:40 from C to A.*

In addition, he changed the position of the following panels:

CHn2:7 was retained in the second light, but moved to 2b.

CHn2:10 was retained in the fifth light, but moved to 2e.

CHn2:18 was retained in the third light, but moved to 2c.

CHn2:29 was moved to the alternative light-type (B), from the second to the fourth light.

CHn2:30 was retained in the fifth light, but moved to 6e.

The only panels retained in the position they had been before Milner White's involvement were, therefore, CHn2:6, 17, 19, 26, 36 and 39.

Milner White:¹⁰¹

Descriptions: "The medallion scenes were badly jumbled but identifiable. Few heads remained [...] we filled in with spare heads only a few years later in date." He identified the original order as having been in a "boustrophedonic" sequence.

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Brown:¹⁰²

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Current:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

⁹⁸ YMA D10/FAB/G.

⁹⁹ YMA D10/FAB/G.

¹⁰⁰ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol. 13r.

¹⁰¹ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 34-41.

¹⁰² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291-2.

APPENDIX B.3: LIFE OF WILLIAM OF YORK (CHn3)

Visual Features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England

E1 lower: Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (*or three chevrons gules*).¹⁰³

D1 upper: Robert de Clifford (*checky or and azure a fess gules*).¹⁰⁴

D1 lower: Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.¹⁰⁵

D2 upper: England.

D2 lower: John de Dreux, Earl of Richmond (*checky or and azure a bordure indented gules overall a canton ermine*).¹⁰⁶

A1: John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey (*checky or and azure*).¹⁰⁷

A3: Nicholas de Meinill (*azure three bars gemelles and a chief or*).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ See footnote to CHn2: A1 above. It was drawn in Dugdale (fol. 91v); drawn and identified by Johnston (fol. 42); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Torre's sketch errs in transposing England and Clare, YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

¹⁰⁴ Walford's Roll, Guillim's Roll, Caerlaverock Roll, First Dunstable Roll and Benneret's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 3, 297-8. It was drawn by Dugdale, (fol. 91v); drawn and identified by Johnston (fol. 42); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292; and also appeared in CHn4: D1, lower. Torre was generally confused by the locations of the shields in the window so is not followed, YMA L1/7, Torre, 124. Given the conclusion that the glazing was created in the late 1280s or early 1290s, the suggestion is that it represents Robert de Clifford, who succeeded his grandfather by 1286. He held Brougham Castle among other extensive lands in Westmoreland by these dates, Henry Summerson, "Clifford, Robert, first Lord Clifford (1274-1314)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Sept. 2013, <http://www.oxforddb.com> and Henry Summerson, "Clifford, Sir Roger de (b.c.1221, d. in or before 1286)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

¹⁰⁵ See the footnote to CHn2, A1 above. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91v); sketched and identified by Johnston (fol. 42); drawn and identified by Torre, YMA L1/7, 124; and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

¹⁰⁶ Herald's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 2, 207. This is the only appearance of this shield in the chapter house. Its current appearance is that of Warenne, but Dugdale (fol. 91v) and Johnston (fol. 42) both drew a *canton ermine*, which was probably lost in the repairs of 1855. Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 292, gives either Dreux or Warenne, doubtless because of the loss of the *canton ermine*. John of Brittany was a cousin of Edward I. He was born in 1266 and took his first command in 1294, holding the castle and honour of Richmond and Bowes Castle, Michael Jones, "Brittany, John of, earl of Richmond (1266?-1334)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. May 2005, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

¹⁰⁷ See footnote to CHn2: D1 upper above. Drawn as Warenne by Dugdale (fol. 91v), sketched and identified by Johnston (fol. 42); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

¹⁰⁸ Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91v); and identified as Meinill by Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 292. Nicholas de Meinhill held the castle at Whorlton, *The Survey of the County of York, taken by John de Kirkby, commonly called Kirkby's Inquest, also Inquisitions of Knights Free, the Nomina Villarum for Yorkshire and an Appendix of Illustrative Documents*, ed. Robert H.Skaife. Surtees Society, Vol. 49 (Durham: Andrews, 1867), 126.

Medallion shape:



There are at least two main different shapes adopted. The differences relate to the shapes of the lateral features: five panels have a pronounced triangular shape (CHn3:9, 16, 20, 26 and 30) while some of the remainder (CHn3:6, possibly 10, 17, 18, 19, 28, 30, 37, 38 and 39) have a curved form such as that shown above. Neither seem to relate to the pattern of the panels, so they would appear to be the result of workshop practice, but other differences exist between medallion shapes, which may reflect variable original work or interventions.

Medallion background colour comments: All the medallions originally in rows 2 and 6 seem to have had the same colour scheme: the outside edges of the inside of the medallions are red, while the centre is blue. The red is often presented outside a structural feature in the panel. The medallions which would probably have originated in rows 4 and 8 appear to have or have had the smallest hint of a yellow rim inside the upper part of the white and red rim (CHn3:26 and 39). CHn3:28 has an intruded pink band in the same location (which may have replaced a similar yellow band) and the much disrupted CHn3:10 seems to have had a yellow band inside the entire outer rim. For other panels there is the hint of a lead line which may have represented such an inner band (CHn3:19 and 37) and CHn3:38 has a similar line currently seen only around the outside of the two heads. CH3:20 and 30, in the 1929-32 photographs show a partial inner rim of a different colour. Thus there appears to have been a differentiation between alternating rows in terms of the inclusion or omission of a yellow inner rim. From the reconstruction, it appears that the panels with a yellow rim were in rows 4 and 8.

The original border sequence:

The original order of the lights was A-B-C-B-A.



Thorn/Oak¹⁰⁹



Maple¹¹⁰



Ivy¹¹¹



Maple¹¹²



Oak¹¹³

Border descriptions:

Light-type	Foliage and features	Shape	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Probably oak leaves	Snaking	White leaves	Red background	Central blue upright and yellow strip to side
B	Probably maple leaf contained in white outline	Upright	White shapes and leaves and alternating yellow and red shapes in between	Green background	Yellow upright
C	Ivy leaves	Upright	White leaves	Red background	Yellow upright

Grisaille:¹¹⁴

A light-types contain maple, the B light-types consist of oak and the C light shows thorn.

¹⁰⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 43 describes it as “thorn” but this may reflect the interventions experienced by the first light. Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 18 describes maple, which is preferred.

¹¹⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 43 has the second light in oak, but Benson has “maple”, “Ancient painted glass,” 18, which is more plausible.

¹¹¹ Agreed by both Browne and Benson, Browne, *Representation*, 43 and Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 18.

¹¹² Agreed by both Browne and Benson, *ibid.*

¹¹³ Agreed by both Browne and Benson, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 18. Browne, *History*, Vol. 2, Pl. LXXXII shows animals at the base of the grisaille (as with CHn4, CHs3 and CHs4). Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. LXXXIII, showed the B lights with an animal at the base (as well as or instead of CHs3).

Original Panel Sequences

Possible original:

Italics indicate panels which had been lost before Torre's description and hence there is no evidence about their appearance and iconography.

[10?]	37	38	39	[30?]
16	9	18	[29?]	[40?]
26	[27?]	28	19	[20?]
6	[17?]	[8][8}	[7?]	36

Suggestions for the original narrative structure of CHn3:

Italics are used for examples of the type of panel which might have filled the gaps.

Border A	Border B	Border C	Border B	Border A
CHn3:10: <i>A trumpeting angel.</i> ¹¹⁵	CHn3:37: An early part of the drowning boy miracle, ¹¹⁶ OR William comes to the aid of sailors. ¹¹⁷	CHn3:38: William saves a drowning boy. ¹¹⁸	CHn3:39: A boy drowns in the well and is shown revived. ¹¹⁹	CHn3:30: <i>William is canonised or otherwise honoured/ welcomed?</i> ¹²⁰ <i>Or his Translation.</i>
CHn3:16: Ralph and Besing fighting. ¹²¹	CHn3:9: Besing overwhelms Ralph. ¹²²	CHn3:18: Ralph's blindness cured.	CHn3:29: <i>Either a double miracle (eg woman who swallowed a frog taken to the tomb) or a single miracle.</i> ¹²³	CHn3:40: <i>Either a double miracle (eg woman cured after swallowing a frog) or a single miracle.</i> ¹²⁴
CHn3:26: Blind girl from Leeds healed. ¹²⁵	CHn3:27: <i>A single miracle panel. Healing with mortar, curing</i>	CHn3:28: Many sick persons healed at the tomb. ¹²⁷	CHn3:19: Woman brought to the tomb on a cart. ¹²⁸	CHn3:20: Woman on the cart cured.

¹¹⁵ Possibly the *Breviarium*, 75, col. 304 and *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 278.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 129; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 291.

¹¹⁷ *Missale*, 43 and n7:16e, Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

¹¹⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 291.

¹¹⁹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 290-91.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 278; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 128 and 129.

¹²¹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *Missale*, 46-47; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 284; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 535. In n7 the miracle is spread over 17a and 17b, Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹²⁵ This incident may have been included in the sick persons who were healed at the tomb people in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129 and in the *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303. It is specified in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 281 and *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 531. It is notable that the panel showing what is probably the same scene in n7:11c shows an Archbishop, almost certainly William, healing the girl in person, Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

	<i>lepers, curing the mad?</i> ¹²⁶			
CHn3:6: Ouse Bridge miracle. ¹²⁹	CHn3:17: William greeted outside the Minster. ¹³⁰	CHn3:8: Enthronement. ¹³¹	CHn3:7: <i>William dies.</i> ¹³²	CHn3:36: William's corpse is unscathed. ¹³³

Comments on original:

The completely unidentifiable panels are those which would originally have been in 2d, 4b, 6d and 6e. 2d would probably have shown William's death scene. The panel in 4b would probably have shown an early miracle at the tomb. In Chapter 2 it is argued that such a miracle in 4b might have been one showing a cure for leprosy or insanity. The panels in 6d and 6e may have shown a double scene of the before and after scenes of a miracle, such as the woman being cured after eating a frog, or two separate miracles. Of those where something can be made out, CHn3:20 in 4e is a speculative follow up to the woman being brought to the shrine in a cart in CHn19. CHn3:8 is not in a medallion (although the upper edge of the original medallion is visible). It may well echo its predecessor, but its location is certain.

CHn3:10 in 8a may have been the panel which Torre said showed a man with a trumpet, and into which an angel was later inserted by Milner White. The panel in 2b might have been CHn3:17, and it is possible that it showed William arriving at York Minster after the Ouse Bridge miracle. CHn3:30 in 8e may have shown some sort of culmination of the narrative, such as William being canonised, or the Translation of his relics in 1284 (the former is preferred by the author). Thus the locations and identifications of three of the panels which do exist, albeit in much altered form, are extremely speculative (CHn3:10, 17 and 30).

History of the window

Intervention: in Chapter 1 there is a discussion about the damage the window had incurred before Torre saw it before 1690-91. Most likely was collateral damage in the course of the Civil War, so the insertions might have been made by the Crosbys, who resumed their work on the Minster glass in 1661.

Collectively, the effect of the damage and the insertions, compared with the suggested original was: (1) the loss of the four panels which would have

¹²⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

¹²⁸ *Missale*, 43; *Breviarium*, 75, cols. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-83; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 532.

¹²⁶ There is a reference to a victim being haunted by an Ethiopian in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 285, which may also appear in n7:15a, *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112. There are generalised references to numerous people being cured of madness in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 286, *Missale*, 43 and *Breviarium*, 75, col. 30. Lepers are cured in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 287-8; *Missale*, 1874: 43 and *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹²⁹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 302; *Missale*, 45; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 275-76.

¹³⁰ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 276. See n7: 9d.

¹³¹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303. *Breviarium*, cols. 303 and 308; In the *Vita*, his death is described in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2: 277-8. See also Norton, *William*, 145.

¹³² Window n7:10c and 10d.

¹³³ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 279-80; *Missale*, 46. Norton, *William*, 149. The fire has been dated to the mid-1150s by Norton, *ibid.*, 150, but, as he has pointed out, there are no indications that William was being revered as a saint until the later 1170s.

originally been in 2d, 4b, 6d and 6e (2) the insertion of two fourteenth-century panels into 4b and 4d (which are now in s35), (3) the insertion of five standing saints into the first row (and an additional one into 2c).

As with the other windows, there had been similar movements of original panels within lights and between light-types by the time of Torre's description. Panels moved within their own light were CHn3:9, 16, 18, 26, 28 and 30, while CHn3:10 or 20 (assuming an 8a location for one of them in Torre) and 36 were switched in the A light-types. If the weak identification of CHn3:17 in Torre's location grid is correct, it means that it had been, very unusually, moved from a B to an A light.

Replacements for CHn3:27 and 29 had been already intruded into 4b and 4d. By Torre, there were gaps in 8b and 8d.

Knowles noted seeing, "near panel 6c", an inscription, "Gyle ce 1661" (now CHn3:3b),¹³⁴ which could have been inserted into the grisaille on any occasion after the mid-seventeenth century. An argument has been made in Chapter 1 that it is unlikely to refer to Henry Gyles, who was a teenager at the time, but to his father, Edmund.

Torre:¹³⁵

Comments: The panel Torre described as "not plain" in 4e might have been CHn3:10 or 20 by a process of elimination.

8	[10?]	Nothing	38	Nothing	36
6	26	39	28	37	30
4	16	(Insert)	18	(Insert)	[20?]
2	6	9	8	19	[17?]
1	St L	(Unid)	St J	St P	St S

The remaining one would have been in 8a. A suggestion of 2e for CHn3:17 is based purely on Torre's indication of a building. The current CHn3:8 had probably already been inserted into 2c as the colours Torre described are similar to those currently visible. The five panels in row 1 had also been inserted (subsequently to be moved to s35 in the nave by Milner White).

Gent:¹³⁶

Description: English arms, Cliffords and "a representation of St John in the boiling cauldron".

Intervention: because only the first two lights of CHn3 can be seen in Drake's etching, we cannot see what interventions occurred in the remaining three lights, so the 1690s work by Charles Crosby can only be detected in the first and second lights, and even then only from the presence of a medallion shape. The first light is unchanged. The second involved moving a medallion panel to fill the gap in 8b, creating the corresponding gap in 2b which was filled with a canopy. Crosby must also have shifted the previously inserted panel in 4b to 6b.

¹³⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.64r.

¹³⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124-25.

¹³⁶ Gent, "Antient glass," 52.

Drake:¹³⁷

8	(narr)	(narr)			
6	(narr)	(Insert)			
4	(narr)	(narr)			
2	(narr)	(Can'py)			
1	(St)	(St)			

Intervention: on the assumption that the etchings in Drake and Britton were accurate, there was a further intervention in the 1760s when the canopy in 2b and a medallion panel, probably CHn3:6 in 2a, were switched. At some stage since Torre (not visible in Drake's etching) there had been a second intruded panel of a saint in 2e. By switching CHn3:6 and the canopy in 2b, a symmetry created by the intruded panels in 2a and 2e, both with canopies, presumably more compelling than the normal symmetry created by the border designs. This had the effect that CHn3:6 was, unusually in the chapter house, moved from its correct A border into an erroneous B border.

Britton:¹³⁸

Comments: "Med"

indicates that a medallion outline can be detected. It is difficult to work out the

8	(med)	(med)	(med)	(med)	(med)
6	(med)	(insert)	(med)	(insert)	(med)
4	(med)	(med)	(med)	19	(med)
2	(Can'py)	(med)	8	(med)	(St)
1	(St)	(St)	(St)	(St)	(St)

contents of panels from his engraving. He appears to show fifteen CHn3 medallions "(med)", of which only CHn3:19 in 4d can be located, in addition to the current CHn3:8 in 2c.

Interventions based on medallion contents of Torre and Browne and the etchings of Drake and Britton: in addition to the movements noted above in respect of CHn3:6, in either the 1690s or the 1760s, CHn3:17 was moved back to its B light and CHn3:36 was moved from the fifth to the first light.

Browne:¹³⁹

Comments: The word "gap" indicates that Browne did not describe what was there. Of Browne's descriptions and locations, six panels

8	36	(gap)	(gap)	(gap)	(gap)
6	26	(Insert)	18/28	(Insert)	Various
4	(gap) [16?]	17	18/28	19	Various
2	Various	6	8	(gap) [9?]	Various
1	St L	St S	St J	St P	(Unid)

can be located and mainly identified (CHn3:6, 8, 17, 19, 26, and 36). CHn3:18 or 28 can be located in 4c and 6c although it is not clear which way round. He provides descriptions of another four as "combinations of various sized pieces of variously coloured glass" marked as "various" on the grid (2a, 2e, 4e and 6e). He appeared to elide CHn3:9 and 16. Note he probably also erred in his description of the borders, as he specifies a pattern of A-B-C-D-B".¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹³⁸ Britton, *York*, Pl. XXII.

¹³⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 37-44.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

Pre-1905 photo of 1st light:¹⁴¹

Shows very cracked mullion. At some state the stonework was repaired which would have necessitated the removal of the panels in the first and second lights.

Intervention: Protective glazing was installed between 1903 and 1908, paid for by the Friends of York Minster.¹⁴²

=Knowles York Photo Undated:¹⁴³

Comments: The panels marked with ? (2d, 8c and 8e) appear to have the medallion shape but

8	36	37	[?]	39	[?]
6	26	(Insert)	18/28	(Insert)	30
4	16	17	18/28	19	20
2	Can'py	6	8	[9?]	Can'py
1	Saint	Saint	Saint	Saint	Saint

the contents cannot be deciphered. CHn3:9 would plausibly have been in 2d and CHn3:38 in 8c (because of the C border). No suggestions can be made for 8e.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles:

The building was "much damaged and turned on its side" in CHn3:9, clearly a misreading of the image of two figures falling horizontally. CHn3:20 was "much damaged" and CHn3:37 had two damaged figures standing on the shore.

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴⁴

Comments: He erroneously transposed rows one and two in the

8	36	37	38	39	Chngd
6	26	(Insert)	18/28	(Insert)	[30?]
4	16	17	18/28	19	[20?]
2	(Can'py)	6	8	Illeg [9?]	(Can'py)
1	St L	St S	St J	Unid	(gap)

schema. He describes the single saints as being in row 2 in the schema but in row 1 in the text. In the grid they have been switched back to their likely row 1 location.

Only 6d, 6e and row 8 are described in detail. The rest are only in the schema. CHn3:20, one of the more elusive panels, was not located in the York notes but can be seen in location 4e in the Knowles photograph. It is not possible to distinguish between CHn3:18 and 28 from the description. CHn3:9, by a process of elimination, was the illegible panel in 2d.

= Benson:¹⁴⁵

Comments: Benson continues the identification of the window as showing the life of Thomas Becket.

= "Watson" photo: Pre-1917:¹⁴⁶

Comments: The panels indicated with a ? appear to have the

8	36	[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]
6	26	(Insert)	(Dark)	(Insert)	[?]
4	16	17	[?]	19	(Dark)
2	Can'py	(Dark)	8	9	Can'py
1	Saint	Saint	Saint	Saint	Saint

¹⁴¹ Figure 22.

¹⁴² Figure 23.

¹⁴³ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁴⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.159r and fol.159v.

¹⁴⁵ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 16-17.

¹⁴⁶ YMA Watson photograph (Figure 23).

CHn3 medallion shape, but more cannot be deciphered. Three panels are too dark to see (2b, 4e and 6c).

Knowles, Historical Notes:¹⁴⁷

Comments: The problem is CHn3:16, which

Knowles gives in 2a or 4a, and CHn3:9 which he placed in 2e, the latter almost certainly an error for 2d. Given that CHn3:9, before and after Knowles London, was in 2d and that Knowles did not provide anything for 2d, it is assumed that it was actually in 2d and a canopy was in 2e. He did not provide any entry for 6a, but Knowles had difficulty reading the window, so it is suggested that his entries for the first light are in error and that CHn3:16 and 26 were in 4a and 6a respectively.

8	36	37	38	39	(gap)
6	26/(gap)	(gap)	28	(gap)	(gap)
4	26/16	17	18	19	20
2	16/(gap)	(gap)	8	9/(gap)	(Can'py)/[9?]
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:

Few visible signs of new lead/soldering, but note the re-leading photograph of CHn3:8,¹⁴⁸ and the comment that the windows on the north side were in a worse condition than those on the south. Note also the policy of only re-leading, insertion of unpainted glass of appropriate tone to fill gaps, no re-arrangement of panels or pieces in the window otherwise. A comparison of CHn3:8 belies this. This may have been the occasion when CHn3:6 was returned to 2a from the location 2b, with an intruded canopy which may have been in 2a since the 1760s put in 2b. If so, this is the only example of entire panels being shifted in the re-leading campaign. It may have been during the re-leading that the Henry Gyles panel of Hercules was inserted in 8e, possibly to reflect the record of "Gyle ce 1661" in CHn3:3b.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:

8	36	37	38	39	(Hercules)
6	26	(Insert)	28	(Insert)	30
4	16	17	18	19	20
2	6	(Can'py)	8	9	(Can'py)
1	St	St	St	St	St

Storage during the Second World War:

During the Second World War CHn3 was moved with CHn4 to Thicket Priory on 31 October 1940.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.63r.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix C CHn3:8.

¹⁴⁹ YMA D10/FAB/G.

Milner White:

See also Lazenby.¹⁵⁰

Description:¹⁵¹ Milner White referred to it as the “Becket” window.

Description:¹⁵² “Gravest CH problem. c1658 was extensively patched by scraps and panels of the window which had been removed the

year before from the SW end of the nave” and sent back 1952 “to its original home”. Pilgrim Trust, £621. In FYMAR 1957. 10 panels intruded, 7 of c1338 (same hand as GWW), 2 of similar/later date and 1 Hercules. 10 blanks to fill. 5 no problem because the bottom row – used reserves of grey glass and patches. Central roundel was that restored by National Museum in Scotland. This left 5. 8e made up of good 14th cent scraps and coloured rosettes. 4 mid-12th cent medallions given by Rev C Christian in 1953.”

Comments: Milner White moved several panels to s35, to construct his “newly found” nave window. The Hercules panel, briefly in 8e – was removed to the Glaziers’ studio. The ones that were removed were replaced with others from various sources. The remaining panels he left *in situ*. Note that he erred in attributing Torre’s reference to “1658” to this window (it was actually in the tracery of CHn4). It is difficult to tabulate his changes to the current panels. He made major changes to CHn3:6 (rebuilding the lower left), CHn3:20 (again rebuilding the lower left and, unless there is a misreading of the black and white photo, effectively creating the recumbent figure), CHn3:30 (changing the figure to the right from a previously inserted angel oriented the opposite way, inserting the bishop’s head and making considerable changes to the drapery of the bishop and of the right-hand figure). Of the heads he found, the vast majority were clear glass/cemented glass, most of which he left alone, but the ones that he may have modified/replaced/leaded are noted in the panel documentation.

8	36	37	38	39	To Glzs
6	26	to s35	28	to s35	30
4	16	17	18	19	20
2	6	to s35	8	9	to s35
1	to s35				

Additional changes made between Knowles’s descriptions and the panels as they currently appear:

The spandrels in CHn3:36 were green and are now blue. In CHn3:38, the central figure had a pink tunic, which is now white.

O’Connor and Haselock.¹⁵³

Comments: These were the first writers to identify the window as showing scenes from the cult of St William of York.

Brown.¹⁵⁴

8	36	37	38	39	40
6	26	27	28	29	30
4	16	17	18	19	20
2	6	7	8	9	10
1					

¹⁵⁰ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.8r and fol.12r.

¹⁵¹ Milner White, “Vanished window,” 22.

¹⁵² Milner White, “Letter,” 1957: 3-23. See also Milner White, “Return,” 1957: 38-39.

¹⁵³ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 340, identified the “Ouse Bridge” miracle, the miracle of “Ralph and Besing” and the “Rescue of a drowning boy”.

¹⁵⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

8	36	37	38	39	40
6	26	27	28	29	30
4	16	17	18	19	20
2	6	7	8	9	10
1					

Current showing intruded panels:

Comments: Intruded panels are now to be found in 2b, 6b, 6d and 8e. Those in 2b and 8e have been placed within a (possibly reconstructed) CHn3 medallion. Those in 6b and 6d are not in medallions.

8	36	37	38	39	Insert in Med
6	26	Insert	28	Insert	30
4	16	17	18	19	20
2	6	Insert in Med	8	9	10 Insert in med
1					

APPENDIX B.4: LIFE OF KATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA (CHn4)

Visual Features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England.
E1 lower: Castile/Leon.¹⁵⁵

D1 upper: England.
D1 lower: Robert Clifford (*checky or and azure a fess gules*).¹⁵⁶

D2 upper: Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (*argent a lion rampant gules crowned or within a bordure sable bezanty*).¹⁵⁷
D2 lower: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford (*Quarterly or and gules in the first quarter a mullet argent*).¹⁵⁸

A1: Bryan Fitzalan, Lord of Bedale (*barry of six or and gules*).¹⁵⁹
A3: William (d. 1289) or John de Greystoke, Lord of Greystoke (*gules three cushions argent*).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Drawn as such by Dugdale (fol. 91r); but lost by the time of Johnston (fol. 42), probably in the Gyles repairs of 1658. Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, agrees that it was originally Spain.

¹⁵⁶ See footnote to CHn3: D1 upper above. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91r); but lost by Johnston (fol.42); and given by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, as originally Clifford.

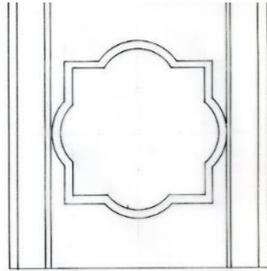
¹⁵⁷ See the Dunstable Roll, St George's Roll and Glover's Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 1, 239. It was drawn as Cornwall in Dugdale (fol.91r) but lost by Johnston (fol. 42). Edmund of Almain was a cousin of Edward I, who held the castle at Knaresborough. He was noted for his devotion to St Edmund, Nicholas Vincent, Nicholas, "Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (1249-1300)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Jan. 2008, <http://www.oxforddb.com>, but any initiative on his part for the inclusion of the Edmund light in CHs4 is put in doubt by the fact that there is only one representation of his shield in the tracery of the chapter house. Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, suggests "Cornwall" or "Vere" as alternatives for the original locations in CHn4: D2 upper and lower, but the conclusion here follows the Dugdale locations.

¹⁵⁸ The arms were drawn in CHn4: D2 lower by Dugdale (fol. 91r); but lost by Johnston (fol. 42).

¹⁵⁹ Caerlaverock Roll, Derring Roll, Falkirk Roll, Guillim's Roll, *DBA*, Vol 1, 89. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 91r) and Johnston (fol. 42); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Fitzalan held extensive lands in the honour of Richmond and was building his own castle at Bedale during these years, Fiona Watson, "Fitzalan, Sir Brian (d. 1306)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

¹⁶⁰ It is shown as Greystoke by Dugdale (fol. 91r); Johnston (fol. 42); Torre, YMA L1/7, 123; and Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. The shield is also included in CHs3: D2 lower. William de Greystoke died in 1289, when he was succeeded by his son, John, George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. Vol. VI. *Gordon to Hurstpierpoint*, eds. H A Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden (Oxford: Alan Sutton, 1982), col. 186 and Spraker, "East window," 13.

Medallion shape:



The perception is that the medallions are well constructed. They are more symmetrical than some of the other windows, but they are also simpler.

Medallion background colour (original sequence):

39	37	38	36	40
29	27	28	26	30
19	17	18	16	20
9	7	8	6	10

The original border sequence:

The original order of the lights was B-B-C-A-A?.¹⁶¹



Tower/castle¹⁶²

Tower/castle

Vine

Maple¹⁶³

Maple

Border descriptions:¹⁶⁴

Light-type.	Foliage and features.	Shape.	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Towers/ Castle	Upright	White towers	Red background	Green upright strip
B	Maple leaves	Upright	White leaves	Red background	Blue upright
C	Vine leaves and fruit	Snaking	White leaves and yellow fruit	Red background	Blue upright (central)

¹⁶¹ Morgan, "Catherine," 156.

¹⁶² Agreed by Browne, *Representation*, 35 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 16.

¹⁶³ Agreed by Browne and Benson, Browne, *Representation*, 35 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 16.

¹⁶⁴ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 16; Browne, *Representation*, 35.

A light-types contain ivy, B light-types maple and C light shows oak.

Original panel sequences

Possible original panel sequence (Morgan):¹⁶⁶

39	37	38	36	40
29	27	28	26	30
19	17	18	16	20
9	7	8	6	10

Original narrative structure for the Life of St Katherine:¹⁶⁷

Border A	Border A	Border C	Border B	Border B
CHn4:39: The Empress and Porphyrius visit Katherine in prison. ¹⁶⁸	CHn4:37: Christ visits Katherine in prison with angels. ¹⁶⁹	CHn4:38: Katherine saved from the wheels. ¹⁷⁰	CHn4:36: Martyrdom of Katherine. ¹⁷¹	CHn4:40: Katherine's soul carried to heaven by angels. ¹⁷²
CHn4:29: Philosophers thrown into flames. ¹⁷³	CHn4:27: Katherine before Maxentius. ¹⁷⁴	CHn4:28: The scourging of Katherine. ¹⁷⁵	CHn4:26: Katherine returned to prison. ¹⁷⁶	CHn4:30: Maxentius leaves the City. ¹⁷⁷
CHn4:19: Maxentius sends a messenger to gather	CHn4:17: Messenger and philosophers	CHn4:18: Philosophers presented to Maxentius. ¹⁷⁹	CHn4:16: Katherine brought from prison. ¹⁸⁰	CHn4:20: Katherine faces Maxentius and the philosophers.

¹⁶⁵ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 16; Benson shows the B lights as containing animals at the base, but Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. LXXIX, showed the A lights with an animal at the base, although *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXXV, showed the B lights with an animal at its base.

¹⁶⁶ Morgan, "Catherine," 158.

¹⁶⁷ The only identification which varies from Morgan is that for 2e, CHn4:10. The references are to textual affiliates not textual sources.

¹⁶⁸ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 27; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 276-77; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 297-364; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁶⁹ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 30; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 278; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 357-75; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷⁰ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 34; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 278-79; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, line 496; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷¹ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 42; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 732-48; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 339; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷² Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 42; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 283-85; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 757-80; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 339; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 274; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 233-56.

¹⁷⁴ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 5; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 274-75; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 25-45; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷⁵ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 24; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275-76; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 274-89; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 335; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁷⁶ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25.

¹⁷⁷ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 289-96; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

philosophers. 178				181
CHn4:9: Beasts brought to be sacrificed. ¹⁸²	CHn4:7: Katherine protesting to Maxentius. 183	CHn4:8: Katherine escorted to prison. ¹⁸⁴	CHn4:6: The angel visits Katherine in prison. ¹⁸⁵	CHn4:10: Maxentius and advisers hatching the plot. ¹⁸⁶

History of the window

Torre:¹⁸⁷

Comments: Morgan's argument, that Torre was confused in his descriptions of locations 6a and 8a (CHn4:29 and 39), is convincing.¹⁸⁸

[39?]	37	38	36	40
29	27	28	26	30
19	17	18	16	20
9	7	8	6	10

Drake's Grisaille and hence Border design:¹⁸⁹

Comments: The drawings of the contents of the medallions do not appear to relate to any existing panels.

B	B	C	A	A

They show simply single or double sketched figures. The grisaille is in what Morgan describes as an A-A-B-C-C format, but which, to conform to the discussions of other windows, the current author describes as B-B-C-A-A. The argument is that what really motivated the subsequent changes was not the grisaille pattern but the borders up the side of each panel, but the borders can only be determined from the grisaille

Intervention: In 1762-71, the first and fourth lights were swapped to create a symmetry in the border patterns, namely A-B-C-B-A.

Halfpenny's Grisaille and hence Border design:¹⁹⁰

Comments: At first sight, the sketches look promising but the contents do not

A	B	C	B	A

¹⁷⁹ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 9-10; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 267.

¹⁸⁰ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 12; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 268.

¹⁷⁸ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 265; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 145-52.

¹⁸¹ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 12; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 269-74; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 169-216; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336-37; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸² Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 5; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 262; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 25-45; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 335; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 81-135; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 264; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸⁴ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 267; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸⁵ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 11; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 268; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 155-67; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸⁶ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 266; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 145-52; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹⁸⁸ Morgan, "Catherine," 163.

¹⁸⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹⁹⁰ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

appear to relate to any of the existing panels. The grisaille, however, is close to that in the current lights in the window, namely A-B-C-B-A. A contrast with Drake's etching shows that the change was made in the course of the Sanderson repairs in the 1760s.

Browne:¹⁹¹

Description: Browne simply says it is "confused" and dedicated to St Agnes. There is no further description of the panels.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁹²

Comments: By now the window had been identified as showing the Life of Katherine.

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Intervention: the protective glazing for the Katherine window was installed 1903-1908, paid for by Mr H. Lloyd.

Knowles, V&A:¹⁹³

Comments: He erroneously transposed the description of CHn4:36 and 37 in his London notes, though his description of 8a fits neither.

[37?]	[36?]	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: the re-leading of CHn4 was paid for by Mr H. Lloyd.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Storage during the Second World War: ¹⁹⁴

Intervention: After removal to the "corner store", CHn4 was moved, with CHn3, to Thicket Priory on 31 October 1940.¹⁹⁵ It is probably the window that was replaced quite quickly after World War II, described by Milner White as not in need of "drastic changes, [its] good condition was a reason for returning [it] quickly".¹⁹⁶

Milner White:

Description: He wrote that it was "in reasonably good condition", with "nothing original in the bottom row of 5 panels".¹⁹⁷ He had left the medallion

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

¹⁹¹ Browne, *Representation*, 33.

¹⁹² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.153r to fol.155r.

¹⁹³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.57r to fol.61r.

¹⁹⁴ YMA D10/FAB/G.

¹⁹⁵ YMA D10/FAB/G.

¹⁹⁶ Milner White, "Letter," 11.

¹⁹⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1952: 30.

order “unchanged because of uncertainty, but Canon Harrison said that it cannot be in the right order”. He made “many small improvements”.¹⁹⁸

Brown:¹⁹⁹

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Current:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

APPENDIX B:5 LIFE OF PETER (CHs2)

Visual features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England

E1 lower: Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (*gules three lions passant gardant in pale or a label azure semy de lis of the second*).²⁰⁰

D1 upper: England.

D1 lower: Amaury de Montfort (*gules a lion rampant double queued argent*).²⁰¹

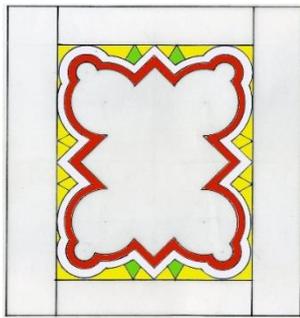
D2 upper: England.

D2 lower: England with bordure.²⁰²

A1: Unknown.²⁰³

A3: William de Ros (*gules three water bougets ermine*).²⁰⁴

Medallion shape:



There are usually painted fleurs-de-lys alongside the triangular insertions at the top and bottom and occasionally along the sides outside the medallions. In practice, the shape is awkwardly designed (often with an asymmetrical bulge to the bottom left). The medallions also sit awkwardly in relation to the borders. This may be because of the complicated shape, but it is notable that Workshop 3 clearly had a difficulty with medallion design.

²⁰⁰ See footnote to CH1:D2 upper above. The panel has been damaged but Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43) drew a label (albeit Johnston only showed three points). Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, has concluded it was “Lancaster”. Torre did not see the label and identified it as “England”, YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²⁰¹ Drawn as “de Montfort” by Dugdale (fol. 92r); Johnston (fol. 43); Torre, YMA L1/7, Torre, 127; and Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. As argued in Chapter 5, it is likely to have been inserted on the initiative of Amaury de Montfort.

²⁰² Drawn as such by Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43). If it relates to John of Eltham dates, it postdates the rest of the glazing scheme. Davis surmised that it was originally Lancaster, Davis, *Heraldry*, 395.

²⁰³ This was defaced by the time of Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43). Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, has given it as “Ros”, its current appearance, but given the uncertainty of earlier descriptions, it is assumed that the shield is an intrusion.

²⁰⁴ See footnote to CHn2: D2 lower above. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92r); Johnston (fol. 43); sketched and described by Torre, YMA L1/7, 127; and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Medallion background colour: All blue.

The original border sequence:²⁰⁵

The original order of the lights was A-B-C-B-A.



Ivy²⁰⁶



Thorn and falcon/eagle²⁰⁷



Tower and ciborium²⁰⁸



Thorn and falcon/eagle



Ivy

Border descriptions:²⁰⁹

Light-type.	Foliage and features.	Shape.	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A (except 1a)	Ivy	Snaking	White ivy and green fruit	Red background	Blue upright strip
B	Thorn and falcon/eagle	Snaking	White leaves and yellow falcon/eagle	Green background	Yellow upright
C	Tower and ciborium	Upright	White tower base, yellow surmount, yellow ciborium	Blue background	Red and yellow uprights

Grisaille:²¹⁰

A light-types are of oak, B light-types show ivy, C light has oak.

²⁰⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 66-67 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23.

²⁰⁶ "Ivy" is agreed by Browne, *Representation*, 67 and Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23.

²⁰⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 67 identified the "falcon", while Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23 saw the "eagle".

²⁰⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 66 saw both features; Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23 did not note the ciborium. Benson identifies the borders of the central light as being associated with Queen Eleanor of Castile. It is likely that, instead, there are resonances of virginity and the host.

²⁰⁹ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23; Browne, *Representation*, 66-67.

²¹⁰ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 23. Benson and Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. LXXXVIII, show the A lights with an animal.

Strip Features:



Comments on strip features:

There is only one panel in strip type 1b (in CHs2:7 in 4b), so its current appearance may be the result of original error or later intervention. (SF 1c would better fit the symmetry.) The strip feature in CHs2:29 in 8b may have been either 1a or 1d, so 1d (the preferred version) is plausible. There is a type of symmetry in the distribution of strip features, which is not disrupted even if the alternative locations are used for the uncertain panels (CHs2:7, 17, 20 and 30).

Strip feature types plotted against suggested original order:

1a	1a/1d	1d	1d	1a
1a	1c	1c	1c	1a
II	1b/1c	1c	1c	II
II	II	II	II	II

Original panel sequences

Possible original:

6	29	28	39	40
36	37	38	27	26
20	7	8	17	30
10	9	18	19	16

Possible original design of the narrative panels in CHs2 showing the strip features.

Border A	Border B	Border C	Border B	Border A
CHs2:6: Christ's selection of Peter in "on this rock". ²¹¹	CHs2:29: Angel freeing Peter from prison. ²¹²	CHs2:28: Angel leading Peter to the gates of the city. ²¹³	CHs2:39: Peter arrested and brought before Nero or Agrippa. ²¹⁴	CHs2:40: The Crucifixion of Peter. ²¹⁵

²¹¹ Matt. 16:18.

²¹² Acts 12:7.

²¹³ Acts 12:10.

²¹⁴ Acts of Peter XXXVI, James, *Apocryphal*, 333.

CHs2:36: The Vision of Cornelius. ²¹⁶	CHs2:37: The Baptism of Cornelius. ²¹⁷	CHs2:38: Peter and Paul before Nero and Simon Magus. ²¹⁸	CHs2:27: Simon Magus flying before Peter and Nero. ²¹⁹	CHs2:26: Simon Magus falling between Peter and Nero. ²²⁰
CHs2:20: ?A preaching scene OR specifically Signs and wonders were done among the people [...] in Solomon's Portico. ²²¹	CHs2:7: Peter healing with his shadow. ²²²	CHs2:8: Peter and John before the High Priest. ²²³	CHs2:17: ?Ananias and Sapphira bring their reduced sale proceeds to Peter. ²²⁴ OR ? The good followers bring their sale proceeds to Peter.	CHs2:30: ?The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira. ²²⁵
CHs2:10: The Call of Peter and Andrew. ²²⁶	CHs2:9: Christ leads Peter and Andrew away. ²²⁷	CHs2:18: The cripple at the Gate asks for Peter's help. ²²⁸	CHs2:19: The cripple at the Gate is healed. ²²⁹	CHs2:16: Christ asks Peter to walk on water. ²³⁰

Comments on the suggested original design:

The main difficulty comes in row 4, specifically CHs2:7, 17, 20 and 30. CHs2:7 and 17 may have been in the alternative B light. Similarly CHs2:20 and 30 may have been in the alternative A light. The preferred proposal is based on the analysis of the individual panels and the scenes depicted therein.

²¹⁵ Acts of Peter XXXVI, *ibid.*, 334.

²¹⁶ Acts 10:3.

²¹⁷ Acts 10:47-48.

²¹⁸ The *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Acta Petri, Acta Pauli, Acta Petri et Pauli, Acta Pauli et Theclae, Acta Thaddaej*, edited by Richard Adelbert Lipsius (Lipsiae: apud Hermannum Mendelssohn, 1891), 51-60.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, and Acts of Peter XXXII, James, *Apocryphal*, 331.

²²⁰ Acts of Peter XXXII, *ibid.*, 331.

²²¹ Acts 5:12.

²²² *Ibid.* 15.

²²³ *Ibid.* 17-40.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* 2.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* 3-10.

²²⁶ Matt. 4:18.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* 19-20.

²²⁸ Acts 3:1-5.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* 7-8.

²³⁰ Matt. 14:28-29.

History of the window

Intervention: as can be seen from the restoration history, two pairs of panels have been swapped around their respective light types on several occasions, namely CHs2:20 and 30, and CHs2:7 and 17. These interventions would probably have occurred in 1582-83, 1611-12 or shortly post-Restoration.

Torre:²³¹

Comments: CHs2:29 cannot be identified but is assumed to have been in 6b by a process of elimination. CHs2:40 must either have been removed from 8e at the time he described the window or he simply erred in omitting a description.

36	37	28	39	[40]
6	[29?]	38	19	26
30	17	8	7	16
10	[9]	18	27	20

Gent:²³²

St Peter casting his net into the Sea

Intervention: Between the descriptions by Torre and Browne (1690-91 and 1845), in 1693-97 or 1762-71, the following occurred: CHs2:10 and 20 were switched to their other light-type A and CHs2:7 and 27 were moved within their light. In Chapter 2 it is argued that these changes may have occurred in the 1690s and that this was the seventh window, the only one not to be repaired in the 1760s.

Browne:²³³

Comments: As described by Browne, but including probable error on top row.

Not'ng	36	37	28	40
6	29	38	27	26
30	[17?]	18	19	16
20	9	8	[7?] Confus'd	10

Browne:

Comments: With probable error on top row corrected. The result is that the panels retain the same border types as seen by Torre. The suggestion that Browne erred is plausible. The locations of CHs2:7

36	37	28	[39?] Not'ng	40
6	29	38	27	26
30	[17?]	18	19	16
20	9	8	[7?] Confus'd	10

and 17 are unclear, but location 4b was described as Tabitha exhibiting herself to her astonished companions,²³⁴ which could have referred to either CHs2:7 or 17. However, the hypothesis is that, because before and after Browne, CHs2:17 was in 4b, it is assumed that this is where it was in 1845.

²³¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127-28.

²³² Gent, "Antient glass," 53.

²³³ Browne, *Representation*, 64-66.

²³⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes"²³⁵

Comments: CHs2:19 and 26 have been identified only by default, following their borders.

36	37	28	39	40
6	29	38	27	[26?]
30	17	18	[19?]	16
20	9	8	7	10

<i>Intervention: Protective glazing was installed between 1903 and 1908.</i>
--

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²³⁶

Description: "Mr Brown has described this window as devoted to the history of St Peter which as [...] as the subjects relate the incidents in St Pauls life more than that of St Peter.

36	37	28	39	40
6	29	38	[27?]	26
30	17	18	[19?]	16
20	9	8	7	10

In the 6th window he has reversed the order and given a description of 20 events in the life of St Paul but in the window 15 subject allude to the incidents in the life of St Peter.

The medallion in this window has an extra band to [...] and in small [...] in the grisaille are heads introduced. The oak being used as a decoration to the middle light and the ivy to the side lights.

Borders. To no 1 and 5 lights an ivy plant with fruit. To no 2 and 4 and golden eagle perched on a thorn leaf. From Ed 3 who was made vicar of the emperor of [...]* [pencil footnote] Browne History of the Cathedral. To the centre light cups and castles divided by spaces of colour [...] to represent [S/G]allicia."

Comments: Knowles seems to have become focused on the colour coding of Peter and Paul's garments and hence concluded that Peter and Paul scenes were spread over CHs2 and CHs3. He then compounds the problem by describing this as the 6th window not, as it should be according to his counting system, the 5th. The error has been rectified this error on the assumption that it was his mistake and it was not the case that the entire window had been moved. Note, however, the descriptions for location 6d and 4d seem to fit different aspects of CHs2:27, which means that there is no location for CHs2:19 and 27 is very dubious. Was this a result of a real move or another error? Given that CHs2:19 was in 4d before and after the "Historical Notes", it is assumed that it was in 4d when he saw it and that CHs2:27 was in 6d.

1929-32 Re-leading:

<i>Intervention: The window was re-leaded in one of these years but they made no change to the order.</i>

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁷

36	37	28	39	40
6	29	38	27	26
30	17	18	19	16
20	9	8	7	10

Storage during the Second World War:²³⁸

<i>Intervention: After removal to the "corner store", CHs2 was moved to Kirby Misperton on 1 October 1942.²³⁹</i>
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²³⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 200v to fol.201v.

²³⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.84v. and fol.96r to fol.98r.

²³⁷ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5127, after the re-leading exercise and before World War II: 59 © Dean and Chapter of York.

²³⁸ YMA D10/FAB/G.

Modifications by Milner White:

Intervention: Certain movements of panels: Milner White changed the order of panels in the first and third lights and moved the following to their alternative light type: CHs2:7, 9, 16, 20, 26, 27, 29 and 30.

Milner White:²⁴⁰

Description: Pilgrim Trust. £448. "This completes the Chapter House. 1931 releaded. No change was made to order. Seven of these [panels] had not hitherto been identified at all or were wrongly identified. Two of them are derived from the Apocryphal Acts of St Peter. Three do not appear in the Bible."

Comments: In fact, according to Milner White, it should be boustrophedonic sequence. It is not clear what he means by saying, "No change was made to the order".

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Brown:²⁴¹

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Current:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

²³⁹ YMA D10/FAB/G.

²⁴⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 30-31.

²⁴¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

APPENDIX B.6: LIFE OF PAUL (CHs3)

Visual features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: England.

E1 lower: Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (*or lion purp*).²⁴²

D1 upper: England.

D1 lower: John Balliol (*gules an orle argent*).²⁴³

D2 upper: England.

D2 lower: John de Greystoke, Lord of Greystoke (*gules three cushions argent*).²⁴⁴

A1: John de Percy (*azure a fess of five fusils or*).²⁴⁵

A3: William de Vescy (*or a plain cross sable*).²⁴⁶

²⁴² Caerlaverock Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 1, 136. Drawn as “de Lacy” by Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43) and, the identification supported by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Torre is the only commentator to see “Hainault”, YMA L1/7, Torre, 128. Henry de Lacy was the keeper of Knaresborough Castle, and held the castles at Clitheroe and Pontefract. He was involved in the negotiations over the Scottish crown in 1290, J.S. Hamilton, “Lacy, Henry de, fifth earl of Lincoln (1249-1311),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn. Jan. 2008, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

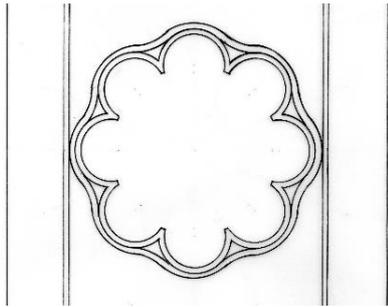
²⁴³ Glover’s Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 3, 266. The arms are shown in Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43) and approved by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292. Torre is the only commentator to identify this as “Umfraville”, YMA L1/7, Torre, 128. It is on the basis that this shield is the one used by Balliol before he became King of Scotland that Brown has given an end date for the heraldic design as 1292. See G.P. Stell, “John [John de Balliol] (c.1248x50–1314),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn. Oct 2005, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

²⁴⁴ See footnote to CHn4: A3 above. Shown as such by Dugdale (fol. 92r); Johnston (fol. 43); Torre, YMA L1/7, 128, and attributed with a query by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

²⁴⁵ Glover’s Roll and Herald’s Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 1, 323. It was shown as Percy by Dugdale (fol. 92r), but as *or a fess of five fusils sable* and Johnston (fol. 43) as *or a fess of five fusils azure*, in either case suggesting a different branch of the Percy family. By the time Browne drew the shield it was the current *azure a fess of five fusils or*, implying that the change may have been made in the course of the Crosby or Sanderson repairs (1690s or 1760s). Sir Henry Percy died 1272, leaving John de Percy, who had died by 1294. He was succeeded by his brother, a second Henry, who was born in 1272.

²⁴⁶ Banneret’s Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 1, 104. The arms were drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92r) and Johnston (fol. 43); and agreed, with a query, by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292, the difficulties of attribution being the cross not originally painted as “sable”, but using a black painted pattern instead, and the two lower quadrants now being red as opposed to what should have been “or”. Torre saw all the quadrants as “gu”, YMA L1/7, Torre, 128. Despite these difficulties, it is suggested that the original shield showed that of John de Vescy (who died in 1289) or his brother, William, who succeeded him. The family held Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, Scott L.Waugh, “Vescy, William de, Lord Vescy (1245-1297),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Oct. 2005, <http://www.oxforddb.com>.

Medallion shape:



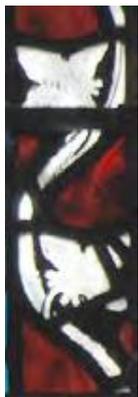
As with the other Workshop 3 medallions, the design is often awkward and asymmetrical.

Medallion background colour sequence (original):

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

The original border sequence:

The original order of the lights was A-B-C-B-A.



Ivy²⁴⁷



Oak²⁴⁸



Fleurs-de-lys²⁴⁹



Oak



Ivy

Borderr descriptions:²⁵⁰

Light-type	Foliage and features	Shape	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Maple/ivy leaves	Snaking	White leaves	Red background	Blue and green uprights
B	Oak leaves in strip	Snaking	White leaves and yellow strip	Green background	Red upright

²⁴⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 72 has the leaf as “maple”, which Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 25. has it as “ivy”. Ivy is preferred.

²⁴⁸ “Oak” is agreed by Browne, *Representation*, 25 and Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 25.

²⁴⁹ Also agreed by *ibid*.

²⁵⁰ Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 25; Browne, *Representation*, 72. Browne describes the A lights as containing maple not ivy.

C	Fleur-de-lys	Upright	White fleur-de-lys	Blue background	Yellow upright
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Grisaille:²⁵¹

A light-types contain strawberry, B light-types show oak and C light has the thorn.

Original panel sequences

Original sequence:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

The original order of the panels in CHs3:

Border A	Border B	Border C	Border B	Border A
CHs3:36: Fall of Patroclus, ²⁵² or the Fall of Eutyclus. ²⁵³	CHs3:37: Revival of Patroclus ²⁵⁴ or Eutyclus. ²⁵⁵	CHs3:38: Shipwreck on Malta. ²⁵⁶	CHs3:39: Miracle of the viper. ²⁵⁷	CHs3:40: Martyrdom. ²⁵⁸
CHs3:26: The evil spirit driven from the slave girl in Philippi. ²⁵⁹	CHs3:27: The slave girl's owner taking Paul to the Magistrate. ²⁶⁰	CHs3:28: Paul beaten in Philippi. ²⁶¹	CHs3:29: Paul freed by the earthquake in Philippi: the gaoler dismayed. ²⁶²	CHs3:30: The Magistrates in Philippi begging Paul to leave. ²⁶³
CHs3:16: Paul fleeing from Damascus. ²⁶⁴	CHs3:17: Barnabas with Paul meeting Peter in Jerusalem. ²⁶⁵	CHs3:18: Paul stoned in Lystra. ²⁶⁶	CHs3:19: Paul taken from the city as if dead. ²⁶⁷	CHs3:20: Paul reviving with his disciples. ²⁶⁸

²⁵¹ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 25. Browne, *History*, Vol. 2, Pl. LXXXV shows animals at the base of the grisaille (as with CHn3, CHn4 and CHs4). Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. XCII, showed the A lights with an animal at the base (as well as or instead of CHn2).

²⁵² Acts of Paul I, James, *Apocryphal*, 294.

²⁵³ Acts 20:7-9.

²⁵⁴ Acts of Paul II, James. *Apocryphal*, 294.

²⁵⁵ Acts 20:7-12.

²⁵⁶ Acts 27:14-44.

²⁵⁷ Acts 28:3-6.

²⁵⁸ Acts of Paul V, James, *Apocryphal*, 296.

²⁵⁹ Acts 16:16-18.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 19-20.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* 22.

²⁶² *Ibid.* 26-29.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* 38-39.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 9:25 and 2 Cor. 11:32-33.

²⁶⁵ Acts 9:27 and Gal. 1:18. If the two verses are read together it shows that Barnabas is the third saint.

²⁶⁶ Acts 14:18.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 18.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 19.

CHs3:6: Paul given letters by the High Priest. ²⁶⁹	CHs3:7: The Conversion on the road to Damascus. ²⁷⁰	CHs3:8: Paul led blind into the City. ²⁷¹	CHs3:9: Paul baptised. ²⁷²	CHs3:10: Paul preaching to the Jews in Damascus. ²⁷³
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Comments on original sequence: This is the most unusual window in that the panels are currently in their original order, despite the intervening relocations. The original order of the lights was A-B-C-B-A. It is notable that the borders of the centre C light contain fleurs-de-lys. The only other set of borders in the chapter house windows with this motif surrounded the centre light of CH1.

History of the window

Intervention: in 1582-83, 1611-12 or after the Restoration, there was wholesale movement of panels. They were spread across five rows, with no systematic attempt at creating a pattern. In total, there are 22 panels described, so two (in 1b and 1c) were extraneous and are now in the nave. The disruption may well have occurred in 1669-70 when there was "Repair to the Stonework of the chapter house window", which was most probably CHs3.²⁷⁴

Torre:²⁷⁵

The grid shows the identifications together with the background colour of the medallions.

row 8			38	39	
row 6	36	17	28	29	40
row 4	26	27	6	19	30
row 2	16	8	7	9	20
row 1	18	(intruded)	(intruded)	37	10

The locations of the two intruded panels are indicated. It is unclear from his sketch whether the fifth-light panels were in rows 1, 2, 4 and 6 or 2, 4, 6 and 8. Torre was aware of the St Paul connection for one panel, but attributed CHs3:9 to the torture of St John. There are several breaks in a red/blue pattern: Given that the individual panels contain more original glass than any other of the chapter house windows, it does not look as though the damage was the result of sabotage in the Civil War. Rather the impression is that there were mullion problems which meant the panels had to be removed and re-inserted at speed.

Gent:²⁷⁶

Description: St John again in the Cauldron

²⁶⁹ Acts 9:1-2.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 3-7.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* 8.

²⁷² *Ibid.* 12.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* 20.

²⁷⁴ YMA E4(a) Fabric Accounts, 6r.

²⁷⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 120-30.

²⁷⁶ Gent, "Antient glass," 49-53.

Drake:²⁷⁷

Comments: The drawing in Drake clearly shows a narrative panel in 1d. It is not possible to see the first, second and third lights.

row 8				narr	narr
row 6				narr	narr
row 4				narr	narr
row 2				narr	narr
row 1				narr	narr

Generally, the etching is too vague for useful conclusions in this window.

Intervention: between 1762 and 1771, the panels were completely re-ordered to create what was almost the original sequence. The re-ordering shows there was some understanding of the detail of its subject-matter. This may have occurred because this is the one of only two windows where the majority of the scenes come from the Bible, which was familiar to the canons in the eighteenth century, although CHs3:7 and 9 were still incorrectly located. By Halfpenny, the narrative we can detect had been confined to four rows.

Halfpenny, 1795:²⁷⁸

Comments: Halfpenny shows only the fourth and fifth lights, nothing in rows 1 or 9 and narrative cannot be clearly made out in 4d. This may have been an illustration error. For CHs3, the etching is not useful.

			narr	narr
			narr	narr
			gris?	narr
			narr	narr

Browne:²⁷⁹

Comments: Browne saw the panels in the order in which they may originally have appeared (with the exception of the switch of CHs3:7 and 9). His

[36?]	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	9	8	7	10

identifications are convincing, with the exceptions of CHs3:17, 36 and 37.

Browne:²⁸⁰

This shows the blue and red alternating rows in the window.

[36?]	[37?]	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	9	8	7	10

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁸¹

Description: [pencil] "This window has apparently been devoted to the illustration of our lords acts and those of St Peter and St Paul. But on them are one or two more relating to St John. [...] it is probable the panels may include part of the acts of the apostles. No 2 is no doubt St John [...] and no 1 3rd row appears to show Peter and John together. No 3 in the 2nd row might be the [...] of Judas if it is not the scourging but must have a ladder and see closely to it."

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	9	8	7	10

Comments: The location of the certain panels is identical to Benson. Knowles was clearly confused about the subject matter of the window.

²⁷⁷ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

²⁷⁸ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

²⁷⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 9-82.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.137r to fol. 202r.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁸²

Description: “Mr Brown has described this window as devoted to the history of St Peter which as [...] as the subjects relate the incidents in St

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	9	8	7	10

Pauls life more than that of St Peter. In the 6th window he has reversed the order and given a description of 20 events in the life of St Paul but in the window 15 subjects allude to the incidents in the life of St Peter.”

Comments: CHs2 and CHs3 are confused: he described this window but as if it were in the position of CHs2. He also wrote mostly about Paul, but attributed CHs3:26 to a Peter scene.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention 4: The window was re-leaded but no change was made to the order of the panels.

Pre-Milner White:²⁸³

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	9	8	7	10
	Intr'd	Intr'd	Intr'd	

Intervention: all the windows were first removed to the “corner store” during WW2, but there is no record of a further dispersal for CHs3 so presumably, this is where it remained.²⁸⁴

Intervention: during the reinsertion of the windows, Milner White switched CHs3:7 and CHs3:9 back to their original locations.²⁸⁵

Milner White:²⁸⁶

Description: “Releaded but no detail rearranged in 1931. Grisaille panels in lowest row (except borders) “no longer existed and had to be, as in most of the Chapter House windows, recreated”. Otherwise, only minor re-orderings”.

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10
	(to-n29)	(to-n29)	(to-n29)	

Brown description:²⁸⁷

Description: “The Life of St Paul, c1290. The narrative unfolds in ascending order, from left to right.”

Current:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

²⁸² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 48r to fol.107v.

²⁸³ YMA Green Photographic Collection, 1929-32.

²⁸⁴ YMA D10/FAB/G.

²⁸⁵ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

²⁸⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 30-31.

²⁸⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

APPENDIX B.7: THE FIVE SAINTS (CHs4)

Visual features

Original heraldry:

E1 upper: France ancient (*azure semy of fleurs de lis or*).²⁸⁸

E1 lower: Robert de Tattershall (*checky or and gules a chief ermine*).²⁸⁹

D1 upper: France ancient (see above).²⁹⁰

D1 lower: Bryan Fitzalan, Lord of Bedale (*barry of twelve or and gules*).²⁹¹

D2 upper: France ancient (see above).²⁹²

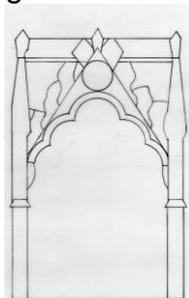
D2 lower: John de Percy (*azure a fess of five fusils or*).²⁹³

A1: no evidence.

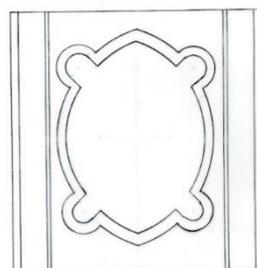
A3: Blanchminster (*argent fretty gules*).²⁹⁴

Medallion shapes (current location):

First Light: Thomas Becket



Second light: Margaret



²⁸⁸ Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92v) and Johnston (fol. 43); confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 53 and 293.

²⁸⁹ Falkirk Roll and Stirling Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 1, 12. Shown by Dugdale (fol. 92v) and Browne, *Representations*, facing page 80, and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293. Johnston (fol. 43) clearly did not see the *chief ermine* and identified it as “Warene”, despite the description by Torre who was the only commentator to see this as “Vaulx”, YMA L1/7, Torre, 129. Robert de Tattershall married the second Middleham co-heiress (Joan de Middleham) and acquired her share of lands in Yorkshire.

²⁹⁰ Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92v) and Johnston (fol. 43); and agreed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

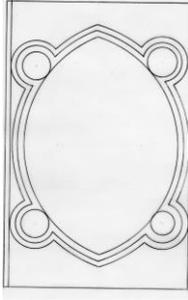
²⁹¹ See footnote to CHn4: A1 above. The shield was drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92v); Johnston (fol. 43); Torre, YMA L1/7, 129; Browne, *Representation*, facing page 80; confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

²⁹² Noted by Dodsworth (fol. 43) and Dugdale (fol. 92v) and agreed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

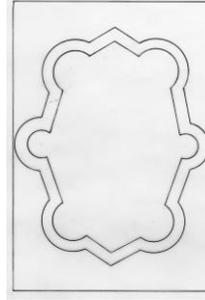
²⁹³ See discussion in footnote to CHs3: A1 above. The shield was drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92v); and Johnston (fol. 43); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

²⁹⁴ Banneret’s Roll, *DBA*, Vol. 4, 97. Drawn by Dugdale (fol. 92v); and Johnston (fol. 43); and confirmed by Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293. They held land in Wighill and Cawton in the Ainsty.

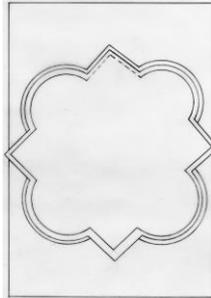
Third Light: Nicholas



Fourth Light: John the Baptist



Fifth Light: Edmund



The medallions and the canopy are well drawn and symmetrical, fitting well into the space between the borders, with the exception of the medallions for John the Baptist (created by Workshop 3).

Medallion background colour:

Current first light (and original centre light): 2nd and 6th narrative rows: blue for the main background and red above. 4th and 8th rows: red for the main background and green above.

Current second light (and original first light): 2nd narrative row: red below and blue for the main background. All other rows: blue in the centre of the structure and red on all four sides outside,

Current centre light (and original second light): 2nd narrative row: blue for main background. 4th narrative row: red for the main background and blue above and below. 6th narrative row: blue for the main background and red above and below. 8th narrative row: red for the main background.

Fourth light: blue for all backgrounds.

Fifth light: 2nd narrative row: blue background. (Also blue for the 6th narrative row, but this may be an intruded panel.) 4th and 8th narrative rows: red background.

The original border sequence:

The original order of the lights was the current B-C-A-D-E.



B. Oak leaves



C. Oak leaves and fruit



A. Vine leaves and fruit



D. Thorn leaves²⁹⁵



E. Ivy leaves?

Border descriptions (current locations):²⁹⁶

Light-type	Foliage and features	Shape	Colour of foliage and features	Background colour	Colour and location of upright features.
A	Vine leaves and fruit	White leaves and central stem	Blue background	Red background	Central, blue upright and green to one side
B	Oak leaves	Upright			Red upright
C	Oak leaves and fruit?	Snaking	White leaves and yellow ?fruit	Red background	Central blue upright and yellow strip to edge
D	Thorn leaves	Upright	White leaves	Red and green background	Yellow strip upright
E	Ivy leaves	Snaking	White leaves	Red background	Yellow upright

²⁹⁵ Browne, *History*, Vol.2, Pl. LXXXVIII, showed the fourth light with an animal at the base.

²⁹⁶ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 26, gave ivy for A and E, oak for C, thorn is given for both B and D. Benson seems to have assumed that there were the usual three types of borders only. Browne, *Representation*, 80, saw five different types of border.

Grisaille:²⁹⁷

A light-types are given as thorn, B light-types as oak and C has the maple. However, a preliminary examination of the current CH1 (where the grisaille was placed by Milner White) suggests that there were five different types of grisaille.

Original panel sequences

Possible original:

37	38	36	39	40
27	28	26	29	[30?]
17	18	16	19	20
7	8	6	9	10

A suggested original sequence for CHs4:

Border A	Border A	Border C	Border B	Border B
CHs4:37: Margaret martyred. ²⁹⁸	CHs4:38: Nicholas bringing three clerics back to life. ²⁹⁹	CHs4:36: Thomas Becket martyred. ³⁰⁰	CHs4:39: Salome handing Herodias John's head in a dish. ³⁰¹	CHs4:40: The discovery of Edmund's head. ³⁰²
CHs4:27: Margaret prevailing over the dragon. ³⁰³	CHs4:28: The Host murdering three clerics. ³⁰⁴	CHs4:26: Thomas Becket leaving or, more probably, embarking to return to England. ³⁰⁵	CHs4:29: John the Baptist martyred. ³⁰⁶	<i>CHs4:30: The martyrdom of Edmund.</i>
CHs4:17: Margaret emerging from	CHs4:18: Nicholas saving sailors	CHs4:16: Thomas Becket facing	CHs4:19: Salome dances for	CHs4:20: Edmund shot at with

²⁹⁷ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 26-27. Browne, *History*, Vol. 2, Pl. LXXXVII shows animals at the base of the grisaille (as with CHn3, CHn4 and CHs3).

²⁹⁸ See, for example, Wendy Larson, "The Role of Patronage and the Audience in the cults of Saints Margaret and Marina of Antioch," in *Gender and Holiness: men, women and saints in late medieval Europe*, eds. Samantha J.E. Riches and Sara Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, University of Rochester: Robbins Library Digital Projects. Middle English Text Series, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/21sr.htm>, line 334; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 304.

²⁹⁹ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 213-26.

³⁰⁰ Willelmo Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 131-135; Benedict of Peterborough, *Passio*, 10-14; John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 319-320; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 437; Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 138-142; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 490-522; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 76-77.

³⁰¹ Matt. 14:11; Mark 6: 28.

³⁰² For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury (Hervey, *Corolla*, 43).

³⁰³ See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 187; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 296.

³⁰⁴ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 213-26.

³⁰⁵ Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 42 (leaving) and 86-97 (returning); John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 313 (leaving) and 315 (returning); Edward Grim, *Vita*, 400 (leaving) and 426 (returning); Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 70 (leaving) and 115-18 (returning); Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 318 (leaving) and 467-75 (returning); Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 55-56 (leaving) and 67-68 (returning).

³⁰⁶ Matt. 14:10. Mark 6: 27-28.

the dragon. ³⁰⁷	in a storm. ³⁰⁸	the King over the criminous clerk. ³⁰⁹	Herod. ³¹⁰	arrows. ³¹¹
CHs4:7: Margaret facing Olybrius. ³¹²	CHs4:8: Nicholas giving alms to the three girls. ³¹³	CHs4:6: Thomas Becket consecrated Archbishop. ³¹⁴	Chs4:9: John in prison, greeted by angel holding palm leaf. ³¹⁵	CHs4:10: Edmund rides out to meet the Danes. ³¹⁶

History of the window

Intervention: At some stage after the original construction of the window, CHs4:30, a Romanesque panel, was inserted into 6e. It is less likely that the panel was re-used at the outset.

Torre:³¹⁷

37	38	36	39	[40]
27	28	26	29	30
17	18	16	19	20
7	8	6	9	10

Gent:³¹⁸

Description: "Jonas cast out of the Whale's Belly."

Drake:³¹⁹

Comments: Drake clearly shows CHs4:6, 16, 26 and 36 in the central light. The drawing also shows a horse in 2e.

		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		[10]

Intervention: in 1762-71, the centre light was moved to the first light, the first light to the second and the second to the third. The fifth light remained in situ. The conclusion is that the medallion shapes were not the focus for the re-organisation, because, had they been, the Thomas Becket light with its high canopy would have stayed in the centre. Therefore something else was the focus. It cannot have been the grisaille because there were five different patterns of grisaille, probably to reflect the fact that there were five different saints. Similarly, there are still five different types of borders. However, the re-

³⁰⁷ See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 186; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 295.

³⁰⁸ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 227-74.

³⁰⁹ Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 12; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 374; Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 45; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 264-65; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 24.

³¹⁰ Matt. 14:10; Mark 6:27.

³¹¹ For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, Hervey, *Corolla*, 43.

³¹² See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 82; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 289.

³¹³ For example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 81-120.

³¹⁴ Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 7-8; John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 305; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 368; Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 35-36; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 180-84; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 14-19.

³¹⁵ Matt.11:2; Mark 16:17. No reference to the angel visiting him in prison has been identified.

³¹⁶ For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, Hervey, *Corolla*, 33.

³¹⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

³¹⁸ Gent, "Antient glass," 53.

³¹⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

organisation has resulted in a pattern in which those borders with a predominantly red background were moved to (or remained in) the first, third and fifth lights. Margaret, with her blue borders, was moved to the second light and John the Baptist, with his green and red backgrounds, was retained in the fourth light. In other words, the pattern was created by the predominant red colour of the borders.

Halfpenny, 1795:³²⁰

Comments: The Thomas Becket light is shown as switched to the left-hand light.

Browne:³²¹

Comments: He describes 2b as "Persecution under Diocletian and made a glorious confession". For the Margaret light he did not specify exact locations, but it is suggested that the panels were in their current location, which reflect the order they would have been in in their original light and where they were to be in the Knowles's descriptions.

36	7-37	28	39	40
26	7-37	38	29	30
(gap)	7-37	18	19	20
6	7-37	8	9	10

Previous interventions noted by Knowles:

CHs4:6 had been patched, the head had gone from the right-hand figure in CHs4:7. Also in CHs4:7 a head had been inserted to the second figure to the left and a mitre inserted together with "deep glass" for the head to the seated figure, heads had been inserted and the second figure to the left and the clothes of the second figure to the left were of "yellow patch" in CHs4:8, a head had been inserted four the mounted figure in CHs4:10, the head of the left-hand figure in CHs4:18 was "much mutilated", CHs4:36 was "mutilated" especially the right-hand figure. For details, see Appendix C.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":³²²

Description: "Analysis of window The first light is a set of its own. The bottom panel is prob a [deleted]. Can't make out the 3rd in centre light but no 4 light is the story of St John the Baptist and no 5 mixed subjects. The [...] work is also much mixed. The centre light may have been the [...] original arrangement and no 1 [might] have gone with it but the others."

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Intervention: Protective glazing was installed between 1903 and 1908.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":³²³

Description: "Notes on the glass of the 7th window If careful attention is directed to the archaic drawing of the figures. The early costume and the subjects chosen for representation it will shew that an early date must be given to its erection and it is [...] early examples of standing glass that we find the same motif employed. To instance in the subject of the

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

³²⁰ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

³²¹ Browne, *Representation*, 73-82.

³²² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.196r to fol.200r.

³²³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.99r to fol.104r.

decapitation of St John the Baptist we see the executioner seizing the saint by his forelock. This finds its counterpart in the beheading of [Potassius] at Le Mans Cath. Again in the murder of the boys in the St Nicholas series a similar panel is seen in the Bourges glass. Also in the rose window at Lincoln we see Salome throwing herself in the same attitude dancing as we have in this window. With these comparisons [...] it is evident that the lower part of the window was filled with stained glass mostly after the completion of the nave above which bears still stronger evidence of antiquity."

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention 4: The window was re-leaded but no change was made to the order of the panels.

A comparison between Knowles's descriptions and the 1930s photographs shows the following modifications: there was no apparent ring in CHs4:6, no sign of the prostrate figure in CHs4:8 having his "hand lain across his chest" nor of the right hand of three figures to the left having a "pink head" implying some original painting, there was no sign of a the lead line of a nimbus for the saint in CHs4:9, there was no sign of the head looking out of the tower with "red face with curly hair" in CHs4:10, only one out of the original three heads of men in the boat in CHs4:18 still had its "pink face and curly hair", there was no sign of the figure to the left in CHs4:26 having "curly hair" nor of the man sitting in the centre as having a cap, there was no sign of the saint in CHs4:38 having a "cross in his left-hand".

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³²⁴

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Storage during the Second World War:³²⁵

Intervention: After removal to the "corner store", CHs4 was moved to number 3 cell in the Assize Court on 28 March 1940.³²⁶

Milner White description:

Description: (First) 1955 report of W J Green. SW window "corrected for errors in the former releadings and is now ready for fixing".³²⁷ (Second) "We are able to do much in restoring the original grisaille patterns, but all too little to improve the muddled medallions." CHs4 is the "best preserved of all the CH windows". "It is seldom necessary to relead a complete panel, but each one needs the renewal in part".³²⁸

(Third) In 1961, the grisaille panels were re-ordered at a cost of £895. The medieval panels remained as they were "from the start", in state of "decent preservation". The grisaille was exchanged, which means making 25 new grisaille panels. It was not new glass. He copied the leadwork patterns "scrupulously" with "scraps of the same date". He added some of the better

³²⁴ YMA Green Photographic Collection, photographs taken by R. Green 1929-32.

³²⁵ YMA D10/FAB/G.

³²⁶ YMA D10/FAB/G.

³²⁷ Green, "Report," 1955: 37-38.

³²⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

Victorian copies from the East Window. The centre medallions were spare fourteenth-century pieces making a “zoo” of queer medieval animals.³²⁹

Comments: Details about the grisaille switch with CH1 can be also found in Lazenby.³³⁰

O’Connor and Haselock:³³¹

Comments: They were the first writers to identify the light as showing Thomas Becket.

Additional changes made between Knowles’s descriptions and the panels as they currently appear:

Modifications noted include: in CHs4:6 Knowles’s sketch of the mitre has now been changed, in CHs4:20, the left-hand figure was in a yellow tunic but is now blue and in CHs4:26, the small figure had a cap, which is no longer visible.

Brown:³³²

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

Current:

36	37	38	39	40
26	27	28	29	30
16	17	18	19	20
6	7	8	9	10

³²⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19-20.

³³⁰ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

³³¹ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 340.

³³² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Appendix C: The Panel Catalogue

Key to Appendix C:

Key to colours on the "Restoration History" diagrams

-  Original glass.
-  Intruded glass, medieval or later. Date uncertain.
-  Insertions by the time of the descriptions by J.W.Knowles (1895-1929).
-  Known changes made in the course of re-leading 1929-1932.
-  Changes made by Milner White (1955-62)
-  Milner White inserted lead lines
-  Interventions since the descriptions by J.W. Knowles (1895-1929).
-  Status uncertain.

Key to the lines on the "Original Lead Line" diagrams

Continuous line: original lead line, deduced from the presence of original glass, previous descriptions and contemporary visual affiliates.

Dotted line: suggested original lead line. These are largely based, tentatively, on the coherence of lead lines, previous descriptions and contemporary visual affiliates.

Degree of certainty of location and identification in grids for historical descriptions

-  Identification of panels in the grids whose cells are grey is "certain or probable". This includes situations where there is a possibility of up to two panels in any one location. A number denotes the panel number.
-  Identification of panels in white cells in the grids is "possible". A number denotes the panel number.

[] Panel numbers in the grids in square brackets represent the author's own more tentative suggestions.

[?] Panel numbers in the grids with a query show even more tentative personal suggestions.

Occasional usage

() Words in the grids in brackets are the author's interpretation of the original source.

Words with no brackets are a summary of the original source.

= Indicates a pair or a group of descriptions/visual representations whose chronological relationship is not certain. This usually reflects the undated ordering of sources and photographs between c1900 and 1929.

SCHEMA: Occasionally Knowles provides a grid containing identifications of panels in addition to and separate from his detailed notes.

Background colours of medallions where relevant



Medallions which had a blue background, in those windows where the distinction between red and blue is significant for the original design.



Medallions which had a red background, in those windows where the distinction between blue and red is significant for the original design.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S21:4a © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4440, 1931: 58, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York .¹

¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4441, 1966: 1L2P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

[6?]	6			

Possible original appearance based on copy:

Medallion with blue outer and patterned white inner rim. Red background.

Christ seated, with blue and, possibly, red, cruciform nimbus, in a yellow tunic and blue cloak. His right hand is raised in blessing: his left hand is resting on his left knee. There is a brown bird/dove over his right shoulder, perched on a brown and white plant which fills the left-hand side of the medallion. Christ is seated on a set of white, yellow and red structures, resembling rocks. To his left are two characters with a monster/ape appearance. One is lying on the ground with its left arm to its side and its right hand held above his head, touching his forehead. The second figure, with a blue head and legs and a horizontal dark pink object across his centre, holds his right hand aloft towards Christ. If the lead lines rather than the glass are followed, the figures could resemble sleeping/waking figures.

Based on Figure 24a, the copied border was type A.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

There was clearly very little of the original glass for Barnett to copy, so this is a panel with few of the original stylistic features.

Iconography and original location: The Agony in the Garden.²

Browne described this as “Jesus driving a devil out of a man, other evil spirits being present”,³ Knowles as “Christ tempted by devils”,⁴ and it is currently identified as the “Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness”.⁵ Gent had the original as a scene of “St John the Baptist preaching in the Wilderness”,⁶ which may relate to the original of this panel. This may have been the panel that Torre could not distinguish (in 2a).

Bearing in mind that the copies were made from tracings of the originals, it is possible that the two figures on the ground were not originally beasts but could have been human beings who had acquired beast-like glass in the course of repairs. They are not in a menacing pose, but more closely resemble figures in the process of supplicating or waking. In this case, a further suggestion is that the panel may originally have represented Christ’s solitary sojourn in the Garden of Gethsemane when the apostles (including Peter) fell asleep.⁷

If the scene is the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, it is extremely rare to

² Matt. 26:36-45; Luke 22:41-46.

³ Browne, *Representation*, 54.

⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

⁶ Gent, “Antient glass,” 52-53.

⁷ Matt 26:39-46; Mark 14:35-41; Luke 22:41-46; John 18:1.

find it associated with a Passion cycle. If it shows the Agony of Christ, it is represented in glass,⁸ although it is one of the less common of the Passion scenes. It features in several manuscripts which show a longer cycle of the end of Christ's life.⁹ Often there is an angel over Christ's shoulder, as in Luke, 22:44, but this is sometimes omitted.¹⁰

Given the suggested original border sequence of A-A-C-B-B, the panel's initial location could have been either 2a or 2b. If it were the Agony in the Garden, 2b is the preferred option as it would naturally follow Christ's arrival in Jerusalem.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: CH1:6 was probably seen in an A light-type by Torre (the less likely alternative was 8a). Given that it is argued the window was in an A-A-C-B-B sequence, according to the preferred original structure, either means that it had already been moved from the second A light to the first A light in the course of repairs, probably by Thompson in the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth centuries. On this occasion, it was probably switched with CH1:30. This left CH1:6 in the first light where it probably remained throughout the subsequent centuries.

Torre:¹¹

Comments: It is possible that the panel was in 2a (no. 21), where it was described as "not clear", although if the panel were in 8a, it was described as "nothing plain" (no. 6).

[6?]				
6				

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Intervention: Browne oversaw the insertion of the copied glass into CH1.

Browne:¹²

Descriptions of copy: "Angel told the women Jesus had arisen" and "Jesus driving a devil out of a man, other evil spirits being present".

Comments: Browne gave two conflicting descriptions of location 6a,¹³ but omitted any for 2a. Given that all the other panels were in Browne's positions in Knowles's "Manuscript Notes" and this panel was then in 2a, it is likely that the same applied when Browne saw it.

[6]				
6				

⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:6b; Chartres, Bay 0:10a; Laon, Bay 0:4a and 4b; Tours, Bay 0:2b and the churches at Gassicourt: Bay 2:2b and St-Germain les Corbeil, Bay 0:2a.

⁹ The Grandison Psalter, fol.17; the Gough Psalter, fol. 36, in Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller, 1974), 49-55; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 242; the Taymouth Hours, fol.118v.

¹⁰ As in *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:6b and Chartres, Bay 0:10a and the church at St Germain les Corbeil, Bay 0:2a.

¹¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

¹² Browne, *Representation*, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 54.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴
Description of copy: "Christ tempted by devils".

6				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵
Description of copy: "Christ rebuking the Satanic demoniacs."

6				

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Intervention:¹⁶

6				

Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S21:4a.¹⁷

Brown:¹⁸
Description of copy: "The Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness".

¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

¹⁶ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁷ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S21:4c © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:7: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4444, 1931: 58, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹

¹⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4445, 1966: 3L2P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

			7	

Possible original appearance based on copy: The medallion has a blue and white rim and red background. The base is green and yellow.

Christ stands centrally. With a blue and yellow nimbus, he is dressed in white tunic and blue cloak. To his left are three figures: the one slightly behind him is bearded and dressed in white/pale murrey, the one to the left of this figure is in a short yellow tunic with a pink leg and blue shoe. The latter figure is holding a decorated sword held upright in his left hand and a lantern in his right, which is raised above the entire scene. To the front of these two figures is a soldier in white mail and turquoise cloak, in the process of removing his sword from its brown/orange scabbard. Christ's right hand is resting on the ear of a kneeling figure, clothed in a white tunic and turquoise cloak. To Christ's right-hand side are standing two figures behind the group, one with a turquoise Jewish cap. The other figure, to the extreme left of the panel, is a figure nimbed in blue. He wears a red tunic and yellow cloak. In his hands he is holding a sword which is pointing towards the ear of the kneeling figure (Peter and Malchus). The most strident of the non-medieval colours is the turquoise.

From Figure 24a, it can be seen that the border for the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair on Christ with a quiff, straggly beards and flattened noses. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Christ healing Malchus's ear.²⁰

It may have been in Torre's 2b: but a more likely panel there then would be CH1:30 (Entry into Jerusalem). Based purely on the number of standing figures which may have been copied as a result of using tracings and other features in CH1:30, it is more likely that Torre's description related to Christ and Malchus in 2d. The structure seen as a "church" at the centre rear of the panel by Torre is a lamp, which frequently features in images of the scene.²¹

The scene is extremely common in portrayals of the Passion, although the emphasis between its two components (the Kiss of Judas and Christ Healing Malchus's Ear) varied.²² Derbes has shown that, in the second third of the

²⁰ Matt. 26:47-56; Mark 14:43-49; Luke 22:47-53; John 18:2-9. John was the only Evangelist to identify Peter as Malchus's attacker.

²¹ Dorothy Gillerman, "The Arrest of Christ: A Gothic Relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 15 (1980): 71.

²² Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 35-68. The following scenes show the kiss of Judas, but do not have any aspects of Peter's attack on Malchus: the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:7a; at Chartres, Bay 0:10b; at Clermont Ferrand, s2:3a; at Laon, Bay 0:5; at Sens, Bay 100:1a; at Strasbourg, 12:2a; at Tours, Bay 2:2a and Bay 200:3a, the church of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 127:4a. See *Online Archive*, "French sites". The single image is also in the Barlow Psalter, fol.13. Images which combine the kiss with Peter's attack are to be found in the church of St-Père of Chartres, Bay 217: left-hand lancet; the

thirteenth century in Italian art, the stress was on Judas's betrayal, but that Peter's prominence was restored by the last quarter of the century.²³ However, she does not identify any examples of where the sole focus is on Malchus. There is no indication of the kiss of Judas in CH1, which may be the result of the way the panel was copied or its condition at the stage when it was copied, but it would be unusual for a narrative cycle of the Passion to fail to show either of the preliminaries to the miracle. It is possible that, because of the extent of anti-Semitic imagery in the rest of the chapter house, this particular betrayal was understood.

The portrayal of the copy shows a late-thirteenth-century emphasis on Christ as human rather than imperial.²⁴ Gillerman argues that the inclusion of the healing scene switched the stress towards "human anger countered by divine compassion",²⁵ reinforcing the message even further if the copy, omitting the Judas kiss and only alluding to the attack by Peter, is correct. However, Smalley attributes greater political significance to the scene, in that Robert Pullen, in *Sentences*, wrote of Peter using the sword of "sacerdotium" as opposed to the sword of "regnum" to cut off the right ear of "spiritual healing", thereby demonstrating the power of the Church.²⁶ Other examples in glass can be found in the Cathedrals at Angers and Tours and Ste-Chapelle in Paris.²⁷

Given the suggested original B borders for the panel, it is likely that it was initially in 2d.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁸

Descriptions: (For 2b) "22 In 2nd Light stand 5 holy persons together before a Church variously habited."

(For 2d) "24 In 4th Light stand 5 Men together diversely habited."

Comments: The alternative panel with a building and several people would be CH1:30 (entry into Jerusalem). However, the number of figures suggests CH1:7 is more likely. This means that it would have been in a B light position and in the same place as the suggested original, namely in 2d.

			7	

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:²⁹

Description: "Jesus healing the ear of the servant of the High Priest."

	7			

cathedral at Rouen, Bay 10:5b; the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:2a. It is also to be found in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.2v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42. The images which only show Christ healing Malchus's ear are in the Gough Psalter, fol.36v, *ibid.*, 49-55 and the Barlow Psalter, fol.13, *ibid.*, 57-58.

²³ Derbes, *Passion*, 39-40.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁶ Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 42-43.

²⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 100:2b/4a and Tours, Bay 2:2a. In Paris, Ste-Chapelle, it can be found in Bay 0:3c.

²⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 55.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:³⁰

Description: “Christ in the garden.
Peter cutting off ear.”

	7			

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:³¹

Description: “The betrayal by Judas in
the garden.”

Comments: As noted in the thesis, one
unusual feature of the window is that
there is no sign of the Judas kiss.

	7			

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³²

	7			

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S21:4c.*³³

Brown:³⁴

Description: “The Betrayal of Christ.”

³⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

³¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

³² Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

³³ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

³⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S21:4d © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:8: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4446, 1931: 58, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.³⁵

³⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4447, 1966: 4L2P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

		8		

Possible original appearance based on copy: Medallion with blue and white rim and red background.

Four figures are visible, none nimbed. The first, to the left, shows a bearded figure with white tunic and blue cloak (the only description that fits that of Torre), standing facing three other men, with his right hand raised to the level of their shoulders. His hand is touching what appears to be a hand reaching out from one of the three men he is facing. This hand is somewhat disconnected but may be the right hand of the figure on the extreme right, whose arm may have been passed between the two other figures to reach towards the first. There is a small piece of similar coloured glass at the back of the left-hand figure, which may represent the right hand of one of the two central figures, reaching out to embrace the left-hand figure. Alternatively, it may have originally shown a purse. The figure on the extreme left is bearded and is wearing a white cloak and yellow tunic and sleeve. He appears to have his left hand resting on the shoulder of the figure to his right. This latter figure is in a green tunic, a white cloak with a yellow trim and red shoes. The final figure, behind and between figures 1 and 3 is currently wearing a prominent, yellow Jewish hat, which appears faintly in the Green photograph of 1931.³⁶ He may have been wearing a yellow tunic under his white cloak. The figures are standing on a green ground. From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type C.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair with a quiff and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Judas plotting with the High Priests probably).³⁷

The panel is of uncertain identification. Its 1690-91 location is unclear: Torre described four potential panels with “3 men” (in 2c, 2e, 4a and 8d). The current panel shows four figures, but one is standing behind the others and may not have been clearly visible. Torre’s panel in 2e is more likely to be one of CH1:27 and 28 and the one in 4a specifically refers to an “angel” and is more likely to be CH1:26. From what survives, locations 2c or 8d are the most likely for CH1:8. However, given that panels were moved within lights or between light types, it was probably originally a C light panel and therefore not likely to shift lights, meaning it was initially in 2c. Of Torre’s colour schemes, only the first figure fits what is currently visible.

It is equally difficult to work out what is depicted: it is currently attributed to Judas, plotting with the High Priests, following Browne, but there are no

³⁶ YMA: Green Photographic Collection.

³⁷ Matt. 26:14; Mark 14:10-11.

distinguishing features, there is uncertainty about a possible purse, and only one of the figures is wearing a Jewish hat. Similar scenes are rare,³⁸ the closest being in Giotto's depiction in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua,³⁹ which clearly shows Judas and the High Priests. However, unlike CH1:8, there is a devil standing behind Judas, there is no sign of a Jewish hat and the bag of money is clearly visible. From the positioning of the figures and their hands, CH1:8 would appear to show a scene of intimacy and intrigue.

History of the Panel.

Torre:⁴⁰

Description: "23...In 3d Light stand 3 Men together, 1st habited [A] B & A, 2d gu/ 3d O & vt."

Comments: The colours of the first figure fit Torrie, but if he saw a second figure in "gu", this no longer existed by the time of the copy. There is no other single figure now in "O & vt", but these colours are clearly visible in the copy. He did not see a fourth figure, which may, in any event, have been a later intrusion. Because of the C border of the panel, it was probably retained in the centre light throughout and therefore Torre saw it in 2c.

		8		

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:⁴¹

Description: "Judas agreeing with the High Priests."

		8		

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁴²

Description: [gap]

Comments: By a process of elimination, CH1:8 must have been in 2c.

		8		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁴³

Description: By a process of elimination, CH1:8 must have been in 2c.

Comments: It is likely to have been CH1:8, as this was in 2c before and after Knowles's description.

		8		

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

³⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:8c, Rouen, Bay 10:5a and the Sainte-Chapelle, Bay 0:6c. See also the church at Gassicourt, Bay 0:3b1 and the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.248v.

³⁹ Giuseppe Basile, ed. *Giotto: The Frescoes of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua* (Milano: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002), 277.

⁴⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126

⁴¹ Browne, *Representation*, 55.

⁴² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

⁴³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁴⁴

		8		

Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S21:4d.⁴⁵

Brown:⁴⁶

Description: "Judas and the High Priest."

⁴⁴ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

⁴⁵ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

⁴⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N20:4d© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:9: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4382, assumed date of 1931: 58, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4383, 1966: c41, 4L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

			9	

Possible original appearance based on copy: Medallion with a blue and white rim and red background. The ground is turquoise, white and yellow.

There are several trees, with leaves and fruit (the trees resembling oak and maple) around the scene. There are two figures: to the right is Christ, withdrawing to his left, naked but with a pale blue cloak over one shoulder. He has a blue and yellow cruciform nimbus and is holding a yellow-headed cross staff. The nail marks are visible on his left foot. To the left is the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene, nimbed in yellow with a purple cloak over a white tunic and covering her head. Her hands are together in prayer towards the retreating figure of Christ. The purple and turquoise are the most prominent non-medieval colours.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Christ has a big mop of curly hair with a quiff, straggly beard and flattened nose. For both Christ and Mary Magdalene, the line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Noli me Tangere.⁴⁸

This is one of the most common Resurrection scenes. It appears frequently in both glass⁴⁹ and manuscripts.⁵⁰ There are few variations to the imagery. Mary Magdalene is usually facing to the right of the image; Christ is withdrawing away from her. Variations include whether Christ was fully clothed, the extent to which he exhibits his wounds and whether he is holding a cross staff. It is almost certainly the panel described by Torre in 6d, which was probably its original location.

History of the Panel.

Torre:⁵¹

Description: “14 In 4th Light kneels a Lady robed gu glory O wth hands Conjoynd at prayer, before an holy man habited A & B glory O bearing in his left hand a white Cross Staff handed O.”

			9	

⁴⁸ Mark 16:9 and John 20:14-17.

⁴⁹ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 46:5b; at Laon, Bay 0:10a; at Strasbourg, Bay 14:7a and at Tours, Bay 2:6b. See also the churches of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, left-hand lancet; at Gassicourt, Bay 0:4a; the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 0:12a-b; St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:5a; the church of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 2:4b.

⁵⁰ The Gough Psalter, fol.50, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 49-55; the Peterborough Psalter, fol.73v. *ibid.*, 21-39; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 281; the Taymouth Hours, fol.126v; and the Barlow Psalter, fol.14.

⁵¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

Intervention: probably in the Sanderson repairs of the 1760s, in focusing on the patterns created by the background colours of the medallions and the border design, CH1:9 was retained in the fourth light, but with its red background, was moved from 6d to 2d.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:⁵²

Description: "Jesus and Mary Magdalen."

			9	

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁵³

Description: "Noli me tangere."

			9	

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁵⁴

Description: "Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene."

			9	

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵⁵

			9	

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N20:4d.*⁵⁶

Brown:⁵⁷

Description: "The risen Christ appears to St Mary Madgalene."

⁵² Browne, *Representation*, 58.

⁵³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

⁵⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

⁵⁵ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

⁵⁶ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

⁵⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N20:4a
© York Glaziers Trust.

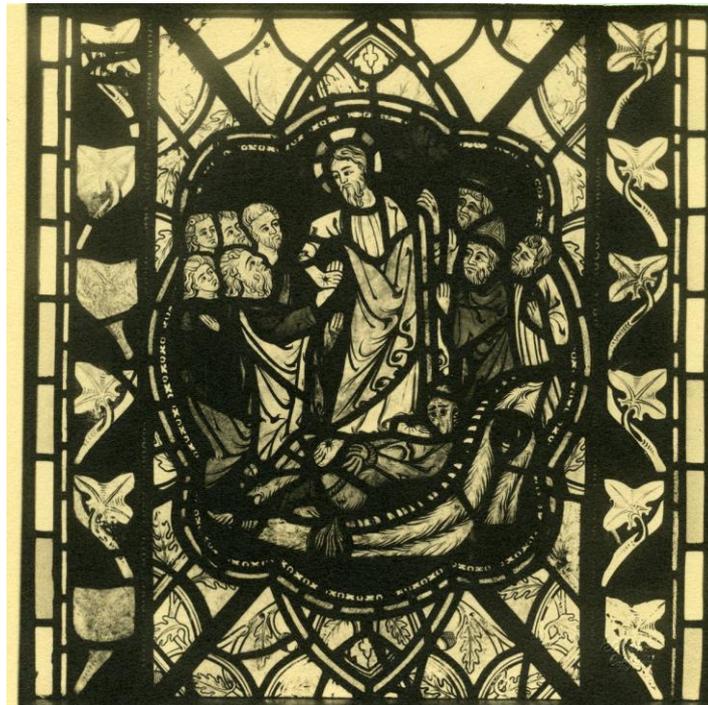


Figure CH1:10: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4377, post 1952: 58,
5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4377, 1966: c23, 1L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

	[10]			

Possible original appearance based on copy: Blue and white-rimmed medallion and red background.

The central figure is in blue tunic and white cloak, blue and yellow cruciform nimbus (Christ). In his left hand he is holding a staff with a foliar head (which may be the copy of a replacement for a cross staff head). In his left hand, showing the marks of the nails, he is holding the right hand of a figure kneeling to his left. This figure is one of a group of five figures, all clothed. He is in a yellow tunic and blue cloak. Another figure is in a pale green cloak and red tunic and a third is in pale green. The two other figures are to the rear. To Christ's left there are three more figures: one is apparently a bishop with a mitre, both mitre and garment are in yellow. The second may be in a priestly vestment, white. Only the head of the third figure can be seen, wearing a yellow crown. To the bottom of the scene is a pale blue hell mouth, with a hairy, pale brown demon, bound. The most prominent non-medieval colours are the pale blue and pale green.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type A.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair, quiffs and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: The Harrowing of Hell.⁵⁹

This scene appears regularly, if not frequently, in Passion cycles.⁶⁰ The main variations concern the extent of the dramatic pose of Christ, whether the stress is on his subduing the demons or assisting the Old Testament figures he is releasing. Those rescued are sometimes naked and at times there are coffins or coffin lids in the scene. The York scene is unusual in the large number of people being saved (eight are visible). Chronologically, the scene would follow the death of Christ and precede the Resurrection so an original location in 6b would be appropriate.

History of the Panel.

Torre:⁶¹

Description: For 6b: "12 In 2^d Light stand sevall persons together about the Corps of a Dead Man."

For 6e: "15 In 5th Light sitt sevall holy

	10			[10?]

⁵⁹ 1 Peter 3: 19-20 and 4: 6.

⁶⁰ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:11b; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:10a; at Le Mans, Bays 104:3bs and 107:2e; at Tours, Bays 2:5a and 200:5c; the churches of Gassicourt, Bay 0:5c and St-Urbain of Troyes, Bay 4:4a. The scene is represented in the Gough Psalter, fol.2; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 281 and the Taymouth Hours, fol.122v.

⁶¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

persons about a Table And higher stand 5 other saints diversely habited.”
Comments: CH1:19 is the more likely of the two for 6e, given the table-like quality of the sarcophagus. Torre probably saw CH1:10 in 6b, with the devil on the ground as the “Corps”.

Intervention: CH1:10 remained in the second light until the Sanderson repairs of the 1760s when, because of the desire to create a symmetrical pattern based on the borders of the panel, the second light was switched with the fifth light. It was retained in a row where the medallions had a red background.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:⁶²
Description: “Doubting Thomas – while Jesus treads on a ? devil.”

				10

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁶³
Description: “Christ casting out devils as this fool of [...]”

				10

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁶⁴
Description: “Christ’s descent into Hell.”

				10

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁶⁵

				10

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N20:4a.*⁶⁶

Brown:⁶⁷
Description: “The Harrowing of Hell.”

⁶² Browne, *Representation*, 59.
⁶³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.
⁶⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.
⁶⁵ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).
⁶⁶ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.
⁶⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S22:4a
© York Glaziers Trust.

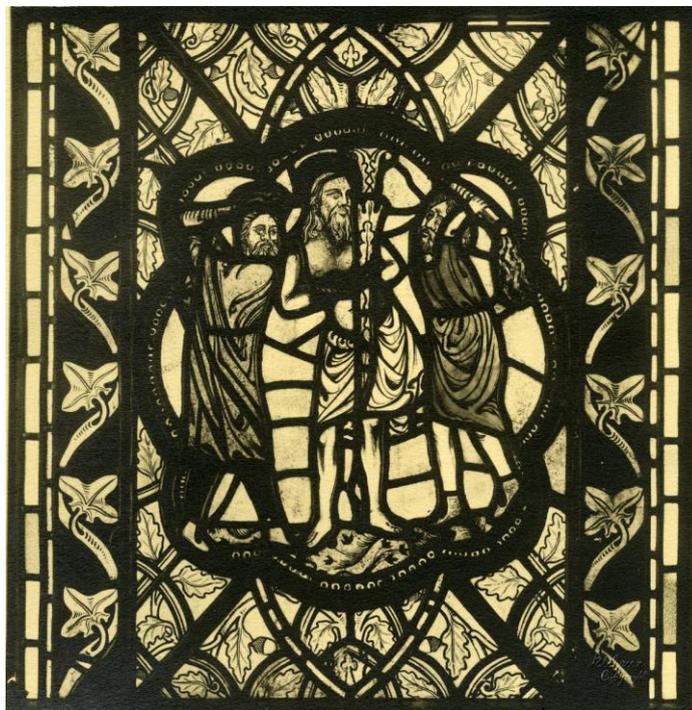


Figure CH1:16: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4456, 1931: 58, 1L5P
© Dean and Chapter of York.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4457, 1966: c34, 1L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

[16]				

Possible original appearance based on copy: Red and white- rimmed medallion, with blue background.

Three figures standing on a turquoise base. The one to the left is a bearded male between three-quarters to full face, wearing a short green tunic and brownish cloak, red leggings. He is wielding a whip, swinging it behind him over one shoulder to get full force. Christ, in the centre, is standing behind a white pillar/stake, hands bound, nimbed and wearing a white cloth. The stake is much reduced in width at its lower end, which may reflect the lead lines as traced by Barnett. To the right of the medallion is another scourger, in three-quarter view, wearing a short tunic, in yellow, with white leggings. He is holding his whip with both hands above his head to increase the force of the blow.

The design of the image is very close to that of CHn4:28 and CHs4:20. The green, turquoise and brown are the most prominent non-medieval colour.

Iconography and original location: The Flagellation of Christ.⁶⁹

This is one of the most common Passion episodes and appears on numerous occasions in glass,⁷⁰ and in manuscripts.⁷¹ There are relatively few variations: sometimes the pillar resembles an architectural feature and sometimes a wooden stake. The poses of the assailants can vary, there is more consistency among the left-hand figure, but the right-hand figure can be in profile or in three-quarter view and there are differences in the way he holds the whip. The degree of drama in the scene can vary: in Chartres and Laon, Christ is notably bound hand and foot in a way that predicts his position on the cross.⁷² The standard is for two assailants with Christ, centrally, tied to a structure. The York scene is extremely close to the standard representation, only the lower part of the stake is different. It is noticeable how similar the image is to CHn4:28 and CHs4:20. An unexpected feature is that there is no prior scene of Christ's encounter with any of the figures in authority, a marked and intriguing omission from the window. Given its probable A borders and its place in the narrative, 4a is a plausible original location.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: before 1690 the panel was probably moved to a different position in its original light.

⁶⁹ Matt. 27: 26 and John 19: 1.

⁷⁰ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:8a; at Chartres, Bays 37:7c and 51:3b; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:4a; at Laon, Bay 0:6b; at Rouen, Bay 10:7a-c; at Sens, Bay 100:2a; at Tours, Bay 2:2b; see also the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 0:5a, the churches at St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:8a; at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:2b and St-Urbain of Troyes, Bay 0:4a.

⁷¹ The Ramsey Psalter, fol.2v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.49, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Queen Mary Psalter, fols.245 and 249; the Taymouth Hours, fol.120; the Barlow Psalter, fol.13, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 57-58.

⁷² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 51:3b, and at Laon, Bay 0:6b.

Torre:⁷³

Description: Torre described the panel in 2a as “not clear” (no. 21) and that in 8a as “nothing plain” (no. 6).

Comments: No other description

seems to fit this panel and nor can any suggestion be made for 2a or 8a. It is suggested that one of these was the location for CH1:16. This means that it had moved position but stayed within the same light and light-type A.

[16]				
[16?]				

Intervention: CH1:16 was moved, within the light, into a row whose medallions had blue backgrounds in the course of the Thomas Sanderson repairs of the 1760s.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:⁷⁴

Description: “Jesus scourged at a pillar.”

16				

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁷⁵

Description: “Christ scourged.”

16				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁷⁶

Description: “The scourging of Christ.”

16				

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷⁷

16				

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S22:4a.*⁷⁸

Brown:⁷⁹

Description: “The Flagellation of Christ.”

⁷³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

⁷⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 56.

⁷⁵ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

⁷⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

⁷⁷ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

⁷⁸ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

⁷⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Window: CH1

Panel number: CH1:17

(CVMA: S21 4e)

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S21:4e
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:17: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4382, assumed date
of 1966: 58, 2L5P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

				[17]

Possible original appearance based on copy and restoration history: blue and white-rimmed medallion with red background (subsequently changed by the time of the copy).

There are four figures: to the left is a standing figure, in a short white tunic and yellow leggings, holding a sword in his right hand. The figure to the right has a face in profile, showing a deformed nose, and is wearing a white cap. He is dressed in a short yellow tunic with red leggings and patterned shoes and is holding a stick or a whip in his left hand. His body is turned so that his torso is facing to the right of the medallion, but his head is turned back to look at the other figures. With his right hand he is holding the hand of one of the central figures. This is Christ, with a cruciform halo in red and yellow. He is dressed in a murrey tunic, with a rope tied round his waist. His right hand is raised in blessing and he is either kneeling, or being dragged along on a turquoise ground. Behind Christ is a fourth figure, with the face visible, but the head apparently draped in a brownish-yellow piece of material. The gender of this figure is uncertain. The figure's two hands are raised almost to shoulder height and can be seen above Christ's nimbus. The turquoise is the least convincing medieval colour.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair swept backwards, flattened noses and straggly beards. The central, background figure is reminiscent of the hooded figure in CHn4:18, also Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Christ being led away.⁸⁰

This is its current identification. Another possibility is the Crowning with Thorns, sometimes presented as the Mocking of Christ, otherwise omitted from the York cycle. This is not as common as the Flagellation, but appears in glass in several other cycles.⁸¹ It is plausible that this scene is depicted in CH1:17, but it presumes that Barnett inherited a very disturbed original panel to copy. The crown of thorns, may have been held between the hands of the background figure and that the area around the top of Christ's head had been disturbed so signs of a crown had been lost.

However, the conclusion is that it shows the Christ being led away after his arrest, otherwise not present in the narrative. It would normally have been

⁸⁰ John 18:12. Note that this identification has been revised since Moxon, "How lost," 40. The "Arrest" is usually combined with "Christ healing Malchus's Ear" (CH1:7).

⁸¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 37:7a; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:5a; at Rouen, Bay 10:6a-c; at Sens, Bay 100:1b, the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 0:5b; and the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:3a. It appears more rarely in those manuscripts that have been examined, only featuring in the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.248v.

included with the Kiss of Judas, which is also omitted. Other images which show the arrest as separate from the Kiss are rare.⁸² The stress here is on the pathos of the scene. Christ is struggling to find his feet, yet still has his hands raised in blessing. The image of the suffering Christ is one which can be identified with a Marian focus.

The implication of this location is that, either in the 1760s or the 1840s, the colours of its background and medallion rim and cruciform halo must have been switched with those of CH1:27.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: the suggestion is that before Torre described the window, and probably after the Reformation, CH1:17 was switched from the fifth light to the fourth light (both B lights). This would have been in the course of the Thompson repairs of the 1580s or 1610s, or the Crosbys' immediately after the Restoration.

Torre:⁸³

Description: "9 In 4th Light stand 3 Saints together 1st habited vt & A glory O 2^d & 3^d A."

Comments: This is allocated by a

process of elimination, as the colours do not resemble this, or any other, copied panel.

			[17]	

Interventions: probably in the 1690s, CH1:17 and 39 were switched between the fourth and fifth lights, within the B light-type. This meant that CH1:17 was moved from the fourth into the fifth light. Then, in the 1760s, it was part of the switch of the second and fifth lights, as part of the reordering of panels to create an A-B-C-B-A symmetry, meaning it ended up in the second light. It may, however, have been switched with CH1:27 within the light, meaning that they ended up in an incorrect row for their background colour. The change of colour either occurred in the 1760s or the 1840s.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Intervention: When Barnett came to copy the panels, Browne and he may have taken the decision to correct what they saw as an error in the colour schemes of the CH1:17 and 27, thereby actually introducing an error. This is unless the colour switch had occurred in the 1760s.

Browne:⁸⁴

Description: "Jesus being led as a prisoner."

	17			

⁸² *Online archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 0:10b and the churches at Gassicourt, Bay 0:2c and 3a and St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:7b. This last also omits the Kiss of Judas.

⁸³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

⁸⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 55.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁸⁵

Description: “Christ led to Calvary.”

	17			

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁸⁶

Description: “Christ led to Calvary.”

	17			

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁸⁷

	17			

Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S21:4e.⁸⁸

Brown:⁸⁹

Description: “The Arrest of Christ.”

⁸⁵ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

⁸⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

⁸⁷ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

⁸⁸ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

⁸⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S22:4c
© York Glaziers Trust.

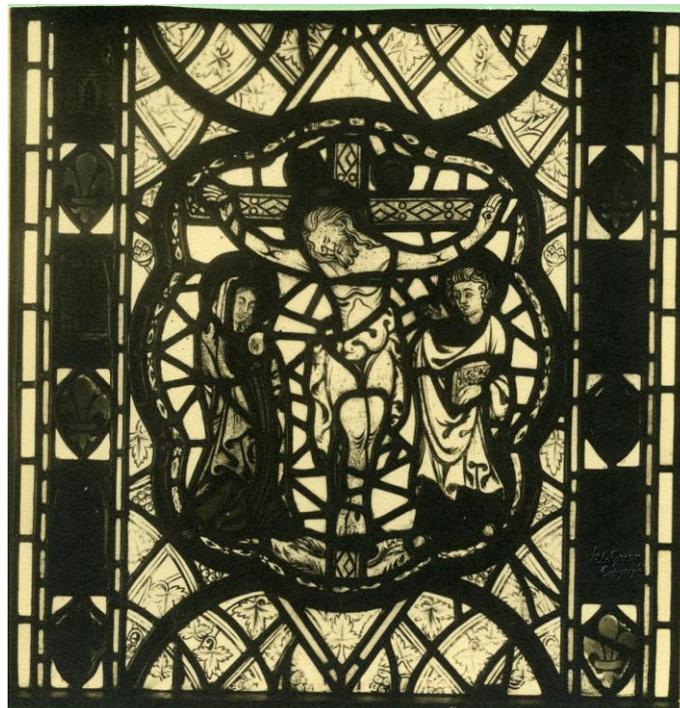


Figure CH1:18: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4460, 1931: 58, 3L5P
© Dean and Chapter of York.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4461, 1966: c34, 3L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

		18		

Possible original appearance based on copies: Red and white-rimmed medallion, with blue background.

Christ is hanging, dead, from a decorated, sanguine cross, red and yellow cruciform nimbus. A red sun and yellow moon can be seen above the cross. Christ is in a white loin cloth. There is a green base to the medallion. On either side of Christ is Mary to the left, in a yellow tunic and murrey cloak with a white veil and red nimbus. To the right is St John in red nimbus, red tunic and white cloak holding a book in his left hand. A disconnected right hand can be seen above his right shoulder. The sun is shown in red and the moon in yellow above Christ's head.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type C.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair swept backwards and straggly beard. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: The Crucifixion of Christ.⁹¹

Obviously, this was a constant feature in Passion cycles.⁹² The version in York Minster shows the basic arrangement of a central, dead Christ, with Mary and John standing either side of the cross.⁹³ One frequent but not universal variation is the presence of the sun and moon above the cross.⁹⁴ The iconography of the scene varies elsewhere: in addition to the presence or absence of the sun and moon, the poses of Mary and John vary, the number of other figures present (whether any of the tormenters as well as or in addition to Mary and John),⁹⁵ the

⁹¹ Matt. 27:37-50; Mark 15:25-37; John 19:18-30.

⁹² For example, *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bays 3:5b and 6:9b; at Chartres, Bay 51:4a; at Laon, Bay 0:8b; at Le Mans, Bay 0:5; at Poitiers, Bay 0:5b; at Rouen, Bay 10:11b; at Sens, Bay 100:3a and at Tours, Bays 0:3b and 2: 4a-b. See also the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, left-hand lancet: 4b and the church of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 0:4b. In manuscripts it can be seen in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.61, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Peterborough Psalter, fol. 64, *ibid.*, 21-39; the Barlow Psalter, fol. 13, *ibid.*, 57-58; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.256v and the Taymouth Hours, fol.118-fol.122.

⁹³ See also *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 51:4a; at Sens, Bay 100:3a; at Tours, Bays 0:3b and 2:4a-b; the church of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 0:4b and the central panel of the triptych in the church of St-Père of Chartres, Bay 217: left-hand lancet.

⁹⁴ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 3; at Le Mans, Bay 0:2 and at Tours, Bay 0.

⁹⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bays 3:5b and 6:9b; at Poitiers, Bay 0:5b; at Rouen, Bay 10:11a and 11c and the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217: left-hand lancet. The manuscript variations tend to show more figures: it is notable that very similar iconography is used in three of the Fenland manuscripts, namely the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.61, *ibid.*, 49-55; and the Peterborough Psalter, fol.64, *ibid.*, 21-39; although the fourth, the Barlow Psalter, fol. 13v, does not even show Mary and John and includes soldiers fighting at the foot of the cross, *ibid.*, 57-58. There is a large number of figures in the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.256v and the Taymouth Hours, fol.121v and fol.122v.

presence or absence of Ecclesia and/or Synagogue, and other features such as the presence of a building or a tree. There are also representations which show Mary collecting the blood from the wound in Christ's side into a chalice.⁹⁶

This appears to be the panel that was located in 4c in Torre's description and it is likely that this was the original location given its C border. It follows the pattern of the other chapter house windows in that it visually and thematically echoes the Resurrection scene in CH1:28 above.

History of the Panel:

Torre:⁹⁷

Description: "18 In 3^d Light is a Crucifix of our Lord hanging on the Cross. And a Woman standing on each side it habited O & murry."

Comments: Torre saw both standing figures as female (in the current colours) and the figure to the right (now St John) in red and white.

		18		

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:⁹⁸

Description: "Jesus crucified."

		18		

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁹⁹

Description: "Crucifixion."

		18		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁰⁰

Description: "The Crucifixion."

		18		

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁰¹

		18		

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S22:4c.*¹⁰²

⁹⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 3 and Rouen, Bay 10:11a-c.

⁹⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

⁹⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 56.

⁹⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁰⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

¹⁰¹ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁰² Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

Brown:¹⁰³

Description: "The Crucifixion."

¹⁰³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

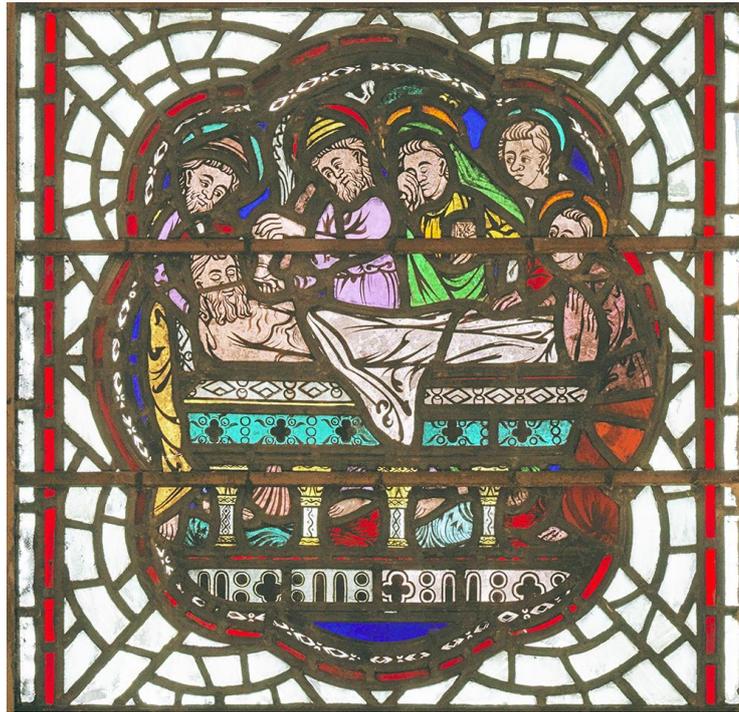


Figure CH1:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S22:4e
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:19: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4464, 1931: 58, 4L5P
© Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4465, 1966: c34, 5L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

				19

Possible original appearance based on copies: Red and white-rimmed medallion, with blue background.

Christ is lying on a bench structure, under a white drape. One Jewish figure is at his head, with a brown cap and bearded, in murrey top and yellow and white lower garment, appears to hold up his head; another (Joseph?), behind, in a yellow Jewish hat and purple tunic, is tipping up the ointment container over Christ; a female, probably Mary, stands behind Joseph, holding a handkerchief to her face with her left hand, dressed in a yellow tunic and green cloak, with orange nimbus and holding a book. Behind her is a male saint, clean-shaven, with turquoise nimbus, who appears to be supporting Mary with his left hand, probably John. A second clean-shaven saint, with orange nimbus and brown and red tunic and or cloak, is at Christ's feet. This saint may be female. The sepulchre is white on pale blue (with quatrefoil openings), resting on four white and yellow pillars, on a white carved base. Between the pillars are visible what may be the lower edge of the drapery and possibly feet of the standing figures.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the rolled hair and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: The Entombment.¹⁰⁵

The image sometimes features in stained glass and in manuscript.¹⁰⁶ The form is standard: Christ is lying, covered by a cloth, on a bench-structure, with figures behind his corpse. The number and nature of the figures varies. The most regular figures are Joseph, in the act of pouring oil on the corpse, and Mary and John. At times other Jewish men assist and occasionally there is a more recognisable Christian presence, with bishops, monks or saints.

This is probably the scene described by Torre in 6e, following the Deposition in 6d. There are resonances in the design of the panel of CHn2:38, showing the corpse of Mary: both are lying on a low monument, clad in white, with their head to the left, figures to the feet and head and other figures behind.

¹⁰⁵ Matt. 27:60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53; John 19:41-42.

¹⁰⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:10b; at Chartres, Bays 37:2b and 51:5a; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:9a; and at Laon, Bay 0:9a and 9c (possible duplication of photograph). It is also to be seen in the church at St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:10b. It can be found in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Barlow Psalter, fol.13v, *ibid.*, 57-58; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.257 and the Taymouth Hours, fol.124v. 408

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s or the 1610s, the panel was moved probably within the fifth light from 4e to 6e.

Torre:¹⁰⁷

Description: For 6b: “12 In 2nd Light stand sevall persons together about the Corps of a Dead Man.”

For 6e: “15 In 5th Light sitt sevall holy persons about a Table And higher stand 5 other saints diversely habited.”

Comments: CH1:19 is the more likely of the two for location 6e, as the grouping of the figures and the tomb could resemble people around a table. Torre’s description may represent an attempt to locate a scene which is missing from CH1, namely the Last Supper. It is not clear what he meant by the “higher stand 5 other saints”.

	[19?]			19

Intervention: after Torre’s description, CH1:19 was switched to its other light-type, in the fourth light, (still a B light). This probably occurred during the Crosby repairs of the 1690s.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne: ¹⁰⁸

Description: “Jesus entombed.”

			19	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁰⁹

Description: “Entombment.”

			19	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹¹⁰

Description: The entombment.

			19	

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹¹

			19	

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S22:4c.*¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁰⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 57.

¹⁰⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹¹⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

¹¹¹ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹¹² Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

Brown:¹¹³

Description: "The Entombment of Christ".

¹¹³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S22:4b
© York Glaziers Trust.

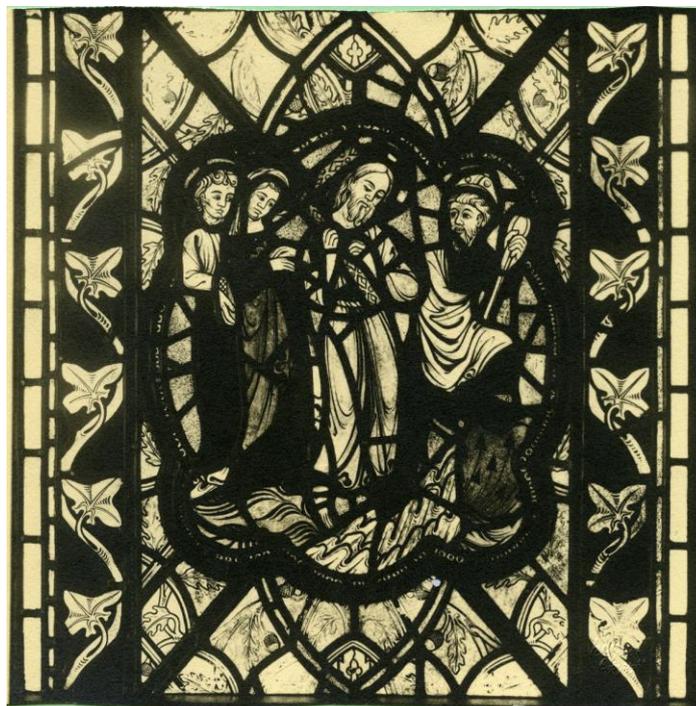


Figure CH1:20: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4458, 1931: 58, 5L5P
© Dean and Chapter of York .¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4459, 1966: c34, 2L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

	20			

Possible original appearance based on the copy: Red and white-rimmed medallion, with blue background.

A white, lilac and turquoise base indicates the slope of a hillside, upwards to the right. There are four figures: to the right may be Simon of Cyrene, in short red tunic and white cloak. He is in yellow leggings and decorated yellow shoes. His position implies that he is climbing uphill to the right: his left leg is bent, higher than the right leg. In the copy he appears to be wearing a white mitre, but it would have originally been a Jewish hat. Central is Christ, with a red and white nimbus and murrey tunic, holding a shortened turquoise, decorated crucifix in both hands – its length may indicate disturbance to the original lead line. His head is downcast. Behind him is a female figure, Mary, in yellow tunic and green cloak, with a white veil, yellow nimbus and red shoes, her hands crossed across her chest. Behind her is a clean-shaven male saint, St John, in white tunic and red cloak. He appears to be holding something, possibly a book (only the edge of which is visible) in front of him.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type A.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair, straggly beards and flattened noses. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Via Crucis.¹¹⁵

This is a common image in glass and manuscript.¹¹⁶ With the exception of the length of the stem of the cross, the indication of the slope of the hill to Calvary and the energy shown by the figure who may be Simon of Cyrene, the York panel is similar to other depictions. Christ carries his cross: occasionally there is a rope around him and there are different degrees to which the Simon of Cyrene figure assists him. The presence of assailants/ tormentors varies, but the Virgin and St John are almost always present.

Based on the colour scheme, this panel is likely to have been in 4b when seen by Torre. It is suggested that this was the original position.

¹¹⁵ Matt. 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26; John 19:17. Of these, only John talks of Christ carrying the cross.

¹¹⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 3:3; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:6a; at Laon, Bay 0:7a and 7c; at Rouen, Bay 10:10b; at Tours, Bays 0:5c and 2:3b. See also the churches at St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:9a and at of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 1:4c. In manuscripts it can be found in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.2v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.49v, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Barlow Psalter, fol.133, *ibid.*, 57-58; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.253; the Taymouth Hours, fol.120v.

History of the Panel.

Torre:¹¹⁷

Description: “17 In 2d Light stand 4 saints together 1st habited A, B & gu glory O 2^d habited O & vt, glory O 3 habited murry & B, glory B 4th habited gu & A.”

	20			

Comments: The colouring of Barnett’s copy is very close to Torre’s description, but Torre saw all the figures and saints and omitted the crucifix.

Intervention: in the 1760s, CH1:20 was moved to the fifth light in the course of the switch of the second and fifth lights.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne: ¹¹⁸

Description: “Jesus carrying his cross.”

				20

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹¹⁹

Description: “Christ carrying his cross.”

				20

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹²⁰

Description: “Not made out.”

Comments: Allocated by a process of elimination.

				20

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹²¹

				20

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S22:4b.*¹²²

Brown:¹²³

Description: “Christ carrying the Cross.”

¹¹⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹¹⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 56.

¹¹⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹²⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 78r.

¹²¹ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹²² Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

¹²³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

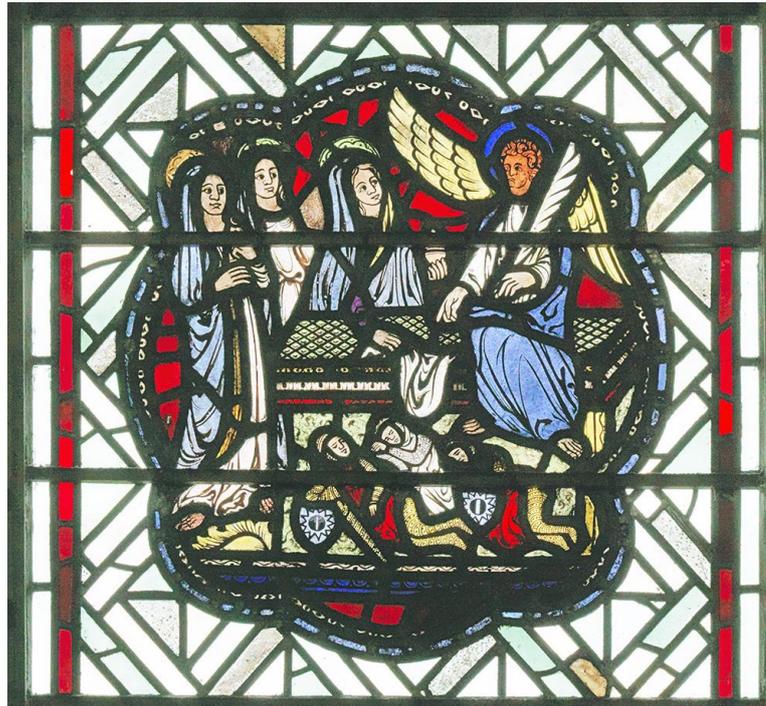


Figure CH1:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N20:4b
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:26: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4378, assumed date of 1931: 58, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4379, 1966: c23, 2L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

[26]	[26?]			

Possible original appearance based on the copy: Blue and white-rimmed medallion with red background.

Four figures are at the top of the scene on, beside or behind the tomb, and three small sleeping figures are curled up below. The first large figure to the right is an angel, with white tunic and blue cloak, holding a white palm leaf: blue nimbus, yellow wings, the one to the left unfurled and spread out towards the left. The angel is perched, cross-legged on the side, pointing down towards the shroud and the empty tomb, which has a white rim and yellow pillars. Behind the tomb is one of the Marys, with white nimbus and yellow-lined blue cloak, covering her head. She appears to be pointing down into the tomb or holding a corner of the shroud with her right hand (there are signs of a purple sleeve), but it is likely the original glass was disturbed at this point because the arrangement looks awkward. She is holding an ointment container in her left hand. To her right is a second Mary, in white (possible signs of paint loss), and to the far left of the scene is a third Mary, standing at the foot of the tomb, her right hand across her breast and her left holding a container. She is clad in white tunic and yellow-lined blue cloak, again with the cloak over her head. She has a yellow nimbus. On the ground in front of the tomb are four sleeping soldiers, at least two in yellow and one in white mail, with two shields visible.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type A.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the tightly curled hair and the flattened noses.

Iconography and original location: The Three Marys at the Tomb.¹²⁵

Other depictions are in stained glass and manuscripts.¹²⁶ The images are broadly similar: there are usually three Marys, the angel is normally perched on the edge of the tomb, the empty shroud is visible, the Marys are carrying gifts and there are sleeping soldiers below the tomb. Variations concern whether the angel is pointing to the tomb or addressing the Marys, whether one of the Marys is touching the shroud, occasionally the soldiers are not present and the angel is standing at the side. In terms of whether the panel is a close copy of the original, it is notable that the right-hand wing of the angel is sometimes unfurled and opened across the space between the angel and the first Mary: this is the case not only in York but also in Tours,¹²⁷ and in three manuscripts, the Peterborough

¹²⁵ Matt. 28:2-7; Mark 16:1-7; Luke 24:1-7; John 20:1 and 12-13. John refers only to Mary Magdalene.

¹²⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Angers, 100:3a; at Chartres, Bay 51:5b; Laon, Bay 0:10c; at Poitiers, Bay 0:2c; at Sens, Bay 100:3b; at Tours, Bay 2:6a. Also see the churches of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, left-hand lancet: 9a-c; the Ste-Chapelle, Bay 0:12a; at St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:11b and at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:4b. In manuscripts, the scene is shown in the Peterborough Psalter, fol.73v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 21-39; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.281; the Taymouth Hours, fol.126.

¹²⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Tours, Bay 2:6a.

Psalter, the Queen Mary Psalter and the Taymouth Hours. Hence this is an example of a somewhat awkward feature which Barnett would probably not have known from elsewhere in depictions of the three Marys, but which he included, thus supporting the fact that the copies were accurate. A second intriguing feature in terms of the iconography of the window is that the angel is York is carrying a large palm leaf. In other representations, if the angel is holding anything it is likely to be a cross,¹²⁸ or a staff with a lily head.¹²⁹ Only in the Taymouth Hours is the angel carrying a palm leaf.¹³⁰ A palm leaf has already been noted in CH1:6, in CHn2:6, where it alludes not only to the Annunciation but also to Mary being foretold of her impending death and, similarly, when the angel visits St John the Baptist in prison (CHs4:9). The appearance of a palm leaf in this scene at the tomb may well be a further indication of the Marian focus in the chapter house iconography (note the discussion for CHn2:6).

The image is of long standing significance. Jansen discusses the attempts made identify the various Marys,¹³¹ while Haskins outlines the efforts made by the same early Church writers to include the Virgin as the first witness to the Resurrection.¹³² Before the actual Resurrection of Christ was visualised in Western Art, this was the motif which was used to represent it.¹³³ Only after 1100 AD was the Resurrection itself shown.

From the description by Torre, this panel is likely to have been in 4a in 1690-91. Its original location could have been either 6a or 6b, both with A borders.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: if the panel was originally in the second light, it must have been moved to its light-type in the first light, both A lights. This would have occurred in the Thompson repairs or by the Crosbys shortly after the Restoration. In any event, by the time of Torre, it had been moved down a row with the A border lights.

Torre:¹³⁴

Description: "16 In 3^d Row and first Light stand 3 together whereof one is an Angell robed B & vt winged O."

Comments: If this is the correct panel,

Torre only saw two of the three Marys and Barnett omitted the green of the angel's drapery. With the red background, this panel is unlikely to have been originally in row 4.

26				

Intervention: in the course of the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved to a different row, but still in the first light.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

¹²⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, left-hand lancet; the cathedrals at Poitiers, Bay 0:2c and at Tours, Bay 2:6a.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, the cathedrals at Laon, Bay 0:10c and at Sens, Bay 100:3b.

¹³⁰ The Taymouth Hours, fol.126.

¹³¹ Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 31-33.

¹³² Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 61.

¹³³ Morris, *Sepulchre*, 122.

¹³⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

Browne:¹³⁵

Description: First, "Angel told the women Jesus had arisen. Second, Jesus driving a devil out of a man, other evil spirits being present."

26				
[26?]				

Comments: One should be in 6a and one in 2a. Browne described two in 6a and omitted a panel for 2a. As all the other panels are in their Browne positions in Knowles's "Manuscript Notes" it is extremely likely that CH1:26 was in 6a.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹³⁶

Description: "Marys at the tomb."

26				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹³⁷

Description: "The Marys at the tomb."

26				

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³⁸

26				

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N20:4b.*¹³⁹

Brown:¹⁴⁰

Description: "The empty tomb shown to the three Marys."

¹³⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 58.

¹³⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹³⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

¹³⁸ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹³⁹ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁴⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

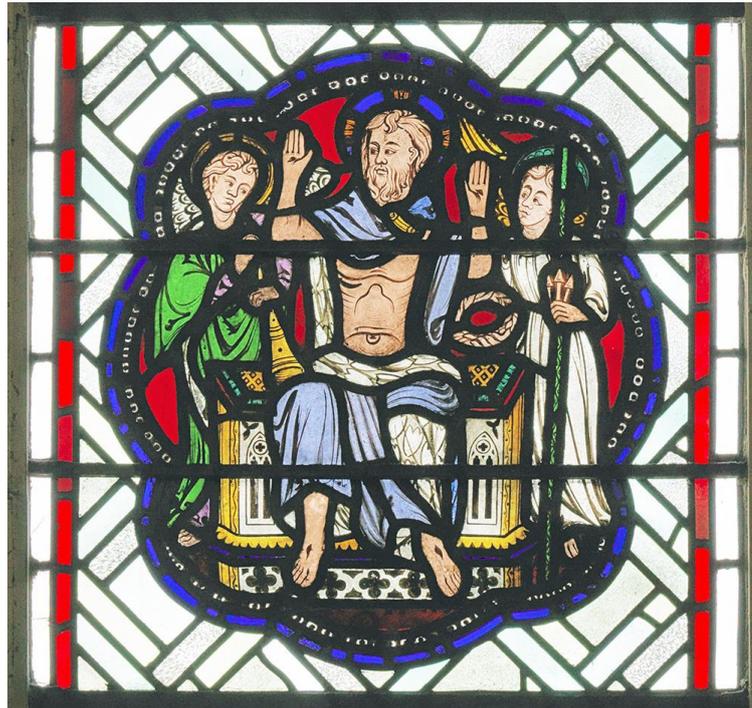


Figure CH1:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N19:4c
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:27: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4365, 1931: 58, 2L3P
© Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4366, 1966: c41, 3L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

				[27]

Possible original appearance based on copy and restoration history: Red and white-rimmed medallion and blue background (unlike as presented because of a possible switch of colours with CHn1:17).

There are three figures: a central Christ showing the wounds of the Passion and two angels on either side, the one to the left with white wings and a green cloak, possibly a white tunic, playing a trumpet. The angel to the right, with yellow wings, is in a white tunic, holding a lance and three nails of the Passion. The central figure is seated on an architectural-type of seat, with yellow patterned cushioned top and orange and white frontage, with decorated two-light and oculus window designs. Below is a white trellis design with quatrefoil openings. On the seat by the angel in white is the Crown of Thorns. Christ is seated centrally, looking slightly to his left in a three-quarter position. He is holding his hands aloft, showing the nail marks on his palms. He is bare-chested, with a blue cloak draped over his shoulders and covering his knees. There is what may be a white shroud falling over his right shoulder and across his knee. It is also visible below his left knee. His bare feet are visible, also showing the wounds of the Passion.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Note the round faces, flattened noses, big hair and quiff of Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Christ in Judgement.¹⁴²

The image is very similar in the historical descriptions to CH1:28, but it is argued elsewhere that CH1:28 showed the Resurrection and was always in the centre light. The images of Christ associated with the Passion are mainly those of Christ in Glory, with Christ fully-clothed or bare-chested, full-frontal, his right hand raised in blessing and his left hand holding an orb. Various combinations can be found in glazing schemes, doubtless depending on the desired emphasis in their specific location.¹⁴³ In York, Christ is bare-chested, with the wounds of the Passion, angels either side, one holding the lance and one the cross.

While there is an allusion to the Last Judgement in CH1:39, with the dead being raised, this currently has a blue background, while that of CH1:27 is red. If the backgrounds are correct, this would suggest that they were on different rows and not associated with each other visually. The only explanation is that CH1:27 originally had a blue background and was probably located in 8e, adjacent to the panel showing the dead being raised in 8d, and that at some stage its colours were switched with those of CH1:17. In 8e it would have indicated the

¹⁴² Matt. 25: 31-32; Acts 17:31.

¹⁴³ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 143, west rose, central panel; Laon, 0:14b and the central panel of the west rose; at Le Mans, Bay 107:5c; at Rouen, Bay 10:12; at Sens, Bay 100: tympanum; at Strasbourg, w16: tympanum and at Tours, Bay 0: top panel; the Church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0: tympanum; the Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 0: tympanum. See also "Other sites," Freiburg, s36. Also see in the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.298v.

culmination of Christ's role in the Salvation of the world, and hence resonate with Christ's apparent decision to sacrifice himself as shown in CH1:30.

Christ is shown looking to his right, towards the main scenes in the window, including, and possibly specifically, the Coronation of the Virgin.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: CH1:27 was moved within its fifth B light. This could have occurred in the course of the 1580s, the 1610s or the repairs shortly after the Restoration..

Torre:¹⁴⁴

Description: "25 In 5th Light stand 3 Men together. 1st habited vt, O and A, 2nd O & B. 3rd vt and A."

Comments: The colours are

approximately as seen today. It presumed he saw Christ's bare torso as "O".

				27

Intervention: in the course of the Sanderson repairs in the 1760s, the B fifth light was switched with the A second light. CH1:27 may have been switched with CH1:17 within the light, meaning that they ended up in an incorrect row for their background colour.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Intervention: when Barnett came to copy the panels, Browne and he may have taken the decision to correct what they saw as an error in the colour schemes of the CH1:17 and 27, thereby actually introducing the error.

Browne:¹⁴⁵

Description: "Christ seated on throne of judgment."

	27			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴⁶

Description: "Resurrection: angels at the tomb."

	27			

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁴⁷

Description: "Christ seated on a throne."

Comments: Difficult to be sure about the specific location of CH1:27 and 28

because the main features are very similar. Knowles appears to have been confused between the different images of Christ seated. It is doubtful that CH1:28 had been moved to 6b as it was a C light panel, meaning that CH1:27 was more likely to have been there.

	27			

¹⁴⁴ YMA L1/7, 127.

¹⁴⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 54-61.

¹⁴⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁴⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-MW Restoration: ¹⁴⁸

	27			

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N19:4c.*¹⁴⁹

Brown:¹⁵⁰

Description: Christ in Majesty.

¹⁴⁸ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁴⁹ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁵⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

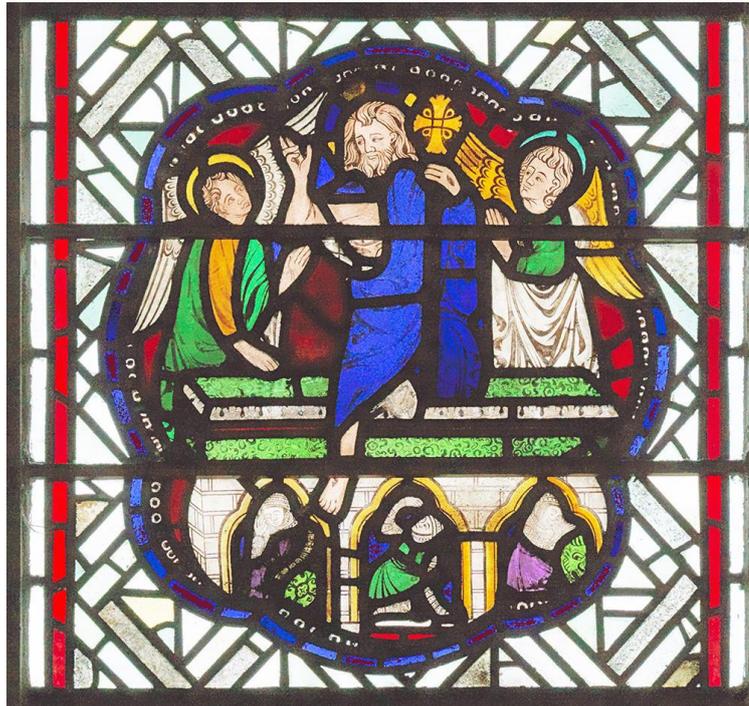


Figure CH1:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N20:4c
© York Glaziers Trust.

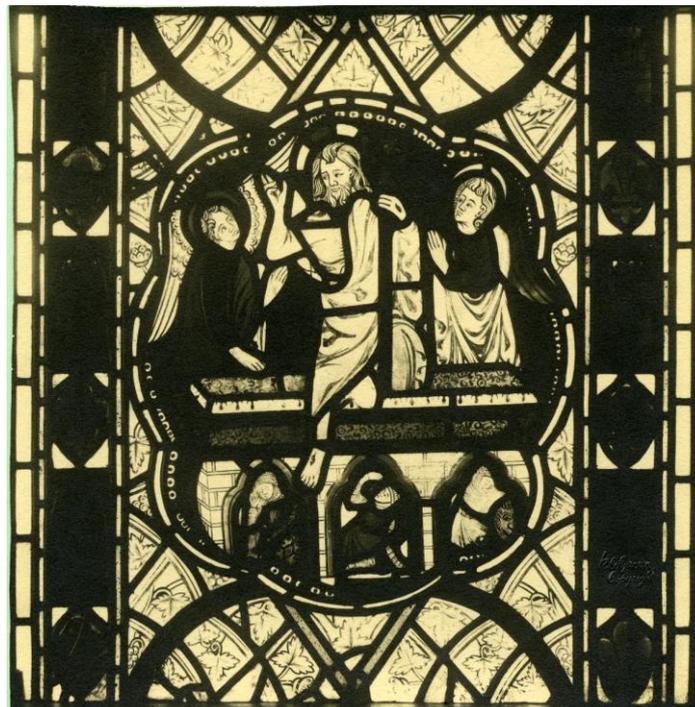


Figure CH1:28: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4380, assumed date of 1931: 58, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York ¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4381, 1966: c23, 3L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

		28		

Possible original appearance based on copy: Blue and white-rimmed medallion, with red background.

There are three figures, a central Christ and an angel to either side. The left-hand angel is awkwardly clothed in yellow tunic and green cloak, with white wings and yellow nimbus. The right-hand angel is in green tunic and white cloak and has yellow wings (possible signs of paint loss on both angels). Christ is in the process of leaving the tomb. He is clad in a blue cloak, thrown over one shoulder, with stigmata visible. His hands are raised, the right hand positioned as though in blessing, although the physiology is awkwardly presented and may be the result of interventions in what was copied. His left hand is holding a cross staff, with orange head. His left foot is visible emerging from the tomb. The tomb is shown in green, with a white rim. Below, the side of the tomb is picked out with masonry joints and three trefoil-headed arches, the edges of which are picked out in yellow. Beneath the tomb are three sleeping soldiers, two in green and the right-hand one in purple. Note paint loss on the heads.

There is paint loss to the blue cloak of Christ and the original glass was probably disrupted by the time of the copy, widening his body considerably. His raised right hand is also strangely disjointed. This suggests that the glass had been disturbed by the time Barnett copied the panel.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type C.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair, quiff and the straggly beard.

Iconography and original location based on copy: The Resurrection of Christ.¹⁵²

Before ca.1100, the scene of the actual Resurrection was almost never depicted in art: instead it was indicated through one of the post-Resurrection events. By the twelfth and, especially, the thirteenth centuries it became popular, as did a new way of showing the tomb. Instead of being shown as a separate church building, it was increasingly presented as a sarcophagus.¹⁵³ The scene appears in stained glass and in manuscripts,¹⁵⁴ with variations in the way it is presented:

¹⁵² There are no Biblical accounts of the Resurrection. Biblical evidence depends on the "Three Marys at the Tomb", "Noli me Tangere" and "Doubting Thomas".

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹⁵⁴ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bays 3:7b and 6:11a; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:11a; at Strasbourg, Bays 13: top panel and 14:4c and at Tours, Bays 0:11b and 2:5b. See also the churches of St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:5a; St-Urbain, Bay 2:4a; at Gassicourt, Bay 0:5a and at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 0:4a. In manuscript it can be seen in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 280v; the Taymouth Hours, fol.125v and the Barlow Psalter, fol.13v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 57-58.

Christ is normally clad only in a cloak, as in York, although he is fully clothed in the Cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 3 and Tours, Bay 0.¹⁵⁵ There are usually a varying number of soldiers beneath the tomb, ranging from one in St-Urbain to six in Bourges, Bay 6. Christ's wounds are frequently, but not always, visible. As indicated above, it resonates visually and thematically with the CH1:18 in the location below.

History of the Panel.

Torre:¹⁵⁶

Description: "13 In 3rd Light sits our Lady Inthroned robed B on each side her stands an Angell habited O & vt winged A. 2d robed A winged O."

Comments: It means that Torre mistook the central figure for Mary as opposed to Christ, but the colour scheme fits and the location follows the C border design.

		28		

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:¹⁵⁷

Description: "Jesus arises from the tomb."

		28		

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁵⁸

Description: "Resurrection."

		28		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵⁹

Description: "The Resurrection."

Comments: It is difficult to be sure about the specific location of CH1:27 and 28 because the main features are very similar, but there is no reason to think CH1:28 was moved away from the central light.

		28		

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

¹⁵⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 3:7b and Bay 6:11a, Tours, Bay 0 and Clermont-Ferrand, Bay s2:11a. See also Queen Mary Psalter, fol.280v, the Taymouth Hours, fol.1256v and the Ramsey Psalter, fol.13v.

¹⁵⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁵⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 57.

¹⁵⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁵⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶⁰

		28		

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N20:4c.*¹⁶¹

Brown:¹⁶²

Description: "The Resurrection."

¹⁶⁰ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁶¹ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁶² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:29: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N20:4e
© York Glaziers Trust.

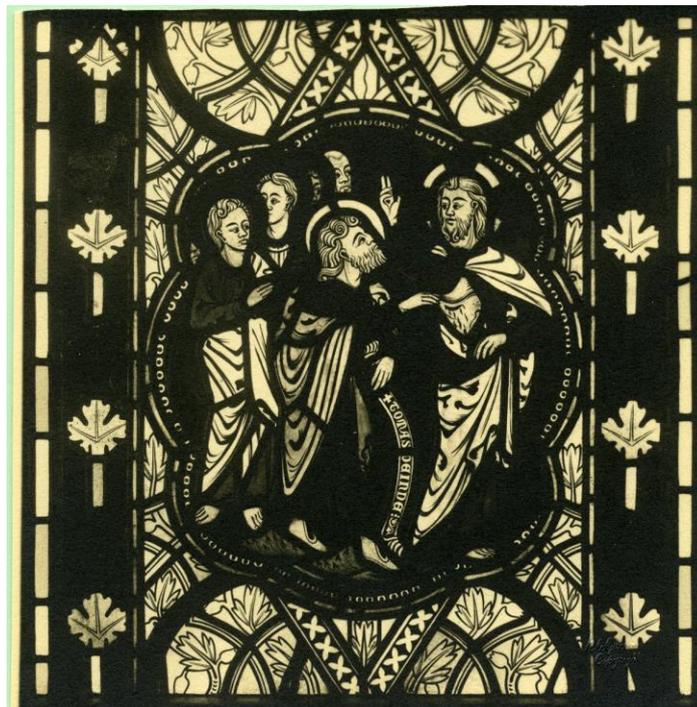


Figure CH1:29: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4384, assumed date of 1931: 58, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4385, 1966: c23, 5L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

				29

Possible original appearance based on copy: a blue and white-rimmed medallion, with red background. The ground is turquoise-blue.

There are six figures: to the right is Christ, with blue and red cruciform nimbus, yellow tunic, parted with his left hand to show a bare chest, blue cloak. His right hand is raised in blessing. In front of him is a figure crouching towards him (Thomas), in yellow tunic and murrey cloak (Torre saw "white" and "sanguine"), with a flash of possible green lining around his shoulder and blue shoes. His right hand is stretched out towards the gash in Christ's side. He is nimbed. In his left hand he is holding a scroll reading, as copied, "tomas deinde". Behind him can be seen at least four figures, possibly a fifth to the extreme left of the medallion as there is a piece of yellow/orange drapery. From the second, left to right the figures appear as follows: one clean-shaven saint with orange nimbus in green tunic and white cloak, with his right hand pointing forwards. Next is a nimbed figure, also unshaven, looking backwards to the left of the medallion. There is some white in his clothing, but very little is visible. There are two further figures, parts of whose heads only are visible. It appears that the last of these is bearded.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair with a quiff and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Doubting Thomas touches the wounds of the risen Christ.¹⁶⁴

There are relatively few depictions in stained glass: the only ones identified have been in St-Père in Chartres, and the cathedrals at Chartres, Strasbourg and Tours.¹⁶⁵ It appears more frequently in manuscripts.¹⁶⁶ Its inclusion means that CH1, unusually, contained all the three scenes used to demonstrate the Resurrection of Christ in the absence of any eye-witness account (the others being panels showing the three Marys at the tomb" and Noli me Tangere). This focus may reflect the interests of an educated group of canons.

If the inscription is a copy of the original, it is one of only two that has survived in the chapter house, the other being in CHn2:6. It has not been possible to locate the source of the "Thomas deinde". The closest is in John, where it is written, "Deinde dicit Thomae",¹⁶⁷ referring to Christ's speaking to Thomas, but this does

¹⁶⁴ John 20: 24-29.

¹⁶⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217: right-hand lancet; and the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 23:1; at Strasbourg, Bay 14:10a and at Tours, Bays 2:8a and 213: tympanum. See also the Church at St Germer de Fly, Bay 2: 5b.

¹⁶⁶ The Ramsey Psalter, fol.3v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.50v, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Barlow Psalter, fol.14, *ibid.*, 57-58; the Peterborough Psalter, fol. 92v, *ibid.*, 21-39 and the Taymouth Hours, fol.130.

¹⁶⁷ John 20:27.

not fit the inscription as copied. No other significance for the phrase has been found.

Other features are common across depictions: the presence of Christ and Thomas, together with apostles who are witnessing the encounter. However, usually Christ is guiding Thomas's hand towards the wound: in York, Thomas reaches forward unaided, and Christ is stretching his right hand out in blessing above Thomas's head. This is an element which has only been located in the Gough Psalter, fol. 50v and the Barlow Psalter, fol.14. Unusually, the York scene does not show Christ holding a cross-staff. It is plausible that 6e was its original location, following Noli me Tangere in 6d.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the Thompson or early Crosby repairs after the Restoration, the panel was probably moved within its fifth light.

Torre:¹⁶⁸

Description: "20 In 5th Light kneels a female Saint habited A & Sang, glory of 1st."

				29

Comments: This is based on the fact that there is a kneeling figure, albeit one that is male. No other unidentified panel in the window could match the description. Its identification as CH1:29 presupposes that the colour of Thomas's drapery had been changed and that Torre did not note the existence of the standing figures.

Intervention: at some stage after Torre's description, the panel was moved into the fourth light, the alternative B light-type. This is more likely to have occurred during the Crosby repairs of the 1690s than in those of Thomas Sanderson.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:¹⁶⁹

Description: "Thomas acknowledging his belief in resurrection."

			29	

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁷⁰

Description: "Incredulity of Thomas."

			29	

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁷¹

Description: "Christ's charge to Peter."

Comments: Probably the same panel as seen earlier, having erroneously changed the dramatic personae.

			29	

¹⁶⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁶⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 60.

¹⁷⁰ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁷¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁷²

			29	

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N20:4e.*¹⁷³

Brown:¹⁷⁴

Description: "The risen Christ appears to St Thomas."

¹⁷² Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁷³ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁷⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

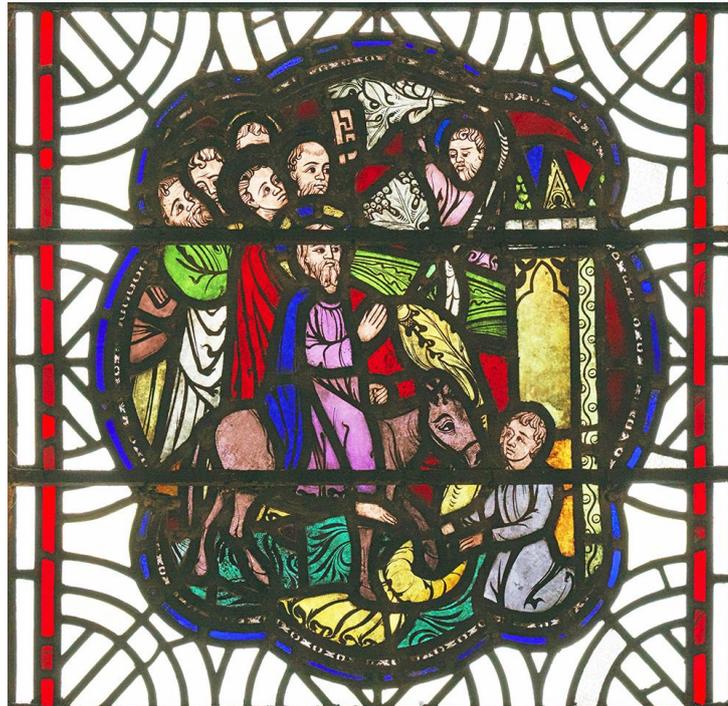


Figure CH1:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S21:4b
© York Glaziers Trust.

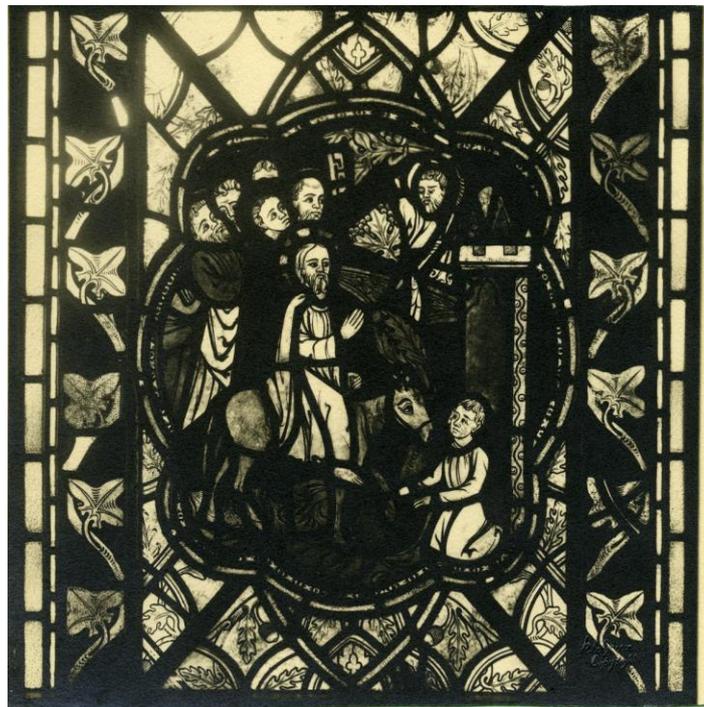


Figure CH1:30: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4442, 1931: 58, 5L3P
© Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4443, 1966: 2L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

[30]	[30?]			

Possible original appearance based on copy: Blue and white rim to medallion and red background.

The turquoise and yellow floor may denote the cloaks that were laid on the ground before Christ. Christ, nimbed blue and yellow, is on a brown donkey, dressed in murrey tunic and blue cloak, his right hand raised and left hand resting on back of donkey as though holding the reins. He is moving towards a trefoil-headed yellow doorway, with canopy over and decorated door jamb in pale green/white. One figure, habited in pale blue, is kneeling in front of the doorway with arms outstretched, laying down a piece of yellow cloth to pave the way. A yellow palm leaf is held upwards, although not by this figure. There are at least six figures behind: the first is dressed in murrey and may have a blue nimbus, facing towards the advancing Christ at the top of the medallion. His right arm is raised and he is holding on to what is probably a white tree branch (Zacchaeus). Behind Christ are at least five nimbed figures, one of whom may be carrying a pink key. One of these figures (to the left) is in a green tunic and white cloak, and one in a red cloak. There may be another figure to the extreme left, of whom only part of a murrey cloak and yellow tunic survives. There is a green, architectural feature behind Christ and stretching across the right-hand side of the panel, the purpose of which is unclear.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type A.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Entry into Jerusalem.¹⁷⁶

The design follows the standard format, with Christ approaching on a donkey from the left, with a varying number of apostles behind him.¹⁷⁷ Before him are the gates to the City with a varying number of people waiting to greet him. Not all images have Zacchaeus in his tree. However, one less usual feature is the key, the symbol of Peter. Of this images studies, this only appears in the other church dedicated to St Peter, namely the Benedictine Church of St Père,

If both the first and second lights had A borders, the panel could initially have been in 2a or 2b, the actual location dependant on the identification of CH1:6. If the latter were original the Transfiguration it would have been in 2a and therefore this panel in 2b. However, the more likely suggestion is that CH1:6

¹⁷⁶ Matt. 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:28-44; John 12:12-19.

¹⁷⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:3a and 3b; at Laon, Bay 0:1b; and Tours, Bay 200:1b and 1c; the churches of Gassicourt, Bay 0:1b and 1c; of St-Germain-le-Corbeil, Bay 0:1; of St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:5b; of St Père, Chartres, Bay 217, left hand lancet: Bay 1a-1c; and St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 2:4b; in manuscript it can be seen in the Gough Psalter, fol.11v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 49-55; the Peterborough Psalter, fol.33, *ibid.*, 21-39, and the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.233.

showed Christ's Agony in the Garden, and hence would have been in 2b, leaving this panel in 2a. In this case, it would reflect the narrative structures of the other windows in that they start with the subject of the window making a decision which will irrevocably lead to the culmination of their cult. It is arguable that this action by Christ marked the first stop in his inevitable torture and execution and hence his role in the Last Judgement in 8e. As such it falls into the narrative patterns discussed in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: after the creation of the window and, probably after the Reformation, in the course of repairs, CH1:6 and 30 were switched to the other of their A light-type, leaving CH1:30 in the second A light. This may well have occurred in the sixteenth or early seventeenth-century repairs by Robert Thompson, or the post Restoration repairs by the Crosbys.

Torre:¹⁷⁸

Description: "22 In 2nd Light stand 5 holy persons together before a Church variously habited."

Comments: The identification is based purely on the reference to the "Church".

	30			

Intervention: at some stage after Torre's description, CH1:30, with the rest of the second light, was switched to the fifth light, to create an A-B-C-B-A pattern in the borders across the window. This was probably done by Thomas Sanderson in the 1760s. Probably on the same occasion it was moved into the 6th row, as its medallion had a red background.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:¹⁷⁹

Description: "Jesus entering Jerusalem on an ass."

				30

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁸⁰

Description: "Entry into Jerusalem."

				30

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁸¹

Description: "Entry into Jerusalem."

				30

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

¹⁷⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁷⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 54.

¹⁸⁰ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁸¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁸²

				30

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S21:4b.*¹⁸³

Brown:¹⁸⁴

Description: "The Entry into Jerusalem."

¹⁸² Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁸³ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁸⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Window: CH1 Panel number: CH1:36 original (CH1:2c) and 36 (N19 4a)

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N19:4a
© York Glaziers Trust.

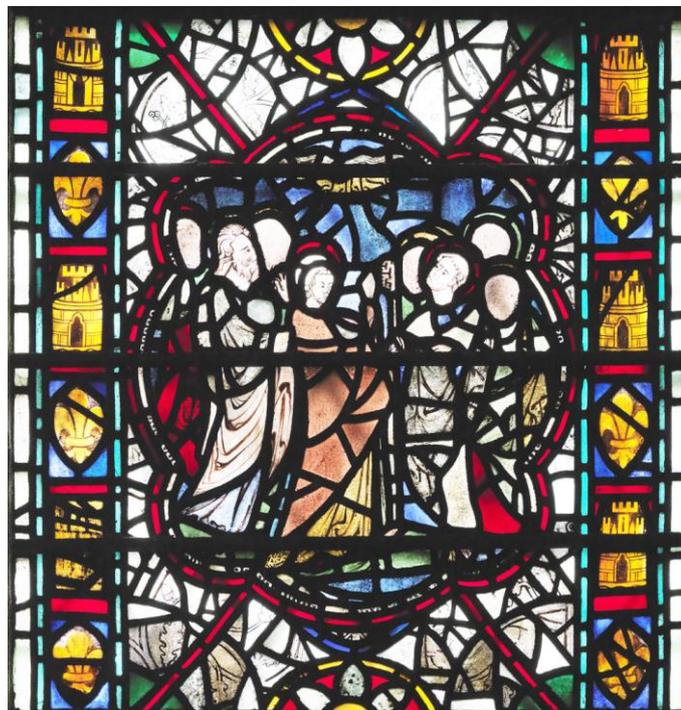


Figure CH1:36: Photograph of original panel by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CH1:2c © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:36: Photograph of original panel: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4685, uncertain dating (given as “before restoration” and “prov. 1958-63”), current suggestion is 1929-32: © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

36				

Original appearance: red and white-rimmed medallion, set in an outer blue rim at the top and bottom. Blue background.

Eight figures are standing on a green base. From the right are (1) a crouching figure with signs of yellow and white drapery, some of which may have been intruded. Intruded red glass at base. His face is intruded or has suffered paint loss. (2) a figure at the rear with green nimbus and face intruded or paint loss. (3) a figure in the foreground with appears to be an original bearded face, upturned, holding a large key in his right hand and draped in a white cloak, with a red nimbus. (4) an unpainted face, with yellow nimbus. There are possible signs of the top of another nimbus behind, but this may be intruded glass. These figures are all facing to the left (centre). Opposite, and facing, is a figure (5), with a small face, wearing an inserted medieval coif with curly hair visible. There is a red nimbus. The painting on the face looks as if it may be original, but the overall size is small. The lead line suggests that this figure has a hand (not clear if right or left) pointing upwards. The figure is clad in original yellow tunic and intruded orange cloak. (6) is shown as an unpainted head, with signs of a yellow nimbus. (7) is a figure in profile, with a beard and wavy hair which may have been Barnett’s model for the heads he painted. He is clad in blue tunic and white cloak, most original although in the photograph some pieces of the cloak have a pinkish hue. It is probably this figure which has his hand raised. (8) is a figure to the side, with an unpainted face and red nimbus, wearing a red cloak.

Across the top of the medallion are two wavy lines, indicating clouds. One is in white and one in yellow. There is no sign of Christ's feet, but this may be a result of intervention in the glass: given that the theological emphasis is on the fact that Christ raised himself, unaided by even a cloud, it would be surprising for there to be no sign of him beneath the cloud.

Comparison between original and copy: A comparison of the original of the Ascension, surviving in CH1 2c with the copy now in N19 4a demonstrates that the structure of the scene is very close. The same number of figures is shown in the same positions and in very similar poses. It is likely that many heads in the original window may already have been lost or have had alien ones intruded, so, inevitably, Barnett had to develop new painting for the faces. Noticeably, the figure with the small head (5) is presented as a female. Most of the colours in CH1:36 follow closely the originals: there seems to have been a definite effort made to copy the colours as well as the structure and the paint work. Again, some of the drapery had probably been lost so Barnett was free to select his own colour scheme, but with the exception of a rather harsh orange for the tunic of the central figure replacing the original more subtle yellow, and some differences between the use of clear glass, the colours show an attempt to be authentic.

The most noticeable difference between the original and copy of CH1:36 comes in the painting on the drapery where Barnett seems to have been more heavy-handed than the original medieval artists and the colour of his glass, which, while it may follow the original, is rather harsh and metallic.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was Type A.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Hair sweeping backwards, with impression of a central quiff. Varied thickness of lines in hair and beard. Squared eyebrows.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Hair sweeping backwards, with impression of a central quiff. Varied thickness of lines in hair and beard. Thick, curly hair.

Iconography and original location: The Ascension.¹⁸⁵

The scene appears frequently in stained glass.¹⁸⁶ Common features are the group of apostles looking upwards and varying amounts of Christ disappearing to the top of the scene. The Virgin Mary is shown in Canterbury, Le Mans and Strasbourg,¹⁸⁷ but not in Auxerre, Chartres, Clermont Ferrand, Gassicourt, St Jean aux Bois, St-Urbain or St-Père.¹⁸⁸ The arrangement of the scenes in the

¹⁸⁵ Mark 16:19; Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9-11 and 2:1-31.

¹⁸⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Auxerre, Bay 20:2a and b; at Chartres, Bay 0:11b; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:12a; at Laon, Bay 0:12a-c; at Le Mans, Bay 104: 4b; at Poitiers, Bay 0:5a-c and at Strasbourg, Bay 14:13a. See also the churches of Gassicourt, Bay 0: 6a; of St Jean aux Bois, Bay 0:13a and b and 14; of St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 4:4c and the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, right-hand lancet. See also Canterbury Cathedral in *ibid.*, "English sites," 0:11b.

¹⁸⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Le Mans, Bay 104:4b; and Strasbourg, Bay 14: tracery; and "English sites," the cathedral at Canterbury, Corona I.

¹⁸⁸ *Online Arcive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Auxerre, Bay 20:2a and 2b; at Chartres, Bay 0:10b; and at Clermont Ferrand, s4: oculus; see also the churches at St-Père, Chartres, Bay

Fenland manuscripts¹⁸⁹ and the Taymouth Hours¹⁹⁰ also resembles York. The four manuscripts all show two groups of figures, either side of the ascending Christ and looking up towards him, one being the Virgin. The panel would have followed the Resurrection scenes and preceded Pentecost, therefore 8a is the most likely original location.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, the 1610s or the Restoration repairs, the panel was moved to the row below, but retained in the same A light.

Torre:¹⁹¹

Description: “11 In 2nd Row and first Light stand 8 Saints together variously habited.”

Comments: Based on the restoration history, it is suggested that the panel in 1690-91 was in 6a, with the panel he saw in 8b representing Pentecost.

36				

Intervention: at some point before the copies were made, CH1:36 was moved to the top row, still within the first light. This was probably in the course of the Sanderson repairs in the 1760s.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845, but original kept in CH1.¹⁹²

Browne:¹⁹³

Description: “Ascension.”

36				

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁹⁴

Description: “Ascension - an old panel.”

36				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁹⁵

Description: “Apparently the ascension. An old panel and much broken.”

Comments: There is no indication of where the copy was kept, but the original remained in the window (see Figure 24a).

36				

217: right-hand lancet; at Gassicourt, Bay 0: tracery; at St Jean aux Bois, East window; and at St-Urbain; Troyes, Bay 104:4c.

¹⁸⁹ The Ramsey Psalter, fol.3v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol. 71, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Barlow Psalter, fol.14, *ibid.*, 57-58.

¹⁹⁰ The Taymouth Hours, fol.131v.

¹⁹¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

¹⁹² This is concluded from comparing the lead lines in the original and copied panels.

¹⁹³ Browne, *Representation*, 54-61.

¹⁹⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

¹⁹⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹⁶

36				

*Intervention: Milner White moved the copy to the nave clerestory, retained the original in CH1, but moved it to 2c. The copied panel must have been retrieved from store to be inserted in N19:4a.*¹⁹⁷

Brown:¹⁹⁸

Description: "The Ascension."

¹⁹⁶ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

¹⁹⁷ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁹⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290 (for the copy) and 291 (for the surviving original panel).

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: S22:4d
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:37: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4462, 1931: 58, 1L7P
© Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4463, 1966: c34, 4L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

			37	

Possible original appearance based on copy: Red and white-rimmed medallion, with a blue background and turquoise base.

There are five figures: a dead Christ is being lowered from the cross, with red and yellow cruciform halo and wearing a white loin cloth. The cross is a pinkish-brown, decorated structure. His left arm is being supported by a saint on the right of the medallion. He is dressed in a red tunic and green and white cloak. This saint has a red nimbus, orange shoes and is carrying a book. Beneath this saint is a kneeling figure, in a coif, dressed in a yellow tunic and what appears to be a white apron. He is holding a pair of pliers which he is using to remove the nail from Christ's feet. To the left of Christ are two figures. The one nearer Christ is holding him round the waist and is unnimbed. He is clad in a yellow tunic and red cloak, with and yellow shoes. The figure to the furthest left is holding Christ's right hand in his/hers. The figure has a yellow nimbus, green tunic and purple cloak.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair and flattened noses. Hair swept backwards. Quiff. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: The Deposition.²⁰⁰

The scene is shown in stained glass and frequently in manuscripts.²⁰¹ Always present are Joseph of Arimathea (with or without a Jewish cap), supporting Christ. To the left of the scene is the Virgin, almost always holding Christ's hand or arm. To the right is St John, holding either Christ's left arm or hand and/or a book. Almost always is a kneeling figure at Christ's feet, with pliers, removing the nail from Christ's feet.

The most important point from this survey is that every visual affiliate shows the figure to the left of the medallion as the Virgin, usually holding Christ's arm or hand. This makes it certain that the figure to the left of CH1:37 originally was the Virgin, with the glass having suffered disruption around the head/veil area to disguise the gender of the figure at some point before the copy was made in 1845.

When Torre saw the panel it was in 4d, adjacent to the other scene showing the crucifix, CH1:18, in 4c. As both of these have blue backgrounds and as, in the

²⁰⁰ Matt. 27:58-59; Mark 15:43-45; Luke 23:53; John 19:38. Of these, only Luke and John refer to the presence of the Virgin at the Deposition.

²⁰¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 6:9a; at Chartres, Bays 37:5b and 51:4b; at Clermont-Ferrand, s2:8a and at Troyes, Bay 200:2b. See also the churches of St Germer de Fly, Bay 2:10a and St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 0:4c. In manuscripts, it appears in the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42; the Gough Psalter, fol.61, *ibid.*, 49-55; the Peterborough Psalter, fol. 64, *ibid.*, 21-39; and the Barlow Psalter, fol.13v, *ibid.*, 57-58; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 217 and the Teymouth Hours, fol.123v.

narrative they would be adjacent, this makes it more likely that the window was originally in alternating rows of blue and red. The original location would have followed the Crucifixion and been in 4d.

History of the Panel.

Torre:²⁰²

Description: “19 In 4th Light is another Crucifix of our Lord and a Saint Standing on either Side his Cross.”

			37	

Intervention: at some stage after Torre’s description, CH1:37 was moved from the fourth to the fifth light, its other light-type. This may have occurred during the Crosby repairs of the 1690s.

Intervention: probably in the course of the Thomas Sanderson repairs in the 1760s, the panel was switched, along with other panels in the fifth light, into the second light, to create a border design across the window of A-B-C-B-A.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:²⁰³

Description: “Jesus being taken down from the Cross.”

	37			

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁰⁴

Description: “Deposition from the cross.”

	37			

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁰⁵

Description: “Deposition from the Cross.”

	37			

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁰⁶

	37			

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to S22:4d.*²⁰⁷

²⁰² YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²⁰³ Browne, *Representation*, 56.

²⁰⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170r.

²⁰⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78r.

²⁰⁶ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

²⁰⁷ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

Brown:²⁰⁸

Description: "The Deposition."

²⁰⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

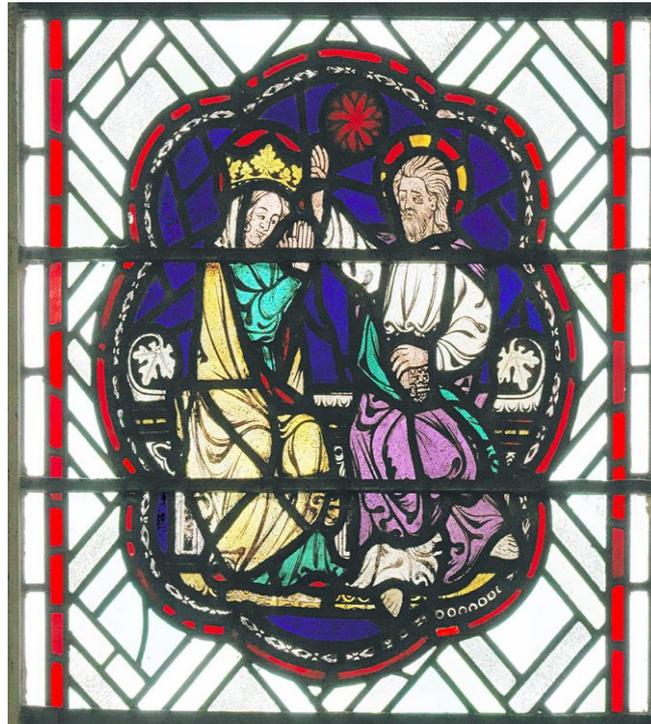


Figure CH1:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N19:4d
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:38: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4367, 1931: 58, 3L1P
© Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4366, 1966: 41, 4L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

		38		

Possible original appearance based on the copy: A red and white-rimmed medallion with a blue background.

There are two figures, Christ and the Virgin. Christ is seated to the right of the medallion, with red and yellow cruciform halo, white tunic and murrey cloak, with a turquoise lining. He is holding a book in his left hand on his lap and is shown in three-quarter view, turned towards the Virgin with his right hand raised in blessing above her head. The Virgin is seated in three-quarter view, turned towards Christ, with a red halo, a large yellow crown, turquoise tunic and yellow cloak with a red lining. She has a white cloth over her head. Her hands are raised in prayer towards her son. They are both seated on a white bench, with a foliar decoration at each end. The front of the bench is perforated with architectural features, but there is insufficient visible to detect the complete design. Beneath the bench is a yellow strip which may denote a simplified cloud. A red sun is at the upper centre of the medallion.

The outline is similar to that used in CHn2:36, with the raised arm of Christ, the possible position of the Virgin's praying hands and the position in which Christ holds the book/gospels on his lap. However, CHn2:36 is so disturbed that it is not possible to determine whether the same cartoon may have been used and, in any event, different workshops were involved.

This is one of only two lights in the chapter house glass which includes the Marian symbol of the fleur-de-lys in the borders. (The other light is the central light of the Paul window (CHs3).

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type C.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big hair swept backwards and different thicknesses of line painted to show the hair. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose. Noses are flattened.

Iconography and original location: The Coronation of the Virgin.²¹⁰

This scene, which was located in 8c when Torre described the window, is rare in Passion cycles, although, as is to be expected, it occurs frequently in cycles showing the death of the Virgin. The only certain image which is associated with the Passion of Christ is in St-Germer-le-Fly.²¹¹ In manuscripts, one example that has been located is in the Taymouth Hours,²¹² but this, too, is in a section which features the death of the Virgin. The Ramsey Psalter shows a Coronation of the Virgin along with other images associated with the death of the Virgin, immediately following scenes showing Thomas, Mary Magdalene, Ascension and Pentecost.²¹³ A similar connection applies in sculpture: as in the west portal

²¹⁰ Song of Sol. 4:8; Ps. 45:11-12; Rev. 12:1-7.

²¹¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church at St Germer-le-Fly, w2:12b.

²¹² The Taymouth Hours, fol. 135v.

²¹³ The Ramsey Psalter, fol. 4, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 40-42.

at the cathedral at Senlis,²¹⁴ the west portal at Mantes,²¹⁵ and the central doorway of the north portal at Chartres.²¹⁶ Hence its immediate association is with Mary's death. A similar situation exists in the Barlow Psalter, fol.14v, where a Marian sequence follows the same four scenes of Doubting Thomas, Noli me Tangere, Ascension and Pentecost.²¹⁷ The presence of this scene, in what may have been the centre of the top row of the east window, is unusually integrated in the Passion scenes and provides further evidence of the Marian focus of the chapter house. See further discussion in CHn2:36 and Chapter 4.

With its probable original C border, the initial location was almost certainly 8c.

History of the Panel.

Torre:²¹⁸

Description: "8 3rd Light sitt a King and Queen enthroned he robed vt & O she A & gu."

Comments: Torre either erred and switched the genders or he was correct and the error was made by Barnett. Christ is currently in white and murrey and the Virgin in green and yellow.

		38		

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne: ²¹⁹

Description: "Coronation of the BVM."

		38		

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²²⁰

Description: "Coronation."

		38		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²²¹

Description: "The Coronation of the Virgin."

		38		

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

²¹⁴ Willibald Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140-1230* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1972), Figure 42.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Figure 47.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Figure 77.

²¹⁷ The Barlow Psalter, fol. 14v, Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, 57-58.

²¹⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²¹⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 61.

²²⁰ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.170.

²²¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.78.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²²²

		38		

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N19:4d.*²²³

Brown:²²⁴

Description: "The Coronation of the Virgin Mary."

²²² Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

²²³ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

²²⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N19:4e
© York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CH1:39: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4369, 1931: 58, 4L1P
© Dean and Chapter of York.²²⁵

²²⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4370, 1966: c41, 5L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

			[39]	

Possible original appearance based on copy: Red and white-rimmed medallion, with blue background and grey ground.

A red sun is shining above the scene. Five figures are visible: one, the angel to the left, is clad in yellow tunic and purple cloak, nimbed in turquoise, with bare foot and white wings, the left one of which is spread across the scene. He is holding a yellow trumpet with both hands, out above the other figures. These are nude or semi-nude dead arising from green, yellow and purple decorated coffins. The figure nearest the angel is a bearded bishop, with his right hand up in prayer or amazement and his second hand held in front of his chest in an awkward, and possibly not original, position. He is wearing a decorated white drape and white mitre. The second figure, prominently bearded, is also draped in a plain white shroud, with signs of an awkward lead line along the edge of his torso. His left foot shows that he has climbed out the coffin and there appears to be a right foot which may belong to this figure on the floor. Behind the upright green coffin lid are two figures. The one at the front, clean-shaven, has a bare torso and appears to be holding on to the side of the coffin with his left hand. He is draped in a white shroud. The front of his torso is also rather awkwardly painted and there is an unconnected foot hanging below him. There is a bearded figure behind, with his face tilted upwards. To the right of these two figures is a dark purple coffin lid, also tilted towards the vertical position.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type B.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the big, curled hair and straggly beards. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Raising the Dead at the Last Judgement.²²⁶

From a comparison with thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Passion cycles, it is clear that it is rare for the Last Judgement to feature in this context. There are two striking exceptions to this: in St-Père, there is a central Christ displaying his wounds.²²⁷ Beneath him are a small female and bearded male kneeling (possibly the Virgin and Peter, though there are no attributes). In the panels either side are angels blowing trumpets and the dead arising from their coffins. In Tours there are five scenes of a Last Judgement at the top of the Passion cycle: central is Christ, also displaying his wounds, below are the dead arising from their coffins, to the side are Angels with the instruments of the Passion above are censuring angels.²²⁸ The inclusion of the Last Judgement in CH1 is one of the reasons why a more appropriate identification of the window would be Passion and Resurrection.

²²⁶ Dan. 12:2; Matt. 24:31 and 27:52; 1 Cor. 15:52; 1 Thess. 4:16; Rev. 20:12-13.

²²⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, right-hand lancet.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Tours, Bay 0.

The main difficulty in placing this panel in the narrative structure of the window emerges from the fact that the panel clearly associated with Christ in Judgement (CH1:27) currently has a red background, meaning that the two might have been on different rows. This problem may be solved if CH1:27 originally had a blue background and came from row 8. The original location of CH1:39, with a probable B border could have been in 8d or 8e, but Christ in Judgement is more likely for 8e, meaning CH1:39 was in 8d.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: in the course of the Thompson or post-Restoration Crosby repairs, CH1:39 was switched from the fourth light to its B light-type in the fifth light.

Torre:²²⁹

Description: “10 In 5th Light stands an Angell Robed Murry & O Winged of zd before whom 2 Kings kneel both robed O & B.”

				39

Comments: Either Torre was correct, in which case Barnett exchanged a king for a bishop and added additional figures in error, or Torre did not describe or see all the figures and confused a bishop for a king.

Intervention: possibly in the Crosby repairs of the 1690s, CH1:39 was switched to its light-type, back from the fifth to the fourth light, namely a B light.

Copy made by John Barnett 1845.

Browne:²³⁰

Description: “Angel blowing trumpet and dead arising.”

			39	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²³¹

Description: “Angel sounding trumpets.”

			39	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²³²

Description: “The Judgement.”

			39	

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

²²⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²³⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 61.

²³¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

²³² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³³

			39	

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N19:4e.*²³⁴

Brown:²³⁵

Description: “[?] Angel with trumpet flanked by angels with nails and crown of thorns.”

²³³ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

²³⁴ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

²³⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:



Figure CH1:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: N19:4b
© York Glaziers Trust.

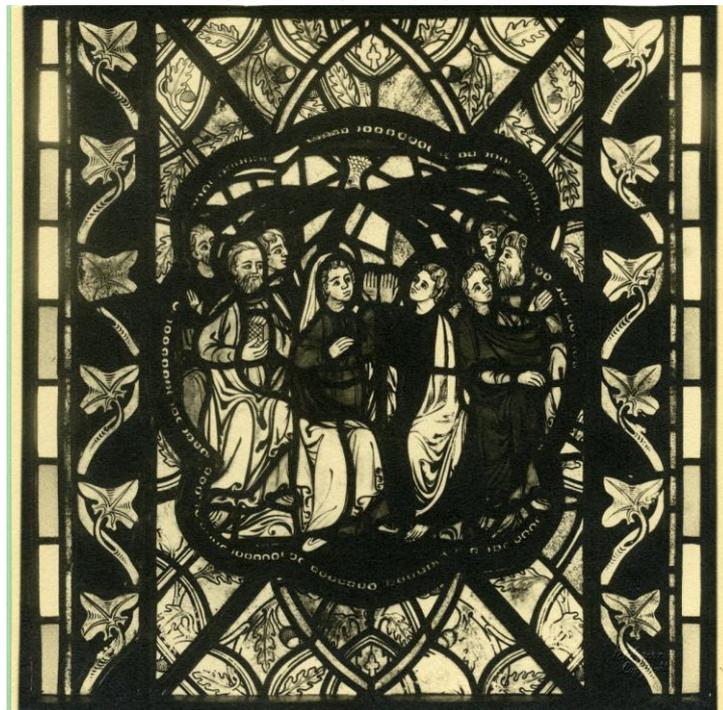


Figure CH1:40: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4364, 1931: 58, 5L1P
© Dean and Chapter of York.²³⁶

²³⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4364, 1966: c41, 2L2P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Original location:

	40			

Possible original appearance based on copy: Red and white-rimmed medallion with blue background, on a yellow, green, turquoise and pale blue base.

A yellow strip for a cloud lies across the top of the medallion, emerging from which is the elongated neck and open beak of a bird. Eight streaks of red glass flow from his mouth. Below are eight figures, apparently all seated. From the left-hand side (1) the head of a bearded male, with signs of a nimbus, probably clad in bright green cloak and red tunic. There is a hand, which possibly belongs to him, held upwards. Figure (2) is a bearded male with turquoise nimbus, holding a white book in both hands at his chest. He is wearing a blue cloak and white tunic and has bare feet. Figure (3) may be nimbed and is shown in profile, wearing yellow and possibly white. Figure (4) is female and nimbed in pale blue. She is clad in a green tunic and lilac and yellow cloak (one part of what may well have reflected an earlier intrusion). The lilac is covering her head. She has white shoes and is holding her right hand across her breast, with her left hand held upwards as though indicating the bird above. Figure (5) is clean-shaven, with red tunic and white cloak and is holding both hands together as though praying. His head is tilted upwards. Figure (6) is clean shaven and is clad in a yellow cloak with a purple tunic. He is turned away from the earlier figures and is seen at three-quarter view as though looking towards the right. He is holding his left hand out as though indicating to the right. Only the head of figure (7) can be seen, in yellow nimbus. Figure (8) is bearded and seen in profile, looking towards the centre of the medallion and clad in pink and turquoise.

Stylistic comments on copied heads:

Similar to the original features are the rounded faces, the, big curled hair and flattened noses. The line of one eyebrow is extended to create the outline of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Pentecost.²³⁷

This appears in glass and in manuscripts.²³⁸ Only in Strasbourg does the Virgin Mary certainly appear: even there she is not in the position she has in York.²³⁹ She is included in manuscripts, seated full-frontal under the dove. Only the Barlow Psalter shows her in her York position (at the forefront of the left-hand group).²⁴⁰

Otherwise, this panel has common elements of Pentecosts elsewhere. What is

²³⁷ Acts 2: 1-31.

²³⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the churches of Gassicourt, Bay 0:6c; of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 217, right-hand lancet; and the Ste-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 0:17a-b. See also the cathedrals at Amiens, Bay 21:L1; at Clermont-Ferrand, Bay s2:1b-10b; at Le Mans, Bay 104:5b and at Strasbourg, Bay 14:13a. In English glass it can be found at Canterbury Cathedral, Corona 1, section 3, central panel, *ibid.*, "English sites". See also the Ramsey Psalter, fol.3v; the Gough Psalter, fol.71v; the Barlow Psalter, fol.14 and the Taymouth Hours, fol.132.

²³⁹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Strasbourg, Bay 14:4d.

²⁴⁰ Matthew M. Reeve, *Thirteenth-Century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy and Reform* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), Pl. XV.

particularly significant in terms of the narrative structure of the window is that Figure 6 is looking out to the right-hand side, implying a significant scene to the right, meaning that CH1:40 was probably not originally in the fifth light. With a probable original A border, it is likely to have followed Ascension and have been initially in 8b, followed by the Coronation of the Virgin (CH1:38) in 8c.

From Figure 24a it can be seen that the border of the copied panel was type A.

History of the Panel.

Torre:²⁴¹

Description: “7 In 2nd Light sev’all persons standing together variously habited.”

Comments: From a consideration of the restoration history, it is suggested that CH1:40 was in 8b when Torre described it. See the discussion of CH1:36.

	40			

Intervention: probably in the Sanderson repairs of the 1760s, the second and fifth lights were switched to create an A-B-C-B-A border design across the window. CH1:40 was thus moved into the fifth light.

Copy made by John Barnett, 1845.

Browne:²⁴²

Description: “Descent of the Holy Ghost.”

				40

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁴³

Description: “Pentecost.”

				40

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁴⁴

Description: “Pentecost.”

				40

CH1 was not removed from the chapter house during World War II.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁴⁵

				40

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel to N19:4b.*²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²⁴² Browne, *Representation*, 60.

²⁴³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.170.

²⁴⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.78.

²⁴⁵ Figure CH1: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4666, 1931: 58 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24a).

Brown:²⁴⁷

Description: "Pentecost".

²⁴⁶ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

²⁴⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 290.

Photographic record:

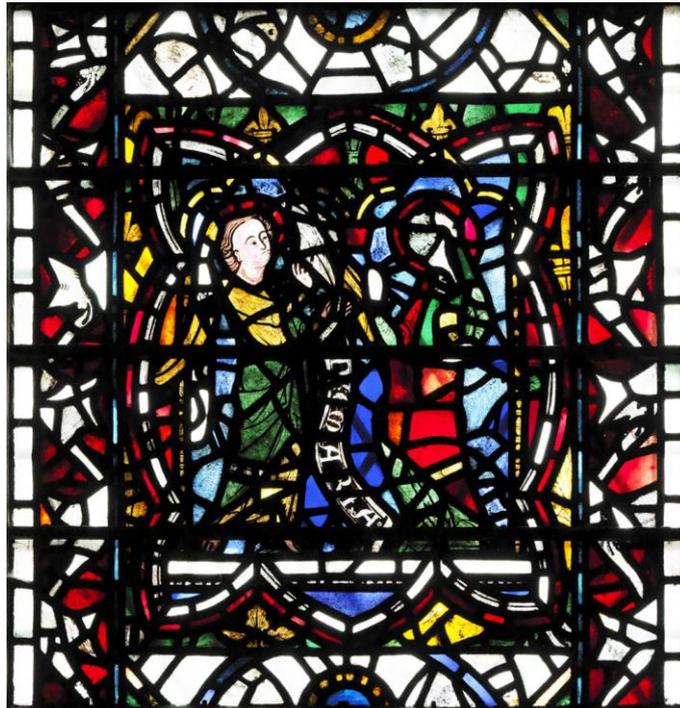


Figure CHn2:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn2:6, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn2:6: 1915 Drawing in Benson.¹

¹ Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 19.



Figure CHn2:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4799, 1929-32: 57, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.



Figure CHn2:6 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4801, 1969: 57, 1L7P © Crown Copyright. ²

² An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4800, 1969: 57, 1L7P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022206, 1969: 57, 1L7P © Crown Copyright; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022207, 1969: 57, 1L7P © Crown Copyright. 458

Original location, appearance and iconography:

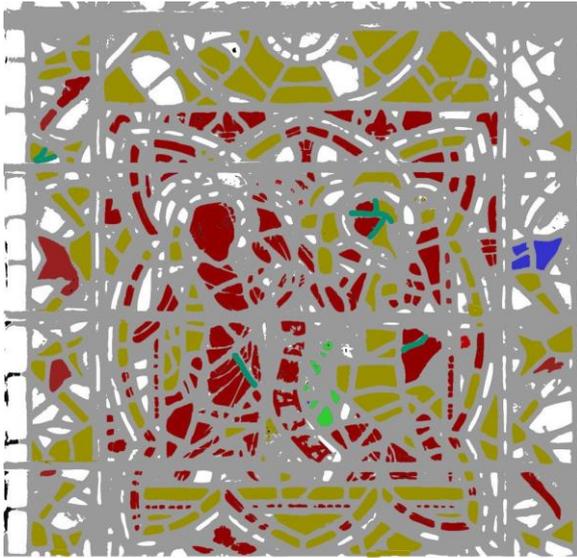


Figure CHn2:6: Restoration History



Figure CHn2:6: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

6				

Probable original appearance: Medallion in an inner-lead panel. Between the panel edge and medallion edge is a green background at the top and bottom, with two yellow fleurs-de-lys in cusps at the top, and also the same filling the gaps at the side. At the bottom are two larger yellow fleurs-de-lys. The outer rim of the medallion is red and the inner one white, with a line painted along the centre of the white rim. Original border A. Strip feature: I.

Two figures are standing on a horizontal base, at the lower edge of which is beading. The figures are standing under two yellow trefoil-headed arches (the upper fleurs-de-lys may also be seen as surmounting these). The sides of the arches show signs of moulding or carving up the verticals which support the arches. The background within the arches is blue and outside is/probably was red. Between the two trefoil heads is a green feature, with another piece of the same glass to the top left. To the left-hand side is an angel, barefoot, with signs of yellow and white wings, wearing a yellow tunic and green cloak (on which there are signs of a white band) and with a halo, his left hand clutching the stem of a large palm leaf and his right hand raised in blessing to the figure on the right. The figure on the right, Mary, is shown with right hand raised, wearing a green tunic and there are signs of a red cloak, which also has a band across it. She was holding a yellow book. There is the lead line of a halo. The drawing in Benson (which was probably by Knowles) also shows a billowing veil behind her. Between the two figures is a scroll on which the word "Maria" can be distinguished: note the rolled up scroll at its lower end. From the image in Benson, in 1915 it still said "Ave Maria". Between the scroll and the figure of Mary was a pot containing a lily: it can be detected in the lead line of the pre-restoration photograph, Knowles saw it as a lily in a pot in his "Historical Notes", so the glass must have been removed during the re-leading exercise (1929-1932).

Stylistic comments on original head:

Stylistic features resemble those of Workshop 2. The angel shares features with the other heads. He has a round face, his hair falling sideways, in lines, with a heavy line between the face and the hair. He has heavy, rounded eyebrows, the line for one of which extends to create the entire outline of the nose (eyebrows and nose outlined in a very dense line), large eyes with upper and lower eyelids and a mark to indicate the chin bone under the lower lip an M-shaped mouth and smaller features than Workshop 3.

Iconography and original location: The Annunciation,³ (possibly doubling with Angel Gabriel forewarning Mary of her impending death).⁴

The Feast of the Annunciation was celebrated as Christologically-related by the mid-fourth century in the early Church. However, by the end of the seventh century it had been developed in the Roman calendar into one of the four Feasts of the Virgin, the others being the Purification (now often called the Presentation), the Assumption of Mary and her Nativity.⁵

The panel has many of the common features of an Annunciation. The scroll appears elsewhere,⁶ as does the lily in a pot.⁷ Mary is showing a gesture of what may have been surprise,⁸ and is holding a book.⁹

The figures are standing under a yellow trefoil-headed structure: a similar one appears over Mary and Elizabeth in CHn2:8. These may denote the fact that Christ has been conceived and is in her womb, as these are the only two panels which show this feature, and form a contrast with the sturdier wooden structure which appears after he has been born (especially CHn2:19). Knowles saw it as resembling a doorway. In fact, it resembles the double-doorway entrance to the chapter house.

Gabriel is carrying a large leaf, which is of a different shape from any of the comparative representations.¹⁰ This may, very unusually if not uniquely for an Annunciation,¹¹ indicate Gabriel's foretelling Mary of her impending death, when he brought her a palm leaf. Palm leaves are normally depicted as narrow fern-type fronds, but the unusually large one carried by Gabriel is similar to the 1845 copy by Barnett in the Entry into Jerusalem, once in CH1 but now in S21:4b, which is definitely a palm leaf. A similar leaf is shown when the angel appears to

³ Luke 1:26-38.

⁴ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 210.

⁵ Clayton, *Cult*, 28-29.

⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 218, left-hand lancet; and the cathedrals at Le Mans, Bay 103:1e and f; Paris Notre-Dame (South Rose), Strasbourg, Bay 8:8a; and Tours, Bays 1:1a and 202:2a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 28b:5a and probably in Le Mans, Bay 103:1e-f; and the church of St-Urbain of Troyes, Bay 11:4b.

⁸ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Tours, Bay 202:2a; and the churches of St-Urbain of Troyes, Bay 11:4b; and St-Père, Chartres, Bay 218: left-hand lancet.

⁹ *Ibid.*, the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 7:1b; St-Père, Chartres, Bay 218: left-hand lancet; and St-Urbain, Bay 11:4b and the cathedrals at Chartres, Bays 28b:5b and 50:1a; at Laon, Bay 2:1a; at Le Mans, Bays 103:1e-f and 105:8c; at Tours, Bay 1:1a; and at Troyes, Bay 0:1a.

¹⁰ The drawing of the panel, probably by Knowles, as illustrated in Benson does not show the palm leaf and appears to confuse it with the angel's wing, Benson, "Ancient painted glass," 19. The large stem of the leaf has been changed to part of Gabriel's lower arm.

¹¹ In the cathedral of St-Quentin, it is possible that Gabriel, similarly, is holding a long artefact which might represent a furled leaf, *Online Archive*, "French sites," Bay 2:2, as it is in the Taymouth Hours, fol. 132v.

St John the Baptist in prison in CHs4:9. Hence the panel may be serving a triple purpose: showing the Annunciation of the birth of Christ, foretelling of Christ's fate and the Virgin's impending death, as well as making links with CH1 and CHs4.

In terms of the structure of the narrative, as discussed in Chapter 3, the Virgin had acquired an important earlier life by the end of the thirteenth century, but it is notable that, as with the other narratives, CHn2 starts with the fundamental decision that she made, to concur with the divine will. This set in train the events that would lead inevitably to her death and afterlife, hence demonstrating Divine Foreknowledge in operation.

With its original A border and early place in the narrative, its original position was 2a, making it one of the fourteen panels in the window whose original location was certain.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹²

Description: "21 In the bottom row & first light stands an Angell Robed O & vt, winged A wth these words in an Escrowle viz Sta Maria saluting our Lady who stands by him robed gu & vt, glory A & gu."

Comments: This is one of the examples where later restorers have followed the same colours of the original, assuming Torre saw the original glass in the drapery of the Virgin Mary.

6				

Browne:¹³

Description: "Annunciation".

6				

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴

Description: "No 1: The Annunciation. Angel pink face long curly hair. Ruby nimbus. Clad in yell tunic green robe with a white cross band running across lower part of it. Wings whit and yell. Holds a scroll in left hand inscribed "ave Maria" (only). Angel stands in arched doorway border with yel fillet. The background of doorway blue. Virgin stands facing the angel with arms out as if in surprise. Head inclined downwards. Robed in ruby cloak with some white cross band. Green tunic. Ruby nimbus. She also stands in a sort of doorway, that in the arrangement of this and the next panel have the effect of doorways.

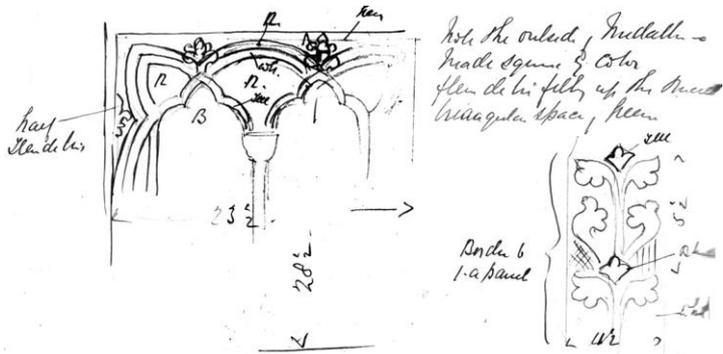
6				

Note the outside of medallion made square by colour. Fleur de lis filling up the small triangular spaces of green."

¹² YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

¹³ Browne, *Representation*, 45.

¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes", Vol. 2, fol.163v.



Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁵

Description: “1. The Annunciation.

To the left hand the Angel (clad in a yellow tunic and green cloak wrapped loosely round the body head with curly hair and with ruby nimbus) is stepping towards the Virgin holding his hand up in salutation and with a label in left hand [inserted] Ave Maria. In attitude of great surprise her knees slightly bent and her arms spread out the V receives the heavenly message with head bent and near to her is a pot with a lily in it. Behind the figures are two arches resting upon a central pillar the apex of each terminating in a conventional lily.”

6				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Only a very few possible new leads visible on the post-re-leading photograph. A comparison of Knowles’s descriptions with the photograph shows that the “pot of lilies” had been removed. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶

6				

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: two mending leads. One area of background appears to have been re-built from a comparison with the lead lines. The head of the right hand figure may have been rebuilt but more likely given mending leads.
 Grisaille: upper visible. As before the restoration. No modifications visible.
 Lower: to do
 Borders: a couple of mending leads. One area of heavily painted glass removed and replaced with plain glass.¹⁷*

Milner White:¹⁸

Description: “Annunciation as always.”

6				

¹⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.69r.

¹⁶ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹⁷ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4799, 1929-32: 57, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and Figure CHn2:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4800, 1969: 57, 1L7P.

¹⁸ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

Brown:¹⁹

Description: "The Annunciation.
Gabriel's scroll: 'AVE MARIA'."

6				

Changes since Knowles:

Intervention: Knowles had sketched red on the outside of the door shape to the left of the angel's head. This cannot now be seen. If he were responsible for the illustration in Benson, the flying veil to the right of Mary's head had been removed, but whether it was there in the first place is uncertain.

Current:

6				

¹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic Record:

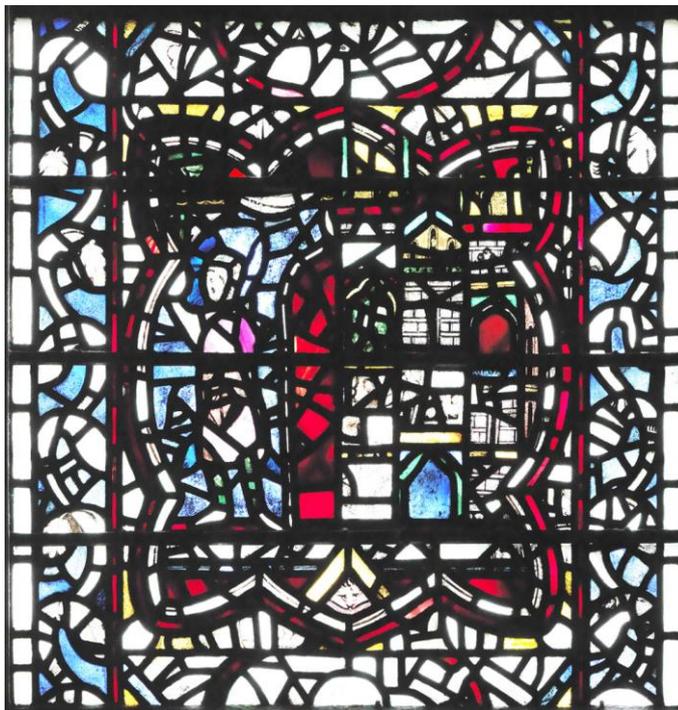


Figure CHn2:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:7, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

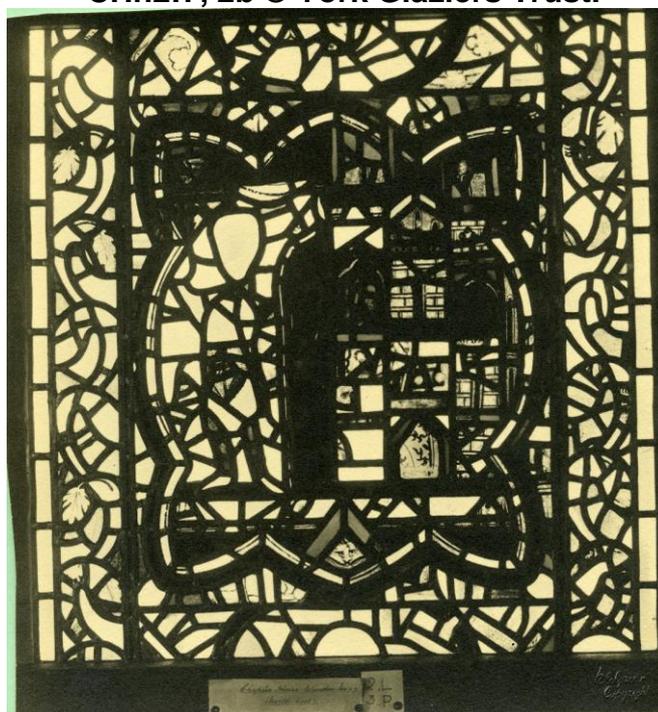


Figure CHn2:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4802, ca.1929-32:
57, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰

²⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4803, 1969: 57, 2L7P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022208, 1969: 57, 2L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

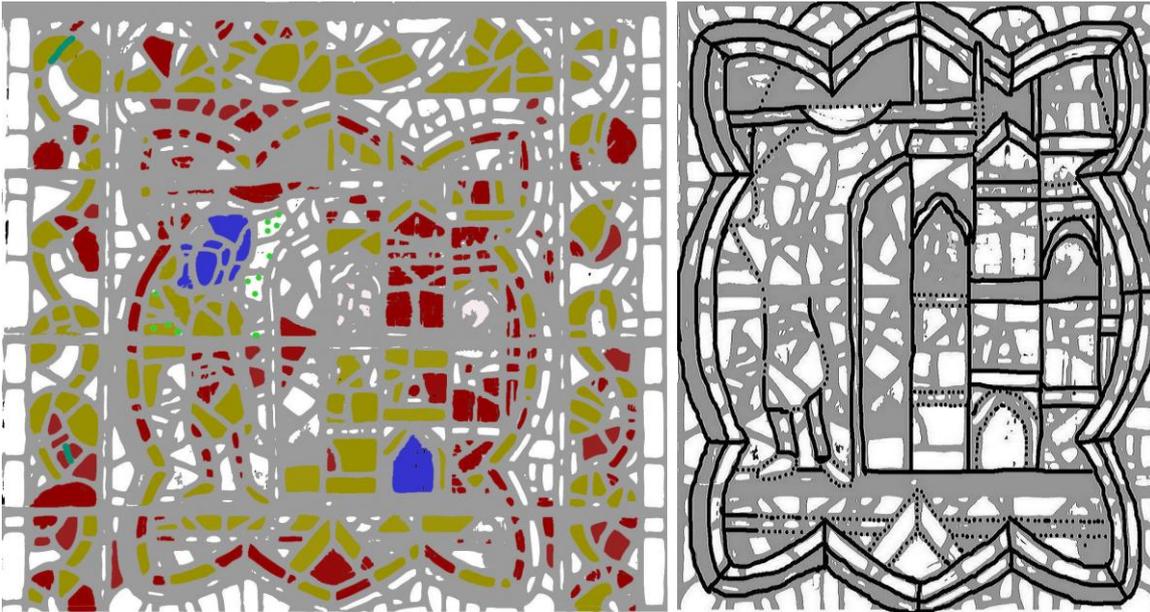


Figure CHn2:7: Restoration History

Figure CHn2:7: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Option 1:
CHn2:26 originally in an A border and
CHn2:28 was in a B border.

	[7?]			

Option 2:
CHn2:26 originally in a B border and
CHn2:28 in an A border.

	7			

Probable original appearance: The panel has the normal CHn2 medallion, between the outside rim of which and the inner panel line are signs of yellow background glazing and white fleurs-de-lys along the top and bottom (strip feature: IV). There is a triangular shape at the centre of the bottom inside the medallion, containing an animal head, cutting across the horizontal platform. The background below the horizontal platform is red and behind the main narrative is blue. It may be that the background above the curtain pole was red. Original border B.

A pole along the top of the medallion, showing turned wood, bears a white curtain, which is draped and falls to the left-hand side. Behind the curtain to the top left-hand corner is a patch of green with a strip below the curtain pole. In the centre and to the right of the medallion is an ornate building or series of buildings of which some original glass survives. To the left, outside the building and against a blue background, is a large standing figure, much repaired. The only original glass shows some signs of a pink tunic and green leggings. From the position of his right leg, it is likely that the figure was turning to his right, that is, away from the building and possibly towards the panel to the left. It is not

clear whether the raised right arm, which may be waving or may be holding back the drapery of the curtain, was original.

Iconography and original location: (Option 1). A scene from the Infancy of Christ. (Option 2). The High Priest healing the blind from Jerusalem or the Jew watching the funeral procession.²¹

This is the most mysterious of all the panels in the chapter house glazing scheme.

If the borders of CHn2:26 (Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents) and 28 (the Assumption of the Virgin) were not switched before the 1929-32 re-reading exercise, in 1690-91 they were unusually in the wrong light-type, meaning CHn2:7 was probably originally in 6b (Option 1), with two alternative explanations (see below). Otherwise, if the borders to CHn2:26 and 28 were unusually switched between Torre and Browne's descriptions, CHn2:7 was probably in 8b (Option 2), also with two alternatives.

Working from the original glass, in addition to the magnificent cityscape, there is a person to the left-hand side, who is dressed in leggings or breeches. There is no certainty about what the breeches denote, but from examples elsewhere in the chapter house, they could denote a child, a person from the lower orders or a Jew.

For Option 1, the scene would follow Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents (CHn2:26) or the Flight into Egypt (CHn2:27) and precede the Purification (CHn2:18 in 6c), hence showing a scene from the Infancy of Christ. It is unlikely that any panel would have split the related scenes of the Flight into Egypt and Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents, although Option 1 presumes that both of these had an A light border, itself unusual and meaning they could not be adjacent. If CHn2:7 were to be placed adjacent to one of these, there are two possibilities, the first of which is The Fall of Idols of the City,²² a rare image in art, but is to be found in Chartres,²³ and Laon Cathedrals,²⁴ and in St-Sulpice de Favières.²⁵ In manuscripts, it appears in the Gough Psalter,²⁶ where it is combined with the Flight into Egypt. However, the emphasis is usually on the idols, with their clear contorted shapes standing on or falling off their pedestals. This contrasts with the minute appearance of the possible figures in CHn2:7, as described by Knowles,²⁷ but probably no longer

²¹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214-15, or the more abbreviated version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208. Schmitt, "L'Exception corporelle," 155 and Rubin, *Mother*, 170 have described the general imagery of the Dormition scene. The current writer has added the information about the presence of the small on-lookers.

²² Pseudo-Matthew, *Gospel*, XXIV, James, *Apocryphal*, 75-76.

²³ Chartres Cathedral, stained glass, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/chartres/Chartres_default.htm., Bay 50:7a; Manhes and Deremble, *Vitraux*, 375-376.

²⁴ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Laon, Bay 2:9b. Louis Grodecki et al., *Les vitraux de Paris, de la region parisienne, de la Picardie, et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978), 163.

²⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church at St-Sulpice de Favière, Bay 6:6d.

²⁶ The Gough Psalter, fol.23v.

²⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.166r, fol.166v and fol.169v; Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.72r.

visible. Knowles noted “small figures” one in each of the two arched windows with coloured backgrounds of the side towers”.²⁸ He repeated this in his London draft, with “a smaller doorway at each side with a figure in each”.²⁹ From their location as being in the “side towers” it is likely that he is referring to two areas of glass which appear to have been inserted subsequently or heavily re-leaded and hence any figures have been destroyed.

It is difficult to discuss figures that no longer exist in the York window, but they must have been extremely small to fit in the spaces identified by Knowles and would not appear to have been able to have the visual impact of those scenes of falling idols which can be identified with certainty elsewhere. Nor is there any precedent for the large standing figure.

Second, the panel could show a scene which has only been located in glass in Chartres Cathedral when the Holy Family was welcomed back in the Holy Land after returning from Egypt.³⁰ It also appears in a late eleventh-century mural painting in Lambach Stiftskirche, in Germany.³¹ Schiller has commented on how rarely this scene is depicted.³²

The real problem for these identifications for Option 1, however, is the impact that this would have on the original locations of other panels in the pre-Purification sequence: as indicated, it would leave only 6a for either CHn2:26 or CHn2:27. This means that the other would need to have been positioned in the highly unlikely 2e, as the only remaining A light space, where it would precede the Magi sequence.

Option 2 permits the Flight into Egypt and Herod observing the Massacre to be adjacent. If it were in 8b, it would require a scene associated with the death of the Virgin. Again no similar image has been identified in glass elsewhere, although some elements feature in other media. The cityscape, the grandest of any in the chapter house, suggests that it could represent Jerusalem. The other clue, the small figures seen by Knowles but possibly no longer visible, might also suggest one of the following events. According to Pseudo-Melito, the people came out of Jerusalem when they heard the Apostles singing as they carried the Virgin’s body to her burial.³³ Small figures can be seen in representations of the Dormition associated with the eastern church.

Subsequently, all the people from Jerusalem were blinded, until the now-converted Jew healed them.³⁴ Either of these incidents fits the chronology of the window, following the attack on the funeral procession (CHn2:37) and preceding one of the incidents when Christ held the Virgin’s soul (CHn2:40). Because Option 2 can provide a possible (albeit not ideal) panel for 2e, namely the Coronation of the Virgin (Chn2:36), leaving Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt adjacent in 6a and 6b, it is suggested that the second is the more likely of the two options.

²⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.166r-fol.166v and fol.169v.

²⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.72r.

³⁰ Chartres Cathedral, stained glass, http://www.medievalart.org.uk/chartres/Chartres_default.htm, Bay 50:6b. Manhes and Deremble, *Vitraux*, 375-376.

³¹ Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, 281.

³² Schiller, *Iconography*, Vol.1, 124.

³³ James, *Apocryphal*, 214.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 215. Chartres Cathedral shows witnesses grouped at either side of the funeral of the Virgin, *Online Archive*, “French sites,” Bay 42:5a and 5c.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91:

Option 1: No change.

Option 2: In either the 1580s, 1610s or immediately post-Restoration, the panel was moved within its light from 8b to 6b.

Torre:³⁵

Description: “12 In 2nd Light is a great Church variously Coloured A O & gu, before wh a man stands habited murry.”

	7			

Browne:

Comments: Browne does not describe any panel in 6b, but gives two separate ones for 6a, namely “Massacre of the Innocents” and “Jesus foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem”, which latter, by a process of elimination, refers to CHn2:7. One of these two was probably in 6b, the more likely one being CHn2:7, as this is in this location in later descriptions.

[7?]	7			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: a head had already been removed.³⁶

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:³⁷

Description: (First) [pencil] “Prob Christ looking back at Jerusalem

[Pencil] Brown has Christ and 3 apostles.

The greater half of right hand occupied by a large building of 3 portions with a small door in the centre tower and to the left build is a large door or off shoot and over this outside doorway a curtain thrown over a rod. The building is composed of bricks with coloured bands across it and in the two side towers are two arched windows with coloured backgrounds and there appears to be two small figures, one in each. The apex of towers are yell in architectural design – the small doorway is all blue. The figure standing near the large doorway is clad in a short tunic a cloak of pink purp with blue or blue green legs but no appearance of angelic attributes such as wings. Head gone.

Backg over the tower and inside doorway is ruby but behind figure blue.

[pencil] get a ladder to this and examine window and figure.”

(Second) “No 2, 3rd row

Appears to be the child Jesus looking behind at Jerusalem. The whole of the panel is a building with towers and arches with a red door and over it a curtain drawn where the youth stands, clad in purple with green busks. Head gone.”

	7			

³⁵ YMA L1/7 Torre, 125.

³⁶ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.166r, fol.166v and fol.169v.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Comments: There is now no sign of his two figures, unless they are minute shapes in front of yellow gable and adjacent brickwork (though these might equally be small window openings). He seems to be relying on the short tunic to determine that the figure is that of a child.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:³⁸

Description: “The finding of the Saviour in the Temple.

The principal parts of this picture taken up with architecture representing the temple delineated by a screen with a large doorway in the centre with a curtain in front suspended from a pole and a smaller doorway at each side with a figure in each and in the centre of the picture a figure of youthful appearance robed in a short tunic (The child Jesus).”

Comments: He makes a second reference to the small figures which may no longer be visible. Again the “youthful appearance” of the standing figure seems to depend on his short tunic.

	7			

1929-32 Re-leading:

No sign of new leads/soldering is visible on the photograph. For other details, see Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁹

	7			

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel within its light from 6b to 2b.⁴⁰ Medallion: one head replaced by one that was either constructed or one from the glass bank.⁴¹

Milner White:⁴²

Description: “Vision of Zacharius (was elsewhere in this row).”

Comments: It is difficult to identify how the subject matter has been determined. The “row” must (compared with other examples) refer to vertical not horizontal row.

	7			

Brown:⁴³

Description: “? The Vision of Zacharias.”

	7			

³⁸ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.72r.

³⁹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

⁴⁰ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

⁴¹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4802 and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4803, 1969: 57, 2L7P.

⁴² Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

⁴³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Current:

	7			

Photographic record:

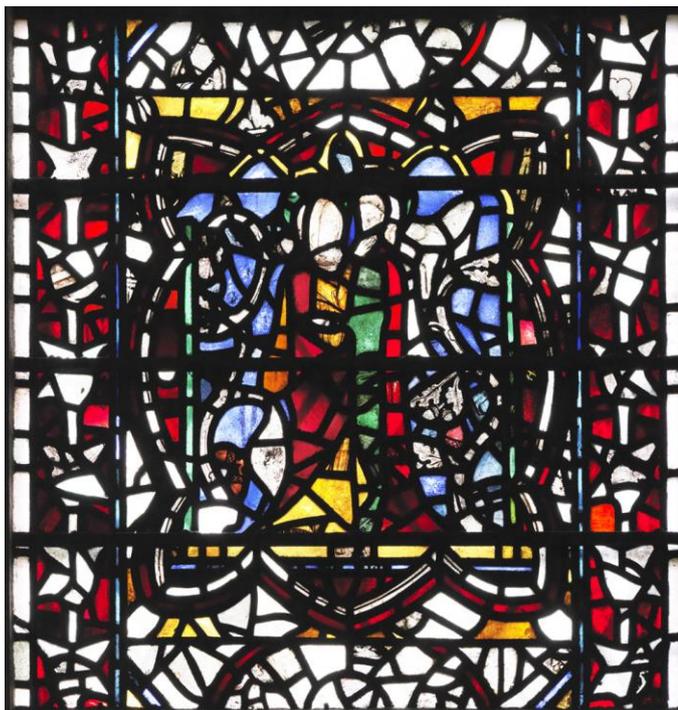


Figure CHn2:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:8, 2c © York Glaziers Trust.

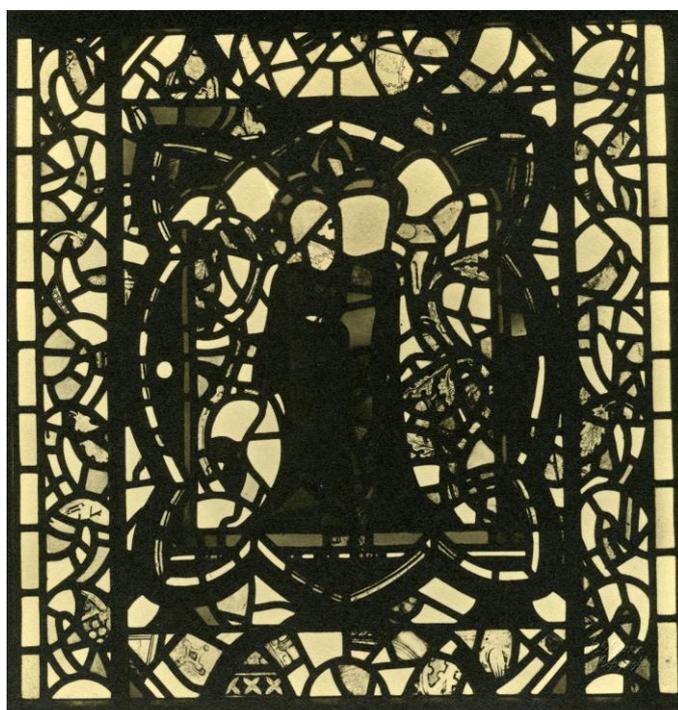


Figure CHn2:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4804, ca.1929-32:
57, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4805, 1969: 57, 3L7P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022209, 1969: 57, 3L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

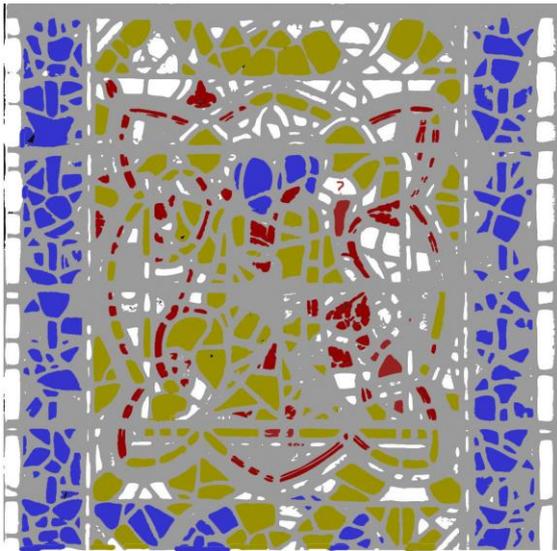


Figure CHn2:8: Restoration History

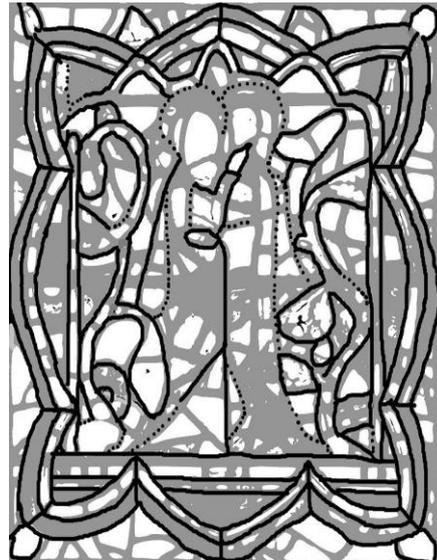


Figure CHn2:8: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

	8			

Probable original appearance: Medallion surrounded by yellow background and white fleurs-de-lys at the top, with two patches of what may be original yellow glass at the bottom. There is the occasional piece of white glass along the sides, which could represent part of fleurs-de-lys there. The medallion colours are as normal for CHn2. There is a horizontal platform with a strip below (which may have been beaded), which is breached by the outer medallion. On the platform are standing two figures, embracing. They are enclosed in a structure with vertical posts. Outside the structure the background is red and inside it is blue. Original border B. Strip feature: IV.

The two figures could have been nimbed. The left-hand figure has her hand raised towards the right-hand figure's neck. She has some original yellow on the sleeve and lower tunic. The right-hand figure has some original red cloak and may have her left hand towards the left-hand figure's waist as if hugging it (according to Knowles). Either side of the figure group are two large plants.

Iconography and original location: The Visitation.⁴⁵

The panel shows Mary and Elizabeth greeting and embracing, with large plants up either side of the scene. The panel is too disturbed to see if Elizabeth is carrying a book. Iconography of the scene across selected windows varies.⁴⁶

The pair are standing under a yellow trefoil-headed structure, similar to the one

⁴⁵ Luke 1:39-56.

⁴⁶ The two are sometimes not actually touching each other as in the cathedral at Chartres, Bays 50:1b and 28b:5c. However, they are usually in the middle of an embrace as in the church of St-Père of Chartres, Bay 218:left-hand lancet; the cathedrals at Laon, Bay 2:1b; at Le Mans, Bays 103:2d and 105:7b; at Tours, Bay 1:1b and the churches of St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 6:1b; at St-Urbain of Troyes, Bay 9:4a. See also Ste-Chapelle, Paris, Bay 1:3b. The panels with plants to both right and left are in the cathedrals at Laon, Bay 2:1b and Tours, Bay 20:tracery and the church of St-Urbain, Bay 9:4a. See *Online Archive*, "French sites".

that features over Mary and the Angel Gabriel in CHn2:6. These may denote the fact that Christ has been conceived and is in her womb.

With its original B border and early place in the narrative, its original position would have been 2b, making it one of the CHn2 panels whose original location is certain.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁴⁷

Description: “22 In 2d Light stands a Saint habited murry and O [may be read ‘B’] glory vt saluting an holy Lady yt stands by him habited vt & gu glory O.”

	8			

Comments: Torre’s colours fit the first figure but not the second.

Browne:⁴⁸

Description: “Meeting of BVM and Elizabeth.”

	8			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: part of the pink head had gone from the right-hand figure, and the head had gone from the left-hand figure.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁴⁹

Description: “No 2: Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth
[pencil. Brown also]

	8			

Two figures embracing each other.

Standing in the centre of the picture a scroll with oak tree with pink and white acorns in it growing up at each side of the panel. The same arched effect as in no 1 panel. First figure to right hand clad in green tunic and ruby cloak with cross bands of yell. Only part of a pink face with flowing hair remaining. Nimbus prob white. Figure to left in yell tunic and pink purp robe green nimbus head gone. This figure places her right hand on the Virgin's shoulder whilst the Virgin places her left on the waist of Elizabeth. Back blue inside archways. Ruby outside. Extreme outside pt yel with white fleur-de-lys. Back of medallion ruby.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁵⁰

Description: “2. The Salutation
In front on the same architectural background are the figures of the V and Elizabeth embracing each other.

	8			

The V in same colour robes as in no 1. Head of Elizabeth destroyed.”

⁴⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

⁴⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 45.

⁴⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 164r.

⁵⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 69r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph. The right-hand figure had, since Knowles, lost all signs of its pink face and flowing hair. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵¹

	8			

*Intervention by Milner White: the panel was moved from 2b to 2c.⁵² This involved changing the borders from B to C.
Medallion: two heads removed and replaced with two heads presumably from the glass bank
Grisaille: As before the restoration. In the lower strip, several strongly painted pieces removed and replaced with plain glass.
Borders: Changed from before the restoration. Before, some evidence of pendant/oak scrolls, now pointed vertical stem acer/hawthorn.⁵³*

Milner White:⁵⁴

Description: "Salutation."

		8		

Brown:⁵⁵

Description: "The Visitation."

		8		

Changes since Knowles:

Knowles saw "cross bands of yellow" on the ruby cloak of the right-hand figure. These are now lost.

Current:

		8		

⁵¹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

⁵² Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

⁵³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4804, ca.1929-32: 57, 3L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4805, 1969: 57.

⁵⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

⁵⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

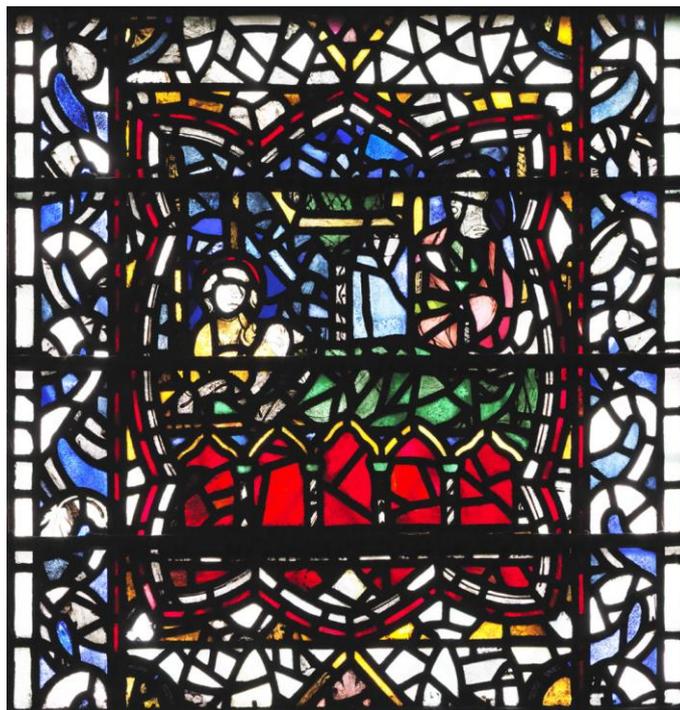


Figure CHn2:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:9, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.

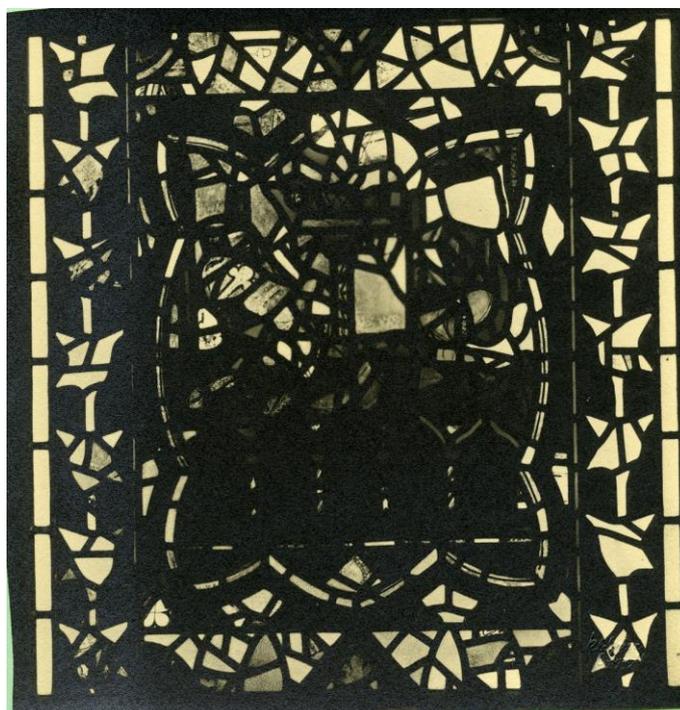


Figure CHn2:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4806, ca.1929-32:
57, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

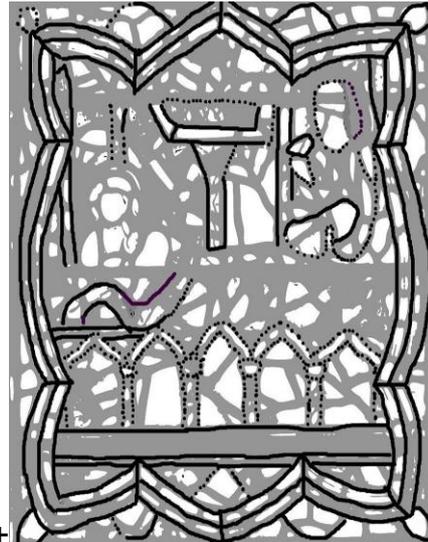
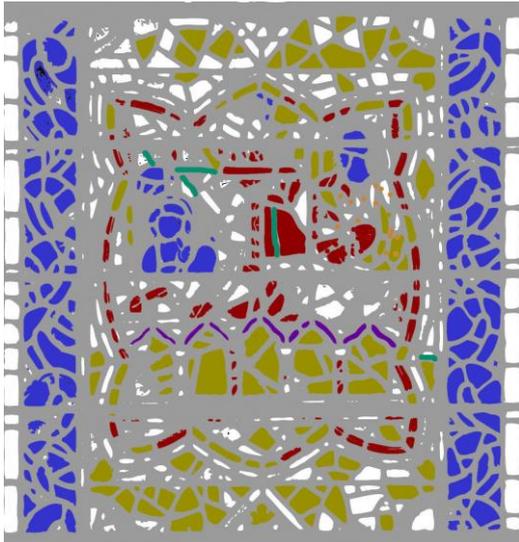


Figure CHn2:9: Restoration History

Figure CHn2:9: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

		9		

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with signs of yellow glass around all four sides: there may be lead lines for fleurs-de-lys above, below and to the sides, but there is no sign of glass.

There are four upright posts, with signs of turned wood, two at the extremity of the scene and two half way between the former and the raised crib. There is a horizontal platform along the bottom, with indications of beading below and a possible triangle in the centre, now containing blank glass. Below the platform the background is red and, behind the figures within the structure, it is blue. Original border C. Strip feature: IV.

Two figures would have been visible: one is an intruded figure lying on a green covered bed, according to Knowles an earlier figure was resting her head on her hand. Some of the green is original. The bed is supported on five arches, supported by short pillars and capitals. The second figure was in original murrey/red glass, with green tunic and appears to be standing with arms folded. Centrally, and raised on a turned post, is a rectangular shape with signs of a green shape with a possible child's head.

Possible: Now lost: candle or lamp. Also the ox and the ass, depending on whether Knowles actually saw them or now (see below).

Iconography and original location: The Nativity.⁵⁶

What remains of this panel shows a typical Nativity scene.⁵⁷ Mary is in a bed to the right, Joseph to the left. Between them is a raised manger, on which is the Christ Child. An ass and an ox were possibly feeding around the manger, which itself, as a “manger-altar”, symbolised the sacrifice of Christ.⁵⁸

A similar arrangement in of the figures around the panel appears in a possible manuscript copy of the original painted vault in the chapter house at Worcester Cathedral, the copy having been made in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.⁵⁹ The variations, which cannot be detected in York, seem to concentrate on the reaction of Joseph to the image: he is either reflective or active, indicating some sort of emotion. The only other difference found was in the Cathedral of Our Lady of Laon where Christ is being held by a maidservant⁶⁰ and St-Père, Chartres, where a midwife is present.⁶¹ The original central location of the panel is appropriate given that the Nativity was one of the four main Marian feasts.

The turned wooden structure also appears in CHn2:19 and 27 and is echoed by the retable in CHn2:18: it may denote the fact that Christ has been born and is shown in the panel. It is particularly prominent in CHn2:19.

With its original C border and significant, early place in the narrative, its original position was 2c, making it one of the CHn2 panels whose original location is certain.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁶²

Description: “23 In 3d Light stand 3 or 4 men together habited A & O. A little higher a Lady lyes in bed coloured vt.”

		[9]		

Comments: The location is arrived at

by a process of elimination. Torre may have seen the raised crib as a collection of people, along with the Joseph figure and he may have erred in writing “higher” rather than “lower”. This means there are two “ifs”. The identification largely rests on the description of a lady lying in bed with a green cover.

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 2c to 4c.

Browne:

Comments: No location can be identified for CHn2:9. The possibilities are 2d, 4a, 4c or 8d. 4c is the most plausible given its position in Knowles.

⁵⁶ Luke 2:7.

⁵⁷ Similar images appear in the cathedrals at Amiens, Bay 22:2a; at Angers, Bays 100:2a and 127:3; at Beauvais, Bay 0:1a; at Chartres, Bays 50:1c and 28b:6a; at Laon, Bay 2:2a and b); at Le Mans, Bays 103:3c and d and 105:6b; and at Tours, Bays 1:2a and 202:3c and the churches of St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 7:2; at St-Urbain, Troyes, Bay 9:4b and Paris, Ste-Chapelle, Bay 1:4b, *Online Archive*, “French sites”.

⁵⁸ Schiller, *Iconography*, Vol.1, 74.

⁵⁹ In Eton College Library, MS.177 in Heslop, “Worcester Cathedral,” 282-83.

⁶⁰ Bay 2:2a and 2b, *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Laon.

⁶¹ Bay 218: left-hand lancet, *ibid.*, Chartres, St-Père.

⁶² YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: for CHn2:9 the head had gone from the left-hand figure and the Joseph figure was damaged.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁶³

Description: (First) “No 3. [pencil] prob [pencil overwritten with red] The Nativity

		9		

[pencil] Browne has adoration of the magi. Across the middle of picture is a bed resting upon four small arches resting upon a banded base. Arches blue background red. Upon the couch reclines a figure covered with a green coverlid. The head destroyed but apparently resting the head in the hand. To the right is a mutilated figure of a man which may have been Joseph – but the parts are illegible. Also there is no appearance of ox or ass. In the centre over couch is a pillar and across it something yell and green but can’t make it out. Back of panel blue.” (Second) “No 3, 2nd row. The Nativity. The pillars of bedstraw shown up each side of the panel. Joseph has green tunic and purp cloak and red doctor’s hat. The ox and ass are eating out of a manger which is suspended in the centre of the picture filled with green grass. The lamp hangs to the right near Joseph. Arches have white shafts and green caps. No appearance of child and the base has not been removed to allow an insertion.”

Comments: He saw the cover for the Christ Child as “grass”. Note the contradiction about the existence of the animals.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁶⁴

Description: “3.The Nativity On a couch which crosses the picture and composed of small arches standing on a banded base is the

		9		

figure of the V her head resting upon one hand. The figure covered with a green coverlid. To the right hand is the figure of St Joseph but much damaged as also the background of the panel Virgin’s head also destroyed.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁶⁵

		9		

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 4c to 2d. This involved changing the borders from C to B.⁶⁶ Medallion: much of medallion obscure. A few mending leads. Figure to right-hand side has head inserted probably from glass bank. The area including the recumbent figure and child is completely reconstructed. The modifications may

⁶³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.165v and fol.169r.

⁶⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.71r.

⁶⁵ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

⁶⁶ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

*well have affected the interpretation/identification of the panel.
 Grisaille: upper and lower grisaille as before restoration. No modifications visible
 Borders: borders changed from before the restoration. Before, some evidence of
 pointed leaf shape (acer/hawthorn) on a scroll now pendant scrolls.⁶⁷*

Milner White:⁶⁸

Description: "Birth of John the Baptist."

			9	

Brown:⁶⁹

Description: "The Nativity."

			9	

Changes since Knowles:

The arches under the bed have been changed from blue to yellow.

Current:

			9	

⁶⁷ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4806, ca.1929-32: 57, 4L7P and an additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4807, ca.1958: 57, 4L7P.

⁶⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

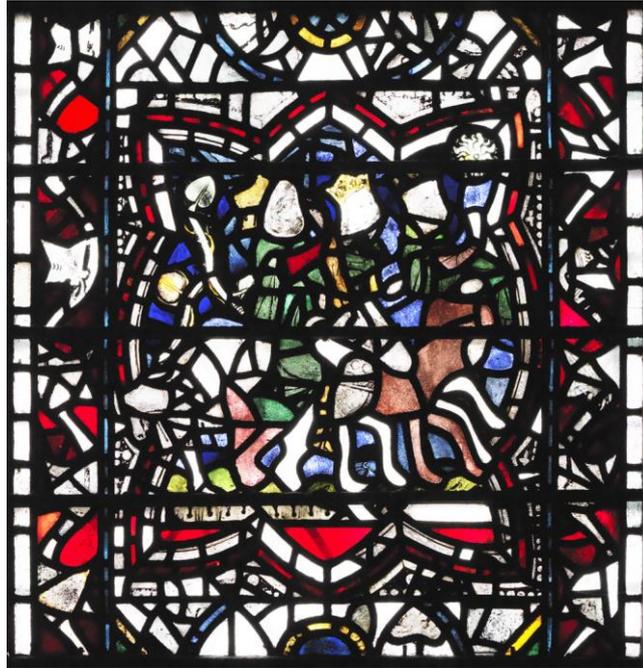


Figure CHn2:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:10, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

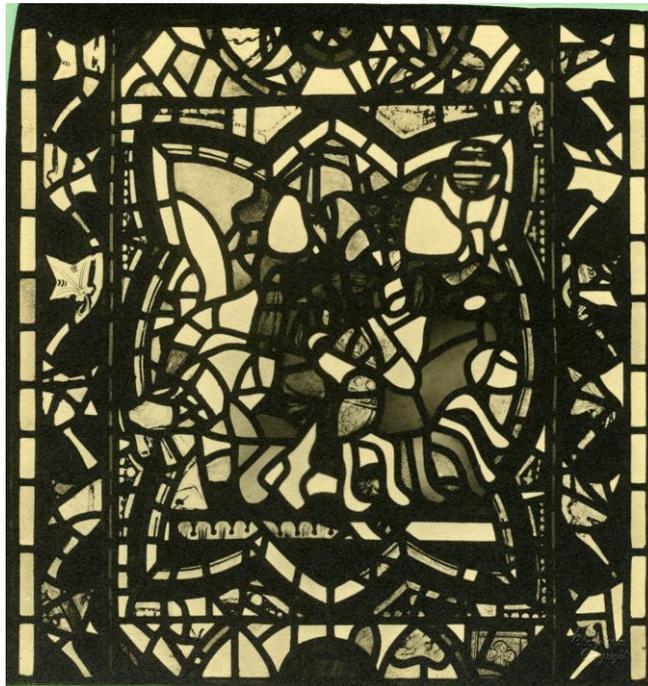


Figure CHn2:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4808, ca.1929-32:
57, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4809, ca.1958: 57, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022211, ca.1958: 57, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography

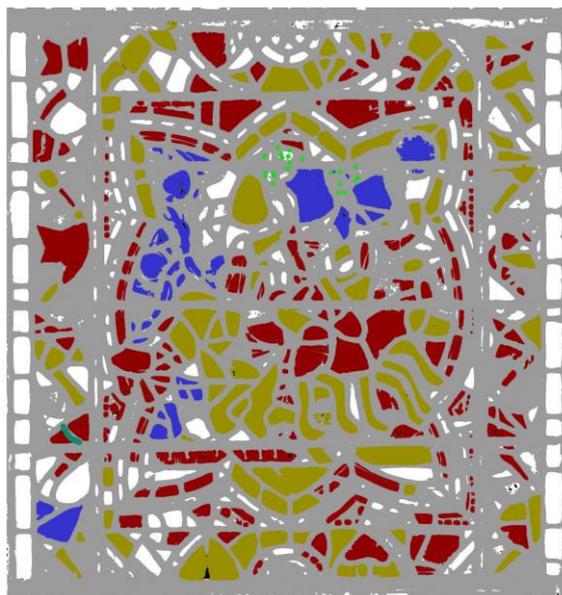


Figure CHn2:10: Restoration History

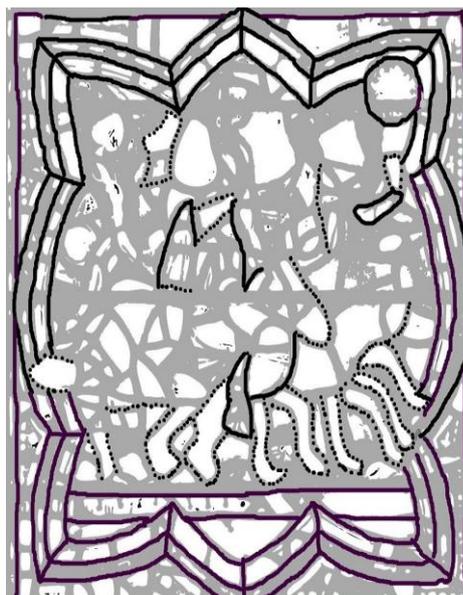


Figure CHn2:10: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

10				

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, surrounding by white beading. No internal structure. Horizontal platform, white, decorated. Below platform, background is red, though does not look original. Above, it is blue. Original border A. Strip feature VI.

Three figures on horseback following an intruded star. Most of the panel is intruded: original are the murrey sleeve and some green cloak of the foremost king, the green tunic and yellow cloak of the second king (both have their arms raised) and the green cloak of the third figure, also the yellow leg and stirrup of the second king. Some of the original glass of the horses survives in that of the second king. There is a plant growing up the left-hand side of the panel.

Iconography and original location: The Magi on horseback following the star.⁷¹

The panel showed the Magi travelling towards the Holy Land, following a star. Of other representations of the Magi sequence which have been examined, some are scenes which combine their journey with their audience in front of Herod.⁷² Others combine the journey with the Virgin and Child.⁷³ Scenes which are more like York's are at Angers, Coutances, Le Mans and Troyes.⁷⁴

The York scene is unusually dramatic: the horses are galloping after the star and the crown of one of the kings has almost flown off. This may be why

⁷¹ Matt. 2: 1.

⁷² The cathedral at Chartres, Bay 50:2c, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

⁷³ *Ibid.*, the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 50:3a; and at Laon, Bay 2:4a

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, the cathedrals at Angers Bay 100:6c and d; at Coutances Bay 203:3; at Le Mans, Bay 105:2c; and at Troyes, Bay 0:3b.

Knowles, in both of his descriptions, implied that the incident occurred when the Magi were in fear, at the end of the Magi narrative when they were fleeing from Herod.⁷⁵ Because, however, the Magi are shown following the star, it would represent the start of their journey: as an A border it would be difficult to locate at the end of the sequence and the only certain depiction of the latter, in the Cathedral of Our Lady of Laon, does not contain the star.⁷⁶

With its original A border and early part of the Magi sequence, its original position was 4a, making it one of the fourteen panels in the window whose original location is certain.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁷⁷

Description: "16 In 3rd row & first Light are 3 Kings riding on black horses all robed vt & crowned O."

10				

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s the panel was moved to the other light of its light-type.

Browne:⁷⁸

Description: "The Magi on horseback following the Star."

				10

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁷⁹

Description: "No 5. [Pencil] Flight of the 3 kings
[Pencil] Brown has [murder of innocents]

				10

Three kings on horseback as if travelling but all in a great fright. The two first with heads thrown right back, their crowns falling off. The third falling off his horse. The first king clad in purp tunic with short tight sleeves green cloak holds both bare arms up aloft in supplication. Horse purple. The next K seems to do likewise. Clad in green cloak and yell tunic. Yell leg seen in a stirrup. Horse white. 3rd K or figure can't make out without a ladder. Twisted oak tree grown up at left. Extreme border white with beads like no 4 bottom row."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁸⁰

Description: "5. Flight of the three kings

They are represented on horseback in haste and in a great fright. The two first have their arms up in supplication with their heads thrown back and their crowns falling off. The third is falling off his horse. A small oak tree is to the side of this panel."

				10

⁷⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.166 and Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, Vol.72r.

⁷⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Laon, Bay 2:8b.

⁷⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

⁷⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 46.

⁷⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.166r.

⁸⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.72r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Only one possible new lead/solder visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁸¹

				10

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel within its light from 4e to 2e.⁸²
 Medallion: large area to left-hand side of medallion made up (including the figure to the left, though need to count the horses' legs to see if there is evidence of third figure). Heads to the figures to the right also intruded, probably from glass bank. Star rebuilt.
 Grisaille: as before the restoration. No modifications visible
 Borders: as before the restoration. One motif of heavily painted glass to bottom left removed and replaced with clear glass.⁸³*

Milner White:⁸⁴

Description: "Magi- start of the journey (was elsewhere in this row)."

Comments: Milner White occasionally used the term "row" for "light".

				10

Brown:⁸⁵

Description: "The Journey of the Three Magi."

				10

Current:

				10

⁸¹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York .

⁸² Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

⁸³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4808, ca.1929-32: 57, 5L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4809, ca.1958: 57, 5L7P.

⁸⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

⁸⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

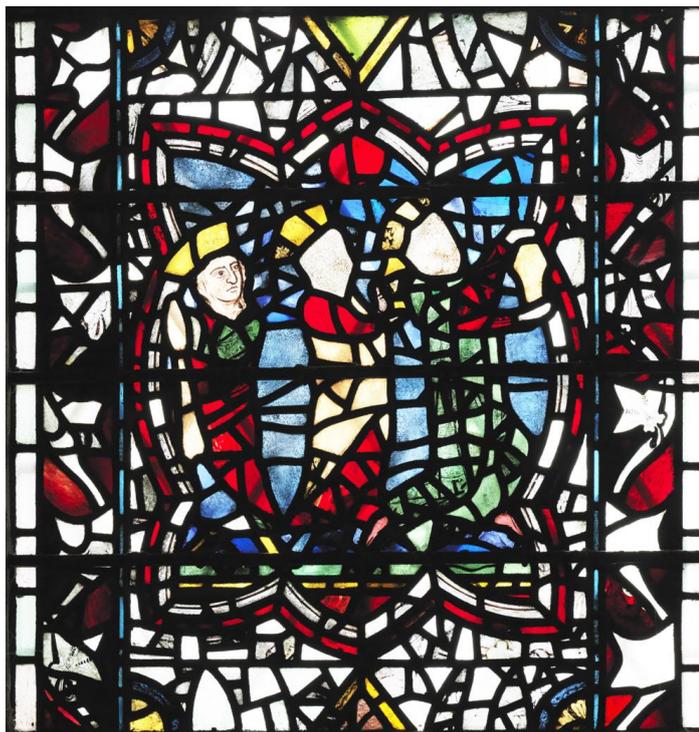


Figure CHn2:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:16, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.

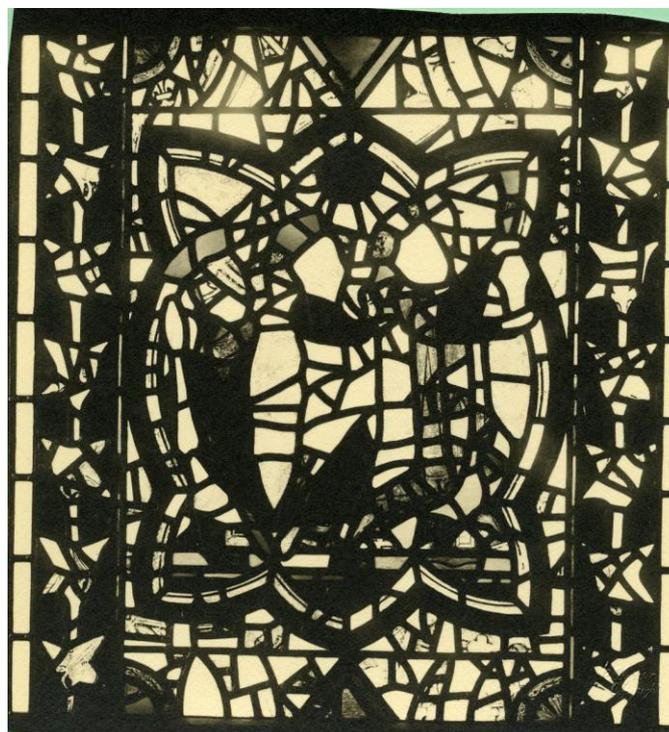


Figure CHn2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4815, ca.1929-32:
57, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

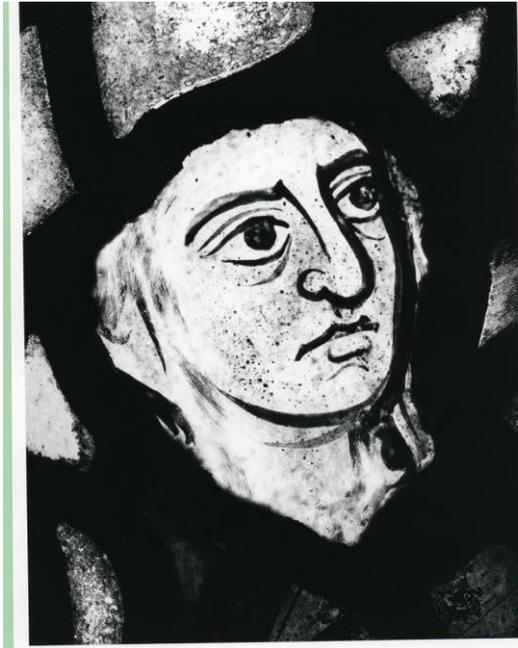


Figure CHn2:16 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4817, 1969: 57, 1L5P @ Crown Copyright. Milner White insertion

Original location, appearance and iconography:

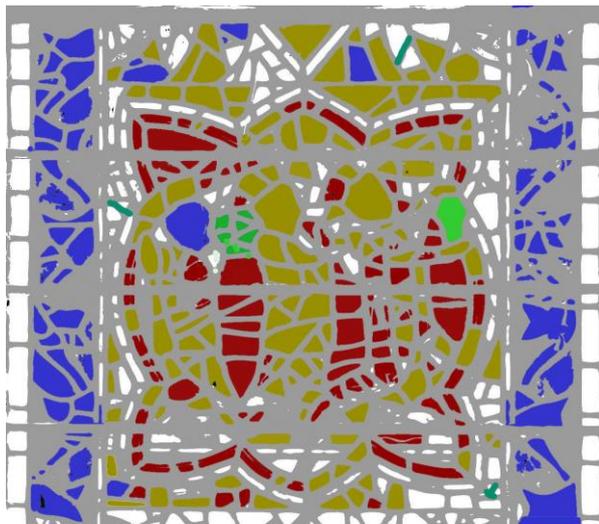


Figure CHn2:16: Restoration History

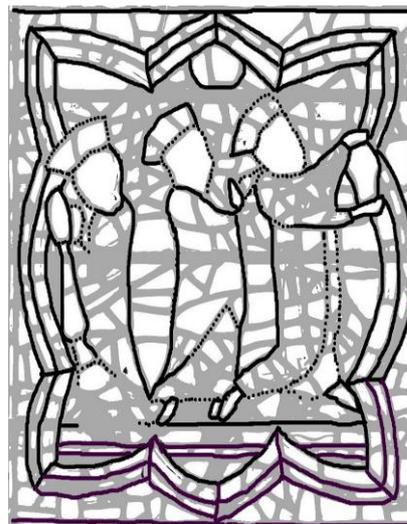


Figure CHn2:16: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

		16		

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion with no certain indication about original features outside medallion: there is one small piece of beading, but, from its angle, it may well be intruded. The figures are standing on a green horizontal platform, with a red background below and a blue one above. Original border C. Strip feature unclear.

The panel has suffered wholesale interventions. Of the little surviving original glass, there are signs of two figures, both crowned, the first of whom is kneeling

down and presenting a large pot to the right, which Torre saw as a covered yellow cup. The figure shows signs of a red tunic and a green cloak, first noted in Torre, with pink/red shoes. Knowles saw specific details, namely that the red sleeves were tight and that the green cloak was fastened at the neck and there was a green hood. The crown is yellow. There is one trace of a piece of a crown on the second figure and a possible piece of a vessel he is carrying. Knowles and Torre saw a red tunic and a yellow cloak, and blue shoes. From the lead lines it may be possible to deduce a round, star in the sky, and a third figure to the left, with a large plant like shape to the extreme left. According to Knowles, this third figure was carrying a "chalice shaped vessel". Torre saw the third figure as clothed in green with red sleeves, although, if the current sleeve is original, it was green and Torre was confused. If the paint line on the green glass is original, it might suggest that the third king was facing backwards towards the Herod scene in CHn2:17.

Iconography and original location: The Adoration of the Magi.⁸⁶

A disturbed panel, but there is enough surviving to conclude that it represents the Magi at the point of arriving before the Christ Child, in the adjacent panel (CHn2:19), as the foremost Magus is holding aloft the gift that he is about to make and is kneeling in readiness. The scenes of the Magi are divided differently across the various exempla: the kings are about to offer their gifts in Chartres and Le Mans,⁸⁷ as in York the panels are related to adjacent depictions of the Virgin and Child. However, other representations of the scene show a single king with the Virgin and Child, kneeling, albeit with three kings in an earlier panel.⁸⁸ A final version is where all the kings and the Virgin and Child appear in the same panel.⁸⁹ Some of the French scenes link more of the panels together.⁹⁰

In York, there is a clear division between the two parts of the Adoration, with the Magi in one panel and the Virgin and Child adjacent. As a result, all three Magi appeared in four out of the five panels representing the Magi sequence. The panel was, significantly, placed in the central light, further emphasising the role of the Magi in the Nativity and the major theme of sacrifice and offering. This is enhanced by the structure of the scene: the gift of the first Magus is held out in front of him, overlapping the edge of the medallion, echoing the eastward oriented focus of CHn2:18 in 6c above. The result is that the Virgin and Child are in a non-central position, although the design of the wooden superstructure, extending beyond the edge of the medallion, was no doubt intended to compensate.

The panel is at the nexus of the horizontal narrative of the Magi and the vertical access of sacrifice and mirrors the design and theme of CHn2:18 in 6c above, both visually and thematically. It is one of the fourteen panels in the window whose original location is certain.

⁸⁶ Matt. 2: 9-11.

⁸⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 50:3a; at Le Mans, Bay 103:4c, the first Magus is kneeling and has removed his crown, while the central king is indicating the scene ahead of him in 4b.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, in the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 28b:7c; at Laon, Bay 2:4b; the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bays 6:3b and 7:6a.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Tours, Bay 202:5a.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, In the church of St-Père of Chartres, for example, the scene is spread over three panels, with the Virgin and Child in 218:left-hand lancet. The cathedral at Chartres, 28b:7b shows two of the kings, one turning towards Herod in 7a and one towards the Adoration in 7c.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁹¹

Description: “18 In 3rd Light the sd three Kings are kneeling all Crowned O with their offerings in their hands 1st Robed vt & gu, 2d gu & O, 3rd vt, sleeves gu, offering a golden cup covered.”

		16		

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s the panel was moved within its light from 4c to 8c.

Browne:⁹²

Description: “3 Kings on foot guided by a star.”

		16		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁹³

Description: “No 3. [pencil] Adoration of the Magi. [now a/16] [Pencil] Brown Coronation of the Virgin.

		16		

3 Kings in a line. 1st clad in ruby tunic tight sleeves and green cloak fast at the neck having a hood to it same colour. Crown on his head. Holds a vessel up in [both] hands. 2nd K ruby tunic and [corrected] yell cloak holds vessel in [both] hands standing. Blue shoes. 3 king standing facing with head turned in direction of first king. Clad in ruby cloak and green tunic holding up in his hands a chalice shaped vessel. Also in a boss in the nave.

The kingly character of the adorers is a point of faith in the 13th century. (Legends of the Madonna page 216).”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁹⁴

Description: “3. Adoration of the Magi [pencil] Brown p18 S Glass attributes this to a [Arch] [Touche] as the Virgin holds a scroll in her hand with the letters O G R. Part of the word Rogerus whilst Christ holds the model of a window in his left hand.”

		16		

Comments: He errs in switching from CHn2:16 to CHn2:19.

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph. The third king is no longer holding a “chalice shaped vessel”. See Appendix A. 13.

⁹¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

⁹² Browne, *Representation*, 69.

⁹³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.167r.

⁹⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.74r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹⁵

		16		

Intervention: Milner White moved the panel from 8c to 4a. This involved changing the borders.⁹⁶

Medallion: one head inserted (presumably from glass bank) to replace fragments

Grisaille: as before the restoration. Lower strip – bit more to do. Mainly heavily painted pieces replaced by plain. A few mending leads.

Borders: borders changed from a hawthorn/acer vertical design to acer-type scrolls.⁹⁷

Milner White:⁹⁸

Description: “Wise men offer gifts.”

16				

Brown:⁹⁹

Description: “The Magi bring gifts.”

16				

Current:

16				

⁹⁵ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

⁹⁶ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

⁹⁷ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4815, ca.1929-32: 57, 1L5P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4816, 1969: 57, 1L5P.

⁹⁸ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

⁹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

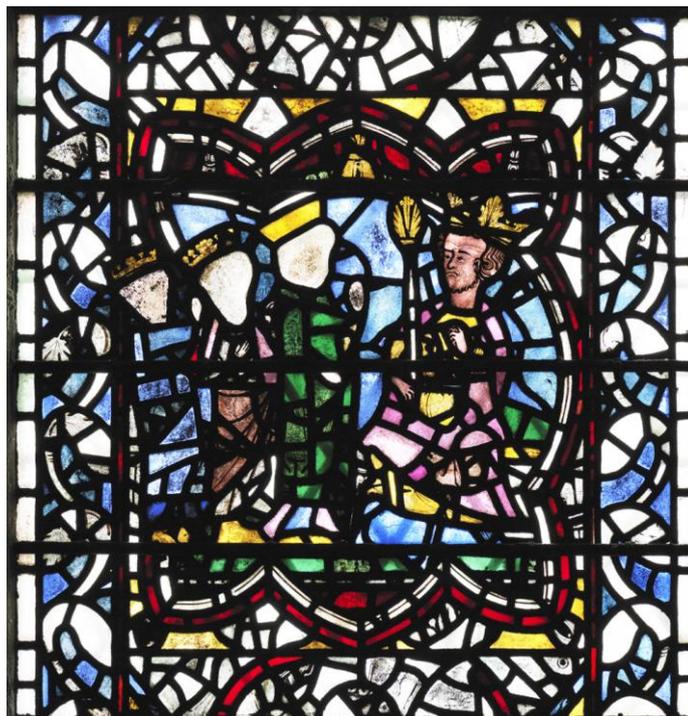


Figure CHn2:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:17, 4b © York Glaziers Trust.

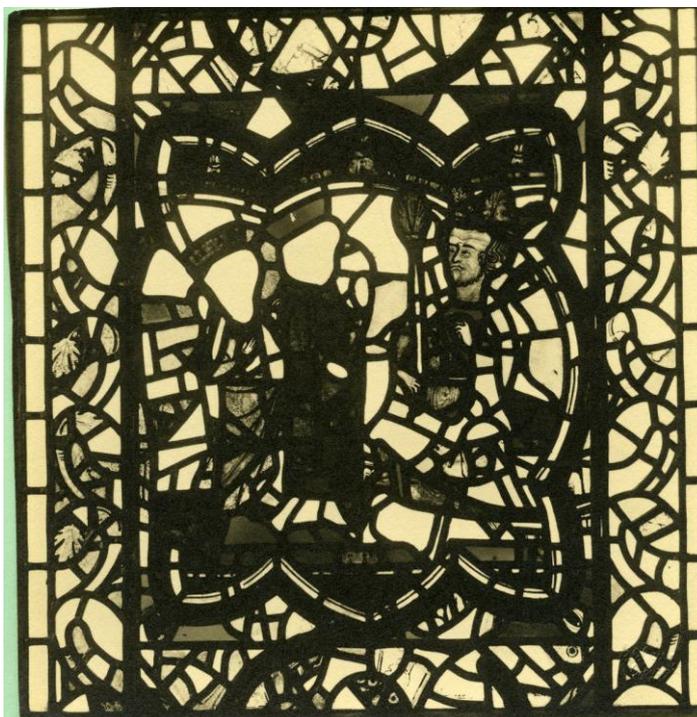


Figure CHn2:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4818, 1931: 57,
2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.



Figure CHn2:17 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4820, 1969: 57, 2L5P @ Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

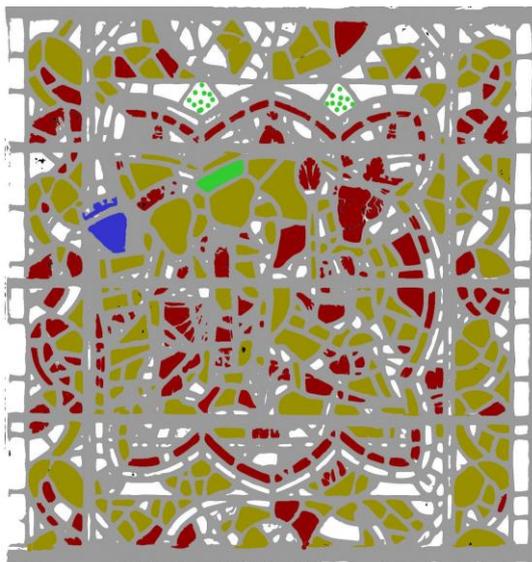


Figure CHn2:17: Restoration History

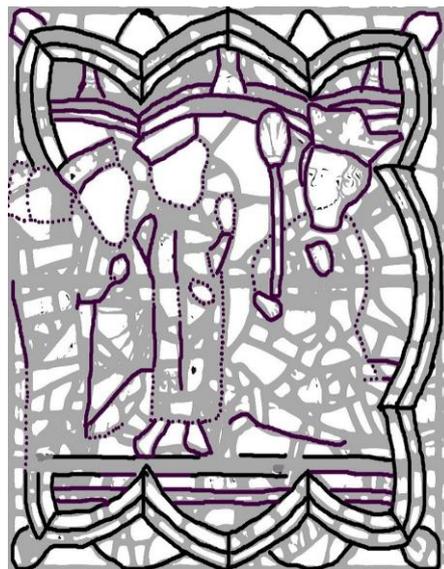


Figure CHn2:17: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

	17			

Probable original appearance: CHn2 medallion with signs of yellow outside medallion and vestiges of white fleurs-de-lys. The figures are on a green horizontal platform with possible beading below. There is an inner green trefoil arch with a strip of beading below, above this and below the platform the background is red, within the arch, it is blue. There are three tent-like shapes above the trefoil. Original border B. Strip feature IV.

There are four figures in the panel, the left hand one of whom is almost entirely

without the medallion. One figure to the right is crowned and seated, with a sceptre (red when Torre saw it but now yellow, so either his mistake or not original). He has his left hand raised. He has an original pink face, crown and curly hair and there are signs he is wearing a yellow tunic and pink cloak. Of the three kings facing him, only the centre one has an original crown. The one nearest the seated king has a green cloak (Torre saw blue), pink/red shoes and his left hand is raised. Knowles thought the robe was yellow. The second king has a white tunic and murrey cloak (Torre saw red) and has both hands raised. The third king has either an intruded yellow crown or, compared with the post-re-leading photograph, has a possible original crown, the location and angle of which have been altered by Milner White. The lead line reconstruction follows this earlier photograph. Torre saw him as wearing green, Knowles as blue and yellow.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Hair falls sideways, marked with parallel lines. Heaviest line is where face meets hair. Furrowed brow. Heavy, straight eyebrows, the line for one of which extends to create the entire nose. Eyebrows and nose lines are very dense. Large eyes with upper and lower eyelids. Chin bone indicated under bottom lip. Parallel lines to the side of each mouth. "Corrugated" lower edge to beard.

Iconography and original location: The Magi before Herod.¹⁰⁰

The York scene shows the three kings before Herod. Usually in French glass, the scenes of their travelling and their audience before Herod are combined.¹⁰¹ On one occasion, it is combined across three panels with the adoration of the Christ Child.¹⁰²

It is difficult to decipher details of the head of Herod in some of the comparable glass, but it appears that an attempt has been made in York to present his features in a particularly malevolent light, with furrowed brow and downturn corners of his mouth.

With its B border and place in the Magi narrative, its original position was 4b, making it one of the CHn2 panels whose original location is certain..

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁰³

Description: "17 In 2d Light stand 3 Kings all Crowned O. 1st Robed B/ 2d gu & A, 3rd vt. Before them sits Inthroned another King Robed & Crowned O sceptre gu, top O."

	17			

Comments: The colours correspond with those current, except the second king who is wearing original murrey instead of the red seen by Torre.

¹⁰⁰ Matt. 2:1-12.

¹⁰¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 50:2c with 2b; at Tours, Bays 1:3a and 3b and 202:4a; at Le Mans, Bay 105:3b; and the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bays 7:4a and 4b and 6:2c.

¹⁰² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 28b:7a, 7b and 7c. Here, the scenes include Herod consulting his astrologers (omitted from York).

¹⁰³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

Browne:¹⁰⁴

Description: "3 Kings standing before Herod on throne."

	17			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁰⁵

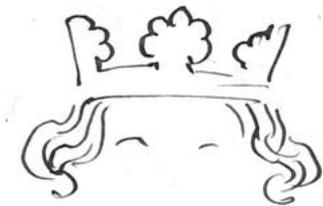
Description: (First) "No 2. The 3 kings coming to enquire of Herod

To the left three kings standing before a third [fourth?] king who is seated on a throne on the right. The latter is clad in yell tunic and pink purp robe. Yell crown. Deep pink face and curly hair. Holds a sceptre in his right hand and his left up in admonition.

The first king to the left ie nearest to Herod clad in prob yell tunic and green robe. The next in purp robe whit tunic. The next in blue robe and yell tunic. Shoes on their feet and yell crowns on their heads.

Back of panel blue – under a double arch which extends across panel and ruby above the arch. Extreme outside the panel pot yell with whit fleur de lis."

	17			



(Second) "No 2, 2 row [This appears to relate to CHn2:38]

Entombment. A figure in white with hands together in front. White nimbus laid on a green slab on top of a tomb with white circular arches. Ruby back."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁰⁶

Description: "2.The three kings coming to enquire of Herod

Herod seated on a throne to the right

	17			

¹⁰⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 47.

¹⁰⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.165v.

¹⁰⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol 1, fol.71r.

hand clad in yellow tunic and purple cope, His face pink and his hair long and large curled folds. The crown on his head of early type. In one hand he holds a sceptre and holds the other up in admonishing attitude. The three kings with crowns on their heads stand before him. Crowns also of early design. [pencil] this subject in Canterbury Cathedral north aisle.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

There is no sign of the crown worn by the third king. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁰⁷

	17			

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one head (itself probably plain intruded glass) removed and new clear glass head inserted at a different head angle.
Grisaille: to do: can't see upper and lower strip.
*Borders: no modifications are visible.*¹⁰⁸

Milner White:¹⁰⁹

Description: “Wise men before Herod (as always).”

	17			

Brown:¹¹⁰

Description: “The Magi before Herod.”

	17			

Current:

	17			

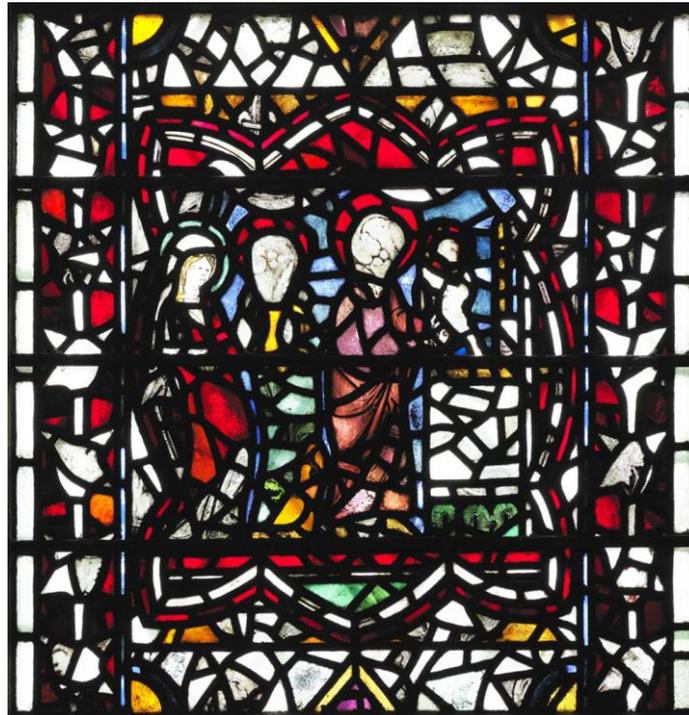
¹⁰⁷ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹⁰⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4818, 1931: 57, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4819, 1969: 57, 2L5P.

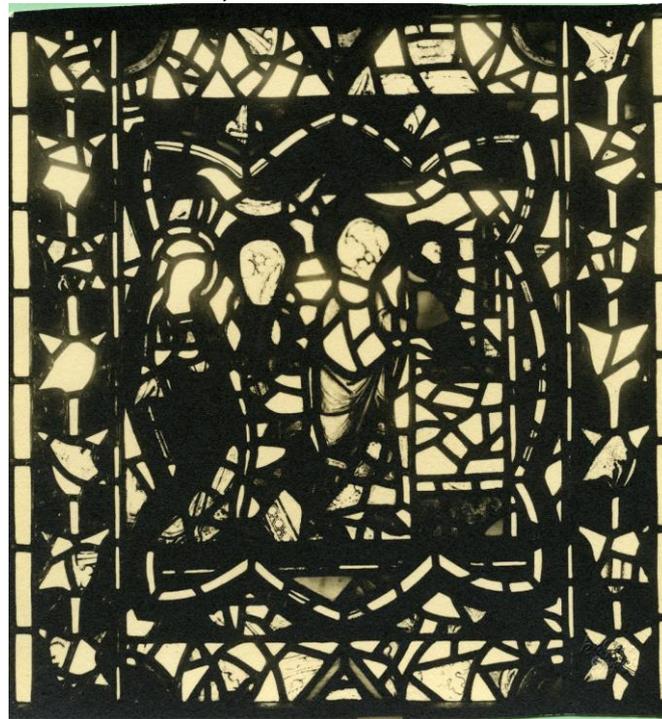
¹⁰⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

¹¹⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn2:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:18, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn2:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4821, ca.1929-32:
57, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹¹¹**

¹¹¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4822, 1969: 57, 3L5P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022216, 1969: 57, 3L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

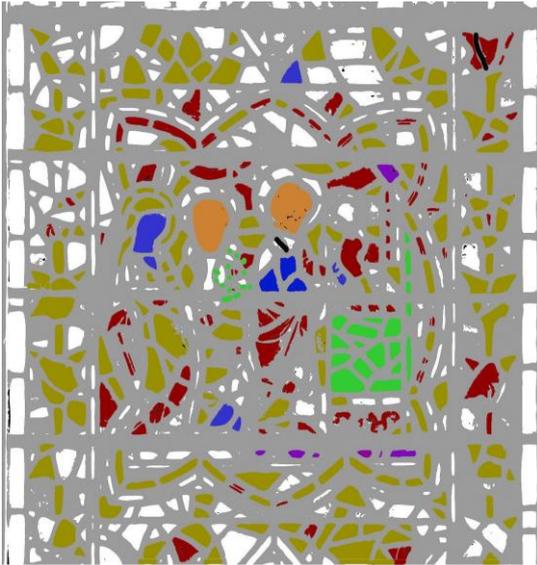


Figure CHn2:18: Restoration History

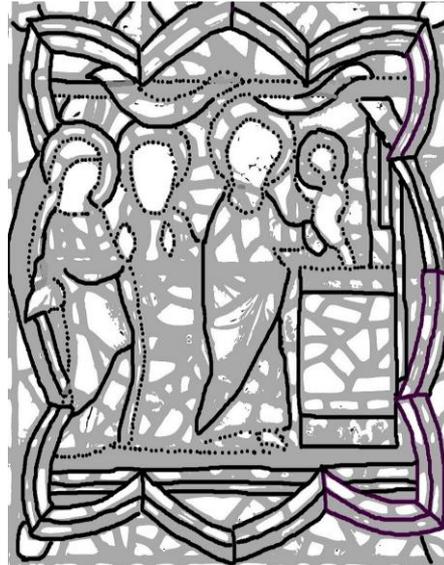


Figure CHn2:18: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

		18		

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with yellow background and white fleurs-de-lys in the strip feature. A white curtain over a curtain rod above, with the ends hanging down to left and right, rather like CHn2:7. Figures standing on a horizontal platform, now red. Red background above the curtain pole and intruded green below the platform. Main background blue. Original border C. Strip feature VI.

Three religious figures facing an altar on the right-hand side. Above the altar Christ is being held aloft over the altar by Simeon.

For the altar as it appeared in the 1920s, see Knowles below. He described the white frontal and yellow reredos. For the three existing figures, there are no original heads. The right-hand figure is clad in a murrey cloak, with yellow foot and red halo (Torre saw what would have been the cloak as blue), the second with small fragments of what may be original green cloak and red halo (Torre saw the drapery as yellow and blue) and the left-hand figure was in a white tunic and what may have been red cloak and green halo (Torre and Knowles both saw the same colour scheme). From the possible original lead lines, the two rear figures have their hands held up. There is a wing/leaf like shape extending beyond the edge of the frame on the left.

Iconography and original location: The Purification.¹¹²

The Virgin is on the extreme left, with Joseph central. Mary was probably carrying a gift of a bird,¹¹³ whose wing extends beyond the edge of the

¹¹² Luke 2: 22-35.

¹¹³ As in *Online Archive*, "French sites," the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bays 6:4a and 7:5; and St-Père at Chartres, Bay 218: left-hand lancet.

medallion. Knowles twice refers to her holding something.¹¹⁴ Most of the Purification scenes have Mary, with or without Joseph and/or a maidservant, at the point of handing Christ to Simeon, usually with Simeon standing on one side of an altar and the Virgin on the other. In many, Mary alone is represented.¹¹⁵ York's is also the only representation of those studied in which, not only is Joseph present, but he is standing between the Virgin and Simeon, and Simeon is facing in the same direction as Mary, towards the altar. All three, therefore, are on the same side of the altar.

In the retable, there is a resonance of the turned wooden structures in CHn2:19 and 27. It may denote the fact that Christ has been born and is shown in the panel.

This was one of the four main Marian feasts, emphasised by the location in the central axis. It is also the only representation so far identified to show Simeon on the same side of the altar as the donor, thus emphasising the impression of pointing towards the east. Simeon is holding Christ on his own, not jointly with the Virgin, implying that he has already given his warning to Mary of the sorrows that she is to endure. Note Christ may be stretching backwards towards his parents, possibly suggesting reluctance to embark on a career which is to lead to his torture and death. The design of the panel echoes CHn2:16 in 4c below both visually and thematically. There the Magi are offering their gifts, including those associated with death.

With its original C border and position in the narrative, it would originally have been in 6c, making it one of the CHn2 panels whose original position is certain.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹¹⁶

Description: "13 In 3rd Light stand 3 Saints before an Altar, 1 habited gu & A, glory vt 2d O & B glory gu 3d A & murry & B, glory gu."

		18		

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 6c to 2c.

Browne:¹¹⁷

Description: "Presentation of Jesus in the Temple."

		18		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: in CHn2:18 the head had gone from Simeon and Joseph, and part of the Mary's head was also lost.

¹¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.164r-fol.164v and Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.69r-fol.70r.

¹¹⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 50:4b and 28b:6c; at Laon, Bay 2:10b; at Tours, Bays 1:5b and 202:5c; and at Le Mans, Bay 105:5c. See also the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bays 6:4a and 7:5 in which she is with a maidservant; and of St-Père of Chartres, 218: left-hand lancet, where she is accompanied by two maidservants.

¹¹⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹¹⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 48.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹¹⁸

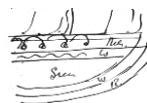
Description: "No 3: The Presentation.
[pencil No 3 in top row ought to come in here]

		18		

[Pencil Brown probably]

To the right is seen a man standing before an altar and holding something up and over it but that part patch work. He is clad in a yell brown tunic with appearance of apparel on it and purple cloak wrapped round the body and cast over the left arm. The folds well disposed (see note), His head gone. Ruby nimbus. But pose indicating looking to the altar. He wears yell shoes. The altar needs special notice. See sketch of Bruges glass, MS no 2, pg 61, also Beverley glass. It is composed of frontal, super frontal and reredos. Also altar steps. The frontal which is seen at the end is white in festoon folds. The super frontal yellow but not fringed. The bottom band of frontal white but it may be an insertion. The step green, the candle is yellow, the reredos turned wood, white. Two figures stand behind the man at altar. The first clad in yell tunic and loose green robe holding his hands together and looking back to approaching virgin. Head of Joseph gone. Ruby nimbus still there. Virgin clad in whit tunic and ruby robe green nimbus. She stands looking meekly down and holds something in her hands. [pencil: only part of head remaining]. Across the top of panel is a yell curtain rod with a curtain thrown over it in loose folds with border edge. The two ends hanging down each side of panel. A band of ruby over a narrow fillet of white glass makes a base for the figures, this under space green.

Note the painting is not so advanced as Decorated. The lines of the drapery are laid in strong for the principal folds, but smaller lines are used to get the effect of shadow. All the folds are angular and do not turn back as in decorated style."



Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹¹⁹

Description: "3.The Presentation
[pencil at side] [shields [...] altar [...] See old copy]

		18		

Standing in front of an altar is a figure of a man in yellow brown tunic and purple cloak wrapped loosely about him his arms stretched out over the altar and holding a large object up in his hands. The upper part of the figure excepting a ruby nimbus and the object he is holding up are demolished. Two figures viz the Virgin and Joseph holding his hands conjoined looks back at the V approaching. His head destroyed but ruby nimbus

¹¹⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.164r and fol.164v.

¹¹⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.69r and fol.70r.

preserved. The V is robed in white tunic and ruby robe with downcast face looking at something held in her hands only a part of her head in situ. Behind the group is a curtain thrown in loose folds over a rod and hanging down each side of the panel.

The altar with a white fronted cover the ends but shewing the arched openings of the altar below it. Over it is a super frontal of yellow (not [fringed]) and on the altar is retable with candle standing upon it and to the back is either a low reredos or turned pillars.

[pencil] Illustrate altars frm [...] glass and Bourges also give Mr Brown [inventory] date 1279.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Several signs of possible new leads visible in the left-hand border of the panel in the photograph. No longer any sign of Joseph “holding his hands together”: now plain glass instead of drapery over the side of the altar: no sign of part of Mary’s head “remaining”. Knowles’s sketch shows painting on the ruby base of the altar, which is no longer visible. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹²⁰

		18		

Intervention by Milner White: Milner White moved the panel from 2c to 4c.¹²¹

Medallion: One mending lead.

Grisaille: as before the restoration. One possible change of a piece of painted glass

Borders: one mending lead. Borders as before the restoration.¹²²

Milner White:¹²³

Description: “Purification (was elsewhere in this row).”

Comments: Another example of his use of “row” for what would now be termed “light”.

		18		

Brown:¹²⁴

Description: “The Presentation in the Temple.”

		18		

Changes since Knowles:

The figure near the altar has lost its “yellow shoes”. Only one of the two ends of a curtain hanging down now visible.

¹²⁰ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹²¹ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

¹²² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4821, ca.1929-32: 57, 3L5P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4822, 1969: 57, 3L5P.

¹²³ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

¹²⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Current:

		18		

Photographic record:

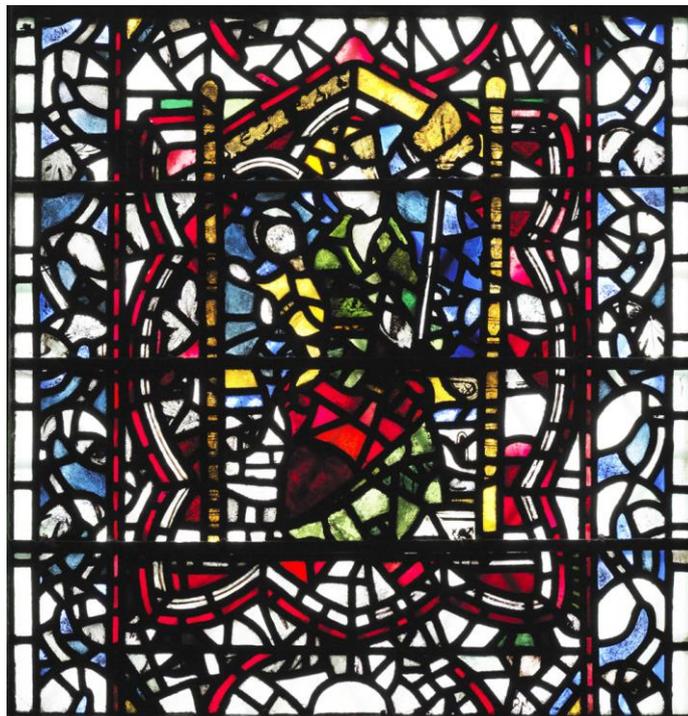


Figure CHn2:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:19, 4d © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn2:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4823, ca.1929-32:
57, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4824, ca.1958:
57, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022217, ca.1958:
57, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography

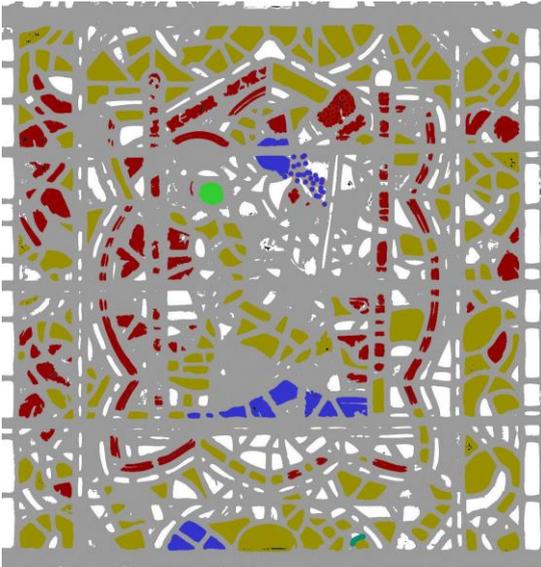


Figure CHn2:19: Restoration History

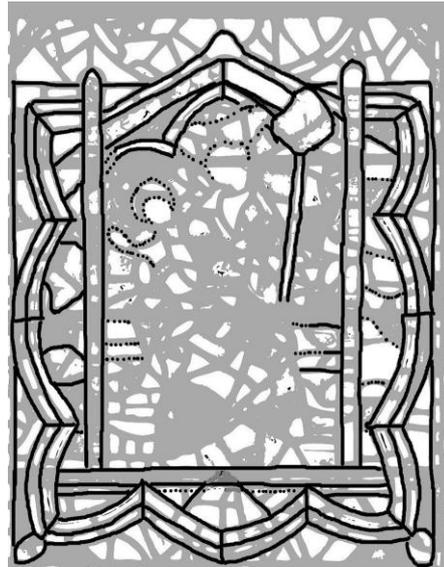


Figure CHn2:19: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

			19	

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion along bottom and side edges.

Top edge is obliterated by a large yellow structure. The structure, in what appears to resemble turned wood, has side posts, topped by a finial and a simple gable edge connecting the two posts. Within the structure can be seen most of a white trefoil headed arch and, below, a seated female figure, holding a sceptre, with a seated child on her knee. He has his right hand outstretched towards his right. No original glass can be detected in the Virgin figure or the child. Both Torre and Knowles saw the Virgin in green and red, as today. Knowles saw a “pink face” and a wimple. Both Browne and Knowles saw a crown, which Knowles sketched. Torre and Knowles saw the Christ Child in yellow, Knowles additionally noted a blue cloak and a pink head (both now lost). The seat was white with edges of arcading, and there is a white arcaded platform below. Outside the structure to the left is a foliate design. Original border B. Strip feature unclear.

Inside the structure, the background is blue. The rest of the background is red. There is a triangle at the lower centre of the medallion.

Knowles may have seen the following in error when he described CHn2:16, as the Virgin is not included in that panel: “the Virgin holds a scroll in her hand with the letters O G R. Part of the word Rogerus whilst Christ holds the model of a window in his left hand”, but it bears no resemblance to other historical descriptions so it is assumed that he erred.

Iconography and original location: The Virgin and Child receiving gifts from the Magi.¹²⁶

This panel relates to the one immediately to its left. The Virgin is seated on a bench, framed by two wooden posts, below a trefoil-headed archway. The Christ Child seems to be reaching over towards the panel to the left, apparently in blessing. The Virgin occasionally is represented holding a small lily,¹²⁷ but what is certainly a symbol of some import held in CHn2:19 is much larger, and is signalling towards the panel which would have been above (CHn2:39), namely the scene of her death. It is notable that this panel, albeit one showing the Virgin and Child, is not in a central position, making the emphasis on the offering of gifts by the Magi in the central 4c, rather than their reception by Mary and Jesus in 4d.¹²⁸ However, despite its non-central position, the significance of the panel is emphasised by the presence of the superstructure which, in a feature unique to this panel in CHn2, extends beyond the medallion frame into the grisaille. This may compensate for the non-central position. It provides a link between the Infancy of Christ and Mary's own death and assumption in CHn2:39 (8d) above.

The turned wooden structure also appears in CHn2:9 and 27 and is echoed by the retable in CHn2:18: it may denote the fact that Christ has been born and is shown in the panel.

With its original B border and location in the Magi sequence, it was in 4d, making it one of the CHn2 panels whose original location is certain.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its light from 4d to 6d.

Torre:¹²⁹

Description: "14 In 4th Light sitts our Lady inthroned Robed vt & gu Crowned & sceptred O with her babe on her lap in golden habitt."

			19	

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 6d to 4d.

Browne:¹³⁰

Description: "a representation of the Blessed Virgin seated on a Throne, with her Divine Son on her knee, both being crowned, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove, near the ear of the Blessed Virgin."

Comments: There is no current sign of a dove.

			19	

¹²⁶ Matt. 2:9-11.

¹²⁷ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 50:3b (with the approaching Magi in 3a) and Le Mans, Bay 103:4d (with the approaching Magi in 4c).

¹²⁸ A similar situation can be found in the cathedral at Le Mans, Bay 105:1d where the receipt of the gifts by the Virgin and Child is now to be found in the fourth light (1d) showing the death of the Virgin, whereas the arrival of the Magi is in the central position of 1c, *ibid.*

¹²⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹³⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹³¹

Description: “No 4 The Virgin and Child Madonna del voto see Legends of the Madonna, pg 98 Mrs Jameson. [Pencil] Brown has presentation.

			19	



Whit cusped arch, R, yell [triangle over Madonna], [R space under yell triangle, blue behind Madonna, [illegible yell? Side pillars].
Seated on a throne, simple architecture, with two upright pillars supporting architecture with two upright pillars and supporting one gable with stunted crockets – rather leaf shaped. The pillar all turned wood denoting its early character. Virgin clad in green tunic and ruby cloak.



Pink face and white wimple – across her head this shape Child
held on her right knee has pink head yell tunic and blue cloak. Can't say whether nimbed or not. Virgin has no nimbus but holds a sceptre in her left hand terminating in a large foliated head.
Background of blue inside arch canopy. Ruby outside.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹³²

Description: “4.The Virgin and Child Seated upon a throne of simple architecture and under a gabled canopy supported on side pillars is the figure of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour on her right knee.

			19	

The Virgin is clad in a green tunic ruby cloak a wimple on her head surmounted with a crown. The child has on a yellow tunic and blue cloak and holds a sceptre terminating with a large foliated head in his left hand.”

Comment: Knowles erred in seeing the child holding the sceptre.

1929-32 Re-leading:

*Several few possible new leads/solders visible on the photograph, especially in the left-hand border and on the left of the narrative panel.
The Virgin had a “pink face and white wimple”, then clear after the exercise. The baby had also lost its “pink face”. See Appendix A.13.*

¹³¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.165v and fol.166r.

¹³² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.72r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³³

			19	

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: piece of clear glass for BVM's face replaced. Area to bottom of medallion re-built – reason uncertain. Mending lead inserted in child's face. Grisaille: as before restoration. One mending lead visible and one piece of strongly painted glass replaced by clear.
*Borders: borders as before the restoration.*¹³⁴

Milner White:¹³⁵

Description: "Virgin and child (as always)."

			19	

Brown:¹³⁶

Description: "The Virgin and Child enthroned."

			19	

Changes since Knowles:

Knowles's sketched crown has been lost, as have the pink heads for both figures and the wimple attributed to the Virgin.

Current:

			19	

¹³³ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹³⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4823, ca.1929-32: 57, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4824, ca.1958: 57, 4L5P.

¹³⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

¹³⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

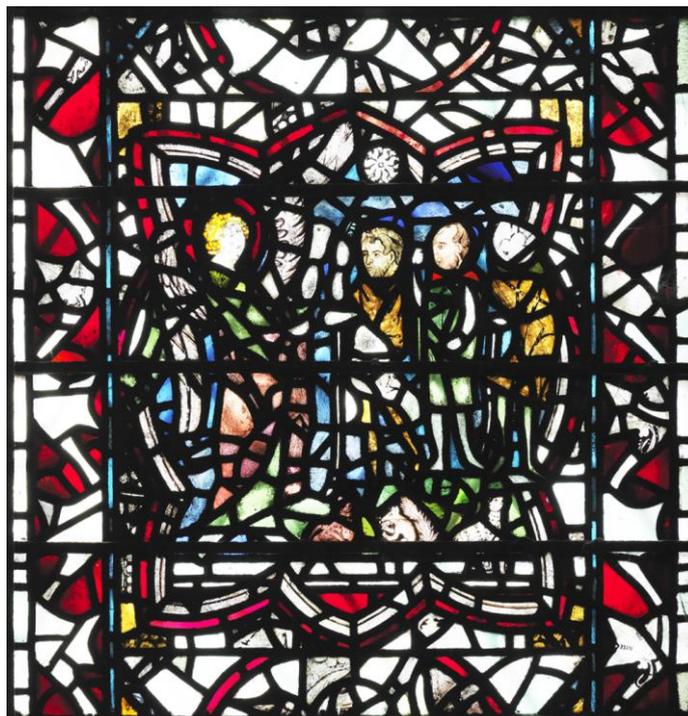


Figure CHn2:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:20, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.

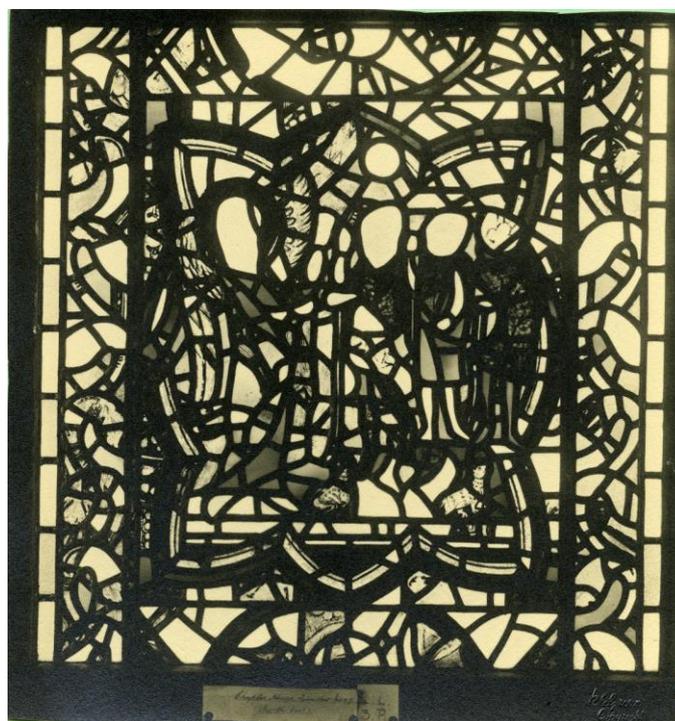


Figure CHn2:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4825, ca.1929-32:
57, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

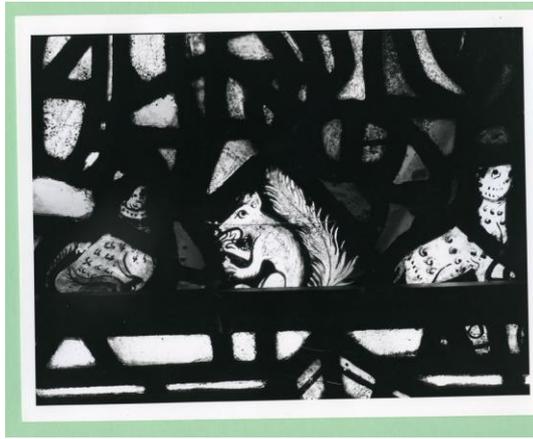


Figure CHn2:20 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4827, 1969: 57, 5L5P @ Crown Copyright. Inserted by Milner White



Figure CHn2:20 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4828, 1969: 57, 5L5P © Crown Copyright.¹³⁷ Inserted by Milner White

Original location, appearance and iconography

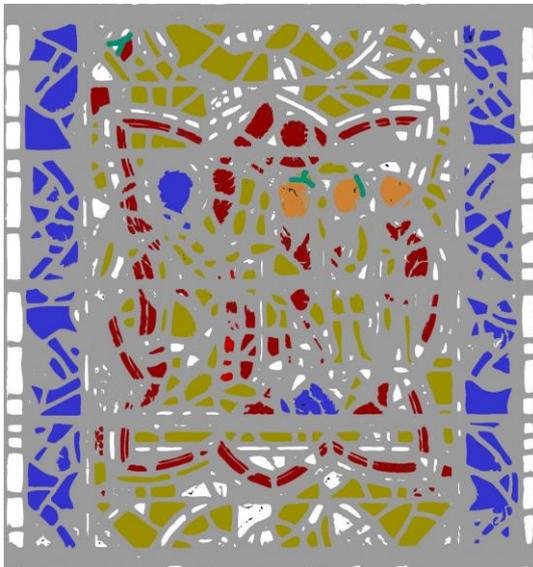


Figure CHn2:20: Restoration History



Figure CHn2:20: Original Lead Lines

¹³⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4826, ca.1958: 57, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022218, ca.1958: 57, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022219, 1969: 57, 5L5P (detail) © Crown Copyright; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022220, 1969: 57, 5L5P (detail) © Crown Copyright.

Original location:

Both options.

			20	

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with signs of yellow and signs of beading outside.

The figures are standing on a platform, with beading to left at the top. Red background below the platform and blue above. Original border B. Strip feature VI.

A white star is in the upper centre. An Angel is standing to the left with folded white wings, part extending beyond the edge of the medallion, and a red halo. Torre saw the colours as murrey and green (Knowles as “green and ruby”). Three figures (heads all intruded) stand to right, with small pieces of original clothing. Two appear to be holding what would have been shepherds’ crooks. There is a sheep in the bottom right corner and a dog is also visible. The panel is much disturbed.

Iconography and original location: The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.¹³⁸

This scene does not always feature in thirteenth-century windows. Of the ones that do exist, either one or more angel is normally shown flying above the varying number of shepherds.¹³⁹ Scenes showing the angel standing are less common.¹⁴⁰

With its original B border and position in the narrative sequence, its original position was 2d, making it one of the fourteen panels in the window whose original location is certain.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration the panel was moved within its light from 2d to 4d.

Torre:¹⁴¹

Description: “19 In 4th stand an Angell Robed vt & murry, glory gu winged A. And 3 men by him 1st habited O & gu, 2d vt & leggs gu. 3rd O leggs bare.”

			20	

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 4d to 6d.

¹³⁸ Luke 2:8-15.

¹³⁹ As in the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 50:2a and 28b:6b and at Tours, Bays 1:2b and 202:3a; the church of St-Julien-du-Sault, 6:2a, *Online Archive*, “French sites”.

¹⁴⁰ They appear in the cathedral at Laon, Bay 2:3a and 3b and the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 7:3a and 3b.

¹⁴¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

Browne:¹⁴²

Description: "Angel and Shepherd by Starlight."

			20	

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the heads had gone from the figures to the right-hand side.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴³

Description: "No 4. The angel appearing to the shepherds. To the left an angel robed in green tunic and ruby robe. Ruby nimbus with large outspread feathered wings. (No so conventional as other panels). In the back 3 small men in short coats, yell and green with yell and red socks. Heads destroyed. They stand in surprised attitude and upon a grassy foregrn on which is seen some animals - one looking up of red colour as it were a dog looking after the sheep all the others being white. In the sky is a large star fish shaped star."

			20	

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁴⁴

Description: "4.The Angel appearing to the shepherds To the left hand is an angel with outspread wings clad in a green tunic and ruby robe delivering the message to three shepherds who are watching by their sheep which are seen in the grassy foreground. A dog of a reddish brown colour guarding the sheep. The shepherds are dressed in short coats and coloured [bushs]. Their attitude expressive of great surprise (heads destroyed). In the sky is a large star."

			20	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Only a very few possible new leads visible on the photograph. A single roundel had replaced the "large star fish shape in the sky".

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁴⁵

			20	

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 6d to 4e, which involved changing the borders.*¹⁴⁶
Medallion: one head (probably from glass bank) seems to have been intruded for left-hand figure. For an unknown reason, squirrel inserted in bottom of medallion. Two other heads probably given mending leads (not intruded).
Grisaille: as before the restoration. Some mending leads
*Borders: the borders were changed.*¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Browne, *Representation*, 46.

¹⁴³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol.2, fol.166v.

¹⁴⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.72r.

¹⁴⁵ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹⁴⁶ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

Milner White:¹⁴⁸

Description: "Angel appears to the shepherds."

				20

Brown:¹⁴⁹

Description: "Annunciation to the shepherds."

				20

Current:

				20

¹⁴⁷ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4825, ca.1929-32: 57, 5L5P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4826, ca.1958: 57, 5L5P.

¹⁴⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

¹⁴⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

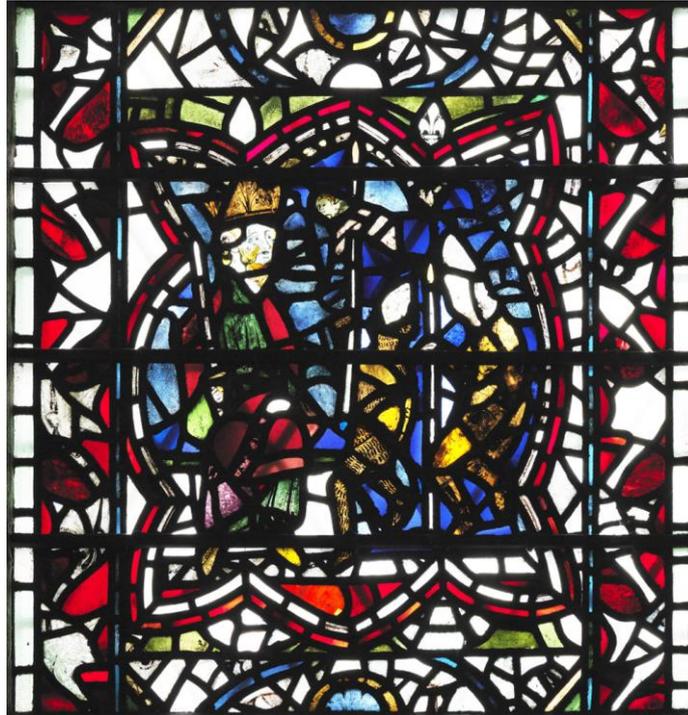


Figure CHn2:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:26, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

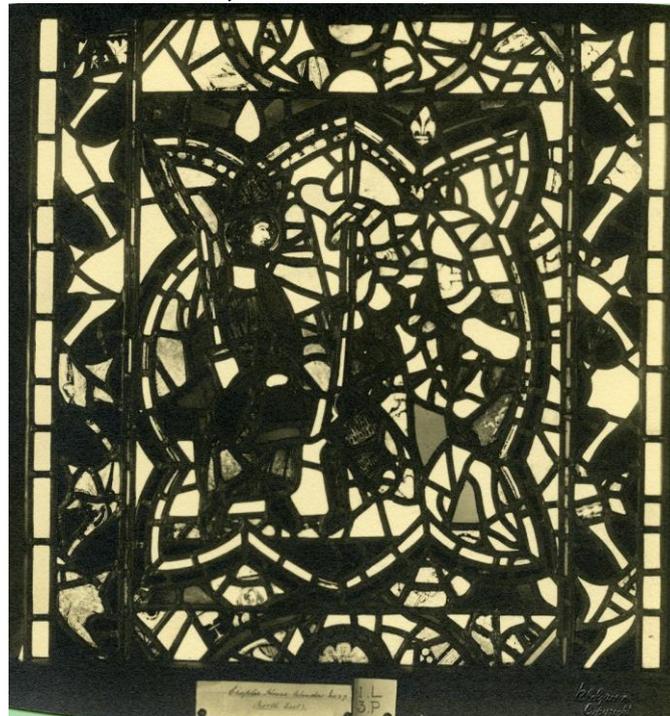


Figure CHn2:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4834, ca.1929-32:
57, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4835, ca.1958: 57, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022221, ca.1958: 57, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

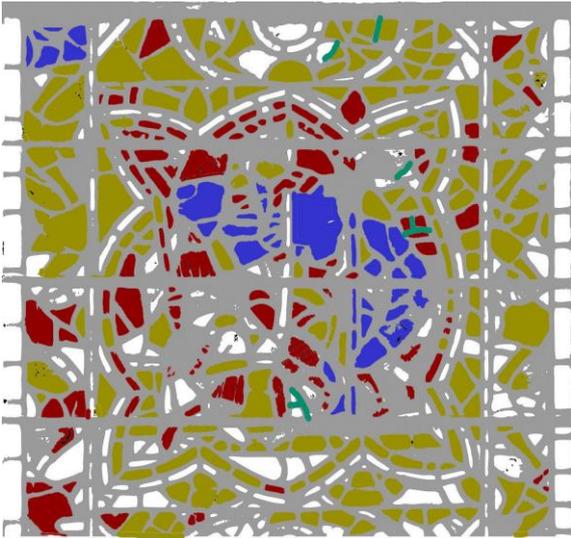


Figure CHn2:26: Restoration History

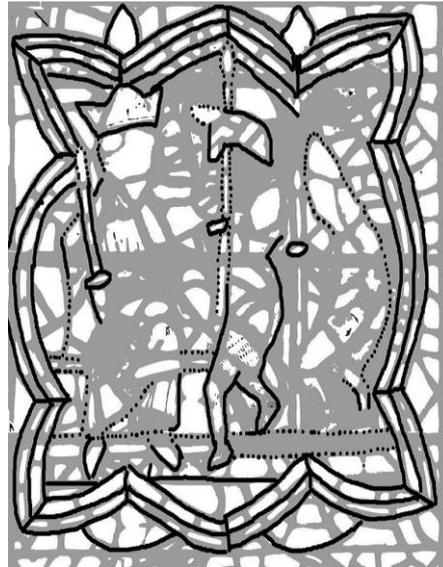


Figure CHn2:26: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

Option 1:

CHn2:26 retained an A border throughout. This means that it could have been located in 6a. The highly unlikely alternative would be the other available A location in 2e. If it were in 6a, this means the other A panel, the Flight into Egypt, would have been originally in 2e, equally unlikely.

26/27				
				Neither 26/27 plausible

Option 2:

CHn2:26 originally had a B border, but, at some stage (possibly the Sanderson repairs) the border was switched with that of CHn2:28 and acquired an A border.

	26			

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with signs of green infill to upper and lower edges. One white fleur-de-lys to top right. There is a band of glass inside the white inner rim along the top edge.

The figures are seated/standing on a horizontal platform. Below the platform, the background is red: above it is blue. Strip feature V.

There is a King seated to left in an original yellow crown, with signs of an original green tunic and murrey cloak. His sword is pointing upwards held in an original left hand. His right hand may have been resting on his knee. His shoes were originally yellow. He is seated on a low bench. Facing him are two soldiers, the foremost holding an upright spear, with a child impaled. The second, according to both Knowles's description, may have been killing a child with a sword. Both soldiers are in yellow mail.

Iconography and original location: Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents.¹⁵¹

This may include a reference to Herod ordering the massacre. Examples from elsewhere that have been examined show that normally these are separate, one showing Herod ordering the Massacre and one the Massacre itself.¹⁵² Occasionally only the Massacre is shown¹⁵³ In only two images are the scenes combined, as in York, in the Church of St-Urbain of Troyes,¹⁵⁴ The second, from the Huth Psalter, made probably in York or Lincoln after 1280, is particularly significant because it also shows a very rare image of a soldier impaling an infant aloft on his spear.¹⁵⁵

It is not clear if this panel had an A border throughout its history. By 1930s this was the case,¹⁵⁶ but Torre described it in a B light. The issue is whether the panel had been moved to the wrong light when Torre saw it (Option 1) or if Torre saw it in its correct light and a switch of border was made later to make it fit its by then incorrect light (Option 2). If Option 1 is correct, it would mean that both the scenes of Herod observing the Massacre and the Flight had original A borders. Given the only possible original location for both panels is 6a, as neither would have realistically been in 2e, it creates difficulties for Option 1. If the borders had been switched, for Option 2, it would have been a relatively easy exercise in CHn2 (and CHs2) because of the inner rectangle within the panel. Option 2 allows the Massacre to be located more comfortably after the Flight.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, one of the following alternatives may have occurred.

For Option 1, (if in 6a) the panel was moved to a different light-type (A to B) and to 2d. This must have been in error and despite the contrasting border colours (red and white for A and blue and white for B. It retained its original borders.

For Option 2: the panel was moved to its alternative light-type, that is, within the B light-type, from 6b to 2d.

Torre:¹⁵⁷

Description: "24 In 4th Light sits a King Enthroned Robed vt & murry crowned O bearing in his right hand a naked sword poynnted upwards. Before him stands a Monk variously habited."

			26	

Comments: Torre only saw one figure in front of the king, probably confused by the fact both figures were wearing yellow mail. See above for the discussion of the likely border when Torre saw the panel in a B light.

¹⁵¹ Matt. 2:16.

¹⁵² The cathedrals at Chartres, Bays 50:5a and b and 28b:8b and 8c; Laon, Bay 2:11a and b; Le Mans, Bay 103:5a and 5b; and Tours, Bay 1:7a and 7b. See the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 6:5a and c, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

¹⁵³ See *ibid.*, the cathedral at Tours, Bay 202:6a.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Bay 5:4a: in St-Urbain and York, Herod is on the left, with soldiers killing the babies to the right.

¹⁵⁵ Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (II), 1250-1285* (London: H.Miller, 1988), 168.

¹⁵⁶ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹⁵⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

*Intervention, probably in the 1760s:
 Option 1: CHn2:26 was moved back to what appeared to be its correct A light.
 Option 2: Given the stress on design and pattern in the. Sanderson repairs in 1760s, there was a choice, either move CHn2:26 back into a B light or switch the borders so it appeared to be in the correct A light. Given that the medallion was contained within an inner rectangle, switching the rectangle into new borders was a relatively straightforward manoeuvre. Similarly, CHn2:28 was given B borders.*

Browne:¹⁵⁸

Comments: Browne does not describe any panel in 6b, but does describe two separate ones in 6a, namely Massacre of the Innocents and Jesus foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem (identified as CHn2:7). These appear at two points in his list so it is probable he made an error and that one could apply to 6b. Of these, the more likely one for 6a is CHn2:26, as CHn2:7 is in 6b in earlier and later descriptions.

[26]				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the head had gone from the left-hand figure.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁵⁹

Description: (First) “No 1. Murder of the innocents. See further notes [Pencil] Brown. Raising girl to life] One figure seated on a throne to left hand but much mutilated clad in green tunic and purp robe. Yell crown. Head gone. Seems to hold a sceptre in right hand. Right hand figure too much damaged to make out but prob green tunic and yell robe. Prob a pillar in the centre and something held up by right hand figure. Ba of Blue. (Second) No 1, 3rd Row. Murder of the Innocents. Herod to the left. Soldier in centre in gold chain mail armour holding a spear up with a child impaled on its point. Another with white chain mail arm is dispatching another with a sword. Herod’s head replaced by another.”

26				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁶⁰

Description: “1.Murder of the Innocents Mutilated panel shews the figure of Herod seated on a throne to the left hand clothed in a green tunic and purple cope. Crown covering head and a sceptre held in right hand watching the massacre. A soldier in yell mail armour holding up a spear upon which is impaled a child whilst another soldier is slaying a child with a sword.”

26				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Several possible new leads/solders visible on the photograph, at the edges of the narrative panel and in the right and left-hand borders.

¹⁵⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 48.
¹⁵⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol.2, fol.166r.
¹⁶⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol.1, fol.72r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶¹

26				

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: two heads rebuilt and one figure largely rebuilt. Second soldier given an upright spear. Some mending leads inserted.

Grisaille: some mending leads inserted

*Borders: one motif of intruded and painted glass replaced with plain glass.*¹⁶²

Milner White:¹⁶³

Description: "Massacre of the Innocents."

26				

Brown:¹⁶⁴

Description: "Massacre of the Innocents."

26				

Current:

26				

¹⁶¹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

¹⁶² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4834, ca.1929-32: 57, 1L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4835, ca.1958: 57, 1L3P.

¹⁶³ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

¹⁶⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

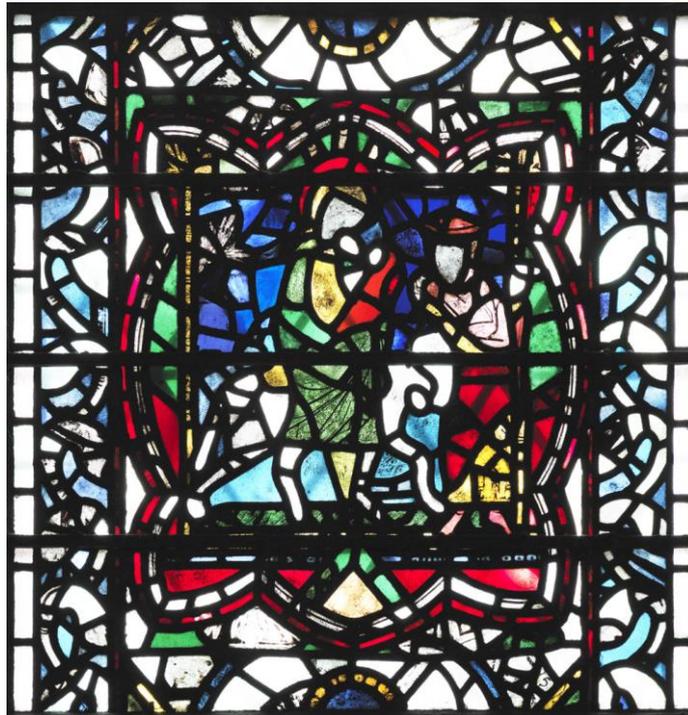


Figure CHn2:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:27, 6b © York Glaziers Trust.

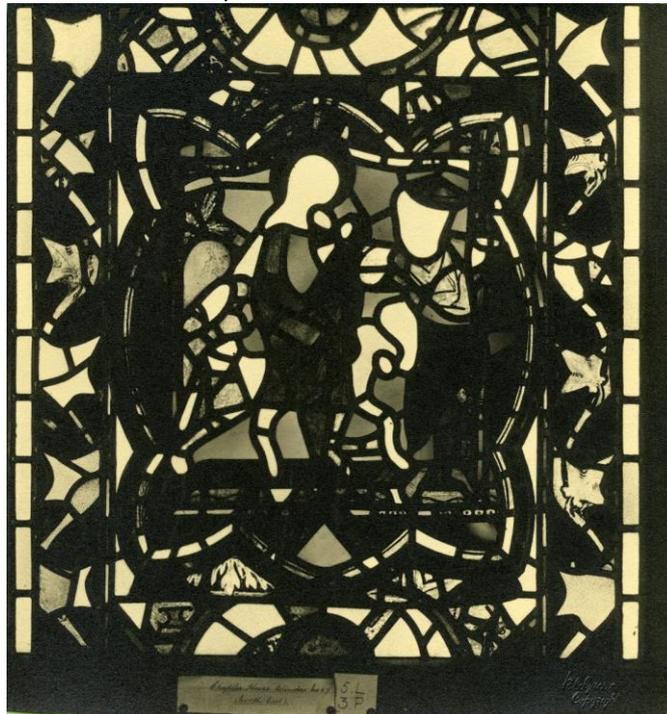


Figure CHn2:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4836, ca.1929-32:
57, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4837, ca.1958: 57, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022221, ca.1958: 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

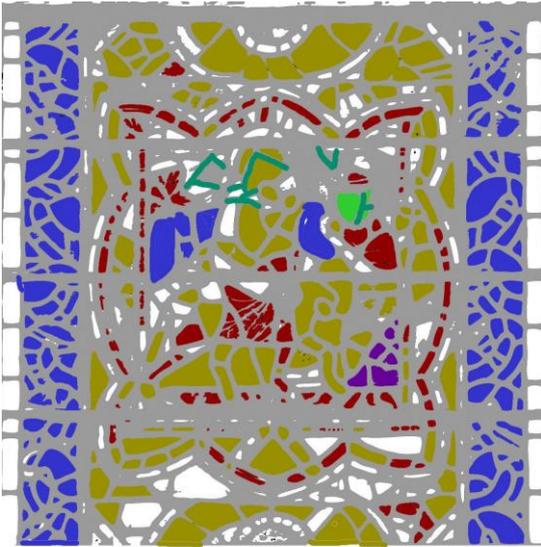


Figure CHn2:27: Restoration History

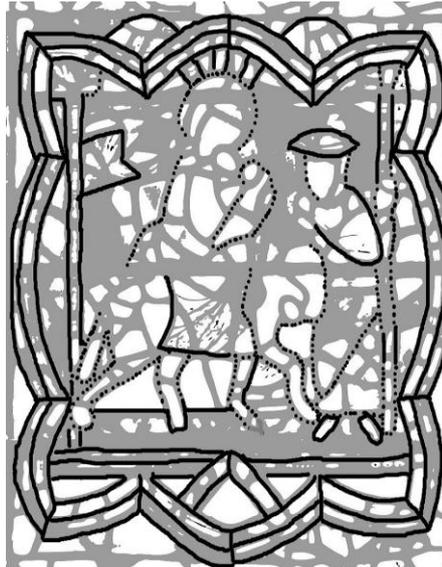


Figure CHn2:27: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

Option 1:

CHn2:27 could fit into 6a for Option 1, but the alternative for 6a is CHn2:26. If CHn2:26 were in 6a, the only available location for CHn2:27 would be the highly unlikely 2e.

27/26				
				Neither 26/27 plausible

Option 2:

CHn2:27 would fit into 6a for Option 2, given that it had an A border and CHn2:26 would have had a B border.

27				

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with signs of green glass to the upper edge and two pieces to the lower edge. There are gaps as though for fleurs-de-lys along the top and bottom, but only the bottom left may be original (white) and, if it is, it is a different shaped fleur-de-lys from the others. There is a triangle in the centre of the bottom edge, now containing blank glass. Original border A. Strip feature V.

The figures are on a green platform. They are between two yellow poles resembling carved wood, with signs of a foliage top. Inside the left-hand pole is a large, white leaf. There are two figures: one, with a green cloak, is seated on what, from the lead lines, was a donkey. (Torre saw green clothing; Knowles saw the clothing as yellow tunic and green cloak). The second figure, in some original white tunic, original red hat and original pink shoes, is standing to the right, with a pink or red Jewish hat. (Torre saw him as dressed in sanguine and yellow.) The seated figure has three white rays emanating from her possible halo.

Iconography and original location: The Flight into Egypt.¹⁶⁶

There are few variations in the way the scene is depicted.. The representation here is not remarkable, the Virgin and Child are on the donkey and Joseph walks in front. What is more unusual is the structure at each side of the scene. Something similar also appears in CHn2:9 and 19 and is echoed by the retable in CHn2:18: it may denote the fact that Christ has been born and is shown in the panel.

If the borders of 26 and 28 had not been switched (Option 1), either CHn2:27 or 26 would have been originally in 6a, leaving an extremely unlikely position for the remaining panel as 2e.

If the borders of 26 and 28 had been switched (Option 2), it is suggested that the original location of CHn2:27 was in 6a, in advance of CHn2:26, showing Herod’s ordering the Massacre and the soldiers’ carrying it out.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: for Option 1 only: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was retained in its existing A light (if originally in 6a).

Torre:¹⁶⁷

Description: “11 In 2nd Row & first Light stands a Man habited Sang & O by another Man riding on a white horse & in a green habitt.”

Comment: It is possible Mary’s head was already damaged, given that Torre saw it as a man.

27				

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved to its alternative “light-type” in the fifth light.

Browne:¹⁶⁸

Description: “Flight into Egypt.”

				27

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁶⁹

Description: “No 5. The Flight into Egypt.

Mary and the child seated upon a white ass. Joseph leading it. Mary Clad in yell tunic and green robe. Ruby nimbus. Joseph in purp robe and pur hat

				27



¹⁶⁶ Matt. 2:14.

¹⁶⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹⁶⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 48.

¹⁶⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.166v and fol.169v.

looking down to the Virgin. [Pencil] Foregrnd grassy.Up each side are two pillars of bamboo or like bedstraw pillars. This is the only panel that has it. Note the white ass is indicating nobility of ownership.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁷⁰

Description: “5.The Flight into Egypt. Joseph clad in purple robe and hat walking in front leading a white ass and looking round at the Virgin and child seated on the ass. The former robed in a yellow tunic and green robe her head nimbed (ruby).”

				27

1929-32 Re-leading:

Only a couple of possible new leads visible on the rim of the medallion in the photograph. Joseph lost his head. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁷¹

				27

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 6e to 6b, necessitating a change of borders.¹⁷²
Medallion: two heads either intruded or given mending leads. One area to left of panel rebuilt. One area to centre right rebuilt. Mending leads inserted.
Grisaille: grisaille as before the restoration. One mending lead inserted
Borders: the borders changed from before the restoration.¹⁷³

Milner White:¹⁷⁴

Description: “Fleeing into Egypt.”

	27			

Brown:¹⁷⁵

Description: “The Flight into Egypt.”

	27			

Current:

	27			

¹⁷⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.72r.

¹⁷¹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

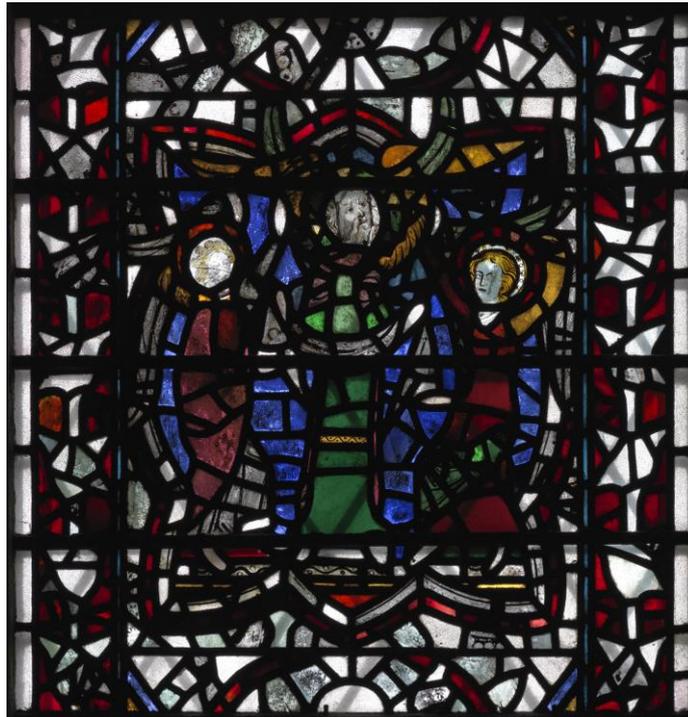
¹⁷² Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

¹⁷³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4836, ca.1929-32: 57, 2L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4837, ca.1958: 57, 2L3P.

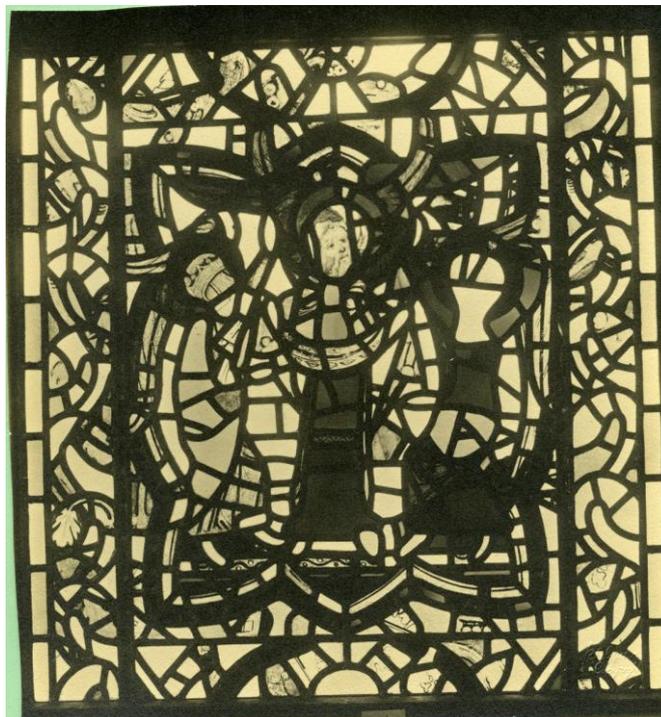
¹⁷⁴ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

¹⁷⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn2:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:28, 6c © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn2:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4838, ca.1929-32:
57, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷⁶**

¹⁷⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4839, ca.1958: 57, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022223, ca.1958: 57, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York

Original location, appearance and iconography:

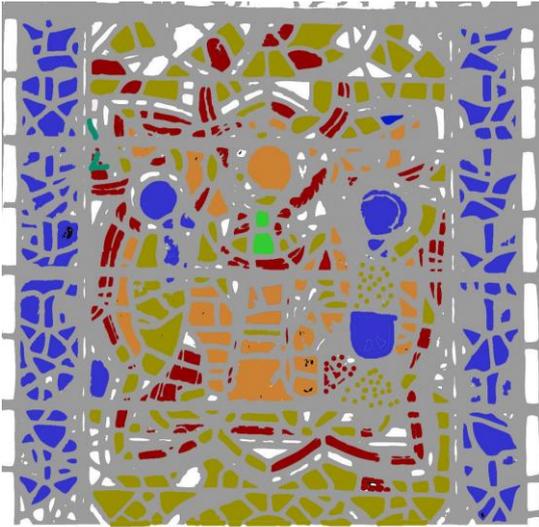


Figure CHn2:28: Restoration History



Figure CHn2:28: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

Option 1:

CHn2:28 originally had a B border.
(See the discussion for CHn2:26 above).

			[28?]	

Option 2:

CHn2:28 originally had an A border which was subsequently switched with the B border of CHn2:26.

				28

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with small indications of beading at the bottom right. The panel had a B border in the pre-restoration photograph, but Torre had it in an A border location. A decorated white platform is below the figures. Below the platform is a small patch of red glass, possibly intruded, and, above, the background is blue. Strip feature VI.

There is very little original glass: Torre's colours contradict those seen later and it is not possible to work out the order in which he was describing them. There is enough indication of lead lines to make out three figures, all with wings and hence are angels. The figure to the left has a white arm raised, as if in salute. His wings are mainly white but there is one patch of yellow. He had a white tunic. The centre figure appears to have wings also of white and yellow, and a cloak of murrey/pink hanging over his shoulders: he is wearing a green tunic with a yellow band across the lower part. He is holding an original white cloth across outstretched arms, the ends hanging down. In this is the lead line of a small figure (confirmed by Knowles's description below). The angel to the right also has yellow and white wings and holds his hand raised. The two outer figures are half kneeling. The wings of all three spread beyond the outline of the medallion. The blue glass in the background has been much disturbed.

Iconography and original location: The Assumption of the soul of the Virgin.¹⁷⁷

This appears to conform to what remains of the original glass and lead line, and fits most of the earlier descriptions. It means, however, that the identification by Milner White as the Baptism of Christ is discounted.¹⁷⁸ From a textual analysis of the early life of Christ as it appears in the Gospels, there does not appear to be a relevant scene, so the conclusion is that it is likely to be drawn from the later narrative of the Death of the Virgin and, given the shape within the shawl, it could be the Virgin's soul.

The panel raises issues of identification and original location, which are both separate and related.

The issues of identification are discussed in Chapter 3. There are three angels carrying a shawl containing a small figure, the traditional way of portraying a soul. This difficulty emerges because of the problems of identifying precisely which part of the Assumption sequence is represented. Working on the hypothesis that the narrative is drawn from *De Transitu Virginis* written by Pseudo-Melito, "the leading Latin authority on the Dormition and Assumption",¹⁷⁹ it is clear that there are different incidents when the Virgin's soul leaves her body. According to this text, the Apostles arrived at her deathbed; she released her soul,¹⁸⁰ which Christ gave to Michael (the first occasion it is held by an angel).¹⁸¹ After her burial, Christ appeared at the tomb and consulted the apostles about what to do. On Peter's suggestion, he agreed to raise her, kissed her and ordered Michael the archangel to collect her soul (making this the second occasion),¹⁸² whereupon she was raised to life, and the angels returned to heaven with Christ carrying her to paradise (the third occasion).¹⁸³ The *Legenda Aurea* broadly follows Melito's *De Transitu Virginis*.¹⁸⁴ There are, thus, two situations where her soul is in the hands of an angel, and a third, when she was carried to heaven, which evolved into the Corporal Assumption. This is in addition to the occasion when Christ collects her soul (shown in CHn2:40).

In thirteenth-century representations, it appears that two of these scenes are common, firstly where Christ collects her soul at her death and secondly when she is assumed, body and soul, to heaven. Given that there is no other panel in the window which shows her movement (except CHn2:40, discounted as the Assumption below), it is clear that CHn2:28 has to show the moment of the Assumption. Given the size of the figure in the shawl, the implication is that the Corporal Assumption is omitted from the window.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁷ It is extremely unusual to have two images of the Virgin's soul being moved, but none of the Corporal Assumption. Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu* in James, *Apocryphal*, 213 or 216; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative*, *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80 or 82.

¹⁷⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

¹⁷⁹ James, *Apocryphal*, 209-16.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 216.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* Christ commanded Michael the Archangel to bring the soul of Mary

¹⁸⁴ Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80-82.

¹⁸⁵ The contrast can be seen when compared with other examples of the Corporal Assumption, as in the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 123:5; at Chartres, Bay 42:7a; at Coutances, Bay 202:3 and 4; at Le Mans, Bays 104:3 and 105:5; at Sens, Bay 101: tracery; at Troyes, Bay 210:7/8/9 and in the church of St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 6:9b, *Online Archive*, "French sites". See also s2 in

On the hypothesis that the panel shows a culmination of the Life and Death of the Virgin, it is likely to have been located towards the end of the narrative, but the original position is affected by the possible switch of borders between CHn2:26 and CHn2:28. For Option 1, CHn2:28 would originally have been in a B border (and hence in 8d), which would plausibly leave 8e for the A bordered-Coronation of the Virgin (CHn2:36). Option 2 assumes the original border was A, then acquiring a B border, probably in the course of the Sanderson repairs in the 1760s, and finally being given a C border by Milner White. The location of this panel clearly has a bearing on that of CHn2:36 (see below).

For the preferred Option 2, it would place the panel at the end and culmination of the life of the Virgin in 8e, juxtaposed with her decision to follow God's command at the start of the narrative in 2a.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91:

Option 1: In the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved out of its B light-type into the fifth A light-type, but retained its original borders.

Option 2: There was no change. The panel remained in 8e.

Torre:¹⁸⁶

Description: "10 In 5th Light stand 3 Angells together 1st Robed Murray & gu 2d gu & B. 3d vt Winged O."

Comments: The panel shows three angels, winged, even though the colours have been changed.

				28

Intervention: the Crosby repairs in the 1690s.

Option 2: in these repairs the panels were moved around considerably. In the course of these, CHn2:28 was moved into a B light, despite the fact that it still retained its A border and despite the strong contrasting colours of the red and white A light borders and the blue and white B light borders.

Intervention: Sanderson repairs in 1760s.

Option 1: CHn2:28 was moved back to what appeared to be its correct B light position.

Option 2: given the stress on design and pattern on this occasion, there was a choice, either move CHn2:28 back into an A light or switch the borders with those of CHn2:26. Given that the medallion was contained within an inner rectangle, switching the rectangle into new B borders was a relatively straightforward manoeuvre.

Browne:¹⁸⁷

Description: "Compartment contains a representation of the Blessed Virgin, being ascended to heaven, accompanied by angels."

			28	

North Moreton, *ibid.*, "English sites". In manuscripts, it is to be seen in the Queen Mary Psalter (fol.298).

¹⁸⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹⁸⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the head had gone from the central and from the left-hand figure, the lower drapery of the central figure was “modern plain” and the back was nearly all “modern”.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁸⁸

Description: “No 4: Angel with soul in a [cloak/cloth]

[Pencil. Brown appears to shepherds]

Represents a figure standing in the centre holding a cloak in his hands with a soul in it and represented by a little figure. He is clad in a green tunic a cross band of yell dividing the upper part which shows drapery lines from the lower part which is modern glass. The latter may have been whit glass as of an alb. A purple cloak is fastened at the neck passes over the shoulders and hangs in two thin folds down the sides of figure. Head gone perpendicular insertion. Green nimbus. From his shoulders are two displayed wings one yel the other green. On each side of the central figure is an angel half kneeling. Right hand one in ruby tunic and green cloak ruby nimbus. Left hand one with white tunic and purple cloak. Head and nimbus gone. Wings left yell and white, and right green and white. They both hold their hands up to the wings of central figure to which they are looking and their other hands held out. Bare feet to both. Extras outside white with a fillet of [JM rings?] [wings] quite different from the others. Back of panel blue but nearly all modern. No inner arch as in other panels”.

			28	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁸⁹

Description: “4. Angel with a soul in a cloth

Standing in the centre of the picture is an angel robed in green tunic crossed by a band of yellow and a purple cope fastened at the neck one part of it thrown over the shoulder and hanging down in folds. Head destroyed but green nimbus near it. The wings which are displayed are yellow and green. In his hands he holds a cloth in which is a small figure (representing a soul). Two angels are kneeling one on each side and look up to the central figure and hold their hands in attitude of adoration. They also have [parti] coloured wings.”

			28	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Knowles, in both descriptions, saw a figure representing a soul in the cloth, which was not visible after the re-leading exercise. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹⁰

			28	

¹⁸⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.164v.

¹⁸⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.70r.

¹⁹⁰ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from its B light position to light C. This involved a second switch of borders.¹⁹¹
Medallion: two heads inserted (possibly from glass bank). One intruded head retained for the central figure, but some mending leads on it seem to have been removed, which means it may well be plated.
Grisaille: grisaille as before the restoration. A couple of mending leads and one area of strongly painted, intruded glass removed and replaced with plain glass
Borders: the borders changed from before the restoration.¹⁹²

Milner White:¹⁹³

Description: "Baptism of Christ."
Comments: An inexplicable attribution.

		28		

Brown:¹⁹⁴

Description: "?The Virgin's soul carried up to Heaven by two angels."

		28		

Changes since Knowles:

There was drapery above the yellow band, which is no longer visible.

Current:

		28		

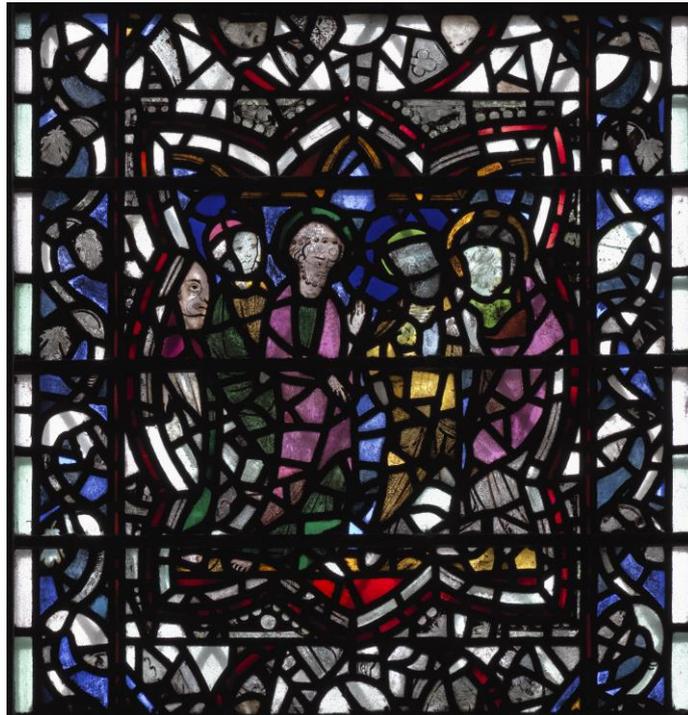
¹⁹¹ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

¹⁹² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4838, ca.1929-32: 57, 3L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4839, ca.1958: 57, 3L3P.

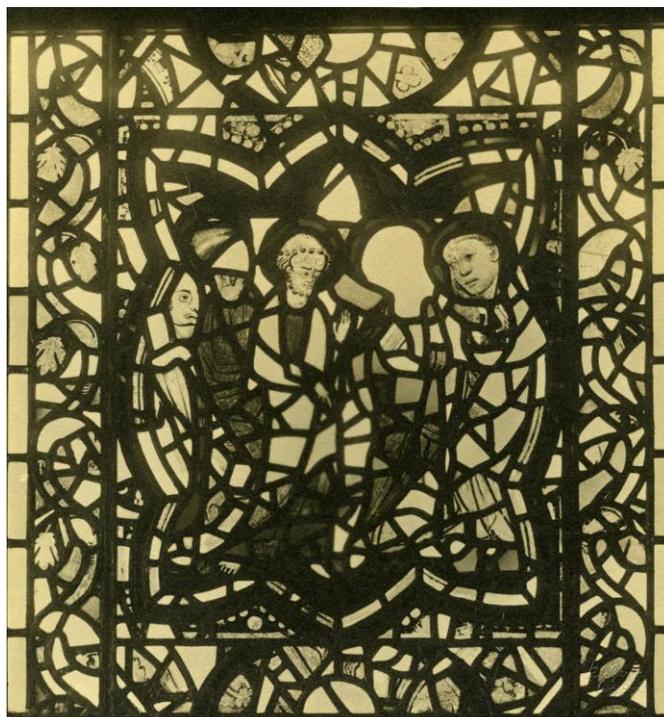
¹⁹³ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

¹⁹⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn2:29: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:29, 6d © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn2:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4840, ca.1929-32:
57, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹⁵**

¹⁹⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4841, ca.1958: 57, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 019381, undated: 57, 4L3P (detail) © Newton, P.A.; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022224, ca.1958: 57, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

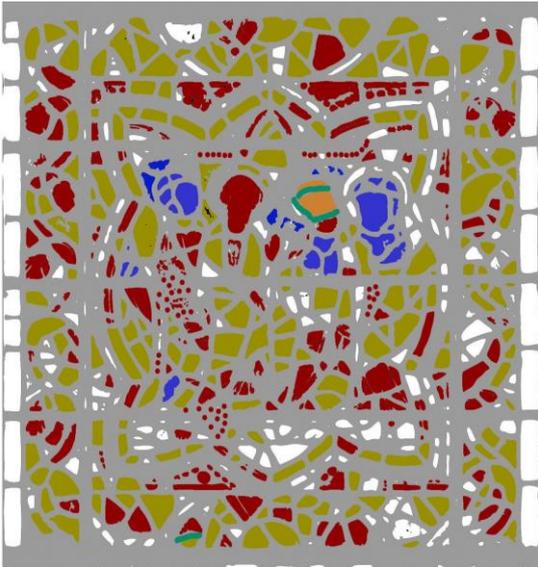


Figure CHn2:29: Restoration History

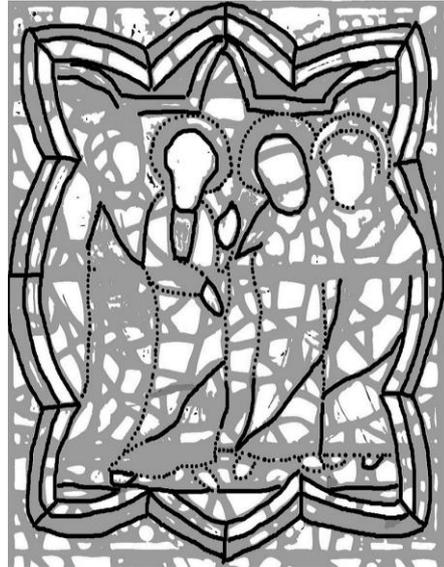


Figure CHn2:29: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

Option 1:

	29			

Option 2:

			29	

Probable original appearance: CHn2 normal medallion, with beading around the outside. At the top of the narrative is a trefoil structure, the centre part of which is similar to that in CHn2:8, but the outer parts are somewhat different in that they follow in the inner line of the medallion rim closely. The figures are standing on a platform. Below the platform and above the trefoil structure, the background is red. In the centre, it is blue. The panel had a B border. Strip feature VI.

The panel has been much altered, with a varying number of figures seen since 1690-91. Torre saw six and Knowles, five, though he only described four. There are currently five, but one is almost completely intruded, so only four are certain. There is a barefoot figure to the centre left, in green tunic and murrey cloak, with green halo and downcast eyes. His left hand is raised and his right hand points downwards. The figure in the centre right, in yellow cloak and white tunic, was looking upwards to his left, from what may be the original lead lines can be seen in the pre-restoration photograph.¹⁹⁶ This is the figure whom Knowles saw holding a book. From the earlier photograph, it would have been the most prominent head (Peter?). To the right is a figure with yellow halo and white tunic, with a small piece of original purple cloak. To the left is a figure with yellow tunic and green cloak. Knowles saw both the latter two as wearing a cap, but this may have been influenced by his identification of the panel as the

¹⁹⁶ YMA Green Photographic Collection.

Disputation in the Temple.

Knowles's descriptions of the colours tally with what can be seen today. It is difficult to work Torre's descriptions out, given that he described a different number of figures. But his descriptions do not appear similar (again, he saw two figures with "blue" drapery).

Stylistic comments on original head:

Curls on forehead, possibly indicating bald head? Rest of hair falls sideways, in parallel lines with heaviest near face. Some corrosion to forehead area so cannot detect if there was a furrow. Straight, heavy eyebrows, with one line extending to create the entire outline of the nose. (The line along the nose is no longer, if ever dense.) Heavy eyes, with upper and lower eyelids. There are three parallel lines to either side of the M-shaped mouth. The chin bone is indicated under the bottom lip. There is a corrugated outline to beard. The features are small compared with Workshop 3.

Iconography and original location: The Apostles witnessing the Assumption.¹⁹⁷

Working on the hypothesis that the scene shows a group of apostles, it is likely to relate to the episodes of the Assumption of the Virgin. The other suggestions are discounted: Christ as an adult does not appear elsewhere in the window, so it is unlikely to show Jesus and the Disciples journeying, as suggested by Browne.¹⁹⁸ The description by Knowles of the dispute in the temple cannot be verified from surviving evidence; in particular, there is no evidence of a surviving child.¹⁹⁹

The apostles, however, feature in the death of the Virgin in the following ways: they appear at her deathbed (see CHn2:39),²⁰⁰ by implication they witnessed the collection of her soul,²⁰¹ they carried her bier and dealt with the High Priest (variously the High Priest, Jephonias and Rubin (as shown in CHn2:37)).²⁰² They were present at Mary's tomb when Christ appeared to them and Peter advised Christ to raise the Virgin to heaven.²⁰³ Consequently, all that can be suggested, based on the fact that one apostle seems to be pointing downwards while another, with an apparently larger and hence more prominent head, is looking upwards, is that it shows either their witnessing the collection of her soul or its Assumption. The one who is pointing downwards appears to have the bald head of Paul, possibly relating to the extra text indicated by James which stated that Paul came with the apostles.²⁰⁴

If CHn2:28 originally had a B border (Option 1), the most likely location for CHn2:29 would have been 8b, with CHn2:28 in 8d, showing the angels elevating Mary's soul to heaven. If CHn2:28 were originally an A border (Option

¹⁹⁷ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 215-16.

¹⁹⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 49.

¹⁹⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 167r and fol. 169v and Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 74r.

²⁰⁰ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 212; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 79.

²⁰¹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 213; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80.

²⁰² Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80-81.

²⁰³ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 215-16; it is implied in Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217-18 and in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 82.

²⁰⁴ James, *Apocryphal*, 211.

2) and was located in 8e, CHn2:29 could have been in 8d, linking the appearance of Christ in 8c (CHn2:40) and the elevation of the Virgin's soul, in 8e. In either case it can be justified as a link: either between the collection of the soul by Christ and the assumption of the soul (Option 2) or between the burial and Christ's collection of her soul (Option 1). Alternatively, it may be seen as the illustration of the witness of the events.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration: For Option 2 only, CHn2:29 was moved to its alternative light-type.

Torre:²⁰⁵

Description: "7 In 2nd Light stand 6 of the Apls together – 1st habited murray, 2d & 4th B [3] vt, 4th [probably an error for '5th'] & 6th O."

	29			

Comments: Torre saw a different number of apostles (six as opposed to the current five, but he only actually described five. What is more problematic is that Torre saw different colours. His description has been allocated to this panel in this location by a process of elimination.

Browne:²⁰⁶

Description: "Jesus and the Disciples journeying."

	[29?]			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Two heads had gone by the time of Knowles, "Historical Notes".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁰⁷

Description: (First) "No 2. [Pencil] Prob disputation in the Temple. [Pencil] Brown. Carrying the ark with another

	29			

Five figures Two in the centre as engaged in argument with another. The most prominent is a youthful figure wearing green tunic and purple cloak. Green nimbus to head. Holds drapery up with one hand and the other up in admonition. A figure at his side wears green cloak and yell tunic and a cap. No nimbus. Oppos to these figures are two nimbed figures. The first clad in purp tunic and yell cloak, head gone. Nimbus ruby. The 2nd clad in whit tunic and purp robe, yell nimbus. In act of looking across at one in green cloak a head and part of drapery occurs at extreme left of panel. Back ground of blue.

(Second) No 2, Top row. Probably the disputation 2 figures to left represent Joseph and Mary who advance. Joseph left hand up and is admonishing. In front a youthful figure in yell head gone. Ruby nimbus remaining. Two figures one on each side of the panel are doctors the one to the left with a book."

²⁰⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²⁰⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 49.

²⁰⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.167r and fol.169v.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁰⁸

Description: "2.The Disputation in the Temple

The most prominent figure is that of the youthful Saviour robed in a green tunic and purple cloak standing and holding his hand up in admonition. Two doctors engaged in close argument and another clad in green cloak yell tunic and cap looks on. Mary and Joseph one with ruby nimbus the other yellow [O] (Heads destroyed) are to the side of the picture."

	29			

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁰⁹

Comments: One non-original head pre-dates the Milner White restoration, so must have been inserted at an earlier date.

	29			

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type.²¹⁰ Medallion: two heads replaced. One of these had been intruded (right-hand figure), the other is unclear, but may have been some other, intruded, painted glass. The second figure to the right was either given mending leads (probable) or was a new insertion. Two figures – the drapery on the upper torso rebuilt, involving the removal of some glass painted with architectural elements and itself intruded

Grisaille: one mending lead visible

Borders: no modifications visible.²¹¹

Milner White:²¹²

Description: "Christ teaches."

			29	

Brown:²¹³

Description: "Four (?five) apostles."

			29	

Changes since Knowles:

Now there is no nimbus to the second figure to the left. Knowles saw it as "ruby".

²⁰⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.74r.

²⁰⁹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

²¹⁰ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

²¹¹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4840, ca.1929-32: 57, 4L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4841, ca.1958: 57, 4L3P.

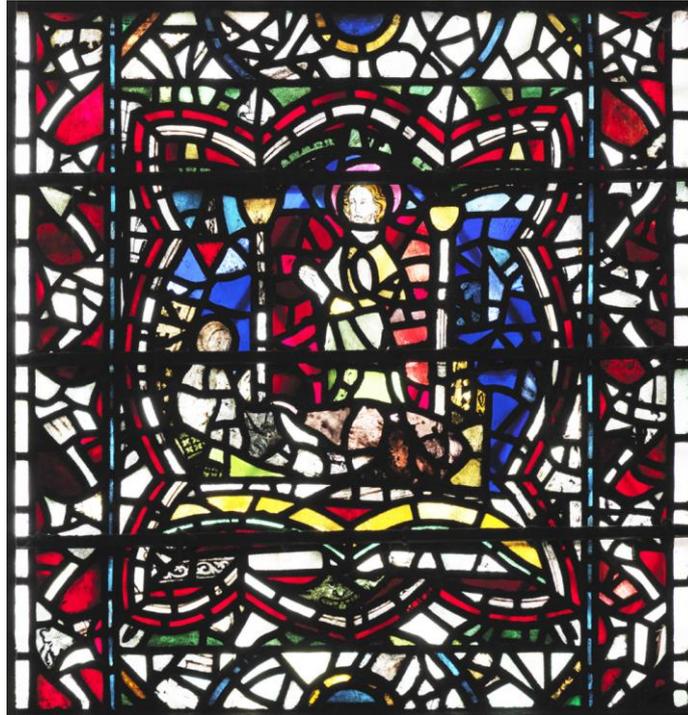
²¹² Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

²¹³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

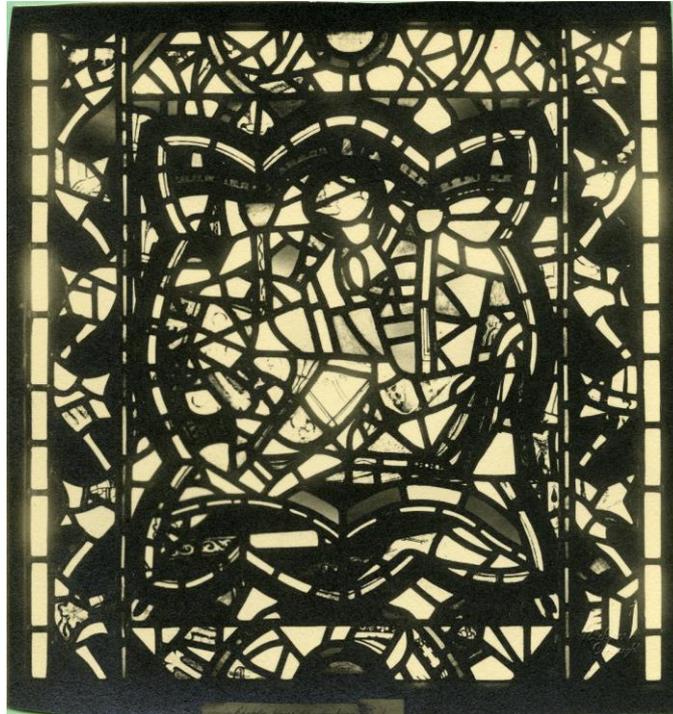
Current:

			29	

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn2:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:30, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn2:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4842, ca.1929-32:
57, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.²¹⁴**

²¹⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4843, ca.1958: 57, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022224, ca.1958: 57, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography

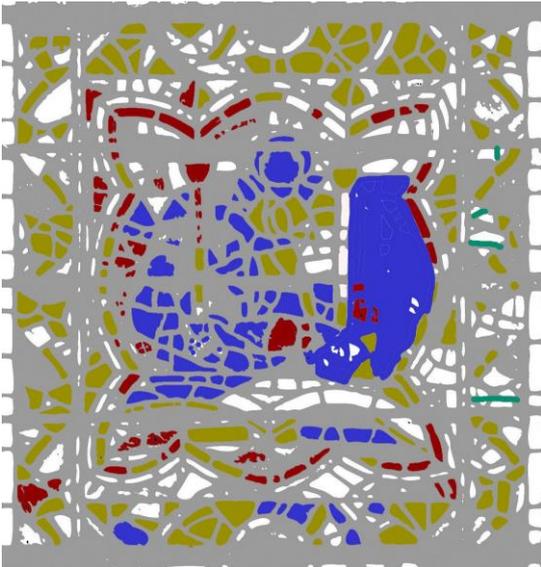


Figure CHn2:30: Restoration History

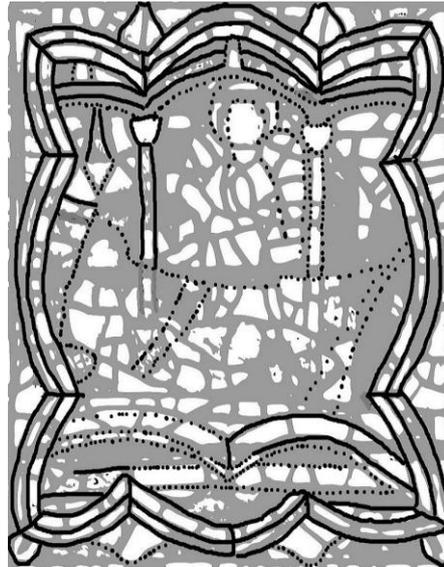


Figure CHn2:30: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

				30

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with green background and white fleurs-de-lys to the exterior. Of note is a triangle shape at the centre of the bottom inside the medallion, now containing an animal head. Above the narrative, inside the medallion, is a trefoil green structure which, from the pre-restoration photograph, had a strip of beading beneath. The structure's arches are surmounted by finials. Above the structure the background is red. Below the decorated white platform on which the narrative figures appear, the background is red. The rest of the background is blue. Originally an A border. Strip feature V.

There was a central angel standing between two pillars, dressed in green and yellow with white wings, facing to the left-hand side. The capital of the left-hand pillar is original. Below the angel was a horizontal platform, under which are now two long, compressed arches. Above this platform, to the extreme left, is a small patch of original green glass with diamond-shaped decoration (a pillow). Above this are signs of one or more yellow crowns at an angle. This is all that remains of a large bed, with a purple cover, in which the three Magi were sleeping. The bed had a footboard.

From earlier descriptions of the glass (Torre, Knowles etc) it is clear that the panel originally showed the Magi lying in a bed, of which the yellow now by the second pillar is the foot. From the lead lines it is possible that there is the outline of a lamp hanging above the heads of the three sleeping kings.

Iconography and original location: The Magi warned in a dream.²¹⁵ Apart from the two pillars, one capital, part of a lamp and, crucially, parts of crowns at an angle together with what may be a bed end (moved by Milner White from its earlier position), there is no original glass in the panel. The identification as the Angel warning the Magi is based on the description by Torre and, more importantly, Knowles’s “Manuscript Notes”, and fits the surviving crowns at an angle to the left-hand side. The scene appears in numerous windows elsewhere.²¹⁶ The panel would have logically fitted at the end of the row depicting the Magi, hence in 4e.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration: the panel was moved within its light from 4e to 2e.

Torre:²¹⁷

Description: “25 In 5th Light lyes a King in purple Robes in a bed over whom stands an Angell with silver wings – robed O & vt.”

				30

Comments: The panel was rebuilt by Milner White.

Browne:²¹⁸

Description: “Blessed Virgin, with hands conjoined, seated on a throne.”

Comments: Browne appears to have misread the pillars as the side of a throne.

				30

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the heads of the standing figure had gone, as had the heads of the three kings.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²¹⁹

Description: “No 5. the three kings warned in a dream [Pencil] Brown Kings led by star Across the picture a bed peaked at the foot upon which lay three kings, their heads to the left of the picture. The coverlid is pink purple with a yell border lined with white. The bed rests upon a base composed of two arches with an upright post and the foot of turned wood.

				30

²¹⁵ Matt. 2:12.

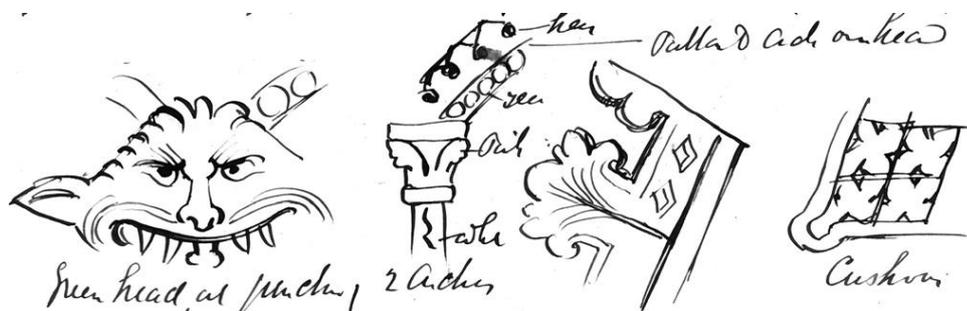
²¹⁶ Of other examples of stained glass, with the exception of the Cathedral of our Lady of Chartres, 50:4c where the Kings are littered across the panel, the design normally shows three Magi lying alongside each other in bed with an angel either flying above or standing by the bed as at the cathedral at Laon, Bay 2:8a; the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bays 6 6:4b and 7:7b; in the cathedral at Tours, Bay 1:6a, See *Online Archive*, “French sites.” Of these, the closest resemblance to CHn2:30 is in St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 6:4b where the angel is standing next to the kings’ bed. A similar image appears in manuscripts, such as the de Brailles Hours, fol. 21 in Claire Donovan, *The De Brailles Hours* (London: British Library, 1991), 57; the Queen Mary Psalter, fol.131c.

²¹⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²¹⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 49.

²¹⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.165r.

The heads of the kings have been destroyed but the three crowns remain – under them is a green diap cushion. Pillar and arch overhead. In the centre is an angel in side position clad in yell tunic loose green robe and blue nimbus. White wings displayed partly in standing position behind the bed and holds the hands out to the sleepers. Head gone and some ruby been put into nimbus by mistake. A lamp hangs over the heads of the sleepers the chain only original. Extreme outside green with whit fleur de lis. Note the green glass is of terra vert olive. The yell is a pot metal but pale stain colour. The Angel in the [Canterbury] one holds a scroll. See Westlake page 105 but the kings have no crowns. Pg 11. Consult Mrs Jameson. Abside [sic] of Lyons Cathedral in 2nd window in the warning of the three kings, they are laid down, two awake, one asleep, angel appearing to them. Three camels seen to the side of picture. Bruges Glass, School of Art. Three kings warned. This subject is represented at Le Mans and again at Canterbury in glass of the earlier half of the 13th century. Mr Hucher observes that the style of work in the Le Mans glass is so vigorous that the artists had practised the art for some long time previous. Date of the Le Mans glass is 1097-1120. Westlake, pg 21 [vol 1].”



Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²²⁰

Description: “5. The three kings warned in a dream

On a bed composed of two arches the kings laid and over their bodies is a coverlid of purple bordered with yellow and lined with white. The heads of all three destroyed but their crowns preserved.

In the centre over them is an angel in a [side] position robed in yellow tunic. Green robe loosely worn and blue nimbus. The wings displayed. His hands held out to the sleepers. A lamp has been suspended over them but only the chain now visible.

[pencil] Illustrate from Westlake pg 11 pg 105.”

				30

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph. The “diapered cushion” under the heads of the kings is only partially visible, nor was there later a “head” at the base of the junction of two arches. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²²¹

				30

²²⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.70r and 71r.

²²¹ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel within its light from 2e to 6e.²²²

Medallion: the medallion has been largely rebuilt. Before restoration two pillars would have been visible. The interpretation/identification of the panel would have been determined by the restoration

Grisaille: grisaille as before the restoration. A few strongly painted intruded pieces removed and replaced by plain glass.

Borders: borders as before the restoration. Some mending leads inserted

Milner White:²²³

Description: "Christ heals the palsied man (was elsewhere in this row)."

				30

Brown:²²⁴

Description: "Christ and a recumbent figure."

				30

Current:

				30

²²² Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

²²³ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

²²⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

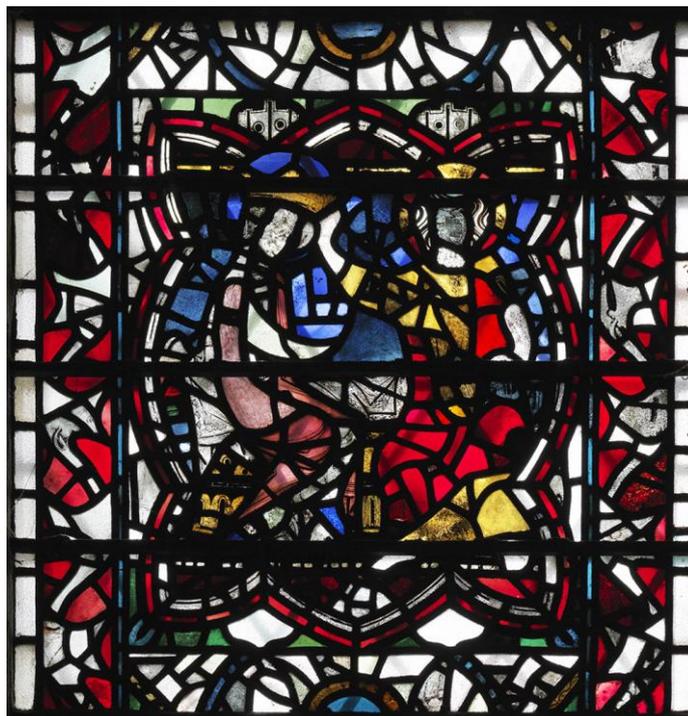


Figure CHn2:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:36:6a © York Glaziers Trust.

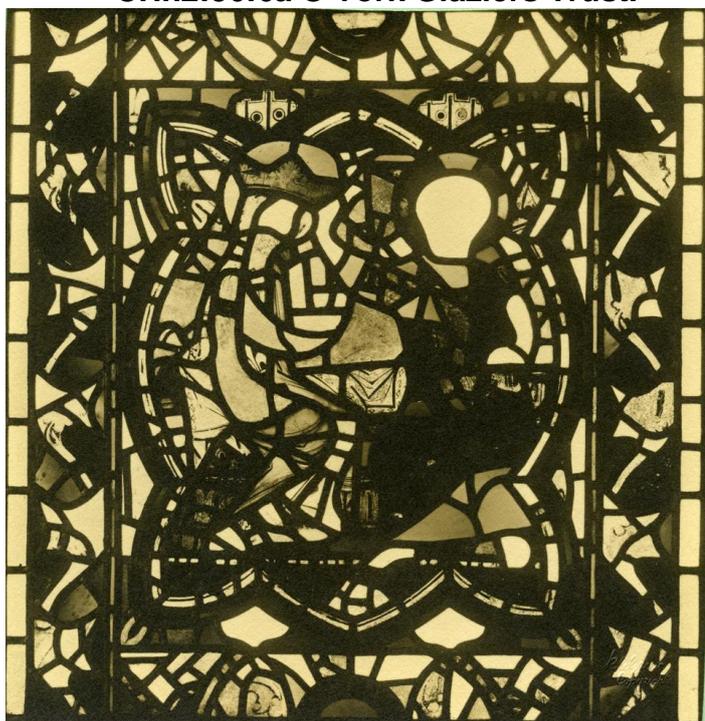


Figure CHn2:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4849, ca.1929-32:
57, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²²⁵

²²⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4850, 1976: 57, 1L1P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022226, 1976: 57, 1L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography

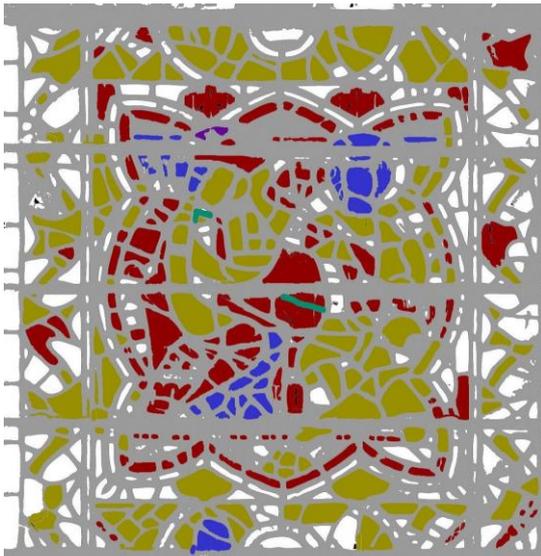


Figure CHn2:36: Restoration History

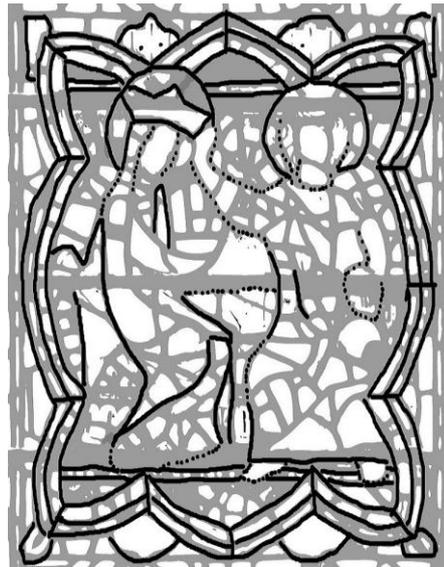


Figure CHn2:36: Original Lead Lines

Possible original locations:

Option 1:

				[36]

Option 2:

				36

Probable original appearance: CHn2 type of medallion, surrounded by green base, with white castle-types in the upper and lower cusps. Pole across upper part of medallion, with possible red background above.

The figures are on a platform, below which the background is also red. The main background is blue. There is a triangle in the centre lower edge, containing blank glass. There are two main figures, much disturbed, both seated on a yellow throne-like bench covered with a white cloth. The female figure (Mary) to the left in a sanguine cloak (as seen by Torre) and white tunic facing towards the second figure. The white conflicts with Torre, who say it as yellow, but this may reflect the circumstances in which he saw it. She is wearing a yellow crown. Knowles saw a white halo, the lead line of which extends beyond the edge of the medallion and was larger and more prominent than that of Christ. The second figure, Christ, is in original yellow tunic and red cloak has his right hand raised as if placing the crown on Mary's head. His left hand was resting on a book on his left knee. Christ has a yellow halo with red marks for the cruciform. The original light was A, and the Strip feature, III, making it unique in the window.

Iconography and original location: The Coronation of the Virgin.²²⁶

When used in the context of Mary's life, it is normally shown as the culmination. As can be seen from the 1845 Barnett copy of CH1, now in N19:4d,²²⁷ this was not the only representation of the scene in the chapter house. Its importance in CH1 can be detected from its original location, in the centre of the top narrative row. This is the only panel in the chapter house to be repeated in two windows.

The identification of the panel is not in issue, unlike its original location.

The first matter is the way it might have been combined with a sequence showing the Assumption of the Virgin. The first recorded version of a Coronation was in the chapter house vault in Worcester Cathedral, where it was associated with Synagogue.²²⁸ From the late twelfth century onwards, the use of the image evolved to be used as the culminating scene in psalter illuminations showing scenes of the Assumption, to the extent that, according to Morgan, it was "more frequently represented than the Assumption", and that "it is likely that it conveyed some equivalence of meaning to the Assumption".²²⁹

The original location needs to be considered in the context of the earlier discussion of the original borders for CHn2:26 and CHn2:28. If the border of the former was A and of the latter, B, the position for CHn2:36 in 8e for Option 1 is reasonable. The effect would be that CHn2:28 (the Assumption), with its B border, would have been in 8d, leaving the Coronation, as the culmination of the Virgin's saintly career in 8e. (This is to ignore the problems created for the location of either the Flight into Egypt or Herod observing the Massacre of the Innocents and the identification of any panel for 2e discussed above). If the borders of CHn2:26 and 28 had been respectively B and A (Option 2), the implication is that the only plausible location for CHn2:36 is in 2e, leaving CHn2:28 in 8e. The Coronation, on the other hand, does not specifically feature in the narrative of the Assumption and hence it is suggested this is the A bordered scene which could most easily be removed from the Assumption narrative and placed in 2e.

The difficulty with this suggestion is that the Coronation would normally be found at the uppermost parts of windows, given its significance as the culmination of the Virgin's role in Christianity and hence a location on row 2 might appear be unlikely. If linear sequencing were the sole design feature in the chapter house, it would be odd for it to have been placed chronologically after the Angel appearing to the Shepherds (CHn2:20) and before the Magi following the star (CHn2:10).

However, if it were to be originally in 2e, this would enhance the importance of the corners in the design and hence mirror the window design feature discussed in Chapter 3, in which an emphasis on the corners in several windows has resulted in amendments to straight chronology. In particular, and with reference to Heslop's observation in relation to the Worcester chapter house ceiling (see CH1:38 above), the Coronation can be associated with the relationship between the Virgin and the Jews, and is a mark of her triumph over Jewish attacks identified in CHn2:37 in the opposite corner of the window

²²⁶ Heslop, "Worcester Cathedral," 297 and Heslop, "Coronation," 790. As Kitzinger points out, it was a "conspicuous [...] feature in French cathedral programs [sic] in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries," Ernst Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, No. 4 (1949): 7.

²²⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 290.

²²⁸ Heslop, "Coronation," 790.

²²⁹ Morgan, "Texts," 87.

(CHn2:37 in 8a). The way this relationship reflects Pauline theology concerning the contribution of individual religious figures to Christianity is discussed in Chapter 3.

In the wider context of the chapter house design (see Chapter 4), given that the sight lines approaching the entrance to the chapter house mean that location 2e is the first panel to be seen of CHn2, it may be that 2e is not as unusual as it might appear. Had the panel been located in row 8, it would have meant a replication of the same scene on the top row of adjacent windows, a feasible duplication if each were designed in isolation, but less so given that Chapter 3 has shown there was a unified design across the chapter house.

Of the two options, therefore, although Option 2 at first sight raises a few difficulties, it is ultimately slightly more convincing that Option 1. It is notable that, for Option 2, the three unique strip feature designs in CHn2 (in CHn2:6, 40 and 36) would have been located in 2a, 2e and 8c, creating a triangle across the window.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration. Both options: the panel was moved within its light.

Torre:²³⁰

Description: "15 In 5th Light sitt a King & Queen Inthroned he robed Sang crowned O. She robed O & gu."

				36

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved to its alternative light-type.

Browne:²³¹

Description: "Jesus crowning the BVM."

36				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the head had gone from the right-hand figure.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²³²

Description: "No 1. Coronation of the Virgin. [8a/36]

[Pencil] Brown gives Last Supper].

A throne running across. To the left the virgin seated rather side position clad in purple cloak over whit tunic and yell crown on her head. White nimbus. Our lord seated on the right side clad in yell tunic and ruby robed. Ruby nimbus with yell cross, head destroyed. He holds the crown upon virgin's head with right hand and his left hand resting upon a book on the knee.

36				

²³⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²³¹ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

²³² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.166r and fol.167r.

[Pencil] See Byzantine type in Mrs Jameson Legends of the Madonna pag 13-15.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²³³

Description: “1. Coronation of the Virgin Seated on a throne which extends across the panel are the figures of the Virgin and our Lord. The former seated in a side position robed in white tunic and purple cloak crowned and nimbed. To the right our Lord clad in yellow tunic and ruby robe face destroyed but nimbus ruby with white cross with his right hand he places the crown on the head of the Virgin and his left hand is resting upon a book on his knee. [pencil] brown says 14 [confused?] at pg 51.”

36				

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁴

36				

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one head created and inserted (right-hand figure). Left-hand figure probably given mending leads and not rebuilt. Other areas of background and drapery re-built.
Grisaille: one area of intruded, painted glass removed and replaced with plain glass.
Borders: no modifications visible.²³⁵*

Milner White:²³⁶

Description: “Coronation (as always).”

36				

Brown:²³⁷

Description: “The Coronation of the Virgin Mary.”

36				

Changes since Knowles:

The Virgin had a “white” nimbus.

²³³ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.74r.

²³⁴ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York .

²³⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4849, ca.1929-32: 57, 1L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4850, 1976: 57, 1L1P.

²³⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

²³⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Current:

36				

Photographic record:

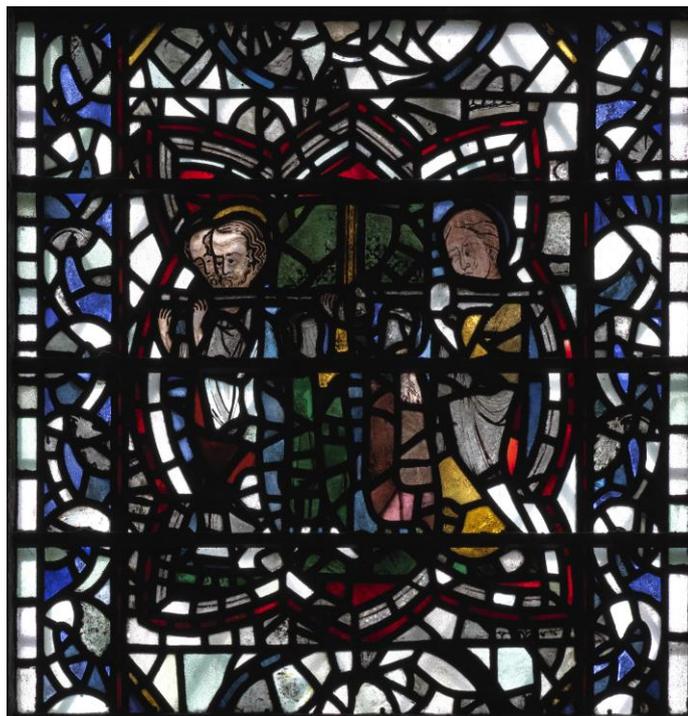


Figure CHn2:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:37, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn2:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4851, ca.1929-32:
57, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.

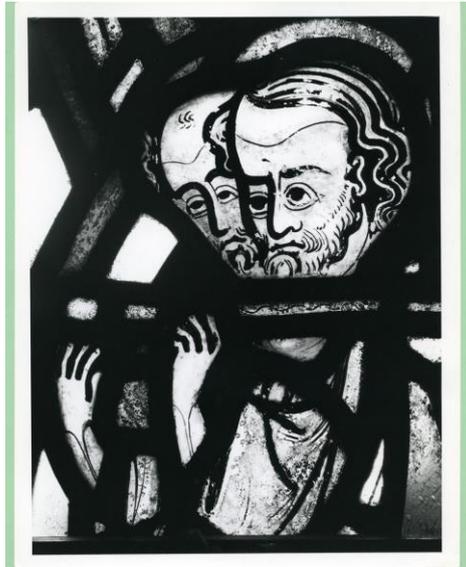


Figure CHn2:37 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4854, 1969: 57, 2L1P @ Crown Copyright.²³⁸

Original location, appearance and iconography:

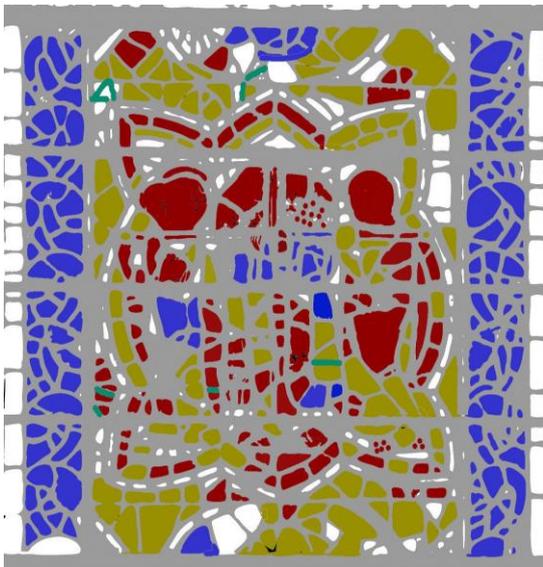


Figure CHn2:37: Restoration History

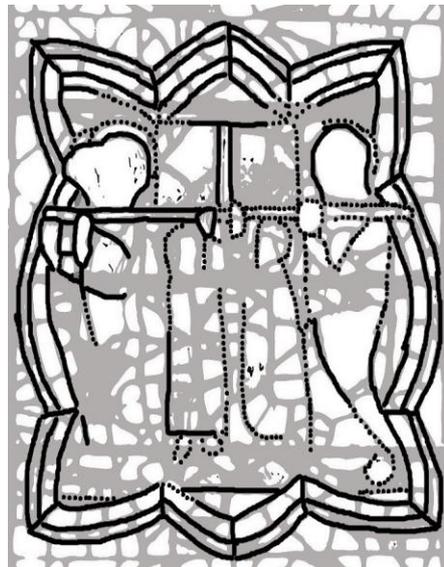


Figure CHn2:37: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

37				

²³⁸ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4852, ca.1958: 57, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4853, 1976: 57, 2L1P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022227, ca.1958: 57, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022228, 1969: 57, 2L1P (detail) © Crown Copyright.

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with no definite sign of what was outside the rim: there is some beading to the bottom right. Border A. Strip feature VI.

The figures stand on a green sward, below which the background is red. At the top of the narrative, in the centre and to the left the background is also red. To the right and in the main body of the scene, the background is blue. There are now three main figures supporting a pole on their shoulders on which is a green box, apparently held in position by a turned wood framework. The foremost two figures are nimbed (one in yellow) and there is some white and some red clothing. Original heads. The rear figure had an original yellow tunic and white cloak (Knowles saw the halo as blue). Torre and Knowles both saw a second figure behind the bier) of which there are no current signs. Under the bier there are signs of some original green drapery. From the lead lines there were two smaller figures, the left-hand one with hands raised as if touching the bier, and the right-hand one in the same position, clothed in murrey. The left-hand figure was in a yellow tunic and green cloak.

Original A light. Strip feature VI.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Possibly intended to be balding. Heaviest line near face. Furrowed forehead. Heavy, rounded eyebrows, one of which extends to form the entire nose. Dense line for eyebrow and nose outline. Upper and lower eyelids. Parallel marks to either side of M-shaped mouth.
2. Hair falling sideways, with parallel lines of which the one nearest the face is the heaviest. Furrowed brow. Of the straight eyebrows, one extends to form the entire outline of the nose. Dense lines for original eyebrows and outline of nose. Upper and lower eyelids. Chin bone indicated under the lower lip. Parallel lines either side of mouth. M-shaped mouth.
3. Paint loss so not all elements visible. Sideways-falling hair, the heaviest line of which is close to the face. Furrowed brow. Straight eyebrows, the line of one of which creates the entire outline of the nose. These lines may have been dense but have suffered paint loss. Upper and lower eyelids. M-shaped mouth.

Features are small compared with Workshop 3.

Iconography and original location: The Funeral Cortège.²³⁹

The panel shows the Apostles, carrying Mary's bier,²⁴⁰ when attacked by a Jew, variously Jephonias,²⁴¹ the High Priest of Priests,²⁴² or Ruben.²⁴³ It shows two apostles at the head and one at the rear (one of those at the front is likely to be Peter, the beardless one at the rear is likely to be John). Underneath appear to

²³⁹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 214; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative*, *ibid.*, 208; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80-81.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ The version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica in James, *Apocryphal*, 208.

²⁴² Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in *ibid.*, 214. The Apostles carried the bier and were attacked by Prince of Priests of Jews.

²⁴³ Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217. Ruben tried to upset the bier.

be two small figures with their hands elevated.

The texts and the depictions vary as to significant details. In glass elsewhere, there is no reference to the Jewish incident.²⁴⁴ Most of the texts, however, talk of a single person touching the bier, their hands adhering to it and, after praying, being released. The only text which implies two separate identities for the figures under the bier is that of St John the Divine,²⁴⁵ in which an angel severs the hands of the Jew.

The scene involving a Jew appears in frescoes²⁴⁶ and manuscripts,²⁴⁷ as well as glass. In the art of the eastern church there are several examples of the avenging angel under the coffin, in the course of amputating the Jew's hands.²⁴⁸ However, in the western church, the depictions tend to omit the angel.²⁴⁹ These are more in accordance with Pseudo-Melito. If the window is based on Pseudo-Melito, the second of the two figures in CHn2:37 probably refers to the High Priest being attached and then released, rather than the Jew and the avenging angel.

The attack by the Jew on the Virgin's coffin, in one of the various forms, is thus a common theme in all the otherwise fairly disparate versions of the death of the Virgin (as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4).²⁵⁰ The emphasis placed on the presumed interference in her funeral can be explained by the 'role played by the Virgin and her cult in the exclusion of Jews from Christian society during the western middle ages'.²⁵¹ It is significant that the York design has elected to include this anti-Jewish aspect of Marian iconography. The image can also be seen in the context of the Coronation of the Virgin, probably in the opposite corner of 2e in Option 2, together with the ceiling painting of Synagogue and Ecclesia as respectively the representatives of the blind old religion of Judaism and the true faith of Christianity.²⁵² The clear anti-Jewish references in the imagery need to be seen in the context of the febrile atmosphere of late thirteenth-century England and part of the dehumanizing of the images of Jews, rendering them small, contorted, with prominent, evil faces and associating them increasingly with apes.²⁵³

²⁴⁴ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the Cathedral at Le Mans, Bay 105:3d and in the reconstructed window in the Church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 8:3a.

²⁴⁵ The version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica in James, *Apocryphal*, 208.

²⁴⁶ Ann Wharton Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mayriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta*, 21 (1982): 23.

²⁴⁷ Notably an extended scene in in Cambridge St John's College, MS K.21. (c.1280-90), fol.64r. See also the Teymouth Hours, fol.133v.

²⁴⁸ In the west, it can be seen in Freiburg Minster, n35 with the angel amputating the hands, *Online archive*, "Other sites," n35: tracery.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Amiens, Bay 21:7a; at Angers, Bay 123:2; at Chartres, Bay 42:4a-c; and at Le Mans, Bay 104:1a. See also the church at North Moreton, *ibid.*, "English sites". These all show a single figure under the coffin.

²⁵⁰ This image is explored by Hawkes, "Wirksworth," 252-3 and 265-7. It is repeated in the nave north aisle of the Minster, n25, border to 1a (see Figure 28).

²⁵¹ Shoemaker, "Image of the Jews," 775-76,

²⁵² Heslop, "English Origins", 790-1: Norton, "Medieval Paintings," 43.

²⁵³ Carlee A. Bradbury, "Dehumanizing the Jew at the Funeral of the Virgin Mary in the Thirteenth Century (c1170-c1350)," in *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: the York Massacre of 1190. Narratives and Contexts*, eds. Sarah Rees-Jones and Sethina Watson (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2013), 257-260.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration, CHn2:37 was moved within its light from 6e to 4e.

Torre:²⁵⁴

Description: "20 In 5th Light are 4 Men bearing on their Shoulders the [Rope] in a green Ark 1st habited A & gu, glory O 2d O & A, Glory gu The 2 other on the farr side not plain Also 2 other Men stand under the Ark 1 habited vt 2d Murry."

				37

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved from 4e to 8e.

Browne:²⁵⁵

Description: "Ark of the Lord born on Staves on shoulders of 4 males. Male and female touching it without receiving the chastisement of Uzzah [ie] Christian mercy is superior to the Old Law."

				37

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the panel an inserted head with silver stain and another head which could not be made out.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁵⁶

Description: (First) "No 5. [Pencil] prob the burial of the Virgin. [Pencil] Brown. Virgin seated.

The apostles carrying a bier – in shape

				37



like a box on poles.

It is coloured green with stripe of yell down the middle. Two small figures walk underneath and lift up their hands in support (* see note). The first apostle clad in white tunic and pale ruby cloak. Yell nimbus. Has a head like St Andrew or Paul. His companion has a green nimbus. Only head visible. The apostle behind him has a yell tunic and whit cloak blue nimbus. These apostles have bare feet. The 1st figure under has a green tunic only. (head a perp insertion). 2nd figure green [or same?] tunic and purp robe. Can't make out head.

Back of panel blue as far as shafts of bier. Ruby above that line.

*on page 29 of scrap book there are 2 figures carrying a feretory and under that are two figures touching it for to be healed one praying.(From Viollet le Duc) ([Pencil] see note thereon).

And in Westlake see Bishops carrying feretory of St Hugh of Lincoln.

²⁵⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

²⁵⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

²⁵⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.167v and fol.169v.

See illustration Westlake p 115.* Continues The relics of St Hugh are dated about 1235 pg 117. The angels and some of the figures at Lincoln bear a close resemblance to York. John Romanus came from there. 1286-1296 Precentor of Lincoln.”

(Second) “No 5, Top row. Four sts carrying a feretory on poles. Feretory green with a yell cross band on it. Two in front in whit tunic and purp pink robes. One [in four behind] robed in yell tunic and whit robe. Back saint not seen]. 2 figures reach up under the feretory to touch it.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁵⁷

Description: “5. In the act of supporting a bier coloured green with a stripe of yellow on it are four nimbed figures who walk bare foot. The first in [advance] wears a white tunic and pale ruby cloak and has a head like St Andrew. The figures behind the bier are in yellow tunic and white cloak. Under the bier are two small figures reaching up and touching the underside of it. [pencil] Probably the burial of the Virgin.”

				37

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵⁸

				37

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from its A light position in 8b. This necessitated changing the borders.²⁵⁹
Medallion: two small figures in centre rebuilt, but there were enough indications they existed previously. For the left hand of these two figures, an intruded head was itself removed and replaced with plain glass. Other areas of drapery rebuilt (evidence from the change in lead lines)
Grisaille: some areas of grisaille rebuilt, two small pieces of plain glass replaced painted, intruded pieces. Some mending leads. Grisaille as before restoration.
Borders: the borders were changed.²⁶⁰

Milner White:²⁶¹

Description: “Burial procession BVM.”

	37			

O’Connor and Haselock:²⁶²

Description: “The Burial/?Funeral of the Virgin Mary.”

²⁵⁷ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.74r.

²⁵⁸ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

²⁵⁹ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.13r.

²⁶⁰ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4851, ca.1929-32: 57, 2L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4852, ca.1958: 57, 2L1P.

²⁶¹ Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 41.

²⁶² O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 335.

Brown: ²⁶³

Description: "The Funeral of the Virgin Mary."

	37			

Current:

	37			

²⁶³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

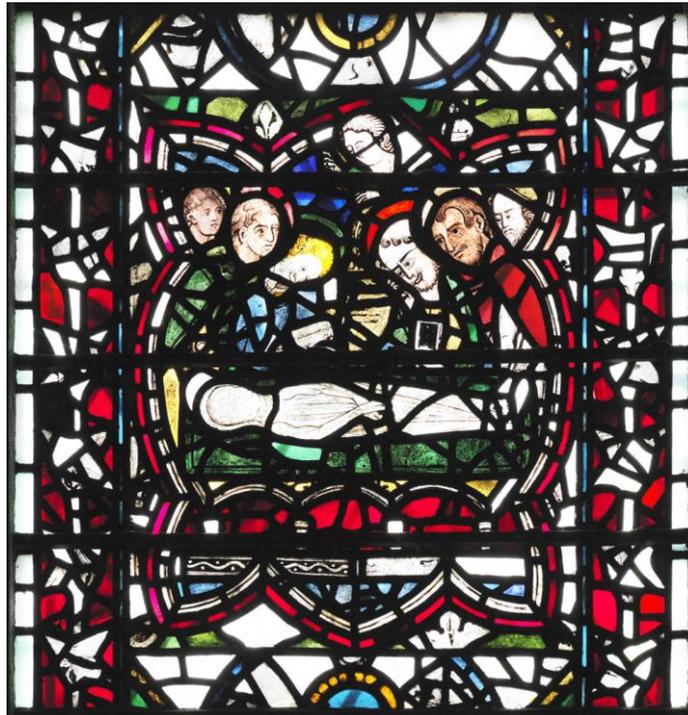


Figure CHn2:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:38, 8c © York Glaziers Trust.

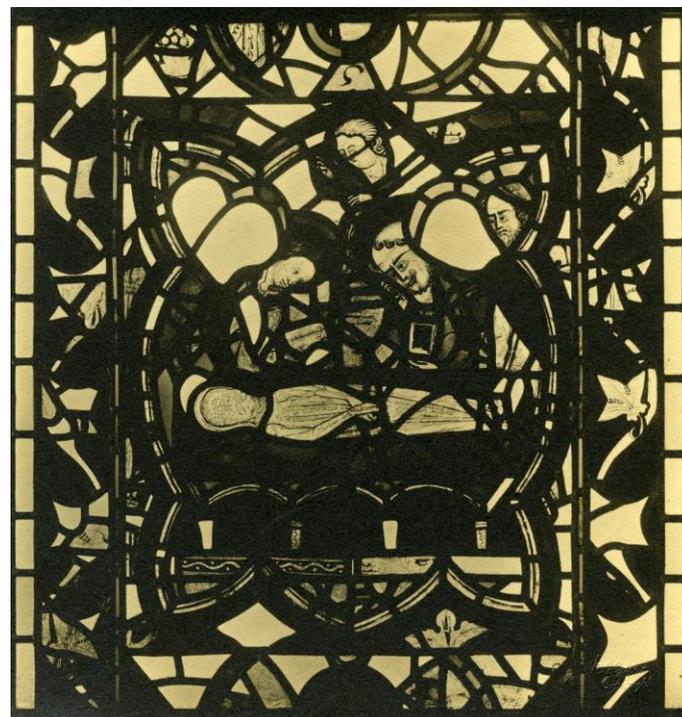


Figure CHn2:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4855, ca.1929-32:
57, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.

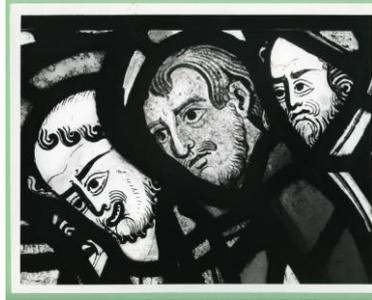


Figure CHn2:38 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4859, ca.1958: 57, 3L1P @ Crown Copyright. Centre head inserted by Milner White



Figure CHn2:38 (detail): YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4860, 1969: 57, 3L1P © Crown Copyright.²⁶⁴ Inserted by Milner White

Original location, appearance and iconography:

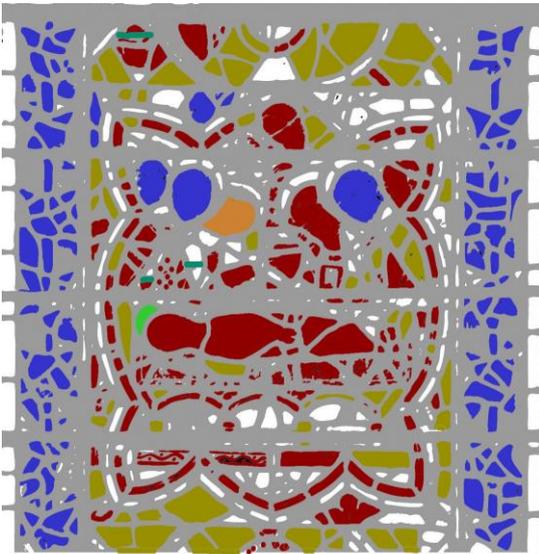


Figure CHn2:38: Restoration History

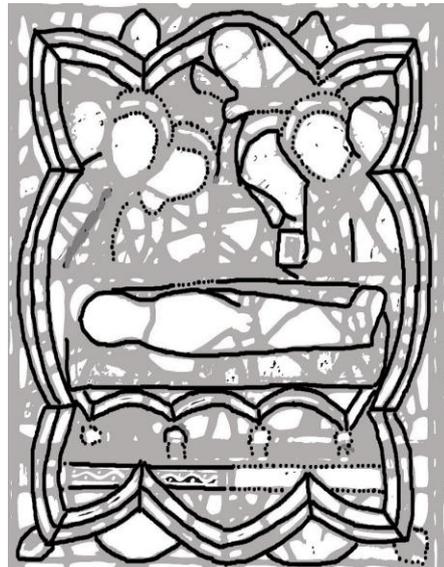


Figure CHn2:38: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

²⁶⁴ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4856, ca.1958: 57, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4858, ca.1958: 57, 3L1P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022229, ca.1958: 57, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022230, 1969: 57, 3L1P © Crown Copyright; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 003669, 1976: 57, 3L1P © Crown Copyright; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022231, 1969: 57, 3L1P (detail) © Crown Copyright and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022232, 1969: 57, 3L1P (detail) © Crown Copyright.

Both options.

				38

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with green outside and various types of white fleurs-de-lys in the cusps. The scene is set on a decorated white platform, below which the background is now blue. The background to the figures is also now blue. Original border A. Strip feature V.

A nimbed figure in white lies on a bier, supported by three white arches on four pillars, with yellow decoration in the cusps. The pillars are white with small white capitals. The background to the arches is now red. The corpse is lying on a green surface above the arches. There are figures clustered around of which two heads are probably original (first and third from the right). Above the clustered figures is the top part of a body, as though flying in from the right, with original head and right hand raised as if in blessing. This figure extends beyond the white inner rim but not the red outer one. From the left hand is a chain and, possibly, a thurible. The third figure from the right is nimbed and is holding a book, with signs of yellow tunic and a green cloak. Knowles saw the third figure from the left as holding a book. The second figure from the right has some original green drapery. Knowles saw this figure as the Virgin, and hence would have been female.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Features are small compared with Workshop 3.

1. Angel above. Round face, sideways hair. Heavy line between hair and face. Furrowed brow. Rounded eyebrows. Dense line for eyebrow and nose outline. Upper and lower eyelids.
2. Possibly balding. Small curls. Thickest line between face and hair. Furrowed brow. Straight eyebrows, one of which extends to form the outline of the nose. Dense line for eyebrows and nose outline. Parallel lines to either side of M-shaped mouth. Chin bone. Corrugated beard.
3. Sideways falling hair. Heavy line between face and hair. Furrowed brow. Straight eyebrows, one of which continues to create the outline of the nose. Dense line for eyebrows and nose outline. Parallel marks to either side of mouth. M-shaped mouth. Chin bone under bottom lip.

Iconography and original location: The moment of the Virgin's death.²⁶⁵

Of the descriptions of the glass, Milner White was the first to identify it as involving the Virgin,²⁶⁶ but all earlier descriptions have shown that it concerned a death scene of some sort.

It is probable that it shows the death of the Virgin, before the funeral procession. There are resonances of the text by Pseudo-Melito, where he describes her soul at the point of her death as being

of such whiteness that no tongue of martial men can worthily express it;

²⁶⁵ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 213. Virgins washed her corpse and laid it on a bier; *ibid.*, 215. The Apostles buried her corpse; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217. The apostles buried her and the angels took her body up; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 80 - 81. The Apostles laid her in the tomb, *ibid.* 81; Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* in Gregory, *Glory*, 22.

²⁶⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

for it excelled all whiteness of snow and of all metal and silver that glistereth with great brightness of light.²⁶⁷

Alternatively, the white glass was used to indicate the brightness of her body, as in “that holy body shone with such brightness that it could indeed be touched to do the service thereof, but the appearance could not be looked upon for the exceeding flashing of light”.²⁶⁸ Of the numerous representations of this scene that have been identified, no other attempt to indicate the literal brightness or whiteness of the texts.²⁶⁹ It is rare for separate scenes showing the apostles gathering and the moment of her death to be included.

The “Virgin” at the Virgin’s head, as seen by Knowles, was probably Mary Magdalene.²⁷⁰ The figure third from the right may well represent the bald Paul. As an A light panel, 6e is its most probable original location.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre saw the panel, it had been moved across its light-type from the fifth to the first light.

Torre:²⁷¹

Description: “6 In the Upper Row & first Light lyes a man in his winding sheet upon a Table & s’all holy Men stand about him.”

38				

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was probably moved within its light from 8a to 4a. See Appendix A.13.

Browne:

Comment: It is not possible to identify this panel with any certainty, given that there are four panels which could be seen as showing a figure prostrate on a bed. Based on the fact that CHn2:38 was in 4a from Knowles onwards, it is reasonable to suggest it was here when Browne saw it.

[38]				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: in CHn2:38 there was an inserted head with silver stained hair and

²⁶⁷ James, *Apocryphal*, 213; “Viderunt autem apostolic animam eius tanti candoris esse ut nulla mortalium lingua digne possit vincebat enim omnem candorem nivis et uiversi metalli et argenti radiantus magna luminis claritate,” *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis Esdrae Pauli Johannis item Mariae Dormitio*, ed. Constantinus Tischendorf (Lipsiae: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1866), 129.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Online archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals of Amiens, Bay 21:5a; at Angers, Bay 123:4; at Chalons, Bay 13; tracery at Coutances, Bay 202:1; at Le Mans, Bays 105:2d and 110:1b; at St-Quentin, Bay 2:2 and at Troyes, Bays 0:8b (combined with the Assumption) and 201:1a. Chartres, Bay 42:6b is the only representation to have an angel in the top centre. See also the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 6:8b and North Moreton, s2, the latter at *ibid.*, “English sites”. The figure in St-Ubain, Bay 8:4b is in white but the dating of the glass is uncertain, *ibid.*, “French sites”.

²⁷⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 71r.

²⁷¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

the head had gone from the central figure.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁷²

Description: (First) No 1. The Entombment Brown has Kings led by star

But the Kings have [...] consult Mrs Jameson [...]

Upon a green flat tomb which rests on stunted wht arches lays the figure of our Lord with hands crossed in front whit nimbus with cross on it. Six figures behind the tomb in different attitudes of grief stoop over the body. The Virgin being near the head. All are nimbed one figure near the head has yell hair. Stained but this must be insertion. (Seen off a ladder). Back of panel blue but inside arches of tomb ruby. Extreme side of panel green with whit fleur de lis.

(Second) A figure in which with hands together in front white nimbus, laid on a green slab or top of a tomb with white circular arches. Ruby background. And stooping over the body are 9 figures, the centre one like an angel with curly hair who appears to hold a thurible with chain. As to the figures stooping, the one to the right seems to be St Peter with book in hand, clad in yellow tunic, green robe and red nimbus. Another to left clad in green, holding a book in left hand. Head is perpendicular insertion. The grisaille is very much mixed but the pattern is oak and acorn and maple, as for the other. Maple with oak leaf border. Oak filling ivy border."

Comment: The second description incorrectly located this panel in 4b.

38				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁷³

Description: "1. The entombment of Christ

Upon a green tomb resting upon white arches is laid the body of our lord with his hands crossed on his heart. His head nimbed. Behind the tomb are six

figures in attitudes of grief. Near the head of the tomb is the Virgin. All are nimbed."

38				

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph and later no sign of the cross on Christ's halo.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁷⁴

38				

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 4a to 8a, thus necessitating a change of borders.²⁷⁵

Medallion: three heads inserted, based on slight differences in the angle of the lead lines surrounding them and the complete absence of any sign of painting on the pre-restoration faces. Some mending leads

²⁷² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.167v and fol.169v and fol.170r.

²⁷³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.71r.

²⁷⁴ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

²⁷⁵ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

Grisaille: a small area of plain glass replaced what could have been plain glass. A small area to left where painted, intruded glass replaced with plain Borders: the borders were changed in restoration.²⁷⁶

Milner White:²⁷⁷

Description: "BVM laid out for burial."

		38		

Brown:²⁷⁸

Description: "The Death of the Virgin Mary."

		38		

Current:

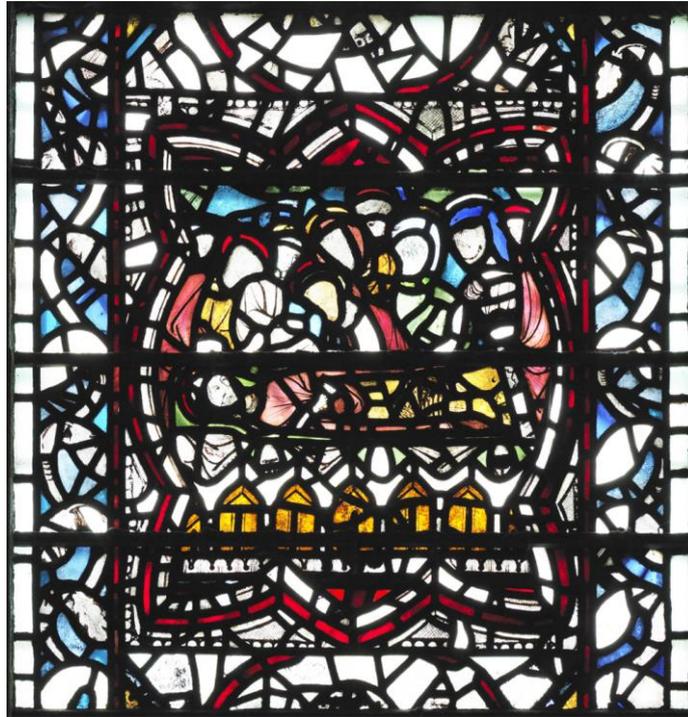
		38		

²⁷⁶ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4855, ca.1929-32: 57, 3L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4856, ca.1958: 57, 3L1P.

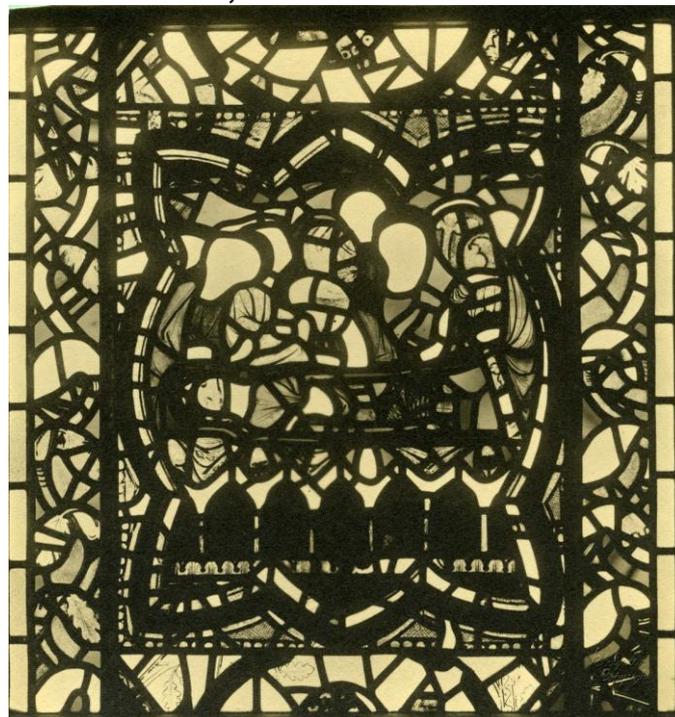
²⁷⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

²⁷⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn2:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:39, 8d © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn2:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4861, ca.1929-32:
57, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁷⁹**

²⁷⁹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4863, ca.1958: 57, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4862, 1976: 57, 4L1P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022233, 1976: 57, 4L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography

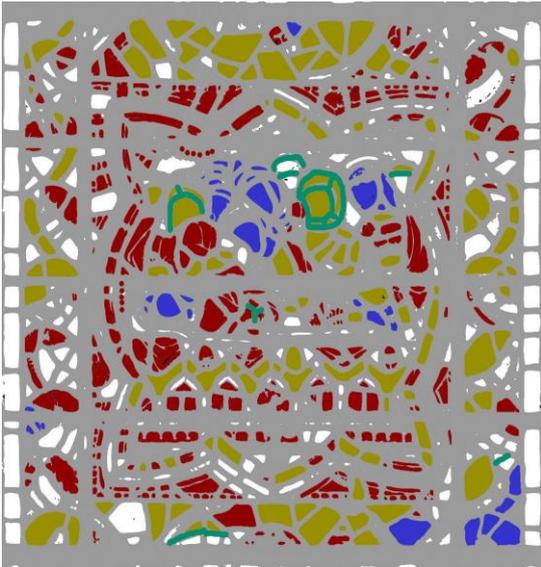


Figure CHn2:39: Restoration History

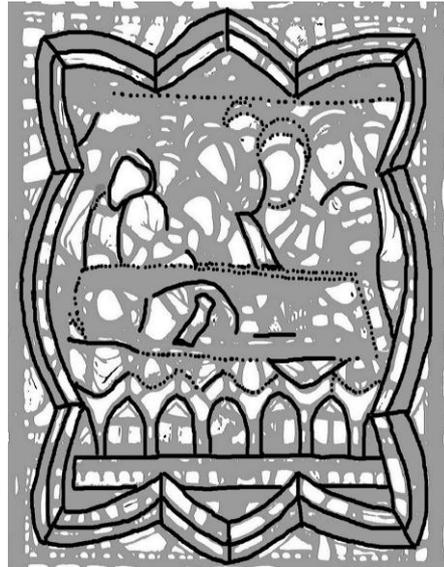


Figure CHn2:39: Original Lead Lines

Original location:
Both options.

			39	

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with beading surround. There are signs of green at the top of the scene, which Knowles has as foliage, but it could also represent a green curtain stretched on a pole across the top of the scene. Above the pole the background is red. Original border B. Strip feature VI.

The figures are on a decorated white platform on which rests a bed or a bier, below the platform the background is red and behind the bed/bier and the figures the background is blue. From the lead lines and what is concluded to be original glass, the bed/bier rests on at least five arches, supported by six pillars, with yellow glass in the arcading. There are signs of a white sheet on the bed/bier and a prostrate figure, wearing sanguine and a piece of yellow which may indicate a coverlet. One arm is resting on the torso. Behind the bed/bier is a group of figures, some of them appear to be nimbed. The ones at either end are in yellow tunic and sanguine cloak (to the left) and white tunic and sanguine cloak (to the right). Knowles saw both of these as female. Another figure is in white and there is the possibility of another in red. It is possible that a central figure is kneeling.

Iconography and original location: The Apostles at the Virgin's deathbed.²⁸⁰ In many versions of the Death of the Virgin, the Apostles gather around her death bed,²⁸¹ a scene which appears to be portrayed in this panel. As discussed in connection with CHn2:38, it is rare to include separate scenes of the apostles gathering and the moment of her actual death.²⁸²

The panel is much disturbed and the suggested body on the bed-type structure is not clear, which probably explains why Torre²⁸³ and Browne²⁸⁴ interpreted the figure as an eating scene, in Browne's case, the Last Supper. However, from Knowles's "Manuscript Notes",²⁸⁵ onwards, it has been interpreted as a death scene of one sort or another. Because of the disruption to the glass it is not possible to determine the figures crowded around the bed. Knowles in the "Manuscript Notes" refers to two of the figures being women, which would have involved the figures of Martha and Mary Magdalene at the death scene and would have possibly reflected the tradition of the virgins assisting the Virgin at her death.

Given that this is the first episode of the death narrative to feature in the window, it would have been placed after the Purification (CHn2:18) and hence have been located in 8d.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration, the panel was moved within its light from 6d to 8d.

Torre:²⁸⁶

Description: "9 In 4th Light sitt s'all of the Aples about a Table variously habited."

Comments: There is no panel in the window showing a "table", so it is probable that Torre mistook the low bed for such."

			39	

Browne:²⁸⁷

Description: "The Last Supper."

Comments: Based on the fact that CHn2:39 was in 8d from Knowles onwards, it is reasonable to suggest

			[39]	

²⁸⁰ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 212; the version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *ibid.*, 208. Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative*, *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 79.

²⁸¹ Pseudo-Melito, *Transitu*, in James, *Apocryphal*, 212; The version of her Dormition attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica in *ibid.*, 203-4; Joseph of Arimathea's *Narrative* in *ibid.*, 217; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 79; Gregory, *Glory*, 22.

²⁸² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 42:6b; at Le Mans, Bays 104:2a (which may, alternatively, depict her entombment) and 05:2d and the church at of St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 8:2b (although several of the scenes identified in footnote 74 above may show the apostles gathering as opposed to the moment of her death).

²⁸³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²⁸⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

²⁸⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.165r and fol.169v.

²⁸⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²⁸⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 51.

that it was in 8d when Browne saw it. Again, the structure was seen as a table rather than a deathbed.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁸⁸

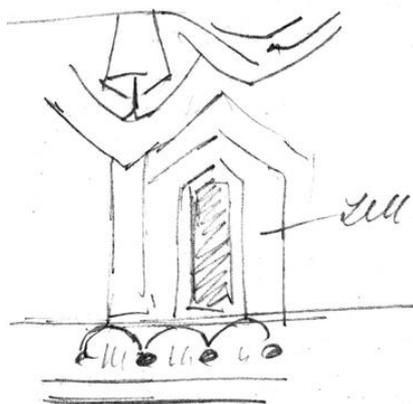
Description: (First) "No 4. [Pencil] Brown. The assumption of the Virgin A tomb with five arcades of gabled pediments divided by pillars in front the panels yellow resting upon a white banded base and behind is 5 or 6 figures. 3 of them nimbed, 2 of them females who kneel at each end clad in purple robes. The left-hand one has a yell tunic the right-hand one a white tunic. The nimbed figures kneel in a row behind one nimbed ruby and two yell. Back of panel blue but there are patches of green seen as if of trees.

(Second) No 4, 4th row

Entombment

A St in purple tunic with long sleeves banded with blue at his elbows – with yellow robe from waist to feet. Ruby nimbus. The body laid on a white sheet which 6 figures are placing in a tomb. 4 of them nimbed. One female. A green curtain is looped up on a rod across the top of the picture ruby backg above it."

			39	



Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁸⁹

Description: "4.A tomb crossing the picture [encircled/enriched] by five gabled arches supported on a stunted pillar and behind it are five or nine figures, three of them nimbed who kneel in a row. Patches of green in the blue background. No doubt to represent trees."

			39	

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph. No sign of three nimbed figures. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁹⁰

			39	

²⁸⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.165r and fol.169v.

²⁸⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.75r.

²⁹⁰ Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: several heads either inserted by Milner White and/or some existing ones given mending leads. Mending leads were probably added for the three heads. Other mending leads. The modifications may have affected interpretation/identification

Grisaille: some mending leads and some painted, intruded pieces removed and replaced with clear glass

Borders: one area of painted, intruded glass (bottom right) removed and replaced with clear glass.²⁹¹

Milner White:²⁹²

Description: "The deathbed scene (as always)."

			39	

Brown:²⁹³

Description: "The Apostles assembled at the Virgin's deathbed."

			39	

Current:

			39	

²⁹¹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4861, ca.1929-32: 57, 4L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4863, ca.1958: 57, 4L1P.

²⁹² Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

²⁹³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

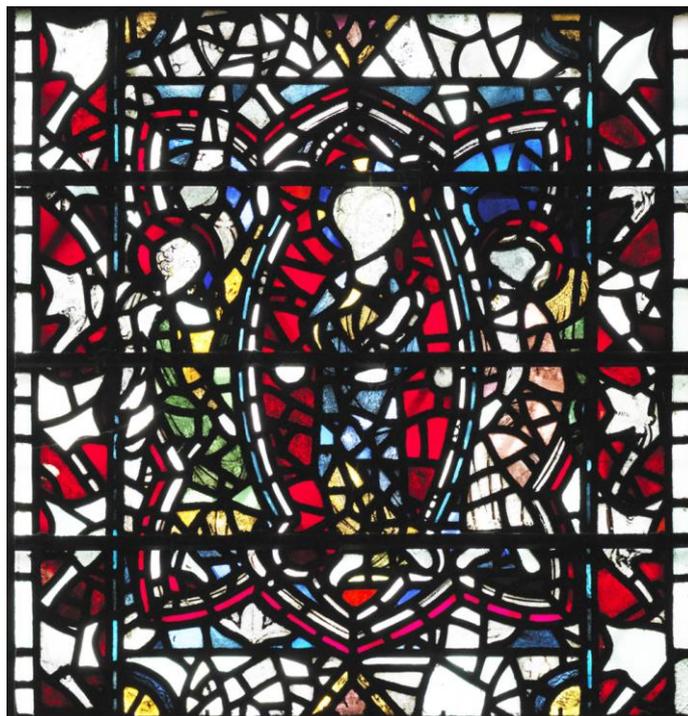


Figure CHn2:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn2:40, 8e © York Glaziers Trust.

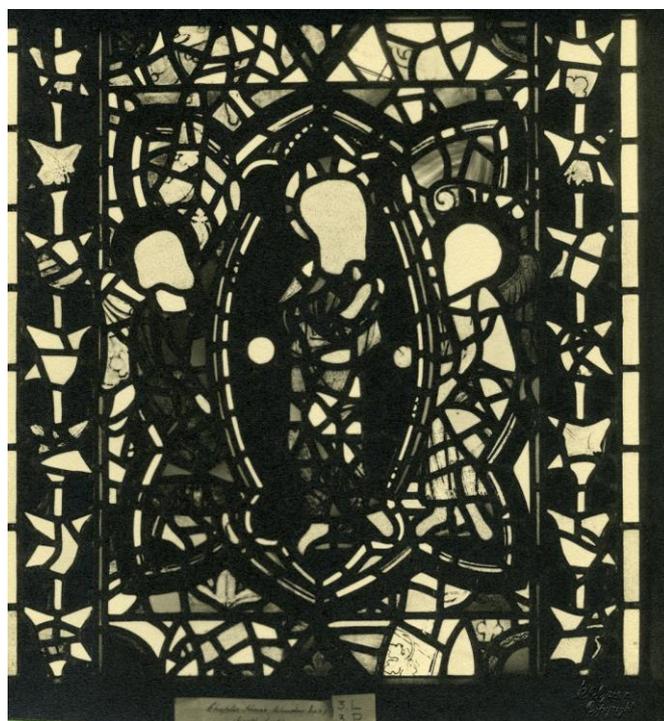


Figure CHn2:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4864, ca.1929-32:
57, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4865, ca.1958: 57, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4866, 1976: 57, 1L1P © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022234, ca.1958: 57, 1L1P ©

Original location, appearance and iconography:

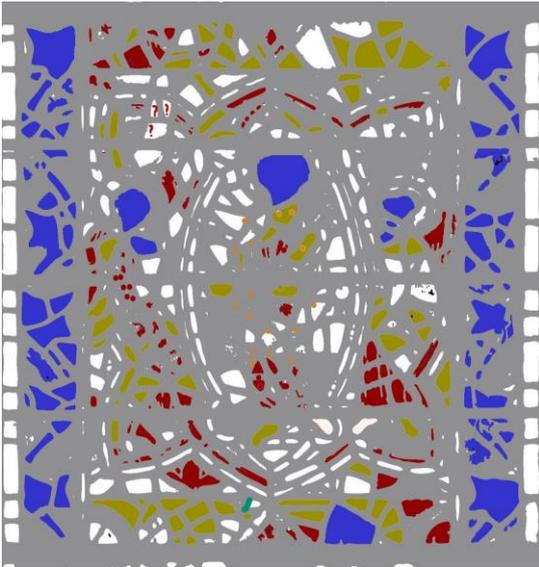


Figure CHn2:40: Restoration History

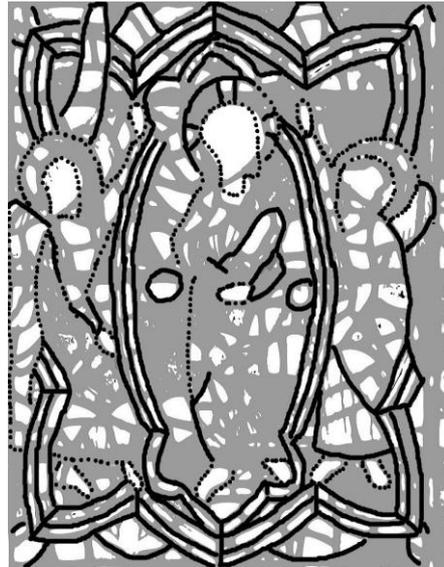


Figure CHn2:40: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

Both options.

		40		

Probable original appearance: Normal CHn2 medallion, with white fleurs-de-lis and, uniquely in the window, blue background outside the red rim. Some of the features (eg angels' wings) extend beyond the rim of the medallion. Inside the medallion there is a mandorla with trefoiled head and base and the background is partly red. Outside it is blue. There is no sign of a platform, except for a thin white strip inside the mandorla. Original C border. Strip feature II.

The mandorla currently has a white and a red rim, with signs of beading on the white. Inside the mandorla is a figure with signs of yellow clothing. There is an inserted head with an original nimbus. The lead line on the 1929-32 photograph indicates contrapposto figure, with that the head was bearded and was turned to the figure's left, while the body position appears to be to the right. The figure is holding an object/person, wrapped in a white robe, in his left arm. His two feet are visible. Outside the medallion, to the left, stands an angel with yellow tunic and possibly a green cloak, with his left arm stretched upwards to frame the edge of the mandorla. He has long white wings, both of which stretch outside the medallion. To the right, the angel has a white tunic and yellow and green wings, the left-hand one of which also extends beyond the medallion. From the lead lines, it seems that his right arm is stretched upwards to mirror the angel on the left.

Iconography and original location: Christ taking Mary's soul.²⁹⁵

The first question is whether the central figure was originally Christ, possibly carrying a shape cradled in his left arm, or the Virgin being corporally assumed to heaven. If CHn2:40 shows Christ, the implication is that there is no depiction in the window of the Assumption of the actual body of the Virgin because this is the only candidate in the window for such. (The alternative is CHn2:28, which seems to show a soul being elevated.)

The central figure currently shows an intruded female head and is contained within a mandorla, both of which lead to the conclusion that it was the Virgin and hence the corporal assumption. However, an examination of the restoration history shows that Torre saw the central figure as a man,²⁹⁶ and Browne as Jesus.²⁹⁷ From the descriptions by Knowles it is apparent that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the face had been damaged and removed, but the cruciform halo could be seen.²⁹⁸ He was ambivalent about the gender. This means the loss of the glass of the face is likely to have occurred in the Noton repairs of the 1850s,²⁹⁹ or those of Robinson in the 1880s.³⁰⁰ We are aware that Sydney Smirke saw Noton as nothing more than a jobbing glazier,³⁰¹ and from the accounts submitted by Robinson, most of the work was carried out by a solitary apprentice. On neither occasion is it likely that any cruciform halo was intruded into the panel in order to create a Christ-like figure, so it is probable that the halo was present when Browne described the glass.

The lead line on the photograph of the 1930s appears to show the outline of a bearded male head and also the cruciform halo.³⁰² The current female head was inserted by Milner White. It is also noticeable that there are no depictions of women with their feet visible in the chapter house. Here the feet are very clear.

The conclusion is that originally the figure inside the mandorla was Christ holding the soul of the Virgin in his arms, wrapped in white drapery.³⁰³ This may well have been intended to resonate with the description of her soul which is considered in CHn2:38 below.

A second question concerns the occasion Christ would be holding the soul of the Virgin: from the textual sources this could have been either at her death or at her burial. The former is more familiar in comparable stained glass.³⁰⁴ However, to identify this as the scene shown in York would place the episode

²⁹⁵ Pseudo-Melito, *De Transitu Virginis* in James, *Apocryphal*, 215-16..

²⁹⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²⁹⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 49.

²⁹⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 166v; Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 72r.

²⁹⁹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 11 August 1855; Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 107v; YMA Misc. Add. 91 Hornby Large Scrapbook: 320, YMA E/4e Fabric Accounts, 1826-65: 287-99; YMA E3/220V Fabric Rolls, 1855/56 (account of William Noton). See Appendix A.11.1 and 2.

³⁰⁰ YMA E3/248V and E3/251V Fabric Rolls, 1883 and 1886 (Two accounts of Joseph Robinson, relating to 1882 and 1885). See Appendices A.12.1 and 2.

³⁰¹ YMA B.3.4.73 Bankers' Book (Letter slipped inside the book). See Appendix A.9.

³⁰² YMA Green Photographic Collection.

³⁰³ Variations on this can be found at *Online Archive*, "French sites," the Cathedral at Amiens, Bay 21:6a; the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 218: left-hand lancet; in the reconstructed equivalents at the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, 8:5b; at the cathedral at Troyes, Bay 201:2b; and at the church of St-Urbain of Troyes, 10:10b, where he collects her soul in a shawl, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

³⁰⁴ As in the death scenes in the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 218: left-hand lancet; in the reconstructed equivalent at the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, 8:5b (in both of which Christ is cradling the Virgin's soul in his left arm, which resembles a possibility at York); and the panel in the church of St-Urbain of Troyes, 10:4a, where he collects her soul in a shawl, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

out of narrative sequence, away from her death originally in 6d. The alternative is that it may depict Christ holding her soul at her burial and before she is assumed to heaven.

In the text by Pseudo-Melito, Christ arrived at her tomb and consulted Peter and the other apostles about the steps he should take.³⁰⁵ On receiving Peter's advice that "thou shouldest raise up the body of thy mother and take her with thee rejoicing into heaven",³⁰⁶ Christ summoned her soul and ordered the angels to transport her to heaven. Alternatively, according to the Greek version of John, Christ arrived three days later and collected her, without any consultation with the apostles.³⁰⁷ Either interpretation would allow for Christ to be holding what might be the Virgin's soul at the burial.

For both Options 1 and 2 the panel was originally placed in 8c. For Option 1, on the basis that CHn2:40 shows Christ carrying the Virgin, it would be placed in a triptych with the burial (CHn2:38 in 8a), followed by the witness of the apostles and Christ's enquiry of Peter (CHn2:29 in 8b), then Christ's handing her soul to the angels in CHn2:40 (in 8e), who then transported it to heaven (CHn2:28 in 8d) for her Coronation (CHn2:36 in 8e). For Option 2, if Christ is the figure portrayed, the three panels (CHn2:38, 7 and 40 in 8a - c) would be part of a deconstructed scene of the Virgin's burial, as in Sta Maria Maggiore, followed by the witness of or consultation with the apostles and her final Assumption, probably as a soul, in CHn2:29 and 28 (8d and 8e). The strip feature in CHn2:40 is unique in the window, as are those for CHn2:6 and CHn2:36. For Option 2, the three panels form a triangle across the window (CHn2:40 in 8c, CHn2:6 in 2a and CHn2:36 in 2e).

History of the Panel

Torre:³⁰⁸

Description: "In 3rd Light stands a Man in an ovall Circle habited O & B And on either side him an Angell 1st Robed O & vt 2d A & murry."

		40		

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 8c to 6c.

Browne:³⁰⁹

Description: "Jesus in Glory with angels."

		40		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the figure inside the vesica was mutilated.

³⁰⁵ James, *Apocryphal*, 215.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 215. "Sicut tu devicta morte regnas in gloria, ita resuscitans martris corpulusculum tecum duceres eam laetam in caelum," *Apocalypses*, 135.

³⁰⁷ The version attributed to St John and elaborated by John, Archbishop of Thessalonica in James, *Apocryphal*, 208.

³⁰⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

³⁰⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 49.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":³¹⁰

Description: "No 3. The Virgin in a vesica
[Pencil] Brown gives the transfiguration
Prob St Gabriel as the angel of birth
and St Michael as that of death. Vide Legends of the Madonna, Mrs Jameson
pg 84.

A vesica shaped panel held up by two angels one standing on each side. The right one in white short tunic showing part of blue legs or shoes. Purp cloak, Ruby nimbus. White wings. Left-hand one yell tunic green robe and ruby nimbus wht wings.

Inside vesica panel a mutilated figure of Christ or the Virgin in a yell tunic and blue cloak. Head gone but portion of blue nimbus and yell spot like pt of cross on it.

Back of vesica ruby, of panel blue. Extreme blue with wht fleur de lis on it."

Comments: He seems uncertain about the gender of the figure.

		40		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":³¹¹

Description: "3.The Virgin surrounded by a Vesica

The figure much damaged but from what is left the colour of her robe has

been a yell tunic and blue cloak with head (destroyed) surrounded by a blue nimbus. The Vesica supported by two archangels the right-hand one clad in a short white tunic shewing the legs and feet covered with blue [bushes] and a purple cope fastened at the neck. The left-hand archangel has a yellow tunic and green cloak and ruby nimbus. Probably representing St Gabriel and St Michael. [pencil] Browne gives is as the Assumption of the Virgin pg 51."

Comments: Here he assumes the figure is the Virgin. His reference to Browne is to an internal contradiction in Browne's *Representation*.

		40		

1929-32 Re-leading:

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³¹²

		40		

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from its C light to 8e, in an A light. This necessitated changing the borders.³¹³

Medallion: three heads either inserted or given mending leads. The left-hand and central figures have new heads and the right-hand one mending leads

Grisaille: one area of painted, intruded glass removed and replaced with plain. Grisaille as before restoration.

Borders: the borders were changed.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.166v.

³¹¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.72r.

³¹² Figure 24b: CHn2: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4791, 1929-32: 57 © Dean and Chapter of York.

³¹³ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.13r.

³¹⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn2:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4864, ca.1929-32: 57, 1L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4865, ca.1958: 57, 1L1P.

Milner White:³¹⁵

Description: "Transfiguration."

				40

Brown:³¹⁶

Description: "The Assumption of the Virgin Mary."

				40

Current:

				40

³¹⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1958, 41.

³¹⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 291.

Photographic record:

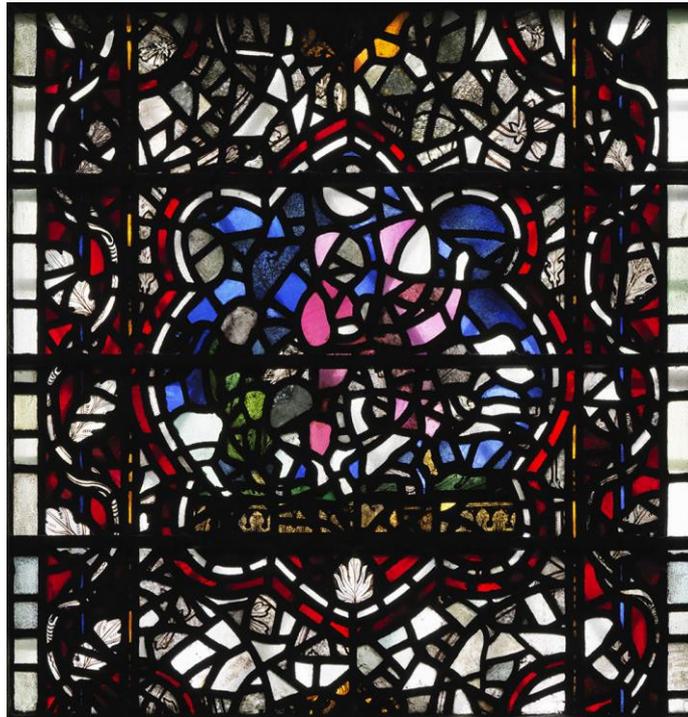


Figure CHn3:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.

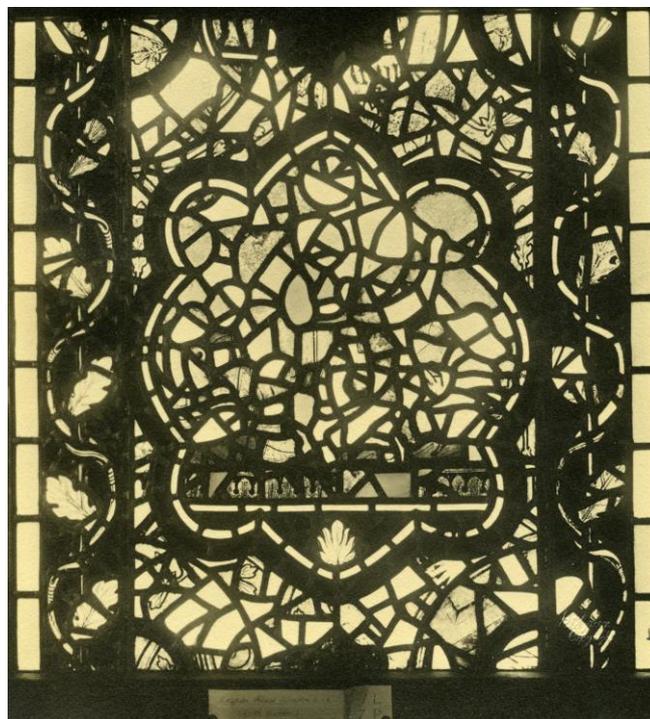


Figure CHn3:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4890, (est) 1929-32: 56, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹

¹ An additional photograph is available at CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022250, 1969: CHn3, 2a © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

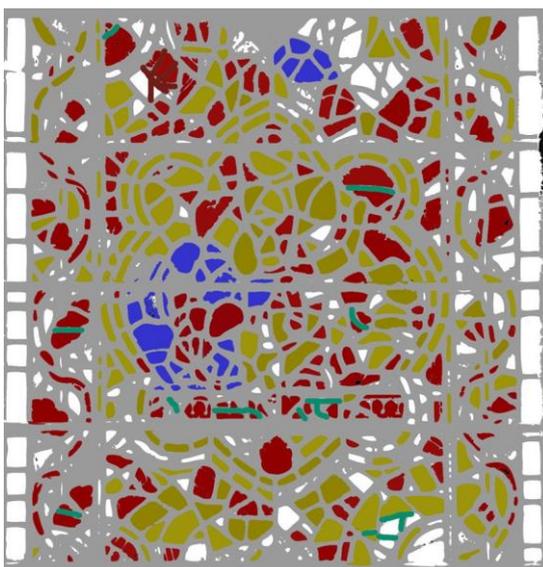


Figure CHn3:6: Restoration History

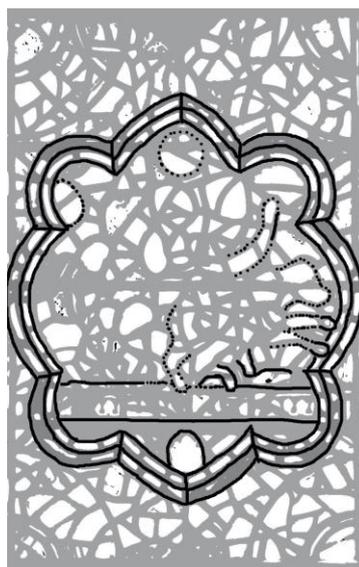


Figure CHn3:6: Original Lead Lines

Probably original location:

8					
6					
4					
2	6				
1					

Probable original: appearance: An octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white inner rim. Triangle at bottom with leaf. Blue background above a yellow base, red below. There are two of the round ball shapes which have been identified elsewhere and which may there have been decorated with flower heads, one top centre and one to the top left. The yellow base shows signs of foliage decoration, with a green strip over.

The lower left-hand quarter was rebuilt under Milner White, but, of the remainder, there are signs of original horses (possibly two, white), with their riders, moving towards the right of the panel, with a delicate foot in a stirrup in yellow and some murrey drapery. The elongated arm of the foremost rider seems to be raised in blessing, but, compared with other representations of the same image, it is more likely to be William's cross bearer holding his cross. Thus, from Torre, there were two horse riders, both on white horses, probably the front one in yellow, carrying a cross, and the one behind (William) in murrey. The foremost horse has both front legs extended forwards, judging from the two hooves with original glass extending beyond the inner right edge of the medallion. To the left of the scene were, from Browne, people who had fallen on the ground, or, from the textual source material, in the water.

Iconography and original location: The Ouse Bridge miracle.²

The identification is not certain, but, in Torre, this is one of only two panels in the window that were associated with horses.³ Before Milner White's changes to

² *Breviarium*, 75, col. 302; *Missale*, 45; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 275-6.
578

the lower left quarter of the panel, Browne saw some figures “thrown down” which could fit the Ouse Bridge miracle. The survival of the onlookers thrown into the Ouse was not identified as a miracle in the Bull of Canonisation in 1226, but had been included in the *Vita* and was to feature in the *Miracula*.⁴ It also appeared in the Missal and the Breviary in the Use of York.⁵

It fits into the suggested structure of the narratives in the window in that, despite the numerous events which preceded William’s return to York, his symbolic crossing of Ouse Bridge could be seen as the final decision which led ultimately to his canonisation (possibly CHn3:30 in 8e). This contrasts with the later window in n7, which shows several rows of the earlier events in his Life.

Two figures seem to be riding to the right. Of later representations, in n9, the Parker window, dated from 1410-23,⁶ there are three scenes of William’s life, one of which shows his crossing Ouse Bridge in 3c.⁷ In n24, there are three scenes recounting the events surrounding the Ouse Bridge crossing.⁸ In n7, the bridge crossing now in 9c.⁹ All the scenes appear to show William in a central position, riding behind his cross-bearer to the right, so it is possible that the same arrangement applied to CHn3:6. For all of these later windows, the Minster authorities (and the relevant glazier) would have been aware of CHn3 as an existing version.

With its original A borders, and lack of inner yellow rim to the medallion, it is will have been in either row 2 or 6, position 2a being the most likely.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁰

Description: “21 In the 4th Row and first Light ride 2 Monks on white horses, one habited O and the other purple.”

8					
6					
4					
2	6				
1					

Comments: One other panel (Torre’s 2e) also refers to white horses and is now missing (unless it was CHn3:17). Given that his 2e describes a building in some detail and there is no sign of a building in CHn3:6, it is concluded that the latter is the panel he was describing in 2a.

Intervention: in the 1690s, a canopy was inserted into 2b.¹¹ During the 1760s, CHn3:6 was moved to 2b probably to accommodate the move of the canopy

³ The other was CHn3:17 (as described in Torre), but there is another, more plausible identification for CHn3:17. An alternative explanation, of course, for the reference to the horse, is that it was originally shown in a panel which was subsequently lost.

⁴ Respectively, *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 275-6 for the *Vita*, and *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 539 for the *Miracula*.

⁵ Respectively, *Missale*, 48 and *Breviarium*, 75, col. 302.

⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 283.

⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125. Torre saw the Archbishop “riding on a white horse, habited gu before whom rides his Crossbearer with a golden Cross-Staff in his hand”.

⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 288. Torre saw the cross bearer riding in front of the “bishop saint,” YMA L1/7 Torre, 125.

⁹ Thomas French, *York Minster: the St William Window* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1-120 (the Ouse Bridge miracle can be found on page 59); current positions of all scenes can be found in *Corpus Vitrearum, 27th International Colloquium*, 112-13. The Ouse Bridge miracle remains in 9c.

¹⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

into 2a (and possibly to balance another into 2e).¹² The two inserted panels in the first and fifth lights would have created a strong symmetrical design and therefore complied with what we know of the design priorities of the Sanderson campaign. The creation of the symmetry of the canopies may have obscured the error of the move of CHn3:6 from an A to a B light.

Browne:¹³

Description: “A man on a horse galloping furiously, the rider seemingly crying for aid, whilst several persons seem thrown down and injured.”

8					
6					
4					
2		6			
1					

Comments: This is the most significant of all the descriptions of this panel.

Browne had not identified an association with William, but his description of the panel is the only one which resembles the potential opening scene of the William narrative.

=Knowles York Photo:¹⁴

8					
6					
4					
2		6			
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁵

Description: Schema: “Men on horses at full gallop near [Bishop].”

8					
6					
4					
2		6			
1					

Comments: Note that the location assumes he mistook rows 1 and 2 and transposed them, as he shows the row of saints above the row of narrative panels. This is part of his use of six rather than five rows of narrative panels. The grid has speculatively corrected his errors as there is no other evidence of the saints being moved above the first row.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁶

Comments: The London draft does not refer to CHn3:6, but it could possibly have still have been in 2b.

8					
6					
4					
2		(gap)			
1					

Intervention: assuming the speculative location of 2b for CHn3:6 in Knowles’s “Historical Notes” is correct, the panel must have been moved back to 2a, presumably in the course of the 1930s re-leading exercise.¹⁷

¹¹ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing p. 476.

¹² Britton, *Church of York*, Pl. XXXII.

¹³ Browne, *Representation*, 42.

¹⁴ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁵ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.63r.

¹⁷ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

1929-32 Re-leading:¹⁸

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph. This may have been the occasion when CHn3:6 was returned to its position in 2a, making this the only move of a complete panel in the re-leading exercise.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹

8					
6					
4					
2	6				
1					

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: it is difficult to tell from the pre-Milner White restoration photo, but it seems the bottom left-hand part of the panel was largely rebuilt.

Medallion: several mending leads. The lower left-hand side of the medallion has been rebuilt, which seems to have created the third figure on horseback. This may affect the interpretation/identification of the scene.

Grisaille: one area of painted, intruded glass removed and replaced with plain glass. Other parts given mending leads.

Borders: painted, intruded glass removed and replaced with plain glass.

Mending leads added.

O'Connor and Haselock:²⁰

Description: "The Ouse Bridge miracle."

Brown:²¹

Description: "Unidentified."

8					
6					
4					
2	6				
1					

Current:

8					
6					
4					
2	6				
1					

¹⁸ Comparison between Figure CHn3:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4890, (est) 1929-32 above and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹⁹ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

²⁰ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass," 340.

²¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Original location, appearance and iconography:**Possible original location:**

8					
6					
4					
2				[7?]	
1					

Original appearance: There is no sign of the original panel. It was lost before Torre's description in 1690-91. The loss was probably the result of weather conditions, collateral damage or vandalism as opposed to iconoclasm in the Civil War.

Possible original iconography and location: William dies [Suggestion].²² If CHn3:8 (C light) originally showed the enthronement of the Archbishop, and if CHn3:36 (A light) was in 2e, with the opening of William's tomb and the discovery of his incorrupt body after the fire, the likeliest intervening scene, with a B border, would be the death of William, his receiving extreme unction or his burial. It probably appears in window n7:10e, with William probably receiving extreme unction in 2e.²³

The *Vita* talks of his suffering with a fever for eight days after his consecration feast, and, finally, on the ninth day, he burst the bonds holding his earthly flesh and joyfully bid farewell to his brothers.²⁴

History of the Panel:**Torre:**

Comments: Torre saw nothing in 8b and 8d, while he saw two intruded panels in 4b and 4d. All of these were in B light positions, therefore it is probable that the lost CHn3:7 was in a B light type.

²² Window n7: 10c and 10d. *Breviarium*, cols. 303 and 308; In the *Vita*, his death is described in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2: 277-8. See also Norton, *William*, 145.

²³ The death bed scene is in French, *St William*, 64: now to be found in 10e, *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112. He is probably receiving extreme unction in French, *St William*, 65 and now in 2e, *ibid*.

²⁴ "Per octo ignitur dies intra medullarum suarum meatus vires vis febris exercuit, nec alterius quam caelestis medici manum admisit medicantem. Sane dum vitales carpserat auras, tanquam si nutrix foveat filios suos, omnes secum commorantes verbo Dei pascebat, et die noctuque in oratione persistebat. Cum igitur die nono corporis sui dissolutionem imminere sentiret, catenis carnis, quasi quibusdam vinculis disruptis, vale dicto fratribus, laeto, ut dicitur, vultu, spiritum Domino reddidit laetioem", *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 277-8.

Photographic record

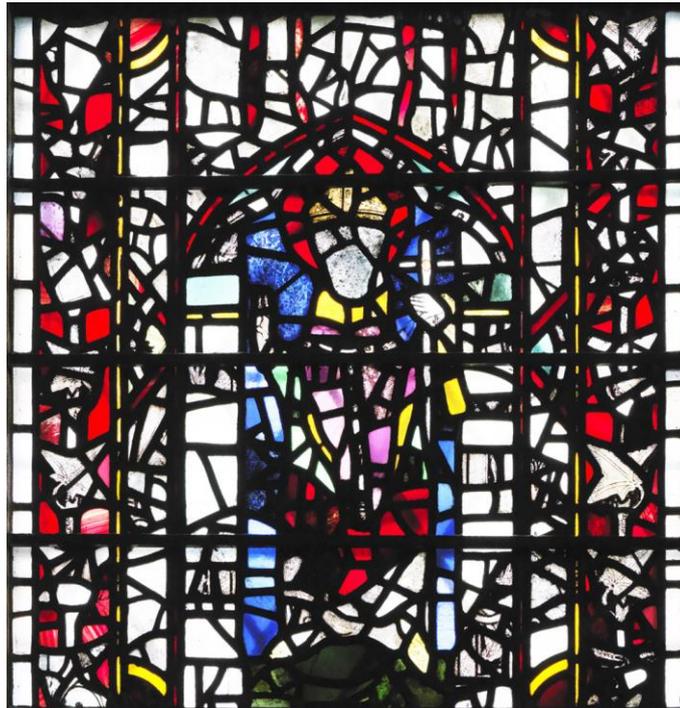


Figure CHn3:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 2c © York Glaziers Trust.

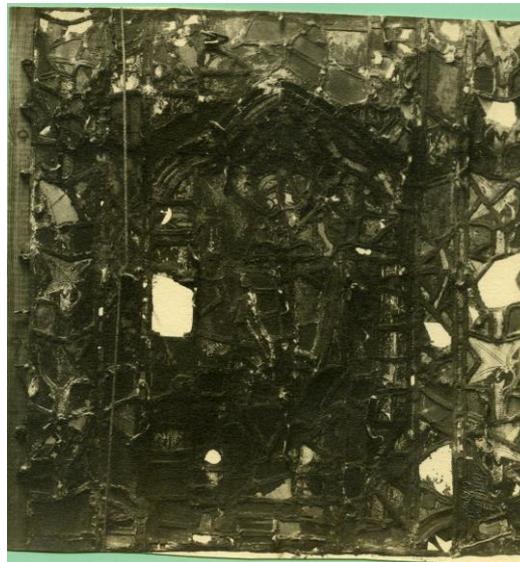


Figure CHn3:8: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4895, "before re-leading": 56, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York

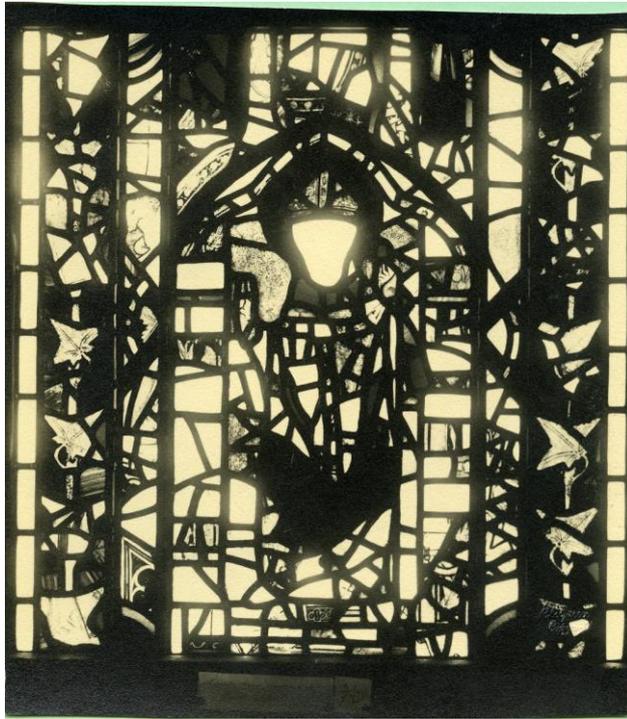


Figure CHn3:8: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4894, 1931: 56, 3L7P
© Dean and Chapter of York.²⁵

Original location, appearance and iconography:

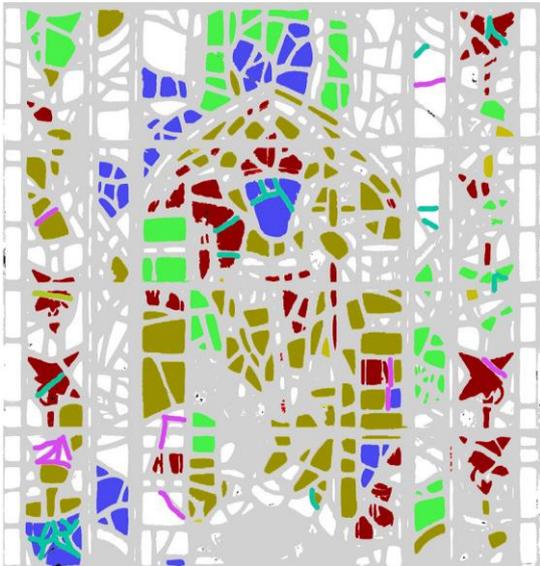


Figure CHn3:8: Restoration History

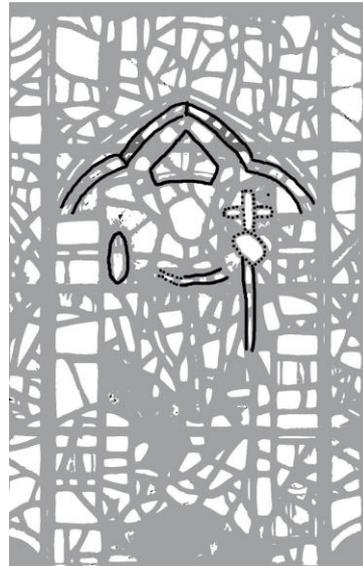


Figure CHn3:8: Original Lead Lines

²⁵ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4896, 1957: 56, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York, YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4897, 1969: CHn3, 2c © Dean and Chapter of York, CVMA, "York Minster," no. 004636, "before conservation": 56, 3L7P © Crown Copyright and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022252, 1957, 56, 3L7P © Crown Copyright.

Possible original

8					
6					
4					
2			[8]/[8?]		
1					

Probable original appearance/ Iconography:

The panel, currently in 2c, was probably here when Torre described the same colours. What is not certain is if this was the original panel. If so, it was unique among all the windows in that it is markedly different from the medallions of its window. It does not have the medallion shape, it appears to have a medallion type top, but the figure then is standing between two white pillars, which contain original glass but not necessarily originally from this location (the same applies to some of the blue background, the right hand raised in blessing, the staff of the cross staff, the murrey of the drapery, parts of the pallium and the mitre). There is a hint of foliage up the pillars, which would fit into the chapter house scheme, but, on balance, it is suggested that most or all of this panel was inserted into the grisaille to replace a previous panel which itself may have shown an archbishop in a similar pose, representing William's enthronement.²⁶ This insertion may have occurred at the same time as the insertion of saints into the bottom row of grisaille.

History of the panel:

At some stage before Britton's engraving, and probably before Torre's description, the panel was subjected to considerable intervention. It is possible that the current archbishop was inserted to replace an earlier image of an archbishop.

Torre:²⁷

Description: "23 In 3d Light sits an Abp robed purple pall A Myter & Cross-Staff O."

Comments: CHn3:8 is and possibly was unusual, in that

the figure does not sit within a CHn3 medallion. According to Torre there was an image of an archbishop in location 2c, the colours mainly correspond to the current appearance of the panel. As argued above, it is suggested that the current panel had been inserted by the time Torre saw it.

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

Britton:²⁸

Comments: The insertion of the current image of an archbishop into 2c had occurred by this date.

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

²⁶ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

²⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

²⁸ Britton, *Church of York*, Pl. XXXII.

Browne:²⁹

Description: "An Archbishop enthroned, giving his blessing."

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

=Knowles York Photo:³⁰

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":³¹

Description: Schema: "Bishop."

Comments: Note that the location assumes he mistook rows 1 and 2 and transposed them, as he shows the row of saints above the row of narrative panels. The grid has corrected his error.

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":³²

Description: "3.Paulinus.

The Saint is represented standing in a niche under a canopy robed in alb green dalmatic purple chasuble and pallium. On his head a mitre with nimbus, His right hand held up in benediction."

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:³³

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁴

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: bishop's head intruded. Mending leads. Small area of intruded, painted glass replaced by plain.
Grisaille: the same basic grisaille as before the restoration. Areas of painted, intruded glass (some at lower left with intruded architectural type glass) removed and replaced with clear glass.
Borders: some mending leads inserted. ³⁵*

²⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 42.

³⁰ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

³¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.160r.

³² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.63r.

³³ See Figure CHn3:8: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4894, 1931 above.

³⁴ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

Brown:³⁶

Description: "St William Enthroned."

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

Current:

8					
6					
4					
2			8		
1					

³⁵ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4896, 1957: 56, 3L7P.

³⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

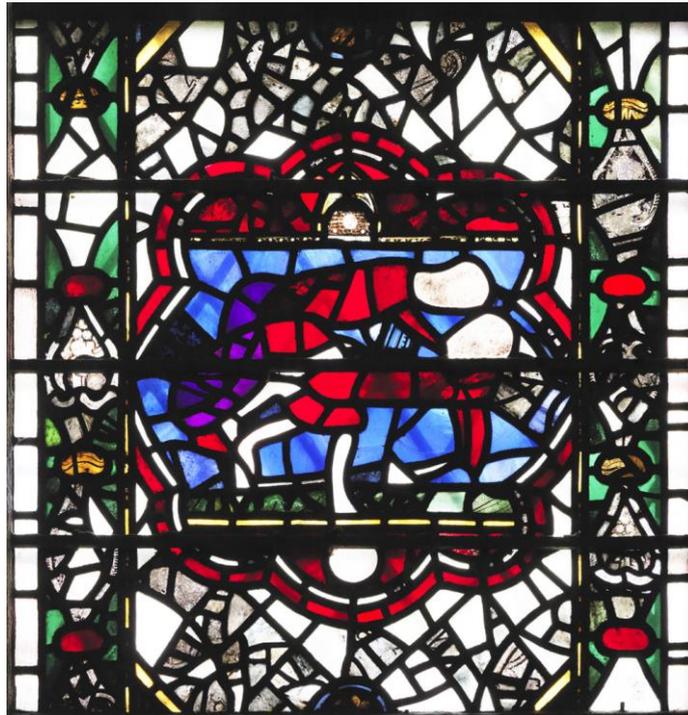


Figure CHn3:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.

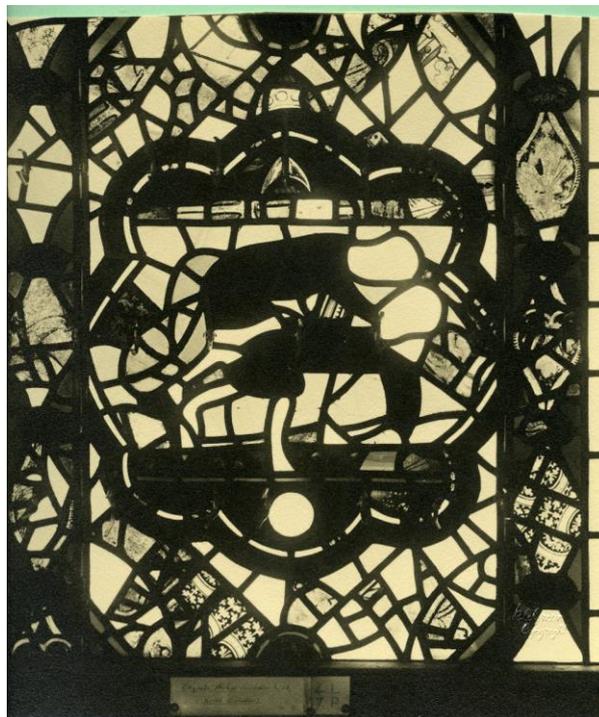


Figure CHn3:9: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4898, (est) 1929-32: 56, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.³⁷

³⁷ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4899, ca.1957, 56, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022253, ca.1957: 56, 4L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

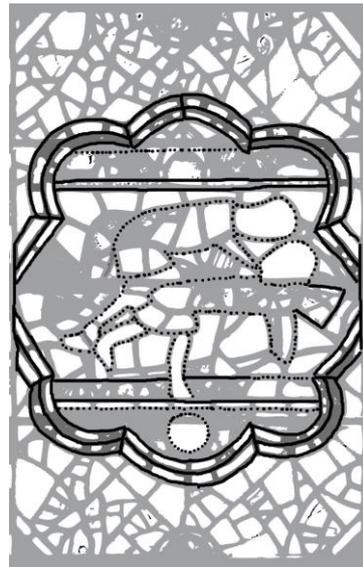
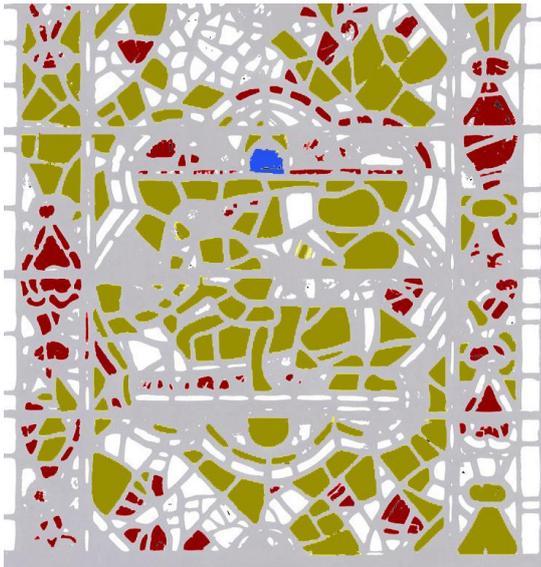


Figure CHn3:9: Restoration History

Figure CHn3:9: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6		9			
4					
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white inner rim. A few remains of original red background above original white rim of structure. Triangle also above white rim but filled with intruded glass. One white, unspecified ball at the base and the possible remains of one at the top, both of which may have contained a flowerhead.

There is very little original glass. In addition to pieces noted above, there are signs of a square white shield by the lower figure and green flooring.

Identification is dependant upon previous descriptions, notably Torre, who saw both figures in red with white leggings, colours which have been matched in later repairs.

Iconography and original location: Basing overwhelms Ralph.³⁸

It is likely that Basing's victory is the theme of the panel. This was clearly the miracle that was specified in the Bull of Canonisation.³⁹ It occurs in the Breviary in the general antiphons,⁴⁰ and in the Missal.⁴¹ Given its importance, it is hardly a surprise that it was in the *Vita*⁴² and in the *Miracula*.⁴³ It was to be shown as part of the Ralph and Basing sequence in a prominent position across five lights in n7 12a-e.⁴⁴

³⁸ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *Missale*, 46-47; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 539. See also Norton, *William*, 169-81.

³⁹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

⁴⁰ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

⁴¹ *Missale*, 46-47.

⁴² *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539.

⁴⁴ French, St William, 70-73 and Plate 10; Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

The Bull talks of the two fighting a duel, and the one who lost his eyes cried at the tomb, asking the saint to give him new eyes.⁴⁵ CHn3:16 shows the opening of the duel and CHn3:9 shows its ending, when Ralph is about to lose the first of his two eyes.

With its lack of an inner yellow rim and its B borders, it is likely to have been initially in 6b, a suggestion supported by the fact that it occurred chronologically later than the miracles which have been identified for the fourth row.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some stage before Torre saw the window, the panel was moved within its second light from 6b to 2b.

Torre:⁴⁶

Description: “22 In 2d Light are two Men wrestling together and falling to the ground both habited gu & bare-legged.”

8					
6					
4					
2		9			
1					

Intervention: if the suggestion for the Browne location below is correct, at some stage, in the 1690s or the 1760s, CHn3:9 was moved to its alternative light-type. Given that Drake in 1736 shows a canopy in 2b in 1736, the move was probably made in the 1690s.

Browne:⁴⁷

Description: “One man completely vanquishing another in mortal combat.”

Comments: The Browne location is unclear, but the available B light space is in 2d.

8					
6					
4					
2				[9?]	
1					

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

The building was “much damaged and turned on its side”.

=Knowles York Photo:⁴⁸

8					
6					
4					
2				[9?]	
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁴⁹

Comments: The only position for CHn3:9 is 2d, by a process of elimination.

8					
6					
4					
2				[9?]	
1					

⁴⁵ “Uni ex eis qui in duello devictus et uni qui dampnatus, cum ad sepulcrum ipsius Sancti clamaret instanter et peteret confidente ut ei oculos restitueret, quibus injuste ipsum screbat orbatum, alios novos oculos reddiderit mirabili novitate,” *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

⁴⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

⁴⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 38.

⁴⁸ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

⁴⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 159r-fol.160r.

=“Watson” photo:
Pre-1917:⁵⁰

8					
6					
4					
2				9	
1					

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁵¹

Description: “5. Building much damaged and turned on its side. Two figures visible clad in red coats and white [busks].”

Comments: Knowles describes the panel as being in 2e, but that is extremely unlikely given that before and after it was in 2d and a canopy was consistently in 2e. This suggests that this is an error on the part of Knowles. As he gives nothing for 2d, this is probably where he actually saw CHn3:9.

8					
6					
4					
2				9	[9?]
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:⁵²

One possible sign of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵³

8					
6					
4					
2				9	
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no discernible changes.
Grisaille: unchanged.⁵⁴*

O’Connor and Haselock:⁵⁵

Description: “The Ralph and Besing story.”

Brown:⁵⁶

Description: “?Ralph plucking out Besing’s eyes.”

8					
6					
4					
2				9	
1					

Current:

8					
6					
4					
2				9	
1					

⁵⁰ YMA Watson photograph, pre-1917. (See Figure 23)

⁵¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.63r.

⁵² See Figure CHn3:9: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4898, (est) 1929-32 above.

⁵³ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

⁵⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:9: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4898, (est) 1929-32 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4899, ca.1957, 56, 4L7P.

⁵⁵ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 340.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

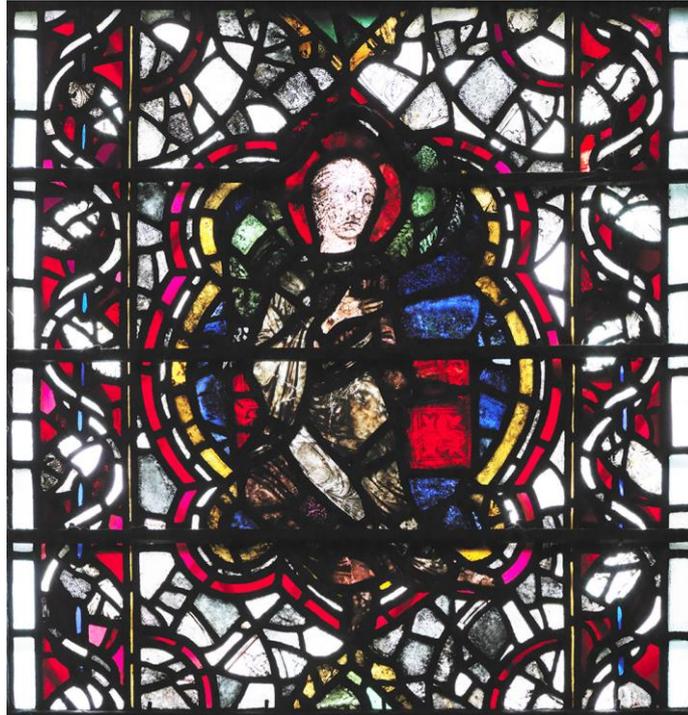
Photographic record:

Figure CHn3:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

Possible original location:

[10?]				

Possible iconography and original location based on restoration history accounts: A trumpeting angel.⁵⁷

This is a highly speculative suggestion, based largely on Torre's description of what may have been this panel. In the Breviary, we are told that the souls of the saints rejoiced in heaven.⁵⁸ In the *Vita*, it says that William lived with the angels in splendour.⁵⁹ It is suggested that, if the panel were in the significant corner position of 8a, it may have mirrored what may have been a panel showing his canonisation or other welcome into heaven in CHn3:30 in 8e. Given the original position of 8a, it would also have juxtaposed CHn3:36 in 2e, showing the first physical sign of William's sanctity.

An intriguing feature, given the disappearance of the panel from the descriptions for so long, is that there is a third, yellow rim, this time surrounding the panel, inside the white rim, a feature which, to a limited extent, has been partially identified in other panels originally in rows 4 and 8. The probability is that this panel retained its medallion outline, even though its contents were destroyed

⁵⁷ It might fit the celebratory tone of the texts, such as *Breviarium*, 75, col. 304 and *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 278.

⁵⁸ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 304, "Gaudent in celis anime sanctorum".

⁵⁹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 278, "Jam cum angelicis conversatur agminibus".

and replaced
 With its A borders, it is plausible that it was initially in 8a.

History of the panel:

Torre:⁶⁰

Description: “6

Stands a Man in gold and silver habitt with a Trumpet in his Mouth.”

Comments: If CHn3:10

were in 8a, it seems a remarkable coincidence that a panel which might originally have shown a trumpeting angel, currently, as a result of an insertion by Milner White, contains an almost similar image (there is no evidence that Milner White used Torre to work out the original content of panels). It may be possible that there were some remaining pieces of glass which Milner White used as a clue to his choice for an insertion.

8	[10]					
6						
4						[10?]
2						
1						

Browne:

Comments: No identification or location given. It was probably one of the panels described as “variously sized pieces of variously coloured glass”, in 2a, 2e, 4e or 6e.

8						
6						?
4						?
2	?					?
1						

Intervention: if the panel Torre saw in 8a is basically the same panel that Milner White found in 2e, the panel had been moved at some stage after 1690-91 to its alternative A light-type.

Pre-Milner White restoration:⁶¹

8						
6						
4						
2						10
1						

Milner White:⁶²

Description: The Angel was inserted from the Christopher Christian gift 1953.

8						
6						
4						
2						10
1						

⁶⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

⁶¹ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c). Lazenby does not record any change of location. Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.12r.

⁶² Milner White, “Return,” 1958, 39.

Photographic record:

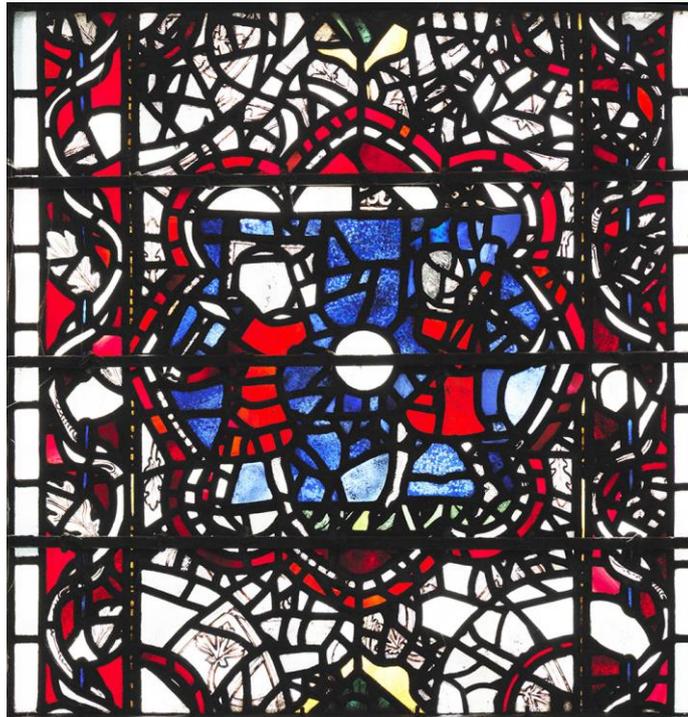


Figure CHn3:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.

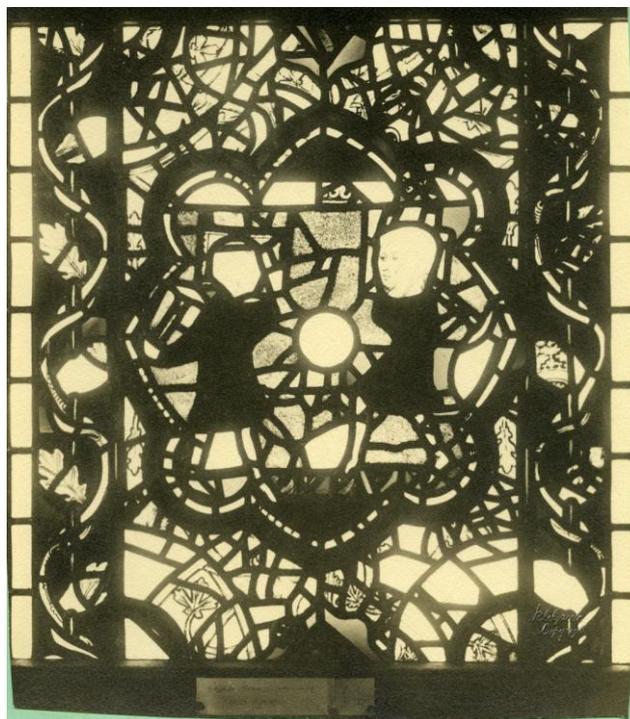


Figure CHn3:16: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4911, (est) 1929-32: 56, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁶³

⁶³ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4911, ca.1957, 56, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 00464, "in conservation": 56, 1L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

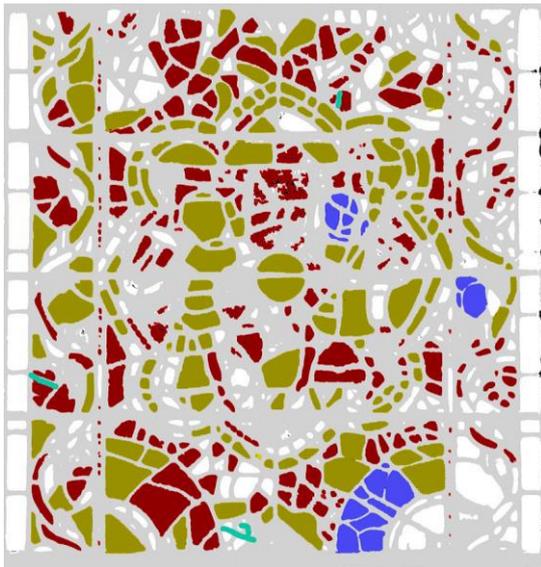


Figure CHn3:16: Restoration History

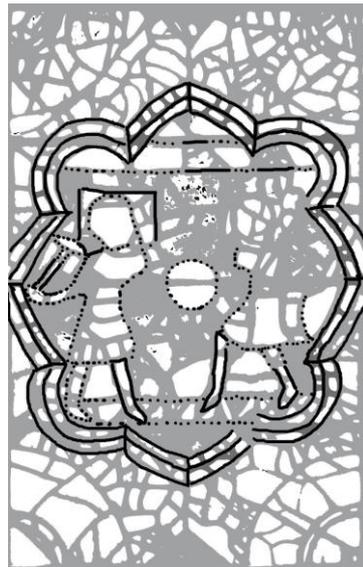


Figure CHn3:16: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6	16				
4					
2					
1					

Probable original appearance: Octofoliar medallion with red outer and white, beaded inner rim. White, decorated structure at top and bottom (the former with some original glass). Red background below and above, with some original blue in the centre. Two figures, in red, fighting, with one original square shield and both with a weapon resembling an axe. From the descriptions, it is possible that the second fighter also had a shield, although this would have been round. The figure to left has an original white leg, and that to the right has one and another partial original leg. The colours of the inserted glass seem to have been copied from what preceded them. One large, white, unspecified ball is visible in the centre, and possibly a second to the right-hand side, which may well have contained flowerheads.

Iconography and original location: Ralph and Besing fighting.⁶⁴ Despite the loss of original glass, the identification of this panel is clear. It is a scene from the most famous of the miracles in William's canonisation,⁶⁵ it featured in the antiphons in the Breviary,⁶⁶ and the Missal.⁶⁷ It was also in the *Vita*,⁶⁸ and the *Miracula*.⁶⁹ It was to be shown as part of the Ralph and Besing sequence in a prominent position across five lights in n7 12a-e.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *Missale*, 46-47; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 539; Norton, *William*, 169-81.

⁶⁵ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

⁶⁶ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

⁶⁷ *Missale*, 46-47.

⁶⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539.

⁷⁰ French, *St William*, 70-73 and Pl. 10; Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

Given that rows 4 and 6 in the reconstruction are interchangeable, it may have been in either 4a or 6a. It has been allocated to 6a on account of its importance, the fact that it occurred chronologically later than the miracles which have been identified for the alternative row and the fact that the Ralph and Besing scenes do not appear to have the hint of a third yellow inner rim which may have been originally in rows 4 and 8. With its A borders, it was almost certainly in 6a.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some point, before Torre described the window, the panel was moved within its first, A light, from 6a to 4a.

Torre:⁷¹

Description: “16 In 3d Row and first light are 2 Porters with burdens on their backs meeting one the other. Both habited gu & bare legged.”

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

Browne:⁷²

Description: “Two men in red tunics and with encased legs combating, one having a square shield, the other a circular one, and each armed with a battle axe.”

8					
6					
4	[16?]				
2					
1					

Comments: Browne did not provide a location for the panel. Taking into account the before and after locations, it is probable that CHn3:16 was in 4a while CHn3:9 was in 2d.

=Knowles York Photo:⁷³

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁷⁴

Description: SCHEMA “[...] staves for the church. 2 men with blocks.”

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

=“Watson” photo: Pre-1917:⁷⁵

8					
6					
4	16				
2					

⁷¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.
⁷² Browne, *Representation*, 38.
⁷³ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.
⁷⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.160r.
⁷⁵ YMA Watson photograph (Figure 23).

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁷⁶

Description: “Two [...] in short coats carrying on their shoulders blocks of stone shaped to the section of the

base of a pillar and holding in their hands pick hammers (used for tooling the stones). The shafts cut anglewise in order to obtain a better grip in the hand.”

Comments: From the text, it seems that Knowles was describing CHn3:16 as being in 2a, but 4a seems the more likely, given its location before and after Knowles’s London work, and his confusion over the rows. The “blocks of stone” would have been their shields.

8					
6					
4	16				
2	[16?]				
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:⁷⁷

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷⁸

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: one intruded head removed and replaced with leaded plain glass.
 Grisaille: same grisaille as before the restoration. Mending leads and one area of painted, intruded glass removed and replaced with clear glass.
 Borders: two mending leads and one area of intruded, painted glass removed and replaced with clear glass.⁷⁹*

Brown:⁸⁰

Description: “Ralph and Besing fighting.”

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

Current:

:

8					
6					
4	16				
2					
1					

⁷⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.63r.

⁷⁷ See Figure CHn3:16: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4911, (estimated) 1929-32 above.

⁷⁸ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

⁷⁹ Concluded from a comparison between YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4911, (estimated) 1929-32 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4911, ca.1957, 56. 1L5P.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Window: CHn3

Panel number: CHn3:17

(CVMA:4b)

Photographic record:

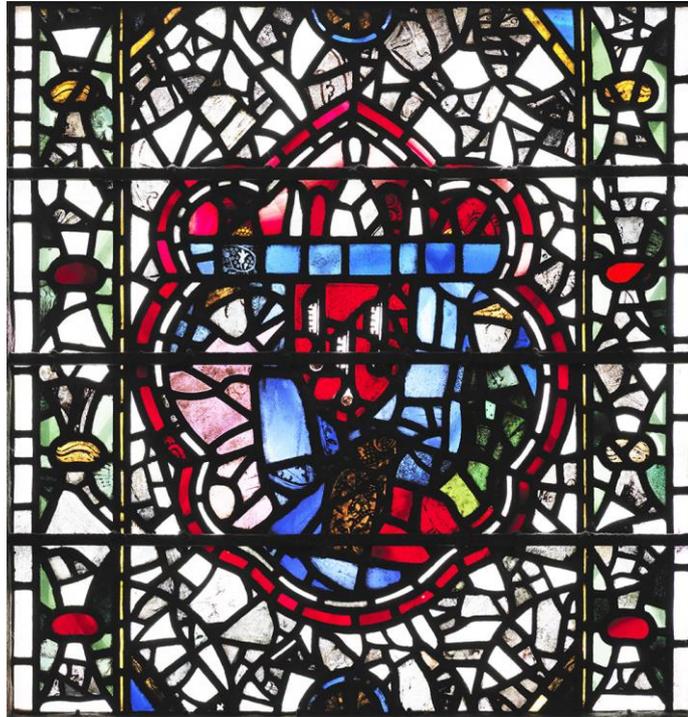


Figure CHn3:17: Photograph by Nick Ted and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 4b © York Glaziers Trust.

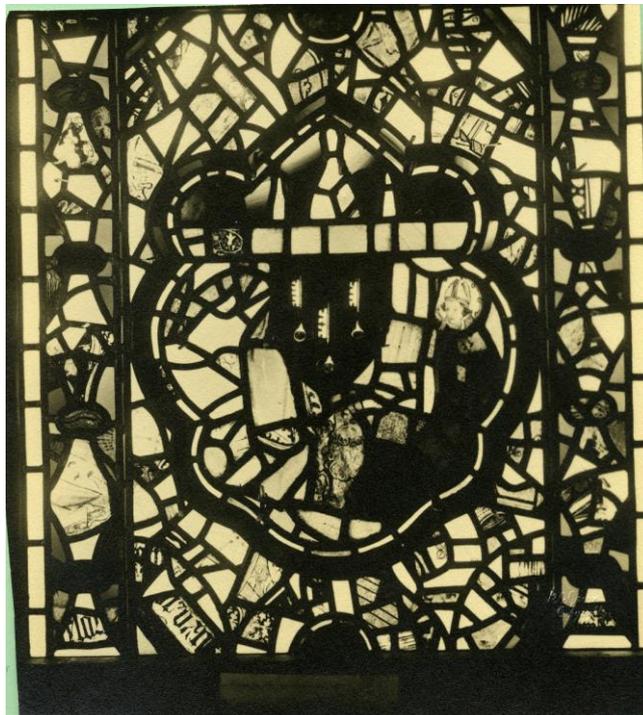


Figure CHn3:17: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4913, (est) 1929-32: 56, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York⁸¹

⁸¹ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4914, ca.1957: 56, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York, YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4915, 1969:

Original location, appearance and iconography:

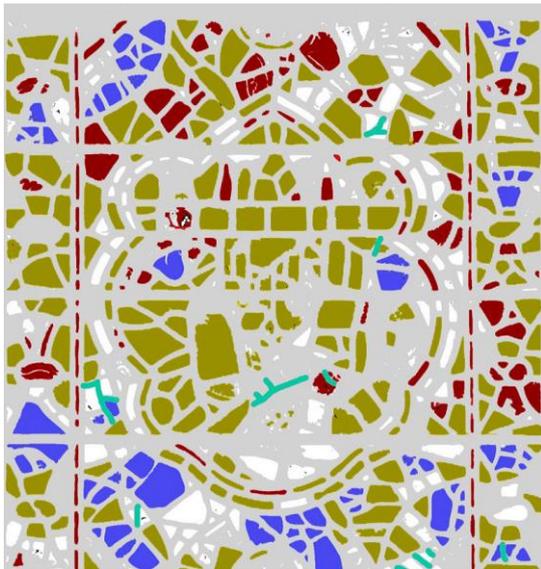


Figure CHn3:17: Restoration History

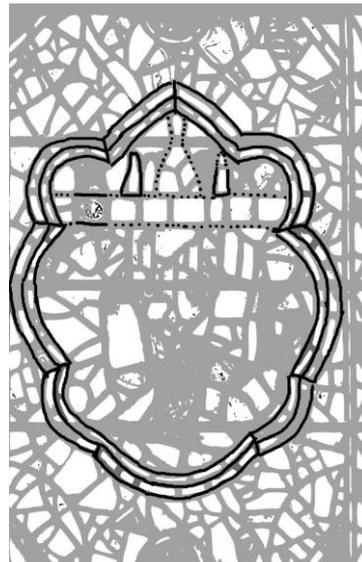


Figure CHn3:17: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

8					
6					
4					
2			[17?]		
1					

Possible original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion with red outer and white, beaded inner rim, with a drastically rebuilt lower part of the medallion. Almost no original glass has survived: there are possibly some pieces of blue background to the left of the medallion, with another piece in the centre right, and possibly a part of the yellow headdress of the left-hand figure is original, although it is guesswork as to whether it is in its original location. Two other significant pieces are the in spires at the top of the medallion, indicated by what may have been original lead lines.

Following Torre, it is possible that the panel originally showed William's entourage arriving at the Minster on his return from exile, specifically William and another horse rider, with the Minster in green and red.

Iconography and original location: William greeted outside the Minster.⁸²

On the basis of Torre's description (albeit in an unlikely location in 2e), tiny pieces of original glass and what may be original lead lines of the towers, it is suggested that the panel showed William's arrival at York Minster after the Ouse Bridge miracle. The scene of his welcome is painted in rich colours in the *Vita*, where choirs were singing at his arrival and elder statesmen burst into tears.⁸³ It is shown in the later n7.⁸⁴ The tops of what would therefore be the

CHn3, 4b, CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022261, 1969: CHn3, 4b © Crown Copyright and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022262, 1957: 56, 2L5P © Crown Copyright.

⁸² *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 276. See n7: 9d.

⁸³ "Stabant etiam in ingressu ecclesiae hinc inde psallentium chori. [...] Seniorum veneranda canities, quibus laeta pietas lacrymas eliciebat, cantantium choros undique decoravit," *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 276. See also Norton, *William*, 142.

Minster towers are similar to those in other locations in the chapter house where towers are depicted, namely CHn4:8, 16, 26 and 37, and CHs3:19. Note also the church held by Ecclesia in the Vestibule (CHs6:6c), that in CHn5: 5b and CHn6:2a. It is likely that a panel showing this scene existed in CHn3: the issue is whether this is the panel.

Given that it had B borders, it is plausible that, if the identification is correct, it was initially in 2b. This means that, unusually, in interventions before Torre, the panel had been moved from a B to an A light-type. This may have happened in the course of some considerable disruption to the window, possibly during the siege of York in 1644.



Figure CHn5:5b (St Peter): YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5539, (undated) © Dean and Chapter of York



Figure CHs6:6c (Ecclesia): YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5612, 1931 © Dean and Chapter of York

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: if the identification is plausible, at some stage before Torre, CHn3:17 was moved from a B to an A light, possibly switched with a panel which may have been originally in 6e, moved from an A to a B light. This would constitute a rare example of panels being moved to a different light-type by the late seventeenth century, the other being the result of mullion problems in CHs3. In CHn3 it can be partly explained by the wholesale intervention in the window when the panels were intruded into row 1.

⁸⁴ French, *St William*, 60; still to be found in 9d, *Corpus*, *International Colloquium*, 112.

Torre:⁸⁵

Description: "25 In 5th Light is a Church, variously coloured A O vt & gu And 2 Men riding from it mounted on white horses both habited purple

8					
6					
4					
2					[17?]
1					

And one End thereof kneels a Bp robed vt Mmyter & glory A."

Comment: This is a tenuous identification. It is based on the signs of a building at the top of the much modified panel, with indications of the roofs of towers in the glass that has survived and in the sense of the shape of the upper parts. Nothing else of Torre's description survives: the panel has been examined upside down to see if anything makes more sense, but the conclusion is that the only aspect which may be original is this sense of a construction above.

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel's appearance was changed considerably, apparently creating the sense of the shield with its heraldic decoration.

Intervention: at some stage, probably in the 1760s, the panel was moved back to a B light position, in order to preserve as much as possible of the border symmetry.

Browne:⁸⁶

Description: "Medley of glasswork in which are shield, gules, charged with 3 keys, arg."

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

Comments: Between Torre and Browne there was clearly much intervention, presumably leaving the panel close to its current appearance.

=Knowles York Photo:⁸⁷

Comments: Note there is a sign of a head to the right-hand side.

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁸⁸

Description: SCHEMA: "The arms of "Ely" [ushel] died in [busiest place]."

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

Comments: There is an indirect association between the arms of Ely and St William. Honorius's Decree of Canonisation for William acknowledged that a full enquiry had been held (by three Cistercians, one of whom was Bishop John of Ely),⁸⁹ after approaches made by, inter alia, the Archbishop of York (Walter de Gray), the Dean (Roger de Insula) and Chapter. However, it is likely that the creation of the coat of arms

⁸⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

⁸⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 43.

⁸⁷ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

⁸⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.160r.

⁸⁹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; Norton, *William* 198.

was purely coincidental, because, between Browne and Knowles London there is no indication that any commentator interpreted the window as being associated with St William.

**=“Watson” photo:
Pre-1917:⁹⁰**

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

**Knowles, “Historical
Notes”:⁹¹**

Description: “2.Arms of Ely.
A shield gu charged 3 keys arg
The shield held up by [piece
stuck on and over].”

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:⁹²

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

**Pre-Milner White
Restoration:⁹³**

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one intruded head removed and replaced with plain glass (right-hand figure). Left-hand figure’s plain glass head appears to have been replaced with new plain glass. A few mending leads.

Grisaille: same grisaille as before restoration. Mending leads. Some areas of painted, intruded (and sometimes inscribed) glass removed and replaced with plain glass.

Borders: borders as before the restoration. Areas of intruded painted glass removed and replaced with plain glass.⁹⁴

Brown:⁹⁵

Description: “Composite with shield.”

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

⁹⁰ YMA Watson photograph (Figure 23).

⁹¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 63r.

⁹² See Figure CHn3:17: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4913, (estimated) 1929-32 above.

⁹³ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

⁹⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:17: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4913, (estimated) 1929-32 above and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4914, ca.1957: 56, 2L5P.

⁹⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

8					
6					
4		17			
2					
1					

Photographic record:

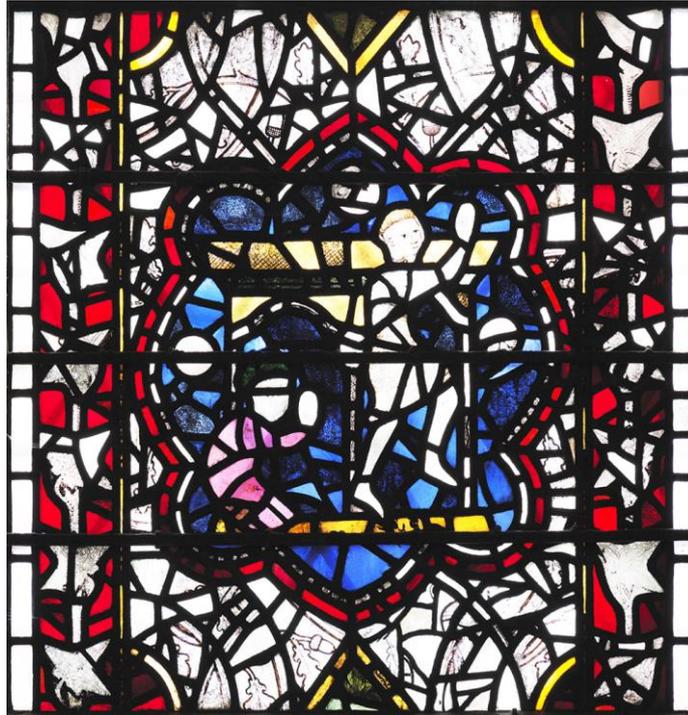


Figure CHn3:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

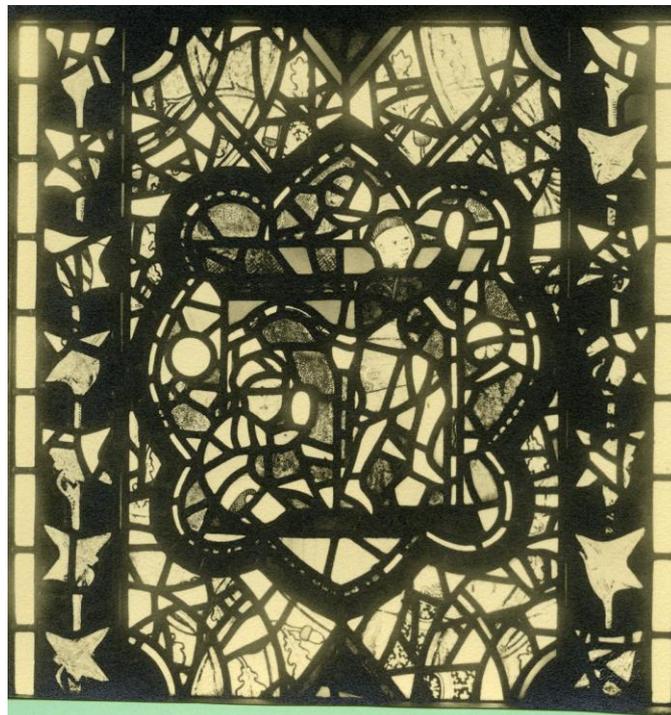


Figure CHn3:18: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, (est) 1929-32: 56, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4918, ca.1957: 56, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York, YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4919, 1969: CHn3, 4c and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022265, 1969: CHn3, 4c © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

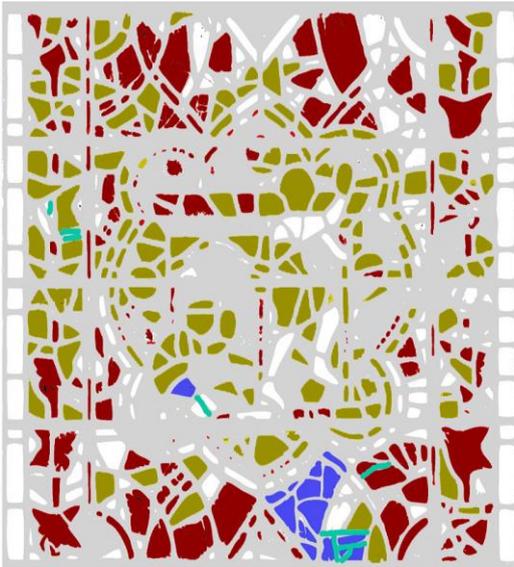


Figure CHn3:18: Restoration History

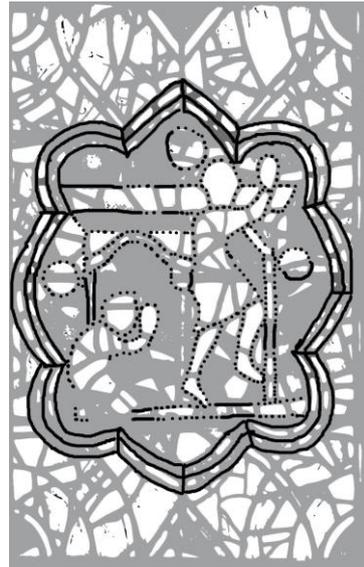


Figure CHn3:18: Original Lead Lines

Possible original:

		18		

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion with red outer and white, beaded inner rims. Three white, unspecified balls, two of which contain bits of original floral glass. Other original pieces include some of the blue background, some of the yellow pediment of the shrine-like tomb and the white of some of the pillars. There is also some original yellow in the base of the scene. The rest is inserted glass. There are signs of a kneeling figure, with some of the murrey robe of Torre's description. There is only one other figure in the scene, which could be one of those described by Torre as walking from the end of what he describes as an "altar". Torre saw both figures near the shrine-like tomb, wearing green and white.

Iconography and original location: Ralph's blindness cured.⁹⁷

This is possibly the final panel of the sequence of three Ralph and Basing scenes (the others being CHn3:16 and 9), where Ralph is taken to the shrine-like tomb and healed. With its C borders, 6c is the most plausible location. The allocation has been made to 6c because the alternative position would have been 4c, but the panel does not appear to have the hint of a third yellow inner rim that may have been present in the panels in rows 4 and 8. Also the number of figures in the panel make it more likely to be the culmination of the Ralph and Basing sequence (CHn3:28, the possible alternative, contained several disparate figures and thus more likely to have been in 4c).

Note the visual and thematic similarity with CHn3:28 in the two central positions in the window (see Chapter 3).

The scene appears in the Breviary,⁹⁸ and the Missal.⁹⁹ It is given generous

⁹⁷ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *Missale*, 46-47; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539.

treatment in the *Vita*,¹⁰⁰ and the *Miracula*.¹⁰¹

The high structure, as it currently appears, does not resemble any known shrine-type. The closest is the “table type of shrine base”, the pillared base which might have ultimately supported a feretrum, as in n3 in Canterbury Cathedral,¹⁰² even though elsewhere this was being replaced by “the solid variety with niches”.¹⁰³

It is however notable that, as a result of the research being conducted by Christopher Norton and Stuart Harrison, a higher super-structure was built above the tomb in the nave at some stage before the Translation.¹⁰⁴ There is no suggestion that the higher structure in CHn3:18 (also CHn3:20, 26 and 28) resembles the details of this super-structure, but it may have been intended to indicate its existence.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some stage before Torre, this panel may have been moved within its C light and switched with CHn3:28. The descriptions of the two panels are sometimes difficult to distinguish, depending as they do on the number of figures in the scene.

Torre:¹⁰⁵

Description: “18 In 3^d Light stands an Altar upon 4 pillars O & vt under wh a Man kneels habited purple. And a Man walks from either end thereof both habited vt & A.”

8					
6					
4			18		
2					
1					

Browne:¹⁰⁶

Description: Either “a man and other individuals praying near a Shrine”.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, “Several distressed travellers on foot, with children and a dog, supplicating for entrance to a walled town [...]. The King did not spare infants at the breast, lying-in women and old men.”

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

Comments: Browne is unclear about the location of these two alternatives, but given the C borders, they are likely to have been in 4c or 6c.

⁹⁸ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

⁹⁹ *Missale*, 46-47.

¹⁰⁰ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 539: 37.

¹⁰² Crook, *Shrines*, 215.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹⁰⁴ Christopher Norton (pers. comm., 12 August 1225) and Stuart Harrison (pers. comm., 1 February 2007).

¹⁰⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 126.

¹⁰⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 39.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

=Knowles York Photo:¹⁰⁸

Comments: There is the sign of a figure reaching up to the right-hand side.

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁰⁹

Description: both 18 and 28 given as "Building the Church".

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹¹⁰

Description: "3. Building In front of a building in progress shewing 2 of the arches is a man to the right hand ascending a ladder to carry on the work and to the left hand of the picture a man in a seated position on the ground."

8					
6					
4			18		
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:¹¹¹

No visible signs of where the re-leading took place or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹²

8					
6					
4			18		
2					
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one piece of painted, intruded glass replaced. Mending lead
Grisaille: one area of painted, intruded lead removed and replaced. One other either the same or given mending leads only.
Borders: unchanged.*¹¹³

Brown description:¹¹⁴

Description: "?Miracle at the shrine."

8					
6					
4			18		
2					
1					

¹⁰⁸ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁰⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹¹⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.63r.

¹¹¹ See Figure CHn3:18: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, (est) 1929-32 above.

¹¹² YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹¹³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:18: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, (est) 1929-32 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4918, ca.1957: 56, 3L5P.

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

8					
6					
4			18		
2					
1					

Photographic record:

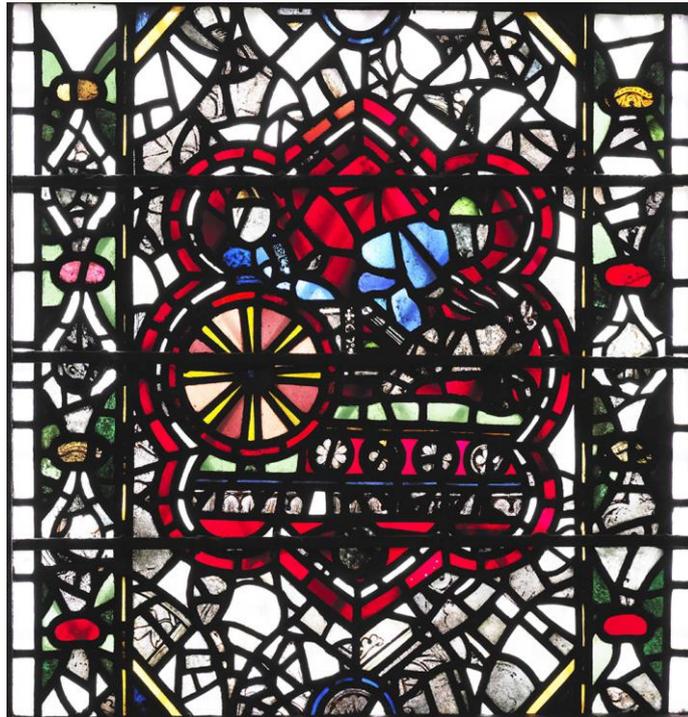


Figure CHn3:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

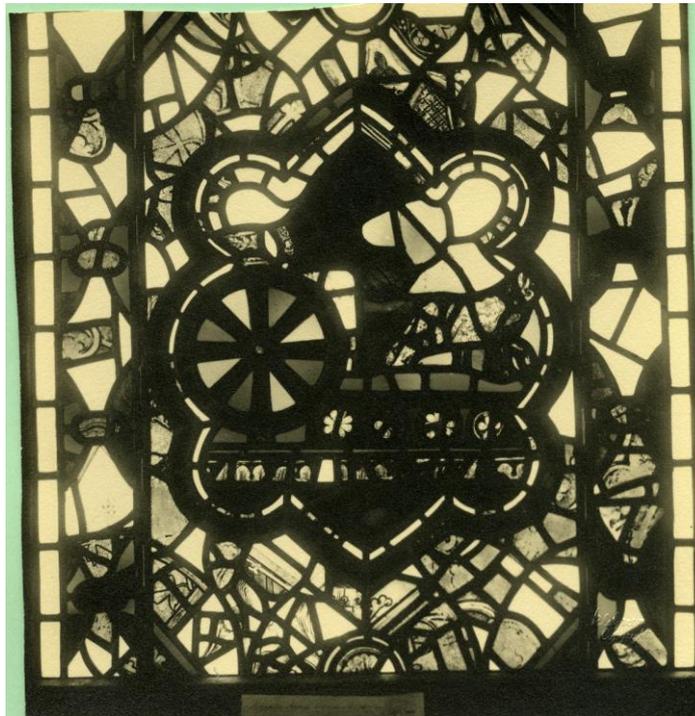


Figure CHn3:19: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, 1931: 56, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4921, ca.1969: CHn3, 4d © Dean and Chapter of York, and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 004642, "in conservation": 56, 4L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

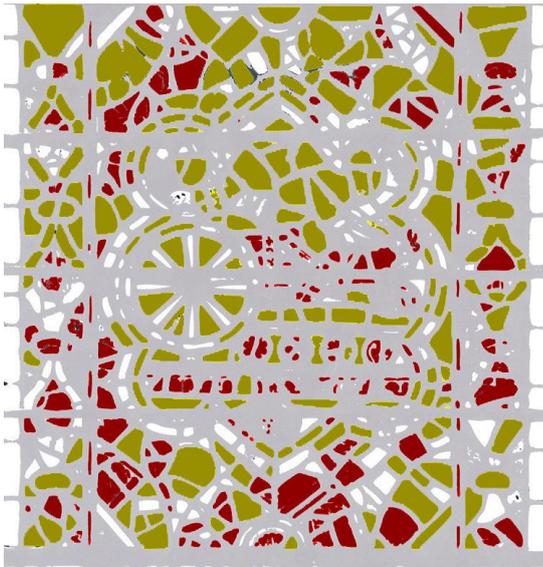


Figure CHn3:19: Restoration History

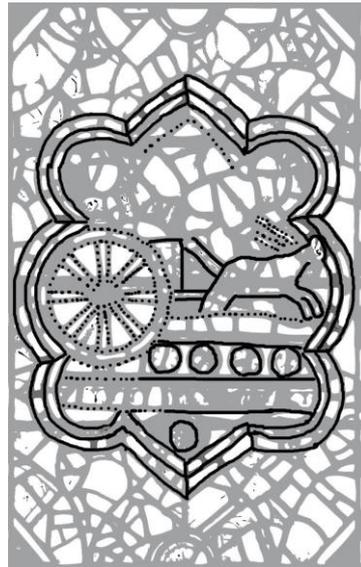


Figure CHn3:19: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with a red outer and white inner rim. A few remains of original blue background but this may not be in its original place. Triangle at bottom, filled with a leaf. Red background, which appears all intruded. One white ball at base. Four balls, possibly original, along the same line as the base of the wheel of the wagon, containing flower heads. Original white base, with blue edge above.

There is original glass in the murrey horse, which is drawing a cart, all the glass in which is intruded (but which appears in Torre's description). The figures appear all intruded and the colours do not reflect historical descriptions. The woman in the cart may have been in white and the driver in yellow. If the lead lines reflect the original, there is the hint of a third inner rim to the medallion, which is now filled with inserted red glass, a feature which may be identified with other panels originally in row 4 (and 8).

Iconography and original location: Woman brought to the tomb on a cart.¹¹⁶

An early miracle, this appears in the main sources and occurred when a woman, suffering from dropsy, was brought from Harewood in a cart to the shrine-like tomb. The physical symptoms from which she was suffering are described in minute detail in the *Vita*.¹¹⁷ She was cured, probably in the

¹¹⁶ *Missale*, 43; *Breviarium*, 75, cols. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-3; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 532; Norton, *William*, 152.

¹¹⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-3.

adjacent CHn3:20. References to the miracle occur in the Missal,¹¹⁸ and the Breviary.¹¹⁹ More details are provided in the *Vita*,¹²⁰ and in the *Miracula*.¹²¹

With its B border and indications of an inner yellow rim it was plausibly in 4d. The alternative would have been in row 8, but this row contains scenes showing the culmination of William's cult and this miracle occurs early in the chronology.

The miracle was also shown in n7: 11d-e.¹²²

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some stage before Torre's description, CHn3:19 was moved within its B light from 4d to 2d.

Torre:¹²³

Description: "24 In 4th Light is a Cart drawn by 2 white Kine And an Man driving them, habited O. (Margin note: "the Ark sent from the [...])."

Comments: The blue of the driver is a later insertion.

8					
6					
4					
2				19	
1					

Intervention: in either the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved one place higher in its fourth, B light to 4d, coincidentally its original location.

Britton:¹²⁴

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

Browne:¹²⁵

Description: "A two-wheeled carriage drawn by a bull or ox."

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

=Knowles York Photo:¹²⁶

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

¹¹⁸ *Missale*, 43.

¹¹⁹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹²⁰ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 532

¹²² French, *St William*, 68-69; still to be found in 11d and 11e., *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112.

¹²³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹²⁴ Britton, *York*, Pl. XXXII (Figure 9).

¹²⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 42.

¹²⁶ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹²⁷

Description: "Carting Stone."
Comments: This is in keeping with his theory that the window shows the early construction of the church in York.

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

="Watson" photo: Pre-1917:¹²⁸

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹²⁹

Description: "4. Carting the stone
A carter clad in a yell coat seated in front of a cart and driving two white horses."

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:¹³⁰

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³¹

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: heads for the two figures might have been created from plain glass. Not sure if these replaced earlier plain glass heads. If they did not, the identification/interpretation of the panel might have been affected.
Grisaille: unchanged.¹³²*

Brown:¹³³

Description: "?Dropsical woman carried to the shrine in a cart."

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

¹²⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹²⁸ YMA Watson photograph (Figure 23).

¹²⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 63r.

¹³⁰ See Figure CHn3:19: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, 1931 above.

¹³¹ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹³² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:19: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4917, 1931 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4921, ca.1969: CHn3, 4d.

¹³³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

Window: CHn3

Panel number: CHn3:20

(CVMA: 4e)

Photographic record:

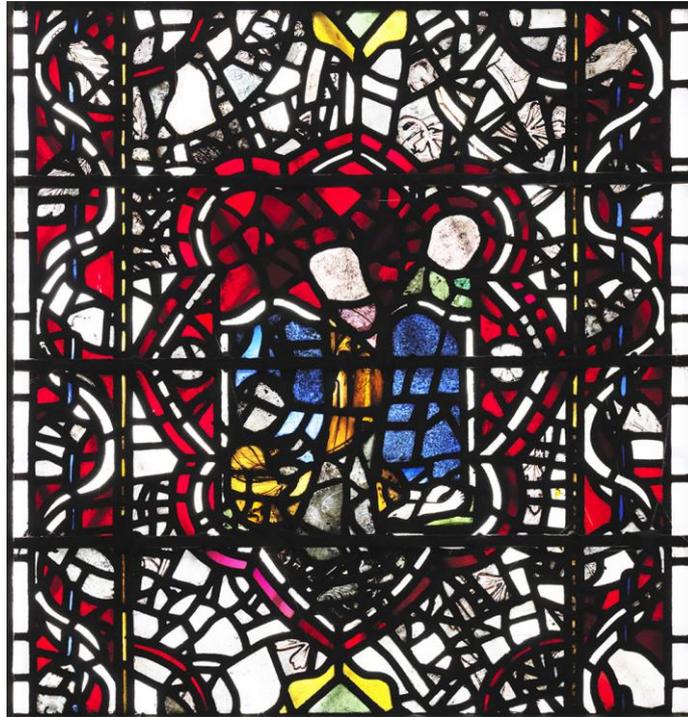


Figure CHn3:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.

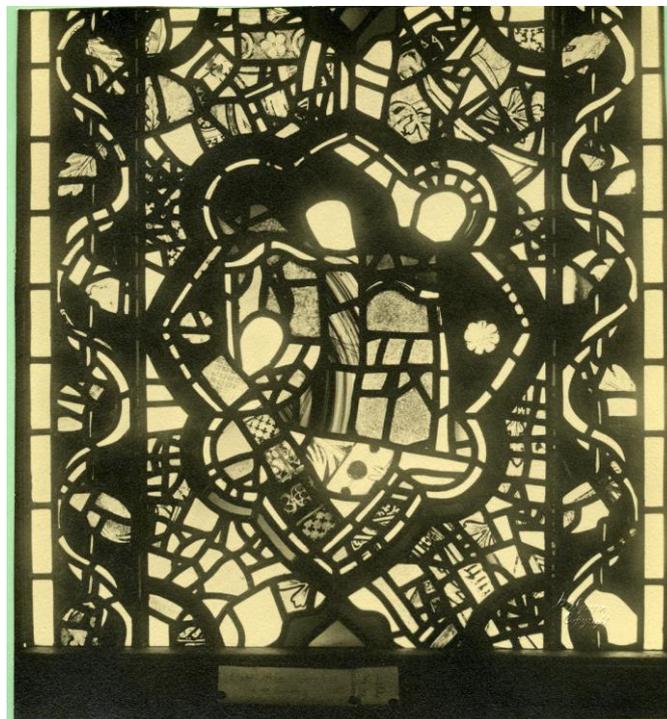


Figure CHn3:20: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4922, 1931: 56, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4923, 1969: CHn3, 4e © Dean and Chapter of York, and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022267, 1969: CHn3, 4e © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

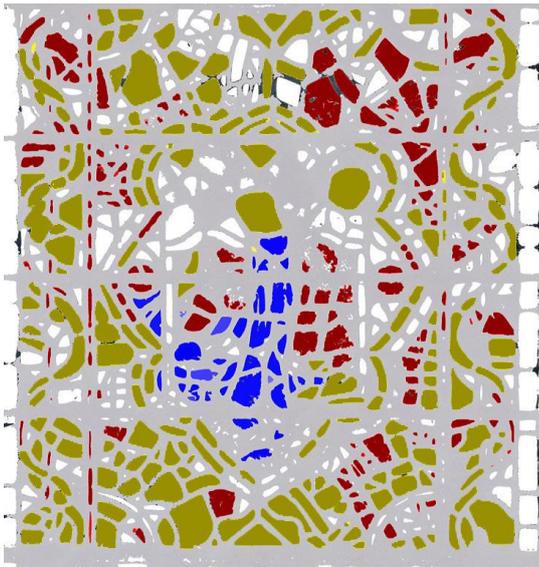


Figure CHn3:20: Restoration History

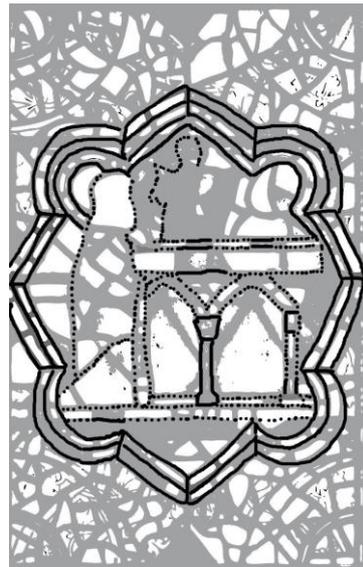


Figure CHn3:20: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

8					
6					
4					[20?]
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with a red outer and white inner rim. There are a few remains of original blue background but this may not be in its original place. Two small white flower heads. The blue beneath the arches may be original and part of the head of the figure reclining to the left. Otherwise, the panel is the result of interventions, notably the lower shape of the medallion.

Possibly this was intended to represent the shrine-like tomb.

Iconography and original location: The Woman on the cart cured.¹³⁵

This may be a follow-up to CHn3:19, in which the woman, suffering from dropsy, was brought from Harewood in a cart to the tomb and was cured. References to the miracle occur in the Missal,¹³⁶ and the Breviary.¹³⁷ More details are provided in the *Vita*,¹³⁸ and in the *Miracula*.¹³⁹ On this identification, and the original A border, 4e is the most likely original location. There is also the hint of a lead line around the figure to the right-hand side, which might suggest that there was originally a third inner rim around the panel, a feature which was probably associated with row 4. A similar line is more visible on the pre-reading photograph.¹⁴⁰

The shrine or tomb is discussed under CHn3:18, and is similar to that and those

¹³⁵ *Missale*, 43; *Breviarium*, cols. 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-3; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 532.

¹³⁶ *Missale*, 43.

¹³⁷ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹³⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 282-3.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 532:7.

¹⁴⁰ Figure CHn3:20: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4922, 1931.

in CHn3:26 and 28.

The miracle was also shown in n7: 11d-e.¹⁴¹

History of the panel:

Torre:¹⁴²

Description: “20 In 5th Light not plain.”

Comments: Identified as possibly 4e by a process of elimination.

8					
6					
4					[20?]
2					
1					

Browne:

Comments: No identification or location given. It was probably one of the panels described as “variously sized pieces of variously coloured glass”, in 2a, 2e, 4e or 6e.

8					
6					?
4					?
2	?				?
1					

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

CHn3:20 was “much damaged”.

=Knowles York Photo:¹⁴³

Comments: Can see standing figure in centre.

8					
6					
4					20
2					
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁴⁴

Description: “Illegible but probably building.”

8					
6					
4					[20?]
2					
1					

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁴⁵

Description: “5. Much damaged panel representing a building with 2 arcades one higher than the other but no figures engaged in building.”

8					
6					
4					20
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:¹⁴⁶

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

¹⁴¹ French, *St William*, 68-69; still to be found in 11d and e, *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112.

¹⁴² YMA L1/7, Torre, 125.

¹⁴³ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁴⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹⁴⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.64r.

¹⁴⁶ See Figure CHn3:20: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4922, 1931 above.

**Pre-Milner White
Restoration:**¹⁴⁷

8					
6					
4					20
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: large area of the medallion was rebuilt. It appears that there were areas of probably plain glass for the three head shapes, although the left-hand one has been replaced with clear glass. The central figure below the head has been re-built, as has the figure in the lower left-hand corner. If we accept the idea that there were three figures, then the interpretation etc may not have been radically altered. A lot of the glass that has been removed was itself intruded and heavily painted.
*Grisaille: unchanged.*¹⁴⁸

Brown:¹⁴⁹

Description: "A miracle at the shrine."

8					
6					
4					20
2					
1					

Current:

8					
6					
4					20
2					
1					

¹⁴⁷ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹⁴⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:20: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4922, 1931 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4923, 1969: CHn3, 4e.

¹⁴⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

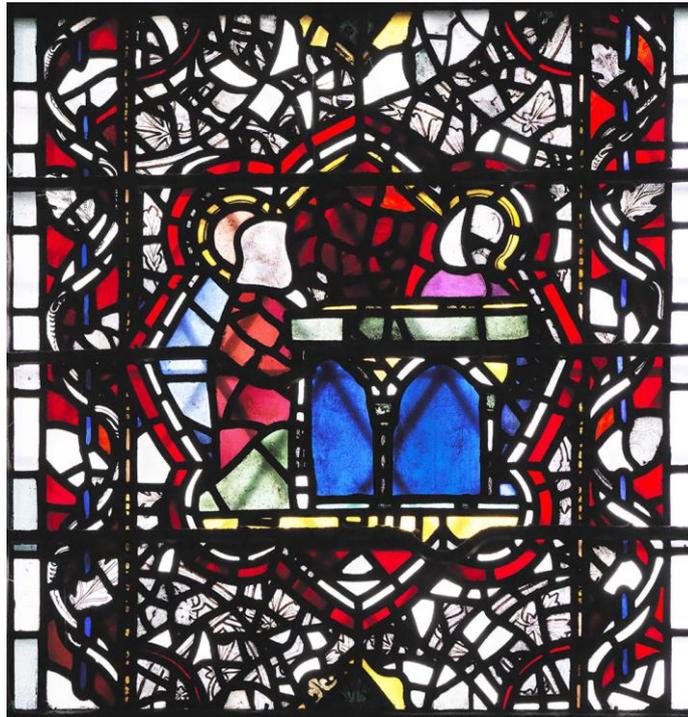


Figure CHn3:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

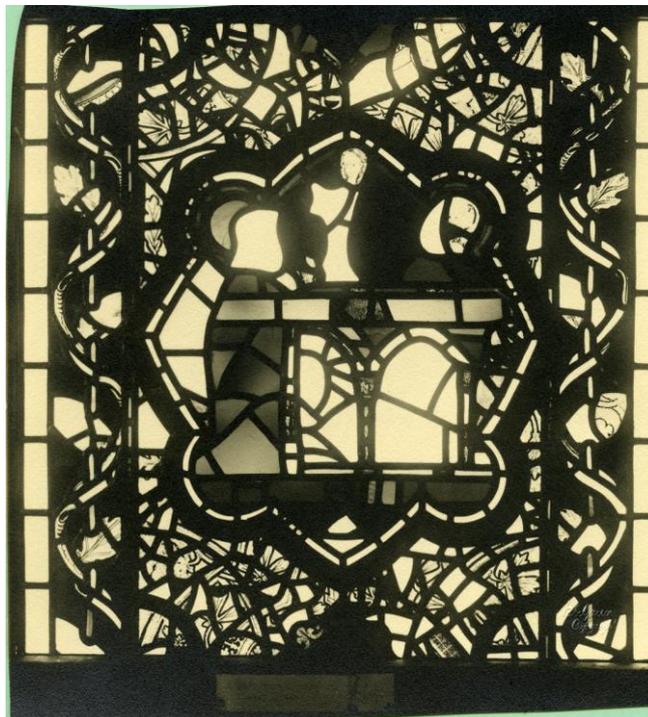


Figure CHn3:26: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4934, (est) 1929-32: 56, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4935, ca.1957: 56, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York, and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022285, ca.1957: 56, 1L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

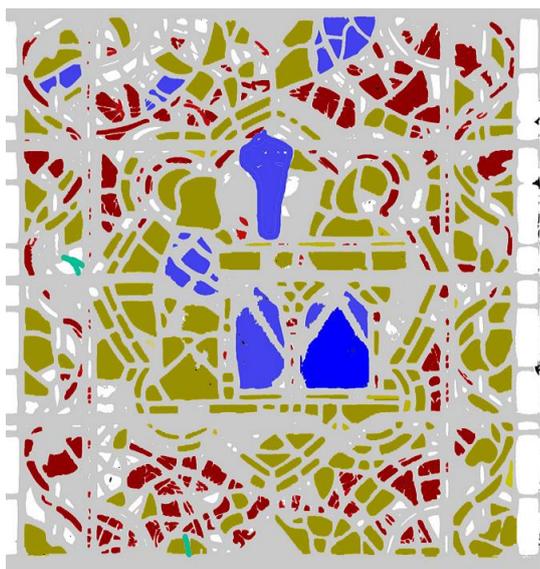


Figure CHn3:26: Restoration History

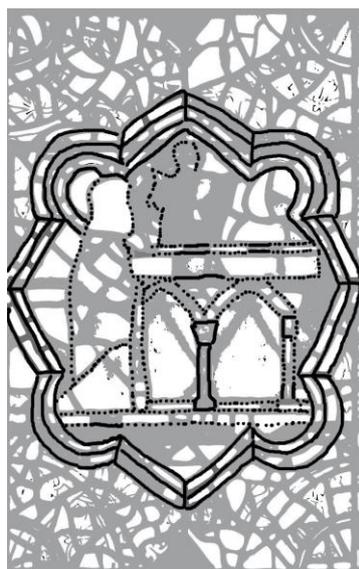


Figure CHn3:26: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6					
4	26				
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion with red outer and white, beaded inner rim. There is a third, inner, yellow rim at the top of the scene, a feature which is associated with other panels which may have been in row 4. The triangle at the bottom now contains blank glass.

Most of the panel consists of inserted glass, red background and blue in the arches of a high structure, in green and white. Some original glass remains from the structure itself, a green capital, white edge to the arches, white pillars and green top to the structure. There are two figures in the scene, the right-hand one currently has part of a medieval head, but this may not have been original because Torre does not mention him/her (see below). The second figure is on the left, and may have some original white glass where a sleeve or hands might have been located, indicating that the figure was leaning or praying on the shrine-like tomb. Otherwise there is nothing original about the figure, but some of the colour seems to echo that seen by Torre. Probably the figure on the left was original, resting or praying on the tomb. She may have been, according to Torre, dressed in murrey. On the tomb was a child, possibly with attributes of Christ, according to Torre. (In the "Historical Notes", Knowles defines these as the stigmata.) Milner White corrected what was probably an error as a result of interventions, in which the shrine-like tomb top cut in front of the left-hand figure. The other major change was that he removed the figure from the top of the shrine-like tomb and replaced it with red glass, thereby rendering the identification of the panel more difficult. At some stage before the Knowles photograph, the head-like shape was intruded into the right-hand side, which has developed into the second figure.

Iconography and original location: Blind girl from Leeds healed.¹⁵¹

This is a possible suggestion for CHn3:26. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the right-hand figure, but the figure to the left could be the remains of an original supplicant. The blind girl was left on her own by the tomb (hence the doubt about the authenticity of the right-hand figure). Waking in the night, she saw a shining figure, presumably the figure that was standing on the tomb before Milner White’s intervention, who cured her blindness. As an early miracle, it was probably one of the five blind people referred to in the Bull of Canonisation,¹⁵² and one of those blind from birth in the Breviary.¹⁵³ More details are provided in the *Vita*,¹⁵⁴ and the *Miracula*.¹⁵⁵ The scene may be present in n7:11c, although it is not identified as such, probably because the image differs from the text in that William himself is shown as curing her blindness.¹⁵⁶ The shrine-like tomb is discussed under CHn3:18, and is similar to that and those in CHn3:20 and 28. With its original A borders and indications of an inner yellow rim, it was probably originally in 4a.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some stage before Torre’s description, CHn3:26 was moved within its first light from 4a to 6a.

Torre:¹⁵⁷

Description: “In next under Row and 1st Light 11 Is an Altar erected upon 3 pillars before wh stands a Man habited murry & O And upon the Altar stands our Lord like a fair boy in white rayment.”

Comments: Note that Torre does not refer to the existence of the figure now standing to the right behind the “altar” or shrine-like tomb. This is important, because, if the identification is correct, no third person should have been present.

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

Browne:¹⁵⁸

Description: “Countess of Clare offering her son on the tomb of St T a Becket, she is in a pink outer robe, and the covering of the tomb is green.”

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

¹⁵¹ This incident may have been referred to among the five blind people in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129 and in the *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303 when the Breviary refers to those who have been blind since birth. It is specified in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 281 and *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 531. It is notable that the panel showing what is probably the same scene in n7:11c shows an Archbishop, almost certainly William, healing the girl in person, Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112. See also Norton, *William*, 152.

¹⁵² *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

¹⁵³ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹⁵⁴ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 281.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 531.

¹⁵⁶ French, *St William*, 77 and Plate 11 (as 15b); now in 11c, Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112.

¹⁵⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

¹⁵⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 42.

Comments: Again, the figure behind the shrine-like tomb was not mentioned.. He clearly saw a female figure and smaller figure on the altar.

=Knowles York Photo:¹⁵⁹

Comments: One standing figure and a smaller one on the structure in the centre are visible.

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁶⁰

Description: “Mass of St Gregory.”

Comments: Speculative.

Again, accommodation has been made for the fact that Knowles described six rather than five narrative rows. It is part of his attempt to interpret the window as one scene in the establishment of the church in York

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

=“Watson” photo:

Pre-1917:¹⁶¹

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁶²

Description: “1. Mass of Gregory

Panel been removed two spaces higher.

The altar represented by a flat slab resting upon an arcade and to the left is the figure of St Gregory in pink chasuble leaning up on his elbows which rest on the altar his hands conjoined in prayer and his gaze directed to the figure of Christ who stands in the centre of the alter slab. His hands and feet marked with the sacred wounds.”

Comments: Given the confusion about the rows he is describing, it is concluded that he saw the panel in 6a, although 4a is a possibility. The sole reason is that it was in 6a before and after his description.

8					
6	26				
4	26				
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:¹⁶³

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph. Knowles saw stigmata on the hands and feet of Christ, which are not visible after the exercise. See Appendix A.13.

¹⁵⁹ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁶⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹⁶¹ YMA Watson photograph. See Figure 23.

¹⁶² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.64r.

¹⁶³ See Figure CHn3:26: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4934, (est) 1929-32 above.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶⁴

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: the small figure on the altar/shrine-like tomb structure was removed by Milner White and replaced by more red background. The horizontal of the structure was changed so that it did not pass in front of the figure standing to the left. The blue in the arches of the structure was inserted, though it is not certain if it replaced an earlier blue. The interpretation etc could have been changed, especially as a result of the removal of the central figure.

Grisaille: the grisaille was the same as before the restoration. Some areas were replaced with clear glass

*Borders: some mending leads inserted and one area of intruded, painted glass was replaced.*¹⁶⁵

Milner White:

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

Brown:¹⁶⁶

Description: "Miracle at the shrine."

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8					
6	26				
4					
2					
1					

¹⁶⁴ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹⁶⁵ Concluded from a comparison between CHn3:26: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4934, (est) 1929-32 above and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4935, ca.1957: 56, 1L3P.

¹⁶⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Original location, appearance and iconography:**Possible original:**

8					
6					
4		[27?]			
2					
1					

Iconography and original location: A single miracle panel. Healing with mortar, curing lepers, curing the mad.¹⁶⁷

This panel has been lost since before Torre's description. It was probably originally in 2b. It might have shown a single miracle, possibly one of the others from the Liturgy. If so, it is possible it was a type of miracle not otherwise covered in the window – healing a leper,¹⁶⁸ or curing someone who is insane.¹⁶⁹ Alternatively, it is feasible it might have represented a follow-up scene to the miracle of the blind girl from Leeds, which was probably in CHn3:26.

Torre:

Comment: It is not possible to locate Torre's panel. It must already have been lost by the end of the seventeenth century

¹⁶⁷ There is a reference to a victim being haunted by an Ethiopian in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 285, which may also appear in n7:15a, *Corpus*, *International Colloquium*, 112. There are generalised references to numerous people being cured of madness in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 286, *Missale*, 43 and *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303. Lepers are cured in *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 287-8; *Missale*, 43 and *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹⁶⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 287-8; *Missale*, 43; *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹⁶⁹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 285-6; *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 286; *Missale*, 43; *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303. As healing the "Ethiopian", such a miracle is found in French, *St William*, 76; still to be found in 15a, *Corpus*, *International Colloquium*, 112.

Photographic record:

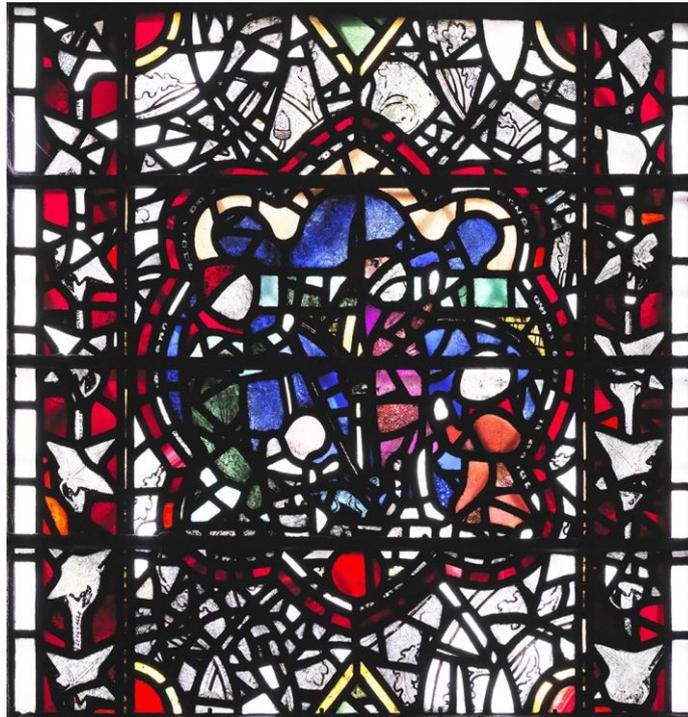


Figure CHn3:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 6c © York Glaziers Trust.

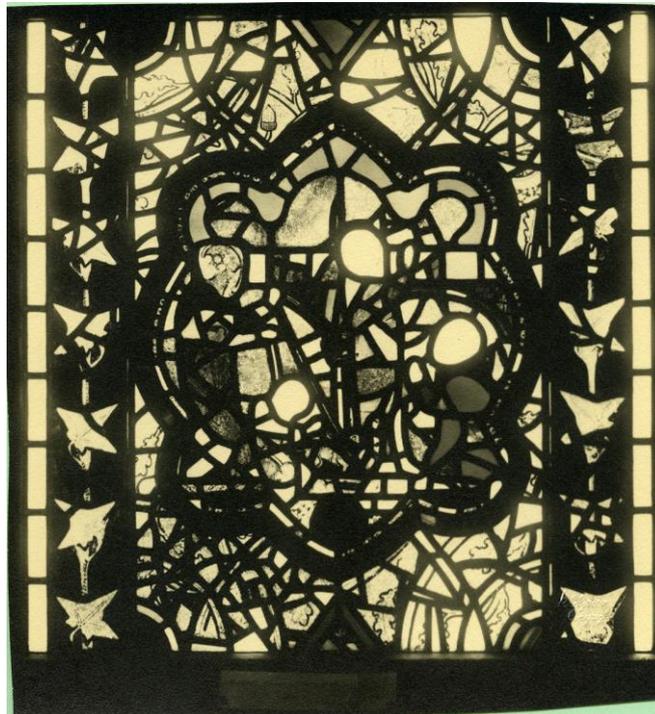


Figure CHn3:28: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4939, 1931: 56, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4940, ca.1957: 56, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York, and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022276, ca.1957: 56, 3L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

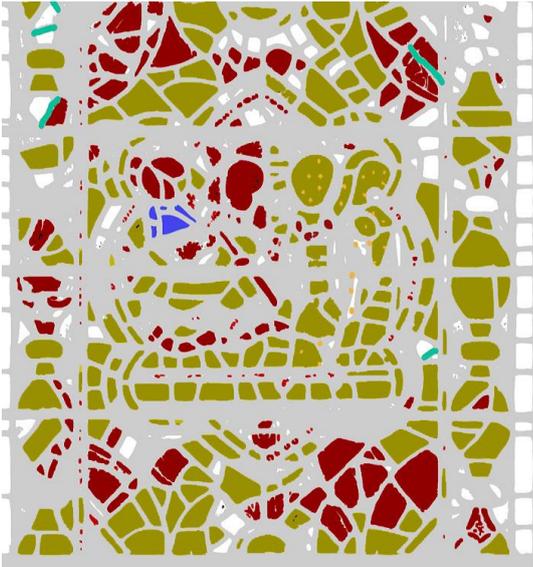


Figure CHn3:28: Restoration History

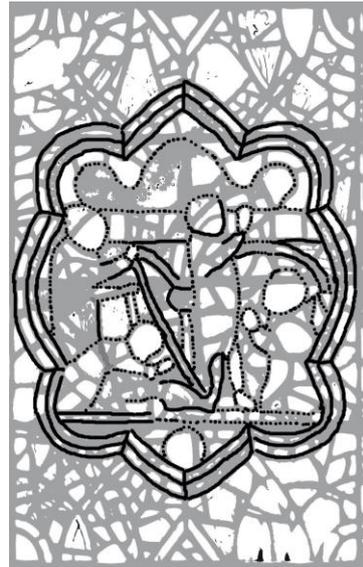


Figure CHn3:28: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6					
4			28		
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion with red outer and white, beaded inner rim. There are signs that there may have been a third inner rim across the top of the medallion, now filled with inserted glass, a feature which may have been associated with other panels on row 4. Some original blue background above an original white base to the scene. A ball with inserted red glass is at the bottom centre which may have contained a flowerhead. The shrine-like tomb has signs of original yellow masonry in the spandrels, white edge to the two visible arches, and a green capital and table surface.

Of the four figures currently visible, the two that Torre saw standing show some signs of green and murrey drapery each, the left-hand one holding at least one long stick, and probably a second. Only one figure has an original head. Lower down the medallion are signs of two other figures, one with some indication of original white drapery and one which Torre calls "purple" but which is more orange in the photograph. There is an original blue dog.

Iconography and original location: Several people who are crippled or dumb healed.¹⁷¹

The Bull of Canonisation referred to the healing of “many sick persons” using oil from the tomb.¹⁷² Either individually or collectively, such miracles appear in the Missal,¹⁷³ and in the Breviary.¹⁷⁴ They are in the *Vita*, where the range of conditions and the wonder and joy at the cures is detailed,¹⁷⁵ and several appear in the *Miracula*.¹⁷⁶ Four figures appear to be present in the panel now, although Torre saw five. A similar scene is shown in n7:15c.

The shrine-like tomb is discussed under CHn3:18, and is similar to that and those in CHn3:20 and 26. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the visual and thematic similarity with CHn3:18 in the two central panels.

With its original C borders and suggestion of an inner rim, 4c is the most plausible initial location.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: at some stage before Torre, this panel may have been moved within its C light and switched with CHn3:18.

Torre:¹⁷⁷

Description: “13 In 3d Light stand 2 Men before an Altar, one habited vt, 2d murry Also 3 other Men kneel before it habited purple.”

8					
6			28		
4					
2					
1					

Comments: Torre may have seen the dog as a third figure kneeling.

Browne:¹⁷⁸

Description: “Lame and afflicted persons supplicating near a tomb”,¹⁷⁹ and/or “several distressed travellers on foot, with children and a dog, supplicating for entrance to a walled town.”

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

Comment: Browne is unclear about the location of these two alternatives, but given the C borders, they are likely to have been in 4c or 6c.

¹⁷¹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁷³ *Missale*, 43, 45, 48, 49.

¹⁷⁴ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

¹⁷⁵ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 289-90.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol 3, numbers 2, 6, 8, 13, 18, 31, respectively the woman from Fulford (2); the humpbacked woman from York (6); the youth with a club foot (8); the dumb girl from Roxburgh (13); the woman from Walmgate with stiff right arm (18), and a paralysed man from Newby (31).

¹⁷⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

¹⁷⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 39.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

=Knowles York Photo:¹⁸⁰

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁸¹

Description: both 18 and 28 given as "Building the Church"

8					
6			18/28		
4			18/28		
2					
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁸²

Description: "Three arches of masonry built in pale coloured stone one of the pillars white with a green capital. A mason clad in a short tunic is reaching up to work at the building with his dog near him. Another to the left is working at the unfinished portion of an arch and a third is kneeling down in the foreground preparing mortar. Note on a piece of glass near this panel 'Gyle ce 1661'."

8					
6			28		
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:¹⁸³

No signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph. There is no sign of Knowles's white pillar with a green capital.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁸⁴

8					
6			28		
4					
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one piece of painted, intruded glass in probable position for a head removed and replaced with piece of clear glass and a piece of red for cap. A couple of lead lines inserted.
Grisaille: an area of what appears to have been clear glass removed and replaced with more clear glass. A few lead lines inserted. Grisaille as before the restoration.
Borders: a mending lead was inserted and one area of intruded, painted glass removed and replaced with clear glass.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

¹⁸¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.160r.

¹⁸² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.64r.

¹⁸³ See Figure CHn3:28: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4939, 1931 above.

¹⁸⁴ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

¹⁸⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:28: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4939, 1931 above and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4940, ca.1957: 56, 3L3P.

Brown:¹⁸⁶

Description: "Shrine scene."

8					
6			28		
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8					
6			28		
4					
2					
1					

¹⁸⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Original location, appearance and iconography:**Possible original:**

8					
6				[29?]	
4					
2					
1					

Iconography and original location: Either the first part of a double miracle (eg woman who swallowed a frog taken to the tomb) or a single miracle.¹⁸⁷

It was probably originally in 6d, in which case it might have shown the first part of a double-panelled miracle (eg the woman suffering after eating a frog)¹⁸⁸ or a single miracle. The miracle in which the woman was healed after eating the frog was prominent in n7.¹⁸⁹

History of the panel:**Torre:**

Comment: It has not been possible to locate Torre's panel. It must already have been lost by the end of the seventeenth century.

¹⁸⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 284; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 535. In n7 the miracle is spread over 17a and 17b (Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112). See also Norton, *William*, 152-53 and 155.

¹⁸⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 284; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 535.

¹⁸⁹ French, *St William*, 82 and Pl. 13; now in 17a and 17b (Corpus, *International Colloquium*, 112).

Photographic record:

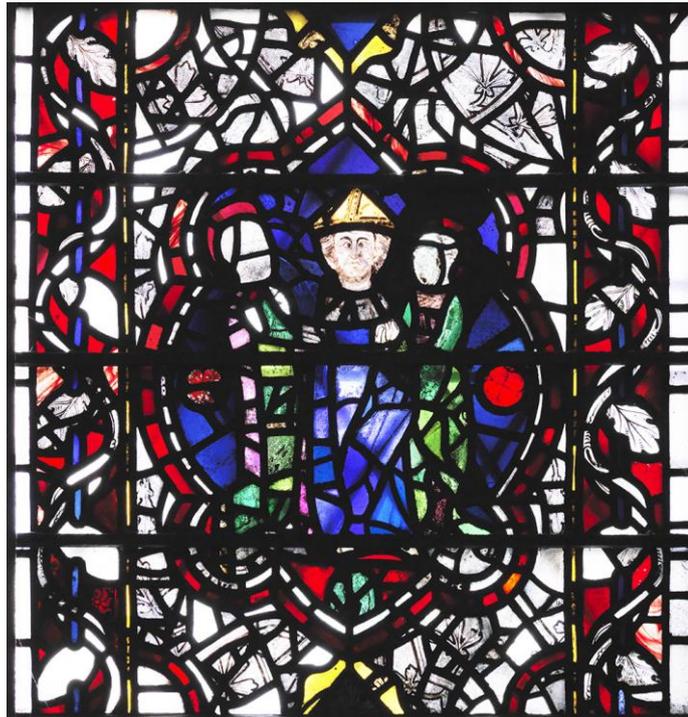


Figure CHn3:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.

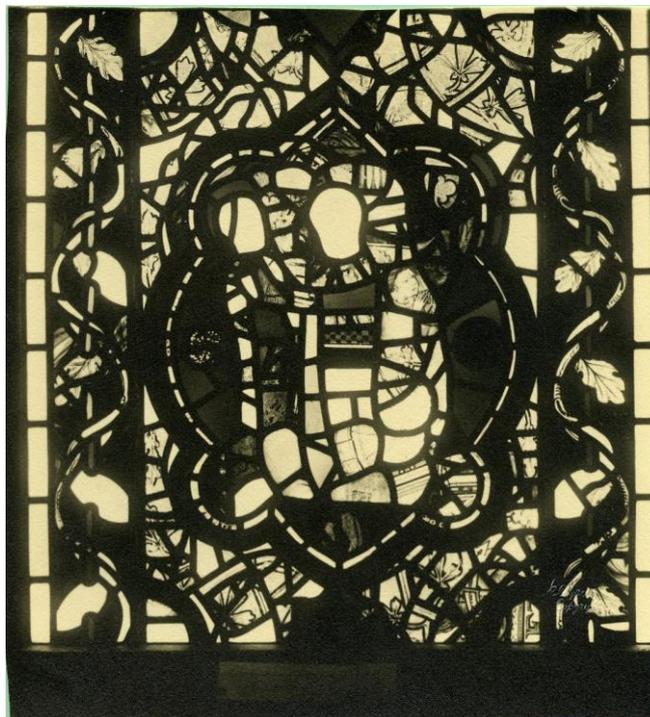


Figure CHn3:30: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4943, 1931: 56, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4944, 1969: CHn3, 6e © Dean and Chapter of York, intruded detail at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4945, 1969: CHn3, 6e and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022278, 1969: CHn3, 6e © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

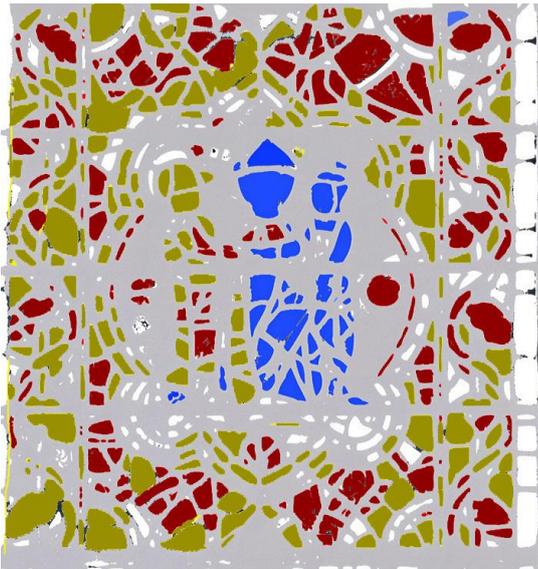


Figure CHn3:30: Restoration History

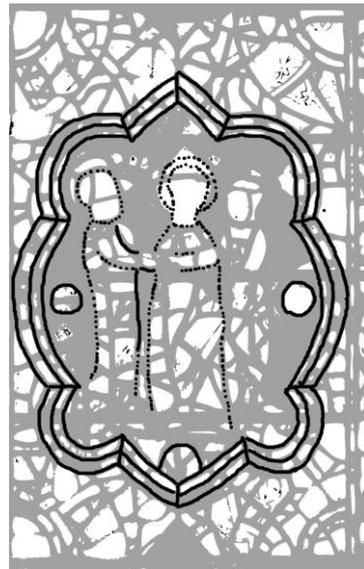


Figure CHn3:30: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

8						[30?]
6						
4						
2						
1						

Original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer rim and white, beaded inner. Two red balls, possibly with a hint of a flower head. Triangle at bottom with leaf. The background is mainly intruded blue above the base and intruded red below.

The figure to the left has indications of what may have been original green and murrey drapery. The figures to the centre and right are now as intruded by Milner White, but the centre figure may have some original white around his neck. There is no sign in the pre-World War II photograph of the right-hand figure, but Torre definitely saw one. Torre saw the centre figure as being nimbed with a white halo, clothed in horizontal stripes of white and green. The figure to the left was, as now, in green and murrey and the one to the right, in purple.

There is no clue among the inserted blue background as to whether there was originally a third inner rim, though this would have been expected for panels on row 8. However, on the 1929-32 photograph there is the hint of an inner line to the right and the centre. This makes row 8 more likely as the original position.

Iconography and original location: William is canonised or otherwise honoured/ welcomed.¹⁹¹ Alternatively, it shows William’s Translation in 1284.

This is possibly a scene marking William’s canonisation, or his reception into heaven, or his acknowledgement by other saints. Following the pattern of the other windows, position 8e marks the culmination of the cult of the saint (other windows have some acknowledgement of divine approval in their final scenes). The alternative is that it represents the 1284 Translation of William’s relics.

Allusions to William’s final triumph appear in the *Vita*,¹⁹² as well as in the Bull of Canonisation, where William “might be inscribed by us in the list of the Confession of Saints”,¹⁹³ and is echoed in the papal pronouncement that “there is no doubt that he is greatly honoured by the Lord in his Church triumphant”.¹⁹⁴ It is also alluded to in the preamble to the Bull, when Honorius claimed that the process demonstrated the “final perseverance in that which is virtuous is efficaciously encouraged”.¹⁹⁵ Finally, Honorius asserted “there is no doubt that he is now greatly honoured by the Lord in his Church triumphant”.¹⁹⁶

The texts refer to his future glory and happiness: in the *Vita* it is recorded that he lived among the “angelic company”,¹⁹⁷ that he “was happy and at peace; he understood and loved Him Who had created and remade him; he rejoiced and delighted in untroubled calm [...] where there was perfect love and no fear; where nothing good was expelled and nothing evil admitted”.¹⁹⁸ The Bull makes it clear that he was valued in Heaven, “where there is no doubt that he had triumphed and been mightily honoured by the Lord”.¹⁹⁹

See Chapter 3 for a discussion about whether the panel might have shown the Translation or the Canonisation.

History of the Panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre described the panel, it is possible that it had been moved from 8e to 6e, within the same fifth light.

Torre²⁰⁰

Description: “15 In 5th Light stand 3 persons together whereof the middle most is a Saint habited barr wayes A & vt, glory A And a Man on each

8					
6					30
4					
2					
1					

¹⁹¹ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 278; *ibid.*, Vol. 3, 128 and 129.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 278.

¹⁹³ Browne, *History*, Vol. 1, 23, given as “consilio ascriptus, vel potius ascriptum denuntiamus sanctorum cathalogo Confessorum”.

¹⁹⁴ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 128: “eum non esset dubium ispsum in triumphanti a Domino multipliciter honorari”.

¹⁹⁵ Browne, *History*, Vol. 1, 53. “[...] et sic finalis in bono perseverantia efficaciter suadetur,” *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 128. This provides a resonance of the concept of Divine Foreknowledge discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁹⁶ Browne, *History*, Vol. 1, 53.

¹⁹⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 78, “jam cum angelicis conversatur agminibus”.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*: “hilaescit et quiescit; intelligit et diligit illum Qui eum creavit et recreavit. Laetatur et delectatur in secura tranquillitate, ubi amor perfectus et timor nullus; ubi nullus bonus ejicitur, nullus malus admittitur”.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 128: “cum non esset dubium ipsum in triumphanti a Domino multipliciter honorari”.

²⁰⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

side him, 1st habited vt & murry 2d purple.”

Comments: If this were the final culmination of William’s cult, originally in 8e, it does not appear to describe a scene of the Translation. Instead it is arguable that what is described was a scene where William was welcomed into an august assembly. It is the only panel in the window where a figure was identified as a saint (except CHn3:38 for which there was another explanation). The current third figure is a creation by Milner White.

Browne:

Comments: No identification or location given. It was probably one of the panels described as “variously sized pieces of variously coloured glass”, in 2a, 2e, 4e or 6e.

8					
6					?
4					?
2	?				?
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁰¹

Description: “Again all patchy but a figure to the left seems to have a pink stoke hanging down on each side as if put [round] his shoulders.”

8					
6					[30?]
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:²⁰²

No signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁰³

8					
6					30
4					
2					
1					

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: a large area of the panel was rebuilt. One small intruded head facing to right removed. Unclear what the evidence was for the “new” right-hand figure. The green drapery intruded. The clear glass head for central figure removed and intruded head, probably from the glass bank, inserted. The blue drapery made up with the possible exception of the pre-restoration collar. The mixture of glass patterns (painted) which had been there was removed.
 Interpretation/identification changed by the modifications
 Grisaille: unchanged.²⁰⁴*

²⁰¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.159r.

²⁰² Figure CHn3:30: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4943, 1931.

²⁰³ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

²⁰⁴ Concluded from a comparison between YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c) and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4944, 1969: CHn3, 6e.

Milner White:

8					
6					30
4					
2					
1					

Brown description:²⁰⁵

Description: "Unidentified bishop and two other figures."

8					
6					30
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8					
6					30
4					
2					
1					

²⁰⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

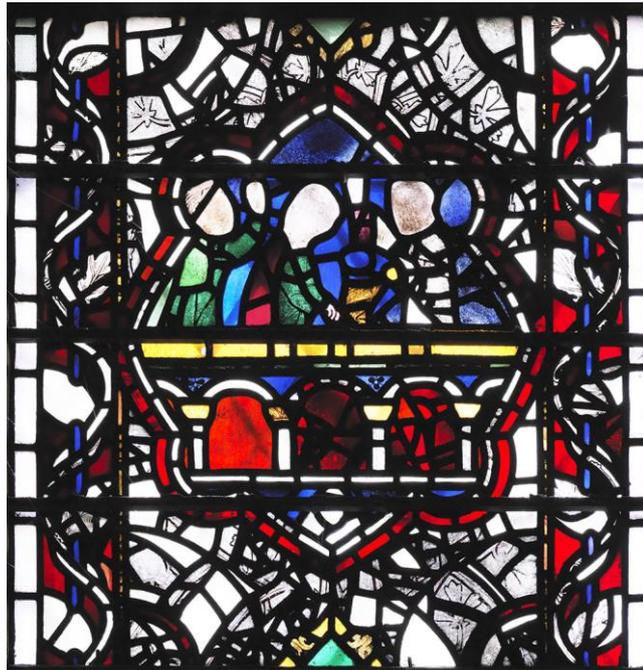


Figure CHn3:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 8a © York Glaziers Trust.

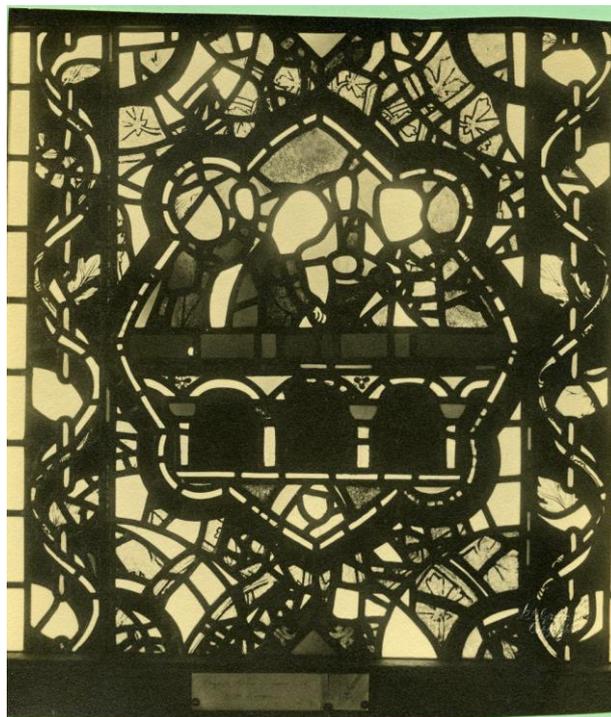


Figure CHn3:36: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4958, ca.1931: 56, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4959, 1969: CHn3, 8a © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 022285, ca.1957: 56, 1L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

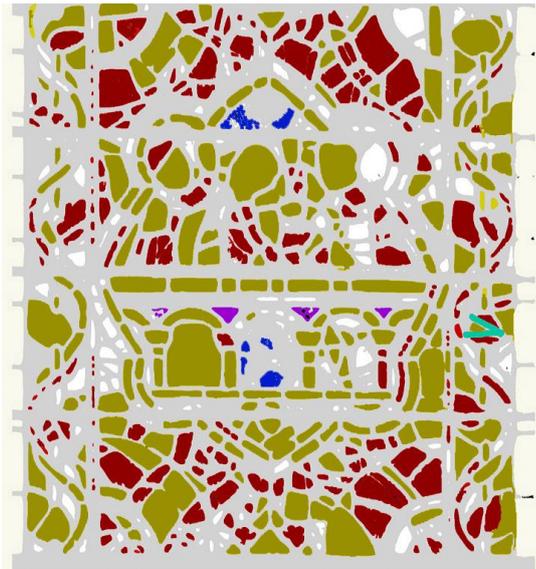


Figure CHn3:36: Restoration History

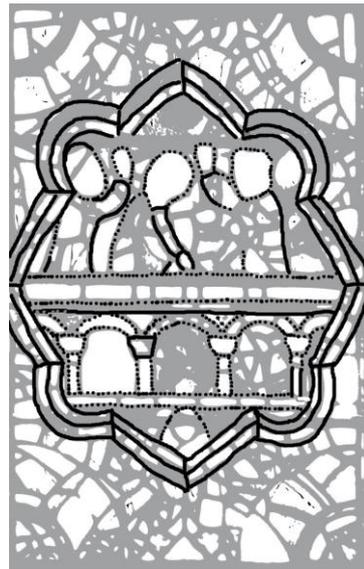


Figure CHn3:36: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8					
6					
4					
2					36
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white inner rim. Remains of original blue background but this may not be in its original place. Triangle at bottom, filled with blank glass.

There is a low, tomb-like structure across the medallion, with three arches, intruded blue glass between the arches, arches white with yellow capitals (one original). The glass in the arches is red. This is the only low structure in the window.

Behind the low structure is some original glass which appears to belong to four figures, only three of which have been noted in previous descriptions. To the left and centre are figures in green (Torre saw the latter as being in green and murrey). In Knowles's descriptions, it was described as female. To the right is a figure mainly in intruded white glass, which may reflect the original white as seen by Torre. There is also what appears to be a small figure in yellow, but as there is no reference to this in the historical descriptions, it is assumed that this was an intrusion. The central figure in green is bending down, the others appear to have an arm raised as if in surprise.

Iconography and original location: William's corpse is unscathed.²⁰⁷

This scene is given considerable coverage in the *Vita*,²⁰⁸ and was obviously treated locally and retrospectively as one of the first signs of William's sanctity. The identification is reasonably secure. This is the lowest of all the shrine-like tomb structures in the window, and appears to be a tomb chest rather than the later structure which was later constructed over the tomb. It appears that there were people looking down and expressing some sort of surprise. Given its importance, it is plausible that the panel would have been in one of the key corner positions, in this case, 2e. It was also included in the Missal,²⁰⁹ and was shown in n7:11b.²¹⁰

The importance of the discovery of William's incorrupt body can be seen from the text of a tablet, recorded by Dodsworth and described by Browne, which confirmed, "Almighty and merciful God, who didst show the body of the glorious Confessor, William, when buried deep in the ground, to be worthy of exaltation".²¹¹

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre described the panel, it was moved within its light from 2e to 8e.

Torre:²¹²

Description: "10 In 5th Light sitt 3 persons behind a Table 1st Man habited vt 2d a Woman habited vt & murry 3rd a Monk habited A."

8					36
6					
4					
2					
1					

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved from the fifth to the first light-type.

Browne:²¹³

Description: "a representation of 2 individuals striking another standing near a tomb. The king would receive a stroke from all the bishops, priests and canons."

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

Comment: His description indicates a further attempt to link the panel with a Thomas Becket narrative

²⁰⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 279-80; *Missale*, 46. Norton, *William*, 149. The fire has been dated to the mid-1150s by Norton, *ibid.*, 150, but, as he has pointed out, there are no indications that William was being revered as a saint until the later 1170s.

²⁰⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 270-71 and 278-79.

²⁰⁹ *Missale*, 46.

²¹⁰ French, *St William*, 65 and Plate 8 (as 10e); now in 11b, *Corpus*, *International Colloquium*, 112.

²¹¹ Browne, *History*, Vol. 1, 64.

²¹² YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

²¹³ Browne, *Representation*, 41.

=Knowles York Photo:²¹⁴

Comment: The low arches are visible.

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²¹⁵

Description: "Across the picture an arched tomb with circular arches and [...] white pillars and yell caps and green

[spandrels]. Ruby back to arches and behind this tomb three figures a female in the centre clad in green looking down into the tomb. The left-hand figure clad in a green coat with [...] sleeves holding his hand up and looking up. Another figure in white on the opposite side holds his hand up in similar way. [pencil] [I think] the tomb of [...] St William."

Comment: This is the first occasion when any commentator has associated any part of the window with William.

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

= "Watson" photo: pre-1917:²¹⁶

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²¹⁷

Description: "1. Miracles at a tomb. Prob that of St Williams A low tomb composed by a slab resting upon semi-circular

arches runs across the picture and behind it in the centre is a figure leaning over the tomb. At each side of this figure are 2 others a male and a female who are holding their hands up in astonishment as their gaze is fixed on the central figure."

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:²¹⁸

Two short pieces of possible re-leading on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²¹⁹

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

²¹⁴ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

²¹⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.159r.

²¹⁶ YMA Watson photograph (Figure 23).

²¹⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.64r.

²¹⁸ See Figure CHn3:36: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4958, ca.1931 above.

²¹⁹ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: no discernible changes
 Grisaille: unchanged.
 Borders: two mending leads inserted.²²⁰*

Brown:²²¹

Description: "Miracle at the shrine."

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8	36				
6					
4					
2					
1					

²²⁰ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:36: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4958, ca.1931 above and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4959, 1969: CHn3, 8a.

²²¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Window: CHn3

Panel number: CHn3:37

(CVMA: 8b)

Photographic record:

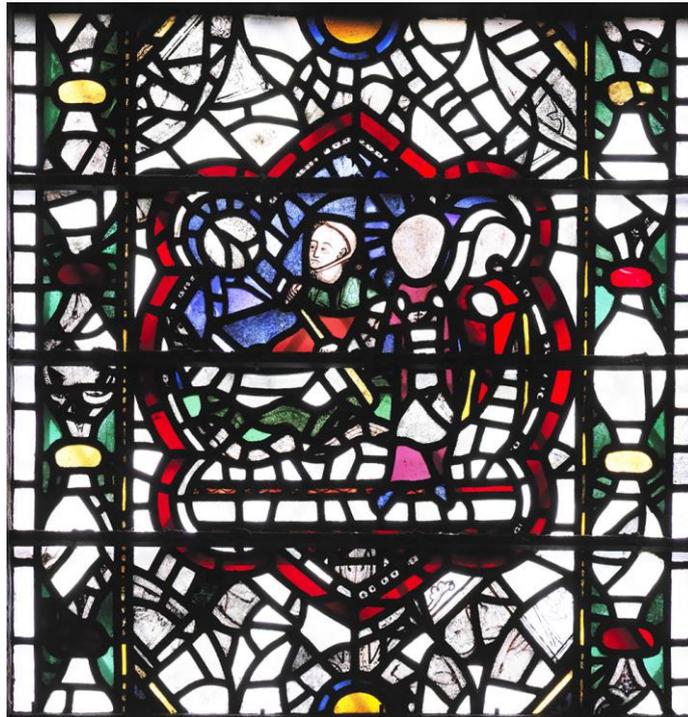


Figure CHn3:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.

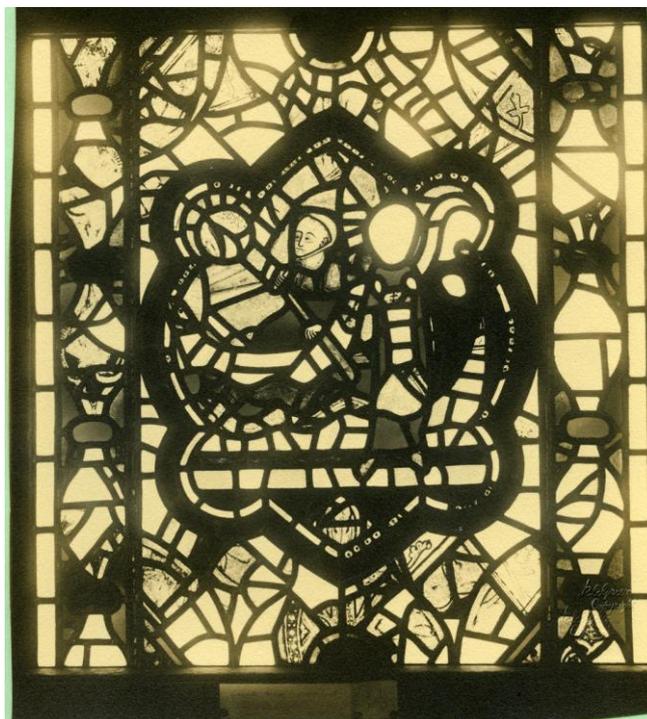


Figure CHn3:37: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931: 56, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.

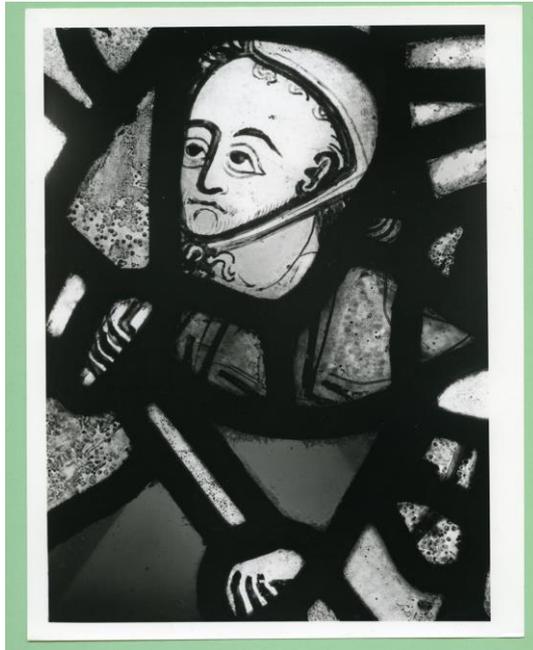


Figure CHn3:37 (detail): YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4964, 1969: CHn3, 8b © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

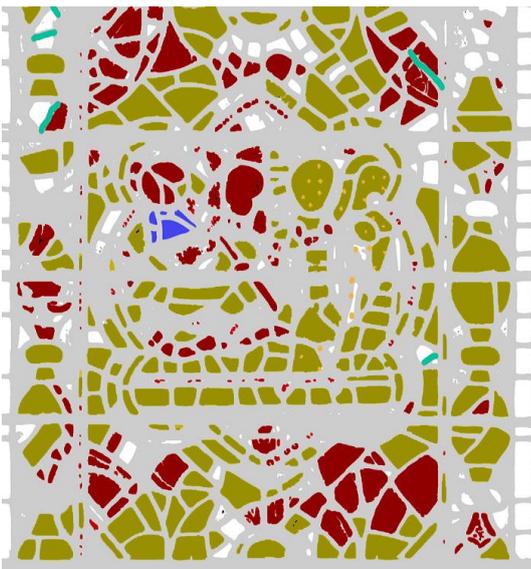


Figure CHn3:37: Restoration History

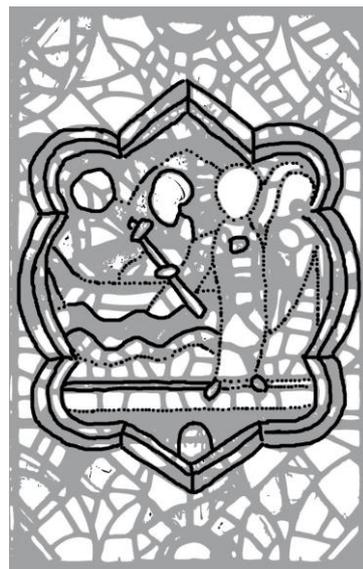


Figure CHn3:37: Original Lead Lines

Possible original:

8		37		37	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white, beaded inner rim. A few remains of original blue background but this may not be in its original place. Triangle at bottom, filled with a leaf. One white ball shape in top left which may have contained a flowerhead. If the lead lines can be trusted, there is the hint of a third inner rim to the medallion, which is now filled with inserted blue glass.

On the left there is a person in a coif, rowing with a yellow paddle. He has some green around his shoulders. He may have been the figure that Torre saw as dressed in blue. Otherwise he is wearing intruded red. He is sitting in a small boat of intruded white glass. Torre implied that there was another rower, dressed in green and yellow. If the lead lines reflect the original, there is a long thin shape at a diagonal (could this have been a child falling into the river or the bow of the boat or could it have reflected in some way the second rower seen by Torre?) There is some original glass indicating the stern. There is original green and white glass indicating stormy water. Two figures are standing on the bank, one with intruded white and pink drapery, the second, female, with intruded white and red: according to Torre the former was a man in sanguine (described by Knowles as “pink”), identified by the fact that his original blue shoes are visible, and the latter a woman in red and white. There is some confusion about the position of the standing man’s hands. There is what may be intruded glass showing two hands with knuckles touching, but there may also be two lead lines showing possible hands raised (possibly in horror). The figures are standing on a mainly original red line.

Stylistic comments on original head:

There is a heavy line round the face, rounded eyebrows of which one extends to create the outline of the nose (also in a dense line), upper and lower eyelids. Big eyes. Parallel lines on either side of the mouth, which is M-shape. Chin bone under lower lip. The head shows many similarities with Workshop 2.

Iconography and original location: William comes to the aid of sailors,²²² or an early part of the drowning boy miracle.²²³

The Missal is the only source which refers to sailors in difficulty at sea.²²⁴ It is shown in n7:16e.²²⁵ The alternative is that it is the first part of the miracle in which William brings a drowned boy back to life. It appears in the Bull of Canonisation along with two other such miracles.²²⁶ It is also in the *Vita*,²²⁷ although it is not included in n7.

It is unclear which scene is being represented. If the glass in the strange, elongated shape at the bow of the boat had survived, it might have shown a child falling. The scene is not very dramatic, unlike the other scenes of potential shipwreck in CHs3:38 and CHs4:18. Admittedly the water is rather choppy, but there is no indication of a broken mast and sails billowing. On balance, the conclusion is that it was related to the drowning boy. The top row seems to contain those miracles which took place away from the shrine-like tomb, implying that the reach of William’s powers had extended beyond the immediate confines of the Minster.

With its original B borders, 8b or 8d are plausible initial locations. If it showed the first scene of the rescue of the drowned boy, 8b is the more plausible.

²²² *Missale*, 43 and n7:16e, *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112.

²²³ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 291.

²²⁴ *Missale*, 43.

²²⁵ French, *St William*, 67 (as 11c); now in 16e, *Corpus, International Colloquium*, 112.

²²⁶ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129.

²²⁷ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 291

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre described the panel, CHn3:37 was switched to 6d in its other light-type, in the fourth light.

Torre:²²⁸

Description: “14 In 4th light are 2 Monks in a boat rowing with a golden Oar – 1st habited B, 2d vt & O At the head of the sd Boat stand 2 other persons 1st a Man habited sanguine 2d a Woman habited gu & A.”

8					
6				37	
4					
2					
1					

Comment: Most of the panel consists of infilled glass, so there are only the trace lines and the echoes of the colour of former glass to go on. However, the boat and the oar are convincing. Only one rower is visible today.

Intervention: if the panel was in Browne’s second light, it means that it had been moved back to its original light-type in the 1690s or the 1760s.

Browne:²²⁹

Description: “A man in pink and green tunic in a boat leaving a man and a woman on a desert shore by moonlight.”

8		[or 37?]		[or 37?]	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Comment: Browne did not provide a location, but by a process of elimination it is likely to have been in 8b or 8d. 8b is more likely than 8d, given that CHn3:39 is more likely to have been in 8d. The second rower has disappeared by this stage.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

CHn3:37 had two damaged figures standing on the shore.

=Knowles York Photo:²³⁰

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²³¹

Description: “Probably the landing of St Augustine or Paulinus

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

[all deleted] To the left a man paddling a boat on the sea towards land upon which stand 2 figures. Boat white paddle yell man clad in ruby tunic with what appears to be a green hood or [amses] waves green and white. 1st figure in pink tunic 2nd a white tunic and

²²⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

²²⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 39.

²³⁰ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.

²³¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.159r.

ruby robes.”
 SCHEMA “Landing of St Augustine.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²³²

Description: “2.Landing or embarkation

Near a shore is a boatman seated in it clad in a purple tunic with a green hood and a natch cap on his head. Standing on the shore are two figures but much damaged. One wears a white tunic and pink cloak the other clad in ruby coloured robe.”

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:²³³

No visible signs of re-leading or soldering on the pre-restoration photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁴

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one area of painted, intruded glass removed and a piece of blue background inserted

Grisaille: two mending leads inserted

*Borders: a few mending leads inserted.*²³⁵

Milner White:

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

Brown:²³⁶

Description: “Episode in story of drowning person.”

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8		37			
6					
4					
2					
1					

²³² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.65r.

²³³ See Figure CHn3:37: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931 above.

²³⁴ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

²³⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:37: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931 and Figure CHn3:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014.

²³⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

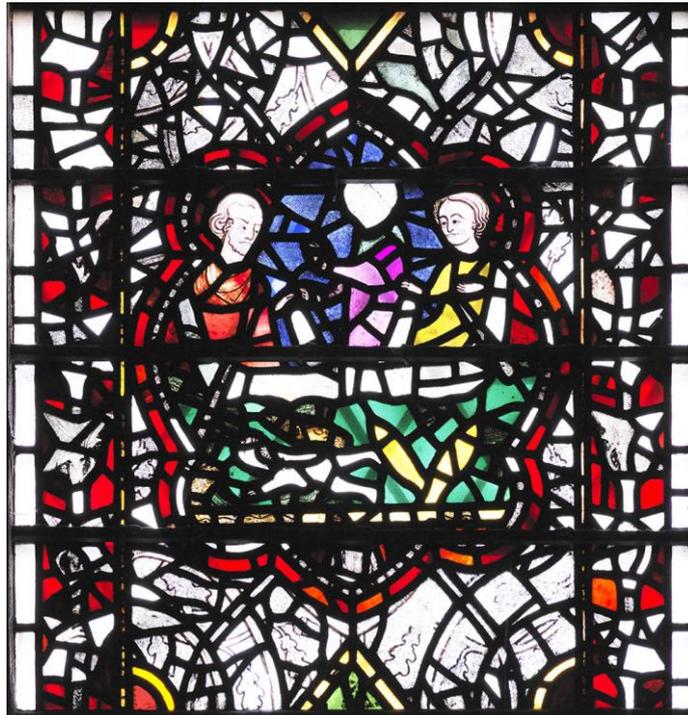


Figure CHn3:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 8c © York Glaziers Trust.

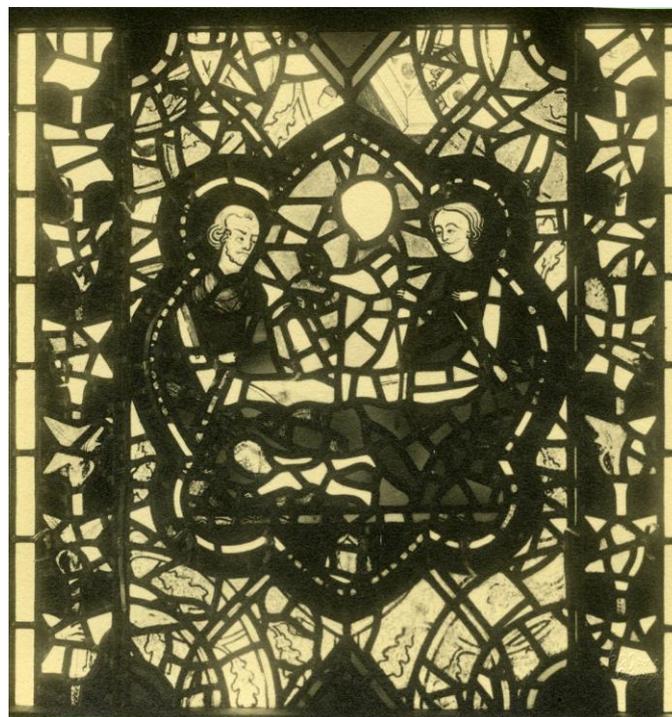


Figure CHn3:38: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931: 56, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²³⁷

²³⁷ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4967, 1969: CHn3, 8c © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 0022291, ca.1975: CHn3, 8c © Crown Copyright.



Figure CHn3:38 (detail): YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4968, 1969: CHn3, 8c © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

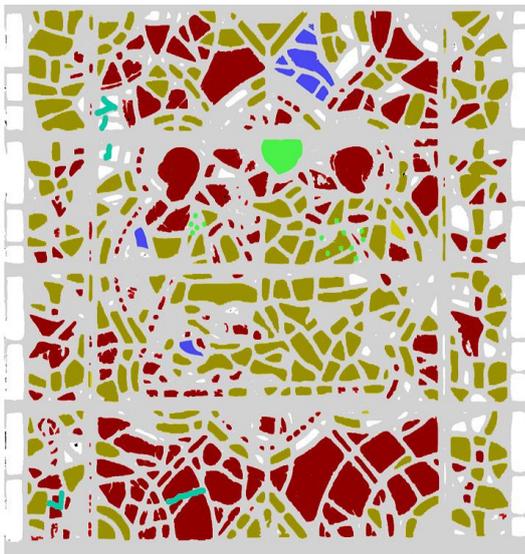


Figure CHn3:38 Restoration History

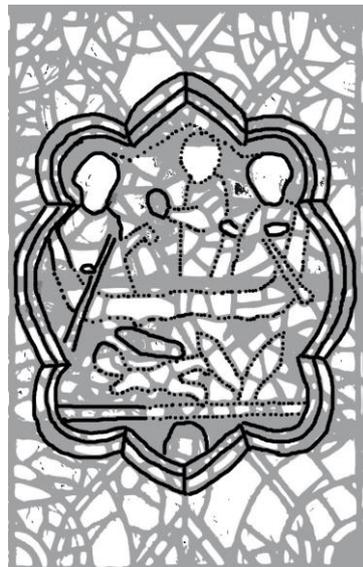


Figure CHn3:38: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white, beaded inner rim. A few remains of original blue background. Triangle at bottom, under an original white floor, possibly filled with a leaf. There is the hint of intruded glass around the heads of the figures in what might have been a third inner rim which Torre interpreted as a nimbus.

There are three figures in a boat. The figure to the left-hand side has original head and red drapery round neck. The remainder of the drapery is intruded red. He appears to be associated with the paddle or oar. One hand is extended towards the figure in the centre, who has his left hand raised in what may be blessing and is clothed in what may be original green and intruded purple. To the extreme right is a third figure, described as female by Browne and Knowles, but who appears to be holding a second oar. In the mainly intruded green water there is what was probably a child and the lead outlines of two fish. A third fish contains some original glass.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Workshop 2

1. Flat hair, swept sideways, with a thick line between the hair and the face. Furrowed brow. Straight eyebrows, the line of one of which extends to create the outline of the nose (all in a thick line). Large eyes with upper and lower eyelids. Parallel lines on either side of M-shaped mouth. Chin bone below lower lip. Corrugated beard.
2. Flat hair with thick line between face and hair; rounded eyebrows, one of which extends to create the outline of the nose (in a thick line); large eyes with upper and lower eyelids. Parallel lines on either side of M-shaped mouth. Chin bone under lower lip.

Iconography and original location: William saves a drowning boy.²³⁸

Given the C light position and the possibility that it follows on from CHn3:37, 8c is a likely original location.

See the discussion and the references in CHn3:37.

History of the panel:

Torre:²³⁹

Description: "8 In 3rd Light sitt 3 Saints together 1st and last habited O glories gu The Middlemost habited purple."

Comment: Torre must have

seen the left-hand figure in its original red, despite his "O" description. The "saints" were probably because there were the remains of the inner rim around the figures' heads.

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

²³⁸ *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 3, 129; *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 291.

²³⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.

Browne: ²⁴⁰

Description: "A man and a woman seemingly receiving their sentence from a person in authority seated. Beneath them are exhibited the dangers of the sea, by fishes, a wrecked vessel, and a dead boy."

Comment: Browne did not provide a location for the panel, but 8c is suggested by a process of elimination of C light panels.

8			[38]		
6					
4					
2					
1					

=Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁴¹

Description: "Prob Paulinus converting King Edwin and Queen Ethelburga

A youthful figure in centre clad in [purpink] tunic and green hood (same figure as last picture [8b]). Speaking to two seated figures a male and a female. Male figure has a red robe and green tunic but can't make out other figure." SCHEMA "Paulinus going with Edilburg."

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁴²

Description: "3. Seated in a boat are two figures. An archbishop in the prow clad in alb green dalmatic and a pink chasuble. His head with long curly hair without a mitre but with a red nimbus. In his left hand he holds a paddle the blade of which is in the water and his right hand (a ring is on his finger) held out to a youthful figure who stands in the centre of the boat holding both arms out to the archbishop. He has curly hair and wears a pink tunic with a green hood. At the stern of the boat is a lady with long wavy hair looking with great concern at the 2 figures in front her hands conjoined in supplicating attitude. In the waves near her is what appears to be a post with a rope wrapped round it."

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:²⁴³

Three small pieces of possible re-leading on the pre-restoration photograph. Knowles saw a ring on a figure of the left-hand figure, the central figure had "curly hair" and the right-hand figure had "hands conjoined". These are either no longer or only partially visible. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁴⁴

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

²⁴⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 39.

²⁴¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.159r.

²⁴² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.65r.

²⁴³ See Figure CHn3:38: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931 above.

²⁴⁴ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one piece of glass removed and replaced. One head of child on ground removed and replaced with clear glass. Cannot tell if the removed head was itself intruded.

Grisaille: one area at top rebuilt. Some mending leads inserted

Borders: unchanged.²⁴⁵

Milner White:

Description: "The rescue of a drowning boy."

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

O'Connor and Haselock:²⁴⁶

Description: "The rescue of a drowning boy".

Brown:²⁴⁷

Description: "Reviving a drowned person."

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

Current:

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

²⁴⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:38: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4966, 1931 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4967, 1969: CHn3, 8c.

²⁴⁶ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass," 340.

²⁴⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 292. above

Photographic record:

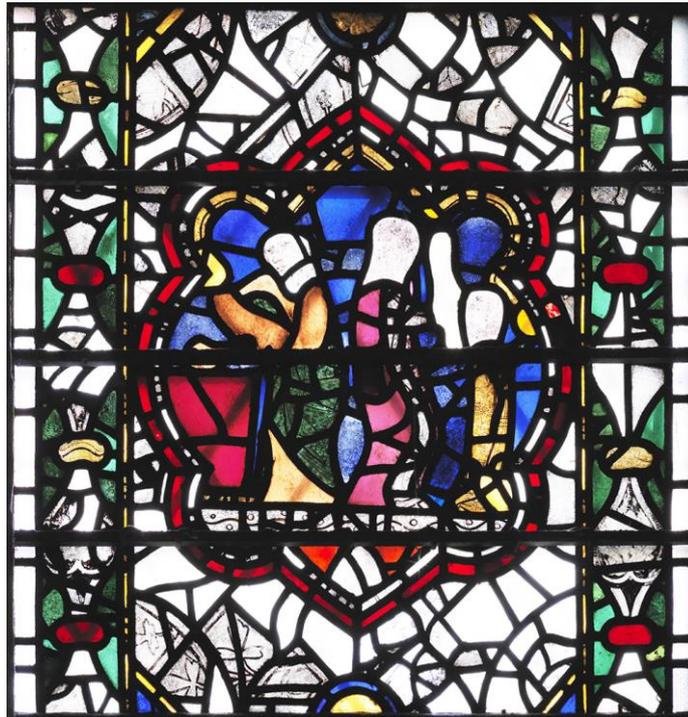


Figure CHn3:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn3, 8d © York Glaziers Trust.

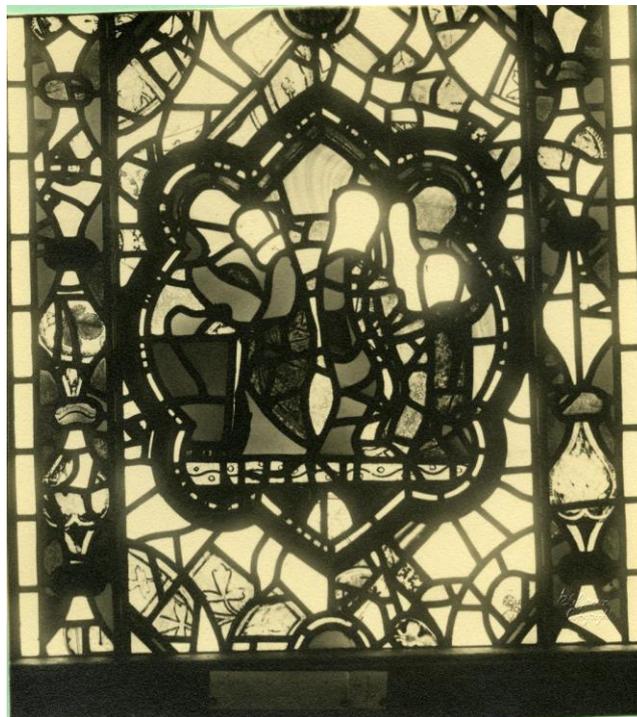


Figure CHn3:39: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4969, 1931: 56, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ Additional photographs are available at YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4970, 1957: 56, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 0022292, ca.1957: 56, 4L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

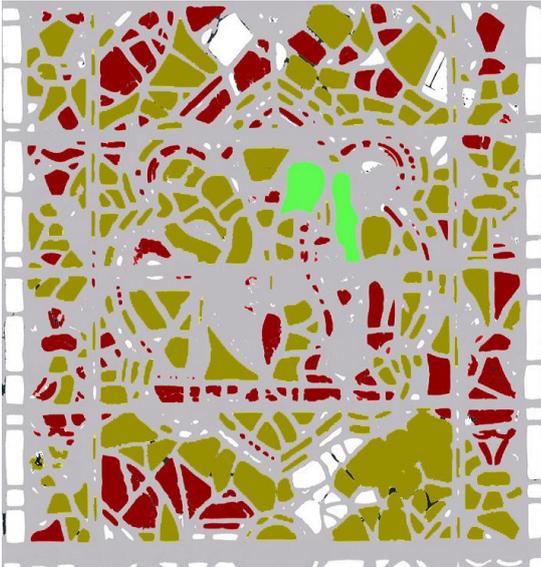


Figure CHn3:39: Restoration History

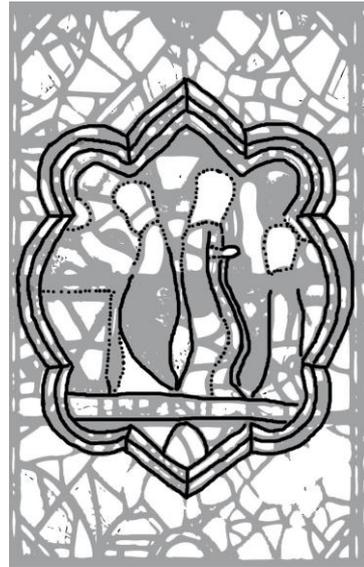


Figure CHn3:39: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Probable original appearance:

Octofoliar medallion, with red outer and white, beaded inner rim and a third rim at top of panel in yellow. Triangle at base blank glass. Some original blue background. Original white base with intruded red glass below.

The woman to the left, facing left, was originally in green and yellow and was leaning over a shape which may have been a well (it does not appear to resemble the shrine-like tomb); the central figure was in murrey and white, facing to the right and holding a crucifix (now lost). There was also a child in yellow to the right.

Iconography and original location: A boy drowns in the well and is shown revived.²⁴⁹

This is the second of the three miracles in the Bull of Canonisation that refers to bringing back to life of three dead people.²⁵⁰ It is included in the Breviary,²⁵¹ and the *Vita*.²⁵²

The identification assumes that this is a before and after depiction, with what would originally have been a large shape to the left representing the well, with the mother leaning over it as her son falls. On the right are shown the mother and her son, the mother originally held a large crucifix over the child.

If the identification of CHn3:37 is correct, it plausibly came from 8b, meaning the original location for CHn3:39 was 8d. Koopmans has suggested that miracles

²⁴⁹ *Breviarium*, 75, 303; *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 290-1.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, 129.

²⁵¹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 303.

²⁵² *Historians*, ed. Raine, Vol. 2, 290-1.

themselves changed their role in the focus of their cults, especially those which may have been seen as somewhat suspect, such as those involving sick or drowned children.²⁵³

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre described the panel, CHn3:39 was switched to its other light-type.

Torre:²⁵⁴

Description: “12 In 2d Light two Women are kneeling at their devotions 1st habited vt & O, 2d purple.”

8					
6		39			
4					
2					
1					

Intervention: at some stage between Torre and Browne (in the 1690s or the 1760s) the panel was moved to the top row, either within its light or to its alternative light-type.

Browne:

Comment: The suggested location is based on a process of elimination, together with where the panel was before and after Browne’s description. 8d is more likely than 8b.

8		[or 39?]		[or 39?]	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Intervention: at some stage, CHn3:39 was switched back to its alternative light-type, from the second to the fourth light or, if it had been in 8d in Browne, it was retained in its existing place. The latter is more likely than the former.

=Knowles York Photo:²⁵⁵

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

=Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁵⁶

Description: “Two figures with their backs to each other both apparently female left one clad in yell tunic and green robe appears to look at a book. The other has pink robe with white [stripe] down it. Her knees bent as if [censured] another yell figure seems to be near her.”

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

²⁵³ Koopmans, *Wonderful to relate*, 119.
²⁵⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 124.
²⁵⁵ YCL Knowles Photographic Collection: JS13 H15.
²⁵⁶ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.159r.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁵⁷

Description: “4.To the left is the figure of a man robed in yellow tunic and green cloak looking down upon a brown

colour idol which is laid on the ground and to the right hand is a lady shewing a crucifix to a youth or girl. The lady has an expression of surprised pleasure on her face and her robe consists of a white tunic and ruby cloak lined with ermine. The youth or maiden has a slight graceful figure and wears a yellow robe crossed by bands of colour.”

Comment: Note that Knowles describes the face of the right-hand woman and the crucifix that she was holding. He now sees the left-hand figure as male.

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

1929-32 Re-leading:²⁵⁸

No new leads/soldering visible on the photograph. However, Knowles described the expression on the face of the central figure as one of “surprised pleasure”, which was then replaced by clear glass (this presumably relates to the figure now to the right of the two remaining figures), as was the crucifix which Knowles saw as being shown to “a youth or girl”. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵⁹

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: an area of drapery on right-hand figure has been replaced.

*Grisaille: it appears to be as before the restoration.*²⁶⁰

O’Connor and Haselock.²⁶¹

Comments They identified one of the scenes (unspecified) as the “rescue of a drowning boy”.

Brown:²⁶²

Description: “Unidentified scene.”

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

²⁵⁷ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.65r.

²⁵⁸ See Figure CHn3:39: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4969, 1931 above.

²⁵⁹ YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4885, (est) 1929-32: 56 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24c).

²⁶⁰ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn3:39: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4969, 1931 and YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 4970, 1957: 56, 4L1P.

²⁶¹ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 340.

²⁶² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Original location, appearance and iconography;**Possible original location:**

8					
6					[40?]
4					
2					
1					

Iconography and original location: Either the second part of a double miracle (eg woman cured after swallowing a frog) or a single miracle.

History of the panel:

Intervention by 1690-91: before Torre described the panel, the panel originally in 6e might have been switched out of its A light-type to a B light-type, with CHn3:17 possibly going in the other direction.

Torre:

Comment: The panel had been lost by the time of Torre's description.

Photographic record:



Figure CHn4:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.

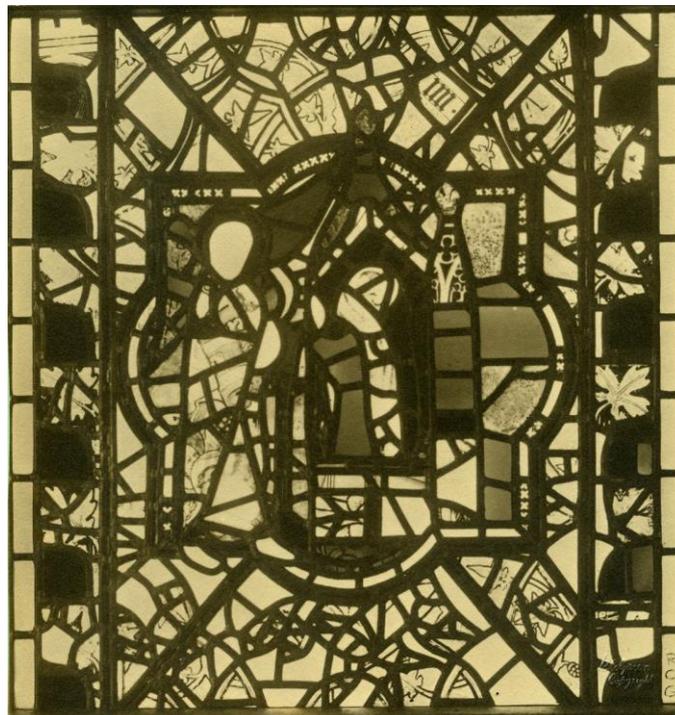


Figure CHn4:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹

¹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5018, ca.1952: 55, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021204, "in or before 1952": 55, 1L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

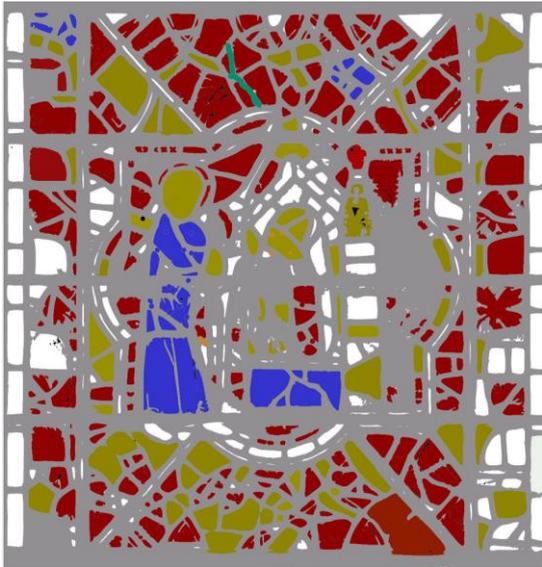


Figure CHn4:6: Restoration History

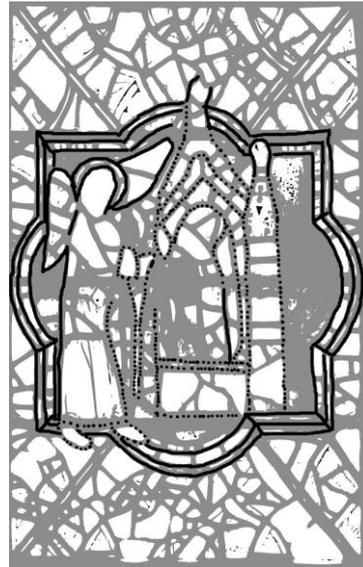


Figure CHn4:6: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²

			6	

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The borders are symmetrical and the medallion nudges, but does not overlap, them.

The glass in the medallion is almost all intruded, so much of the following depends on previous descriptions and the existence of what may be original lead lines. There are two figures, much disturbed. An angel is standing to the left-hand side, with a mainly original right-hand wing closed and a left-hand one extended towards the building in the centre. Its original left wing is open. It has an original red nimbus and its feet extend beyond the frame of the medallion. He is holding a mysterious artefact, now in yellow, rather like a staff or a stick. He is dressed in Milner White-intruded yellow, although Torre saw yellow clothing. In the centre is a building, very little of which is original, surmounted by a pepperpot tower which breaks the outline of the medallion and which contains some original glass at the topmost. There is a second, lower pepperpot tower to the right, with an original white piece of glass at the topmost point. There are the lead lines, which may be original, of a kneeling figure beneath an archway under the main pepperpot tower, but there is no sign of a nimbus. There is a low barrier in front of the kneeling figure, which may well have contained original masonry.

² Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: The angel visits Katherine in prison.³ Even allowing for the switch of the first and fourth lights, Morgan has rightly commented that this panel is out of narrative sequence, allowing the philosophers' narrative to proceed uninterrupted.⁴ There may be an implication that the Angel is telling Katherine what will occur. The involvement of the angel occurs more frequently in the texts than in stained glass. No example has been identified in glazing schemes, though it is noted that, in Chartres Cathedral, the angel is sitting alongside Katherine in the actual debate with the philosophers.⁵ Note the comments in Chapter 4 about the construction of the prison (notably its tower and the low masonry) and its possible reference to Katherine's virginal state.⁶ Note also the fact that there is no sign of Katherine holding a book or other scholarly attribute.

Morgan has convincingly argued that the fourth and the first lights were switched in the course of the eighteenth century. Given the blue background, the original locations for the panel were either 2d or 6d, of which 2d is the more plausible as the scene is early in the chronology of the narrative.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁷

Description: "19 In 4th Light stands an Angel habited A & O glory gu winged of zd presenting something to a Man kneeling under an Arch habited B & murry".

			6	

Drake:⁸

Comments: in Haynes's etching the grisaille can still be seen in a B-B-C-A-A pattern across the window.

Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.⁹

Halfpenny:¹⁰

By the 1795 etching, the grisaille was switched to an A-B-C-B-A sequence.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: CHn4:6 had "both figures much disarranged".

³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 11; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 268; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 155-67; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi

⁴ Morgan, "Catherine," 158.

⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:5b.

⁶ A window showing the Life of St Margaret in s3 in the cathedral at Clermont-Ferrand contains nine panels with a similar emphasis on the construction of towers. Other images are in the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 125:3a and 3b; at Chartres, Bay 16:4b and 8b, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

⁸ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

⁹ Morgan, "Catherine," 156.

¹⁰ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102 (Figure 8).

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹¹

Description: [in pencil] “St Catherine in the Tower.

A tower having a niched opening with a gabled top crocketed and beside the opening a figure of St Katherine.

Standing near the two an angel with yell wings, ruby nimbus who looks to the figure inside. Both figures much disarranged. Background blue

Colour of robes St Catherine yell tunic and green cloak

[...] tunic purple cloak SCHEMA St C in a tower.”

6				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹²

Description: “St C in the Tower

Through an arches opening in a Tower is St C with an angel with folded wings near her.”

6				

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹³

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁴

6				

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: area of painted glass which had been inserted removed and chequered glass pieces inserted.

Grisaille: two mending leads and one piece of glass inscribed “iiii” and itself an intrusion removed and replaced.

Borders: one area of intruded glass, painted with horizontal lines, removed and plain glass, lead, inserted for leaf Pre-Milner White Restoration borders.¹⁵

Milner White:¹⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

6				

Brown:¹⁷

Description: “St Catherine visited by an angel.”

6				

¹¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153r.

¹² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.57r.

¹³ See Figure CHn4:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L7P above.

¹⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L7P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5018, ca.1952: 55, 1L7P.

¹⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

¹⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Morgan:¹⁸

Description: “An Angel visits Katherine in prison. Maxentius tried to isolate Katherine within the frame of the prison, an attempt which failed

because in [CHn4:6, 37 and 39], “the prison provides a focus for spiritual engagement, which belies its function as a place of confinement [...]. With Katherine remaining to the right of the panel, her interaction with her visitors, be they an angel [CHn4:6], Porphyrius and Maxentius’s wife [CHn4:39] or Christ himself [CHn4:37], reconfigures the oppositional iconography of the court scenes into one of communication, reassurance and devotion.”

Comments: As can be seen from the text, an alternative explanation of the structure of this, and other, similar, panels is that the formal arrangements of the figures may serve to emphasise contemporary motifs showing a virginal way of life. This could be articulated as “a focus for spiritual engagement”, but other evidence in the window suggests it can more simply be explained by the virginal references.

6				

Changes since Knowles:

Knowles saw that Katherine had a yellow tunic and green clothing, while she is now wearing blue and murrey. However, Torre described the clothing as B and murrey, so it is possible that Knowles erred, in which case the original blue and murrey might have been followed in later interventions.

Current:

6				

¹⁸ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157. Numbers in square brackets indicate the numbering scheme of the current work.

Photographic record:

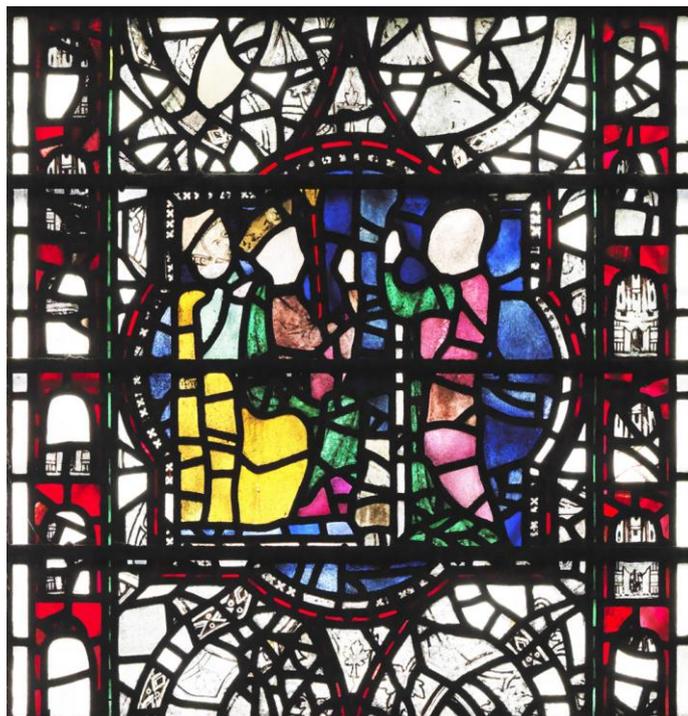


Figure CHn4:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

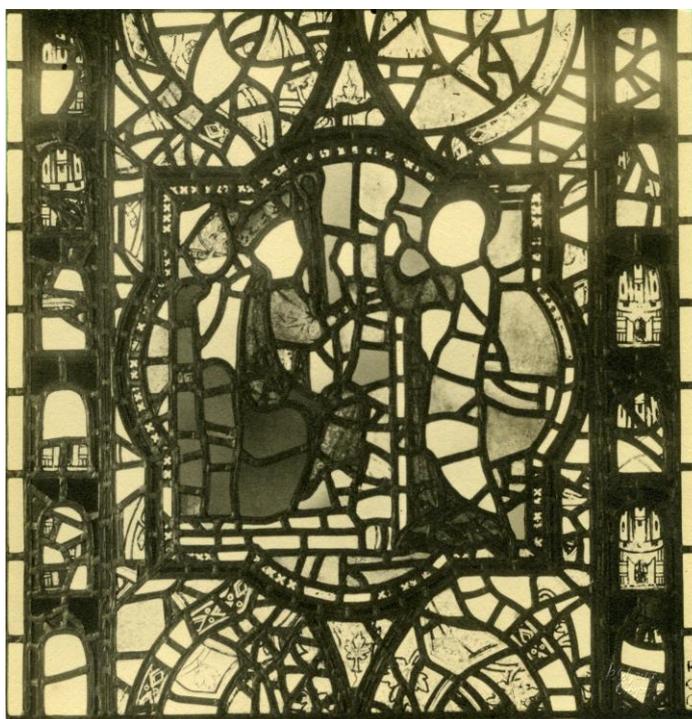


Figure CHn4:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5019, ca.1931: 55, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹

¹⁹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5020, ca.1952: 55, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021205, "in or before 1951":55, 2L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

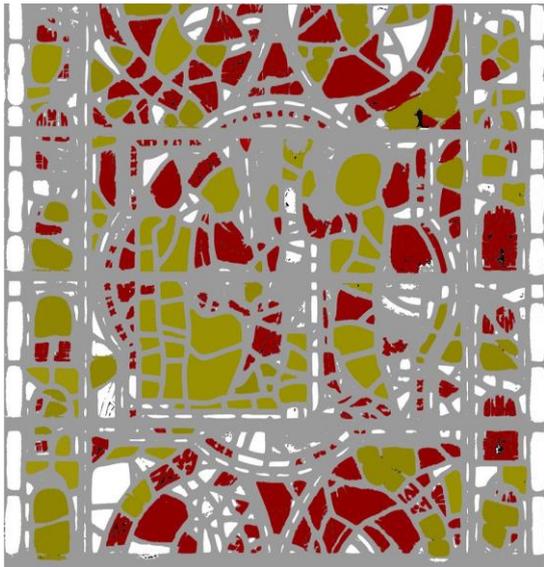


Figure CHn4:7: Restoration History

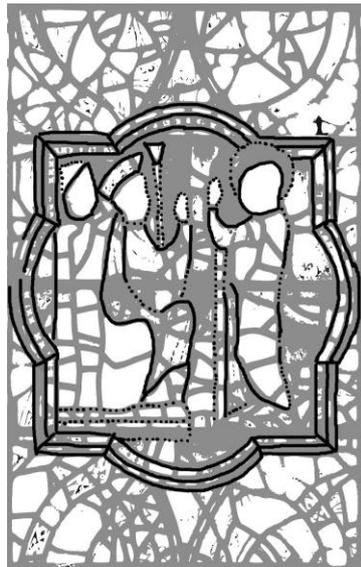


Figure CHn4:7: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²⁰

	7			

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The castles in the borders are symmetrical and the medallion nudges, but does not overlap, the borders.

The figure to the left is standing behind the central figure. The left-hand figure has a coif and a slightly pointed pink hat (not the purple seen by Knowles, "Manuscript Notes"), resembling a Jewish cap (Type-3). Torre saw him dressed in yellow, of which one small piece may have survived. The emperor is seated, wearing a murrey tunic and green cloak. He is holding a staff with original endpiece in his left hand (latter not visible) and his right hand is held up. He is wearing an original crown. Facing him, on the right, is a figure with what may be an original white glass head, with the paint now lost, in a green tunic and intruded lilac cloak (although there is one piece of original sanguine, as described by Torre.) Assuming this is St Katherine, her left hand is raising to match that of the emperor, but hers is slightly higher.

There are the lead lines of a post, stake or similar-shaped artefact close to the figure of the saint.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Roll of hair at forehead. Thick and thin painted lines in hair. Large, rounded eyebrows. Thin line under eyes. Probably Workshop 1.

²⁰ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: “Katherine protesting to Maxentius”.²¹

There are numerous textual versions of the various encounters between Katherine and Maxentius. Because of the disordering of medieval glass, it is not always possible to determine which encounter between the two protagonists is being portrayed. However, one of the most likely is in St-Père in Chartres, where the two are holding a discussion before witnesses. There the view is clearly three-quarters, which removes some of the conflict from the image.²² There are two possible images in Auxerre, but in both of them Katherine is shown as a submissive victim, either because she is held by a guard in front of Maxentius or because she is being led away to prison.²³ Only in Chartres are there closer parallels: as in York, both figures have their hands raised, hers above his,²⁴ with the suggestion of her moral superiority. In York, there is already the presence of the evil counsellor (who does not feature until later in the textual narratives). The evil prefect may have been wearing his pointed hat (Jewish, Type-3), which he only wears in those scenes which include a confrontation with Katherine, a headdress similar in outline to the one worn by the Jew in n23:5b in the nave aisle.²⁵ Note the fact that Katherine is probably not holding a book or other scholarly attribute.

In *Seinte Katerine*, the debate in this encounter concentrates on a discussion of the validity of the notion of the Virgin Birth, echoing the thirteenth-century criticism by the Jews of the same concept and possibly underscoring the association made in the window between Katherine and the cult of the Virgin.²⁶

This is similar to other initial scenes in the narrative of the windows (see Chapter 3): it is the action by Maxentius (CHn4:9) and Katherine’s voluntary reaction to it here, which initiate the sequence of events which lead inevitably to her final martyrdom.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁷

Description: “17 In 2d Light stand 3 together each Elevating one of their hands. 1st a Man habited O. And another Man habited O & vt. 3rd a Woman habited vt & sanguine respecting both the other.”

	7			

Comments: This could fit Torre.

Fig 1: The clothing is intruded.

Fig 2: T says the figure is in O and vt. In fact, there are signs of original murrey and vt. It is unlikely that murrey would have been confused for vt.

Fig 3: This is possible. Torre says the figure is in vt and sanguine. The currently intruded pink could have been following Torre’s “sanguine”.

²¹ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 81-135; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 264; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

²² *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 226: left-hand lancet.

²³ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 26:2a and 2c.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:5a.

²⁵ Figure 27a.

²⁶ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 265.

²⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁸

Description: [in pencil] “St K before Maxentius

To the left a king seated on a throne or chair of state. In purple tunic and green cloak. Crown on his head. A Doctor standing behind his chair in yell robe and purp cap. Standing before the King to the right is a noble looking figure in green tunic and purp loose cloak who looks towards the figure inside and hold her right hand up in admonition.

SCHEMA: St C before Max.”

	7			

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁹

Description: “2.St C standing before Maxentius

The cruel emp is seen seated on a throne with crown on his head and in front of him St C is standing robed green tunic and pink cloak with hand raised pleading for the people.”

	7			

1929-1932 Re-leading:³⁰

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³¹

	7			

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.³²*

Milner White:³³

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

	7			

Brown:³⁴

Description: ? St Catherine before the Emperor.

	7			

²⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153r.

²⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.57r.

³⁰ Figure CHn4:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5019, ca.1931: 55, 2L7P above.

³¹ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

³² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5019, ca.1931: 55, 2L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5020, ca.1952: 55, 2L7P.

³³ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

³⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Morgan:³⁵

Description: “Katherine before Maxentius.” “The thematic action of the window takes place in the doubly framed central space between the saint and her opponents where the ideas that enrage Maxentius [CHn4:7, 10 and 27] and convert the more sophisticated philosophers [CHn4:20] are exchanged.”

Comments: This is, of course, plausible, though it is suggested that the space around Katherine more strongly suggests the virginal theme in the window.

	7			

Changes since Knowles:

Interventions: the “doctor” had a purple hat, which is now flesh coloured and he was wearing a yellow robe, while it is now turquoise.

Current:

	7			

³⁵ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

Photographic record:

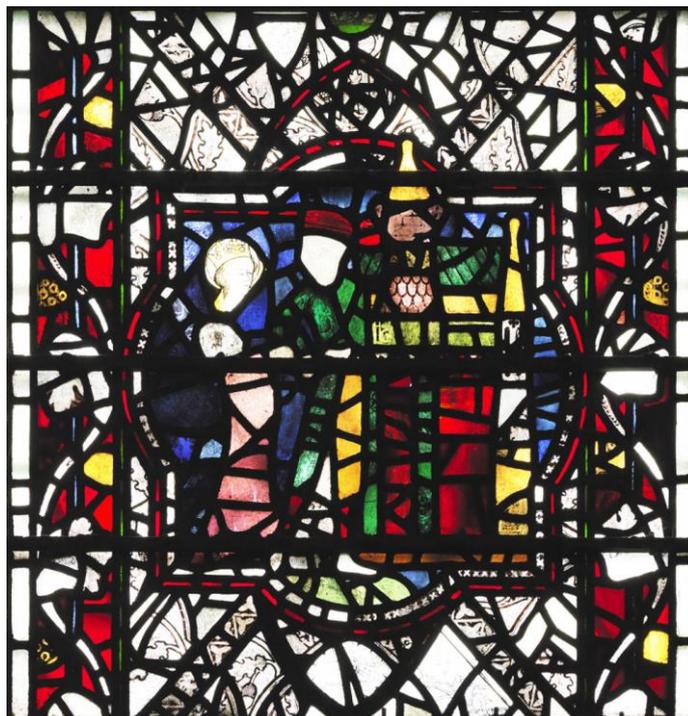


Figure CHn4:8 Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 2c © York Glaziers Trust.

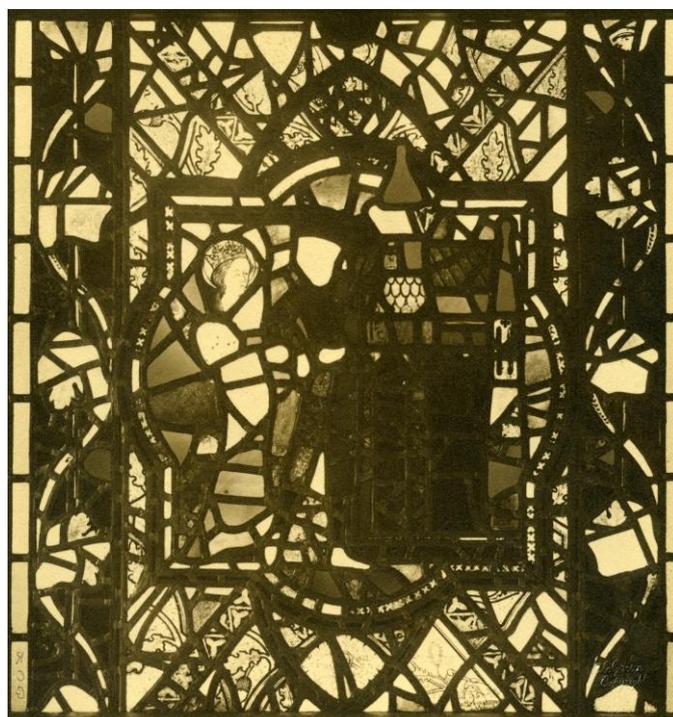


Figure CHn4:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5021, ca.1931: 55, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.³⁶

³⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5022, ca.1952: 55, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021206, "in or before 1951": 55, 3L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

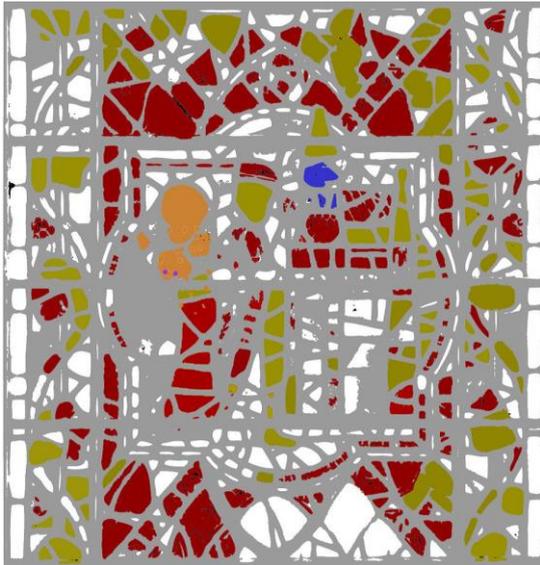


Figure CHn4:8: Restoration History

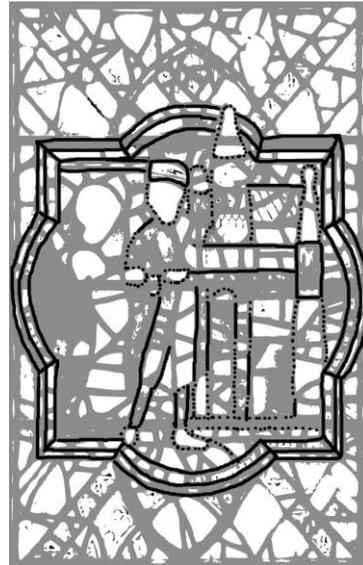


Figure CHn4:8: Original Lead Lines

Original location:³⁷

		8		

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The borders are symmetrical and the medallion only slightly overlaps them.

There is very little clearly original glass in the panel, but some of the lead lines may be original. There are two figures standing to the centre and left of the panel. One is a female figure, with original glass in sanguine at the bottom. Originally, there may have been hands being held out in front of the figure. The second figure has an original red hat and some signs of green tunic. He currently has red hose, but it is likely this was originally yellow. It is possible that he is holding a red stick or sword in his left hand, which is above the head of the female figure, but the glass is disturbed and the angle of the arm would have been awkward. He is leading the female figure towards a building with two pepperpot towers, murrey tile work and green roof. The left-hand tower breaks through the frame of the scene. The doors are green with ironwork painting. The right-hand tower has a window immediately beneath, with two lancets and an oculus. The lower part of the tower may have been yellow. It is not clear whether the red of the door opening is original.

³⁷ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: Katherine escorted to prison.³⁸ Note the comments in Chapter 4 about the construction of the prison and its possible reference to Katherine's virginal state.³⁹ This panel marks the introduction of Katherine to her prison, which occasionally is presented as her sanctuary rather than a place of confinement. Its significance is stressed by the fact that it is located in the central axis. As Morgan has pointed out, the position of the gaoler in CHn4:26 resembles that of the executioner in CHn4:36, giving an indication of Katherine's subsequent martyrdom.⁴⁰ Note that this is one of the panels where it is not possible to tell whether Katherine is holding a book or other scholarly attribute.

In glass, the image can be found in Auxerre, Bay 26:2a, showing Maxentius ordering Katherine's removal to prison after the initial confrontation with Maxentius. In Chartres Cathedral, Bay 16:4b shows what may represent this scene, but as Katherine was transported on several occasions to her prison, the identification cannot be certain. Note in Chartres, the scene is one of the many where she is carrying a book as a sign of her learning.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁴¹

Description: "18 In 3d Light is a prison variously coloured B, gu, vt & O by wh stands a Queen robed sang & A crowned O trayled to the sd prison by an Officer habited vt & O cap gu."

		8		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the upper part of the left-hand figure was a "late insertion".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁴²

Description: [In pencil] "St C taken to prison
A building with an arched doorway with pinnacles and a tower to it before which is a man clad in green coat and yell socks leading St Katherine clad in purple top to the tower doorway. The upper half of the latter figure is replaced by a female nimbed figure of late date. The man seems to brandish a red sword over his head. Ba of blue
SCHEMA: St C taken to prison."

		8		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁴³

Description: "3.St C ordered to be cast into the dungeon a jailor holding aloft a red sword in his hand is conducting the said into a prison doorway the entrance to a large building with a tower that has pinnacles at the corner of it."

		8		

³⁸ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 267; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

³⁹ See comments on CHn4:6 above.

⁴⁰ Morgan, "Catherine," 159.

⁴¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

⁴² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.153r.

⁴³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.57r.

1929-1932 Re-leading:⁴⁴

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁴⁵

		8		

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: one area around tower rebuilt and one either rebuilt or given mending leads.
 Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
 Borders: one small piece of mending lead visible. No visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.⁴⁶*

Milner White:⁴⁷

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

		8		

Brown:⁴⁸

		8		

Morgan:⁴⁹

Description: Katherine escorted to prison. In [CHn4:8, 16 and 26] “the transportation of Katherine from court to prison at the Emperor’s behest [...] disrupts the oppositional iconography of the other medallions, producing scenes in which all the characters face in the same direction”.⁵⁰

		8		

Changes since Knowles:

The legs of the male figure were yellow and are now red.

Current:

		8		

⁴⁴ Figure CHn4:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5021, ca.1931: 55, 3L7P above.
⁴⁵ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).
⁴⁶ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5021, ca.1931: 55, 3L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5022, ca.1952: 55, 3L7P.
⁴⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.
⁴⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.
⁴⁹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

Window: CHn4

Panel number: CHn4:9

(CVMA: 2d)

Photographic record:

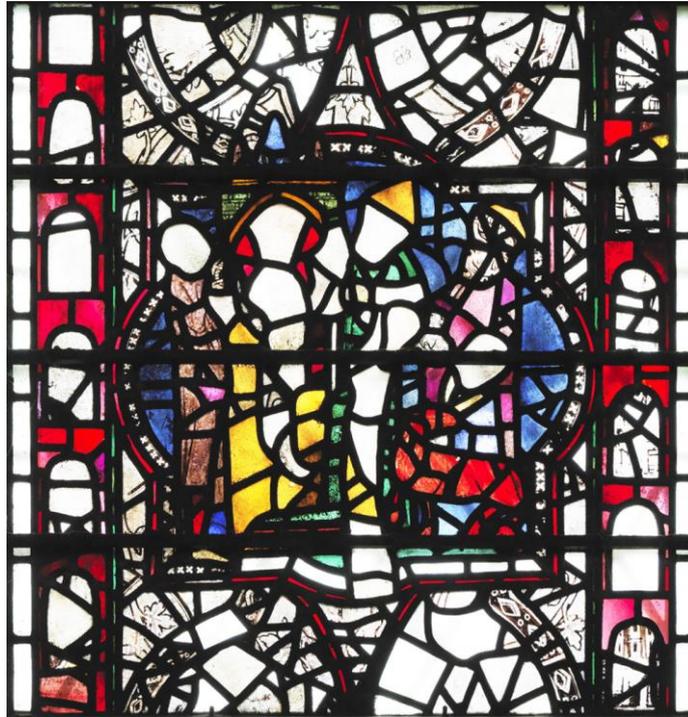


Figure CHn4:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.

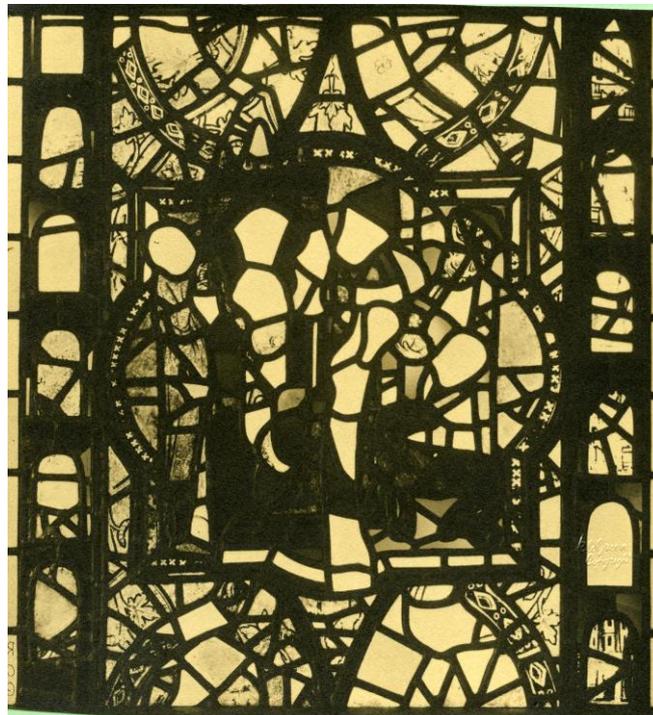


Figure CHn4:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5023, ca.1931: 55, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵¹

⁵¹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5024, ca.1952: 55, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021207, "in or before 1951": 55, 4L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

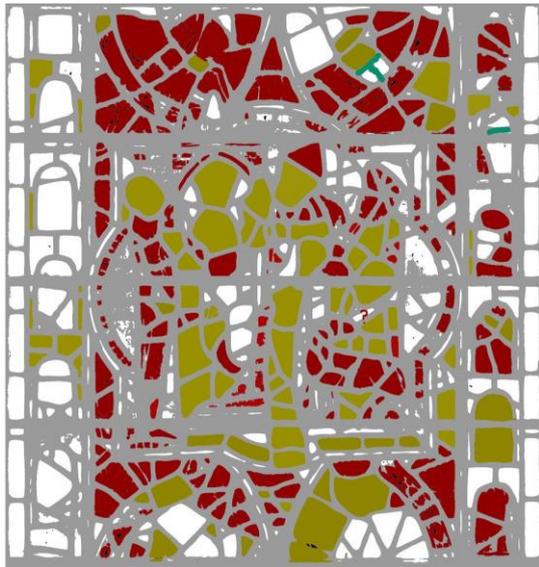


Figure CHn4:9: Restoration History

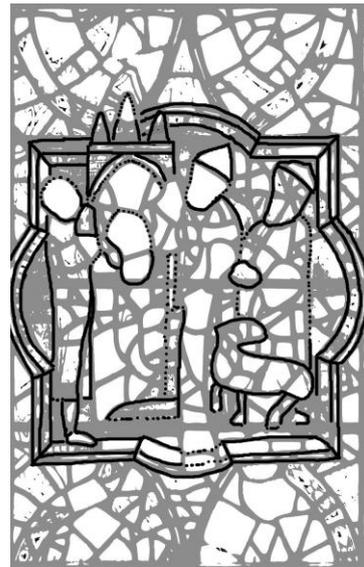


Figure CHn4:9: Original Lead Lines

Original location: ⁵²

			9	

Probable original appearance: the normal CHn4 medallion, with red outer and decorated white inner rim. Blue background.

A building with three towers (the central one higher than the others) protruding into the grisaille, two outer in murrey. Yellow coping stones and green masonry. Yellow edge to an entrance arch, arch filled with red.

In front is an unclear number of figures. In front of the doorway there probably was a yellow throne with a seated king whom Torre saw in red and yellow. The king may have had a sceptre in his hand (deduced from possible original lead lines). Behind the throne to the left was a figure in murrey with red hose and yellow shoes. On the right was a figure in what Torre saw as a mitre but would have been a pointed Jewish hat, whom Torre saw as dressed in green and yellow. The figure to the right-hand side of the medallion was seen by Torre as dressed in sanguine and yellow (now with intruded lilac), holding a white animal, with a red dog at his feet. Knowles is clear that there was also an old man in the group with a rope or halter round his neck, but there is no evidence for any such figure, and no such figure was described by Torre.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Roll of hair, with thick and thin lines in hair and beard.

Iconography and original location: Beasts brought to be sacrificed.⁵³

It is a standard element in the Katherine story, but from the surviving panels, in windows it is less common. It may exist in H1 in Dol, where Maxentius faces

⁵² Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

⁵³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 5; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 262; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 25-45; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 335; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

Katherine in a possible exchange over his command; it is clearly shown in Chartres, again with Maxentius present, and in Rouen.⁵⁴ The image in York is unusual because there is no sign of Katherine at this stage: the panel sets the scene for her appearance in CHn4:7 in 2b. The main standing figure to whom the others appear to defer may have been a type of priest, wearing what may have been a Jewish-type of headdress (Type-2). The figure to the right is wearing a less prominent Jewish or “other” Type-4 headdress. A similar depiction of the pagan to the right as a Jew appears in the Rouen panel.⁵⁵ Clearly the depiction of figures involved in the pagan ceremony as Jews would be canonically erroneous. The iconography may well have been selected to underscore both the involvement of Jews in the Passion of Christ and the perceived threat posed by Jews to the virginity of Mary or it may simply have been a way of indicating the fact that they were non-Christian and were engaging in behaviour which was effectively anti-Christian.

This is similar to other initial scenes in the narrative of the windows: it is the action by Maxentius and Katherine’s voluntary reaction to it (in CHn4:7), which form the event which leads inevitably to her final martyrdom (see Chapter 3).

History of the Panel

Torre:⁵⁶

Description: “16 In bottom Row & 1st Light sits a King enthroned robed gu & A. on one hand stands an Attendant habited murry, hose gu, Shoes O. on the other hand stands a Bp habited vt & O Myter of zd. Besides the last stands a Noble Man habited O & sanguine having a little white dog in his Arms. And another Greyhound standing by him.”

9				

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*⁵⁷

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁵⁸

Description: “Six figures. 3 (one in green another in yell and one in blue habit) of them doctors apparently in deep argument. A man to the left in purp with red socks has in front of him an old man with a rope round his neck. A red dog is seen in the right hand of panel looking over its back out of the picture. Background blue

			9	

⁵⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 16:9a; Rouen, Bay 51:8a.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Rouen, Bay 51:8a.

⁵⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

⁵⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 158.

⁵⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153r.



Probably part of the story of St Edmund where the dog returns to the castle on foot. SCHEMA: Arguments.”

Comments: It is possible that Knowles’s “old man with a rope round his neck” may have been what remained of the seated emperor. It is not clear what his sketched cap is supposed to represent.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁵⁹

Description: “4.three men who wear doctors’ hats seen in earnest argument and in front of them an old man held as a prison with a halter round his neck by a jailer who is accompanied by a red dog which turns its head to look at something near.”

			9	

1929-1932 Re-leading:⁶⁰

The glass was re-leaded. The rope around the neck of the “old man” seen by Knowles was not visible after the re-leading. The head with the “doctor” hat (almost certainly a Jewish hat) was also lost. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁶¹

			9	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: one small piece of mending lead. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.⁶²*

Milner White:⁶³

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

			9	

⁵⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.57r.

⁶⁰ Figure CHn4:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5023, ca.1931: 55, 4L7P above.

⁶¹ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

⁶² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5023, ca.1931: 55, 4L7P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5024, ca.1952: 55, 4L7P.

⁶³ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

Brown:⁶⁴

Description: “?St Catherine disputes with the philosophers.”

			9	

Morgan:⁶⁵

Description: “Beasts brought to be sacrificed.”

			9	

Changes since Knowles:

No sign of the “doctor”: almost certainly the evil counsellor in a Jewish hat.

Current:

			9	

⁶⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

⁶⁵ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

Photographic record:

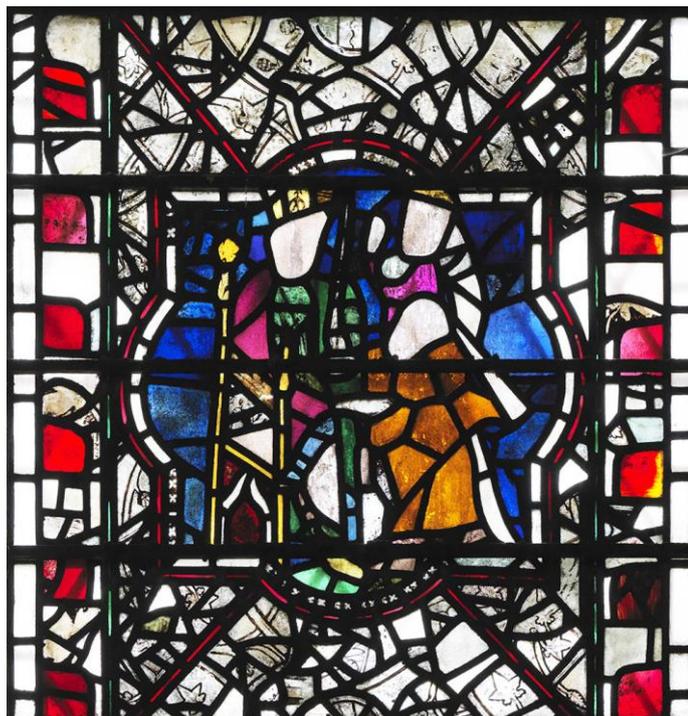


Figure CHn4:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

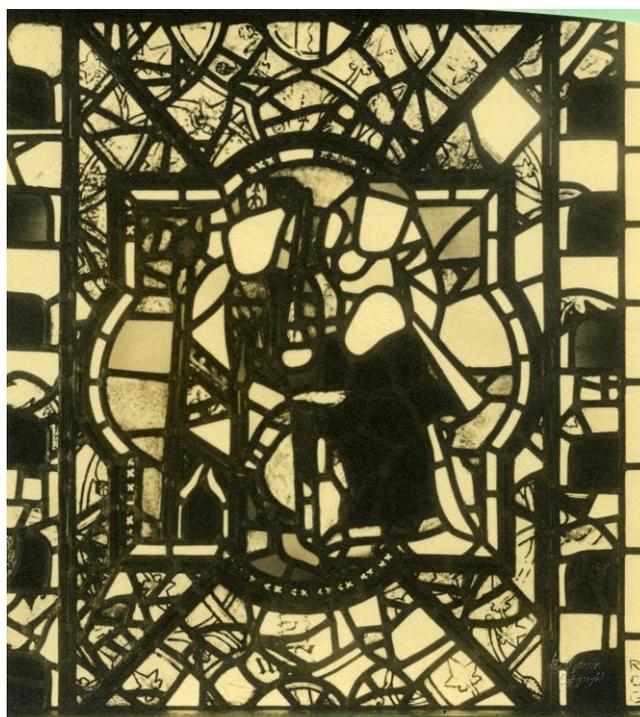


Figure CHn4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5025, ca.1931: 55, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5026, ca.1952: 55, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021208, "in or before 1952": 55, 5L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

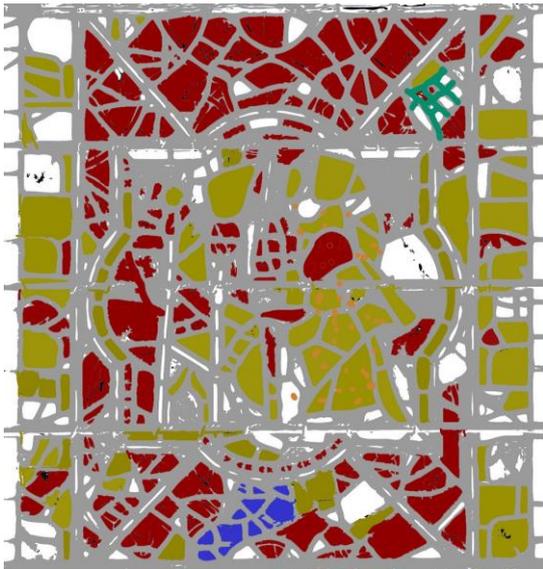


Figure CHn4:10: Restoration History

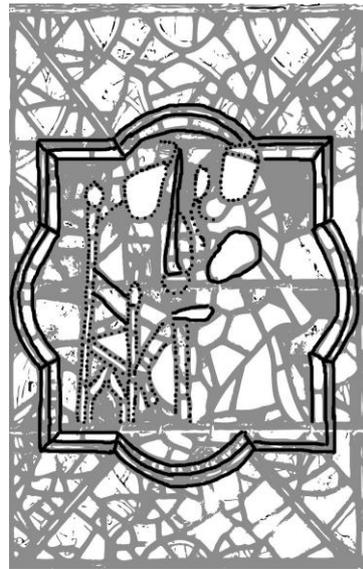


Figure CHn4:10: Original Lead Lines

Original location:⁶⁷

				10

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame nudges the borders.

The panel is much disturbed. There is a figure seated on the left with a probable crown, holding an upright sword and clothed in some original green glass. The chair resembles a throne in its complexity. There are signs the figure is cross-legged and may be handing something to one of the figures on the right. To the right is a standing figure, possibly in a simplified Jewish hat or one denoting “otherness” (Type-4), with his right hand raised. In front may be a kneeling figure.

Iconography and original location: Maxentius and advisers hatching the plot”.⁶⁸

Morgan has identified this as possibly showing another confrontation between Katherine and the Emperor, but this study concludes that it does not show the saint, because the other scenes showing confrontations (CHn4:7, 20 and 27) share common features: elsewhere Katherine is shown as standing erect, physically separated from the other figures in the scene and nimbed. In CHn4:10, there appear to be two figures in front of Maxentius, a standing figure with a possible Type-4 headdress of “otherness” and the second figure is kneeling in front of the first who is also unnimbed. If the headdress lead line is original in the standing figure, it must mean that the kneeling figure would be

⁶⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

⁶⁸ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 266; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 145-52; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 336; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

Katherine, but, in no other panel in the window is Katherine shown kneeling before the secular authority nor positioned in front of another figure (there is always space around her). It is suggested that this is a preliminary panel showing the initiation of the plot against Katherine among the Jews and the secular authorities. As in other contemporary renderings (and n23 in the nave in York), the conspirators were shown, uncanonically, as Jews.⁶⁹

The implication is that the philosophers' sequence starts oddly in the corner of row 2 and continues in row 4. Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 3, there is an emphasis on the corner position in that the involvement of the secular authorities and the Jews against Katherine appeared in 2a and 2e, while her appreciation by the good Empress and Porphyrius (the latter also wearing a hat of "otherness" or Jewishness) was in 8a. This sequence of four panels is also the most elaborate found in the texts or imagery. It creates individual scenes in the narrative based on brief allusions of the texts and therefore expands the implication of a Jewish/secular conspiracy against Katherine. As such, it also reinforces the Christological aspects of Katherine's cult.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁷⁰

Description: "20 In 5th Light sits a King in a Chair robed vt & O crowned of zd holding in his hand a Naked Sword poynted downwards. A Queen also sits by him robed gu."

				10

Comments: If the headdress of the standing figure is a Jewish- or "other" style hat, it makes the identification as a Queen less likely. Torre erred in describing the sword as pointing downwards.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

In CHn4:10, the standing figure was "much jumbled".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁷¹

Description: [in pencil] "They adjourn to the beh[eading]

A king to the left seated on a chair with crown on his head and a sword held erect in his hand clad in green tunic looking down at a man who kneels before him in supplication clad yell coat. A figure stands behind this one but both are much jumbled.

				10

SCHEMA: Supplicant before the King."

⁶⁹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," in St-Père of Chartres, Bay 226: left-hand lancet; the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 125:1a and 1b; at Dol, the east window:H2 and H3 and at Rouen, Bay 51:2c and 4c, where the mitre is almost certainly a repair for what had originally been a pointed hat; and "Other sites," Freiburg Münster, n39:2b and 2c. See also n23 in the north nave aisle in the Minster (Figure16a).

⁷⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

⁷¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.153v.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁷²

Description: "5. Captain of the host pleading before Maxentius.

This panel is much dilapidated but represents Max seated on his throne

crowned and holding a sword end in his hand and looking down at a man who is kneeling in supplicating attitude. In the background another figure is standing probably intended for the man's accuser."

				10

1929-1932 Re-leading:⁷³

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷⁴

				10

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one mending lead.
Grisaille: one area had mending leads inserted. The lower area had inscriptions on the glass clearly previously intruded, which Milner White removed. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.⁷⁵*

Milner White:⁷⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

				10

Morgan:⁷⁷

Description: "Katherine before Maxentius?"

"The thematic action of the window takes place in the doubly framed central space between the saint and her opponents where the ideas that enrage

Maxentius [CHn4:7, 10 and 27] and convert the more sophisticated philosophers [CHn4:20] are exchanged."

Comments: Morgan identifies this as, possibly, "Katherine before Maxentius", but the standing figure appears to be wearing a Type-4 Jewish style hat, which means that Morgan must have identified the kneeling figure as Katherine. This would make it the only scene in the window in which Katherine is kneeling to Maxentius and the only one where she is not shown surrounded by space. Ae. A third difficulty is that there is no sign of the kneeling figure, if saintly, being nimbed, which, again would make it unique in the window.

				10

⁷² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.57r.

⁷³ Figure CHn4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5025, ca.1931: 55, 5L7P above.

⁷⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

⁷⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5025, ca.1931: 55, 5L7P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5026, ca.1952: 55, 5L7P.

⁷⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

⁷⁷ Morgan, "Catherine," 159.

Current:

				10

Photographic record:

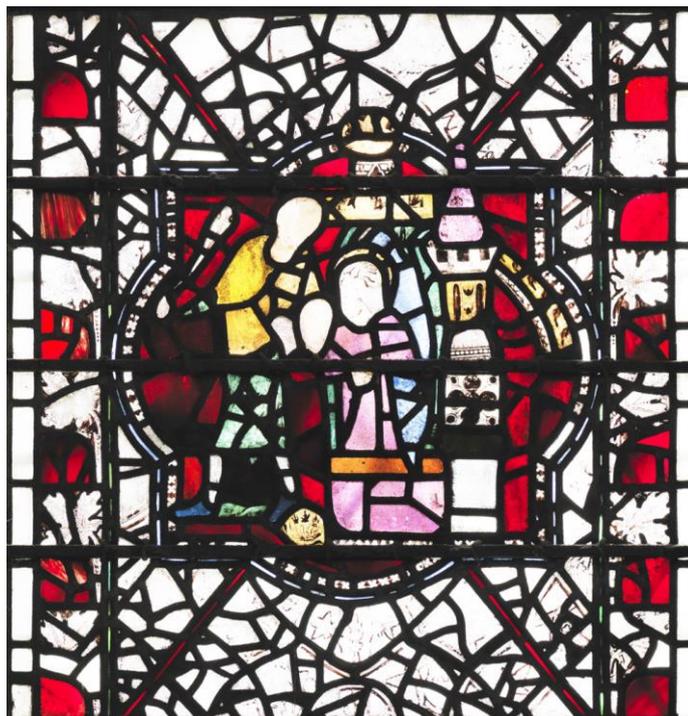


Figure CHn4:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.

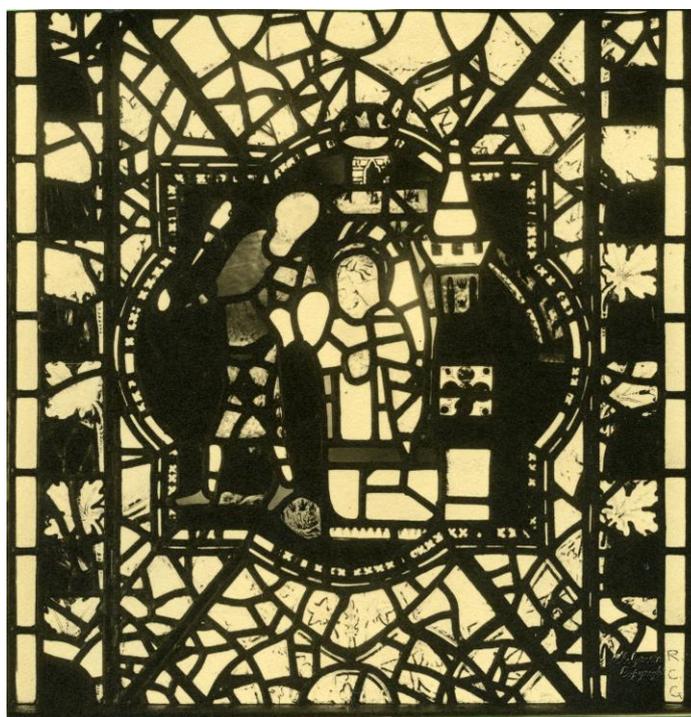


Figure CHn4:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5037, ca.1931: 55, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5038, ca.1952: 55, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021214, "in or before 1951": 55, 1L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

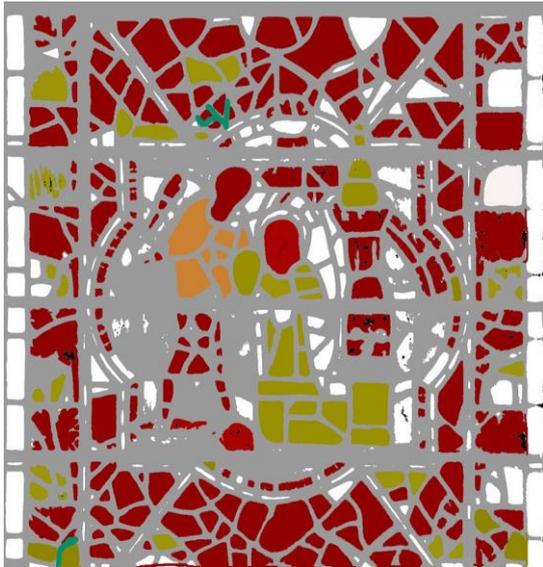


Figure CHn4:16: Restoration History

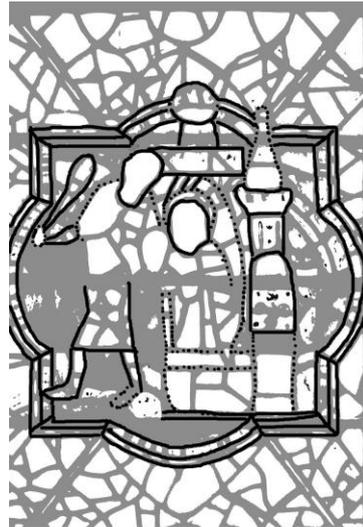


Figure CHn4:16: Original Lead Lines

Original location:⁷⁹

			16	

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

There is a figure to the left, in some original green tunic and white hose or bare legs, holding a lash or a whip up in his right hand, in blue shoes. He is standing on green grass near what may be a clump of yellow flowers. This activity is aimed at a figure, probably originally kneeling, to the centre of the medallion, with an original head (the head shows a similar strip of hair up the centre to that adopted by Barnett in his CH1 copies). This figure has what may have been originally a yellow nimbus. The figure is in an arch with a blue background, under a yellow flanged and white tower to the centre. The lead lines suggest there may have been a masonry barrier across the lower part of the figure. There is a structure to the right showing a pepperpot tower (both of the superstructures break the medallion frame), surrounded by white battlements, a yellow wall pierced with two small lancets and a white structure, part of which shows a quatrefoil. Outside the building, to the farthest right, is the edge of a white beaded arch with yellow flanges. This feature is also present in CHn4:26, 37 and may have been originally in 6.

It is likely that the gaoler type of figure is pulling the kneeling figure towards him, possibly dragging her out of the prison. This can be detected from the direction of the gaoler's legs, pointing towards the left of the medallion.

⁷⁹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Central quiff of hair, flung backwards. Varied thick and thin lines in hair. Probably Workshop 1.

Iconography ad original location: Katherine brought from prison.⁸⁰

This is an attempt to remove Katherine from prison, indicated by the direction the feet of the gaoler are pointing. Note the comments in Chapter 4 about the construction of the prison and its possible reference to Katherine’s virginal state. The fact that there appears to be an attempt to remove her forcibly may dramatically underscore the immensity of the challenge she is about to face or it may show that her prison is becoming her sanctuary and reinforce the physical intactness sought by the true virgin. No other depiction of this scene has been identified. Note the fact that Katherine is probably not holding a book or other scholarly attribute. There is no indication in the textual sources examined that Katherine was reluctant to come before Maxentius at this stage, indeed Clemence of Barking stresses her enthusiasm.⁸¹

History of the Panel

Torre:⁸²

Description: “14 In 4th light stands a man habited O skirts vt bareheaded with a white whip in his hand lashing another yt kneels before him habited murry.”

			16	

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*⁸³

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the upper part of the left-hand figure had been “replaced by yellow glass”.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁸⁴

Description: [In pencil] “Prob beheading Porphyry.

A towered prison with arch opening and in it the half figure of a man clad in pale purple with yellow nimbus (the back of niche blue) and outside a man in green tunic and bare legs taking hold of the St with his left hand and brandishing a sword or club with his right hand. Upper part of figure replaced by yell glass. Grassy foreground. Ruby background. SCHEMA: Beheading of a man in a tower.”

16				

⁸⁰ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 12; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 268.

⁸¹ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 12.

⁸² YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

⁸³ Morgan, “Catherine,” 156.

⁸⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153v.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁸⁵

Description: “Porphyry beheaded
In door with an arched opening is seen
the half figure of [Por] his head nimbed
and who has been laid hold of by an
executioner who is about to kill him with a sword or club.”

16				

1929-1932 Re-leading:⁸⁶

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁸⁷

16				

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: one area had mending leads inserted. Pre-Milner White restoration
grisaille surround
Borders: one possible mending lead. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*⁸⁸

Milner White:⁸⁹

Comments: Milner White reported that
he had reinserted the panels in their
pre-war location.

16				

Morgan:⁹⁰

Description: Katherine brought from
prison (in the schema). Katherine
taken to prison (in the text). “This panel
is intended to echo the panel located
above [CHn4:36, originally in 8d]. [CHn4:16] shows Katherine being escorted to
prison, the guard standing over her with a white whip; in [CHn4:36], her
executioner is in a similar position.”⁹¹

In [CHn4:16 and 26] “the transportation of Katherine from court to prison at the
Emperor’s behest disrupts the oppositional iconography of the other
medallions, producing scenes in which all the characters face in the same
direction”.⁹²

16				

Current:

16				

⁸⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

⁸⁶ Figure CHn4:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5037, ca.1931: 55, 1L5P above.

⁸⁷ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

⁸⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5037, ca.1931: 55, 1L5P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5038, ca.1952: 55, 1L5P.

⁸⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

⁹⁰ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

⁹¹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 159.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 167.

Photographic record:

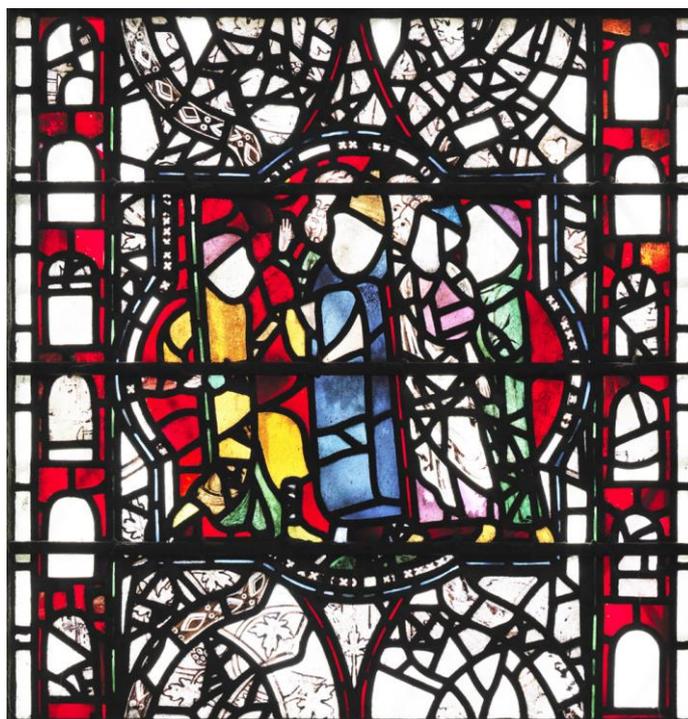


Figure CHn4:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 4b © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn4:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5039, ca.1931: 55, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁹³

⁹³ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5040, ca.1952: 55, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021215, "in or before 1952": 55, 2L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

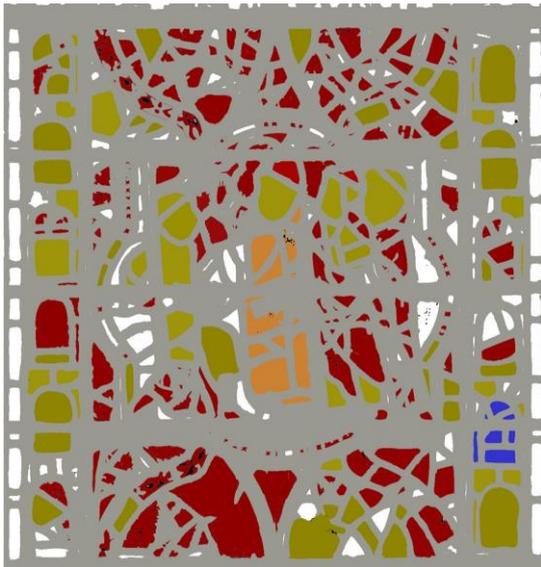


Figure CHn4:17: Restoration History

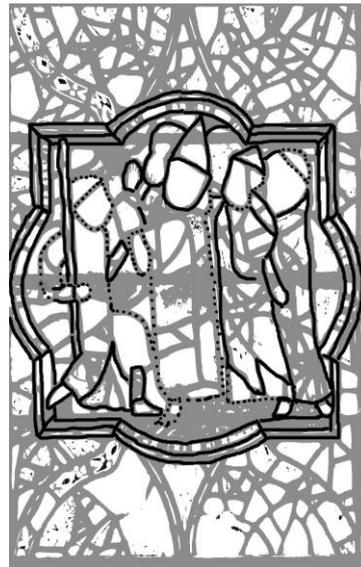


Figure CHn4:17: Original Lead Lines

Original location:⁹⁴

	17			

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders. The borders are not entirely symmetrical.

Seven figures are in the medallion: one to the left facing the other six. The left-hand figure is in a semi-kneeling position, dressed in a green tunic, yellow cloak, yellow shoes and blue hose, holding a green staff with a white top in his right hand. With his left hand he is reaching out to the figures opposite: he may have been handing the foremost figure an object (such as a writ or summons). Of the figures facing him, three are at the front and three behind. Of the three behind, the right-hand one is wearing green and is holding his right hand aloft. He is bare headed and is bearded. Of the other two, only the faces are visible: they, too, are bare headed. Of the three figures at the front, first is a figure with what may be original glass in his face and a yellow Jewish tall pointed hat. Behind him is a figure in a blue Jewish hat (Type-4), a murrey tunic and white cloak. His left hand appears to be held pointing downwards. The final figure is dressed in green, with yellow shoes. The edge of his drapery breaks the frame of the medallion.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 1.

1. Thick and thin lines in hair and beard. Rounded, heavy eyebrows. Large eyes. Flattened nose. Wide M-mouth outline.
2. Thick and thin lines in hair. Heavy, rounded eyebrows, large eyes.
3. Thick and thin lines in hair. Heavy, squared eyebrows. Large, heavy

⁹⁴ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

eyes.

Iconography and original location: Messenger and philosophers. The messenger is almost certainly handing the leading philosopher the summons from the Emperor. Note the leading philosopher has the lead line of a Type-2 Jewish hat, very similar to the one depicted in n23:2b in the nave (Figure 27a). Two of the philosophers appear to be wearing the Type-4 hat which denotes “otherness” and, possibly, Jewishness. This is probably the third panel in the sequence showing the conspiracy against Katherine. It is a rare, if not unique, scene in Katherine iconography. See the comments in the entry for CHn4:10 about the way the narrative has been expanded.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁹⁵

Description: “12 In 2d Light stand 4 persons together. 1st a young man habited O with a green Rod in his hand. 2d a monk habited B. 3d a man habited A skirts O. 4th another Man habited vt.”

	17			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: the drapery of the figure under the “doctor’s” hat was “not clear”.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁹⁶

Description: [In pencil] “Porphyry and Faustina? Confessing the faith. Four men standing to the right all facing a man like a soldier who stands in front with knees bent in fright and holds a spear in his right hand. He is clad in yell coat blue socks and green shoes. The most prominent of the other figures is clad in pink tunic and white cloak and doctor’s hat .One behind has a green robe. There is also the appearance of another doctor’s hat on first figure nearest jailer but the drapery is not clear. SCHEMA: Soldiers converted.”

	17			

Comments: Knowles designates this figure as “like a soldier”, probably because of the staff or spear.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁹⁷

Description: “2.Porphiry confessing his conversion

	17			

This panel ought to precede no 5 bottom row. To the right are four philosophers who face toward a [...] P who is standing in attitude of [alarm] with his knees [...] and holding a spear in his right hand. Another figure nearly obliterated would originally be that of Faustina the Empress who was also a convert to the faith of St C.”

Comments: The panel is unlikely to show Faustina. There is no sign of a crown and Knowles may have been misled by the prominent yellow headdress of the figure in the centre.

⁹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.
⁹⁶ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153v.
⁹⁷ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

1929-1932 Re-leading:⁹⁸

The glass was re-leaded. Knowles only saw four figures facing the left-hand figure, but six are visible on the Green photograph.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹⁹

	17			

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: one piece of blatant leaf glass removed and replaced with clear, leaded glass. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.¹⁰⁰*

Milner White:¹⁰¹

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

	17			

Morgan:¹⁰²

Description: "Messenger and philosophers." Morgan has interpreted this as possibly showing "a concern with administrative matters."

	17			

Comments: The current author believes this is to ignore the more pressing significance of the Jewish caps and the prolonged conspiracy involving the philosophers.

Current:

	17			

⁹⁸ Figure CHn4:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5039, ca.1931: 55, 2L5P above.
⁹⁹ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).
¹⁰⁰ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5039, ca.1931: 55, 2L5P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5040, ca.1952: 55, 2L5P.
¹⁰¹ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.
¹⁰² Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Photographic record:

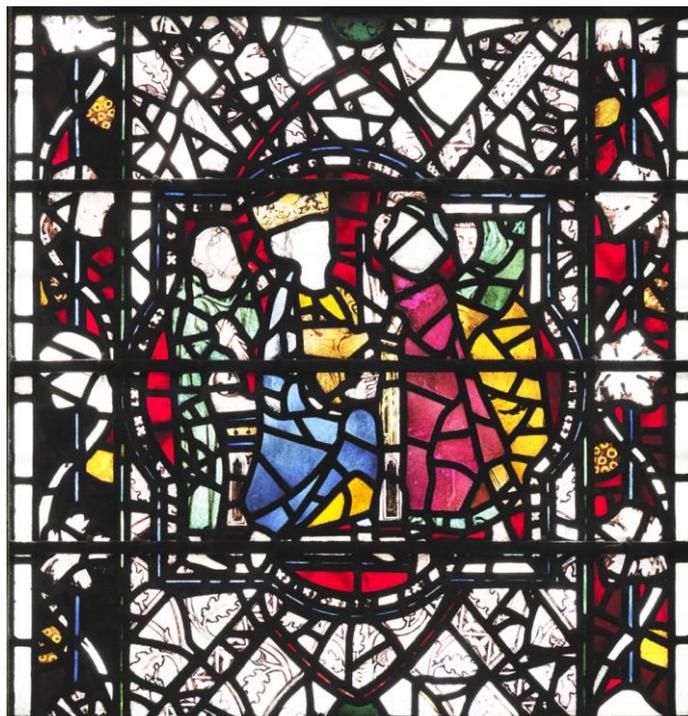


Figure CHn4:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

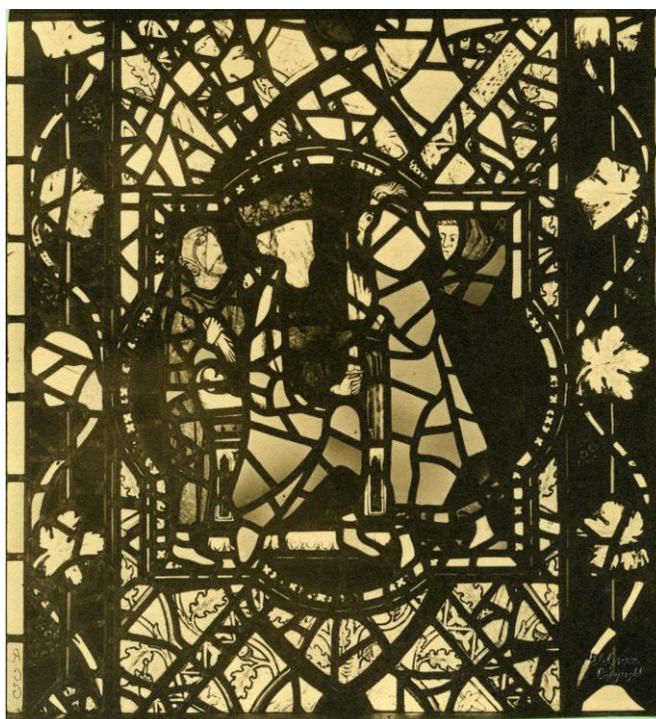


Figure CHn4:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5041, ca.1931: 55, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5042, ca.1952: 55, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021216, "in or before 1951": 55, 3L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

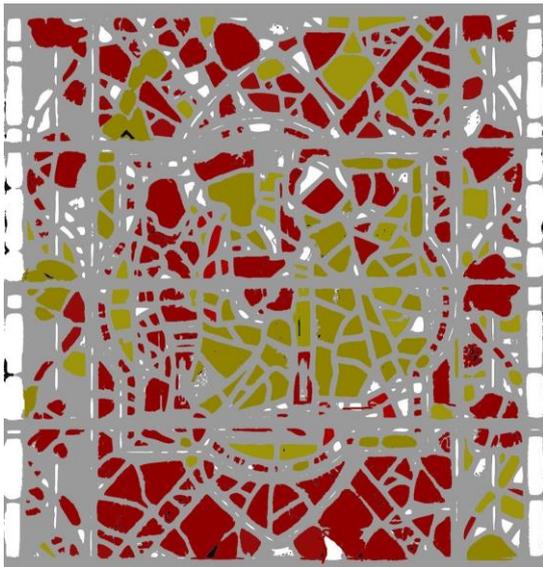


Figure CHn4:18: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:18: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹⁰⁴

		18		

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

Five figures are visible, two to the left and three to the right. Of the pair on the left, the outermost figure, to the left, is in green, with a white shoe, holding a white glove in his right hand. His left hand is raised as if touching the shoulder of the figure in front. He is wearing a coif. He is standing behind a crowned figure, seated on a wide bench. The crowned figure is wearing a yellow tunic, blue cloak and white shoes and is holding his right hand up towards the facing figures. In his left hand there is an upturned sword. His seat is reminiscent of the copy of the bench in CH1, where Christ is crowning the Virgin, namely the end of the bench is curled up to form a left and below there is a white arcade with pierced lancet-style openings (also originally by Workshop 1). Of the three facing figures, the most prominent is one with a green tunic, red cloak and green Jewish-style cap or cap of "otherness" (Type-4), with white shoes. From the position of his feet, he appears to be moving towards the seated figure. Immediately behind him is a bare-headed face in profile, and behind the two is a figure in three-quarter view, wearing a green cloak over his head, with something reminiscent of the (copied) panel in CH1:17. Breaking the frame is a foot of each of the first two figures and the foremost of the group of three.

¹⁰⁴ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 1.

1. Roll of hair at fringe and side of coif. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy eyebrows. Wide M-shaped mouth.
2. Backwards flung hair. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy square eyebrows. Large, heavy eyes.
3. Roll of hair emerging from hood. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy rounded eyebrows. Flattened nose. Wide M-shaped mouth.

Iconography and original location: Philosophers presented to Maxentius.¹⁰⁵

The leading philosopher is wearing a possible Jewish-style cap or cap of “otherness” (Type-4) and appears to be rushing towards Maxentius. Behind the leading philosopher is another, apparently clothed in what might have been travelling dress. Behind Maxentius is the variously-named prefect, on this occasion without any headgear over his coif (see Chapter 3). This is probably the fourth panel in the sequence showing the conspiracy against Katherine.

The meeting between the philosophers and Maxentius is omitted from the *Stanzaic Life*, but it is stressed in *Seinte Katerine*,¹⁰⁶ and by Clemence of Barking.¹⁰⁷

As discussed in Chapter 3, the scene shows a thematic connection with CHn4:28 above (although not a visual one), in that both scenes emphasise the Christological nature of Katherine’s cult. The scene shows the culmination of the hatching of a plot against Katherine between the secular and “Jewish” forces, reminiscent of Christ’s secular and religious enemies in the Passion.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁰⁸

Description: “13 In 3d light are 4 persons together. 1st a Fryer habited vt. 2nd a King sitting in Azure & golden Robes crowned O. 3d stands a Man habited murry. 4th a monk habited O hooded vt.”

		18		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁰⁹

Description: [In pencil] “St C disputes with the doctors

A settee with arcaded front and curled ends upon which is seated a lady in yell tunic and blue cloak a crown on her head and seated next to her a doctor in pink robe and green hat. To the right hand standing behind the settee and at her back is a man in green coat looking intently on and behind the doctor a man with malicious expression and a girl with anxious expression.

SCHEMA: St C disputing.”

		18		

¹⁰⁵ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 9-10; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 267.

¹⁰⁶ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 267.

¹⁰⁷ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 9-10.

¹⁰⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹⁰⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.153v.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹¹⁰

Description: “3.St C again confronting the philosophers.

On a settee with arcaded front is St C (Crowned) seated and near her a

philosopher in purple robe and green hat arguing with the two more of these sages looking with most malicious countenances one of them pointing with derision at the saint and a young girl stands near and looks on with an expression of deep anxiety.”

		18		

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹¹¹

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹²

		18		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.¹¹³*

Milner White:¹¹⁴

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

		18		

Morgan:¹¹⁵

Description: “Philosophers presented to Maxentius.”

Comments: Note Morgan’s comments about the significance of the coif, discussed under CHn4:19 below.

		18		

Current:

		18		

¹¹⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹¹¹ Figure CHn4:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5041, ca.1931: 55, 3L5P above.

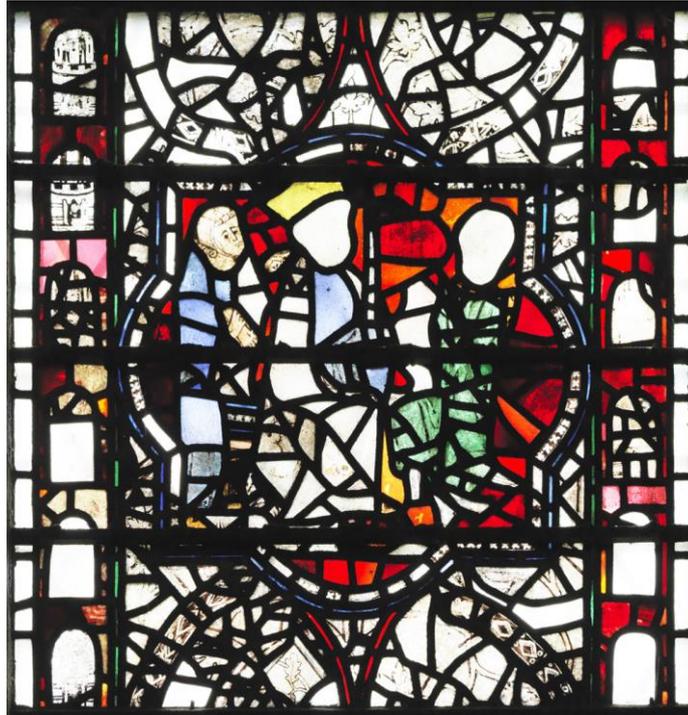
¹¹² YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹¹³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5041, ca.1931: 55, 3L5P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5042, ca.1952: 55, 3L5P.

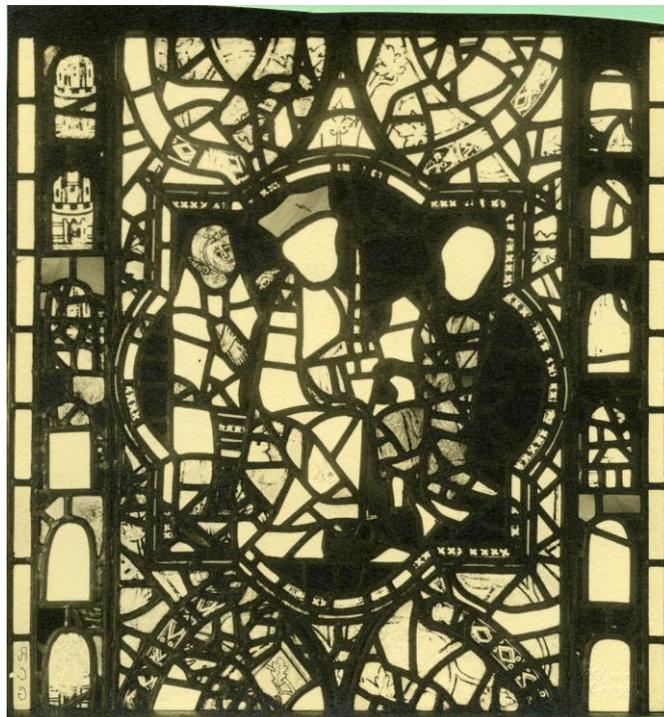
¹¹⁴ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

¹¹⁵ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn4:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn4, 4d © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn4:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5043, ca.1931: 55,
4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹¹⁶**

¹¹⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5044, ca.1952: 55, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021217, "in or before 1952": 55, 4L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

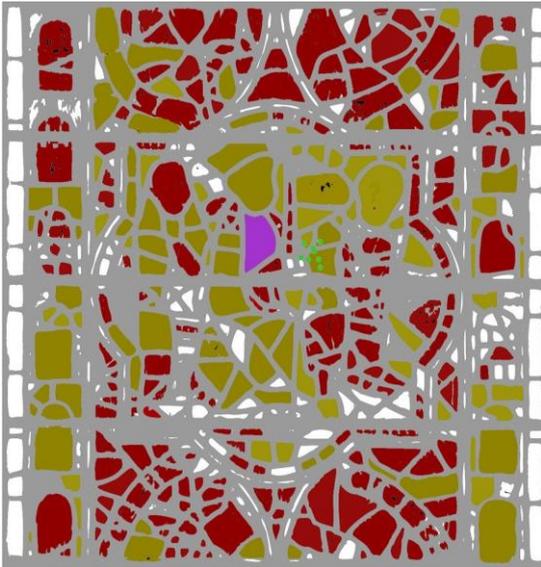


Figure CHn4:19: Restoration History

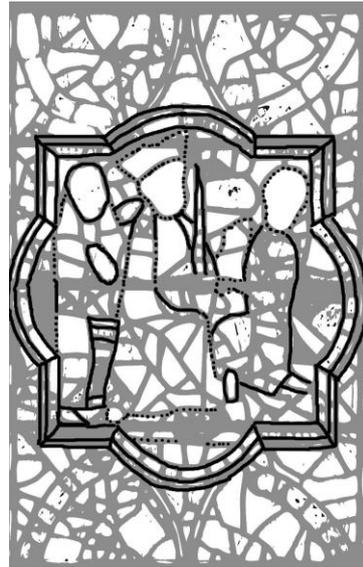


Figure CHn4:19: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹¹⁷

19				

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

There are three figures in the panel. The one to the left is wearing a coif, a blue cloak and yellow shoes. In his right hand he is holding a glove and the left hand is pointing towards the crowned figure or is touching the crowned figure on the shoulder. The crowned figure is seated (a small piece of his seat has survived) in blue tunic and white cloak. He is holding an upturned sword. In front of him is a kneeling figure, in green, with white hose or bare legs. There seems to be an artefact being passed between the last two figures, possibly a writ or summons.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Roll of hair on forehead and at base of neck, emerging from coif. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy square eyebrows. One eyebrow line continuing to create nose. Eyebrows and nose in a thick line. Large, heavy eyes. Wide M-shaped mouth.

Probably Workshop 1.

¹¹⁷ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: Maxentius sends a messenger to gather philosophers.¹¹⁸

This is probably the second of the scenes associated with the plot against Katherine. Note that the figure behind Maxentius is not wearing Jewish-type headgear over his coif (as in the other scenes where Katherine is not present). No other depiction of this scene has been identified. It is dealt with only briefly in the texts and no visual image has been located.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹¹⁹

Description: “11 In next under Row & in first Light stands St Paul robed A & B, holding a Naked Sword in his right hand & with the other delivers up a book closed to another Man yt kneels by him habited vt. Behind him stands another Man habited B.”

19				

Comments: The description is convincing even if the “Paul” identification is clearly erroneous.

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*¹²⁰

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹²¹

Description: [In pencil] “St Catherine yell tunic and blue cloak. Yell tunic and green cloak

			19	

A king seated on a settee by the side of another figure at whom a man points who stands just at the end of the settee. (The motif is the same as the last panel). The king and the man also on the settee would all be done from the same drawing. King clad in white cloak tunic not legible sword erect. Figure next him clad in green who leans back and holds hand up in warning attitude. Man near King clad in blue. Back of ruby. SCHEMA: Accusing St C before Max.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹²²

Description: “4.St C and Faustina arraigned before the emperor The Emperor seated on a throne and one of his counsellors near him who touches the shoulder of the tyrant. Another points his finger at the figure of a female kneeling and holding both hands up in protest.”

			19	

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹²³

The glass was re-leaded.

¹¹⁸ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 8. There is a similar, brief reference in Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 265 and also in Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 145-52.

¹¹⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹²⁰ Morgan, “Catherine,” 156.

¹²¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.154r.

¹²² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹²³ Figure CHn4:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5043, ca.1931: 55, 4L5P above.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹²⁴

			19	

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
*Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*¹²⁵

Milner White:¹²⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

			19	

Morgan:¹²⁷

Description: “Maxentius sends a messenger to gather philosophers. In the Peter de Dene window in the north nave aisle at the Minster, the evil

			19	

advice given to Maxentius is shown coming from the devil (as in Chartres Cathedral).¹²⁸ However, in [CHn4:19 and 27], the advice is given by a human adviser, thus showing that argument is not a debate simply between good and evil, but “as a conflict between the corrupt council of the court and the divinely inspired reasoning of Katherine”,¹²⁹ and is therefore indicative of the Church seeking to protect its autonomy from encroachment by the State.

Comments: Morgan’s evidence for this conclusion is that the evil adviser is wearing a coif, which she argues was representative of the academic and legal sphere and therefore indicative of corruption. The link with the window is thus dependent on an unevidenced assumption about the significance of the coif in the thirteenth century (see CHs4:16, CHn3:37, CH1:19, CHs3:29 and CHs4:40 where the coifs in the period were used by members of the labouring orders). Alternatively, no evidence is provided that canon law was associated with the coif, nor that common law was an academic subject at the time. The connection between Katherine and a Church on the defensive against the Crown is also arguable, given the change in the status of Katherine’s cult in the mid-thirteenth century, which involved her adoption by Henry III and Eleanor of Provence.

Changes since Knowles:

The tunic of the king was “not legible” but now it is a vivid blue.

Current:

			19	

¹²⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹²⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5043, ca.1931: 55, 4L5P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5044, ca.1952: 55, 4L5P.

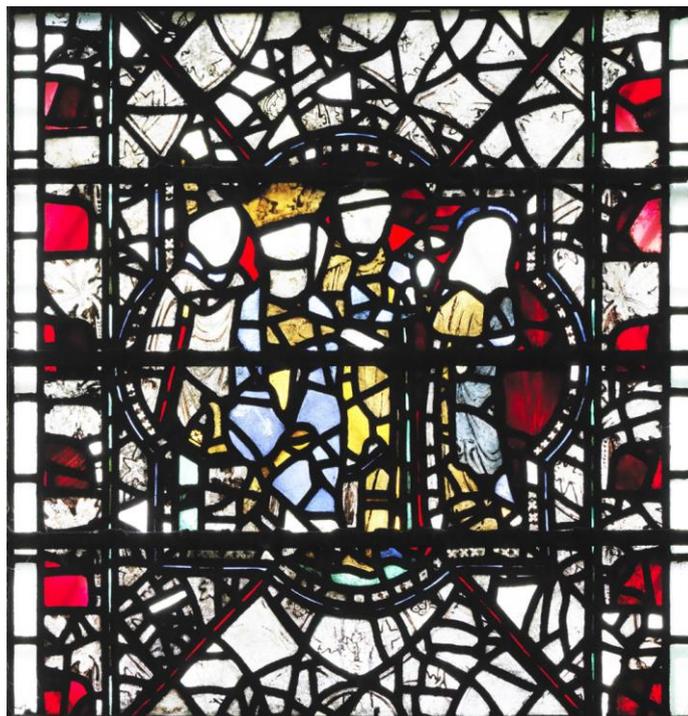
¹²⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

¹²⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

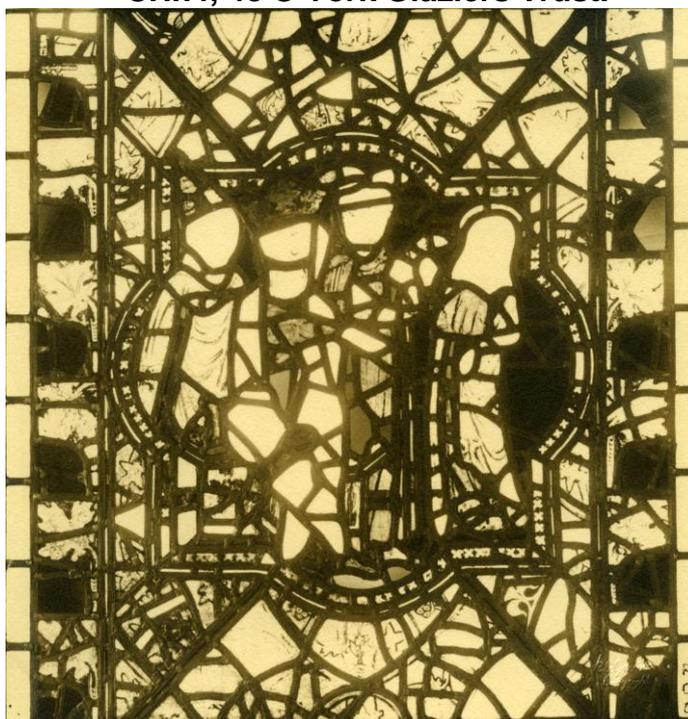
¹²⁸ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” Bay 16:6a.

¹²⁹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 167.

Photographic record:



**Figure CHn4:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn4, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.**



**Figure CHn4:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5045, ca.1931: 55,
5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹³⁰**

¹³⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5046, ca.1952: 55, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021218, "in or before 1951": 55, 5L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

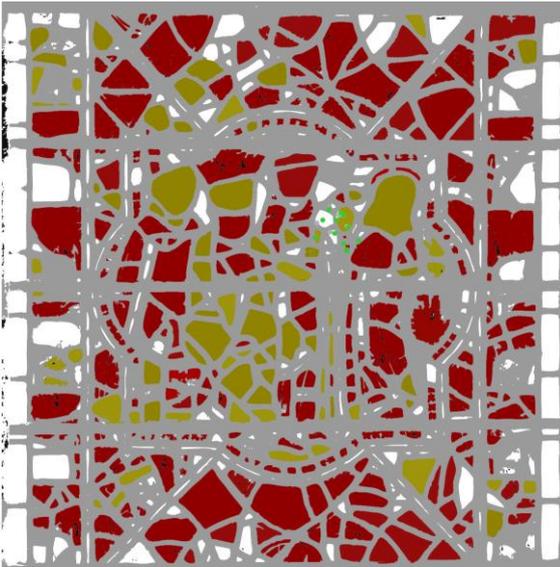


Figure CHn4:20: Restoration History

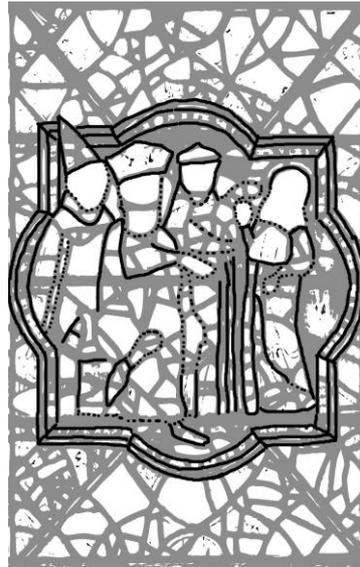


Figure CHn4:20: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹³¹

				20

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

The medallion shows four figures. The one to the left is wearing white and has a pointed yellow Jewish cap (Type-2), which breaks the frame of the medallion. There is a clearly marked lead line of a staff. The second figure is seated on a bench with some white arcading, cross-legged, and crowned. He is dressed in a yellow tunic and has his right hand outstretched towards the figure to the extreme right (Katherine). It is not clear if he is pointing at her or gesticulating downwards. Next there is a standing figure in yellow apparel and a Jewish-style cap or cap of "otherness" (Type-4), who is pointing with his left hand towards the figure on the right. The lead lines of the pre-restoration photograph suggest he was also indicating Katherine with his right hand. He may have a blue shoe. The figure on the right, Katherine, is a nimbed female, in a yellow tunic and blue cloak, with a long strip of white material down her front. She may have been in three-quarter view. She is holding her left hand down in front of her body and her right hand is raised.

There are some vertical lead lines between Katherine and the other group, possibly indicating the space around her and hence her virginity.

¹³¹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: Katherine faces Maxentius and the philosophers.¹³²

Katherine is shown physically separated from the other figures in the scene. There is a sense of aggression towards her: two of the figures are pointing and the third, with a distinct Type-2 Jewish hat, is standing behind the emperor. From her hand positions, she is not holding a book (unlike representations elsewhere). The emphasis, therefore, is on Katherine as a victim, sustained by her prayer and her faith, not on the persuasive powers she is able to employ to convert her oppressors. Of all the scenes in York showing episodes in the philosophers' sub-narrative, this is the one which is most common elsewhere.

The Cathedral at Angers appears to show Katherine successfully rebutting the arguments of the philosophers. She is sitting, triumphant, with the book in one hand and the other elevated. They are grouped together, staring at her, with their useless texts in their hands.¹³³ In Chartres Cathedral, the left-hand panel shows Maxentius behind a similarly clustered group of philosophers.¹³⁴ Here they are shown with their hands raised as if in amazement: one of them is wearing what appears to be a true scholar's hat. In the right-hand panel, Katherine sits, with her hands raised as if in admonishment. She is physically larger than the individual philosophers and behind her, in a symmetrical location to that of Maxentius on the left, her supporting angel. Again, she is clearly prevailing in the debate, but on this occasion with Divine assistance. In St Père, Chartres, there are three groupings in the scene: Maxentius to the left, Katherine to the right and the philosophers huddled together in the centre, as though caught between the two extremities.¹³⁵ Katherine's enlarged hand is one of the devices the artist has used to show that she is prevailing in the debate. Two of the philosophers are wearing what may be Jewish hats. Finally, in Dol, they are huddled together as though for protection, their outstretched hands being defeated by the book held out by Katherine on the right.¹³⁶

York is, thus, unusual, in that Katherine is not shown in a moment of triumph, but appears to be subjected to aggression on the part of the philosophers. Visually, it can also be noted that this is one of the rare scenes that shows Maxentius between two philosophers. This implies that Maxentius and the philosophers were engaged in the plot against her almost as equal partners. It is also of note that the panel is at the right-hand edge of the window, while it was normal shown as central to underscore its importance. This again shows that the window places more stress on the Christological aspects of her cult (the conspiracy among the "Jews" and secular authorities) than on her triumph. Finally, the curt treatment of the encounter, conversion of the philosophers, their martyrdom and their salvation in just two panels (CHn4:20 and 29) is unexpected, especially in contrast with the long-drawn out evolution of the conspiracy of Maxentius and the philosophers against Katherine.

The treatment of the debate varies in the texts. In the *Stanzaic Life*, it is cursorily reported but the briefly addressed subject matter concerns the Incarnation and the part played by Mary.¹³⁷

¹³² Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 12; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 269-274; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 169-216; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 336-337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹³³ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Angers, Bay 125:1a and 1b.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:5a and 5b.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, the church of St-Père in Chartres, Bay 226: left-hand lancet.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Dol, H2.

¹³⁷ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 193-200.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹³⁸

Description: "15 In 5th Light stand 4 together. 1st a Man habited A 2nd a King robed O & vt 3rd a Man habited O 4th a Woman habited B & O striped down the breast A."

				20

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹³⁹

Description: "Accusing [deleted] St Katherine [undelete] and the King. A King sitting cross legged on a throne with crown on his head. Yell tun, blue robe and yell shoes, points to a figure standing opposite, a St clad yell tunic and blue cloak blue nimbus. A doctor stands between the two clad in yell and blue tunic and hat who appears to take hold of the saint, [pencil] prob St Catherine. Another man stands behind the King's chair. Back ruby."

				20

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁴⁰

Description: "5.St C reproving the King Seated upon a throne with his legs crossed Max looks at St C who stands in front and holds up his [...] hand in warning attitude and near to her is one of the king's evil counsellors who holds [her] arms in [his] grasp. Another stands near the king's throne."

				20

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹⁴¹

The glass was re-leaded. Knowles had seen one figure holding the saint's arms, but this is not visible on the Green photograph. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁴²

				20

*Intervention by Milner White:¹⁴³
 Medallion: no visible amendments
 Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
 Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*

¹³⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹³⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.154r.

¹⁴⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹⁴¹ Figure CHn4:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5045, ca.1931: 55, 5L5P above.

¹⁴² YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹⁴³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5045, ca.1931: 55, 5L5P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5046, ca.1952: 55, 5L5P.

Milner White:¹⁴⁴

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

				20

Morgan:¹⁴⁵

Description: "Katherine faces philosophers."

				20

Changes since Knowles:

No sign of a figure "holding the saint's arms in his grasp". The probable figure is there but the glass around the hands is disturbed..

Current:

				20

¹⁴⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

¹⁴⁵ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Photographic record:

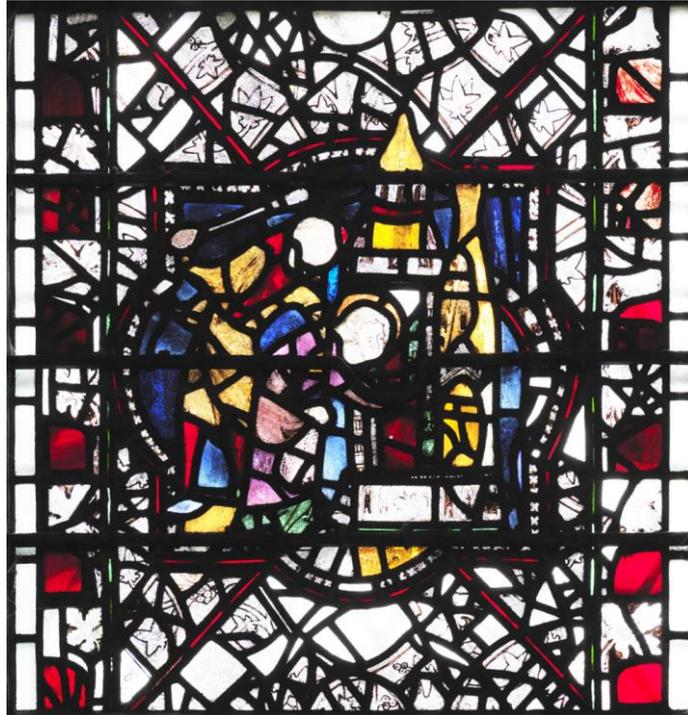


Figure CHn4:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

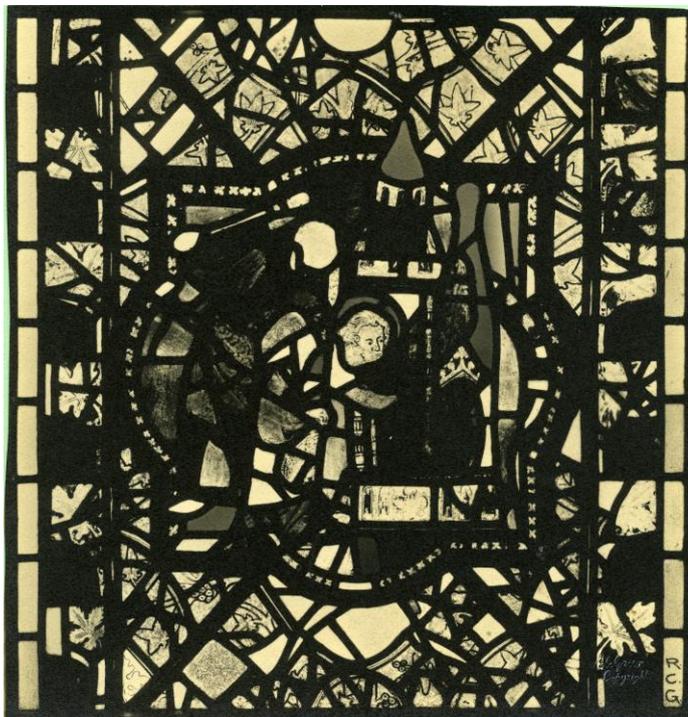


Figure CHn4:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5057, ca.1931: 55, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5058, ca.1952: 55, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021204, "in or before 1951": 55, 1L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

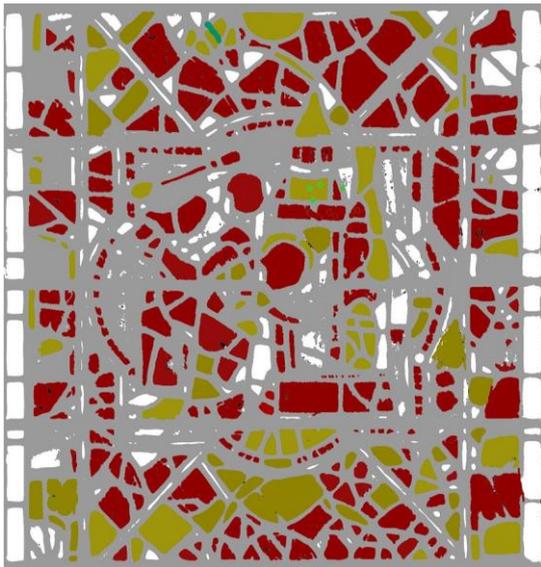


Figure CHn4:26: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:26: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹⁴⁷

			26	

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The medallion overlaps the left-hand border but does not reach that on the right.

Only two figures are now visible. One is a gaoler figure in yellow tunic and red hose, bending towards the centre of the medallion and holding aloft a whip in his right hand (the hand breaks the edge of the frame). With his left hand he is pushing the other figure along. To the right is a large building, with two pepperpot towers which cut through the frame of the medallion. The main pepperpot tower is supported by a small band of white glass on which are painted lancet windows or arches, and, lower, is a small white piece of battlements. Below this is an entrance, with red background, on either side of which is clear glass arcaded door jambs. The second pepperpot tower is much disturbed, but there are signs of a white glass arch topped with fleurs-de-lys, and, at the bottom, a plinth of white glass with lancet windows, surmounted by a strip of beading. The lead lines suggest a feature to the extreme right, with a (currently) red rim inside a white arched opening. A similar feature appears in CHn4:16 and 37 and may have been in CHn4:6.

The second figure is crouching, as though being forced into the lower opening of the building. There are the lead lines of a nimbus and the figure was dressed partly in green (a green tunic is visible at the bottom).

Knowles, in both the York and the London notes, refers to a smaller figure, inside the prison, who appears to be holding Katherine's "head" or "hand". Nothing is visible on the 1930s photograph. If it did exist, and was original, it might imply some sort of support for Katherine. Otherwise, Knowles may have

¹⁴⁷ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

got confused.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Roll of hair emerging from coif.
2. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy rounded eyebrows. Line of one eyebrow continuing to create nose outline: eyebrows and nose in a thick line. Heavy, large eyes. Wide M-shaped mouth.

Probably Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Katherine returned to prison after the scourging.¹⁴⁸

As Morgan has pointed out, the position of the gaoler in CHn4:26 resembles that of the executioner in CHn4:36, originally above this scene in the fourth light, giving an allusion to Katherine’s subsequent martyrdom. There are also echoes of this position in CHn4:8. No other representations of this scene have been identified.

Note the comments in Chapter 4 about the construction of the prison, its possible reference to Katherine’s virginal state,¹⁴⁹ and the possible original presence of a figure in support of Katherine in the prison itself. Note the fact that Katherine is not holding a book or other scholarly attribute.

All of the sources examined (Clemence of Barking, *Seinte Katerine* and the *Stanzaic Life*) deal with this example of Katherine’s imprisonment cursorily. The only reference to her imprisonment is the fact that Maxentius ordered his prisoner to be denied food and drink for twelve days.¹⁵⁰

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁵¹

Description: “9 In 4th light is a prison parti coloured O A vt & gu. Before it leans a man habited O leggs gu, brandishing a Sword for executing a Saint yt kneels before him.”

			26	

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*¹⁵²

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁵³

Description: “Beheading of Porphyry A tower with doorway and pinnacled gable. Outside is a man clad in purp cloak and green tunic yell nimbus and over him stands an executioner in yellow coat red socks and blue shoes who takes hold of the saint and with a sword held aloft is about to cut off his head

26				

¹⁴⁸ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25.

¹⁴⁹ See CHn4:6 for discussion of the significance of the towers.

¹⁵⁰ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 283-288.

¹⁵¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹⁵² Morgan, “Catherine,” 156.

¹⁵³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.154r.

whilst a smaller figure leans out of one of the arched openings of tower and holds the saint's [head/hand]. SCHEMA: Decapitation of male saint."

Comments: There is no sign of the smaller figure leaning out and holding the saint, nor is there any space in the disturbed glass for such a figure (unless it was extremely small).

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵⁴

Description: "1.Beheading another convert.

Outside the gate of a town with a pinnacles gable a man in green tunic and purp cloak his head encircled by a nimbus is being held by a smaller figure who leans out of a window in the tower whilst an executioner is in the act of striking off his head with a sword."

26				

1929-32 Re-Leading:¹⁵⁵

Intervention: there was no sign of the former "smaller figure leans out of the tower". See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁵⁶

26				

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: one piece of mending lead. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.¹⁵⁷*

Milner White:¹⁵⁸

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

26				

Morgan:¹⁵⁹

Description: "Katherine returned to prison. "In [CHn4:8, 16 and 26] "the transportation of Katherine from court to prison at the Emperor's behest disrupts the oppositional iconography of the other medallions, producing scenes in which all the characters face in the same direction".¹⁶⁰

26				

¹⁵⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹⁵⁵ Figure CHn4:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5057, ca.1931: 55, 1L3P above.

¹⁵⁶ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹⁵⁷ Comparison between Figure CHn4:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5057, ca.1931: 55, 1L3P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5058, ca.1952: 55, 1L7P.

¹⁵⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

¹⁵⁹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

Current:

26				

Photographic record:

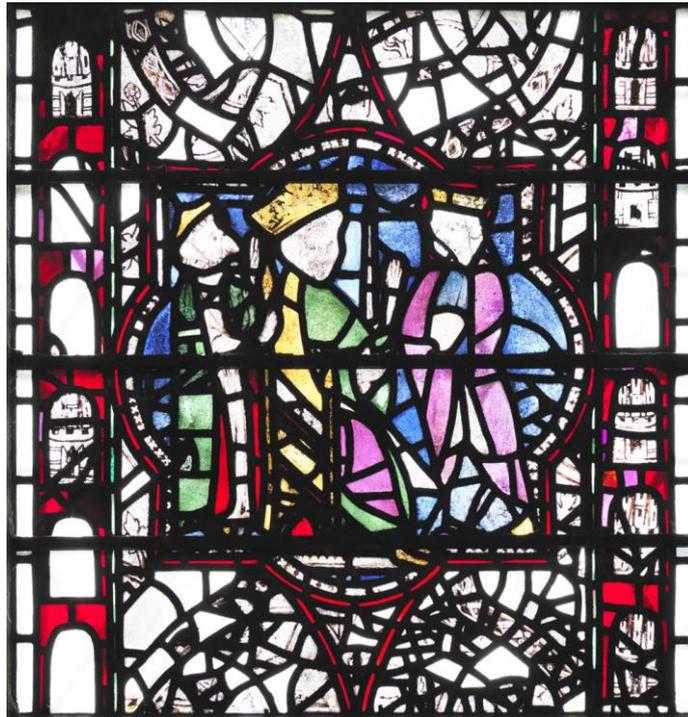


Figure CHn4:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 6b © York Glaziers Trust.

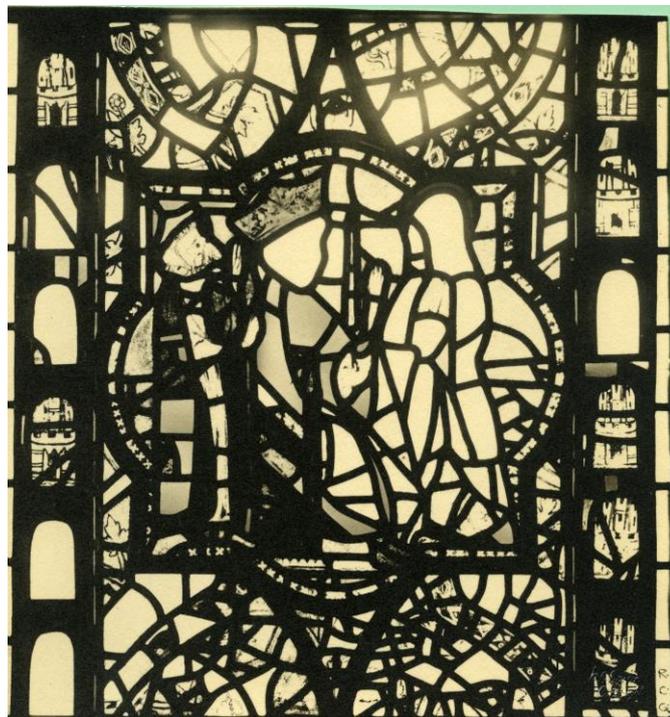


Figure CHn4:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5059, ca.1931: 55, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5060, ca.1952: 55, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021225, "in or before 1951": 55, 2L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

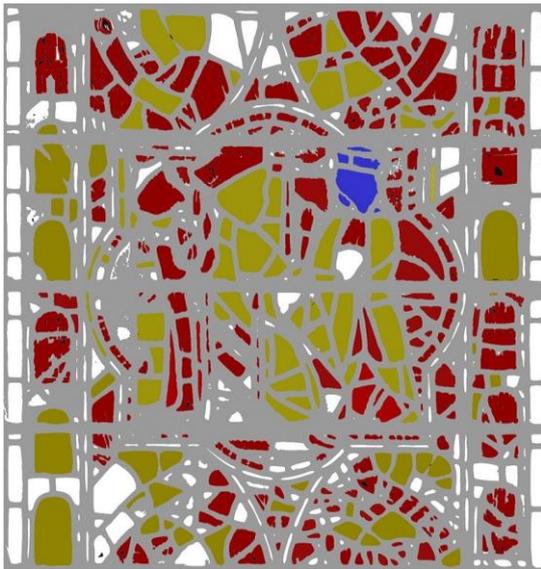


Figure CHn4:27: Restoration History

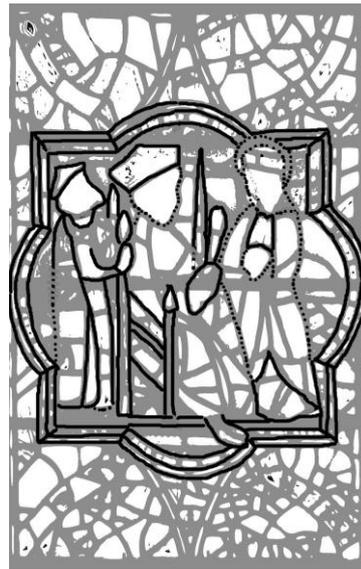


Figure CHn4:27: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹⁶²

	27			

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The medallion slightly overlaps the borders. The borders are slightly unsymmetrical.

There are three figures in the medallion. The one to the left is shown in profile, with a Jewish-style of hat over his coif (Type-3). He is holding his left hand aloft and his right appears to be resting on the shoulder of the figure to his left, or pointing towards the figure on the right. He is wearing a white tunic and green cloak, with a red lining to the cloak. To the right is a seated king on a throne, with his left hand raised and his right holding an upturned sword. He is dressed in green and purple, but Torre saw it as green and red. To the right of the medallion is a standing female, nimbed, in a blue tunic. The cloak is currently murrey. (These were the colours seen by Torre and Knowles.) From the lead line in the ca. 1931 photograph, she was at some point veiled and acquired her head and crown during the Milner White reinsertion campaign. Her halo extended beyond the frame of the medallion.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Roll of hair emerging from front and back of coif. Varied lines in hair and beard. Heavy, squared eyebrow. Large eye. Probably Workshop 1.

¹⁶² Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: Katherine before Maxentius.¹⁶³

This is one of those panels which may emphasise Katherine’s virginity (see Chapter 4). She is standing to the right of the panel, apparently demure. It is not possible to determine if she was holding a book or other attribute. She is being assailed by Maxentius, with his upturned sword and his hand raised doubtless in anger. Behind him is standing the prefect figure, variously named Chryasadem in the *Vulgate*,¹⁶⁴ an unnamed prefect in *Legenda Aurea*,¹⁶⁵ and Cursates in the *Stanzaic Life*,¹⁶⁶ in a Type-3 Jewish cap or cap denoting “otherness”.

Given the number of occasions on which Katherine is brought before Maxentius, it is not possible to identify other examples with any certainty. However, in Chartres Cathedral there is a scene of Maxentius in advance of Katherine’s scourging. It is notable that, here (as in n23 in the north nave aisle), there is a devil lurking behind the Emperor.¹⁶⁷ In CHn4, this devil is replaced by the evil adviser.

The scene in which Maxentius sentences Katherine to scourging is treated succinctly in the *Seinte Katerine* and does not refer to the evil counsellor. It takes the opportunity to emphasise the devotion that she feels for Christ and its association with her virginity, when she declares her mystic marriage with him.¹⁶⁸

Even more space is given to the exchange. In both Clemence of Barking and the *Stanzaic Life*, Katherine refers to her mystical marriage with Christ and, in the former, she makes great play of her attempts to emulate Christ and hence underscores the Christological side of Katherine’s *Vita*.¹⁶⁹

It is intriguing that this is the last confrontation between Katherine and Maxentius portrayed in CHn4, while the final confrontation of the texts, before her torture on the wheels, has been omitted.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁷⁰

Description: “7 In 2d Light sits a King Enthroned in a golden Chair robed vt & gu crowned O bearing a naked Sword pointed upwards By him stands a Man habited vt striped down his breast A and a Woman habited Murry, skirts B.”

	27			

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁷¹

Description: “A King seated on a throne holding a sword in left hand and his right hand held up in a warning

	27			

¹⁶³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 5; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 274-75; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 25-45; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁶⁴ Walsh, *Cult*, 7.

¹⁶⁵ Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2 337.

¹⁶⁶ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, verses 490-496.

¹⁶⁷ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:6a.

¹⁶⁸ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275.

¹⁶⁹ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 261-268 and Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 24.

¹⁷⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹⁷¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.154r.

attitude. A doctor standing near him clad in white tunic green cloak with red lining appears to accuse a female figure stands in front of the king clad in blue tunic and purp robes. Back of panel blue.

SCHEMA: St C again accused before Max.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁷²

Description: “2.Max seated on his throne and holding a sword points with his finger in a warning attitude towards a female robed in blue tunic and purple cloak (St C). One of the king’s minsters stands near him in the attitude of an accuser.”

	27			

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹⁷³

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁷⁴

	27			

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: the head of the right-hand figure has been rebuilt with an intruded head.
Grisaille: no visible amendmets. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
*Borders: no visible amendmets. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*¹⁷⁵

Milner White:¹⁷⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

	27			

Morgan:¹⁷⁷

Description: “Katherine before Maxentius [...] the Peter de Dene window in the north nave aisle at the Minster, the evil advice given to

	27			

Maxentius is shown coming from the devil. However, in [CHn4:19 and 27], the advice is given by a human adviser, thus showing that argument is not a debate simply between good and evil, but “as a conflict between the corrupt council of the court and the divinely inspired reasoning of Katherine”.¹⁷⁸

“The thematic action of the window takes place in the doubly framed central space between the saint and her opponents where the ideas that enrage

¹⁷² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹⁷³ Figure CHn4:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5059, ca.1931: 55, 2L3P above.

¹⁷⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹⁷⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5059, ca.1931: 55, 2L3P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5060, ca.1952: 55, 2L3P.

¹⁷⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

¹⁷⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

¹⁷⁸ Morgan, “Catherine,” 167.

Maxentius [CHn4:7, 10 and 27] and convert the more sophisticated philosophers [CHn4:20] are exchanged".¹⁷⁹

Current:

	27			

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

Photographic record:

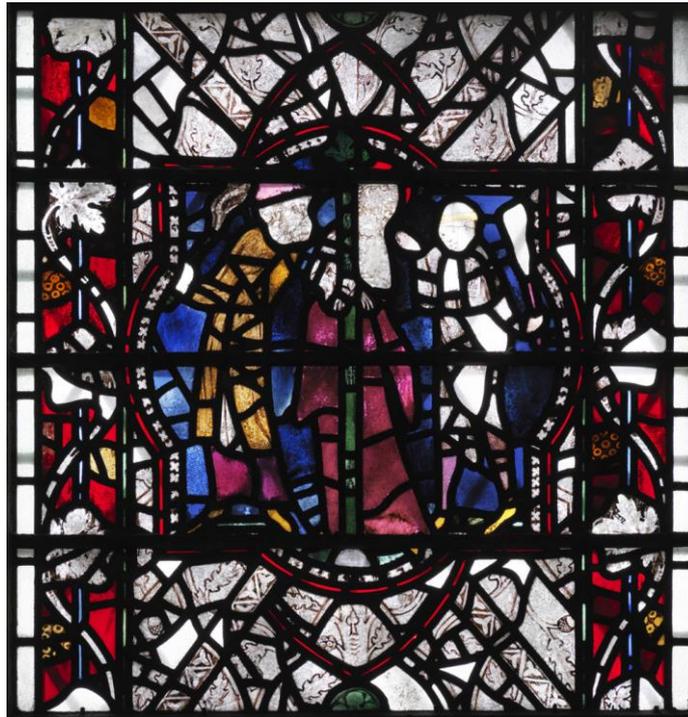


Figure CHn4:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 6c © York Glaziers Trust.

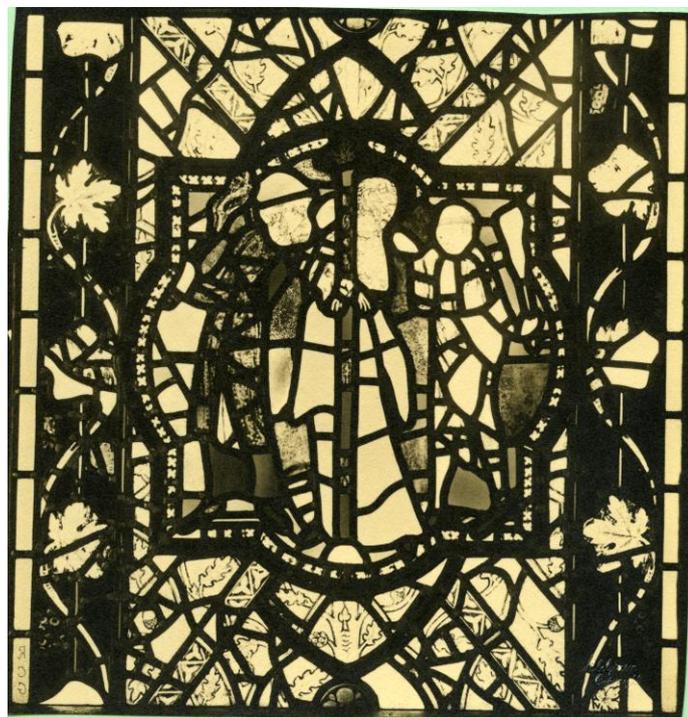


Figure CHn4:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5061, ca.1931: 55, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5062, ca.1952: 55, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021226, "in or before 1951": 55, 3L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

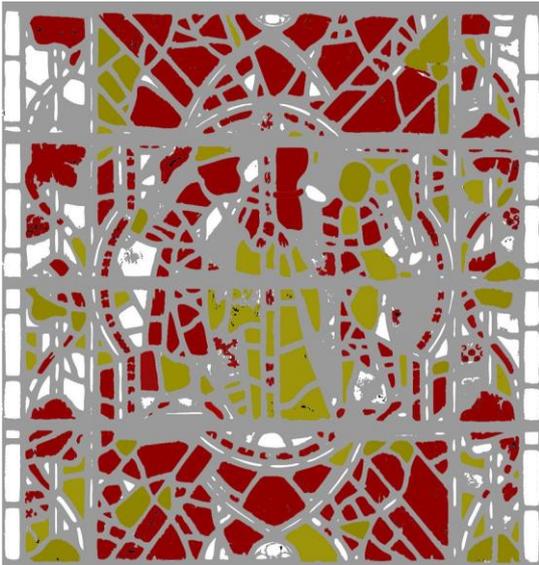


Figure CHn4:28: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:28: Original Lead Lines

Original location:¹⁸¹

		28		

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with clear inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The medallion overlaps the borders.

There are three figures in the medallion. The one to the left is shown in three-quarters view, with a pink cap. He is wearing a yellow overgarment to his knees, lined with white, and yellow shoes and is holding a whip out to his right-hand side with both hands. His undergarment is purple. His shoe, cap and whip overlap the edge of the medallion. In the centre is a nimbed figure, stripped to the waist, with her hands tied to a green stake which rises through the centre of the medallion. It is topped with a fleur-de-lys shape, and stands on a small mound. The figure is wearing a yellow shoe. To the right is a third figure in short white tunic and what would have been sanguine hose (of which some pieces survive) with yellow shoes. With the right hand, he is pointing towards the saint and with his left he is holding up a whip behind him.

The design of the medallion is extremely close to CH1:16 and CHs4:20, both by Workshop 1.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy, large eyes.
2. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Rounded, heavy eyebrows. Large, heavy eyes. Flattened nose. Straggly beard.

Probably Workshop 1.

¹⁸¹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: The scourging of Katherine.¹⁸²
 In addition to the anti-Semitism indicated by the portrayal of the philosophers (as in CHn4:18), a further Christological reference is found in this panel. The closeness to CH1:16 (the scourging of Christ) suggests that the two York images were based on the same cartoon, reversed, especially as both windows may have been created by Workshop 1.¹⁸³ Both show the victim figure facing forwards, tied to a central stake, with two scourgers either side. Only in Auxerre Cathedral is there an image showing such a similarity with the Flagellation of Christ, with a central Katherine tied to a central stake and scourgers standing on either side.¹⁸⁴ In Angers Cathedral, for example, she is shown completely naked and in Chartres Cathedral, assuming this is what is depicted, she is fully-clothed, as in Dol, and none of these three has her tied to a stake.¹⁸⁵ Christological references can be found elsewhere in different forms: in Freiburg, for example, the scene is shown as a Crucifixion of Christ.¹⁸⁶

The scourging is treated briefly in *Seinte Katerine* and in the *Stanzaic Life*.¹⁸⁷ However, Clemence of Barking reinforces the Christological connections when Katherine draws attention to the fact that Christ was also scourged.¹⁸⁸

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁸⁹

Description: “8 In 3d light stands a Man habited O with a white whip in his hand Scourging a Woman tied to a green pillar, habited A & Murry By him stands another Man habited A legs sanguine.”

Comments: Torre mistook the bare upper torso of Katherine for argent clothing.

		28		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁹⁰

Description: [Pencil] “Scourging St Catherine.

A figure apparently a female nude to the waist her tunic of purple being let down to the waist girdle. She is tied to a green tree and on each side is a man in the act of scourging her. One to left side clad in yellow coat and red socks. One to right in whit coat and purple socks. Back blue.

SCHEMA: Scourging of St C.”

		28		

¹⁸² Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 24; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275-76; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 274-289; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 335; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

¹⁸³ CH1:16 in CH1 is one of the copies made by John Barnett in 1845, but, as argued in the paper on this window, it is probably a close copy, taken from tracings of the original.

¹⁸⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 26:3a.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 125:4a and b; at Chartres, Bay 16:7a and at Dol, H5.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, “Other locations,” Freiburg, n39:3a.

¹⁸⁷ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 275-283.

¹⁸⁸ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25,

¹⁸⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

¹⁹⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol.2, fol.154v.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁹¹

Description: “3.Scourging of St C
The saint is seen tied by [ends] to a
tree stripped to the waist her tunic
hanging in folds from her girdle and on
each side a man beating her with wooden rods.”

		28		

1929-1932 Re-leading:¹⁹²

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹³

		28		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one mending lead.
Grisaille: one area had mending leads inserted. The lower area had inscriptions
on the glass clearly previously intruded, which Milner White removed. Pre-
Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*¹⁹⁴

Milner White:¹⁹⁵

Comments: Milner White reported that
he had reinserted the panels in their
pre-war location.

		28		

Brown:¹⁹⁶

Description: “St Catherine scourged.”

		28		

Morgan:¹⁹⁷

Description: “The scourging of
Katherine.” “When (Maxentius)
determines to inflict his power on the
saint by scourging... he not only
strengthens her resistance, but also places her in the centre of the medallion,
which in turn occupies the central light of the window. The saint’s conquest of
this space through her willingness to suffer for her faith is contrasted pointedly
with the final panel of the row, in which Maxentius sets out for the furthest
reaches of his kingdom, with the intention of imposing his power on
geographical rather than spiritual space [CHn4:30]). He rides to the right, facing

		28		

¹⁹¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.58r.

¹⁹² Figure CHn4:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5061, ca.1931: 55, 3L3P above.

¹⁹³ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

¹⁹⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5061, ca.1931: 55, 3L3P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5062, ca.1952: 55, 3L3P.

¹⁹⁵ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

¹⁹⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

¹⁹⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

away from the centre of the medallion and away from the centre of the window itself.”¹⁹⁸ See also Morgan’s comments in *Vidimus*, issue 54.¹⁹⁹

Comments: An alternative suggestion is that there is a simpler explanation for this panel, relating to the Christological side of the Katherine cult, for which there is contemporary evidence.

Changes since Knowles:

The left-hand figure had red socks. Not now purple (but may be original).

Current:

		28		

¹⁹⁸ Morgan, “Catherine,” 168.

¹⁹⁹ Morgan, “Panel”.

Photographic record:

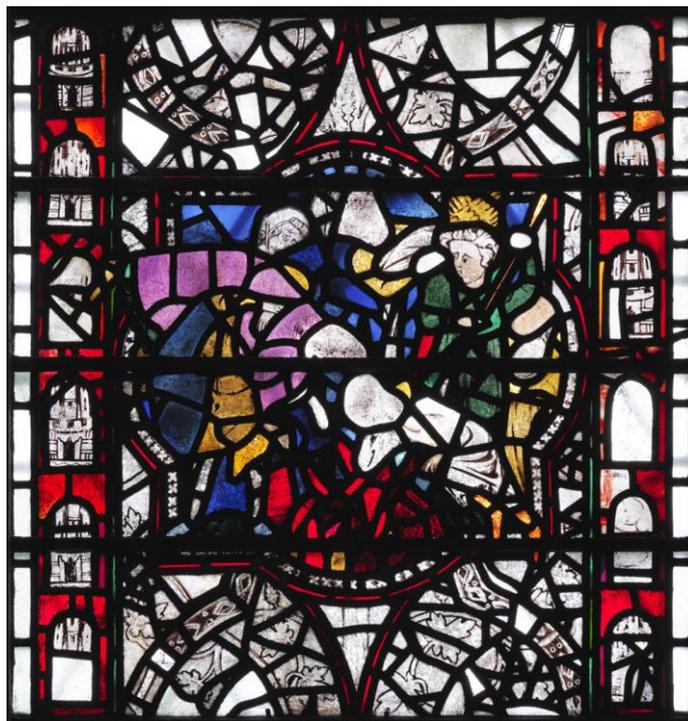


Figure CHn4:29 Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 6d © York Glaziers Trust.

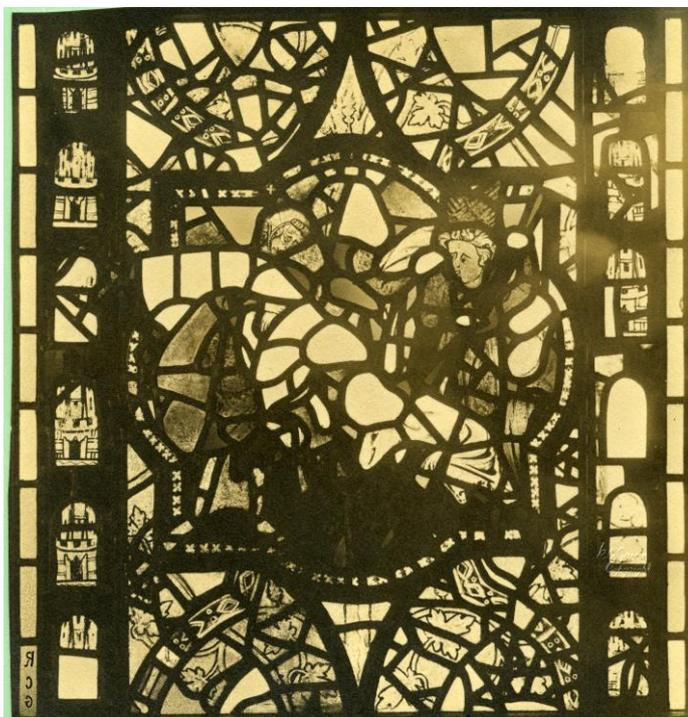


Figure CHn4:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5063 ca.1931: 55, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5064, ca.1952: 55, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021227, "in or before 1951": 55, 4L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

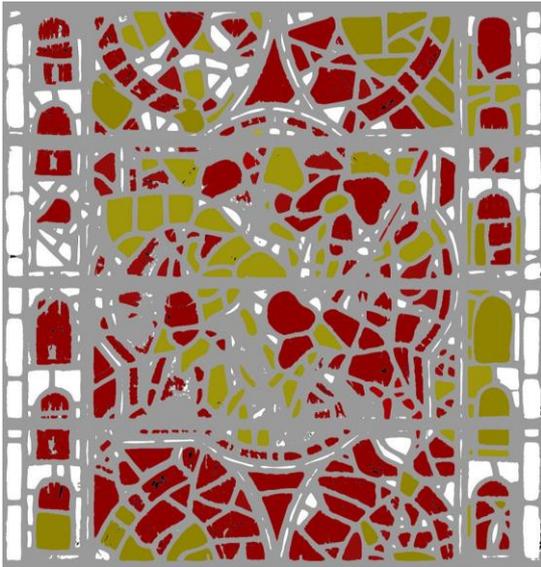


Figure CHn4:29: Restoration History

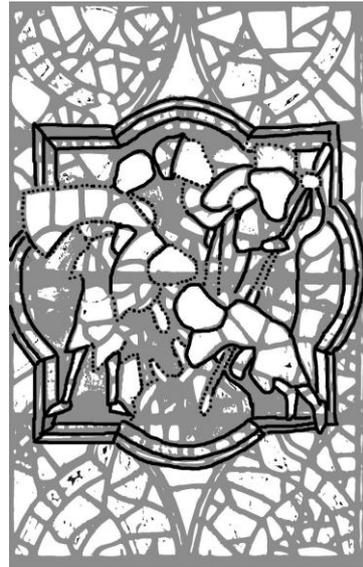


Figure CHn4:29: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²⁰¹

29				

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in blue with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

This is a difficult panel to disentangle. There are several figures in various states of being thrown into the flames. From the lead lines, it does not appear that any of the martyrs have retained their Jewish-style caps. Standing to the left of the medallion is a coiffed figure, in yellow, bare legs or white hose and blue shoes. Over his shoulder is the outline of a martyr in purple, whose lower legs extend beyond the frame of the medallion, who is being thrown into the flames by the first figure and has one hand extended to break his fall. In the foreground is another martyr, wearing white and yellow hose, also falling into the flames. The relationship between the remaining figures is unclear. At the top in the centre is a capped figure in yellow, holding a piece of white cloth. He may be holding a white stick, pointing down to the flame. To the right is a figure in green, holding a staff or a spear. In Knowles he is described as a person holding back in fright, but it appears he is an executioner because of what he is holding. Above his head appear some wings, but, though medieval, it is likely that this is an insert.²⁰² The insert had probably happened before Knowles saw the panel, and might account for his mysterious “winged angel”. It is not clear what the original headdress would have been: the shape would lend itself to a crown and therefore suggest Maxentius, but his participation in the martyrdom of the philosophers seems unlikely. To the extreme right of the medallion is more yellow drapery, but its owner is unclear.

²⁰¹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

²⁰² Nick Teed (pers. comm., 20 January 2014).

In the centre at the bottom are flames.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Roll of hair emerging at front and side and back of coif. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy, squared eyebrows. Large, heavy eyes.
2. Backwards sweep of hair. Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy, squared eyebrows. Large eyes.

Probably Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Philosophers thrown into flames.²⁰³

This panel is difficult to analyse visually. There is clearly a group of people being burnt, and another set of standing figures, one of whom is hurling a victim into the fire. It is not clear if Maxentius is present: he would have to be the figure in green, now with a piece of intruded, medieval “winged” glass which possibly fits the outline of a crown. There is no reference to the philosophers’ conversion nor their salvation. It is also rather oddly placed, at the start of row 6, with the dispute at the end of row 4 (see other comments in connection with CHn4:20).

In Auxerre, what is depicted is Maxentius ordering the execution of the philosophers, their collection by the guard and their position, huddled together, in the flames.²⁰⁴ In Chartres Cathedral, the philosophers are also shown meekly accepting their fate, standing in the fire. Above them is a panel in which the angels collect their souls and carry them to heaven.²⁰⁵ In Dol Cathedral, the various aspects of the scene are incorporated into a single panel: Maxentius stands over the philosophers as they are huddled together in the fire, while to the top right-hand corner of the scene there is a hand, presumably that of God, summoning their souls.²⁰⁶ These are all different from the way the scene appears in York.

The *Stanzaic Life* is similarly abrupt. The salvation and the elevation of the souls of the philosophers features only briefly.²⁰⁷ Clemence of Barking pays more attention: as well as greater detail about the actual execution, she tells of Katherine’s reassurance to the philosophers and the miracle in which they were not physically damaged by the flames.²⁰⁸ The same approach is taken in *Seinte Katerine*.²⁰⁹

History of the Panel

Torre:²¹⁰

Description given for this location:

“6 In 2^d Row and 1st Light is the representation of flames of Fire”

Description for the location above, in

error: (in 8a) “In the upper Row of the Lights and in the first Light 1 3 little Images of men over the fire 1st a Saint robed O glory vt leggs A

2^d a Man bowing down his head habited O

[29?]				
29				

²⁰³ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 274; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 233-256.

²⁰⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 26:1a-c.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:6b and 7b.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, the Cathedral at Dol, H3.

²⁰⁷ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 221-232.

²⁰⁸ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 20-21.

²⁰⁹ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 273-274.

²¹⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

3^d a Bp habited vt Myter & Cross staff O”

Comments: As Morgan pointed out, Torre described CHn4:29 twice and omitted a description for the panel in 8a.

Intervention in the 1760s: the panel was moved from 6a to create a B-B-C-A-A design across the window.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²¹¹

Description: [In pencil] “Casting the accusers into the flames.

In the foregn flames a man to the right falling headlong into them clad in a loose white robe. A figure in a green robe holds back in great fright. Over his head appears some rays prob to indicate Divine anger. [in pencil] a winged angel near.

SCHEMA: Casting accused to the flames.”

Comments: The “winged angel” was probably because he saw the wings above the right-hand figure, glass which had been intruded into the panel.

			29	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²¹²

Description: “4.The accusers of St C committed to the flames.

In a flaming fire is seen a man projected headlong into the fire by a soldier with a spear. Another is holding back in extreme fright. Over his head rays of light proceeding from a flying angel. Two more in yell cloaks and white headdresses are in the fire.”

			29	

1929-1932 Re-leading:²¹³

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²¹⁴

			29	

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one possible piece of inserted glass, but this is based on exposure levels.

Grisaille: no visible amendmets. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround

Borders: no visible amendmets. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.70r.

²¹² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.60r.

²¹³ Figure CHn4:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5063 ca.1931: 55, 4L3P above.

²¹⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

²¹⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5063 ca.1931: 55, 4L3P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5064, ca.1952: 55, 4L3P.

Milner White:²¹⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

			29	

Brown:²¹⁷

Description: “The burning of the converted philosophers.”

			29	

Morgan:²¹⁸

Description: “Philosophers thrown into the flames.” There is a “vertical coherence between panels [...] the martyrdom of the philosophers [...] is linked with the pagan sacrifice of animals [CHn4:9]”. In [CHn4:39] are shown the Empress and Porphyrius, visiting Katherine in prison, intrigued by her impact on the philosophers.²¹⁹

			29	

Changes since Knowles:

No sign currently of a “winged angel” unless it was a mistake for the structures around one of the figure’s heads (though no sign of an attached body),

Current:

			29	

²¹⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.
²¹⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.
²¹⁸ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.
²¹⁹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 168.

Photographic record:

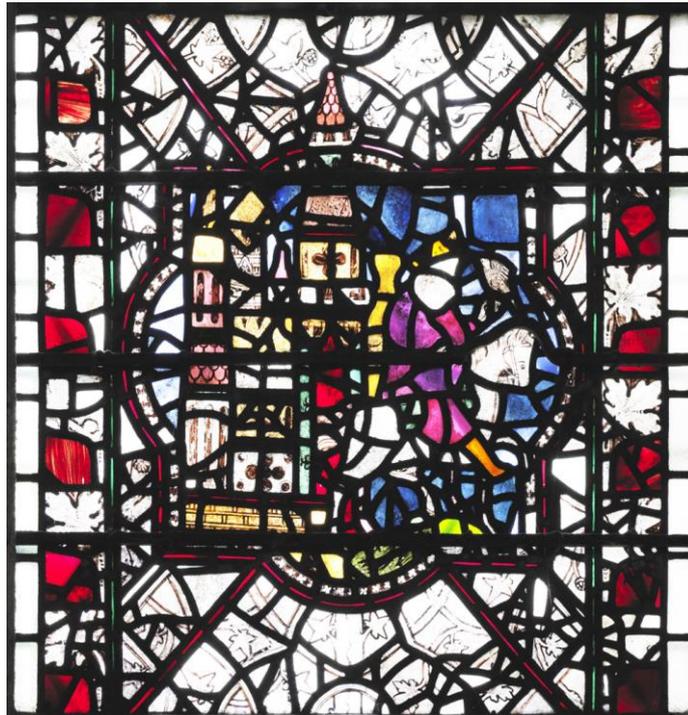


Figure CHn4:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.

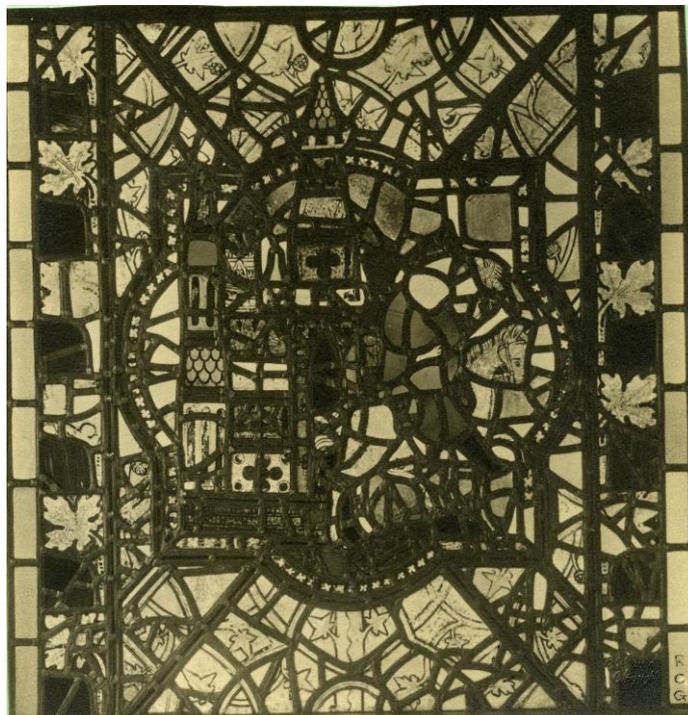


Figure CHn4:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5065, ca.1931: 55, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.²²⁰

²²⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5066, ca.1952: 55, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021228, "in or before 1952": 55, 5L3P © Crown Copyright. A detail can be seen in CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021229 © P.A. Newton.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

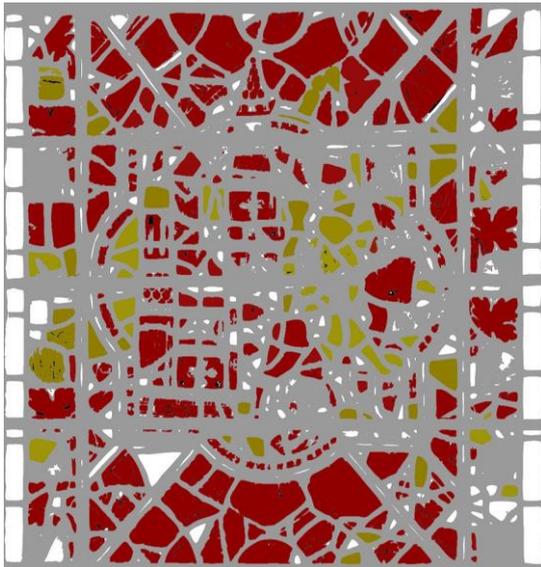


Figure CHn4:30: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:30: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²²¹

				30

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in red with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is blue. The medallion sits tight against the borders.

There are two figures on horseback riding to the right and leaving a large building. The building has two (possibly three) pepperpot towers, the right-hand (or central) one of which breaks the frame of the medallion. There is a complicated arrangement of tiling, quatrefoil penetrations, lancet windows and an arched doorway. Of the two figures, one is very indistinct. The foremost figure, on the white horse, is holding a falcon and was in purple (as also seen by Torre). Knowles saw him as crowned, but the crown has disappeared.

The drawing of the horse resembles that in CHs4:2e and it is suggested that the two panels were based on the same cartoon, although the protruding tower was excluded in CHs4, probably both by Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Maxentius leaves the City.²²²

The tower protrudes more in this panel than any other, and, because of the association that has been suggested between the tower and the theme of virginity in Chapter 4, it is argued that the scene implies that Maxentius has been defeated and driven away by Katherine's purity. Chapter 3 discusses the inclusion of this panel in the window, given the omission of other scenes which are more prominent in the texts of Katherine's life. It appears to create a situation where the Empress's visit to Katherine could be included in 8a, juxtaposing with the start of the plot against her in 2e. No other representation

²²¹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²²² Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 289-296; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

of this scene has been discovered in stained glass comparators.

In Clemence of Barking, the incident is attributed to Maxentius's leaving the city on business.²²³ *Seinte Katerine* is even less informative, stating only that he "had to travel".²²⁴ The *Stanzaic Life* attributes his departure to his need to obtain advice as to how to deal with the Katherine phenomenon.²²⁵

History of the Panel

Torre:²²⁶

Description: "10 In 5th light is a Church variously coloured O A & mury & vt from wh rides a Man (on a white horse) habited murry."

				30

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²²⁷

Description: "Two figures on palfreys one a white one the other a red one riding forth from a towered building one crowned and holding a hawk on his hand. One is a bay horse the other white. Back blue
SCHEMA: Max going a hunting."

				30

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²²⁸

Description: "5. Max going on a hunting expedition.
Two figures riding forth on palfreys from a towered building. One crowned and holding in his hands a hawk. The palfrey of the second rider a bay [pencil] panel ought to be one of the first panels."

				30

1929-1932 Re-leading:²²⁹

The glass was re-leaded. If Knowles correctly saw the horse-rider as wearing a crown, it disappeared at this point.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁰

				30

²²³ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 25. He had to travel "en un affaire," Clemence, *St Catherine*, 48.

²²⁴ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 275. "King Maxence moste fearen," Anon, *Seinte Katerine, re-edited from MS Bodley 34 and the other Manuscripts*, eds. S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne and E.J. Dobson (London: published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1981), 82.

²²⁵ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 289-296.

²²⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

²²⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 154v.

²²⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 60r.

²²⁹ Figure CHn4:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5065, ca. 1931: 55, 5L3P above.

²³⁰ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca. 1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: no visible amendments
 Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
 Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*²³¹

Milner White:²³²

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

				30

Brown:²³³

				30

Morgan:²³⁴

Description: "Maxentius leaves."
 "When [Maxentius] determines to inflict his power on the saint by scourging... he not only strengthens her resistance, but also places her in the centre of the medallion, which in turn occupies the central light of the window [CHn4:28]. The saint's conquest of this space through her willingness to suffer for her faith is contrasted pointedly with the final panel of the row, in which Maxentius sets out for the furthest reaches of his kingdom, with the intention of imposing his power on geographical rather than spiritual space [CHn4:30]. He rides to the right, facing away from the centre of the medallion and away from the centre of the window itself".²³⁵

				30

Changes since Knowles:

Only one horse now visible (there were two).

Current:

				30

²³¹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5065, ca.1931: 55, 5L3P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5066, ca.1952: 55, 5L3P.

²³² Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

²³³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

²³⁴ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

Photographic record:

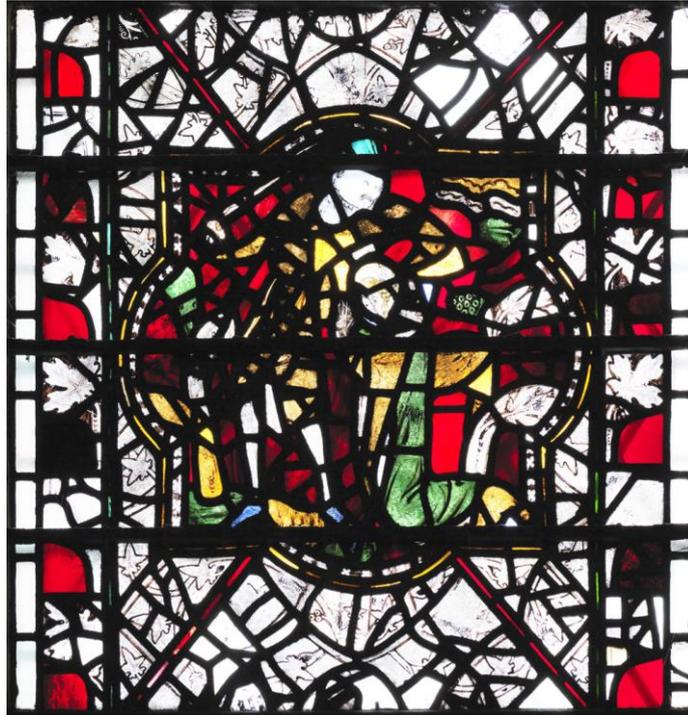


Figure CHn4:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 8a © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn4:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²³⁶

²³⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5080, ca.1952: 55, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021236, 1976: CHn4, 8a © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

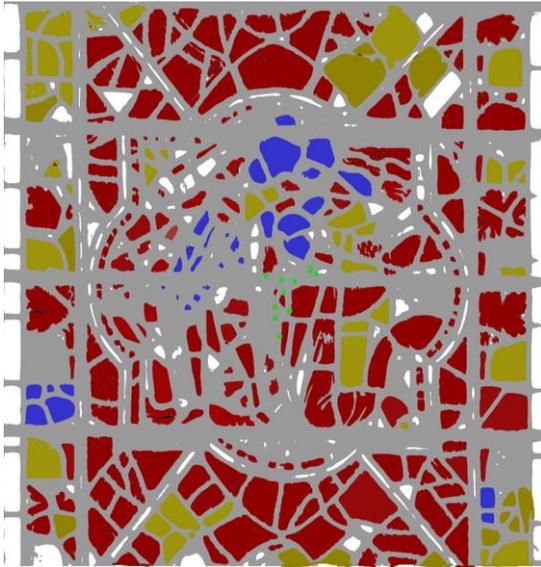


Figure CHn4:36: Restoration History

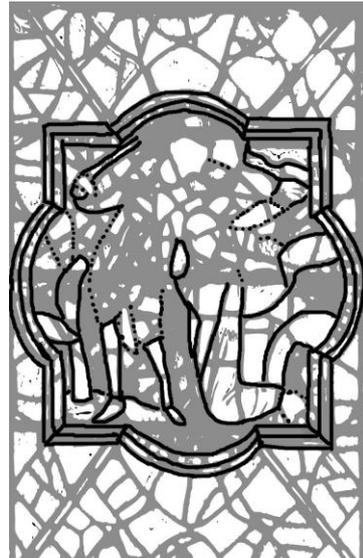


Figure CHn4:36: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²³⁷

			36	

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in yellow with a white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is red. The outside edge of the frame fits within the borders.

A much disturbed panel, but there is sufficient to determine that there is an executioner standing to the left, with a white sword in his right hand held aloft. He is in bare legs and blue shoes. He is in a yellow tunic (as seen by both Torre and Knowles). He is bending towards a kneeling figure in a yellow tunic and green cloak (Torre only commented on the yellow, but Knowles saw both colours). On either side of the panel there is foliage in white and yellow, with signs of original fruit (even more is on the ca. 1931 photograph).²³⁸ There is a yellow and green floor. In the top right-hand corner there are two strips of white and yellow glass, implying a cloud. Below is a piece of green drapery, which may represent a sleeve with, originally, a blessing hand indicating divine intervention.²³⁹ (The same may have been in the top right of CHn4:38).

²³⁷ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²³⁸ YMA Green Photographic Collection: see image above.

²³⁹ Mâle, *Image*, 2.

Iconography and original location: Martyrdom of Katherine.²⁴⁰

Note the fact that there is no sign of Katherine holding a book or other scholarly attribute. Note also the comments in Chapter 4 about the possible symbolism of the fruit and foliage and its links with the iconography associated with the Virgin.

In Angers Cathedral, the scene of the beheading is paired with the torture of the Empress.²⁴¹ Like Angers, Auxerre and St-Père, Chartres, have straightforward scenes of beheading.²⁴² Chartres Cathedral similarly has two figures, the executioner standing over the kneeling saint: here it is noticeable that, as in York, there is foliage in the scene.²⁴³ In Dol, the decapitation is imaginatively included with the post-mortem arrangements for her soul and her body.²⁴⁴

As is to be expected, all the textual versions cover the execution in detail, often concentrating on the pre-mortem speech given by Katherine and the welcome extended to her by Christ.²⁴⁵ Again, the texts support a Christological emphasis: *Seinte Katerine* concludes the narrative of her life saying that she died on the third hour, on a Friday, as had Christ.²⁴⁶

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁴⁷

Description: “4 In 4th Light a Man stands bare-legged habited O striking at another yt kneels before him of the like habitt.”

			36	

Comments: Possibly CHn4:36. The trace lines fit the description, but it is noticeable that Torre missed the prominent, original vt clothing of Figure 2.

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*²⁴⁸

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the executioner’s head was an insertion.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁴⁹

Description: “Decapitation of a saint prob Faustina

A figure kneeling down clad in yell tunic and green cloak and an executioner clad in yell short coat and blue shoes bare legs taking hold of the saint and brandishes a sword. Trees of conventional character indicate the

36				

²⁴⁰ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 42; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 732-748; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 339; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

²⁴¹ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Angers, Bay 125:5.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 26:5b and the church at St-Père. Bay 226: left-hand lancet.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:11a.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Dol, H6.

²⁴⁵ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 41-42 (for Clemence of Barking); Anon., *Ancrene Wisse*, 282-283 (for *Seinte Katerine*) and Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*: the death is covered in lines 693-724 and 750-756, while divine approval is recounted in lines 729-744.

²⁴⁶ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 224.

²⁴⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

²⁴⁸ Morgan, “Catherine,” 156.

²⁴⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.154v.

subject is taking place out of doors. A cloud near top corner with the part of a sleeve belongs to hand that originally pointed out. Executioner's head an insertion.

SCHEMA: Beheading of St Catherine."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁵⁰

Description: "2. Decapitation of Faustina

In the doorway of a battlemented tower is the figure of Faustina kneeling and

near to her an executioner with a sword in his uplifted arm in the act of striking off her head. Foliage in the background indicating the scene has been enacted outside. (Note executioner's head an inserted one.)"

Comments: He erroneously transposed the descriptions of CHn4:36 and 37. In any event it is much more likely that it shows the martyrdom of Katherine.

	[36?]			

1929-1932 Re-leading:²⁵¹

The glass was re-leaded.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵²

36				

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: the angel's head removed from aggressive figure and a more menacing head intruded. Blatant, intruded piece of painted glass removed from upper right-hand side. Aggressive figure's intruded blatant drapery removed and replaced with area of yellow glass.
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: blatant painted intruded glass to left-hand motif removed and replaced with more subdued painted glass. One intruded piece of chequered glass removed from lower left border and replaced with two pieces of clear glass. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.²⁵³

Milner White:²⁵⁴

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

36				

Brown:²⁵⁵

Description: "The Martyrdom of St Catherine."

36				

²⁵⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.60r.

²⁵¹ Figure CHn4:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L1P above.

²⁵² YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

²⁵³ Conclusions from a comparison between Figure CHn4:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5017, ca.1931: 55, 1L1P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5080, ca.1952: 55, 1L1P.

²⁵⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

²⁵⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Morgan:²⁵⁶

Description: "Martyrdom of Katherine."

"This panel is intended to echo the panel located below ([CHn4:16], originally in 4d). [CHn4:16] shows

Katherine being escorted to prison, the guard standing over her with a white whip; in [CHn4:36], her executioner is in a similar position".²⁵⁷

36				

Current:

36				

²⁵⁶ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 159.

Photographic record:



Figure CHn4:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHn4:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5082, ca.1931: 55, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5083, 1952 "before restoration": 55, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021238, 1976: CHn4, 8b © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

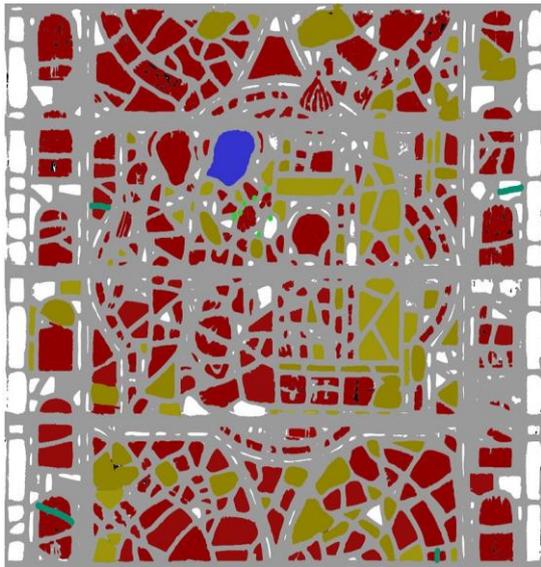


Figure CHn4:37: Restoration History

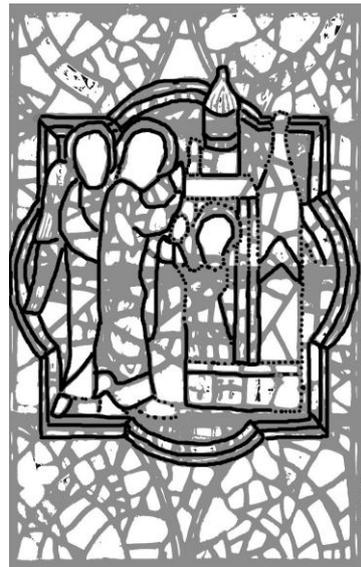


Figure CHn4:37: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²⁵⁹

	37			

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in yellow with a white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is red. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

The panel shows three figures: to the left is a standing angel, with white cloak and purple tunic (Torre saw only the white), and green upper and yellow lower wings and green halo. In the centre is a figure which has an intruded head, for Christ, and which Knowles saw (before the Milner White intrusion) as female (although Christ fits the textual sources and there are indications of an original cruciform halo on the pre-restoration photograph).²⁶⁰ He is in a yellow tunic and green cloak and is carrying a piece of white material, possibly representing the maniple, over his left arm. His right hand is raising in blessing. To the right is a prison, with green roof on the pepperpot tower, white stonework and the outline of a second pepperpot tower to the right. This latter shows a white arch halfway up the structure. Underneath the central pepperpot tower is a kneeling figure, with hands raising as in prayer, dressed in green. There are signs of the white brickwork at the edge of the building and there is a strip of white masonry, penetrated with quatrefoil, lancet and cross shaped feature below. There is brickwork/stonework at the centre bottom of the medallion. To the extreme right of the medallion is the architectural feature noted in other medallions – namely the edge of a white arch and signs of a pillar (also in CHn4:16 and 26 and possibly in CHn4:6).

The colours of the drapery are as seen by Knowles. Torre saw the same, with the exception of the purple for the angel.

²⁵⁹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²⁶⁰ YMA Green Photographic Collection: see image above.

The frame of the medallion is broken by the two pepperpot towers, the halos of the standing figures and the wings and foot of the angel.

Iconography and original location: Christ visits Katherine in prison with angels.²⁶¹

Christ, with an intruded head, is standing in the centre of the medallion. He is holding a maniple and show that he is giving Katherine the Eucharist (as in Chartres Cathedral).²⁶² His right hand is raised in blessing. Katherine is kneeling to the right, with hands raised in prayer. Note that the low wall in front of her is suggestive of her separation from the world and her virginity. Note also that the pinnacle of the tower breaks the frame of the medallion and the discussion of the resonances of virginity in Chapter 4. Behind Christ there is a standing angel, as in Angers and Auxerre.²⁶³

In the textual sources, there is the allusion to the mystical marriage between Christ and Katherine. The *Stanzaic Life* does not allude to the Eucharist, but describes Christ's visit to her in prison.²⁶⁴

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁶⁵

Description: "2 In 2d Light stand 3 persons by a Church 1 habited A, 2d vt & O, 3d a boy habited vt."

	37			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁶⁶

Description: "Porphyry and Faustina touched with pity visits by night and is converted by Catherine."

A tower with an arched doorway with a small figure in it holding his hands up in supplication. In front of the tower a female figure looking upon him clad in yell tunic and a green cloak, blue nimbus holds her hands up in front. Behind her stands an angel in pink tunic whit cloak green and yell wings and blue nimbus.

Back ruby

Note Winston's description in MS [in pencil] the subject is in the first window in the nave. Note the man in the tower.

SCHEMA: Visiting St C in prison."

	37			

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁶⁷

Description: "In the doorway of a tower is a [...] figure kneeling with hands held up in supplication and in front of the tower are 2 figures one a female robed in yellow tunic and green cloak

[37?]				

²⁶¹ Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 30; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 278; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 757- 375; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

²⁶² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 16:8b.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 125:3 and at Auxerre, Bay 26:2b.

²⁶⁴ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Katherine*, lines 377-395.

²⁶⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

²⁶⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.154v.

²⁶⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.60r.

her head nimbed. The second figure that of a man kneeling and holding a spear in his hand. Behind the kneeling figure in the town doorway is an angel standing.”

Comments: Knowles probably transposed the descriptions of CHn4:36 and 37.

1929-1932 Re-leading:²⁶⁸

The glass was re-leaded. Knowles saw a figure holding her hands up, which is no longer visible. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁶⁹

	37			

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: the head of the second figure to the left removed (probably plain glass) and one from the glass bank intruded.
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: one mending lead. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.²⁷⁰*

Milner White:²⁷¹

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

	37			

Morgan:²⁷²

Description: “Christ visits Katherine in prison with angels.” Maxentius tried to isolate Katherine within the frame of the prison, an attempt which failed

	37			

because in [CHn4:9, 37 and 39], “the prison provides a focus for spiritual engagement, which belies its function as a place of confinement [...]. With Katherine remaining to the right of the panel, her interaction with her visitors, be they an angel [CHn4:9], Porphyrius and Maxentius’s wife [CHn4:39] or Christ himself [CHn4:37], reconfigures the oppositional iconography of the court scenes into one of communication, reassurance and devotion.”²⁷³

Current:

	37			

²⁶⁸ Figure CHn4:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5082, ca.1931: 55, 2L1P above.

²⁶⁹ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

²⁷⁰ Conclusions based on a comparison between Figure CHn4:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5082, ca.1931: 55, 2L1P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5083, 1952 “before restoration”: 55, 1L7P. The status of the term “before restoration” is used for CHn4:37, 38 and 39 and is uncertain because it may refer to the reinsertion exercise by Milner White after World War II.

²⁷¹ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

²⁷² Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 167-68.

Photographic record:

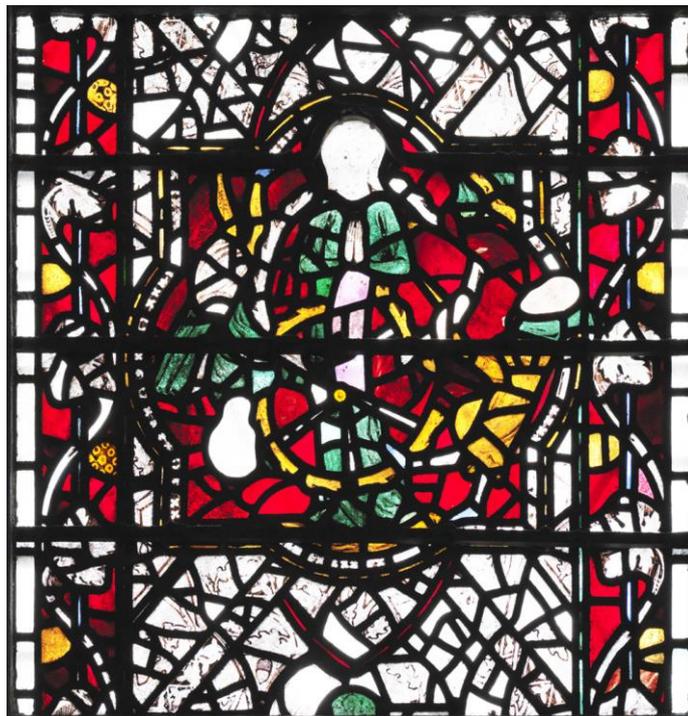


Figure CHn4:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 8c © York Glaziers Trust.

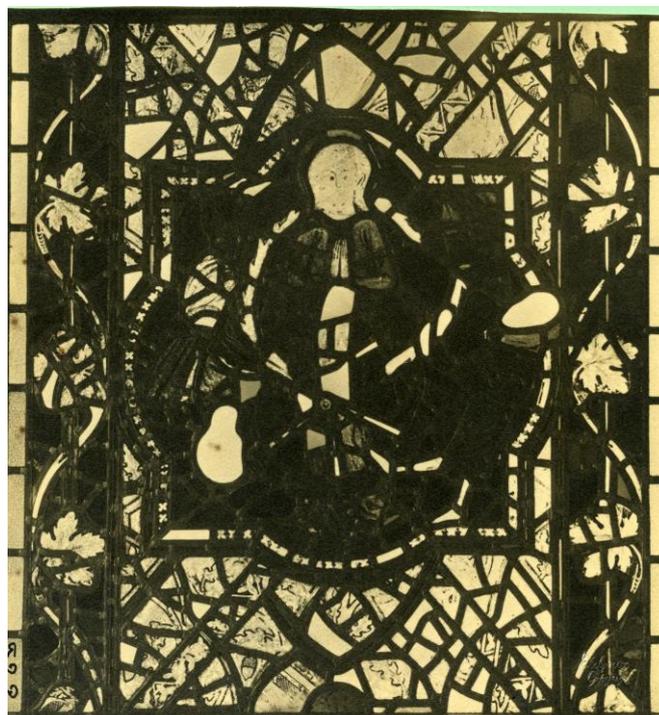


Figure CHn4:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5085, ca.1931: 55, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5086, ca.1952 "before restoration," 55, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021239, 1976 "after restoration," CHn4, 8c © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

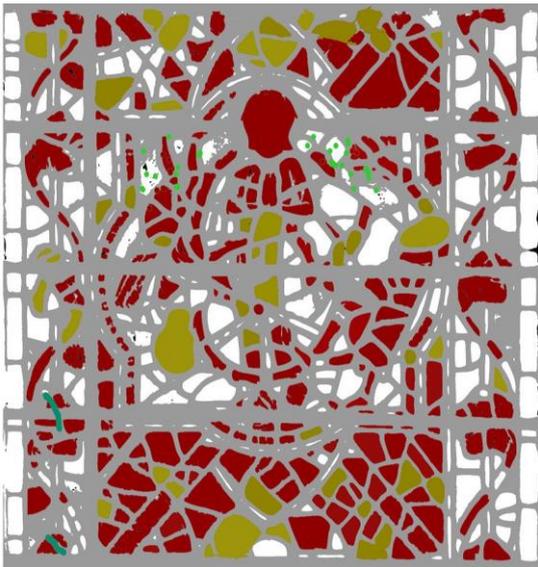


Figure CHn4:38: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:38: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²⁷⁵

		38		

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in yellow with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is red. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

The narrative shows three figures: the one to the left is upside down, dressed in white and green, the green drapery is hanging downwards. He is wearing yellow hose and blue shoes and his left arm is reaching out to the centre of the yellow wheel. The nimbed central figure is facing forwards, with her hands joined in prayer. She is wearing green drapery. She is standing within the circumference of both wheels. To the right is the third figure, in green hood and yellow tunic, with bare legs and blue shoes. He is also clutching towards the yellow wheel, and is falling backwards. The two wheels overlap each other, the uppermost is white and the lower is yellow with white spokes and a yellow boss. Both wheels are shown as broken into pieces. To the top right of the medallion is a strip of yellow, which may denote a cloud, and there are two pieces of green drapery. It is possible that this is the area where Knowles saw a hand (see CHn4:36), indicating divine intervention.²⁷⁶ The frame is broken by the halo of the central figure and the head of the figure to the right.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Varied thickness of lines in hair. Heavy, rounded eyebrows. Heavy, large eyes. Flattened nose. Heavy ears.

²⁷⁵ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²⁷⁶ Mâle, *Image*, 2.

Iconography and original location: Katherine saved from the wheels.²⁷⁷ Katherine is being tortured on the wheels, two onlookers being killed by them breaking and a hand of God coming into the scene, of which only the green sleeve is now visible in York.²⁷⁸ One aspect that is unusual in York is that Katherine is facing forwards, presumably to mirror the same pose in the scene below (the scourging in 6c): the only similar pose is in Auxerre.²⁷⁹ This may stress her Christological nature, given that this resonates with the way Christ is shown at his crucifixion and his and her flagellation (CH1:18, CH1:27 and CHn4:18).

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁸⁰

Description: “3 In 3rd Light sitts a young Man in a green habitt.”

Comments: Torre failed to interpret the scene and so ignored the wheels and the two figures on either side.

		38		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁸¹

Description: “St Catherine on the wheel

The saint stands full front between 2 wheels one yell the other white. She is clad in yell tunic and green cloak her hands conjoined in prayer. A man on either side are turning the wheels with their feet and hands upon whom flames descend and kill. The one to the right has a yell coat and the one to the left a green coat. There is an appearance of flames smiting the executioner the left of panel. The hand of God seen at top corner of panel. SCHEMA St C on the wheel.”

Comments: The identification of flames is unusual: the background to the panel is red, so it is more likely that Knowles misread the upturned legs of the figure to the left and saw what is, in fact, background as flames.

		38		

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁸²

Description: “3.St C tortured Between 2 revolving wheels with hooked knives St C stands with her hands conjoined in prayer and on each

side of the wheels is an executioner who turns them by a crank with his feet. Flames of fire are seen descending upon the executioners and in the right top corner of the panel the Hand of God is seen issuing out of a cloud.”

		38		

²⁷⁷ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 34; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 278-79; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, line 496; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

²⁷⁸ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 125:2a; at Chartres, Bay 16:10b and at Le Mans, Bay 111:2c.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 26:3b.

²⁸⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

²⁸¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.155r.

²⁸² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.61r.

1929-1932 Re-leading:²⁸³

The glass was re-leaded. Knowles saw flames descending and a hand of God in the top right-hand corner. Neither is visible. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁸⁴

		38		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible amendments
Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: one mending lead. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*²⁸⁵

Milner White:²⁸⁶

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

		38		

Brown:²⁸⁷

Description: "St Catherine saved from the torture wheel."

		38		

Morgan:²⁸⁸

Description: "Katherine saved from the wheels." "In the uppermost row, Katherine occupies the centre of two other panels. [CHn4:38] is located in the central light, directly above [CHn4:28]. In these scenes, as she is scourged, placed on the wheels and carried to heaven, Katherine participates in a visual dynamic which echoes the process of a dialectic argument moving towards its conclusion".²⁸⁹

		38		

Current:

		38		

²⁸³ Figure CHn4:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5085, ca.1931: 55, 3L1P above.

²⁸⁴ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

²⁸⁵ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5085, ca.1931: 55, 3L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5086, ca.1952 "before restoration," 55, 3L1P. The status of the term "before restoration" is used for CHn4:37, 38 and 39 and is uncertain.

²⁸⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1952, 30.

²⁸⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

²⁸⁸ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 168.

Window: CHn4

Panel number: CHn4:39

(CVMA: 8d)

Photographic record:

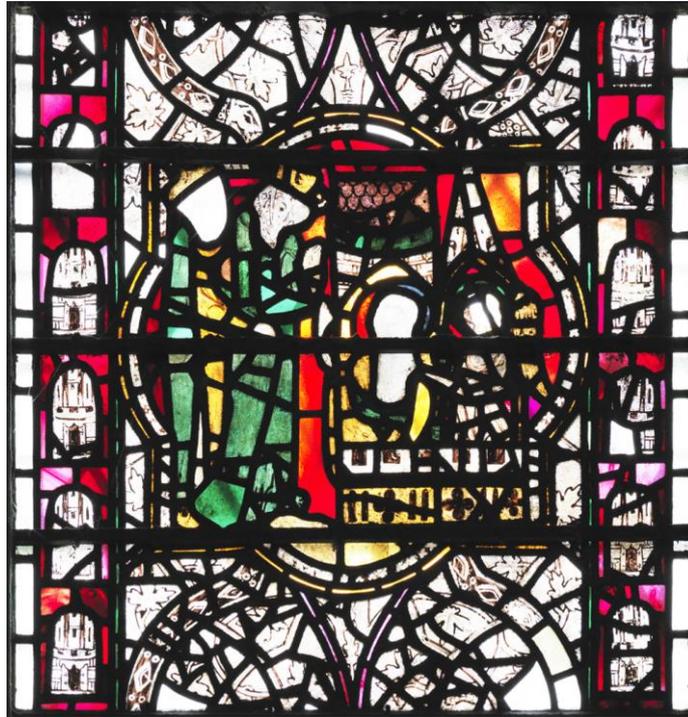


Figure CHn4:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHn4, 8d © York Glaziers Trust.

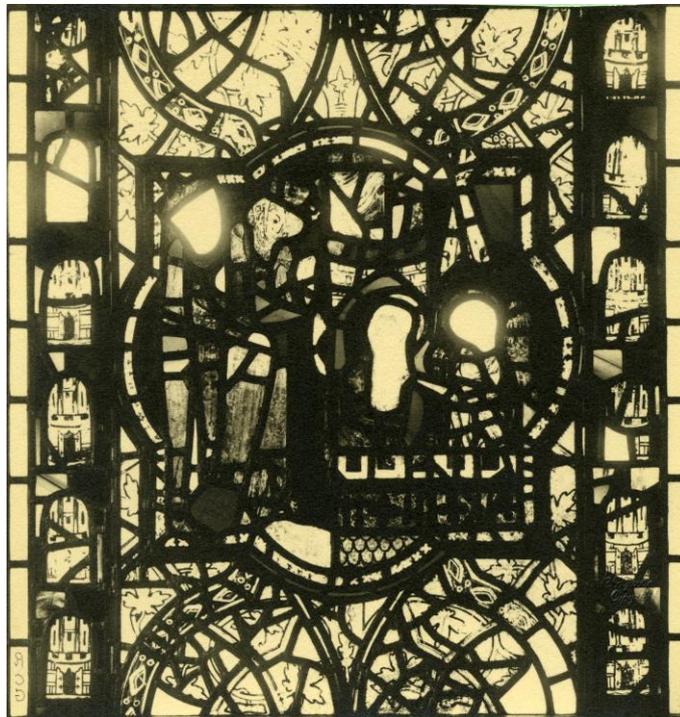


Figure CHn4:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5088, ca.1931: 55, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁹⁰

²⁹⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5089, ca.1952 "before restoration": 55, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021241, 1976 "after restoration": CHn4, 8d © Crown Copyright. A detail can be seen at CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021243, 1969 © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

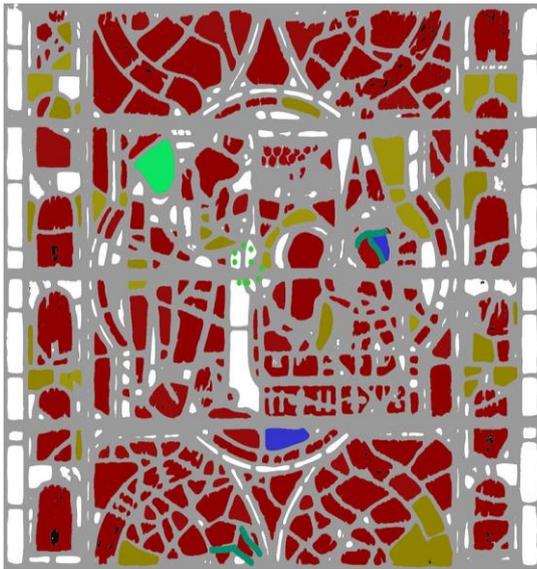


Figure CHn4:39: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:39: Original Lead Lines

Original location:²⁹¹

39				

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in yellow with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is red. The outside edge of the frame slightly overlaps the borders.

There are four figures: the one to the left is a male, with a yellow, Jewish-style cap or cap of “otherness” (Type-4), dressed in a yellow tunic and green cloak and yellow shoes. His right arm is outstretched as though to support or comfort the figure in front of him. This figure, a female, with a yellow crown and hands joined as in prayer, is wearing green. No feet are visible. She is looking downward towards a nimbed, kneeling figure in a building. This third figure, who is bare-chested, may have a hand held up towards the standing female figure. She may be clad in yellow and green. To the right of the medallion is an angel, with a green halo, yellow wings, dressed in white and holding a sword towards the kneeling saint.

The tower is breaking through the frame of the medallion. The building has a tiled sanguine roof, green battlements, white stonework walls, below which is an arch under which Katherine is kneeling. In front of her are low white battlements, supported by a yellow arcade with lancet and quatrefoil openings. Very little is visible of the structure to the right, although there are signs of another arch.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Varied thickness of line in hair. Heavy, rounded eyebrows. Probably Workshop 1.

²⁹¹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

Iconography and original location: The Empress and Porphyrius visit Katherine in prison.²⁹²

The scene shows Katherine on the right in her prison, with the Empress and Porphyrius facing her. Behind Katherine is an angel. Other aspects of the involvement of the Empress are stressed elsewhere, but images showing her visiting Katherine in prison have been found in Chartres Cathedral, St-Père in Chartres and Dol Cathedral. Only in St-Père is there a scene with the angel seated similarly behind Katherine.²⁹³

This is one of the panels where Katherine is shown naked to the waist. This may be a device to show her virginity, and it is noted that she is later shown similarly half clothed in the *Belles Heures* of the Duke of Berry in the same scene (fol.17r) which itself has been described as “unusual”.²⁹⁴ In this context, it has been connected with the visit by Christ which followed in 8b and has been particularly associated with the speech that Katherine has made to the Empress about her love for Christ.²⁹⁵

If the relationship between this panel, originally in 8a, and CHn4:10, in 2e, was significant (see Chapter 3), it is possible that the panel showed her appreciation by the good Empress (as a secular representative) and Porphyrius (also wearing Type- 4 hat of soft “otherness” or Jewishness). In this sense it was juxtaposed with CHn4:10 in 2e, where there was the start of the plot between the secular authorities and the uncanonically attired “Jews” against her.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁹⁶

Comments: Torre was mistaken in his descriptions. He described CHn4:29 twice, once in it correct position (6a) and once in error as though it were in 8a. He gave no description for this panel.

[39?]				

*Intervention: in the 1760s, the first and fourth lights were switched to create a pattern of A-B-C-B-A across the window from its original B-B-C-A-A.*²⁹⁷

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁹⁸

Description: “A tower building with two figures in it and near the building two figures leading a third figure who has a green robe and crown on her head with downcast attitude to the tower. The most prominent appear to be a doctor in green robe yell tunic and yellow hat.

			39	

²⁹² Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 27; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 276-77; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 297-364; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 337; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

²⁹³ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 16:11a and at Dol, H4. See also the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 226: left-hand lancet.

²⁹⁴ Martha Easton, “Pain, torture and death in the Huntington Library,” in *Gender and Holiness: men, women and saints in late medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha J.E. Riches and Sara Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), 175.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁹⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

²⁹⁷ Morgan, “Catherine,” 156.

²⁹⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.155r.

[in margin] A tower with two figures in it one an angel the other a nimbed figure. The angel taking hold of the st. Two figures in front lead a crowned lady to the tower who is grief.

The incarceration of St Catherine in the tower.

The figure in the tower holds his hand out to St Catherine who takes hold of it. Her eyes downcast. St C has a reticulated headdress under her crown. Doctor wears a mutch under his cap

SCHEMA St C led to [...] to torture.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁹⁹

Description: “4.St C led back to prison.

A tower with an arched gate in which are seen 2 figures. An angel who is [conducting] St C and outside the town

is a man with doctor’s hat on leading a crowned lady to the tower. His face indication of great grief.”

			39	

1929-32 Re-Reading:³⁰⁰

No sign of a “third figure” taking the hand offered by the figure in the tower. Knowles also saw “two figures” leading “a third” to the tower, but only one figure is visible in the Green photograph. He saw a “mutch” under the cap of the figure to the left, which is not visible in the photograph. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁰¹

			39	

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one area of clearly painted glass replaced a few pieces. Possibly removed from bottom of panel (same painting). One head either given mending leads or re-glazed.
Grisaille: three mending leads visible. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.³⁰²

Milner White:³⁰³

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

			39	

²⁹⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.60r.

³⁰⁰ Figure CHn4:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5088, ca.1931: 55, 4L1P above.

³⁰¹ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

³⁰² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5088, ca.1931: 55, 4L1P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5089, ca.1952 “before restoration”: 55, 1L7P. The status of the term “before restoration” is used for CHn4:37, 38 and 39 and is uncertain.

³⁰³ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

Brown:³⁰⁴

Description: “St Catherine in prison visited by the empress and Porphyry.”

			39	

Morgan:³⁰⁵

Description: “The Empress and Porphyrius visit Katherine in prison.”
Maxentius tried to isolate Katherine within the frame of the prison, an

			39	

attempt which failed because in [CHn4:9, 37 and 39], “the prison provides a focus for spiritual engagement, which belies its function as a place of confinement [...]. With Katherine remaining to the right of the panel, her interaction with her visitors, be they an angel [CHn4:9], Porphyrius and Maxentius’s wife [CHn4:39] or Christ himself [CHn4:37], reconfigures the oppositional iconography of the court scenes into one of communication, reassurance and devotion”.³⁰⁶

There is a “vertical coherence between panels.... the martyrdom of the philosophers ... is linked with the pagan sacrifice of animals [CHn4:9]”. In [CHn4:39] are shown the Empress and Porphyrius, visiting Katherine in prison, intrigued by her impact on the philosophers.³⁰⁷

Current:

			39	

³⁰⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

³⁰⁵ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 167-68.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

Photographic record:

Figure CHn4:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014:
CHn4, 8e © York Glaziers Trust.

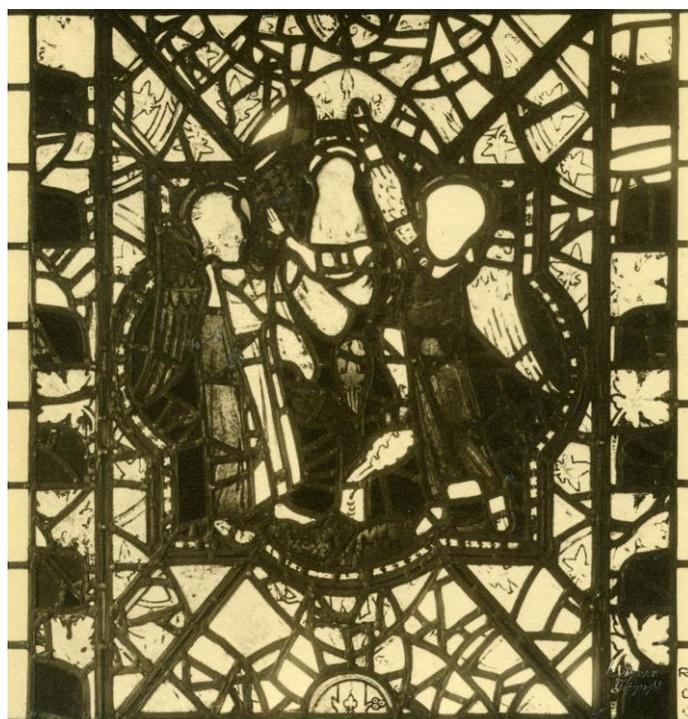


Figure CHn4:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5094, ca.1931: 55,
5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5093, ca.1952: 55, 5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 021244, "in or before 1951": 55, 5L1P © Crown Copyright and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21245, 1976 © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

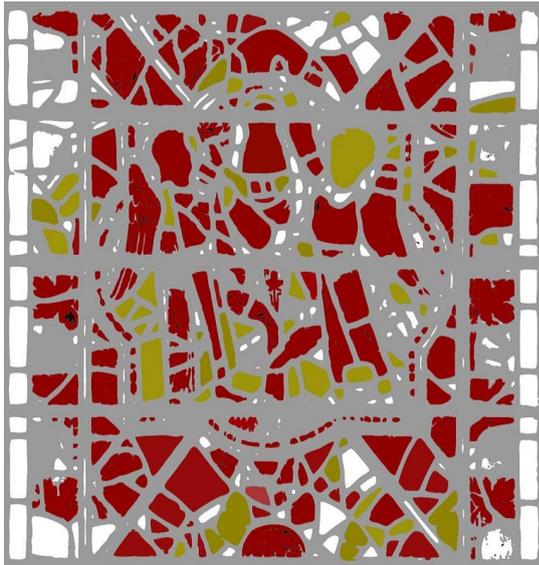


Figure CHn4:40: Restoration History



Figure CHn4:40: Original Lead Lines

Original location:³⁰⁹

				40

Probable original appearance: A quatrefoil frame, with four cusps. The outline is in yellow with white inner rim, decorated with crosses. The background of the scene within the frame is red. The outside edge of the frame is flush with the borders.

There are three figures in the medallion. The nimbed angel on the left is clad in a green cloak and white tunic and white shoes. His wings are yellow, the right one curling down to fit the shape of the medallion, the left one curled up and breaking the frame of the shape. He may be holding one hand aloft. The angel to the right is clad in yellow, with white wings which mirror those of the first angel. The paint lines indicate that his left hand is in front of him, but the exact position is unclear. Between them is the small, semi-nude figure of Katherine, facing forwards, held in a white shawl. The two ends of the shawl can be seen hanging down, but some of the shawl itself has been replaced with red glass. From the size of the figure, it appears that it is Katherine's soul that is being carried. Below her is foliage: white, yellow and green trees on a ground of yellow and green.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Varied thickness of line in hair.

³⁰⁹ Morgan, "Catherine," 157.

Iconography and original location: Katherine's soul carried to heaven by angels.³¹⁰

Chapter 3 argues that the original corner positions were significant in CHn4, that the first scenes in the narrative were in 2a and 2b (CHn4:9 and 7) with the culmination in 8e (CHn4:40), demonstrating her divine selection as a saint. She is distinguished from the other saints (in CHs2, CHs3, CHs4 and CHn3) in that the final scene is not of her martyrdom, but of angels carrying her soul to heaven.³¹¹ It does not appear, therefore, to show the post-mortem movement of her body, to Mount Sinai.³¹² Thus the depiction echoes the culmination of the narrative of the Virgin in CHn2 in that it does not present the movement of the body.

History of the Panel

Torre:³¹³

Description: "5 In 5th Light sits a Queen enthroned robed A vt & O on each side her stands an Angell 1st Robed vt striped downwards A winged O. 2d robed O winged A."

				40

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":³¹⁴

Description: "Two angels one in yell tunic the others in green and yell wings hold a cloak between them in which is the soul of St Catherine. Same conventional trees near their feet. Back ruby. SCHEMA Angels with soul."

				40

Knowles, "Historical Notes":³¹⁵

Description: "5. Angels conveying the soul of St C. 2 angels with folded wings hold a cloth containing the soul of St C symbolized by a small nude figure. Trees are in the foreground."

				40

1929-1932 Re-leading:³¹⁶

The glass was re-leaded. Knowles saw the soul represented by a "small, nude figure", of which only the outline is visible on the Green photograph. See Appendix A. 13.

³¹⁰ Walsh, *Cult*, 7; Wogan-Browne and Burgess, *Virgin Lives*, 42; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 283-85; Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 757-780; Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 339; Lewis, *Katherine*, xvi.

³¹¹ Similar movements of her soul are included in *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 111:6; at Auxerre, Bay 26:5c and at Dol, H6. See also the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 226: 5a (the body) and 5b (the soul).

³¹² Anon, *Stanzaic Life*, lines 757-773.

³¹³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 123.

³¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.155r.

³¹⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.61r.

³¹⁶ Figure CHn4:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5094, ca.1931: 55, 5L1P above.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³¹⁷

				40

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: no visible amendments
 Grisaille: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration grisaille surround
 Borders: no visible amendments. Pre-Milner White restoration borders.*³¹⁸

Milner White:³¹⁹

Comments: Milner White reported that he had reinserted the panels in their pre-war location.

				40

Brown:³²⁰

Description: “St Catherine’s body carried to Mount Sinai by angels.”

				40

Morgan:³²¹

Description: “Catherine’s soul carried to heaven by angels.”

				40

Current:

				40

³¹⁷ YML, Green Photographic Collection, 4998, ca.1931: 55 © Dean and Chapter of York (Figure 24d).

³¹⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHn4:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5094, ca.1931: 55, 5L1P above and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5093, ca.1952: 55, 5L1P.1

³¹⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1952, 30.

³²⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

³²¹ Morgan, “Catherine,” 157.

Window: CHs2

Panel number: CHs2:6

(CVMA: 2a)

Photographic record:

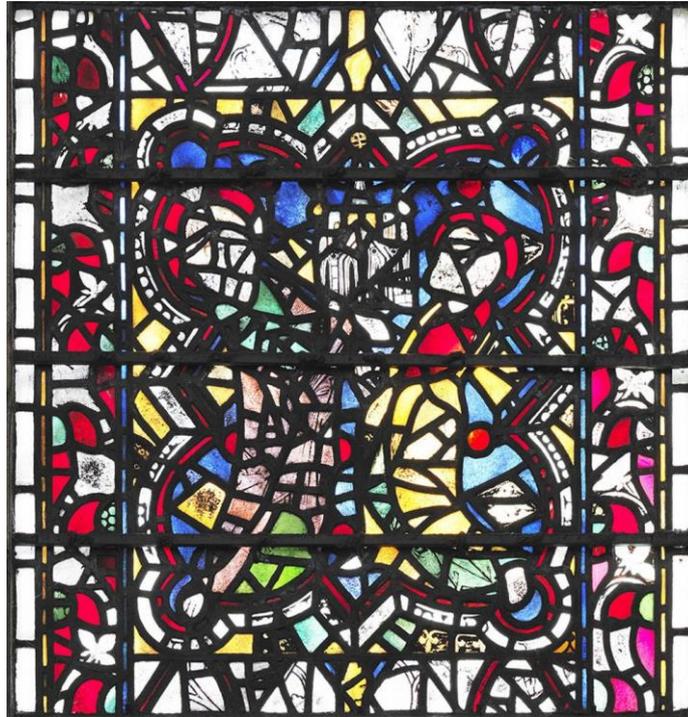


Figure CHs2:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.

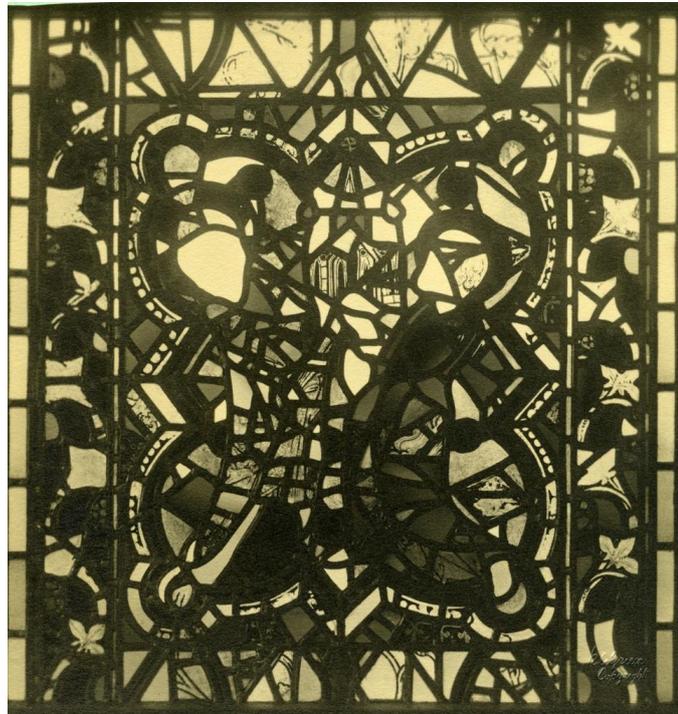


Figure CHs2:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5135, 1929-32: 59, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York¹

¹ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca. 1962: 59, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21268, 1959-63: 59, 1L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:



Figure CHs2:6: Restoration History

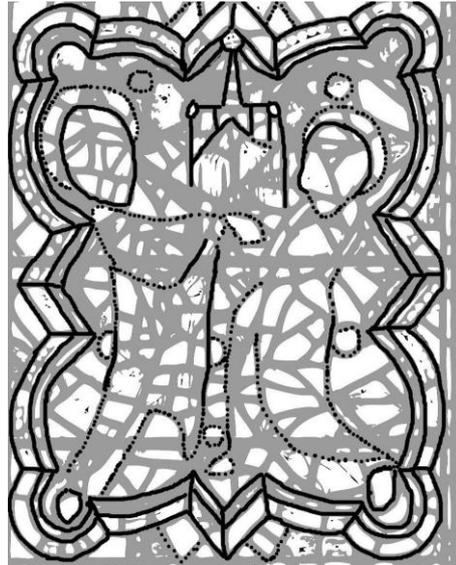


Figure CHs2:6: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

6				

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys in upper and lower cusps. Six small unspecified balls, possibly originally containing a floral motif. Design contained within the medallion. Strip feature Ia.

Christ to left, arching backwards, bearded face, cruciform halo, murrey outer cloak and green tunic. (These were the colours also seen by Torre and Knowles.) St Peter, nimbed, to right, bearded face, yellow cloak and green tunic (again, the colours are similar to those seen by Torre and Knowles, although, again, Torre saw blue instead of green. The red drapery had been inserted by the time of Knowles.) The original glass in the panel shows Christ is holding out his hand to Peter. Above Christ's hand, and possibly being held by him, is the model of a building which represents the Church.

Iconography and original location: Christ's selection of Peter in "on this rock I will build my Church".²

The scene may well be based on Matthew, 16:18, in which Peter is told that Christ will build his church on Peter's rock as opposed to 16:19 in which he is presented with the keys of heaven, as there is no surviving sign of a key. Not only were these verses the source of papal authority and apostolic succession, they were also cited in later conflicts between the papacy and secular authorities and were the basis of Innocent III's claim in the early thirteenth century of the authority to rule "the whole world, not just the whole Church".³

² Matt. 16:18.

³ "Non solum universam Ecclesiam sed totum reliquit saeculum gubernandum," in C.K.Carr, "Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in the Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century," PhD Dissertation, Cape Western Reserve University, 1978, 60.

This version of Peter being given authority by Christ in the form of a church has not been identified elsewhere: other depictions have Peter being given a key.⁴

The panel may also be connected to the York liturgy. The phrase, “You are Peter, and on this rock”,⁵ features in the second part of the Processional for the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul,⁶ and is used in the York Missal on the same Feast Day.⁷ It is also included in the York Breviary.⁸ The response features in the Processional for the Feast of *St Peter’s Chains*: the liturgy opens with reference to Christ’s power of binding and freeing, but continues, “Peter said [to Christ], ‘You are Christ, the Son of the Living God’. The Lord replied, saying, ‘And I say to you that you are Peter, and on this rock I shall build my church’”.⁹

Through a process of elimination for the other A panels, location 8a is the likeliest position for CHs2:6. The effect on the design of the window would render the emphasis of the uppermost narrative row as being on the significant aspects of Peter’s sanctity associated with his Feast days: Peter as the source of Papal authority in 8a would be shown adjacent to the Liberation of Peter, with its separate feast day on 1st August in 8b and 8c, and Peter’s Trial and Crucifixion, representative of the feast day he shared with Paul on 29th June, in 8d and 8e. The uppermost row would then sit comfortably below the iconography in the central ceiling panels in which Peter has joined the panoply of saints (above the adjacent CH1).¹⁰ The importance of the image of Peter holding a Church in his hand can be seen in the number of occasions on which it was subsequently employed in the Minster. In addition to a ceiling panel in the chapter house, it is also visible in n25 in the nave in the Pilgrimage window and was probably depicted in the carving above the east window.¹¹

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration, the panel was moved within its light from 8a to 6a.

Torre:¹²

Description: “In 2d Under Row & in first Light 11 Stand 2 Men together. 1st habited murry & vt/ 2d B & O.”

Comments: The implication is that

6				

⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 221, left-hand lancet: 5a and 5b; the church of Notre Dame, Dijon, Bay 21:1; and the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 9; at Chartres, Bay 105: 2; Le Mans, Bay 205:7a and 7b; at Tours, Bay 203:2a; and at Troyes, Bay 204:1b.

⁵ “Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram”.

⁶ *Manuale*, 197.

⁷ *Missale*, 59. It is also included in *ibid.*, 24 and *ibid.*, 72, 73 and 76 in connection with the Feast of St Peter’s Chains.

⁸ *Breviarium*, for example, cols. 201, 345, 347, 354, 355, 434

⁹ “Tu es, inquit Petrus, Christus Filius Dei vivi. Respondens Dominus ait, Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,” *Manuale*, 198. It also features in the *Sanctorale* for the Feasts of St Peter’s Chair, St Peter’s Chains and Saints Peter and Paul, *Breviarium*, 75, cols. 201, 434 and 345 and 346 respectively.

¹⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 121-122; Norton, “Medieval Paintings,” 42.

¹¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 288.

¹² YMA L1/7, Torre, 127-128.

Torre saw blue in error for Peter, confusing it with the original green, an error that he makes on several occasions.

Browne:¹³

Description: "Jesus consigned the Church to the care of Peter."

6				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: figure of Christ had already been damaged and the red intruded into Peter's clothing.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴

Description: (First) "No 1: Christ's commission to St Peter. To the right is a kneeling figure nimbed clad in ruby tunic and yellow robe and holding up as it were a church. To the left is a mutilated figure with a pot shaped purple hat. Re-examine the panel." (Second) "Peter with Church."

6				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵

Description: "No 3. Christ's commission to St Peter. The figure of Christ is much damaged but shews the robes he wears as being a green tunic and pink cope with a nimbus of ruby with white cross (head gone). Kneeling in front is St Peter clad in green tunic and yell cloak and red nimbus receiving in both hands the model of a church."

6				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Two pieces of re-soldering visible. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶

6				

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 6a to 2a and opened the narrative in 2e.*¹⁷
*Medallion: Christ's head may have been re-leaded and possibly plated, or medieval glass inserted. The difficulty in deciding which is because the nature of the glass in the equivalent head in the re-leading photograph is unclear. The "improvement" to the church involved, at the least, re-leading. It appears that a roundel may also have been replaced, but Milner White did not refer to this. The inner rectangle was retained its original upper and lower grisaille. Mending leads were inserted and possible reconstruction of part.*¹⁸

¹³ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182r.

¹⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.93r.

¹⁶ Figure CHs2:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5135, 1929-32: 59, 1L7P.

¹⁷ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.14r.

Milner White:¹⁹

Description: "Fifth scene. 'Upon this Rock'. Christ's head improved and church mended."

6				

Brown:²⁰

Description: "Christ's commission to Peter."

6				

Current:

6				

¹⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:6: YMA, Green Photographic Collection, 5135, 1929-32: 59, 1L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca.1962: 59, 1L7P.

¹⁹ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 30.

²⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

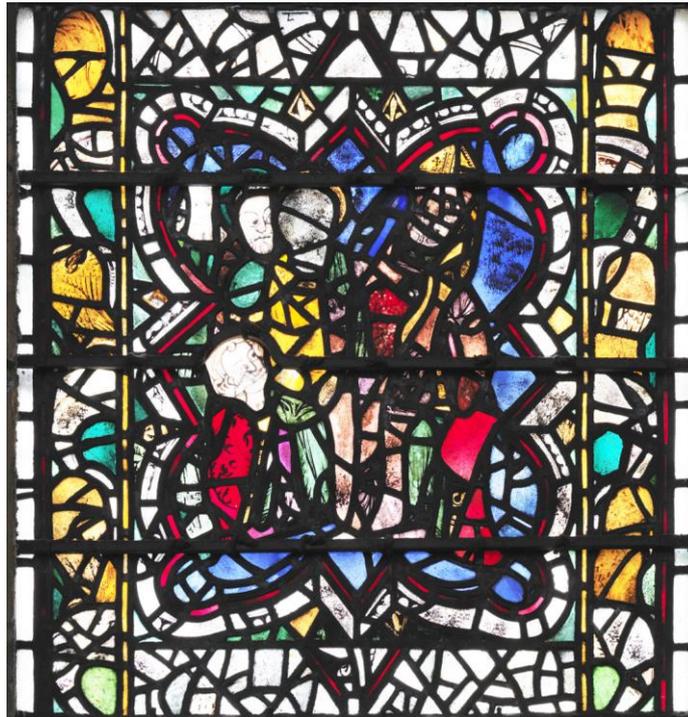


Figure CHs2:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

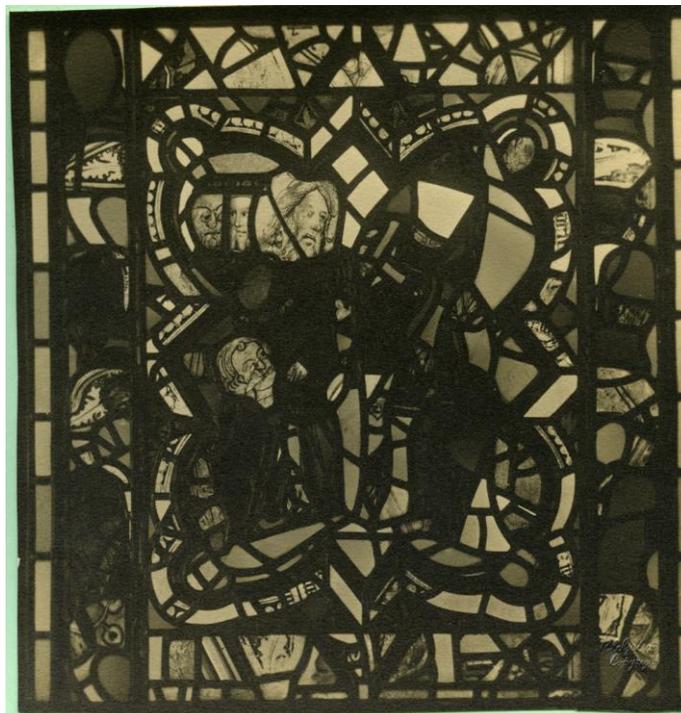


Figure CHs2:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5137, 1929-32: 59, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.²¹

²¹ Additional photographs are available at CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21269, 1959-63: 59, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York) and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5138, ca.1962: 59, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

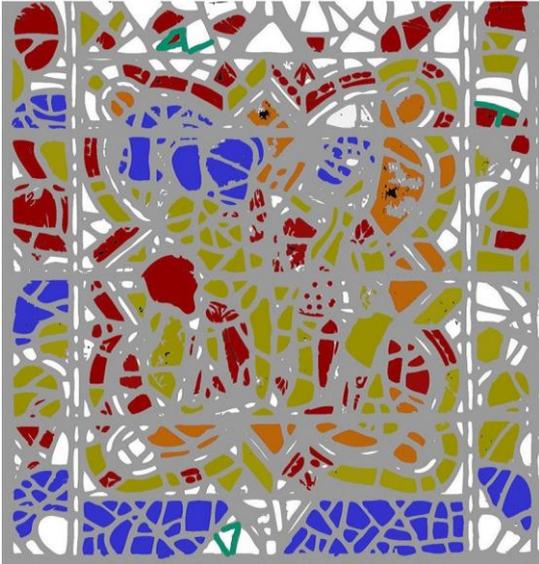


Figure CHs2:7: Restoration History

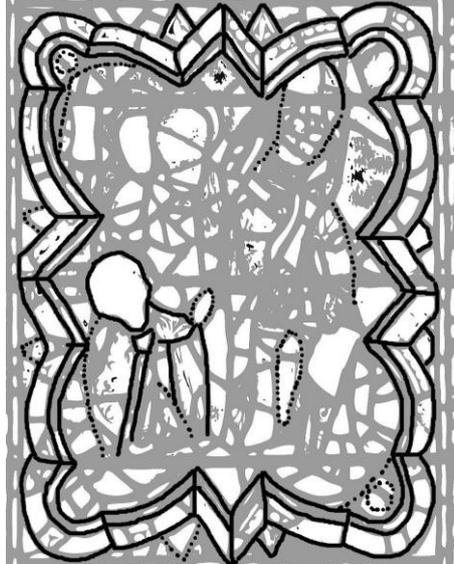


Figure CHs2:7: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

	7			

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Green external background to medallion, with yellow fleurs-de-lys in cusps. The design contained within the medallion. Strip feature lb.

There are two kneeling figures to the left, only one of whom is now visible, possibly originally partly in green, with a yellow crutch. Torre saw a second figure draped in green and murrey. Probably originally there were two figures behind, one of whom was that which is currently in the centre of the group of three, but whose head has been moved in the course of restorations. There are now two other intruded heads. One figure behind is in green. There is possibly a second figure, according to Torre in yellow. A bishop in green tunic and red cloak, is standing to the right, since Torre he has been seen with a mitre, possibly holding something or just pointing downwards (probably the key as seen in Torre). The mitre is medieval glass, but may be an intrusion (and was seen as such by Knowles).

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3. Wide, rounded eyebrows, one extending to create the outline of the nose, large features, especially the eyes, pronounced nostril, wide mouth, neat beard.

Iconography and original location: Peter healing with his shadow.²²

The panel has historically been given several attributions.²³ In the original glass itself there are few clues: the scene may show a general scene of healing or preaching, but, given the certain existence of the squatting figure with a crutch, it may represent the lame squatting so that Peter would heal them either with his shadow as in Acts of the Apostles, 5:15, or the healing of Aeneas, Acts, 9:33. There is general agreement that a healing is involved, but Milner White's suggestion that it shows the healing of the woman with an issue of blood can be discounted on the basis that this was a miracle of Christ and Peter was not involved, so it is highly unlikely that this, of all Christ's miracles, would feature in a window showing the life of St Peter.

Traditionally, and following the text which states Aeneas was bedridden, it appears that the depiction usually shows him in a bed.²⁴ Here we appear to have a figure (originally figures) crouching on the ground and hence it is concluded it is more likely to show the healing of cripples with his shadow, as in Acts, 5:15. If this is correct, it has not been found in the contemporary windows elsewhere, with the possible exception of Dijon.²⁵ Uniquely among the panels in CHs2 the design type is Ib. This may have originally been an error as it does not fit the symmetry of the other panels.

The panel has been allocated to 4b on the basis that it has a B border and that, if row 4 has a chronological structure, it falls in advance of the alternative panel (CHs2:17 in 4d), which itself is probably associated with CHs2:30, originally in 4e.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration, for the more likely original location (CHs2:7 in 4b), the panel was moved to its alternative light-type in the fourth light.

Torre:²⁶

Description: "19 In 4th Light stands a Bp robed vt & gu Mytered O with a gold key in his hand. Two old men stand by him one habited vt the other

			7	

O. Also 2 others kneel before him one habited O 2d murry & vt."

Comments: Torre saw the Bishop's cloak as "gu". The Bishop's key has subsequently been removed. He saw two kneeling figures as opposed to the current one, the second of whom could have originally been in the area of intruded glass in the centre.

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was possibly moved within its fourth B light. In Chapter 2 it is argued that it is likely this was the seventh window, the only one not to be repaired in the 1760s, meaning that this switch

²² Acts 5:15.

²³ All of these indicate the difficulty in interpreting the panel: Browne described it as Peter and companions addressing a multitude, Browne, *Representation*, 64; Knowles appeared to settle on it as Peter heals Ananias, Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 180v; and Milner White as Woman with the Issue of Blood, Milner White, "Return," 1962, 30.

²⁴ Carr, "Iconography," 125-27.

²⁵ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church at Dijon, Bay 23:1.

²⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

was probably in the 1690s.

Browne:²⁷

Description: "Confused. Probably the death of Ananias."

Comments: This is a tentative identification based on a process of elimination.

			[?]	

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

<i>Intervention: central figure: head had already gone.</i>
<i>Right-hand head probably an insertion.</i>
<i>Two figures to the left: heads perpendicular insertions.</i>
<i>Background blue glass was "modern", but "good".</i>

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁸

Description: (First) "No 4 [pencil Peter heals Eneas and raising Tabitha A mixed panel.

There is a figure in the centre clad in a yell tunic and green cloak with head gone but apparently it has earlier a nimbed head. He seems to have been calling upon a man to rise who lies in the foreground. There is a bishop's mitre upon a head to the right but this head does not look like a bishop. Therefore it might be an insertion. Also two heads to the left (perpend) are insertions. Back of blue. Modern glass but good colour." (Second) "Peter raising Eneas."

Comments: When Knowles talks of "two" inserted heads to the left, he may be implying that the third was original, but in the "Historical Notes" he said "three" heads had been inserted. In fact, on stylistic grounds, the suggestion is that he was correct in the "Manuscript Notes", and that the two inserted heads were the ones he saw in the centre and the right of the group of three, leaving the probable original on the left, which can be seen in the 1930s Green photograph. That this is not the current order is clear, but the later changes were made by Milner White (see later). By this time, there was no sign of a second kneeling figure.

			7	

Knowles, "Historical Notes"²⁹

Description: "St Peter healing Eneas Acts 9.33.

A much injured panel but shews the figure of an apostle in the centre who is in the act of bidding a man to rise (Eneas) who is laid on the ground in front of St Peter. There are three inserted heads which tend to confuse the subject."

			7	

1929-32 Re-leading:

No re-soldering/new lead visible. No evidence of modifications to the glass.

²⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

²⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181r.

²⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.96r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁰

			7	

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 2d to 2b.³¹
 Medallion: the “bishop’s” head on the right has been recreated from what appear to be fragments. Of the figures on the extreme left, again, not much of the drapery can be made out, but Milner White inherited three heads, which he dealt with as follows: the right-hand one he removed (possibly one of Knowles’s two “Perp” insertions and a Thornton-type head), the one on the left (which is probably an original head which had been moved within the panel) he switched to the centre and the one in the centre (the second of Knowles’s “Perp” heads) he seems to have moved to the left, but it also seems to have been reversed. Two pieces of medallion border may also have been changed.³²*

To summarise the history of the three heads to the left:

1. *In Torre: two heads: B and C.*
2. *B was moved to the extreme left to create a third inserted figure by the time of Knowles (“Manuscript Notes”).*
3. *C was replaced by a “Perp” Thornton-type head by the time of Knowles’s “Manuscript Notes”.*
4. *A was inserted into the centre by the time of Knowles’s “Manuscript Notes”.*
5. *Milner White moved C out and replaced it with scraps of glass.*
6. *Milner White moved B to the centre position. He retained A but moved it to the left and reversed it.*

Milner White:³³

Description: “4th scene. Woman with the issue of blood. Face of figure on right restored and the two figures on the extreme left rebuilt.”

	7			

Brown:³⁴

Description: “?Healing of a woman with haemorrhage.”

	7			

Current:

	7			

³⁰ Figure CHs2:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5137, 1929-32: 59, 2L7P.

³¹ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

³² Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5137, 1929-32: 59, 2L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca.1962: 59, 1L7P.

³³ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 30.

³⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

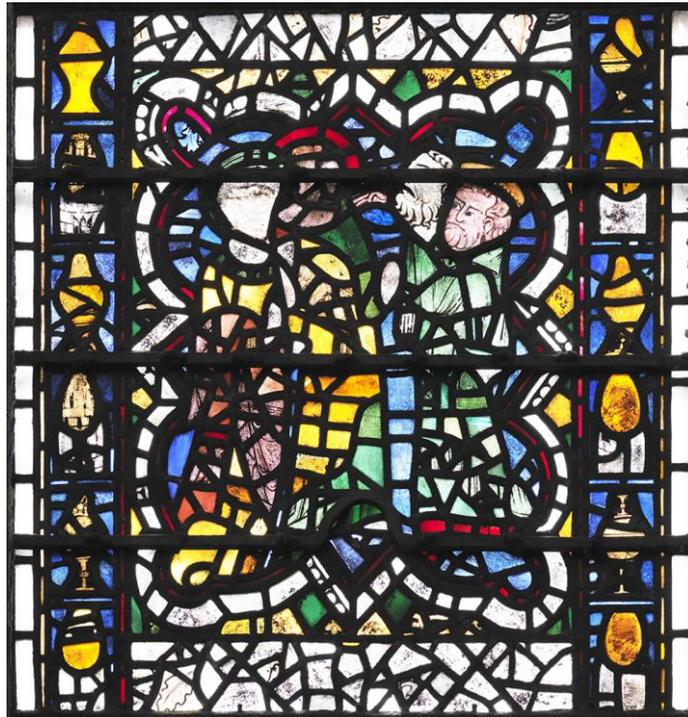


Figure CHs2:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2c © York Glaziers Trust.

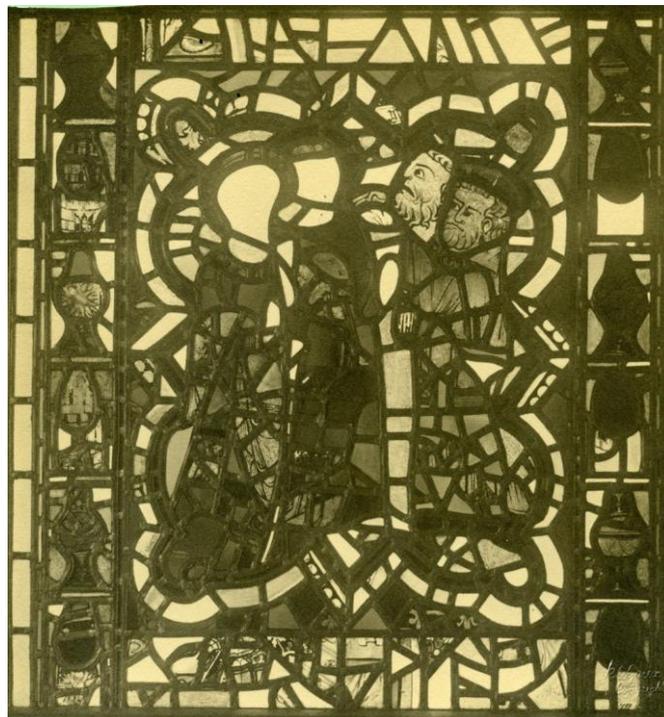


Figure CHs2:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5139, 1929-32: 59, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.³⁵

³⁵ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5140, ca.1962: 59, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21270, 1959-63: 59, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

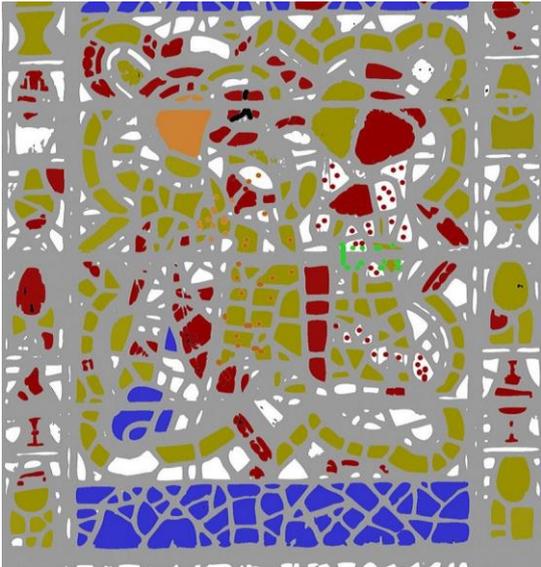


Figure CHs2:8: Restoration History

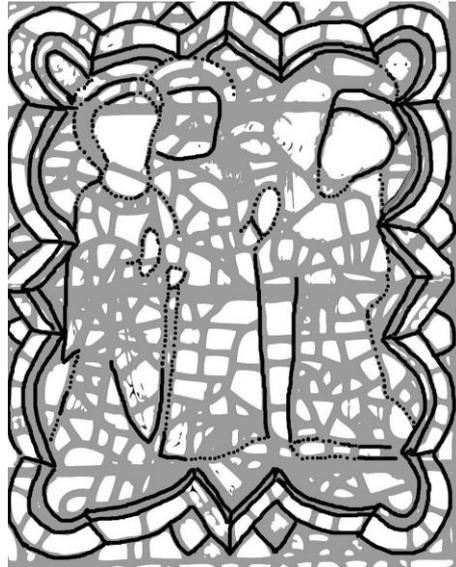


Figure CHs2:8: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		8		

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to top and bottom of medallion (bottom has signs of fleur-de-lys). Green external background to sides. The design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature 1c.

There are two figures to left, both nimbed; the left-hand one in murrey cloak, with a green nimbus and a green collar, and the right-hand one possibly in a green tunic (the current yellow was not seen by Torre, but Knowles described it). The nimbus was red (also as seen by Torre). One figure is to the right-hand side, with a green cloak and hood, a yellow cap (possible Type-4) and red shoes. This figure was gesticulating in a dramatic fashion. The second head, in profile, may have been an intruded medieval head. The style is not consistent with the other heads in the window, and, despite its dramatic appearance, it was not mentioned in earlier descriptions.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Workshop 3.

Figure to right: tight, curly hair, straight eyebrows extending to both sides of nose, prominent nostril, tight beard, wide mouth, big eyes, line under mouth possibly indicating lower lip.

Iconography and original location: Peter and John before the High Priest.³⁶ An original figure with a Type-4 cap of Jewishness or “otherness” is confronting two other figures, one of whom has a piece of original nimbus. The scene probably shows an altercation between Peter and John on the one hand and the High Priest on the other, as in Acts of the Apostles, 5:17, as the image of Peter alone before the High Priest in Semur-en-Auxois.³⁷ Note Torre and Browne both saw a total of three figures in the panel, not the current four. Browne did not include the rather dramatic head on the right-hand side in his drawings of chapter house heads.³⁸ This in itself is not conclusive, but its presence then would have contradicted his written description. In any event, with its straggly beard, if the head originated elsewhere in the chapter house, it more closely resembled Workshop 1.

Milner White attributed this panel to the Transfiguration,³⁹ but the evidence for this is not obvious and would imply that the panel, uniquely in this window, showed a scene from the later stages of Christ’s life.

Note the discussion in Chapter 3 about the respective positions of CHs2:8 and CHs2:38 and the way they mirror each other thematically and visually. Also note the comments about this scene being separated from the liturgically significant consequences shown in 8b and 8c, in which Peter was imprisoned by the High Priest and freed by the angel. The location of the panel is based on the fact that it has a C border and probably falls chronologically among the panels in row 4.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁴⁰

Description: “18 In 3d Light stand 3 holy men together 1st habited murry glory vt 2d O skirts vt glory gu receiving something from the 3d habited vt [cap/legs] O.”

Comments: He makes no reference to the second figure on the right.

		8		

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its C light. This is more likely to have been the 1690s as it is possible this is the most likely window not to have been repaired in the 1760s.

Browne:⁴¹

Description: “Peter and Companions declaiming before a Governor.”

Comments: As stated above, Browne also saw a single figure to the right.

		8		

Intervention: in the nineteenth century, most likely in 1855, the second head on the right was inserted.

³⁶ Acts 5:17-40.

³⁷ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the church at Semur-en-Auxois, Bay 3:6.

³⁸ Browne, *Representation*, facing page 14.

³⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

⁴⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

⁴¹ Browne, *Representation*, 65.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Left head gone. Left-hand figure "hands destroyed". Clothing of figure with red nimbus "nearly all destroyed".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁴²

Description: (First) "Peter and John [...] with the Jews Act 11.2.

Two figures standing to the right in disputation with two others opposite.

The two latter nimbed. The first has a deep ruby face with short cut hair across the forehead curly beard. Yell doctor's hat a green tunic girdled with belt the same colour below the hip white socks and red shoes – holds his hand in a downward pointing, the other probably under his chin.

The one behind has a greenish face very malevolent looking [boy]. straggling beard and moustache and short hair. No cap. He holds his hand out in derisive attitude.

The saint opposite clad in a green tunic St John and yell robe (everything nearly all in patch). Ruby nimbus has originally had his hands held up in front as in protest but hands destroyed.

Next figure in pink robe and green nimbus St Peter. The former in well cast folds over right arm the tunic yell with a green diapered band at his neck. Right hand held up in disapproval. Head destroyed ? [his query]. Nimbus lined with a border. Back blue."

(Second) "Peter and John Preaching."

		8		



Comments: , Knowles is the first to mention two figures on the right. The yellow girdle is no longer visible and there is only the suggestion of the white legs. The hand held downwards is unclear.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁴³

Description: (First) "St Peter and St John contending with the Jews Acts 11.2

The two apostles stand to left hand confronting a group of men with malevolent countenances one of them with his hair and beard all dishevelled. St Peter in green tunic and yellow cloak and red nimbus is holding his right hand out in the act of putting back one of the figures who with fiendish expression is about to seize St P by the throat (a doctor). St John is also holding up his hand in remonstrance. The dress of one of the doctors is a ruby tunic a green coat red shoes and a yellow hat. The nimbus of the apostles have a bordered edge."

(Second): "Peter and John preaching."

		8		

⁴² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181r.

⁴³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.95r.

Comments: Knowles seems to have changed his mind about who is remonstrating and has switched his identification of Peter to the alternative of the two left-hand figures.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: several pieces of re-soldering visible. Knowles reported the following features which were not visible by the time of the 1930s photographs so were presumably removed.
Right-hand figure "girdled"
Right-hand figure had hand under chin.
See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁴⁴

		8		

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: a mending lead has been added to the central head and one piece of pink overgarment and one piece of blue background inserted, which could amount to the "improvements". Also mending leads were applied to the head of the central figure.
Grisaille: lower grisaille strip is "new" (ie not original to the medallion). Intrusions in upper grisaille strip. Mending leads in the grisaille and the medallion.⁴⁵

Milner White:⁴⁶

Description: "3rd scene. Transfiguration. Blue background made up. Pink and yellow garments improved."

		8		

Brown:⁴⁷

Description: "The Transfiguration."

		8		

Current:

		8		

⁴⁴ Figure CHs2:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5139, 1929-32: 59, 3L7P.

⁴⁵ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5140, ca.1962: 59, 3L7P.

⁴⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 30.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

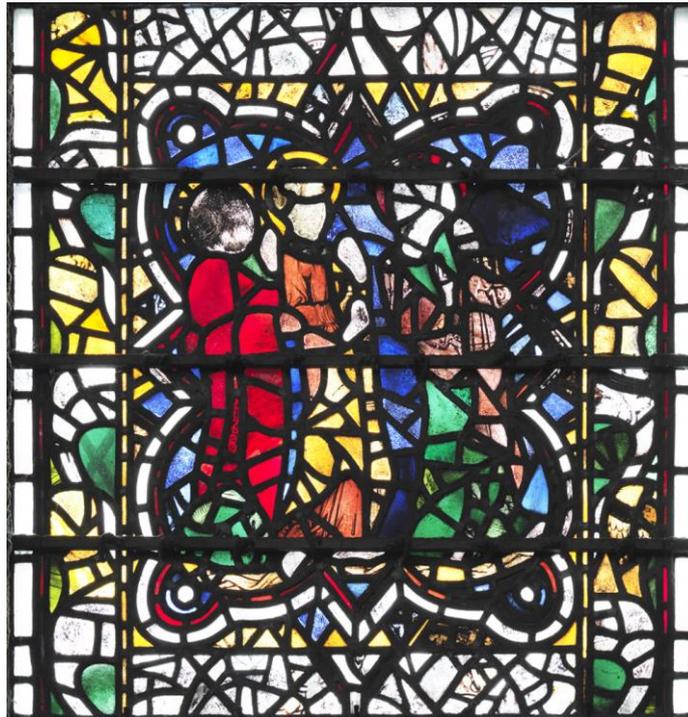


Figure CHs2:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs2:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5141, 1929-32: 59, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5142, ca.1962: 59, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21272, 1959-63: 59, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

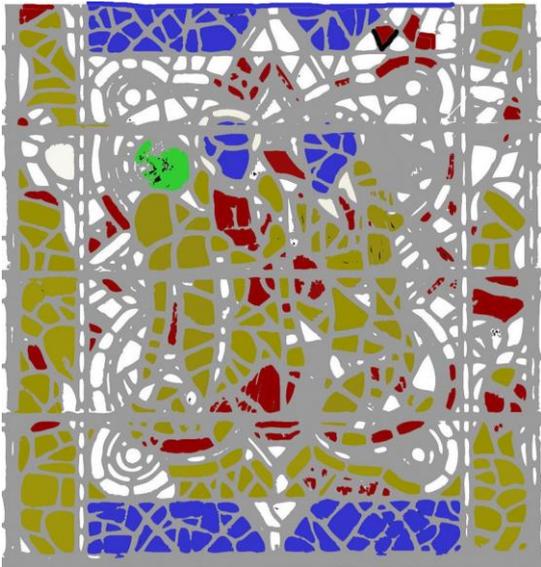


Figure CHs2:9: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:9: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	9			

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with fleur de lis. Blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Small unspecified balls in each of the corners (possibly originally containing flowerheads). Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature II.

There are three standing figures. One to left has no sign of original robes, except some red glass. The central figure has a sanguine tunic and a yellow cloak (as seen by Torre). The figure to the right has mainly intruded clothing: there are possibly some small patches of green, but this is not certain. The current colours of the first and third figures do not match those described by Torre, but had been inserted by the time of Knowles. The left-hand figure's left hand is possibly raised. All appear to be facing to the right-hand side. There are signs of a cruciform halo to right-hand figure. There are halos to the first two figures as well (Torre saw the right-hand figure as yellow, but the second as red). Knowles saw the structure under the three figures as a boat.

Iconography and original location: Christ leads Peter and Andrew away.⁴⁹

Christ, with a cruciform halo, is standing ahead of two nimbed figures. They may be in a boat. The location has been identified from the B border and the fact that the scene chronologically follows that depicted in CHs2:10, which has been attributed to location 2a. It is notable that the three appear to be facing to their right, in other words they would have been travelling towards the rest of the narrative. No representation of this scene has been identified in glazing elsewhere: the ones that are similar are more likely to show Christ inviting Peter to walk on water and are listed under CHs2:10. (See also CH2:16).

⁴⁹ Matt. 4:19-20.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁵⁰

Description: “22 In 2d Light stand 3 Saints together 1st habited A glory O leggs gu 2d habited O & Sang/glory gu 3d habited gu & A/glory A.”

	[9]			

Comments: The identification of this panel is mainly by a process of elimination, as the colours do not tally. In Figure 1 the red glass has been intruded. There is no sign of Torre’s white. In Figure 2, yellow is possible, the original murrey does not look like red but this may depend on the light conditions when Torre viewed it. Most of Figure 3 has been intruded. Torre saw the third figure’s halo as A, not as a cruciform. The identification is based on the fact that there are three figures standing together and by a process of elimination from other, more certain identifications.

Browne:⁵¹

Description: “Jesus commands Peter to follow him.”

	9			

Comments: This is one of the panels where Browne, unfortunately, provides only his identification and no description.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: the right-hand and central heads had been intruded. The right-hand head, “like St Peter” was broken and re-leaded. Browne has given the identification of “Jesus”, whereas, by Knowles, the same figure is described as an “Abbess”. If this does reflect an intrusion after Browne, the most likely occasion would have been the Noton repairs in 1855.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁵²

Description: (First) “No 2: [pencil] Christ calling Sts Peter and Andrew in the boat. All are standing.

	9			

To the right of the panel is a mutilated figure of our lord clad in green tunic red purp robe. Cruciform nimbus which is ruby. He holds a yell book in left arm over which is thrown his cloak and seems to beckon to the two figures. The head is destroyed (that of an abbess being inserted)

The 1st nearest figure to our lord is rather youthful clad in deep orange purp robe (a fine colour) and yell cloak which he holds up with his right hand. A green border neck band to tunic. Ruby nimbus, but head destroyed (perpend insertion). The next figure has a ruby cloak with a green tunic and yell nimbus St Peter. The face although broken and re-leaded is like that of St Peter. The three figures are in a yellow boat and the nimbi are all diapered. Back of panel blue.”

(Second) “The call of Peter and Andrew.”

Comments: Knowles saw the figures as standing in a boat, which may simply reflect the slightly curved shape at the bottom of the panel.

⁵⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

⁵¹ Browne, *Representation*, 63.

⁵² Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.180v.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁵³

Description: “The call of St Peter and St Andrew

To the right hand is the figure of Christ with cruciform nimbus (the head that of an abbes [sic] inserted). He holds his right hand and beckons to the two fishermen and has a book resting on his left arm. The two disciples are seen standing in a yellow boat. St Peter in purple tunic and yellow cloak and ruby nimbus. St Andrew in green tunic and red cloak.”

Comments: Knowles has switched the attribution of the saints.

	9			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no re-soldering / pieces of new lead visible. Knowles said that the left-hand head was “like St Peter” but broken and re-leaded. By the 1930s photograph it appears to have had a new piece inserted. The book was replaced. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵⁴

	9			

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel from 2b to 2d.⁵⁵ He had considered a possible switch with CHs2:10, but, at this stage, sought to retain existing borders (in contrast to his treatment of CHn2).
Medallion: he made more changes than he states: in fact two (intruded) medieval heads were removed and replaced with relatively plain glass. Note that he may have changed the orientation of the central figure (though as he replaced an insertion it is not clear what the original orientation was). It is difficult to tell where the improvements of the pink garment have been made. There are signs of modifications to the lower part of his green undergarment. From a change in the lead lines it appears that he inserted two pieces of green drapery in the right-hand figure. It is difficult to locate the improvements to the blue background.
Grisaille: lower right section of grisaille was reconstructed.⁵⁶*

Milner White:⁵⁷

Description: “2nd scene. First call of Peter. Andrew leads him to Jesus. Head and pink garment of our Lord improved; also the blue background (see note in 6). Possibly second call of Peter should be changed with 1st but didn’t to avoid the business of altering their (possibly) already interchanged borders.”

			9	

⁵³ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 94r.
⁵⁴ Figure CHs2:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5141, 1929-32: 59, 4L7P.
⁵⁵ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.
⁵⁶ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5141, 1929-32: 59, 4L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5142, ca.1962: 59, 4L7P.
⁵⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 30.

Brown:⁵⁸

Description: “?Andrew brings Peter to Christ.”

			9	

Current:

			9	

⁵⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

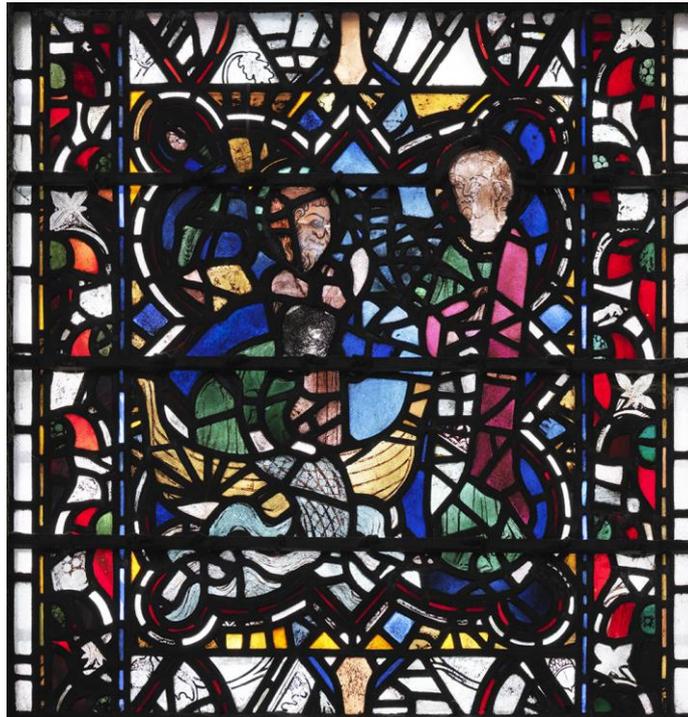


Figure CHs2:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

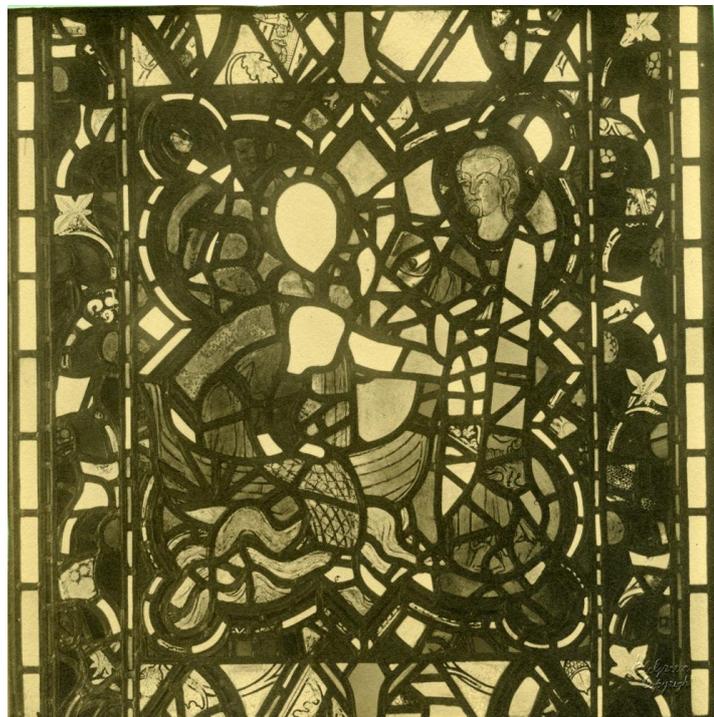


Figure CHs2:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5143, 1929-32: 59, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5144, ca.1962: 59, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York (also on CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21272, 1959-63: 59, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

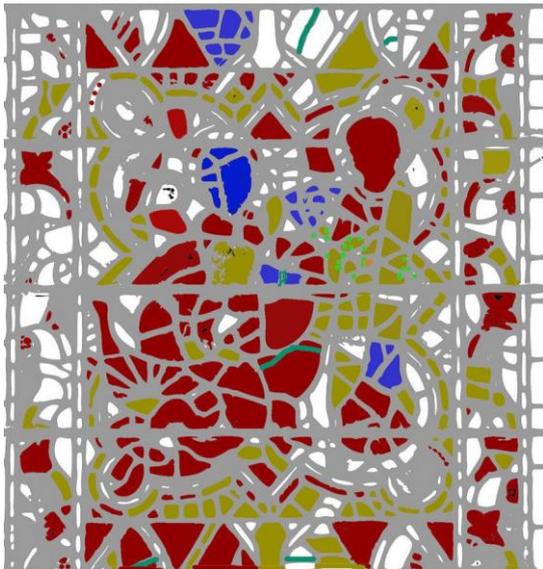


Figure CHs2:10: Restoration History

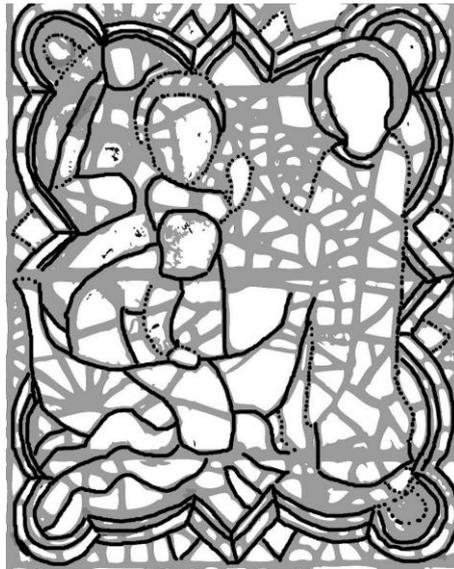


Figure CHs2:10: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

10				

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, containing blue fleurs-de-lys. One possible small unspecified ball in the top left-hand corner which may have contained a flowerhead. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature II.

Two figures are in an original yellow boat, one in original green bent to pull in a white net. The other is in original murrey with an intruded medieval head, but there are signs of an original green nimbus. Water can be seen around the boat. The figure to the right is in original green tunic with an original head and a cruciform nimbus. Torre had him in green and yellow, meaning that the purple was intruded before Knowles. He may have been holding up his cloak with one hand and his right hand is extended. There are signs of original green and yellow foliage to the top left of the panel.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Workshop 3.

Tight curly hair, large, wide features, rounded eyebrows, the line of one extending down to create the nose, wide M-shaped mouth, with indication of lower lip, eyelids.

Iconography and original location: The Call of Peter and Andrew.⁶⁰

Christ stands on the shore, facing a boat in which there are two figures, one bending and hauling in a net. There are no signs of fish in the net, so the conclusion is that the text is based on Matthew, 4:18 as opposed to Luke's 5:4-11 (the miraculous draught of fishes). It is an appropriate first scene for a Petrine narrative. It is, however, unclear whether it features elsewhere: many components of the scene resemble Christ's invitation to Peter to walk on water as discussed in CHs2:9, and from their location in the narrative, it is assumed that this latter is what is normally represented elsewhere.⁶¹

The suggested location is based on the fact that the panel has an A border and that the scene shows the living Christ in his first encounter with Peter, so it is likely to be in the chronologically earliest part of the window. 2a is the likely location. It also fits the theme discussed in Chapter 3 of the first scene showing the subject apparently making a decision which will lead to Peter's martyrdom, in CHs2:40 in 8e. This observation is particularly relevant given the apparent shortage of similar representations elsewhere.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁶²

Description: "21 In the bottom Row & first Light stands a Queen robed O & vt Crowned O before whom is a golden boat with 2 Men in it 1 habited vt drawing a Net A 2d habited O glory vt with one hand expanded."

10				

Comments: The Christ-like figure could be identified as female, though it is less easy to explain his "Crown". The cloak now consists of intruded glass, but the green tunic remains. The boat is as Torre saw it. The second figure standing in the boat appears to have original murrey gown, so Torre must have erred in describing it as "O".

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved to its alternative light-type. In Chapter 2 it is argued that it is likely this was the seventh window, the only one not to be repaired in the 1760s, meaning that the switch from 2e to 2a was probably made in the 1690s.

Browne:⁶³

Description: "Peter cast forth his net at Jesus' request."

Comments: A certain attribution, because of the boat and the net, with a figure outside with cruciform halo, but the identification is unclear. Browne does

				10

⁶⁰ Matt. 4:18.

⁶¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 221, left-hand lancet: 2b; the cathedrals at Le Mans, Bay 108:1c and 1d, and Bay 111:1a; at Beauvais, Bay 14, right-hand lancet: 2a; and Tours, Bays 2:8b and 203:1c, although those at Le Mans (Bay 111:1a) and both of those at Tours could equally show Christ asking Peter to walk on water. See also Jean Taralon, *Les Vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche Comté et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 114; Martine Callias Bey, Louis Grodecki and Françoise Perrot, *Les Vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), 126.

⁶² YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

⁶³ Browne, *Representation*, 63.

not specify this assumption, but it may be that he worked on the principle that the narratives started in 2a and therefore this was a later scene in the Peter narrative.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

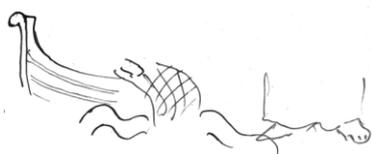
Intervention: left-hand figure: head inserted. Right figure: the "red purp" of the cloak had been intruded by now.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁶⁴

Description: (First) "No 5 Miraculous draft of fishes

To the right is our lord in green tunic and pale red purp cloak thrown over left arm. Ruby nimbus with wh cross bare feet holds his right hand up his left hand carrying this cloak on a tumbled up sea. To the left is a yell boat two men are standing up clad in pink with green nimbus most of head gone and a portion of curly hair showing. The other clad in green tunic stooping over a net which he is pulling into the boat. A scroll of conventional foliage fills up the top left hand cusp of panel. The water is green white and white in layers but does not extend across the centre panel the foot of Christ stepping on to it."

				10



(Second) "Miraculous draught of fishes."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁶⁵

Description: "Miraculous draught of fishes

In a boat on the sea are the two apostles in the act of hauling in a net which hangs over the side of the boat and on the shore is the figure of Christ standing with his feet touching the water holding up his robe with one hand and beckoning with his right hand to the two fishermen."

				10

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: two pieces of re-soldering visible. Changes were made to Christ's hands. He is no longer "holding up his robe with one hand" nor "beckoning with his right hand to the two fishermen". The piece of "curly hair" also seen by Knowles was removed. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁶⁶

				10

⁶⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181v.

⁶⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.97r.

⁶⁶ Figure CHs2:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5143, 1929-32: 59, 5L7P.

*Intervention by Milner White: note that he wanted to adhere to the borders here, hence the decision about the order of the first and second call of Peter.
 Medallion: he intruded a medieval head for the standing disciple and the lower part of Christ's outer garment has been changed for an unpainted piece.
 Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille.*⁶⁷

Milner White:⁶⁸

Description: "1st scene. Second call of Peter by the Lakeside. Our Lord's garment made up. Pink face of disciple re-set."

				10

Brown:⁶⁹

Description: "Call of Peter."

				10

Current:

				10

⁶⁷ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5144, ca.1962: 59, 5L7P.

⁶⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 30.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

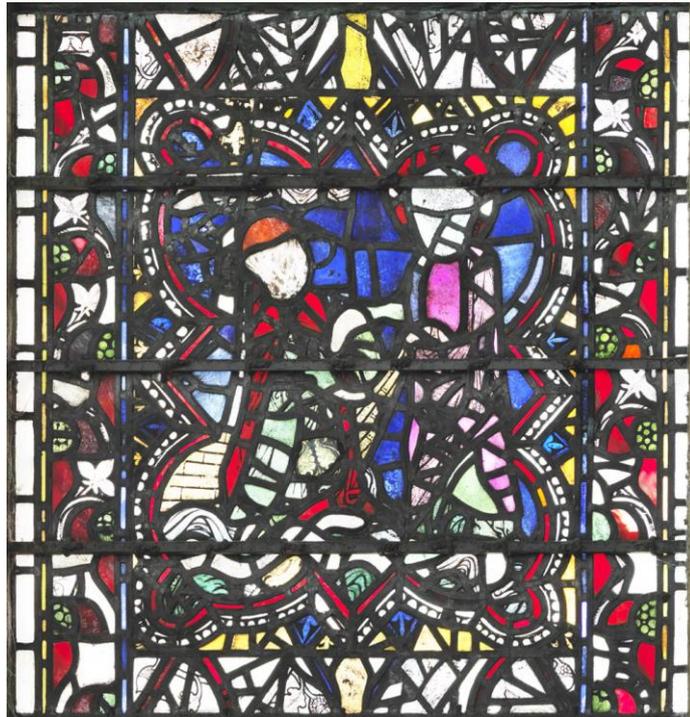


Figure CHs2:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.

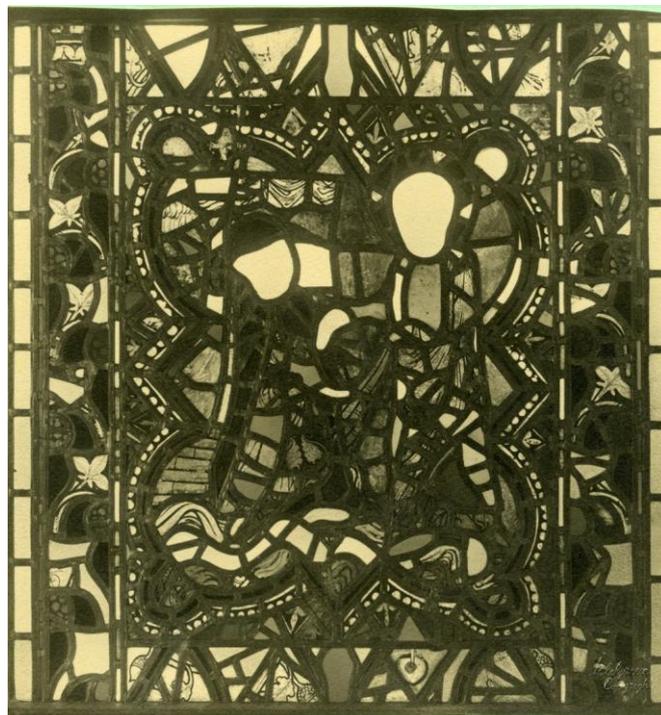


Figure CHs2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5151, 1929-32: 59, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Additional photographs are available at CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21275, Post 1945 ca.1961: 59, 1L5P © Crown Copyright and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca.1962: 59, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York and University of York Library, ca.1969, YM 110.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

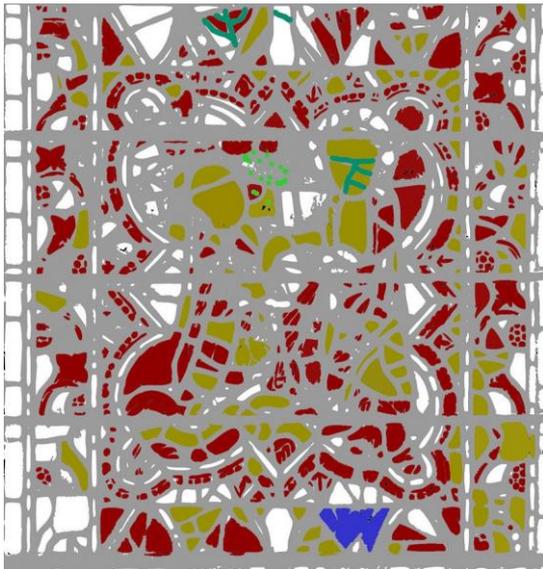


Figure CHs2:16: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:16: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				16

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature II.

There is a white boat in the background, with mast and sail furled. The figure to the left-hand side is outside the boat, with his right foot in original green. He is about to stand on top of the white water. He was dressed originally in a green tunic. The red has not been described in earlier accounts. The figure to the right, with a cruciform halo, green tunic and murrey cloak, is standing on the water and extending hand to the first figure. Torre describes the same colours, but the pink had been intruded to the figure of Christ by the time of Knowles.

Iconography and original location: Christ asks Peter to walk on water.⁷¹

Christ may be standing on the water, probably beckoning to Peter. However, the glass around Christ's feet is disturbed. The scene appears in glazing schemes elsewhere: see the discussion relating to CHs2:9 and 10 under CHs2:10 above. The two representations which are most certainly Christ inviting Peter to walk on water are at Sens and Dijon.⁷²

The location is suggested on the basis that there is an A border and the scene is chronologically later than the earlier scene showing Christ's initial call to Peter (in 2a), although it is not in chronological sequence in that it follows Peter's first healing miracle. A possible explanation for the non-chronological location of the

⁷¹ Matt. 14:28-29.

⁷² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Sens, Bay 1:1b; and the church of Notre Dame at Dijon, Bay 23:5 and 6; for Dijon, see also Raguin, *Burgundy*, 164 and Taralon, *Vitraux*, 37.

panel may be that the design sought to locate encounters between Christ and Peter in three of the four corners of the window, contributing to the suggestion that the positions 2e and 8a mark the personal contribution of the relevant saint to the Christian project. The episode is alluded to in the octave of the feast of Peter and Paul in the Use of York “God, whose right raised up the blessed Apostle Peter when he walked upon the waves”.⁷³

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its light from 2e to 4e.

Torre:⁷⁴

Description: “20 In 5th Light is a Ship with one White mast by wch walks a Monk on the Water habited vt saluting another Man habited murry & vt.”

Comments: Torre did not see the red clothing of the figure to the left.

				16

Browne:⁷⁵

Description: “Jesus appearing to Peter after the resurrection.”

Comments: The attribution is based on the fact that one figure is moving towards another with a cruciform halo, however Browne did not note the water or the boat.

				16

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁷⁶

Description: (First) “No 5: Christ walking on the sea

To the right is our Lord walking on the sea clad in pink cloak and purp tunic

and to the left a yell boat with mast and sail. The former has a cross on the top of it. The sail is furled. St Peter has stepped out of the boat and is being immersed. St John in the boat. St Peter clad in green.”

(Second) “Christ walking on the sea.”

Comments: Knowles saw two figures in the boat, a statement which was corrected by the time of the London notes. He also failed to note the red clothing of Peter.

				16

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁷⁷

Description: “Peter attempting to walk on the sea

From a boat with its sail furled and a cross on the top of the mast St Peter

has stepped out on to the sea and is sinking. Christ taking hold of his hand and raising him up. The sea represented as turbulent.”

				16

⁷³ “Deus, cujus dextera beatum Petrum apostolum ambulans in fluctibus [...] erexit,” in *Missale*, 62.

⁷⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

⁷⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 63.

⁷⁶ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.182r.

⁷⁷ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.97r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: several pieces of re-soldering visible. Knowles saw two figures in the boat of which only one is now visible. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷⁸

				16

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type.⁷⁹
 Medallion: he modified the head and background. The head was re-leaded. The work on the background cannot be detected. A small area to the lower edge of the medallion was rebuilt.
 Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille and some mending leads were inserted in the upper grisaille.⁸⁰*

Milner White:⁸¹

Description: "After the Resurrection."

16				

Brown:⁸²

Description: "Christ enables Peter to walk on water."

16				

Current:

16				

⁷⁸ Figure CHs2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5151, 1929-32: 59, 1L5P.

⁷⁹ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.14r.

⁸⁰ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5151, 1929-32: 59, 1L5P and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21275, Post 1945 ca.1961: 59, 1L5P.

⁸¹ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

⁸² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

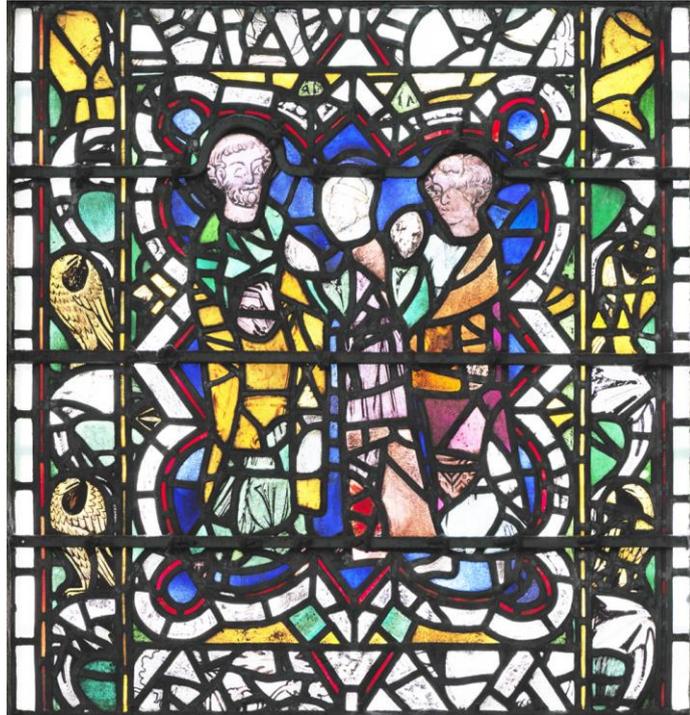


Figure CHs2:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

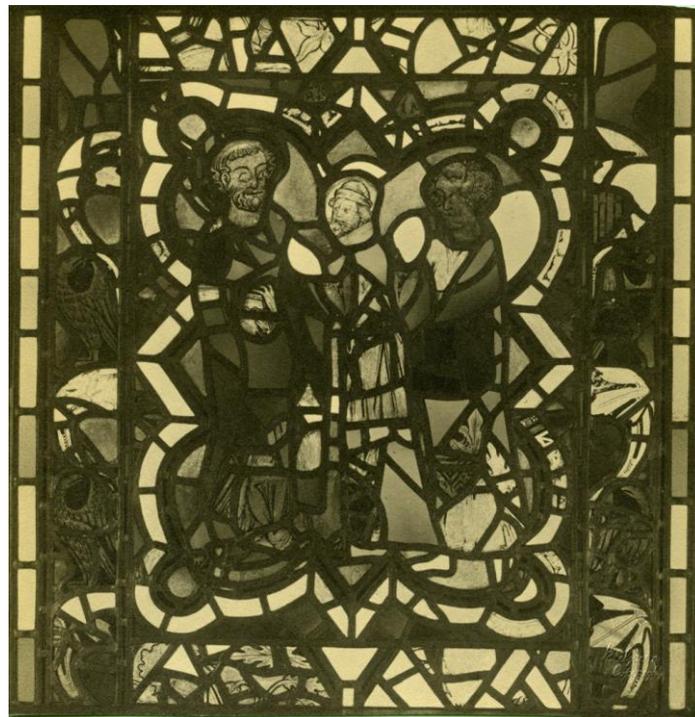


Figure CHs2:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5153, 1929-32: 59, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁸³

⁸³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5154, ca.1962: 59, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21277, 1959-63: 59, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

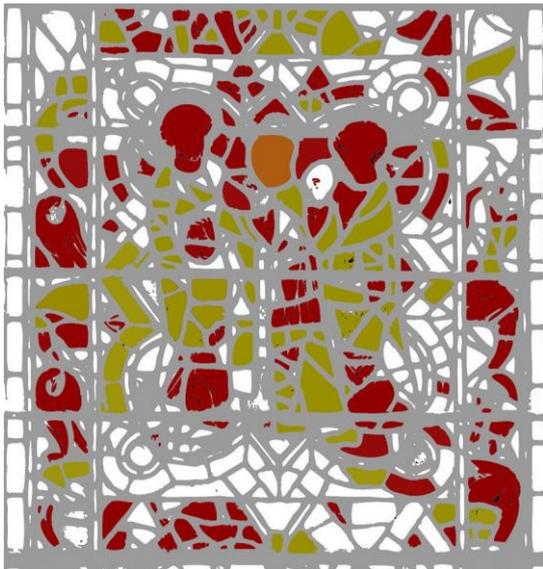


Figure CHs2:17: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:17: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			17	

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to top and bottom of medallion. Green external background to sides with yellow fleur-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature is 1c.

A bearded figure to the left is holding a box close to his chest as though it is valuable. He is dressed in a green tunic. The yellow cloak was not noted until Knowles's "Historical Notes" and from previous historical descriptions it appears that it was originally murrey. He is barefoot and has a green halo. The central figure, probably a young female, is in green tunic and murrey cloak, with an intruded head which disguises the original gender. The head may have been lost or damaged by Torre's description as he only comments on two figures. The figure to right is in a green tunic and murrey cloak, embroidered at bottom edge. The feet of this figure are visible, implying it was male.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Left-hand figure: short, tight curly hair, wide features, prominent nostril, wide, rounded eyebrows with the lines extending both sides of the nose, mark under M-shaped mouth possibly indicating lower lip, tight beard.
2. Right-hand figure: slender form, tight curly hair, wide eyebrows and big eyes, eyebrow line extending down both sides of the nose, prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth with line under possibly indicating lower lip.

Iconography and original location:

The panel is capable of bearing several identifications:

1. Since Milner White, it has been attributed to Peter with Ananias and Sapphira (Acts of the Apostles, 5:1),⁸⁴ not one of the suggested original scenes in Old St Peter's, but one which featured in later Petrine cycles. Carr shows that the scene is frequently depicted with both Ananias and Sapphira together to show their joint enterprise, although canonically they were not present together before Peter.⁸⁵ The incident did not appear in the western church until the late eleventh century, and, in all the earlier examples she cites, not only is the couple shown handing Peter their unworthy gift, but there is a dramatic representation of the punishment meted out, with the death of Ananias. In thirteenth-century glazing schemes, the scene has only been located in Auxerre and Dijon. In both it is dramatically represented.⁸⁶ The difficulty in identifying the rather static depiction in CHs2:17 with the punishment meted out to Ananias and Sapphira is exacerbated by the loss of the central head to a shorter figure meaning that the figure has been variously described as an old man by Torre,⁸⁷ and a "youth" by Knowles's "Manuscript Notes",⁸⁸ or as "female" by Knowles's "Historical Notes".⁸⁹ In support of the attribution of Ananias and Sapphira is the fact that Peter appears to be holding a box.

2. If, however, CHs2:30 shows the actual punishment meted out by Peter, CHs2:17 could show either the precursor of the punishment scene, namely when Ananias and Sapphira brought their paltry gifts to him before he realised he had been defrauded,⁹⁰ or it could show an earlier gift from two people who were typical of the majority in that they sold their goods and brought all their money to Peter.⁹¹ This, again, would depend on the gender of the central figure.

On balance, and because of the lack of drama in the scene, it is concluded that the panel is one of those in (2) above.

Given the B border, if CHs2:17 were to represent an early part of the Ananias and Sapphira episode, it would mean that the sequence of row 4 originally had CHs2:17 in 4d and the punishment (CHs2:30) in 4e. By a process of elimination, it means that CHs2:20 would have been in 4a.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly post-Restoration, for the preferred original location (4d), the panel was moved to its alternative light-type.

Torre:⁹²

Description: "17 In 2d Light stand together 2 old men habited vt & O And a young Man habited vt and Murry."

Comments: The central figure has an

	17			

⁸⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31. He was the first writer to offer an identification.

⁸⁵ Carr, "Iconography," 123.

⁸⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral of Auxerre, Bay 7:4a, see Raguin, *Burgundy*, 161; the church of Notre Dame, Dijon, Bay 23: 2, see Raguin, *Burgundy*, 164.

⁸⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

⁸⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181v

⁸⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.94r.

⁹⁰ Acts 5:2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 34-37.

⁹² YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

intruded head, the implication being that the original was lost or damaged by the time of Torre's description.

Browne:⁹³

Description: "Tabatha exhibiting herself to her astonished acquaintances."

Comments: The panel was identified only by a process of elimination.

	17?			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: head of central figure, showing a "youth", had been inserted at some point.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁹⁴

Description: (First) "No 2: [pencil] Christ [...] Sts Peter and John with a youth standing between them (Acts 9/33). Two figures with that of a youth standing between them. The left side one St Peter with green nimbus, green tunic and purple robe. The right-hand figure has a green tunic and purple robe. Head of youth an insertion."

(Second) "Peter and John healing youth."

Comments: There is no indication that the figure to the right was a saint so he is unlikely to be John.

	17			

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁹⁵

Description: "No 2. To the left is the figure of St Peter clad in green tunic and yellow cloak holding a book in both hands and looking towards two figures standing in front of him. A figure prob a female (head destroyed) clad in a sleeveless tunic is bringing a youth to the saint. (Head of youth an insertion)."

Comments: Knowles appears to have identified a figure being held by the "prob a female" figure. Knowles has changed the colour of "Peter's" cloak to the current yellow, whereas, from the previous descriptions, it appears it had been "murrey". If the change had been made between the two Knowles' descriptions, it is unclear when it could have occurred.

	17			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no re-soldering / pieces of new lead visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹⁶

	17			

⁹³ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

⁹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181v.

⁹⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.94r.

⁹⁶ Figure CHs2:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5151, 1929-32: 59, 1L5P.

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: he reported that the background and garment of the right-hand figure had been improved. It is difficult to be clear about his amendments: the background cannot be detected. Not clear where the garment of right-hand figure was "improved".⁹⁷

Milner White:⁹⁸

Description: "7th scene. Ananias and Saphira."

Comments: He does not specify what part of the Ananias and Saphira sequence is covered

	17			

Brown:⁹⁹

Description: "Peter condemns Ananias and Saphira."

Comments: This does not fit the drama with which the scene is often presented. See the discussion of CHs2:30.

	17			

Current:

	17			

⁹⁷ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5154, ca.1962: 59, 2L5P.

⁹⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

⁹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

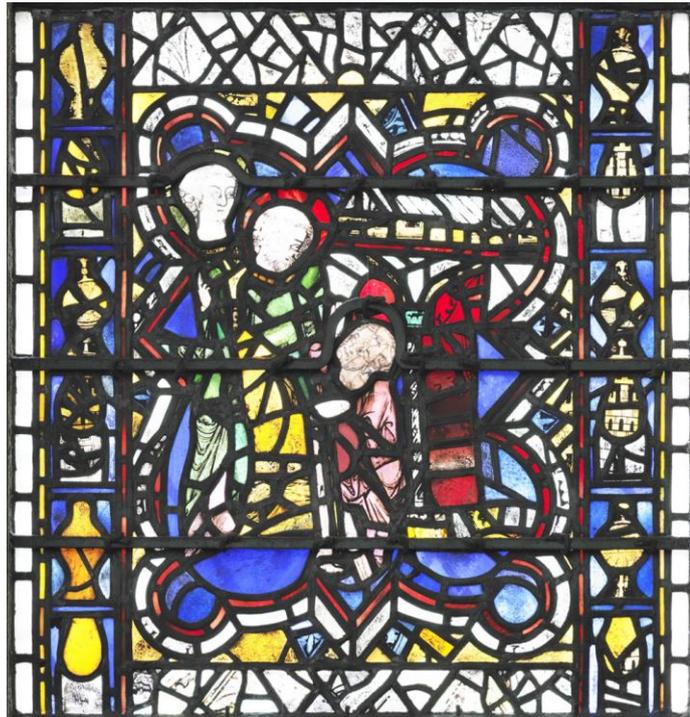


Figure CHs2:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

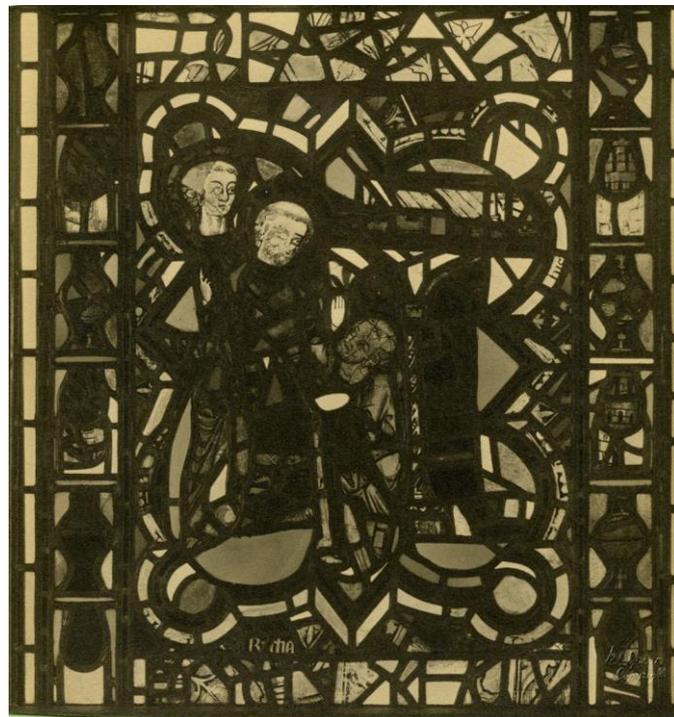


Figure CHs2:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5156, 1929-32: 59, 3L6P (given in error as "3L5P") © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5157, ca.1962: 59, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21278, in or before 1961: 59, 3L5P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

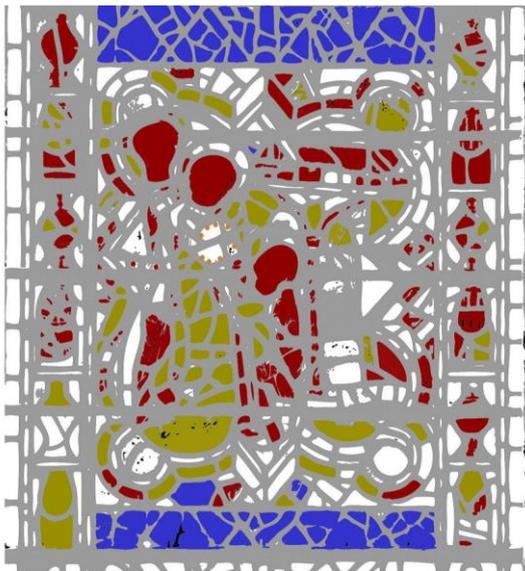


Figure CHs2:18: Restoration History

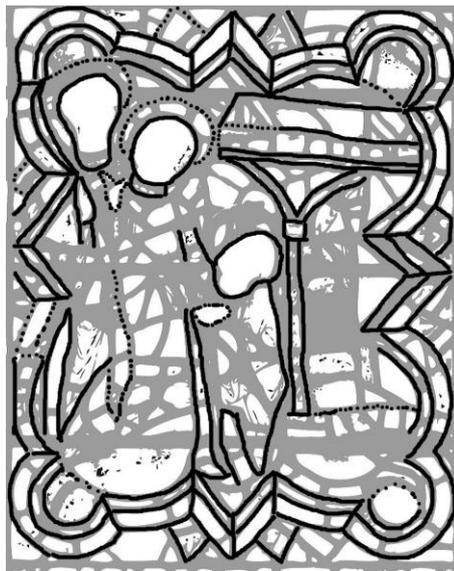


Figure CHs2:18: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		18		

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design contained within the medallion. Possible original balls in corners in lead line. Strip feature II.

The figure to the left may have been in green cloak and murrey tunic, with a green nimbus and yellow band at his neck. He may be pointing upwards. But the pointing hand may belong to the central figure, who is bearded. He may be holding a crutch or a stick. He has a red nimbus and also a yellow neck band. The colours of his clothing are intruded, but may echo the original scheme, because Torre saw them as green and yellow. Knowles has Peter raising the "cripple" with his hand. The kneeling figure, to the right, is in murrey and is looking upwards, also with a crutch. He appears to have deformed legs. Behind is an arched building with white pillar and green capital. The battlements are yellow and there is a white roof.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Left-hand figure: tall, slender figure, tight curls, big, wide features, eyes showing upper and lower lids, prominent nostril, rounded eyebrows, lines extending both sides of nose, mark under lower lip. Plated.
2. Central figure: some paint loss, tight curls, big eyes, eye lids, tight beard.
3. Right-hand figure: tight curls, big eyes, eye lids, wide eyebrows, lines extending down each side of the nose, M-shaped mouth with line under for lower lip, tight beard.

Iconography and original location: The cripple at the Gate asks for Peter's help.¹⁰¹

The event is significant in the narrative as the first part of Peter's first miracle after Pentecost and one of the three Petrine texts read on Peter's Feast Day of 29 June. A second nimbed figure, John, can be seen to the left of the first saint. Carr has identified this scene as featuring on several occasions, including in the Vercelli rotulus scroll of around 1200, probably a copy of an earlier fresco cycle, and in both Palermo and Monreale mosaics of the late twelfth century.¹⁰²

According to Carr, evidence from Petrine cycles of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries suggests that there was probably a cycle in Old St Peter's in Rome, which contained a representation of this episode.¹⁰³ From the current research into thirteenth-century glazing schemes, despite such an auspicious potential source, the scene is relatively uncommon: to date it has only been identified in York and Dijon.¹⁰⁴ While the details of the scene vary slightly, as in CHs2:18, the Gate is frequently represented and John is usually standing behind Peter.

The suggested location of the original panel is based on two factors. Firstly, the panel has a C border, which would place it in the central light. Secondly, from arguments surrounding the construction of rows 4, 6 and 8, by a process of elimination, CHs2:18 falls into row 2, where it can be adjacent to CHs2:19.

History of the Panel.

Torre:¹⁰⁵

Description: "23 In 3d Light stand 2 Saints together, 1st a Woman habited murry & vt glory gu 2d a Man habited vt & O glory gu."

Comments: This assumes that the kneeling figure was not visible. Torre erred in the colour of the halos and the gender of John.

		18		

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its C light from 2c to 4c.

Browne:¹⁰⁶

Description: "Peter curing the lame man at the porch of the Temple."

		18		

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁰⁷

Description: (First) "No 3: [Pencil] Peter and John at beautiful gate Prob Peter and John healing the man at the beautiful gate. St Peter stands in slightly stooping attitude and near to him St John In front of St Peter is a man in crouching attitude whom St Peter raises by his hand. Behind is a gateway, the inside of it filled with ruby glass.

		18		

¹⁰¹ Acts 3:1-5.

¹⁰² Carr, "Iconography," 172.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*,

¹⁰⁴ Raguin, *Burgundy*, 164.

¹⁰⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

¹⁰⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

¹⁰⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182r.

[asterisk] re examined panel, July.”
 (Second) “Peter and John at Beautiful Gate.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁰⁸

Description: “ St Peter and St John at the Beautiful Gate.

In front of a gateway the inside of arch of red colour is the figure of St Peter who is stooping over a man who lays in a crouched position on the ground. St John is seen standing near.”

		18		

1929-32 Re-leading:

No re-soldering / pieces of new lead visible

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁰⁹

		18		

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: the rearrangement to the top background involved re-leading.*¹¹⁰

Milner White:¹¹¹

Description: “8th scene. The lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. Top and bottom background rearranged.”

		18		

Brown:¹¹²

Description: “Peter and John heal a lame man at the gate of the Temple.”

		18		

Current:

		18		

¹⁰⁸ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.95r.

¹⁰⁹ Figure CHs2:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5156, 1929-32: 59, 3L5P (given in error as “3L6P”).

¹¹⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5157, ca.1962: 59, 3L5P.

¹¹¹ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

¹¹² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

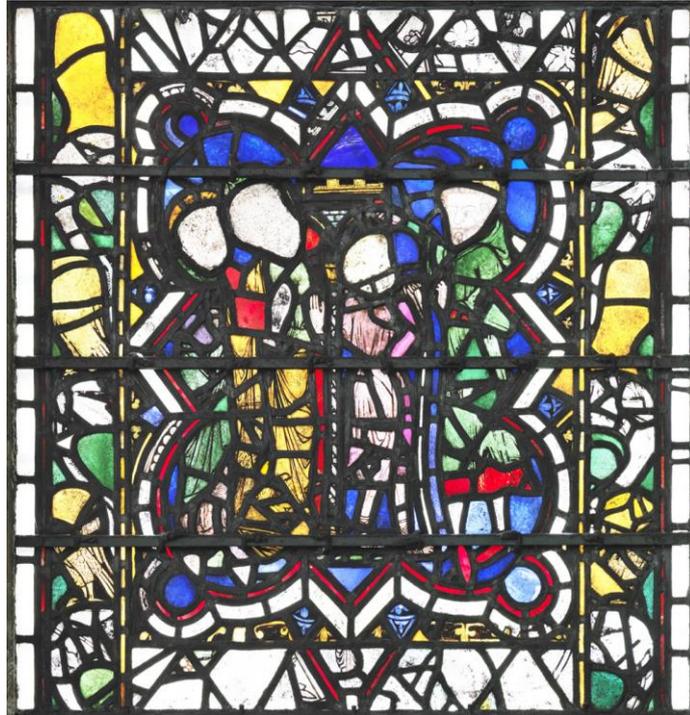


Figure CHs2:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 4d © York Glaziers Trust.

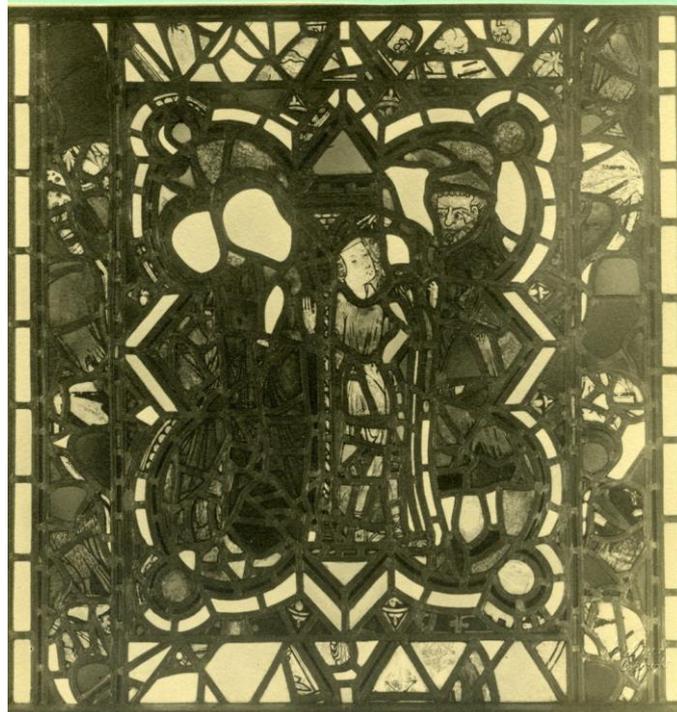


Figure CHs2:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5158, 1929-32: 59, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹¹³

¹¹³ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5159, ca.1962: 59, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21279, 1958-63: 59, 4L5P © RCHM.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

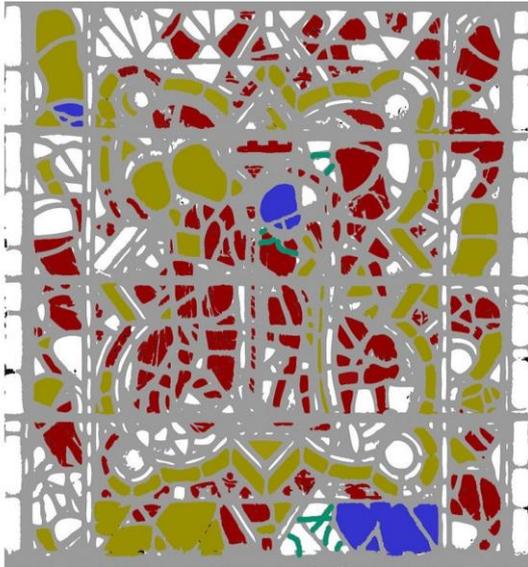


Figure CHs2:19: Restoration History

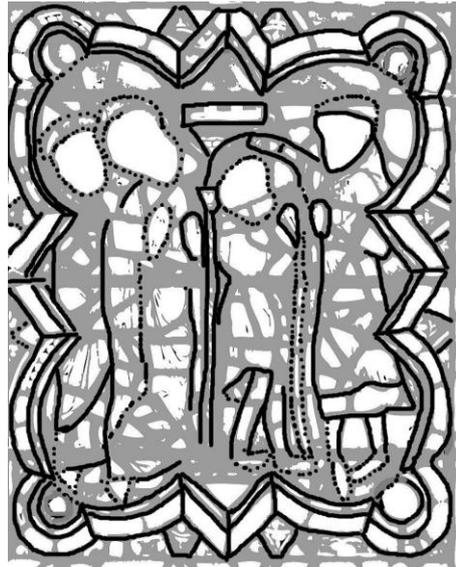


Figure CHs2:19: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			19	

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design contained within the medallion. Strip feature II.

There are four figures: the two to the left are nimbed. The left-hand figure is in green cloak and murrey tunic, with yellow halo and visible foot. The figure who is second to the left is in a yellow cloak and green tunic. The third (smaller) figure is in murrey with bare legs, with a crutch to his left. The right-hand figure is in a green, hooded cloak, calf-length red tunic (not seen by Torre, while Knowles confused the panels) and bare legs. He is wearing a Type-4 Jewish cap. Many hands are held aloft as if in exclamation. There is a battlemented building behind, with white pillar and masonry, a yellow capital and yellow battlements. There is a hint of circular shapes, one in each of the four corners, which, elsewhere, contain flowerheads.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Workshop 3.

Tight hair, big eyes, eye lids, eyebrow lines extending down both sides of nose, hint of hooked nose, line under mouth for lower lip, tight beard.

Iconography and original location: The cripple at the Gate is healed.¹¹⁴ The episode follows that shown in CHs2:18. The central figure in CHs2:19 is attired as that in CHs2:18 and is now standing, with arms aloft and a now redundant crutch. As in CHs2:18, a building shown to the rear right and a second nimbed figure can be seen to the left of the first saint. Further notes can be seen in the commentary on CHs2:18.

The location has been suggested on the basis of the B border and the fact that it follows CHs2:18. An alternative location for both panels would have been 4c and 4d, but given that 4d and 4e are two parts of the Ananias and Sapphira incident, the only available location is in row 2. This is out of chronological sequence as it now pre-dates Christ’s invitation to Peter to walk on water.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its fourth light, from 2d to 6d.

Torre:¹¹⁵

Description: “14 In 4th Light stand 4 persons together 1st a Saint habited vt glory O The rgt other Men [one] habited O & vt Another [Sang] leggs A. The last vt [...] O leggs A.”

			19	

Intervention: probably in the 1690s or, less likely, the 1760s, it was moved within its fourth light from 6d to 4d.

Browne:¹¹⁶

Description: “Lame man exhibiting himself cured.”

Comments: This is the first identification of the panel.

			19	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹¹⁷

Description: (First) “No 4. [Pencil] Peter and John reproved by Annas and Caiphas

Sts Peter and John to the left of panel.

St John the most prominent clad in green tunic and yell cloak and near to them a youth (head of girl with caul headdress inserted). To the right stands in [threatening/ theatrical] attitude a man in a green coat and doctor’s hat holding one book hands to the apostles the right hand pointing out as if to order departure.”

(Second) “Peter and John reproved by Annias.”

Comments: He appears to have switched to describing CHs2:20. There is no suggestion that CHs2:20 was in 4d when he saw it.

			[19?]	

¹¹⁴ Acts 3:7.

¹¹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹¹⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

¹¹⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.182r.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹¹⁸

Description: "St Peter and St John before Annas Acts 4.6

The apostles who are standing in front of the High Priest (Annas) who in commanding attitude with hand held out is bidding the apostles to depart. Another figure is seen standing near the apostles. No doubt a jailer."

Comments: The selection of this panel as CHs2:19 is not certain because of the vagueness of the description. However, it is likely given the before and after locations. The alternative, equally unclear, panel is CHs2:27. He clearly failed to describe this at all, but, instead, again appears to describe CHs2:19 albeit in the wrong place. For 6d, he wrote, "No 3. Simon Magus Acts 8, 19. The apostles St Peter and St John to the left hand with a youth in the centre and opposite two doctors one of them taking hold of the hand of the youth and holding his right hand over his head. (Youth's head an insertion). (Simon Magus who is making an attempt at exorcism. His dress is composed of a green sleeveless coat over a red tunic red shoes and yellow hat)".

			[19?]	

1929-32 Re-leading:

One piece of re-soldering visible. By this time, the head of a female had been inserted into the "cripple".

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹⁹

			19	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: he removed the intruded female head and replaced it with another that may have come from the glass bank. Some additional mending leads on the upper torso of the lame figure, which Milner White does not mention.
Renewal of the glass cannot be seen as such, but there are some new leads which may indicate its location
Some insertions made in lower grisaille. Mending leads in the upper grisaille.¹²⁰*

Milner White:¹²¹

Description: "9th scene. The lame man restored. Head of lame man and blue background renewed."

			19	

Brown:¹²²

Description: "The lame man healed."

			19	

¹¹⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.93r-99r.

¹¹⁹ Figure CHs2:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5158, 1929-32: 59, 4L5P.

¹²⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5159, ca.1962: 59, 4L5P.

¹²¹ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

¹²² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

			19	

Photographic record:

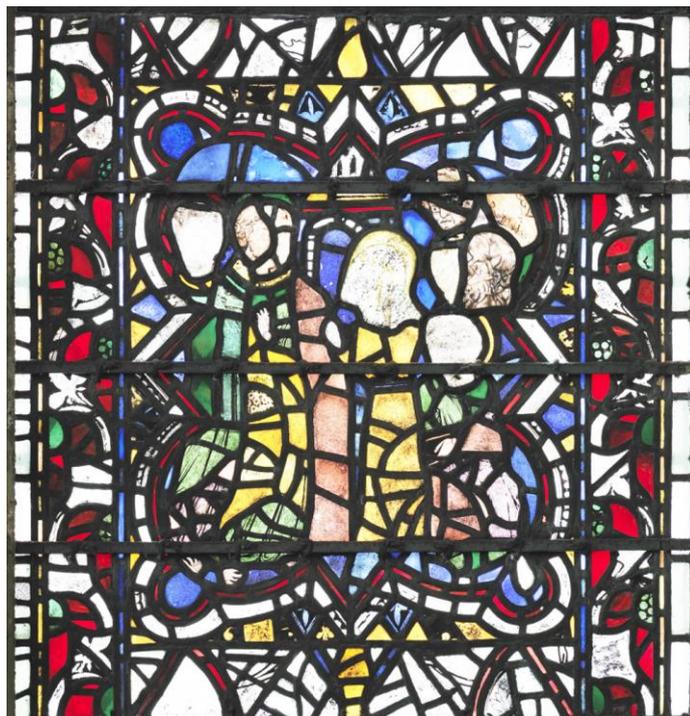


Figure CHs2:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.

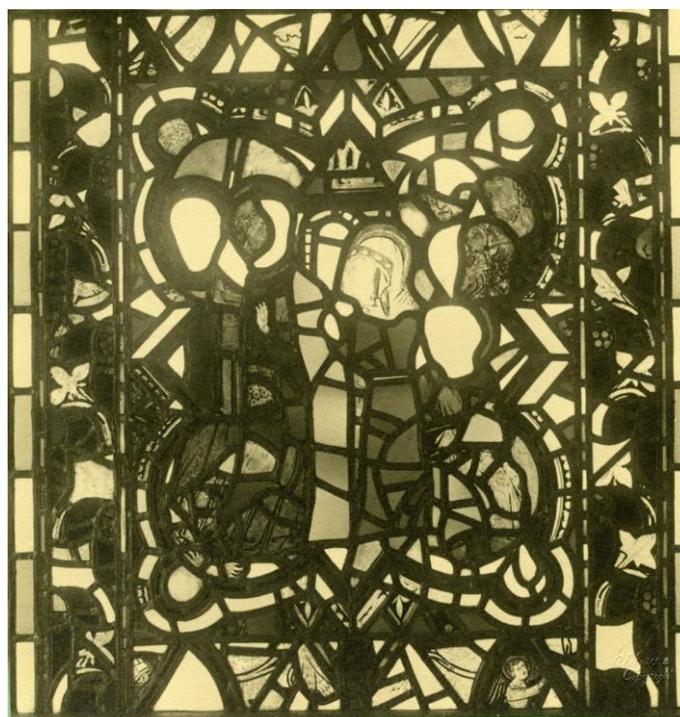


Figure CHs2:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5161, 1929-32: 59, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹²³

¹²³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5162, ca.1962: 59, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21281, 1959-63: 59, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

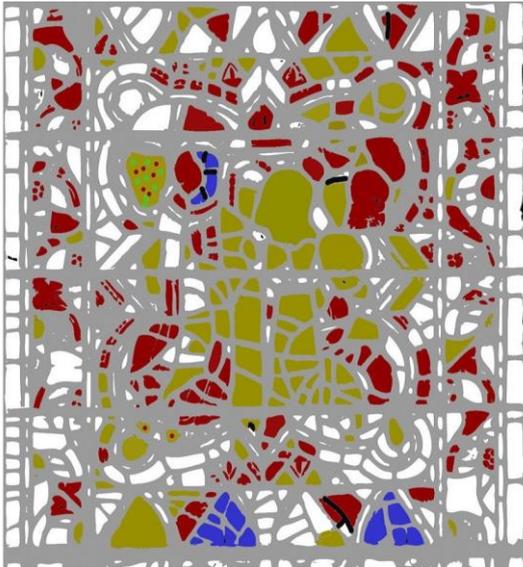


Figure CHs2:20: Restoration History

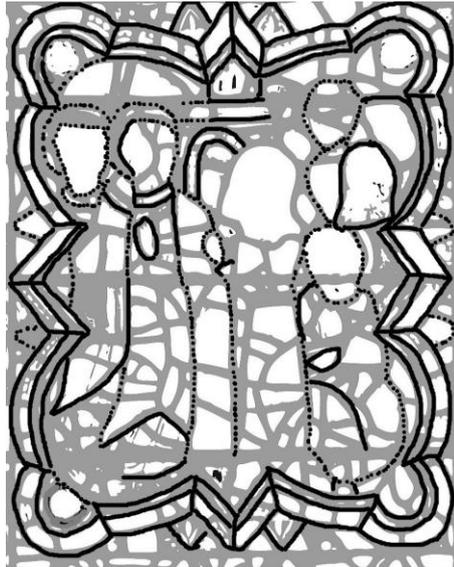


Figure CHs2:20: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

20				

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature II.

One or two figures are to the left of the arch and a group is to the right. One figure to the left has a murrey tunic and green cloak. The second figure to the left is in a yellow cloak and a green tunic, with a yellow neckpiece and his hand to his chest or heart. The third figure may be facing and beseeching the second figure, but all is intruded. There are possibly four or five other figures behind the third figure, one with signs of a murrey cloak and green tunic, who appears to be holding a box or a book. The other figures are much disturbed. There is a building to rear of the group, with an arch in white, yellow plinth and a white tower above. Knowles's description is confusing about the two left-hand figures, but suggests that one of them may have been holding a book.

Some evidence for the existence of the figure to the left may come from the fact that there are two tunics below (green and murrey). The other kneeling figure to right is not likely to be in a halo as the lower part of the head above is too close.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. (Partial: Figure to left of the arch): tight hair, wide eyebrows, large features, eye lids. Remainder of head may be original but seriously corroded.
2. (Partial: Upper figure to right of arch): large features, large eyes, lines extending from eyebrows down sides of nose, line under mouth to indicate lower lip.
3. (Partial: Figure below): tight curls at end of flat hair, wide, large features, eyebrow extending to the edge, the lines extending down both sides of the nose, eyelid.
4. (Partial: Figure above third and to right of second): possibly inserted medieval glass, some indication of curls in hair.

Iconography and original location: A preaching scene, possibly Signs and wonders were done among the people in Solomon’s Portico.¹²⁴

At this stage, it can only be confirmed as a general preaching/healing scene with a strip feature II, with an intruded head for a female in the centre. That general preaching scenes were used in Petrine narratives can be seen from the mosaic in Pope John’s Oratory in Old St Peter’s, where he is specifically shown in almost identical images as preaching in Jerusalem, Antioch and Rome.¹²⁵ One possible identification could be based on Acts of the Apostles, 5:12, the precursor to Peter’s healing with his shadow, in which “signs and wonders were done among the people through the apostles and they were all together in Solomon’s Portico”. The biblical reference to a building could explain the appearance of a structure in the background. The significance of the Portico for the early Apostles appeared in medieval texts as the location where they met and held discussions.¹²⁶

The suggested location is based on the A border and the possible attribution to Acts 5:12, which would place the scene chronologically earlier in row 4. If CHs2:7 and 30 were in 4d and 4e, this leaves 4a for this panel by a process of elimination.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved to its alternative light-type.

Torre:¹²⁷

Description: “25 In 5th Light kneels a Saint habited vt & murry glory O before whom stand 3 Men 1 habited purple & vt/2d O skirts vt 3d gu/4th O.”

				20

Comments: Most of the glass in the panel has been intruded, including that of the kneeling central figure. Hence it is not possible to verify the existence of a halo on the central figure nor the gender.

¹²⁴ Acts 5:12.

¹²⁵ Anne Van Dijk, “Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Constantinople: The Peter Cycle in the Oratory of Pope John VII, 705-707,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2002): 306.

¹²⁶ Wayne Dynes, “The Medieval Cloister as the Portico of Solomon,” *Gesta*, XII (1973): 61.

¹²⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

Intervention: probably in the 1690s or possibly in the 1760s, it was moved back to its original light-type. In Chapter 2 it is argued that it is likely this was the seventh window, the only one not to be repaired in the 1760s, meaning that this switch was probably in the 1690s.

Browne:¹²⁸

Description: "Peter and companions addressing a multitude."

20				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: central figure: head inserted.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹²⁹

Description: (First) "No 1. Peter and John before the Council

In the centre of picture is a youthful figure in a yell tunic gathered at the

waist standing before 5 figures of men with eager faces but turned away to look at two figures to the left. To the first of which he holds out his hand in caution.

The 5 are intended no doubt for the doctors but have all uncovered heads. The nearest to the spectator has a book in his hand and wears a green tunic [and purple] cloak. Another below wears a green tunic. But the others are crowded together showing no drapery and only their heads visible. The head of youth is demolished and is perpendicular. The first figure to the left is that of a middle aged man with curly hair and beard green nimbus. Wears a green cloak fastened at the neck. A pink tunic. Bare feet. He holds his left hand to his head and his right hand towards the [deleted] saviour (St Peter). Behind him St John with head of a female type nimbed ruby. An architectural narrow doorway is seen behind the [deleted] saviour to indicate the presence of a building. Back of panel blue."

(Second) No suggestion made.

Comments: There is a confusing attribution of colour to "Peter's" tunic and no reference to yellow. Was this a subsequent re-leading insertion? His description of "eager faces" may mean that paint was lost in the re-leading.

20				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹³⁰

Description: "No 1. Sts Peter and John before the Council

The two apostles stand in the left hand. St Peter being the most

prominent figure who holds one hand on his heart and his right hand extends outwards as it were to emphasize his words.

In front of the apostle are six figures most of them with eager expressions on their countenances. Two of them apparently carrying on the chief part of the controversy. None of the Council has any head gear. Behind the group a towered building indicating a temple in what is a small doorway."

20				

¹²⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 65.

¹²⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.180v.

¹³⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.93r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

One piece of re-soldering visible. Knowles (“Manuscript Notes”) said that the second figure to the left had a “curly beard”, which is not visible on the 1930s photograph. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³¹

20				

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type.¹³² Medallion: it is likely that the improvements to the heads involved mending leads rather than new insertions to the head of the second figure to the left and possibly the insertion of a piece of painted glass to the head of one of the rear figures on the right.

Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille, but at least one area was rebuilt and two mending leads inserted in the upper grisaille.¹³³

Milner White:¹³⁴

Description: “10th scene. Peter preaching. Heads improved.”

				20

Brown:¹³⁵

Description: “Peter preaching.”

				20

Current:

				20

¹³¹ Figure CHs2:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5161, 1929-32: 59, 5L5P.

¹³² Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

¹³³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5161, 1929-32: 59, 5L5P and at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5162, ca.1962: 59, 5L5P.

¹³⁴ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

¹³⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

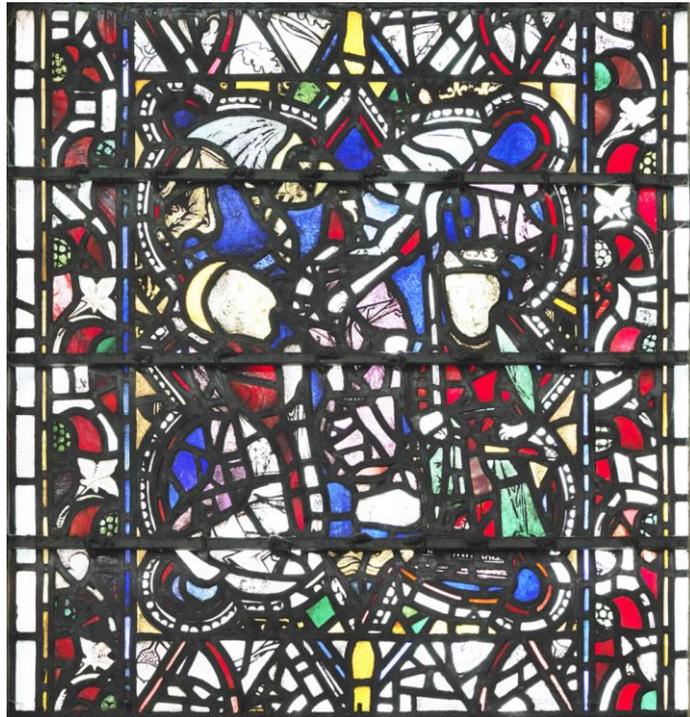


Figure CHs2:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

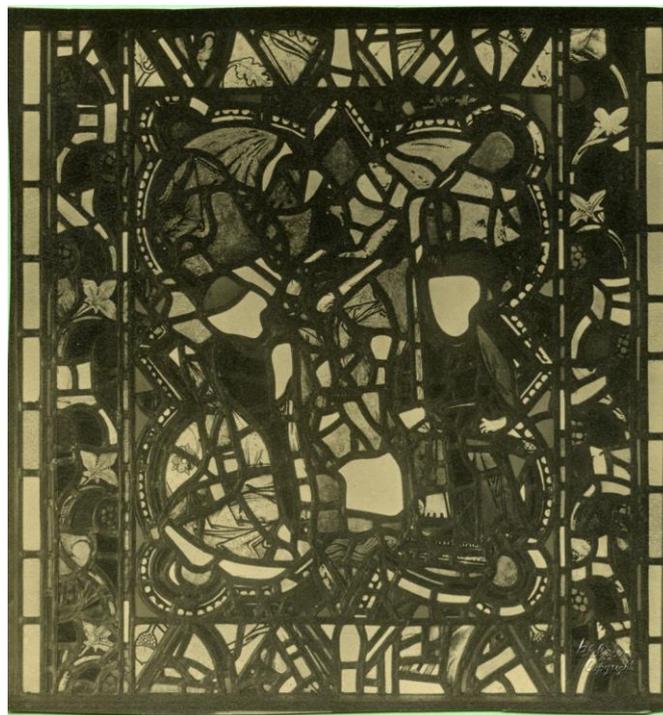


Figure CHs2:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5168 1929-32: 59, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5169, ca.1962: 59, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21282, ca.1960: 59, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

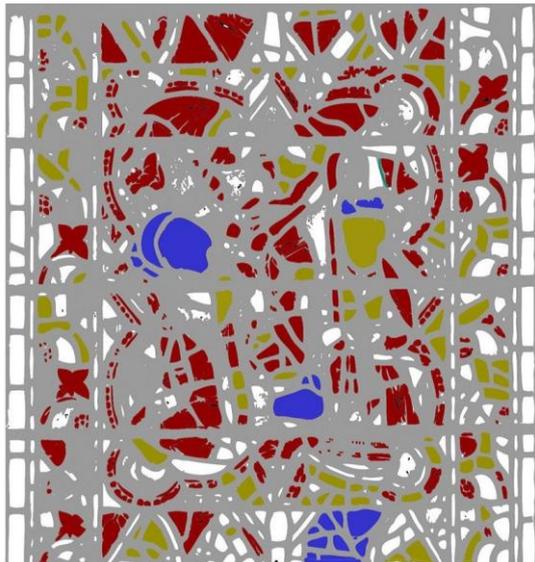


Figure CHs2:26: Restoration History

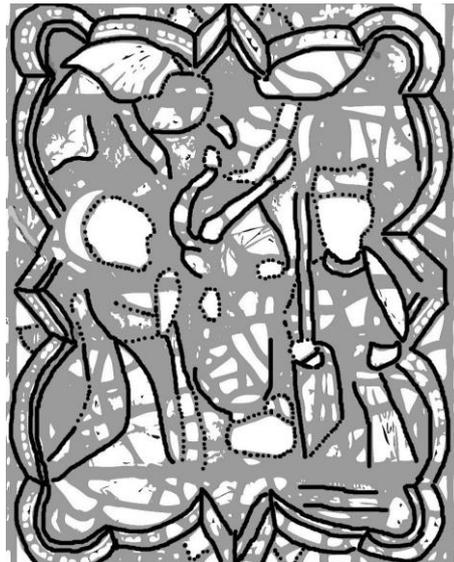


Figure CHs2:26: Original Lead Lines

Possible original:

				26

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature Ia.

There is a figure kneeling to the left in a white cloak and red tunic, raising a hand. On the right is a seated figure (king) on a throne, with green cloak and red tunic, holding a sword pointing upwards. Torre had his crown as yellow, but the other colours the same. Between the two is a falling figure, head first, in murrey with white stockinged legs. Above are two blue wings indicating two demons, one to left (with an original yellow body) and one to the right with mainly inserted glass (some original murrey). The front arm of each is pointing downwards, as though the central figure has slipped from their grasp.

Iconography and original location: Simon Magus falling between Peter and Nero.¹³⁷

Visible in CHs2:26 are, first, a kneeling saint, with head facing upwards, second, a seated ruler, with upturned sword and possible crown, third, a figure falling headlong between the two, and finally two winged creatures in the sky. Although

¹³⁷ The earliest identification of CHs2:27 was in Browne, *Representation*, 66. However, he identified CHs2:26 as "Vision of various animals in a sheet. Peter receiving the messengers from Cornelius", which ignores the evidence of human legs on the falling figure. The first commentator to identify the scene as relating to Simon Magus was Knowles in his "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 182r. The association of Paul with Peter in the Simon Magus sequence was referred to in the Acts of Peter XXXII, in James, *Apocrypha*, 331-332 and the Acts of Peter and Paul, in *Passio Sanctorum*, 51-60.

not one of the scenes identified by Carr as being in the main cycle in Old St Peter's,¹³⁸ it was an extremely popular image in medieval art and featured in the early eighth-century cycle in Pope John's Oratory at the east end of Old St Peter's, the mosaics of which were recorded by Giacomo Grimaldi before the building's demolition in 1609.¹³⁹ Carr believes that, as in the Grimaldi drawing, the scene was normally divided between the dispute between Peter and Simon Magus on the one hand and a combined image of the flight and fall of the magician on the other, although other episodes from both the apocryphal Acts also feature on occasion.¹⁴⁰ While the Simon Magus story appears in both the Acts of Peter and the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*,¹⁴¹ only in the latter work is Paul present as well as Peter. The scene was significant in York: it featured in the *Sanctorale* for the Feast of St Peter and Paul in the Use of York, where it is also notable that Paul is absent from the description.¹⁴²

As the source of the clerical offence of simony,¹⁴³ it was subject to special attention in the proceedings of Lateran IV,¹⁴⁴ which may explain why the events appear on several occasions in more extensive portrayals in other thirteenth-century glazing cycles. They include Auxerre and Bourges,¹⁴⁵ St-Père in Chartres,¹⁴⁶ Rouen,¹⁴⁷ St-Julien-du-Sault¹⁴⁸ and Tours.¹⁴⁹ All of these show both Peter and Paul present and most of them combine Simon's flying and falling into a single scene. They also show Peter looking upwards. In York, the scene is relatively restrained, in two panels, showing Magus's flight and fall separately and, at least in these two panels, there is no suggestion that Paul had a role in

¹³⁸ Carr, "Iconography," 172. Carr suggests that an alternative scene, namely Peter and Simon Magus disputing in Samaria, was sometimes included.

¹³⁹ Van Dijk, "Peter Cycle," 329.

¹⁴⁰ Carr, "Iconography," 151. These include some of the more unusual scenes in which, in summary, Peter calms Simon Magus's dog and Simon Magus tries to pass off his death by using the head of a ram.

¹⁴¹ Acts of Peter XXXI, James, *Apocryphal*, 331-32; and the *Passio* in *Acta Petri*, 163-71.

¹⁴² *Breviarium*, 75, cols 349-352.

¹⁴³ James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*. (Harlow: Longman Group Limited, 1995), 35.

¹⁴⁴ *Decrees*, ed. Tanner, nos. 63-66, 264-65.

¹⁴⁵ Raguin, *Burgundy*, 161; *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 107:1 and 2, and Auxerre, Bay 7:1b, 5b and 6b, see Taralon, *Vitraux*, 114. Both Peter and Paul are shown kneeling, Peter's head is raised upwards towards a figure above a building about to fall to the ground; Bourges, Bay 9:3a and 3b: 4a and 4b, 5a and 5b, 6a and 6b. Here there appear to be four of the Simon Magus scenes: Simon Magus addressing listeners (5a), Peter and Paul praying (5b), Peter with upturned head towards 6b, where Simon Magus is falling. In 6a there appears to be a scene where a saint (probably Peter) is addressing a figure in authority (possibly Nero). See Callias Bey et al., *Centre*, 172. See also the cathedral at Poitiers, *Online Archive*, "French Sites," Bay 2:2b and 2c.

¹⁴⁶ The church of St-Père, Chartres, shows a complicated scene in the right-hand lancet, not all of which can be identified, but which may include Peter and Paul disputing with Simon Magus before Nero (right-hand lancet), the false execution of Simon Magus where his head was replaced with that of a ram (left-hand lancet) and the view of Simon Magus flying before Peter, Paul and Nero (right-hand lancet): see *Online Archive*, "French sites," St-Père, Bay 221.

¹⁴⁷ M.W. Cothran, "Fragments of an Early Thirteenth-Century St. Peter Window from the Cathedral of Rouen," *Gesta*, 37, No.2 (1998): 160. Cothran has investigated an early thirteenth-century Petrine cycle at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Rouen, a much disturbed panel of which is currently in store. It appears to show a falling figure, but it is not possible to identify anything else.

¹⁴⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 1:5c and 5d. Peter and Paul are both shown praying in 5c, Peter with his head raised. In 5d, there is a figure falling from a high tower in a townscape. See Taralon, *Vitraux*, 168.

¹⁴⁹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Tours, Bay 203:5a, 5b, 5c, 6a and 6b. In the first three scenes, Peter and Paul are disputing with Simon Magus and a follower before Nero. In 6a and 6b, they are both seen praying as Simon Magus falls from the sky.

the event.

The location is suggested because of the A border and the fact that it follows the B border of the related scene in CHs2:27, which, in turn, follows the C border of CHs2:38.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁵⁰

Description: "15 In 5th Light sits a King inthroned robed gu & vt. Crowned O. bearing in one hand a Naked Sword poynted upwards And 2 other persons Stand by him."

Comments: Torre does not seem to have noticed the two upper beings. He saw the central, falling figure as standing.

				26

Browne:¹⁵¹

Description: "Downfall of Simon Magus at display of flying. Peter at prayer frustrating Magus' art."

				26

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁵²

Description: (First) "No 5: No 5: Simon Magus dashed to pieces. To the right side of picture a doorway with battlements over it out of which St

Peter looks with eager gaze upon one or two figures who are seized by two demons with bat like wings one yell the other white."

(Second) "Simon Magus with fiends."

Comments: At this stage, Knowles seems to have read the right-hand demon as a doorway and battlements.

				26

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵³

Description: "Simon Magus dashed to pieces

To the left is seen St Peter kneeling and with his hands upraised looking up

and on the opposite side of the picture is a King seated on a throne holding a sword in his hand and looking intently at the apostle. Rep above is Simon Magus falling headlong. Two demons hovering over him."

				26

1929-32 Re-leading:

One piece of re-soldering visible.

¹⁵⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

¹⁵¹ Browne, *Representation*, 66.

¹⁵² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182v.

¹⁵³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.97r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁵⁴

				26

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type, as part of his re-organisation of the window so that the narrative moved from 2e-2a, 4a-4e and, here, 6e to 6a.*¹⁵⁵

Medallion: the head of Simon Magus was inserted. The head of St Peter appears to have been an insertion. The crown of the ruler appears to have been inserted.

*Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille. One area of the latter was rebuilt. Mending leads.*¹⁵⁶

Milner White:¹⁵⁷

Description: “15th scene. Simon Magus falls. Head of Simon Magus made up, also garment of governor and head of St Peter (left) improved. (Derived from Apocryphal Acts of St Peter.)”

26				

Brown description:¹⁵⁸

Description: “Simon falls from the sky.”

26				

Current:

26				

¹⁵⁴ Figure CHs2:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5168 1929-32: 59, 1L3P.

¹⁵⁵ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

¹⁵⁶ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5168 1929-32: 59, 1L3P and An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5169, ca.1962: 59, 1L3P.

¹⁵⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

¹⁵⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

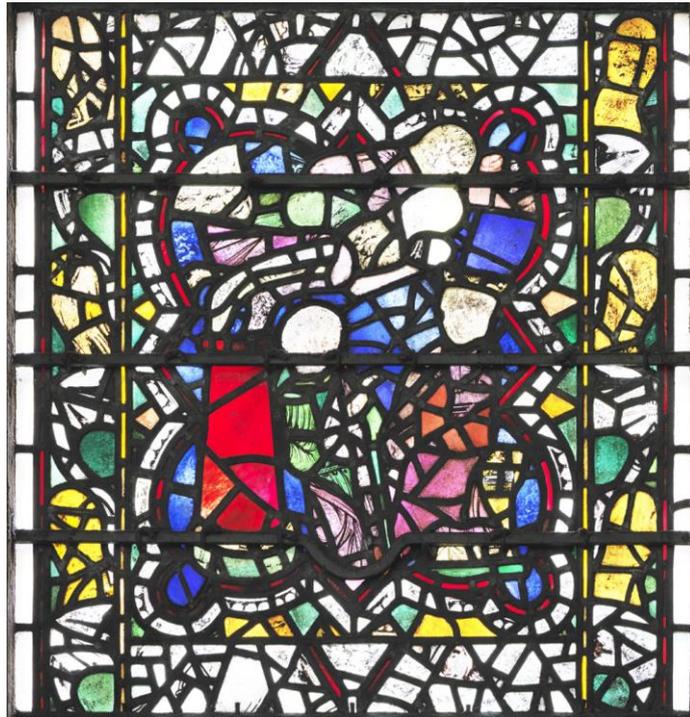


Figure CHs2:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 6b © York Glaziers Trust.

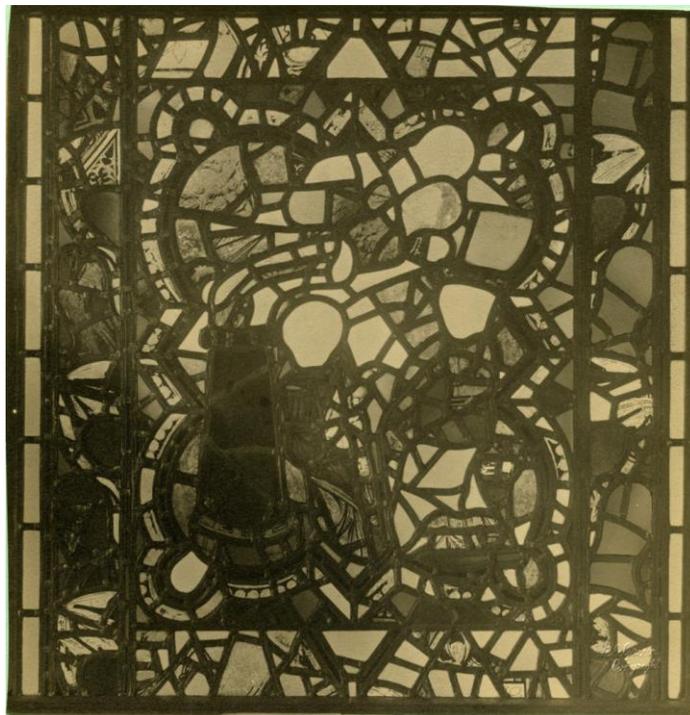


Figure CHs2:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5170, 1929-32: 59, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5171, ca.1962: 59, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21283, ca.1960: 59, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

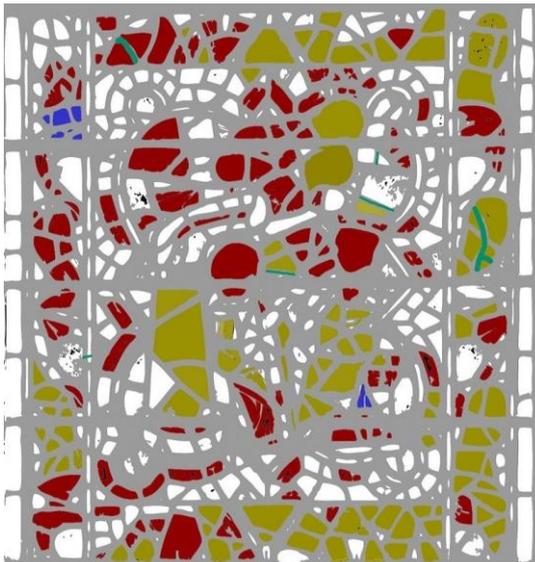


Figure CHs2:27: Restoration History

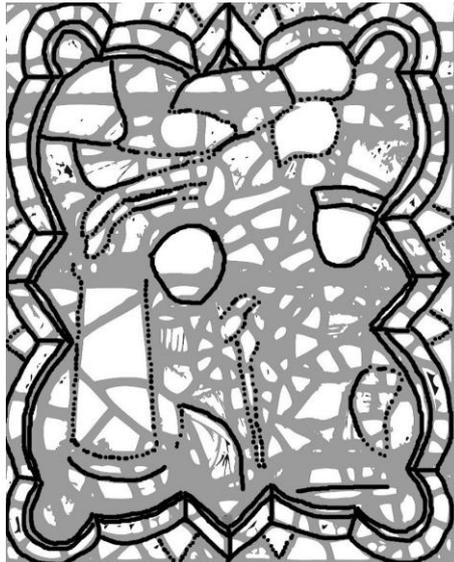


Figure CHs2:27: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			27	

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion and green to the sides, with alternating green and yellow fleur-de-lys. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature 1c.

There is a tower structure to the left-hand side with green base. Above there are indications of two furry monsters and a couple of similar legs. Possibly one figure is being carried (cloaked in murrey with some green). Next to the tower, there is one seated figure in murrey and a seated king on a throne in murrey. A large, triangular shaped face is seen to the top left.

Iconography and original location: Simon Magus flying before Peter and Nero.¹⁶⁰

From the original glass, it is possible to detect at least one figure flying over the heads of a seated or kneeling figure and a seated ruler (denoted by his crown). Although not one of the scenes identified by Carr as being in the main cycle in Old St Peter's,¹⁶¹ it was an extremely popular image in medieval art and featured in the early eighth-century cycle in Pope John's Oratory at the east end of Old St Peter's, the mosaics of which were recorded by Giacomo Grimaldi before the building's demolition in 1609.¹⁶² Carr believes that, as in the Grimaldi

¹⁶⁰ Acts of Peter XXXII and the *Passio Sanctorum*, 51-60. The earliest identification of CHs2:27 was in Browne, *Representation*, 66. However, he identified CHs2:26 as "Vision of various animals in a sheet. Peter receiving the messengers from Cornelius", which ignores the evidence of human legs on the falling figure. The first commentator to identify the scene as relating to Simon Magus was Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 182r.

¹⁶¹ Carr, *Iconography*, 172. Carr suggests that an alternative scene, namely Peter and Simon Magus disputing in Samaria, was included.

¹⁶² Van Dijk, "Peter Cycle," 329.

drawing, the scene was normally divided between the dispute between Peter and Simon Magus on the one hand and a combined image of the flight and fall of the magician on the other, meaning that York includes all three elements. The events appear on several occasions in thirteenth-century glazing cycles, as discussed in the section on CHs2:26 above.

The location is suggested because the scene precedes CHs2:26 chronologically and its B border would place it between CHs2:38 and 26.

History of the panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its existing light from 6d to 2d.

Torre:¹⁶³

Description: “24 In fourth Light stands an holy King robed A & O glory B Scepter vt top O by him a Lady robed O & vt glory gu And a young saint Robed vt glory O.”

			27	

Comments: This is a probable rather than a certain identification, depending partly on the presence of a king and a small piece of original white in his clothing. Otherwise it is allocated as a result of a process of elimination.

Intervention: in the 1690s or the 1760s, the panel was moved within its existing light from 2d to 6d. As argued above, it is more likely to have been in the 1690s than the 1760s.

Browne:¹⁶⁴

Description: “Vision of animals in a sheet. Peter receiving message from Cornelius.”

			27	

Comments: There appear to be flying figures leaping from a (now red) structure (probably originally a tower).

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁶⁵

Description: (First) “No 4: [pencil] Simon Magus

			27	

Two men seated opposite each other upon a low seat and or bed as if in conversation and above their heads a flying angel. The one to the left will be St Peter in green tunic and purp robe. Above them is a mixed lot of glass like an angel flying.”

(Second) “Peter and Paul delivered from prison.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁶⁶

Description: “Simon Magus Acts 8, 19. The apostles St Peter and St John to the left hand with a youth in the centre

			[27?]	

¹⁶³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

¹⁶⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 66.

¹⁶⁵ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.182v.

¹⁶⁶ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.93r-97r.

and opposite two doctors one of them taking hold of the hand of the youth and holding his right hand over his head. (Youth's head an insertion). (Simon Magus who is making an attempt at exorcism. His dress is composed of a green sleeveless coat over a red tunic red shoes and yellow hat)."

Comments: He appears to be describing CHs2:19 again but differently from his CHs2:19 description and in the wrong place. The two vacant locations are 4d and 6d for his two unclear panels, CHs2:19 and CHs2:27. Browne clearly had CHs2:27 in 6d, Knowles in his "Manuscript Notes", clearly had CHs2:19 in 4d, while Milner White recorded both panels in these positions before his intervention. The evidence points to the fact that Knowles was in error here and the panel he saw, and has not described, was in 6d.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: several pieces of re-soldering and/or pieces of new lead visible.

Pre Milner White Restoration:¹⁶⁷

			27	

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type.¹⁶⁸
 Medallion: one area of painted glass was inserted into the medallion.
 Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille, with a few mending leads inserted generally. One area of border was rebuilt.¹⁶⁹*

Milner White:¹⁷⁰

Description: "14th scene. Simon Magus tries to fly in air. Figure of Simon Magus improved. (Derived from Apocryphal Acts of St Peter)."

	27			

Brown:¹⁷¹

Description: "Simon Magus tries to fly."

	27			

Current:

	27			

¹⁶⁷ Figure CHs2:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5170, 1929-32: 59, 2L3P.

¹⁶⁸ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.14r.

¹⁶⁹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5170, 1929-32: 59, 2L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5171, ca.1962: 59, 2L3P.

¹⁷⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

¹⁷¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Window: CHs2:28

Panel number: CHs2:28

(CVMA: 6c)

Photographic record:

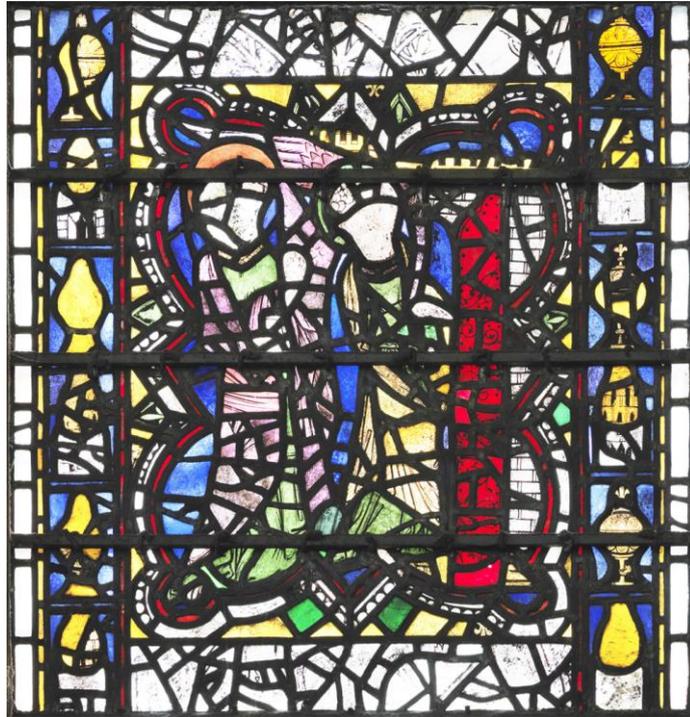


Figure CHs2:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 6c © York Glaziers Trust.

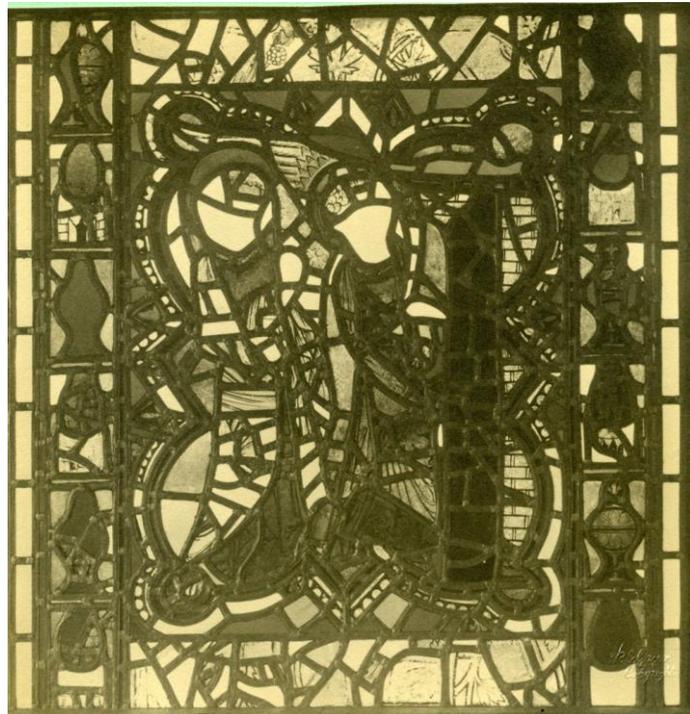


Figure CHs2:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5172, 1929-32: 59, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷²

¹⁷² An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca.1962: 59, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21284, 1960: 59, 3L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

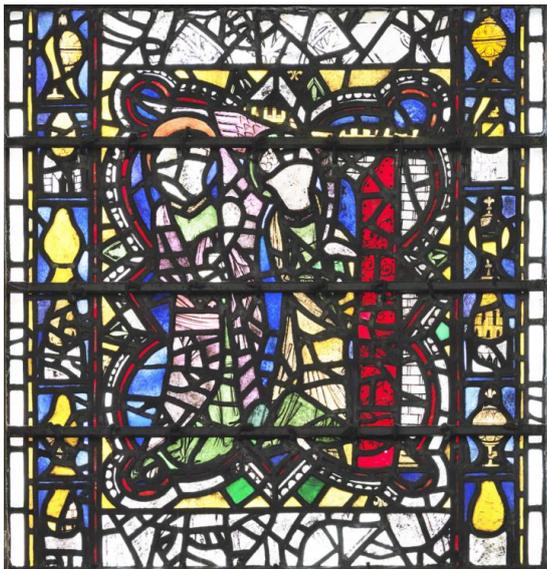


Figure CHs2:28: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:28: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		28		

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature Id.

There is a figure to the left in a murrey cloak and a green tunic, with a yellow neckband. His hand is held up. A bare foot is visible. There is a second figure (the angel to the right) in a yellow cloak and a green tunic and a white neckband who is gesturing towards a gate. He has two murrey wings. He is holding some sort of wand or frond (with echoes of CH1:30, CHs2:29, CHn2:6 and CHs4:9). There is no sign of a cruciform halo, which is important for the identification discussed below. The lead outline of the angel's feet may be visible and there is one surviving piece of curly hair. The building to right hand side has open red door, white masonry and yellow battlements.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Probably Workshop 3.

(Right-hand figure, partial head): tight curls.

Iconography and original location: The angel leading Peter to the gates of the City.¹⁷³

Chapter 3 discusses what would have been a more appropriate image for this location, showing Christ meeting Peter and taking him back to Rome to meet his fate (the "*Quo Vadis*" encounter).¹⁷⁴ Instead, CHs2:28 shows an angel, with some original wing, gesticulating to the doorway of a structure to the right,

¹⁷³ Acts 12:10.

¹⁷⁴ Acts of Peter XXXV, James, *Apocryphal*, 333.

apparently encouraging a nimbed figure standing to the left to enter. Because the former figure is an angel and because the scene follows a clear representation of an angel freeing Peter from prison (CHs2:29) it is not a “*Quo Vadis*”. The liberation and guidance of Peter by the angel is another of those scenes identified by Carr as probably appearing in the Old St Peter’s cycle and as having been popular in the Western church,¹⁷⁵ underlined by the existence of its special role in the calendar on 1 August, as the Feast Day of St Peter’s Chains. Its popularity in stained glass can be seen from its appearance in Angers, Bourges, Poitiers, St-Père in Chartres, the Cathedral in Chartres and Semur-en-Auxois.¹⁷⁶

Its location is unexpected given the normal chronological arrangement of the other windows. A more canonical position would have been in 4e after CHs2:8 in 4c. These are clearly not available, so, given the need for a B and C light location, the only position available is 8c.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁷⁷

Description: “8 In 3rd Light stand 2 holy persons together 1st habited vt B & murry Glory B 2d vt & O glory vt.”

Comments: No blue is visible for the first figure. The haloes have clearly been replaced with different colours.

		28		

Browne:¹⁷⁸

Description: “Angel instructing Peter relative to his visit to Cornelius.”

Comment: It is possible that Browne erred in locating this panel in 8d. The

signs are that he described the entire row as being one light to the right, giving no description for a panel in 8a. Only the top row shows a deviation from the border design. Given that all subsequent designs show the panels complying with the border design, this means that the deviation had been introduced between Torre and Browne or that Browne was mistaken in his identifications, and moved CHs2:36, 37 and 28 one panel to the right, omitting CHs2:39.

Hence this panel should have been recorded as in position 8c. This is the most plausible explanation. He did not identify the panel correctly, but presumably he saw the hand gesture and the existence of a doorway which meant he associated the panel with a visit of some sort.

		28	[28?]	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁷⁹

Description: (First) “No 3: [Pencil] Peter being led by the Angel An angel is purple robed and green

		28		

¹⁷⁵ Carr, “Iconography,” 140 and 172.

¹⁷⁶ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 107:4; Bourges, Bay 9:7a; Poitiers, Bay 2:3b, Chartres, Bay 105:3; Tours, Bay 203:4a; the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 221, left-hand lancet, where the Angel touches the seated Peter in 6b, takes him by the hand to lead him away in 6a, leaving the sleeping soldiers in 6c, and the church in Semur-en-Auxois, Bay 3:3, see also Raguin, *Burgundy*, 164.

¹⁷⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁷⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 65.

¹⁷⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.183r.

tunic with purple and white wings ruby nimbus is in the act of leading a man out of a doorway. The latter clad in yell tunic and green robe. The inside of the doorway ruby.”

(Second) “Peter led out of prison by an Angel.”

Comments: Knowles has confused the figures and the action, which should be the angel leading Peter into the City instead of in the opposite direction.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁸⁰

Description: “St Peter delivered out of prison

An angel with purple and white wings and red nimbus of youthful mien and curly hair in the act of taking Peter by the hand and leading him out of the doorway of a building with two arches.”

		28		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: several pieces of re-soldering and/or pieces of new lead visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁸¹

		28		

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel within its C light from 8c to 6c.*¹⁸²
Medallion: it is difficult to see what he means by the pink garment being “made up” as there does not appear to be any change to the lead lines. If anything can be made of the shade of the b/w pre-restoration photo, the three lower pieces may have been intruded, but must have used the original lead line.
*Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille. Two areas of grisaille rebuilt. Mending leads.*¹⁸³

Milner White:¹⁸⁴

Description: “13th scene. Peter led into the city by an angel. Pink garment of left hand figure made up.”

		28		

Brown:¹⁸⁵

Description: “Angels lead him out of the City.”

		28		

¹⁸⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.96r.

¹⁸¹ Figure CHs2:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5172, 1929-32: 59, 3L3P.

¹⁸² Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

¹⁸³ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5172, 1929-32: 59, 3L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5136, ca.1962: 59, 1L7P.

¹⁸⁴ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

¹⁸⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Changes which may have occurred between Knowles and post-Milner White: that is either in re-leading or in Milner White reinsertion:

Left-hand figure had red nimbus in Knowles, now orange and Angel had ruby nimbus, now pink. Both may have been simply light conditions.

Current:

		28		

Photographic record:

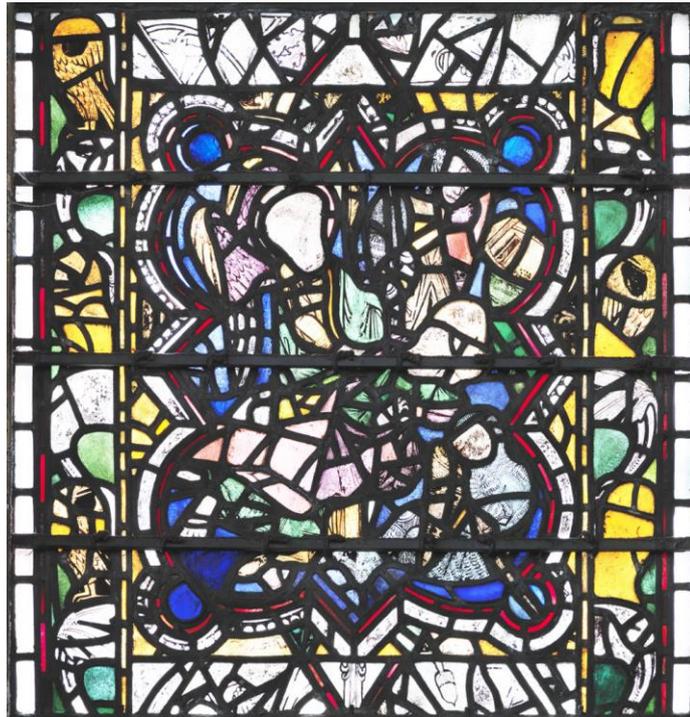


Figure CHs2:29: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 6d © York Glaziers Trust.

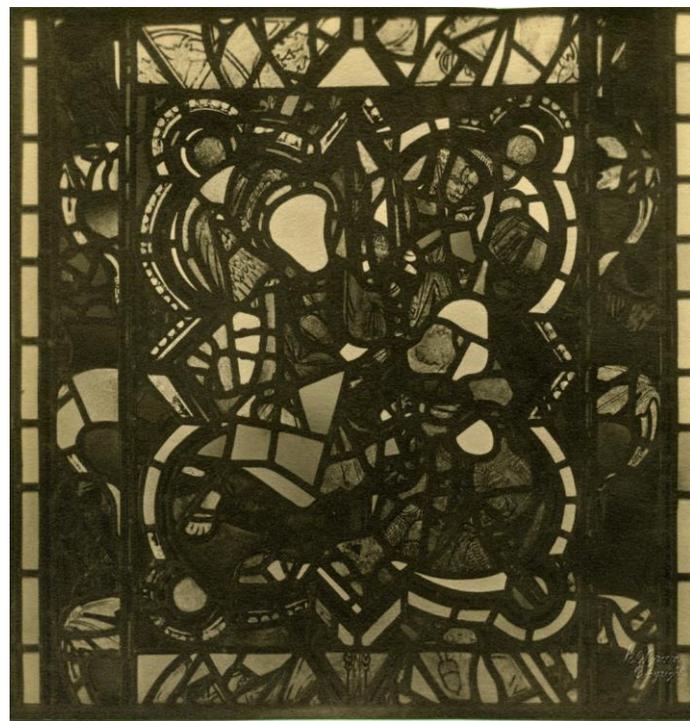


Figure CHs2:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5174, 1929-32: 59, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5175, ca.1962: 59, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21285, ca.1960: 59, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

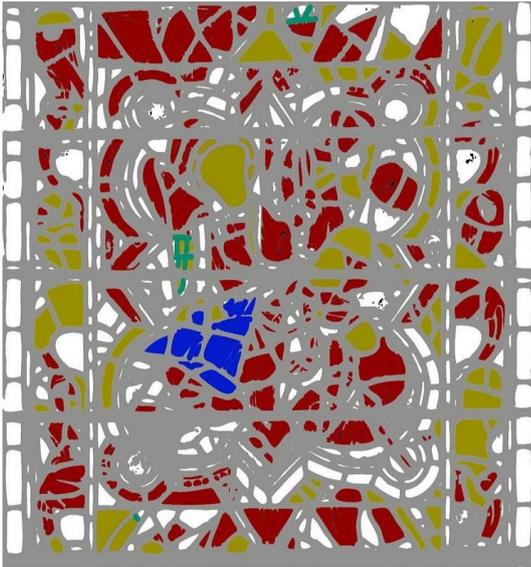


Figure CHs2:29: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:29: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	29			

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys to top and bottom. Design contained within the medallion. Circular shapes in the four corners.

An angel to the left-hand side, with murrey, white and yellow wings, a green cloak and a yellow tunic, is holding his hand out towards a prostrate figure with his head to the right-hand side. He is holding a palm leaf in his left hand, resonating with its sequel in CHs2:28. Some of the yellow tunic and green cloak of the angel appears to be visible beneath the prostrate figure, making it uncertain what is supporting him. The reclining figure is in green tunic with a possible murrey cover and bare foot. A soldier above in white chain mail, sword or spear erect, and possibly yellow tabard seems to have his eyes closed. Another, in blue armour, is on floor to bottom right-hand corner, with a yellow shield and his sword in its scabbard. The angle of his head suggests he is also asleep. Tucked in to right-hand side is a yellow visor and green shield, but the details are not clear.

Possible original: The only visible halo is that of the angel. Strip feature Ia. This depends on one small piece of possibly intruded yellow glass along the strip to the right-hand side. Otherwise, it may be type Id, which would better fit the symmetry of the window.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Workshop 3.

(Soldier). Prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth and line to denote lower lip.

Iconography and original location: An angel freeing Peter from prison.¹⁸⁷ Although CHs2:29 was probably the panel that Torre failed to identify, there is sufficient original glass to determine an angel about to touch a recumbent figure, with sleeping/unconscious soldiers to the right-hand side. This was probably in position 6b in Torre's account, described as "obscure".¹⁸⁸ The liberation and guidance of Peter by the angel is another of those scenes identified by Carr as probably appearing in the Old St Peter's cycle and as having been popular in the Western church,¹⁸⁹ underlined by the existence of its special role in the calendar on 1 August for the Feasts of St Peter's Chains.¹⁹⁰ The panel in CHs2 shows common features: Peter is reclining, and the angel is touching him with his hand.¹⁹¹ Its popularity in stained glass is discussed in the consideration of CHs2:28 above.

The argument for its location in 8b rests on its B border and the fact that it precedes CHs2:28 with a C border. The two alternatives for the panel were 6b or 8b, but, as discussed in CHs2:28, row 8 is the only available row for this pair of panels.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its existing B light from 8b to 6b.

Torre:¹⁹²

Description: "12 In 2d Light obscure."

Comments: The location has been identified only by a process of elimination.

	[29?]			

Browne:¹⁹³

Description: "Peter in chain armour sleeping among soldiers. Angel touching his side."

Comments: Note he erred in that Peter was not in chain armour.

	29			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁹⁴

Description: (First) "No 2: [pencil]

Delivering Peter out of prison
[cross] ruby

Laid across the base of panel are one or two sleeping figures one more defined and prominent clad in green tunic and purple robe but not nimbed. Standing near to him is an angel who touches him on the head. Angel has pink and yell wings and ruby nimbus. At the head of the

	29			

¹⁸⁷ Acts 12:7. The earliest identification is in Browne, *Representation*, 65.

¹⁸⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

¹⁸⁹ Carr, "Iconography," 140 and 172. The scene is referred to in the *Sanctorale* for the Feast of *St Peter's Chains* on two occasions, *Breviarium*, 75, cols. 345 and 346.

¹⁹⁰ See note on CHs2:28.

¹⁹¹ According to Carr, other depictions show Peter seated and the angel either touching Peter with a rod or raising its hand to greet him.

¹⁹² YMA L1/7 Torre, 127.

¹⁹³ Browne, *Representation*, 65.

¹⁹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182v.

sleepers is a soldier in mail with [pencil] resting on his spear. [Ink] A figure of a mailed man is laid in front of St Peter but no chain visible. A spear by his side.” (Second) “Peter [...] from prison.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁹⁵

Description: “Angel delivering Peter from prison

St Peter laid between two soldiers in mail armour and with spears at their sides and with shields [Tile] shaped. The angel robed in yellow tunic and green cope with parti coloured wings and ruby nimbus is stooping over the saint and touches him on the breast bidding him to rise and go forth.”

Comment: Knowles only describes two soldiers.

	29			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: one piece of re-soldering visible. Other possible changes: according to Knowles, the angel had “pink hair”. It is clear glass now. No sign of paint on the 1930s photograph. He said the angel was touching the recumbent figure on the head. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹⁶

	29			

*Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative B light-type.*¹⁹⁷
Medallion: it difficult to see how the outline of the “other” figure (presumably that standing to the left) was “restored” as all that is visible is a couple of new mending leads. The tip of the angel’s wing seems to have been given mending leads.
*Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille.*¹⁹⁸

Milner White:¹⁹⁹

Description: “12th scene. Peter released from prison. Pink garment of recumbent figure made up and outline of other figure restored.”

			29	

Brown:²⁰⁰

Description: “Angels release Peter from prison.”

			29	

¹⁹⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.94r.

¹⁹⁶ Figure CHs2:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5174, 1929-32: 59, 4L3P.

¹⁹⁷ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

¹⁹⁸ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5174, 1929-32: 59, 4L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5175, ca.1962: 59, 4L3P.

¹⁹⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

²⁰⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

			29	

Photographic record:

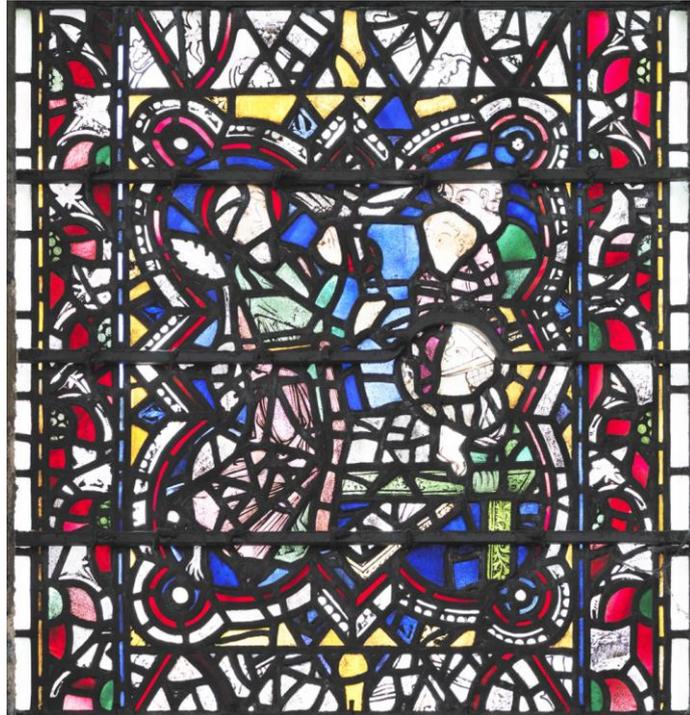


Figure CHs2:30 Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.

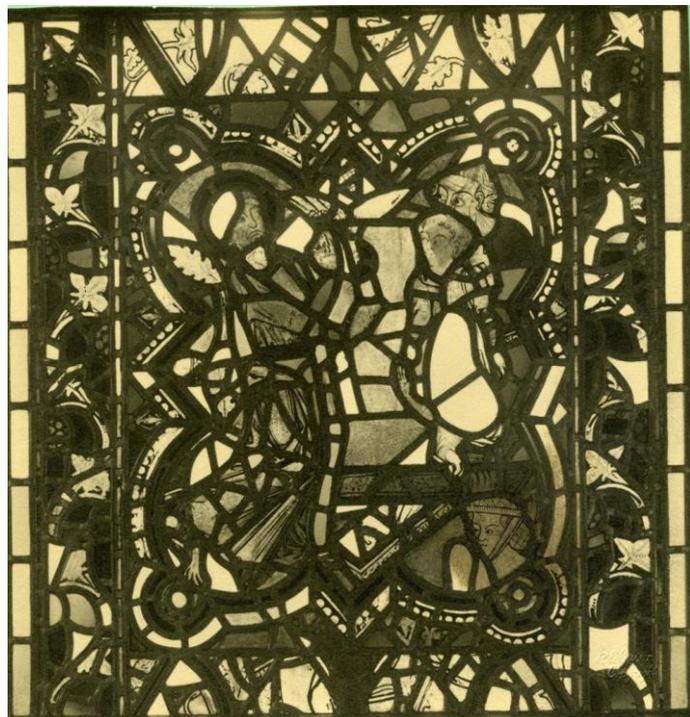


Figure CHs2:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5176, 1929-32: 59, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5177, ca.1962: 59, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also RCHM, CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21286, ca.1960: 59, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York; CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21287, ca.1960: 59, 5L3P detail © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

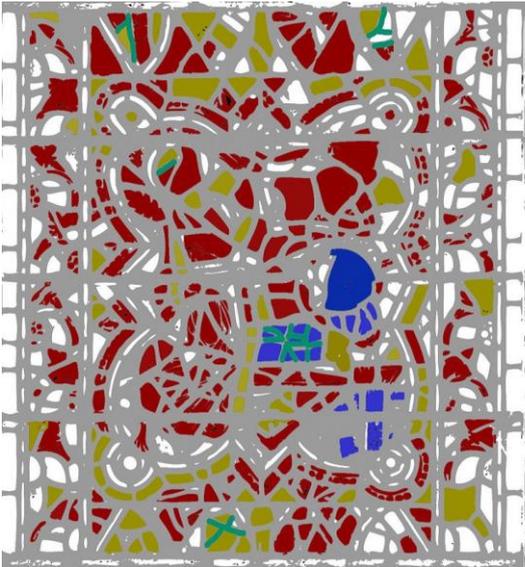


Figure CHs2:30: Restoration History

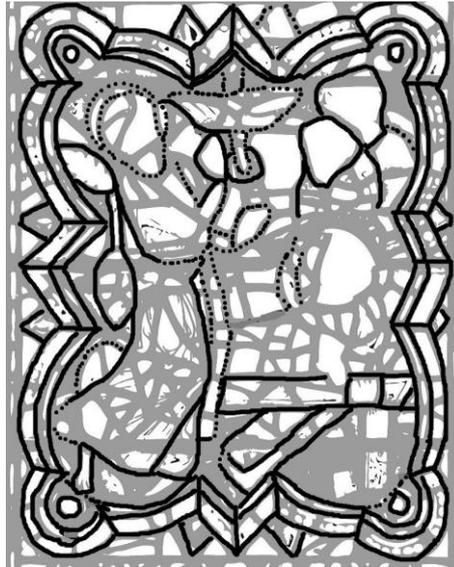


Figure CHs2:30: Original Lead Lines

Possible original location:

				30

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with blue fleurs-de-lys in cusps. There are small balls, one in each corner. Three are unspecified but one contains a small white flower head, which suggests the others were similar. Design contained within the medallion.

A figure stands to the left-hand side, with plants behind him. His head is mostly original but has been touched up at some stage.²⁰² He is in a murrey cloak and green tunic. His left is raised, possibly pointing to the dove above, and his right hand is held out straight, with upturned hand, towards the two figures on the right. The dove above is red-nimbed flying vertically downwards. Below to the right is a green plank-type feature, with a shape below, which could be a rectangular, white, open box at an angle. The intruded leg (by Milner White) makes this plank feature look like a bench or the side of a bed. Above the plank, glass was intruded, also by Milner White, to give the effect of a bed, which was enhanced because he moved a female head from below to rest on the apparent bed. The head did not originally belong to the panel, as the style of painting does not fit Workshop 3 figures. In particular, the eyes are smaller and less expressive than those normally associated with the studio. If the intrusions are removed, it is possible that the panel showed a rectangular box on the ground with the green plank as its lid, sitting at an angle to the box. Above the plank, huddled to the right, are two figures staring towards the first. The first is in murrey and white, with the possible right hand of the second figure on its right shoulder, was in green. Torre saw only three figures, the one to the left and the two to the right.

Possible original: Left-hand figure has a possible halo. Strip feature II.

²⁰² Nick Teed, pers. comm., 24 April 2015.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. The left-hand figure: tight curls, big eyes, wide eyebrows, lines extending to outline the nose, pupils in eyes, possible mark to denote lower lip.
2. Central figure: paint loss, tight curly hair, wide features.
3. Right-hand figure: tight curly hair, big eyes, wide eyebrows, the lines extending to outline the sides of the nose, eye lids.

Iconography and original location: The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira.²⁰³

CHs2:30 may show one of two miracles, either identification affecting the identification of CHs2:17.

1. The more likely identification is that, following CHs2:17, this panel shows Peter punishing Ananias and Sapphira. This renders the probably intruded head on the “bench” redundant. If it is Ananias and Sapphira, in thirteenth-century glazing schemes, the scene has been located in Auxerre Cathedral and Dijon, Notre Dame.²⁰⁴ The face of St Peter shows anger or displeasure, also supporting an Ananias and Sapphira identification. However, in addition to the face, there is the appearance of Peter’s body. It is difficult to work out the gesture, although it also appears to show tension or anger. Carr commented on the fact that there is often a good deal of drama in the scene of punishment,²⁰⁵ which also applies to the image presented here.

The structure at the foot of the scene could resemble a low, rectangular box with its lid (the green plank) removed. It could denote the cash that Ananias and Sapphira have held back from their gift to Peter. The dove seems to represent the Holy Ghost, whom Peter identified as being particularly hurt by the fraud of Ananias and Sapphira,²⁰⁶ but who is not mentioned in the Raising of Tabitha.

2. Another possibility is “Peter raising Tabitha”, as identified by Browne.²⁰⁷ While there are signs of an original low couch, the female head on the recumbent body was elsewhere in the panel in the 1930s and was moved by Milner White to its current position.

This was a popular scene in Petrine cycles and in related hymns,²⁰⁸ it is one that Carr believes was to be found in an original cycle in Old St Peter’s.²⁰⁹ The York image may be unusual in that Peter is not shown as grasping Tabitha by the hand,²¹⁰ but as summoning her soul to return to her body. The witnesses to the miracle are visible to the right-hand side, despite the fact that Peter had asked them to leave, but according to Carr, this is a frequent deviation from the letter of the text. The difficulty is that the head of the person intended to be Tabitha was probably itself an intrusion. In the photograph of 1929-30 it can be seen under what may have been the lid of the box, in the corner of the medallion. Milner White moved it to above the lid, and created a leg of a bench on which the figure could have been lying. Thus it is likely that this panel has

²⁰³ Acts 5:3-10.

²⁰⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 7:4a, see also Raguin, *Burgundy*, 161; and the church of Notre Dame, Dijon, Bay 213:2, see *ibid.*, 164.

²⁰⁵ Carr, *Iconography*, 328-330.

²⁰⁶ Acts 5:3-4.

²⁰⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 65. Acts 9:40.

²⁰⁸ Carr, *Iconography*, 130.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 172.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 128.

acquired its Tabitha-like features in the course of its repairs.

Thus the Ananias and Sapphira identification is more plausible, which has a bearing on the identification of CHs2:17 as a precursor to the scene and means a likely original location, with its A border was 4e.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved from its original position (4e) to its alternative light-type (4a).

Torre:²¹¹

Description: "In 3d Row and first Light a White Dove is descended upon 3 holy Men Standing together 1st habited vt & purple 2d purple & A 3d vt."

Comments: With his descriptions of the drapery, Torre seems to be referring to Peter and the two figures huddled to the right of the panel. He does not refer to any fourth figure on the bench.

30				

Intervention: if the "Ananias and Sapphira" identification is correct, the surplus female head was intruded in the 1690s or the 1760s.

Browne:²¹²

Description: "Peter raising Tabitha."

Comments: This suggests that the green plank was already being interpreted as a bed and that the female head had already been intruded.

30				

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²¹³

Description: (First) "No 1: Peter and John laying their hands on the disciples and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. [Pencil] Act 8 16/17.

A figure to the left standing and looking upon two who appear to be seated. One of them resting his left hand upon a seat although there is some drapery near it. The figure to the left will be St Peter and is clad in green tunic and purple cloak. Between the two in the centre of the panel is a dove descending perpendicular. No 2 first light. [cross] ruby."

(Second) "Peter and John giving Holy Spirit."

Comments: Despite the unusual identification, he appears to have been looking at this panel.

30				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²¹⁴

Description: "St Peter's vision On top of a tower which is angular shaped is the figure of a man stepping

30				

²¹¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

²¹² Browne, *Representation*, 65.

²¹³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.181v.

²¹⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.93r.

on to the parapet and holding both hands up. [in/on] the tower is a white sheet wrapped up with a dove having a red nimbus descending down from above. Three men in front are looking intently up at the figure in the Tower (St Peter). There is also a woman with her hand upraised in surprise.”

Comments: From specific features, it appears to describe this panel, although the description is clearly inaccurate.

1929-32 Re-leading:

A few pieces of re-soldering are visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²¹⁵

30				

Intervention by Milner White: he moved the panel to its alternative light-type.²¹⁶ Medallion: the movement of the head from the lower part of the panel to the current position is clear, together with the insertion of glass to replace the head which created the effect of the leg to a bench or a bed. The idea of a bed was enhanced by the glass above the plank being removed and replaced with what appears to be the top of a bed, deduced from the significant change in the lead lines between the pre- and post-Milner White intervention. Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille. Other mending leads inserted into both the medallion and the grisaille.²¹⁷

Milner White:²¹⁸

Description: “Tabitha raised from the dead. Head of Tabitha removed from the lower part of panel to its proper position; the bed improved.”

				30

Brown:²¹⁹

				30

Current:

				30

²¹⁵ Figure CHs2:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5176, 1929-32: 59, 5L3P.

²¹⁶ Lazenby, “York Minster windows”, fol.14r.

²¹⁷ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5176, 1929-32: 59, 5L3P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5177, ca.1962: 59, 5L3P.

²¹⁸ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

²¹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

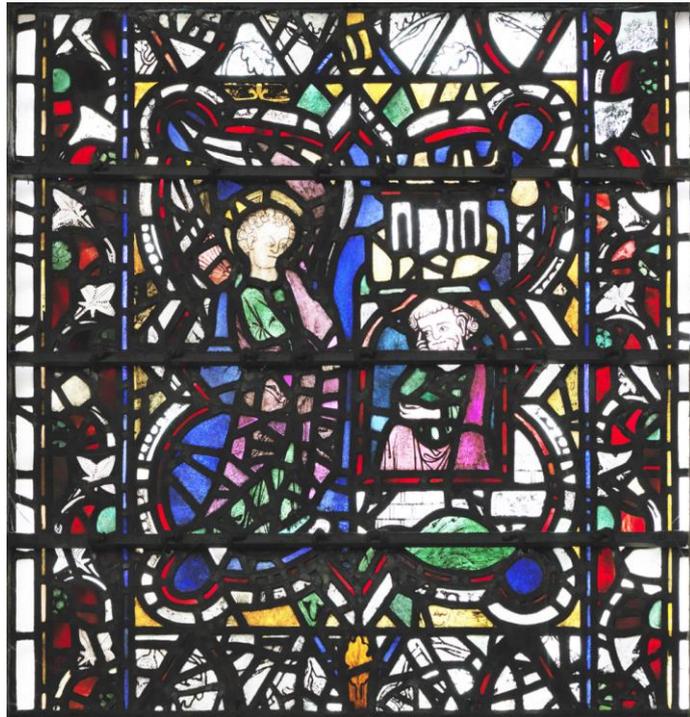


Figure CHs2:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 8a © York Glaziers Trust

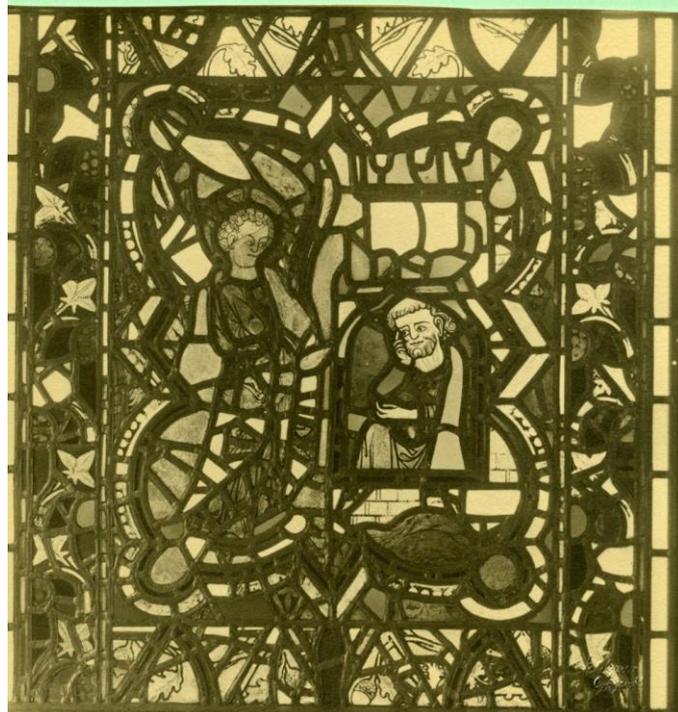


Figure CHs2:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5186, 1929-32: 59, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.



Figure CHs2:36 Detail: CVMA, “York Minster,” ca.1969: 60, 1L1P, no. 21293 © Crown Copyright.²²⁰

Original location, appearance and iconography:

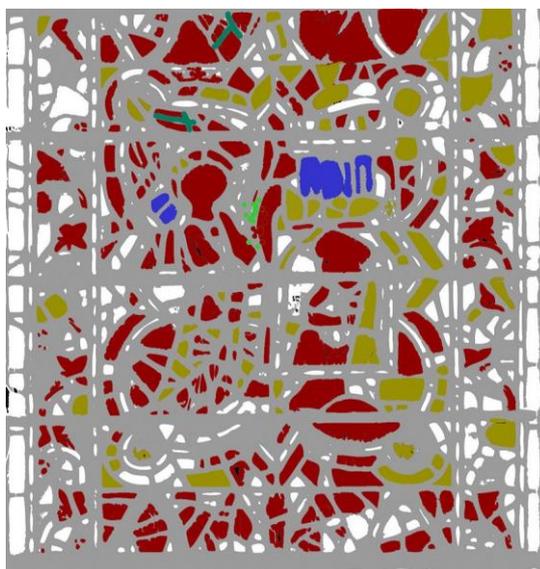


Figure CHs2:36: Restoration History

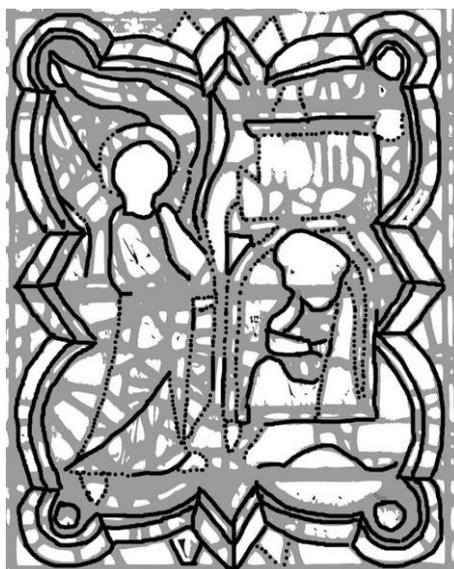


Figure CHs2:36: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

36				

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion with indications of fleurs-de-lys in the yellow, with green fleurs-de-lys visible along the bottom. Design contained within the medallion. Four circular shapes in corners which may have held flowerheads, but no surviving glass is visible.

²²⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5188, ca.1962: 59, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, “York Minster,” no. 21292, ca.1960: 59, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

The angel to left has outstretched hands, one of which is holding a white palm frond. He is wearing a murrey cloak and green tunic with a yellow halo, and murrey and white wings. The outline of his feet is visible. There is a seated figure under arched opening in building, in a green tunic and murrey cloak. Knowles said he saw a "nimbus", but it is not visible now and neither is there any space for one. The building has some red in arch and white masonry is visible. It is on a green ground.

Strip feature la.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Workshop 3.

Note similarity of general design between CHs2:36 and CHs4:9.

1. The angel: tall, slender figure, big, wide features, tight, curly hair, eyebrows' lines extending down sides of nose, eye lids, prominent nostrils.
2. Figure under arch: possibly bald on top, tight curls, big eyes, straight eyebrows with lines extending down sides of nose, eye lids, M-shaped mouth with mark for lower lip, tight beard.

Iconography and original location: The Vision of Cornelius.²²¹

There is disagreement in the historical descriptions about CHs2:36, which is probably the first part of the Cornelius narrative. The first to identify the panel was Browne, who described it as involving Cornelius,²²² an attribution which ignored by Knowles,²²³ who was followed by O'Connor and Haselock²²⁴ and Brown.²²⁵ In the meantime, Milner White's had reverted to Browne's association with Cornelius, as his vision,²²⁶ in which an angel appeared to Cornelius in advance of his seeking baptism and which Carr believes was in the major cycle in Old St Peter's.²²⁷ The main visual argument against the figure in prison being Peter rests on the fact that he, alone among the identifiable representations of the saint in other panels, is unimbed, with no reasonable space for a halo visible between the original top of his head and the arch beneath which he is sitting. In addition, the freeing of Peter from prison is more clearly shown in CHs2:29. Some circumstantial textual evidence can be found in the importance attributed to this scene in the Use of York: the liturgy for the Procession on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul gave more prominence to the Angel's appearance to Cornelius than any other scene associated with Peter.²²⁸

The appearance of the angel to Cornelius also features in the *Sanctorale* for the Feast of St Peter and St Paul, immediately following the lengthy description of Peter's encounter with Simon Magus.²²⁹

This image has not been identified in contemporary iconography in later thirteenth-century windows, which makes its inclusion, with possible liturgical

²²¹ Acts 10:1-5.

²²² Browne, *Representation*, 66.

²²³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.183r

²²⁴ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass," 338.

²²⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

²²⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31. This was presumably why he placed CHs2:36 adjacent to CHs2:37.

²²⁷ Carr, *Iconography*, 172.

²²⁸ *Manuale*, 197.

²²⁹ *Breviarium*, 75, col. 353.

links, all the more significant. With the adjacent and related CHs2:37 in 6b, showing Cornelius's baptism, it would be an appropriate panel for location 6a.²³⁰

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its existing light from 6a to 8a.

Torre:²³¹

Description: "6...In the Uppermost Row & first Light stands a Saint habited vt & murry glory O."

Comments: This assumes that Torre could not see the seated figure so the description depended on the angel alone.

36				

Browne:²³²

Description: "Angel instructing Peter relative to his visit to Cornelius."

Comments: Only the top row shows a deviation from the border design of A-B-C-A, in contrast to all earlier and later descriptions. This means that a major change had been introduced between Torre and Browne or that Browne was mistaken in his identifications. He seems to have omitted CHs2:39 and moved CHs2:36, 37 and 28 one space to the right. It is plausible that this was an oversight on his part and that this panel should have been described as though it was in 8a not 8b.

36	[36?]			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²³³

Description: (First): [pencil] "Peter [...] on the House Top.

Acts, 10:9

To the right side of panel is a towered building with battlements on it and in an archway is a figure of St Peter kneeling and to the left of it an angel appearing to the St wearing a green tunic and purple robe and nimbus. Purple and white wings."
Kn York 2: "Peter [...] in [house top]."

36				

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²³⁴

Description: "The angel delivering St Peter from Prison

Through an arches opening in a tower is seen St Peter in a reclining position with his head resting on his hand. The elbow supported by the other hand. Above the building is an angel clad in green tunic and purple cloak and holding a palm branch in his hand. With his right hand he beckons to St Peter. The

36				

²³⁰ The only examples that has been identified as involving the centurian's conversion are in the church at Dijon, Bay 21:3 and the cathedral at Troyes, Bay 10:1, see *Online Archive*, "French sites". Neither shows the initial Vision.

²³¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²³² Browne, *Representation*, 66.

²³³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.183r.

²³⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.94r.

wings of the angel are particoloured. Pink yellow and white. The tower has for its base a grassy mound to shew that it is built [in/on] an [...].”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: several pieces of re-soldering and/or pieces of new lead visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁵

36				

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: the house of Cornelius has been “improved” by mending leads. The angel’s wings have been completed thus: upper wing has been re-leaded and lower wing has either had a bit of re-leading or two intruded pieces of salmon-pink glass inserted. The top of the building was given new pieces of glass with signs of painting on them.
 Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille.*²³⁶

Milner White:²³⁷

Description: “16th scene. Angel appears to Cornelius. House of Cornelius improved and angel’s wings completed.”

36				

O’Connor and Haselock:²³⁸

Description: “St Peter in Prison.”

36				

Brown:²³⁹

Description: “Angel appears to Peter.”

36				

Current:

36				

²³⁵ Figure CHs2:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5186, 1929-32: 59, 1L1P.

²³⁶ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5188, ca.1962: 59, 1L1P.

²³⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

²³⁸ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass,” 338.

²³⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Window: CHs2

Panel number: CHs2:37

(CVMA: 8b)

Photographic record:

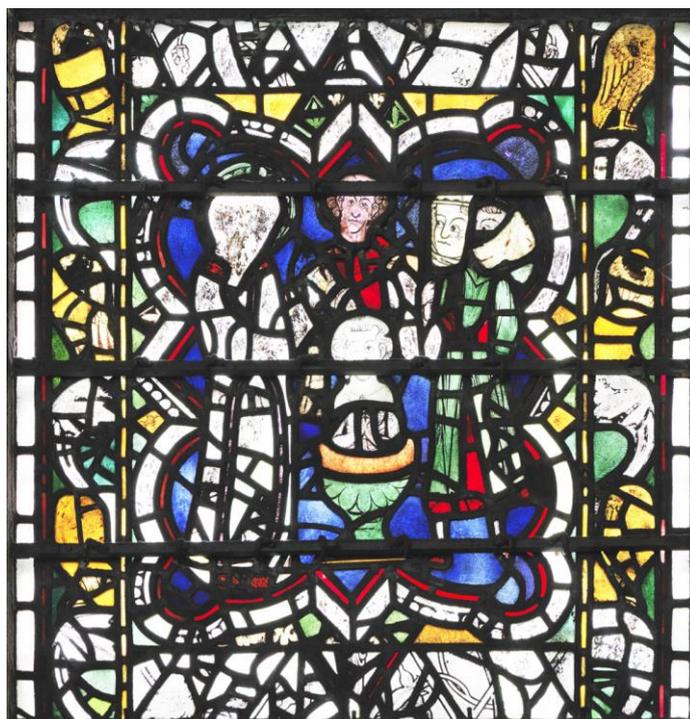


Figure CHs2:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.

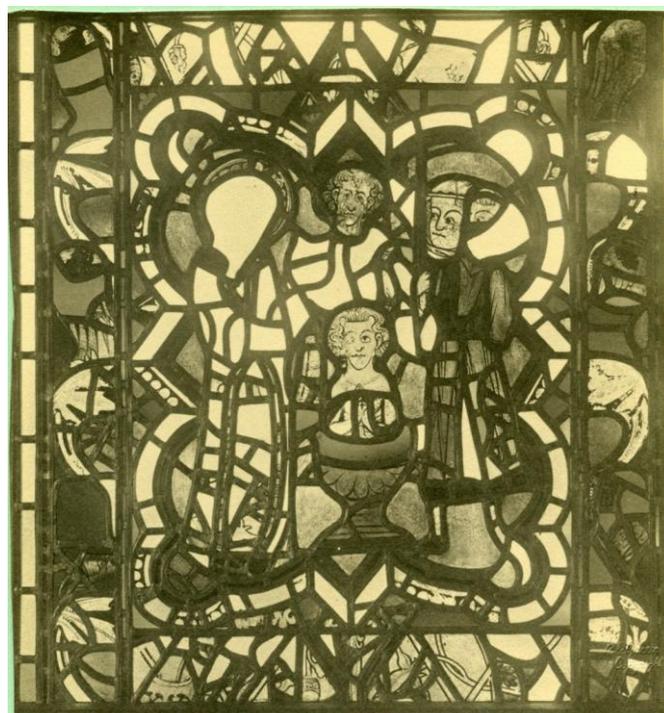


Figure CHs2:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5190, 1929-32: 59, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5191, ca.1962: 59, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York, RCHM (see also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21294, 1959-63: 59, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM); CVMA, "York Minster," YM 5984, 1976: 59, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

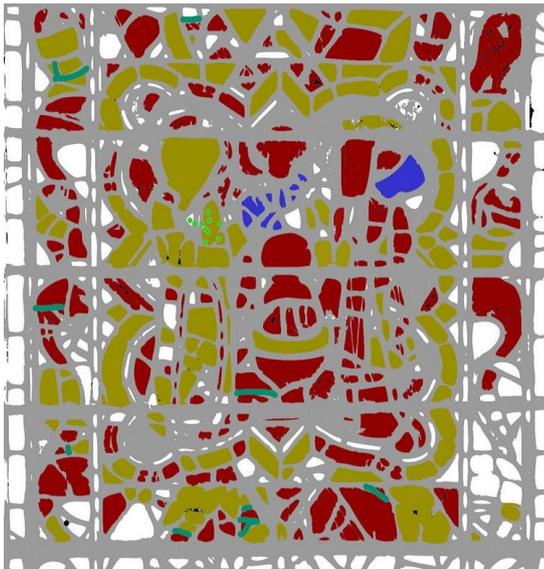


Figure CHs2:37: Restoration History

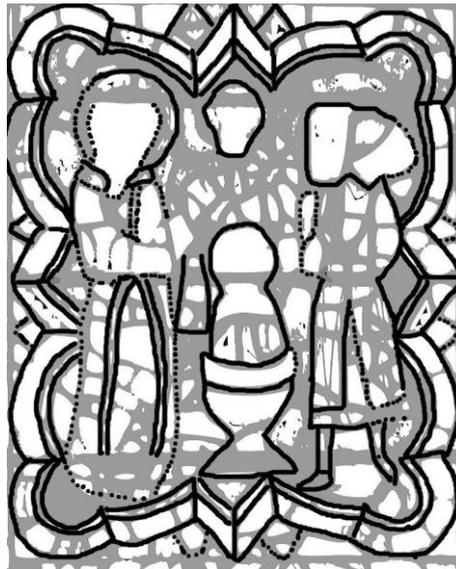


Figure CHs2:37: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	37			

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to top and bottom of medallion, with remains of green fleurs-de-lys visible at top and bottom. Green background to sides with yellow fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design contained within the medallion.

The figure to the left-hand side has signs of a red collar, holding a yellow cloth (as Knowles says below, a “maniple”). He is dressed in white with a purple stole and has a green halo. A figure is inside a partially green and yellow font in the centre, with his hands joined in prayer and facing forwards. Behind, a similar figure but this time with a pink face, dressed in an intruded red. To the right-hand side, are two figures. One is shown with a white, female headdress without a cloak. The second is in red tunic and green overtunic, with hands raised in prayer, white legs and red shoes. The first, female head is original and the second has a piece of original forehead.

Strip feature 1c.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Workshop 3.

Note the similarity between frontal faced in CHs2:37 and central face in CHs4:19.

1. (Pink head at rear): Big eyes, tight curly hair, eye lids, lines from eyebrows extending down sides of nose, M-shaped mouth with line for lower lip.
2. As above.
3. (Figure to right): tight curls, big eyes, wide eyebrows, with lines extending down sides of nose, M-shaped mouth with lower lip indicated.
4. (Partial). Big eyes.

Iconography and original location: The baptism of Cornelius.²⁴¹

The significance of the incident lay in the fact that Cornelius was a Roman who had not converted to Judaism and was uncircumcised: hence his admission to the Church by the early Christians marked an important step in rationalising their attitude to the inclusion of Gentiles, bypassing their need to be Jewish converts. Its perceived importance in the early church can be seen by the extended nature of some of the stages in the cycle. Carr believes that the major fourth-century mosaic cycle in Old St Peter’s would have contained no fewer than six images:²⁴² however, by the thirteenth century it was of less resonance and contemporary examples are very rare.²⁴³ Carr shows that the image in the early western church always shows a font, with Peter’s hand raising in blessing or placed on Cornelius’s head. Often the acceptance by God of the convert is shown by descending rays, to indicate the point at which the initiate enters the Church.²⁴⁴

Despite its rare inclusion by the end of the thirteenth century, this is clearly what is shown in CHs2:37.²⁴⁵ Peter is standing in what appear to be ceremonial vestments beside the font in which Cornelius is perched. Is it possible that the duplicate head behind Cornelius represents his soul? Whether it is an accident of survival or the vagaries of research, it may be significant that the York narrative drew on a less favoured and somewhat out-of-date motif, possibly reflecting the particular focus on the relationship with the Jews which seems to be present in York.

History of the Panel.

Intervention by 1690-91: in the 1580s, 1610s or shortly after the Restoration, the panel was moved within its existing light from 6b to 8b

Torre:²⁴⁶

Description: “In 2d Light stand 4 Monks together. 1st habited A hooded gu. 2d A/ 3 & 4 vt.”

Comments: Torre did not see the figure in the font, rather he saw the figure in the font as the lower part of the figure whose head is behind.

	37			

Browne:²⁴⁷

Description: “Peter at Cornelius’s baptism.”

Comments: See comments in CHs2:36

	37	[37?]		

²⁴¹ Acts 10:47-48.

²⁴² Carr, *Iconography*, 172. These were the vision of Cornelius, Cornelius sending for Peter, the vision of Peter, the ambassadors at Joppa, Peter’s arrival in Caesarea and his baptism of Cornelius.

²⁴³ Bourges being the single exception. See *Online Archive*, “French Sites,” the cathedral at Bourges, Bay 9:2b and Callias Bey, et al., *Centre*, 172. The church of Notre Dame, Dijon, Bay 21:3 shows Peter with Cornelius, but without any reference to his baptism so the authority for its identification is unclear.

²⁴⁴ Carr, *Iconography*, 135.

²⁴⁵ The earliest identification is in Browne, *Representation*, 66.

²⁴⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²⁴⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 66.

concerning the location when Browne saw it, which was probably in 8b.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁴⁸

Description: (First): “The apostle St Peter standing to the left over a green font in which is immersed half of a figure of a youth or female with long curly hair. Behind the font stands a man with bare head and to the right are two more figures one in short green tunic with red bordered skirt. White legs and red shoes on his feet.”

(Second): “Peter baptising centurion?”

	37			

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁴⁹

Description: [pencil] “Baptism

In the centre of the picture is a font of green colour and immersed in it is a youth or female with long curly hair. To

the left hand is a deacon in alb red apparent to amice and over his left arm a maniple. A stole crossed over this breast and his hands held up over the head of the figure in front. Two figures stand at the right hand a man and a woman one with a [mutch] on his head. Another figure with deep pink face stands in the background. [pencil] copy soul and heads for illustration.”

	37			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: a few pieces of re-soldering visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵⁰

	37			

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: he added red to the drapery of the central figure, inserted a hand and cup from the Minster stores and added glass (showing an animal) to indicate the rest of the face on the figure to the right.

*Grisaille: mending leads were inserted into the grisaille and the borders.*²⁵¹

Milner White:²⁵²

Description: “17th scene. Baptism of Cornelius. The red garment of the central figure added to; hand and cup introduced from reserves.

The square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille.”

	37			

²⁴⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.183r.

²⁴⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.95r.

²⁵⁰ Figure CHs2:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5190, 1929-32: 59, 2L1P.

²⁵¹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5191, ca.1962: 59, 2L1P.

²⁵² Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

Brown:²⁵³

Description: "Peter baptises Cornelius before three witnesses."

	37			

Current:

	37			

²⁵³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

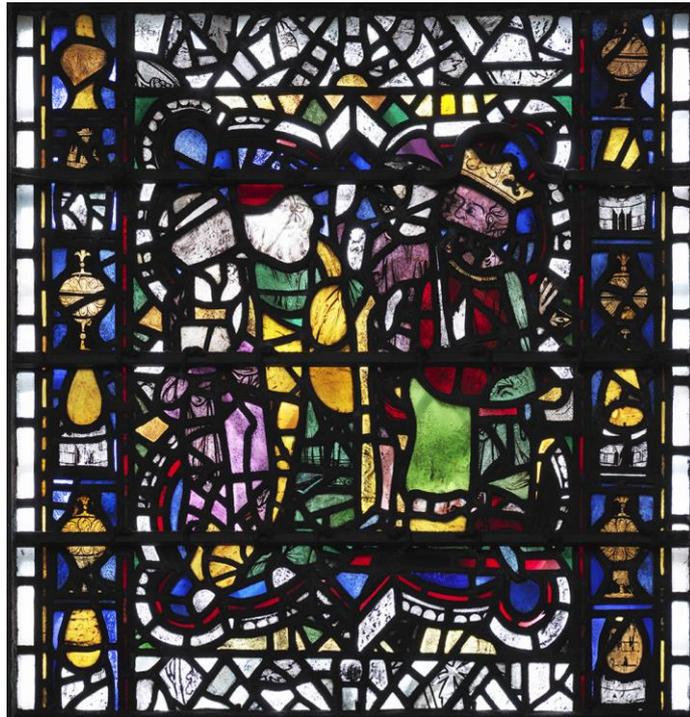


Figure CHs2:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 8c © York Glaziers Trust.

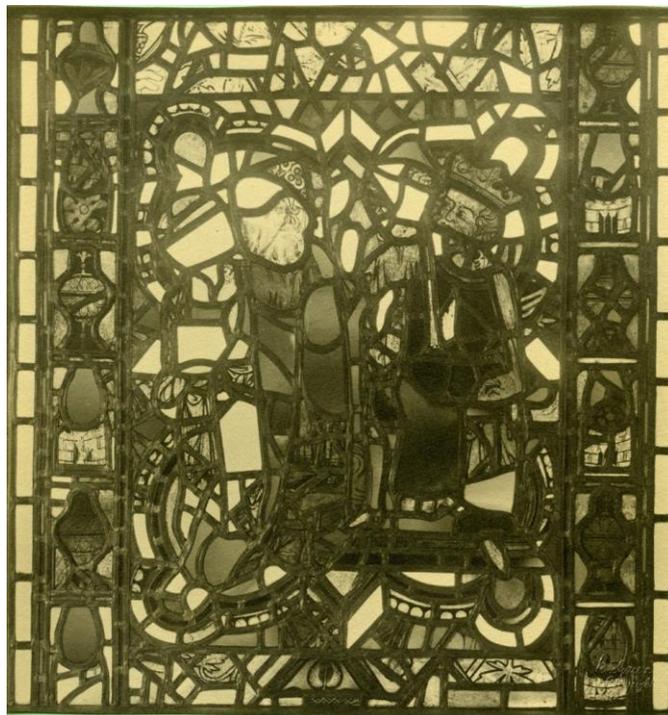


Figure CHs2:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5194, 1929-32: 59, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5195, ca.1962: 59, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21296, 1959-63: 59, 3L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

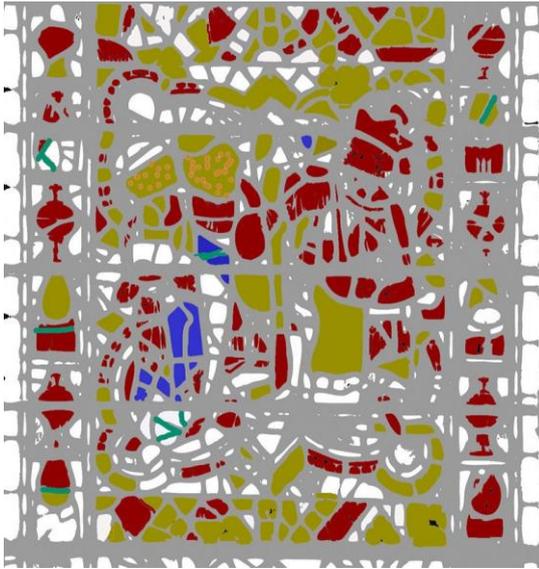


Figure CHs2:38: Restoration History

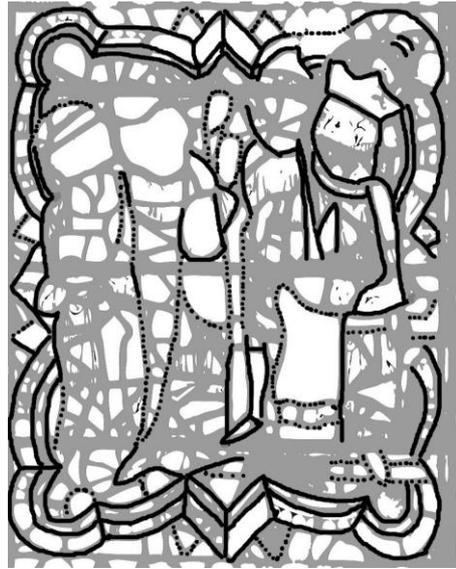


Figure CHs2:38: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		38		

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to top and bottom of medallion. Green to sides with yellow with yellow fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature Ic.

Two figures are standing to the left-hand side (heads lost). The first has a murrey cloak (Torre said also yellow). The second has green tunic and yellow cloak. His hands are raised. There is a seated king to right with his sword pointing upwards. He has an original pink face and a yellow crown. He was dressed in a red tunic and green cloak, with yellow neckpiece, bare or murrey legs and blue shoes. Behind the king is a figure in murrey and bare legs. His hand is also raised. Historical descriptions suggest he was in a "scholar's" cap, which has been identified as a Type-4 "Jewish" or "otherness" hat in this work.

Stylistic comments on head:

Workshop 3.

Tight curls. Wide eyebrows, lines extending down sides of nose. Eye lids.

Prominent nostril.

Iconography and original location: Peter and Paul before Nero and Simon Magus.²⁵⁵

Note the comparison with CHs2:8, also with a C border. Similarities between structure and form are immediately obvious. They share similar features: they both show two figures to the left-hand side who appear to be in discussion or dispute with a figure on the right-hand side. In each case there appears to be a figure behind that in authority in some way involved, although in CHs2:8 only

²⁵⁵ The *Passio* in *Acta Petri*, 51-60.

the head of the supporting figure is visible so this may, in fact, be an intrusion. The two figures to the left may well have both been saints, but the halos have been lost. Both the heads have been intruded so their degree of sanctity has been obscured. As the original crown of the right-hand figure is visible, it is probable that those facing him were actually the religious focus of the scene. A key difference with CHs2:8 concerns the right-hand figure: in CHs2:8 he is standing and in CHs2:38 he is seated and is crowned, implying a greater degree of authority in the latter figure. The figure behind the authority figure had a type-2 Jewish hat, indicating another example of portrayal of non-Jewish figures as though they were Jews.

It is argued that CHs2:38 shows a scene from the Roman stage of Peter's life, whereas the capped figure in CHs2:8 denotes an earlier scene of confrontation with a more priestly figure. According to Carr, the two basic Simon Magus images were firstly the Dispute between Peter and Paul on the one hand and Nero and Simon Magus on the other,²⁵⁶ and secondly a combined Flight and Fall. Van Dijk argues that it was clearly visible in Grimaldi's drawing of the mosaics in Pope John's Oratory and in the thirteenth-century frescoes on the portico façade of Old St Peter's, with copies in the upper church at S. Francisco in Assisi and S. Piero a Grado near Pisa.²⁵⁷ In glass, there appears to be a truncated scene of Peter on his own addressing Nero in Bourges, immediately preceding Simon Magus's Fall.²⁵⁸ A more extended image probably appears in the right-hand lancet at St-Père in Chartres, with Peter assisted by Paul to the left, Nero to the centre and Simon Magus assisted by a fifth figure, to the right.²⁵⁹ In St-Julien-du-Sault, it may well appear in 4c and 4d, immediately beneath the image of Simon Magus flying and falling.²⁶⁰ Finally, it is present in Tours, also beneath the scene of flying and falling.²⁶¹ There is thus sufficient evidence that the Dispute continued to be a common feature in Petrine iconography in the thirteenth century,²⁶² and it is argued that this is the subject matter of CHs2:38, albeit with intruded heads for Peter and Paul. If this is the case, it is the only example of the Paul appearing in CHs2 and is an indication that the imagery of the window drew if only to this small extent, on the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*.²⁶³ It would place the panel in position 6c, hence preceding the original location of the other Simon Magus scenes (CHs2:28 and 29) in 8c and 8b respectively.²⁶⁴

See the discussion in Chapter 3 about the way this panel mirrors thematically and visually CHs2:8 in 4b below.

²⁵⁶ Carr, "Iconography," 151 shows that the Dispute scene was known from the fourth century. The text is close to the *Passio* in *Acta Petri*, 163-71.

²⁵⁷ Van Dijk, "Peter Cycle," 315.

²⁵⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Bourges, Bay 9:6a. See Callias Bey, et al., *Centre*, 172.

²⁵⁹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St Père, Chartres, Bay 221: right-hand lancet. See Callias Bey, et al., *Centre*, 54.

²⁶⁰ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church at St Julien-du-Sault, Bay 1:4c and 4d. See Taralon, *Vitraux*, 168.

²⁶¹ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Tours, Bay 203;5a-5c. See Callias Bey, et al., *Centre*, 126.

²⁶² See also the cathedral at Troyes, Bay 10:5, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

²⁶³ The *Passio* in *Acta Petri*, 163-71.

²⁶⁴ Browne describes this as Peter before a Governor (Browne, *Representation*, 64); Knowles identified it as "Peter before Herod" in Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182v; Milner White believed it was "The Emperor Nero's persecution of Christians" in Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

History of the panel:

Torre:²⁶⁵

Description: "13 In 3d Light Stand 4 Men together 1st habited O & purple 2d vert & O 3d gu 4th a King robed gu & vt. Crowned O."

		38		

Browne:²⁶⁶

Description: "Peter and Companion addressing Governor. Captain of the Guard looking on."

		38		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the heads of the two left-hand figures had been destroyed.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁶⁷

Description: (First): "No 3: Peter before Herod Acts 11 3.[asterisk] ruby A king seated to right-hand side of panel upon a throne with sceptre in one hand. The other held up in [displeasure]. His gaze directed towards [sentence deleted] two men opposite one glad in green tunic and yell cloak the other in purple. Heads destroyed. Another figure is seen near the King in purple with a doctor's hat."
(Second): "Peter and Paul before Nero."

		38		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁶⁸

Description: "No 3. St Peter brought before Herod. Acts 11.3 Herod seated on a throne is holding a sword end in one hand and holding up the other in warning and behind him is a doctor in pink robe purple tunic and on his head a doctor's cap who also holds his hand up in accusation of the apostle who stands opposite."

		38		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: several pieces of re-soldering and/or pieces of new lead visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁶⁹

		38		

*Intervention: Milner White moved the panel within its existing C light from 6c to 8c.*²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²⁶⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 64.

²⁶⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.182v.

²⁶⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.96r.

²⁶⁹ Figure CHs2:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5194, 1929-32: 59, 3L1P.

²⁷⁰ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.14r.

*Medallion: he is specific about the left figure being given a pink garment. This is difficult to detect from the pre-restoration photograph, with the exception of a few mending leads, but can be deduced from an examination of the modern appearance of the panel. It is not clear which is the "rear" figure whose yellow garment was "improved". A mending lead was certainly applied here, but new glass may also have been inserted.
 Borders: mending leads were also inserted in some pieces.²⁷¹*

Milner White:²⁷²

Description: "18th scene. The Emperor Nero's persecution of Christians. Extreme left figure given pink garment. The yellow garment of rear figure improved. (Note scene not from Bible)."

		38		

Brown:²⁷³

Description: "Nero, attended by courtiers, decides to persecute Christians."

		38		

Current:

		38		

²⁷¹ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs2:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5194, 1929-32: 59, 3L1P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5195, ca.1962: 59, 3L1P.

²⁷² Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

²⁷³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

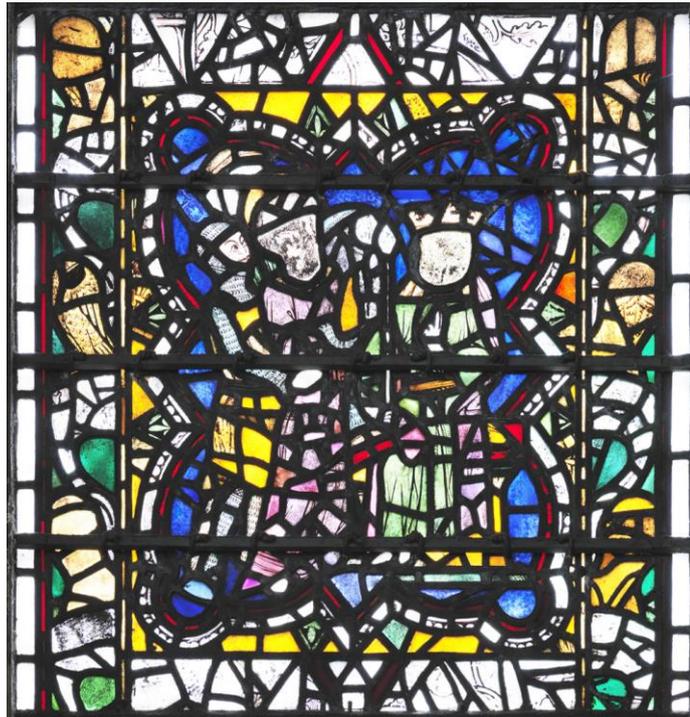


Figure CHs2:39 Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 39 © York Glaziers Trust.

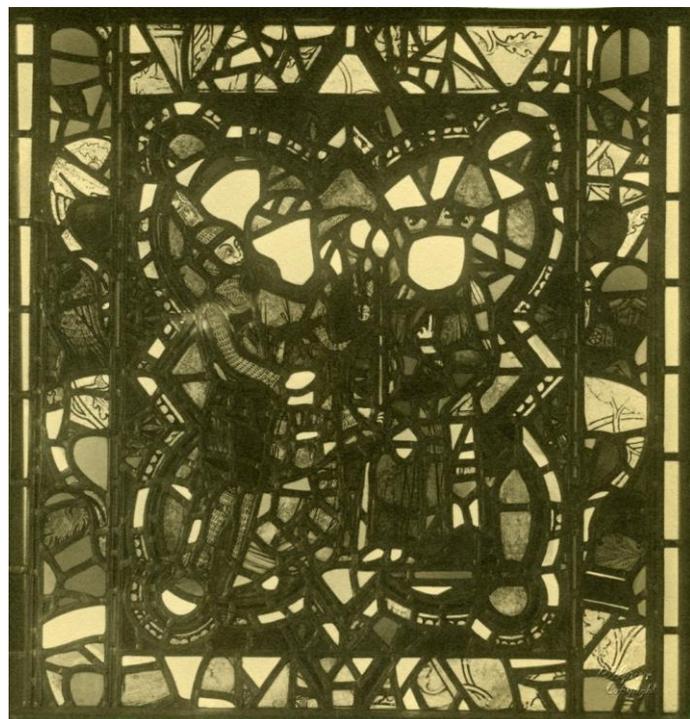


Figure CHs2:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5197, 1929-32: 59, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5198, ca. 1962: 59, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21268, ca.1961: 59, 4L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

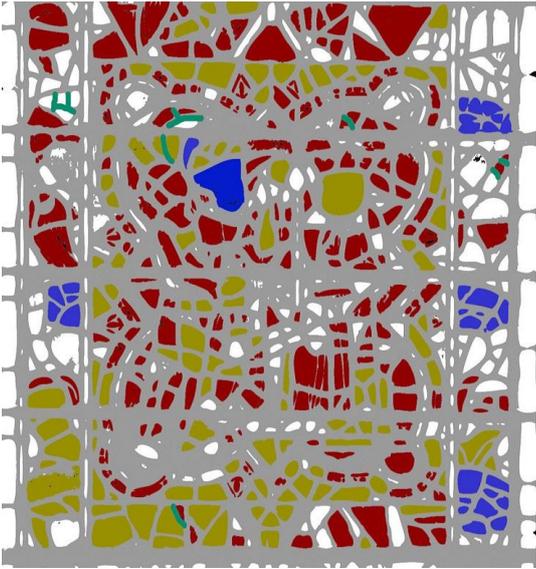


Figure CHs2:39: Restoration History



Figure CHs2:39: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			39	

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys in cusps. Design almost contained within the medallion. Strip feature Id.

The two soldiers to the left are holding between them a nimbed figure in murrey. The one to the left is in blue mail and yellow surcoat; the one to the right unclear, but there are signs of blue mail. Torre saw a third figure (a possible one survives behind the left-hand soldier) as did Knowles in the "Manuscript Notes", but by the time of the "Historical Notes" he decided on two. There is a seated King to the right with white crown, cross-legged, left hand raised, holding a staff in his right hand. He is dressed in green with some murrey, which might be the throne. From the Green photograph, it is possible that the saint was holding a rectangular object.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Workshop 3.

Big eyes. Wide eyebrows, with lines extending to form nose. Eye lids. M-shaped mouth and lower lip.

Iconography and original location: Peter arrested and brought before Nero or Agrippa.²⁷⁵

Carr maintains that the arrest scene at which Peter's execution was ordered was more popular in the early medieval period. No secure contemporary visual affiliates have been identified. From what is original in the York panel, a saint is held by soldiers before a ruler.

The B border and clear identification means that the panel was originally in its current position.

History of the panel:

Torre:²⁷⁶

Description: "9 In 4th Light sitt 2 men together 1st habited O & vt/ 2d Murry & A higher stand 3 more together. 1st a King robed vt Crowned O Sceptre A top of it O 2d an old man habited Murry 3d a Souldier habited B & O."

Comments: The uncertainty arises from the number of figures he has described. However, he refers to soldiers and a king.

			39	

Browne:²⁷⁷

Comments: The panel cannot be detected in Browne's description of the window, but it is likely that this is the one he omitted in error.

			39?	

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁷⁸

Description: (First) "No 4: [pencil] Peter brought before Herod]"

A king to the right side of panel clad in green tunic St Peter and purp cloak with a sceptre in his right hand and his left hand held upon warning gesture. To the left are three soldiers in mail armour holding a man a prisoner one of them wears a yell surcoat over his mail."

(Second) "Peter before Herod."

			39	

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁷⁹

Description: "No 4. St Peter before Herod"

Seated on a throne at the right hand is Herod holding a sceptre and with warning gesture pointing his hand at St Peter who stands in front as a prisoner guarded by two soldiers clad in mail armour one of them also has a surcoat over his coat of mail. Near Herod stands a councillor clad in purple coat and doctors hat."

			39	

²⁷⁵ The former identifies the Roman involved as Agrippa (XXXVII), the latter as Nero. Knowles had it as "Peter before Herod" in Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 182v. Milner White described it as "Peter before Nero", noting that the scene was not in the bible, Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

²⁷⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 127.

²⁷⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 63-66.

²⁷⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.183r.

²⁷⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.97r.

Comments: The description fits the current appearance, until the last sentence when he appears to have inserted the “doctor” from CHs2:38.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: several pieces of re-soldering and/or pieces of new lead visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁸⁰

			39	

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: he inserted a new piece of glass for Peter, cemented.
 Grisaille: the square panel retained its original upper and lower grisaille.
 Several areas of the borders were rebuilt and some mending leads inserted.*²⁸¹

Milner White:²⁸²

Description: “19th scene. Peter before Nero. Saint’s head and halo replaced. (Note scene not in Bible).”

			39	

Brown:²⁸³

Description: “Peter before Nero.”

			39	

Current:

			39	

²⁸⁰ Figure CHs2:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5197, 1929-32: 59, 4L1P.

²⁸¹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5198, ca. 1962: 59, 4L1P.

²⁸² Milner White, “Return,” 1962, 31.

²⁸³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

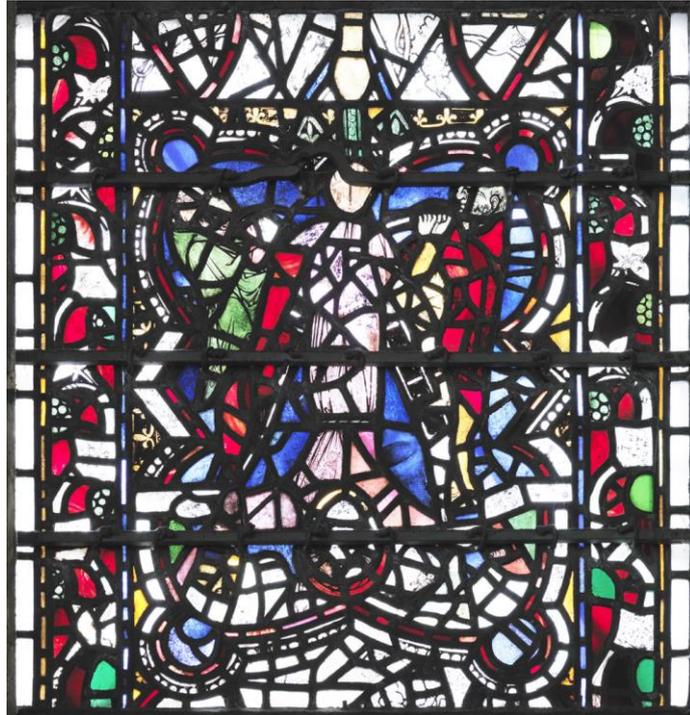


Figure CHs2:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs2, 8a © York Glaziers Trust.

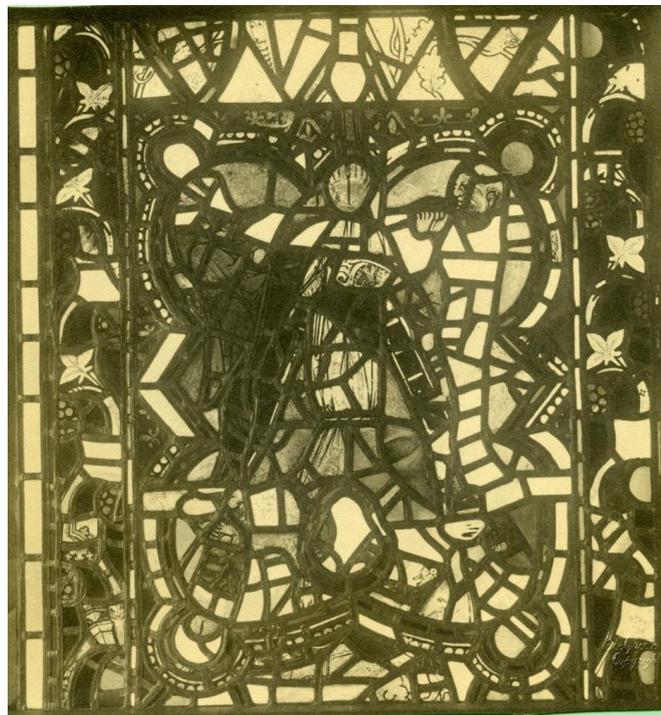


Figure CHs2:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5200, 1929-32: 59, 5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5201, ca.1962: 59, 5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21298, 1959-63: 59, 5L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

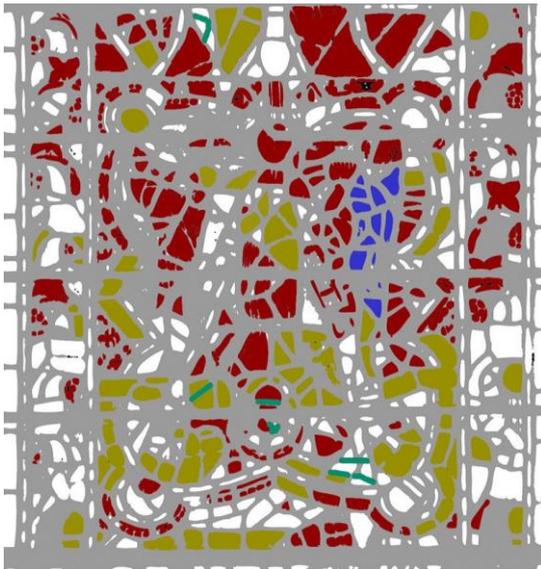


Figure CHs2:40: Restoration History

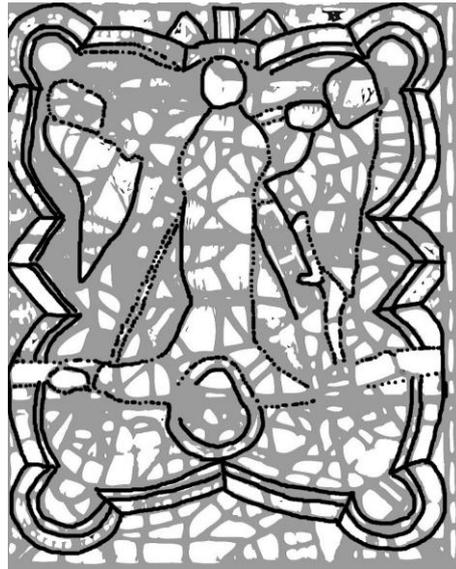


Figure CHs2:40: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				40

Probable original appearance:

Beaded white outer rim. Red inner rim. Yellow external background to medallion, with green fleurs-de-lys along top. Design not contained within the medallion. Strip feature 1a.

Two figures on right and left are on ladders, fastening a central inverted figure to an upturned cross. The figure to the left is in green and red and the figure to the right in red, with yellow hose. The central figure is in pale murrey/white with red halo.

Stylistic comments on original head:

“Jewish” profile. Hooked nose.

Iconography and original location: The crucifixion of Peter.²⁸⁵

The crucifixion scene, like that of the arrest, did not, according to Carr, appear in what may have been the earliest cycle in Old St Peter’s,²⁸⁶ but it was used in the mosaics of Pope John’s Oratory.²⁸⁷ According to Carr, representations show slight variations, such as whether Peter was clothed, whether he was bound or nailed to the cross and the number of executioners.²⁸⁸ The image at York complies with many of the common features: Peter is wearing a gown; he appears to be in the process of being bound by two executioners, both standing

²⁸⁵ Acts of Peter XXXVII, in James, *Apocryphal*, 334.

²⁸⁶ Carr, “Iconography,” 172.

²⁸⁷ Van Dijk, “Peter Cycle,” 329.

²⁸⁸ Carr, “Iconography,” 161-64.

on a ladder. As is to be expected, from the culmination of Peter's life on earth, this scene features in many windows,²⁸⁹ with only the minor variations identified by Carr,²⁹⁰ although York is relatively unusual in that the executioners are binding rather than nailing Peter, and no other window in this cohort show the executioners' working from ladders.

As the culmination of his cult and because of its A border, the panel would originally have been in 8e.

History of the Panel

Torre: This cannot be identified in Torre. It may have been removed from the window or he omitted it in error. The space for it was 8e.

Browne:²⁹¹

Description: "Crucifixion of Peter."

				40

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁹²

Description: (First) "No 5: Crucifixion of St Peter

St Peter crucified head downwards clad in purple robe on each side of him is a ladder leaning against the arms of the cross with a man standing in each ladder.

The right side one in green coat the other in white."

(Second) "Crucifixion of Peter."

Comments: If he was correct in seeing the left-hand figure in white, the current red was intruded later.

				40

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁹³

Description: "Crucifixion of St Peter

The Saint is here crucified head downwards by two executioners one on each side who stand on ladders which rest against the cross."

				40

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: about eight pieces of re-soldering visible.

²⁸⁹ The only window examined which does not include the scene is in Dijon, Notre Dame, according to Raguin, *Burgundy*, 164. See also Taralon, *Vitraux*, 37.

²⁹⁰ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral of Auxerre, Bay 7:8b. Peter is clothed as in York, but is being nailed to the cross. One executioner is holding the cross steady for the other to use his hammer. There is no sign of any ladder. In the cathedral at Bourges, *ibid.*, Bay 9:9a, the scene is as at York, although the executioners are not standing on ladders. In the church of St-Père, Chartres, Bay 221, right-hand lancet: 6e, *ibid.*, appears to show at least one executioner nailing Peter. In the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 1:tracery, *ibid.* Peter is wearing a short tunic and is being nailed. The scene in the cathedral at Tours again shows Peter being nailed to the cross in Bay 203:6c, *ibid.*

²⁹¹ Browne, *Representation*, 66.

²⁹² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.183r.

²⁹³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.98r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁹⁴

				40

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: the red of the drapery to the right-hand figure seems all to be new.
 The "improvements" to the head of Peter involved mending leads.*²⁹⁵

Milner White:²⁹⁶

Description: "20th scene. The martyrdom. The red garment of right hand figure introduced and saint's head improved. (Note not in Bible)."

				40

Brown:²⁹⁷

Description: "Peter crucified."

				40

Current:

				40

²⁹⁴ Figure CHs2:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5200, 1929-32: 59, 5L1P.

²⁹⁵ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5201, ca.1962: 59, 5L1P.

²⁹⁶ Milner White, "Return," 1962, 31.

²⁹⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

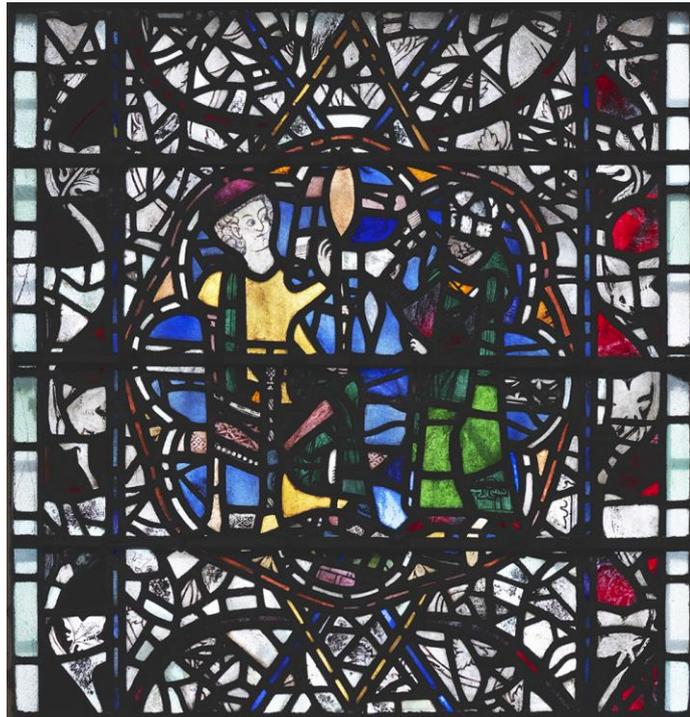


Figure CHs3:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.

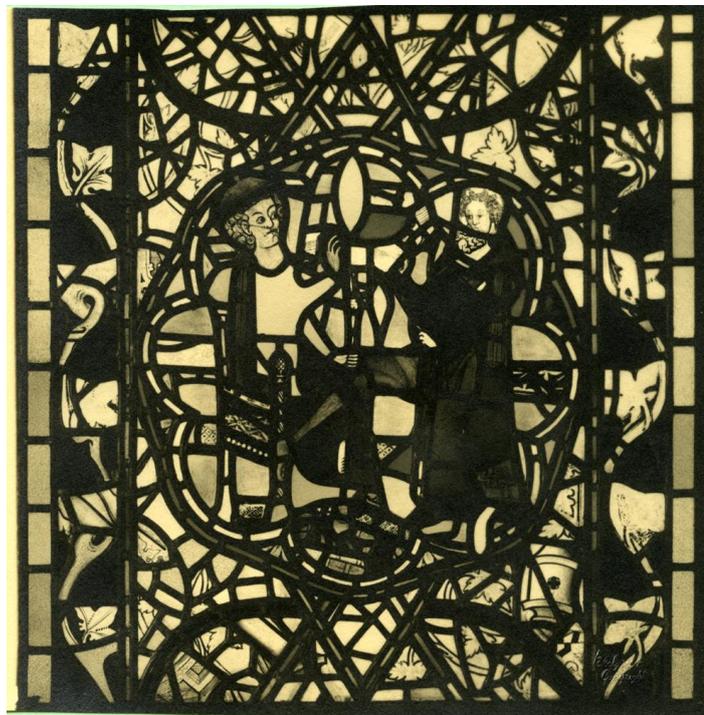


Figure CHs3:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5226, 1929-32: 60, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹

¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5227, ca.1961: 60, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21309, ca.1961: 60, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

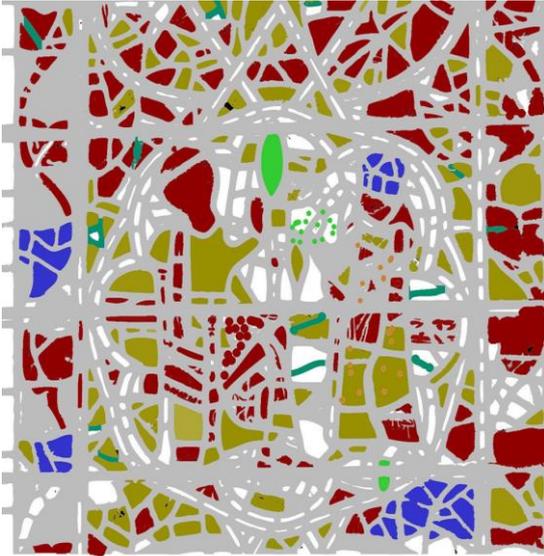


Figure CHs3:6 Restoration History

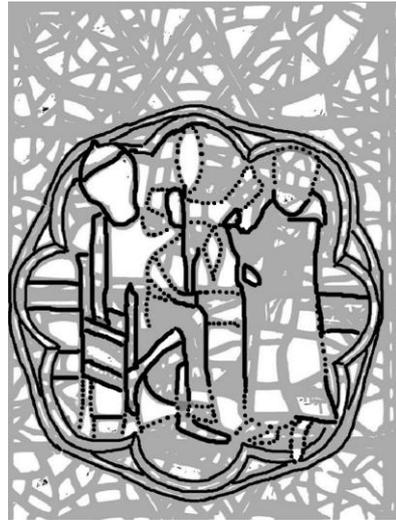


Figure CHs3:6 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

6				

Probable original appearance: An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow shapes, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. There is a possible bench-type structure running across the centre of the medallion at a slight diagonal.

Figure 1 is seated, cross legged in an ornate chair, with white beading, and a patterned, murrey cushion. There is some original glass: the left-hand head, his Type-4 “Jewish cap”, his cross-legged position (with murrey hose) and his blue shoes. All the yellow is intruded: he was originally in a green cloak (Torre saw blue, but this may have been an error given the blue background to the scene). He has original hands and is holding a badge of office in his left hand. He was handing a scroll to Figure 2 with his right hand, probably with a seal hanging from its lower edge. Figure 2 is in green clothing, some original, with a gathered lower edge to cloak (probably indicating affluence). He was possibly in a red tunic. He is collecting the scroll in his right hand. His beard is original. Torre’s “gu” halo is not visible. Knowles saw a “yellow, diapered” shoe. One foot extends beyond medallion, as does corner of Figure 2’s clothing and the cap of the seated figure. The background is blue. There is no sign of the green/yellow base which appears in several of the panels. There are some signs of original purple glass which form an unidentified feature and which are also described by Knowles.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Figure 1: Tight curls. Wide rounded eyebrows, one line of which creates outline of nose. Prominent nostril. Large eyes. Eyelids.
2. Figure 2 (partial) Tight beard.

Iconography and original location: Paul (as Saul) given letters by the High Priest.²

The panel has historically been given various explanations: Browne,³ Knowles (“Historical Notes”)⁴ and Benson⁵ have described it as Paul before Felix.⁶ In Knowles (“Manuscript Notes”) it is described as Standing before a King,⁷ but Milner White stated that it showed Saul given letters to Damascus,⁸ an attribution followed by Brown.⁹ With its original A border, it is argued that Milner White’s identification is correct. The scene has not been located in any of the windows showing Paul, as suggested by Milner White,¹⁰ but it is frequently included in illuminated manuscripts¹¹ in addition to fresco and mosaics.¹² A final argument for its suggested identification is the close similarity between the formal design of this scene when compared with one in the Vatican.¹³ The seated figure is in a similar pose, with a similar cap and is holding a sceptre of office; the Paul figure is standing to the right with hand raised to accept a letter which is held horizontally between the two figures.

The location of the conversion sequence on the bottom narrative row in 2a is appropriate: not only does it mark the first stage of Paul’s career in the Church, it is significant in connection with the Feast of the Conversion, which was held on 25 January. It is notable that the narrative starts with this very rare demonstration, in glass, of Paul’s acceptance of his fate and not any of his prior activities, such as his involvement with the stoning of Stephen (Chapter 3).

² Acts 9:1-2.

³ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 85r.

⁵ Benson, “Ancient painted glass, 24.

⁶ Acts 23:24.

⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 200v.

⁸ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

¹⁰ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

¹¹ These include the Bible of S Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 30, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 7; St Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai, MS 1186, fol. 126v, *ibid.*, Figure 10; the Gumpert Bible, Univ. Bibl., MS 1, fol. 387v, *ibid.*, Figure 126; the Heisterbach Bible, Berlin, Staatsbibl. MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 379, *ibid.*, Figure 127; and MS Urb. Lat. 7, fol. 377v, in the Vatican Library, *ibid.*, Figure 139.

¹² For example, the fresco at Decani (*ibid.*, Figure 13); the drawing ordered by Barberini of the fresco in S Paolo fuori le mura (Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 370); the *Vercelli Rotulus* (Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 18).

¹³ *ibid.*, Figure 139.



Bibl. Vaticana, MS Urb. Lat. 7, fol. 377v, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 139.

History of the panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it in 1690-91. It provides a rare example in the chapter house of panels having been moved to alternative light-types. Some urgent work had to be done to the stonework of one "Chapter House Window" in 1669-70 and it is concluded that CHs3 may have been the one concerned.¹⁴ In this case, CHs3:6 was moved from its A light to a C light position.

Torre:¹⁵

Description: "15 In 3d Light sits a Man in a Chair habited B & vt Cap gu, delivering an escrowle to an old holy Man standing by habited vt glory gu."

8					
6					
4			6		
2					
1					

Intervention: either in the 1690s or, more probably in the 1760s, the panel was returned to its original light and location. By Browne, the narrative had been restored to four rows, although some panels were later to be inserted into row 1 (possibly to provide fillers for grisaille panels which had been lost in the previous disruption and possibly to reflect similar intrusions of panels into Chn3 opposite).

Browne:¹⁶

Description: "Paul explaining his faith to Felix seated in a state chair."

6				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: right-hand figure: Head inserted. Figure much mutilated.

¹⁴ YMA E/4(a), fol. 6r.

¹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁷

Description: (First) “No 1 bottom panel To the left a youthful king seated cross legged on a throne. Long curly hair to his head and wearing a purple cap, yell tunic or coat with tight sleeves green coat cast loosely about his body. Purp socks and blue shoes (His throne richly diap in the back posts terminating in a fleur de lis). He holds a sceptre in his left hand and holds his right hand on as if forbidding to approach. Opposite is a figure much mutilated but robed in a ruby tunic with tight sleeves. Over it a green cloak St Peter. [in margin] Saint has ruby tunic and green cloak. And yell diap shoes.

6				



Head destroyed. Perpend insertion. Holds right hand up with a scroll in it and left hand held out in deprecation. The back is blue with horizontal bars across it of whit and purp diap.” (Second) “Standing before a King.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁸

Description: “Paul before Felix. The governor is seated on a throne cross legged. He is of youthful mien with long curling hair and clad in a yellow tunic with light sleeves purple socks and blue shoes and on his head a purple cap. A green loose cloak wrapped about him. In his hand he holds a sceptre and with his other hand he beckons to St Paul who stands opposite holding a scroll in his left hand his right hand held out in a deprecating manner. This figure is much damaged the head a perpendic insertion. The backg of the panel is blue with bands of purple and white across it diapered.”

6				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible. Knowles had recorded that the post to the throne had terminated in a fleur-de-lys, that the seated figure was holding a sceptre and that the figure to the right had a scroll in his right hand. None of these is visible in the 1930s photograph, so the glass may well have been removed in the course of the re-leading. A sketch shows that the yellow shoe was diapered. Either this was changed or the paint was removed in cleaning. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹

6				

¹⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol.2, fol. 200v.

¹⁸ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.85r.

¹⁹ Figure CHs3:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5226, 1929-32: 60, 1L7P.

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: the inserted top of the head of the right-hand figure was removed.
Two pieces of mending lead applied.
Grisaille: some mending leads. One patch re-built, after removal of glass mainly, but not exclusively, showing architectural elements.
*Borders: some probable re-building on the left and some re-leading on both left and right.*²⁰

Milner White:²¹

Description: "Saul given letters to Damascus (rare). Acts 9 verse 2."

6				

Brown:²²

Description: "Saul given orders by a seated man."

6				

Current:

6				

²⁰ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5227, ca.1961: 60, 1L7P.

²¹ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

²² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

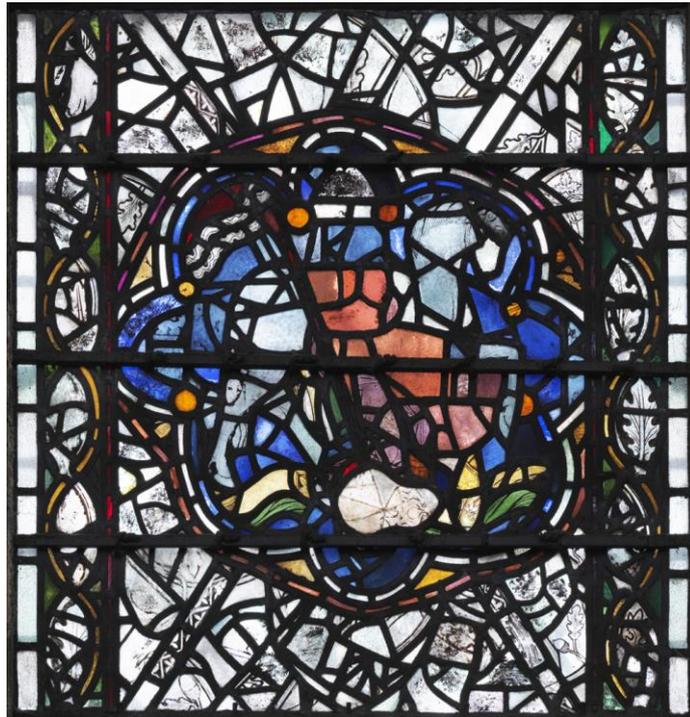
Photographic record:

Figure CHs3:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

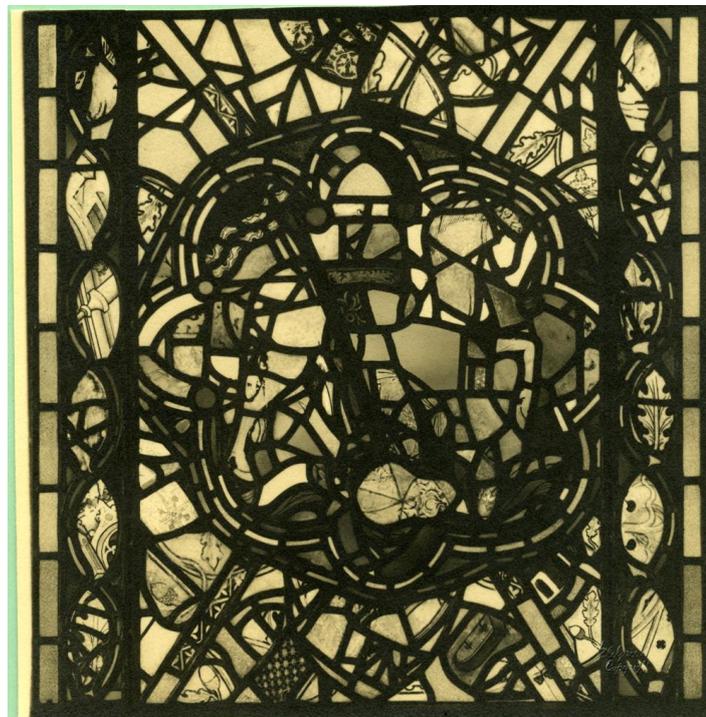


Figure CHs3:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.²³

²³ The label of "4L7P" refers to its pre-reinsertion position. An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5229, "in or before" 1961: 60, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21310, "in or before" 1961: 60, 2L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

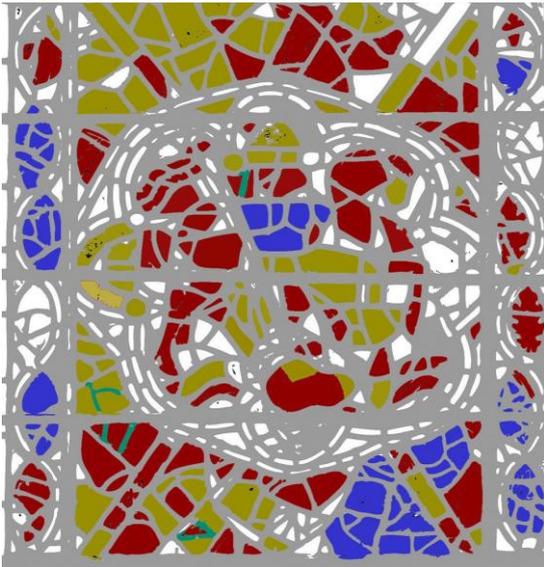


Figure CHs3:7 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:7 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	7			

Probable original appearance: An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. It is possible that there was an inner rim inside the white in the medallion.

There is a horse in white/pale blue glass from which a figure in murrey has fallen to the ground. There is some evidence of features and beard on what may be original glass in the face (with a pink tone). There is a green and yellow ground to the scene. In the top left-hand corner there is a yellow ray emanating from a white cloud (which may have extended across the top centre of the scene). Blue background, but red above the cloud.

The medallion sits awkwardly within the borders. There are six unspecified orange balls, which would probably have originally contained flowerheads. There are definite signs of green/yellow base, possibly indicating landscape.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Probably Workshop 3.
(Partial). Bald. Probably tight curls and beard.

Iconography and original location: The Conversion on the road to Damascus.²⁴

This identification has a long history. Torre described it as such,²⁵ as did Browne in the 1840s,²⁶ implying the panel was in its current orientation, but by the time Knowles described it in the early twentieth century it had been turned upside down, probably in the Noton or Robinson repairs.²⁷ However, even though the panel has been identified since 1690-91, it has only been in the current location since the repairs by Milner White. The reason for this is uncertain, because by Browne all the other panels (except CHs3:9) had been replaced in an order which reflected the textual sources.

The importance of the Conversion cycle can be seen in the number of references to it in the Use of York. Specifically, it is central to the mass in the Feast of the Conversion as showing “the ethereal light which takes away vision but gives spiritual intuition”.²⁸ This is reinforced by the refrain, “And he heard a voice saying to him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?”²⁹ It is an obvious inclusion in those windows showing the life of Paul.³⁰

With its B borders, it is likely to follow on from CHs3:6 in 2a and hence have been initially in 2b.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it.

Torre:³¹

Description: “20 [margin] St Paul’s conversion. In 3d Light St Paul habited murry is falling prostrate from his white horse, as Struck by certain Rays of Light issuing out of a Cloud.”

8					
6					
4					
2			7		
1					

Intervention: In the 1690s or, more likely, the 1760s, the panels were re-organised virtually to their original sequence. This panel is one of two exceptions, although it was moved to its original row.

Browne:³²

Description: “Saul struck on the way to Damascus.”

Comments: By the time Browne

			7		

²⁴ Acts 9:3-7.

²⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

²⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 68.

²⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 201r.

²⁸ “Lux aetherea quem circumfulgens visu privat spirituaalem sed ei intuitum donat,” *Missale*, 60, 14.

²⁹ “Audivit autem vocem dicentem sibi: saule, saule, quid me persequeris,” *Breviarium*, 75, cols.161.

³⁰ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Le Mans, Bay 103:1a; at Rouen, Bay 14:2a, and at Sens, Bay 2:2a. It is also included in Canterbury Cathedral, s16:4b and the church at North Moreton, s2:1a, *ibid.*, “English sites”.

³¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

³² Browne, *Representation*, 68.

described the glass the window had been largely ordered according to the textual sources, with the exception of CHs3:7 and 9.

Intervention: in the course of the 19th century (probably 1855) the panel was inverted.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:³³

Description: (First) “Conversion of St Paul

A panel turned upside down has a blue white horse in it but can’t see whether there is a rider or not on it. There is part of a figure with ruby drapery and a long red staff crosses this horse with a waving banner with 2 pennons or slits to it.

There is also the appearance of water at the bottom of the panel (if inverted right way).”

(Second) “Conversion of St Paul Act 9/4.”

Comments: His “waving banner” would have been the cloud from which rays emanated.

			7	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:³⁴

Description: “Conversion of St Paul [pencil] Brown [Cumpail] 19]

This panel has been turned upside down also is much damaged. But represents a horse with part of the drapery of a figure and a staff with a pennon flying.”

			7	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: it is probable that this is when the panel was inverted to its correct orientation. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁵

			7	

*Intervention by Milner White: CHs3:7 was switched with CHs3:9.³⁶
 Medallion: probable new glass on saddle area of horse. A small piece of mending lead was inserted.
 Grisaille surround: some mending leads to lower strip. Two areas of re-building to lower right, involving removal of inserted painted glass.
 Borders: some removal of inserted glass (architectural fragments etc) and replacement with extraneous glass.³⁷*

³³ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.201r.

³⁴ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.88r.

³⁵ Figure CHs3:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P.

³⁶ Lazenby, “York Minster windows,” fol.14r.

³⁷ Conclusion from a comparison between Figure CHs3:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5229, “in or before” 1961: 60, 1L7P.

Milner White:³⁸

Description: "His conversion. Acts 9, verses 3-4."

	7			

Brown:³⁹

Description: "Saul falls from his horse on the road to Damascus."

	7			

Current:

	7			

³⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

³⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

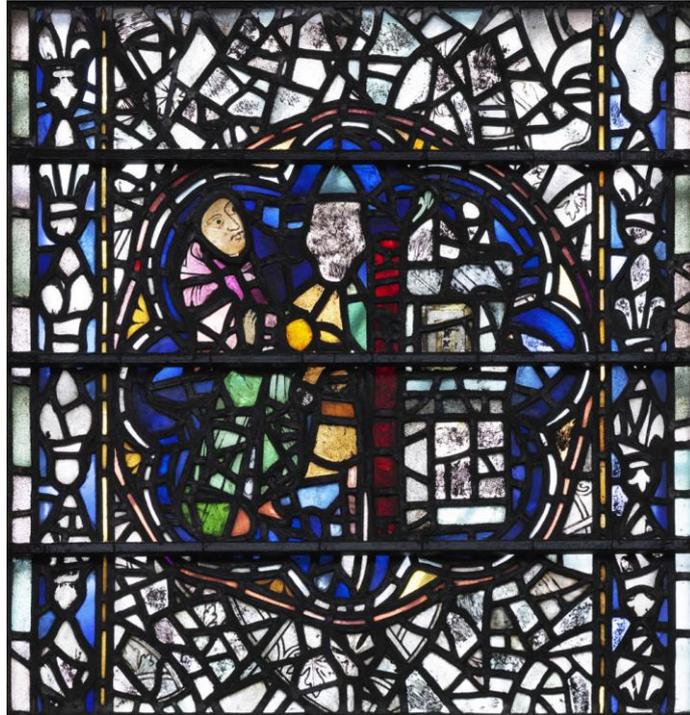


Figure CHs3:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3 2c © York Glazier Trust.

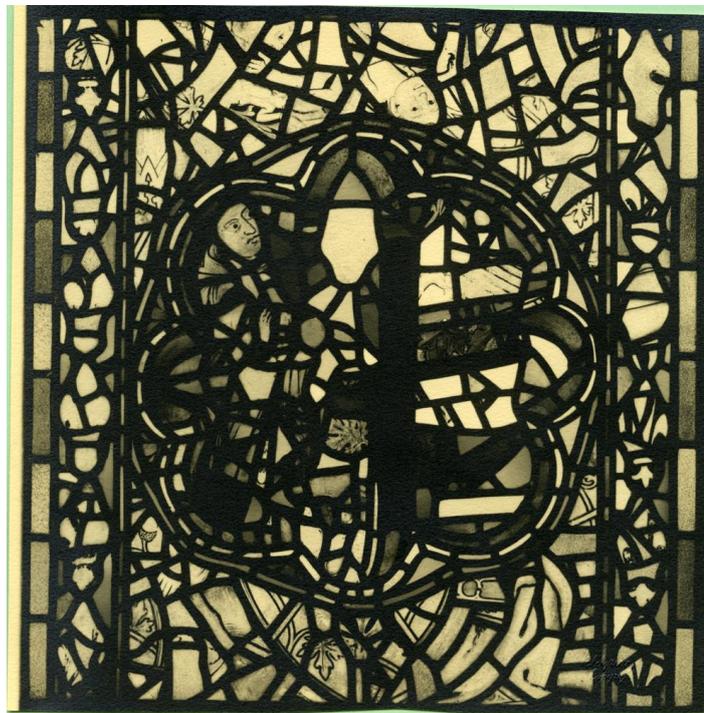


Figure CHs3:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5230, 1929-32: 60, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5231, ca.1961: 60, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21311, ca.1961: 60, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

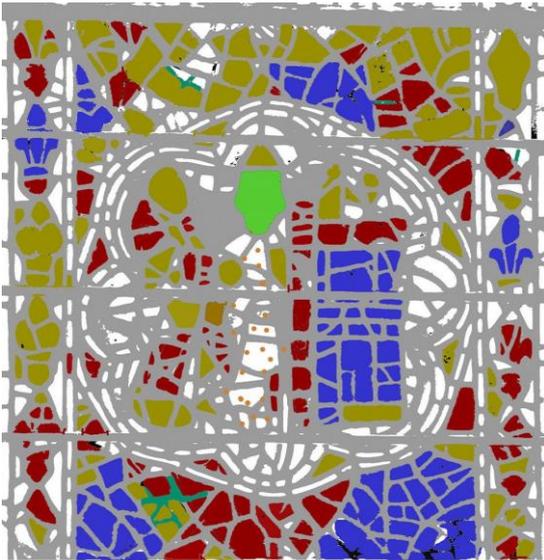


Figure CHs3:8 Restoration History

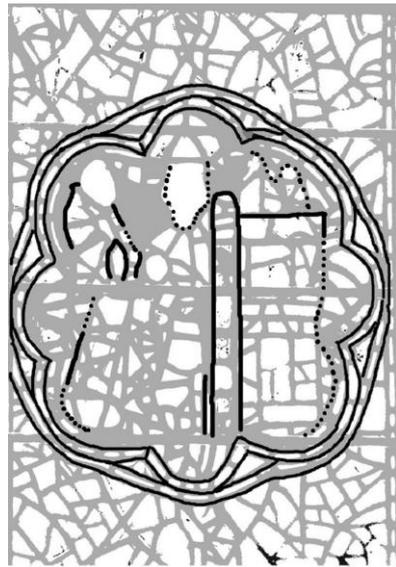


Figure CHs3:8 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		8		

Probable original appearance: An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. There is no sign of any green/yellow base. It is possible that there was an inner rim inside the white of the medallion.

There are two figures, one in the centre wearing green with a short tunic (now intruded yellow), with a bare leg and possibly carrying a crutch and with the possible outline of Type-1 Jewish hat, if the lead lines are original. A figure to the left is wearing murrey and possibly green, with his hand aloft. There is no current sign of any halo. There is a building to the right, with a red door and white masonry.

Iconography and original location: Paul, led, blind into the City.⁴¹

This is a much mutilated panel. The identification is suggested on the basis that there appears to be a building or a town to the right of the panel, with a large red door which appears to be of original glass. Previous identifications have varied, also probably as a result of the condition of the glass, from Browne's healing of a cripple,⁴² to Knowles's Apostles walking with Christ,⁴³ and Milner White's Ananias visits Paul.⁴⁴

The current proposal is based not only on the existence of the door, but also of the regular appearance of this scene as part of the conversion iconography. In

⁴¹ Acts 9:8.

⁴² Browne, *Representation*, 70.

⁴³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 201r.

⁴⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

all these cases, Paul is led from the left of the panel by a figure in the centre or centre right towards a gate on the right.⁴⁵ The only exception to the direction of narrative is in the copy of the frescoes in San Paolo ordered by Cardinal Barberini, when the direction is reversed.⁴⁶ However, Eleen has argued that several scenes here were reversed from the standard forms to accommodate the location of the frescoes in the church (on the left-hand wall, with the narrative proceeding from the triumphal arch to the entrance wall).⁴⁷ It seems to be a rare inclusion in windows: outside York it has only been located in Rouen.⁴⁸

The importance of this episode in the Liturgy is apparent. For the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, in the *Sanctorale*, it is recited that when Paul was struck on the way to Damascus, he asked what he should do and “the Lord said to him: arise and go into the city”.⁴⁹ He complied and his companions “entered Damascus”.⁵⁰

With its original C borders, 2c is the certain initial location. This is one of only two lights in the chapter house glass which includes the Marian symbol of the fleur-de-lys in the borders. (The other light is, probably significantly, the central light of the Passion and Resurrection window in CH1.)

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it. See the comments in the summary of CHs3:6.

Torre:⁵¹

Description: “19 In 2nd Light Stand 2 Men together one habited Murry & vt the other vt [murry deleted] & O.”

Comments: Of the non-red or blue panels (8, 10, 17, 19, 26, 36 and 37), this is the most likely. Not because of the colour of the clothing – which is mainly intruded – but because of the number of the figures visible. However, there is no reference to the building to the right.

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4					
2		8			
1					

⁴⁵ For example, Paris, BN, MS lat. I, *Vivian Bible*, fol. 386v, Kessler, “Bibles from Tours,” Figure 173; *Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura*, fol. 310v, *ibid.*, Figure 174; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm 14345, *Pauline Epistles*, fol. 7, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 8; University of Chicago Library, MS 965, fol. 115, *ibid.*, 9; Decani fresco, *ibid.*, Figure 13; Palermo, Cappella Palatine, mosaic, *ibid.*, Figure 15; New Testament, fol. 128v, *ibid.*, Figure 20; Vatican Library, MS lat. 39, New Testament, fol. 91v, *ibid.*, Figure 21; Vienna, Nationalbibl., Cod. Ser. Nov. 2702, Admont Bible, fol. 199v, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 42; London, BL, Burney MS 3, fol. 480, *ibid.*, Figure 77; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. D.4.8, fol. 646v, *ibid.*, Figure 150; Bibl. Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 7, fol. 390, *ibid.*, Figure 151.

⁴⁶ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 370.

⁴⁷ Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, 253.

⁴⁸ The cathedral at Rouen, Bay 14:2b, *Online Archive*, “French sites”;

⁴⁹ “Ait autem dominus ad eum: surge et ingredere civitatem,” *Breviarium*, 75, col. 162.

⁵⁰ “Introduxerunt damascum,” *ibid.*

⁵¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

Intervention: in the 1690s, or, more likely, the 1760s, the panels were re-organised almost to re-create their original structure.

Browne:⁵²

Description: "St Paul healing the cripple, but subject much injured."

Comments: This is a tentative attribution based on the possibility of a crutch.

		8		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: Knowles noted that it was a much damaged panel.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁵³

Description: "No 3. Very illegible. To the left two men approaching what may have been a building and there is a portion of a roof and gable seen. The

1st figure has a pink face with an expression rather forbidding, hair short, large ears and thick lips. Has originally had a short tunic, probably green, and a flesh red leg is seen under it. This is all that can be made out of the figure. The next is that of an older man with long hair and long curled beard, robed in a green tunic and pink purple cloak fastened at the neck. He holds both hands up as if in great sorrowful surprise."

		8		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁵⁴

Description: "A much damaged panel but apparently has represented an incident in the life of St Paul by a figure clad in green tunic and purple cloak (St Paul's colours) holding both his hands up in front of two figures who standing in front of a building with gabled top. The saint has a look of sorrowful surprise depicted on his face."

Comments: It is not clear to which figure he is referring. Here he appears to have seen three figures: one might have been the patch of green in the lower half of the medallion.

		8		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible. The face of the "older man" with a long curled beard and long hair in the centre, seen by Knowles, was removed and replaced with plain glass. Knowles also said that the figure might have had a "short green tunic" which, again, is not legible in the lead lines in the 1930s photograph. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵⁵

		8		

⁵² Browne, *Representation*, 70.

⁵³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 201r.

⁵⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol. 87r.

⁵⁵ Figure CHs3:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5230, 1929-32: 60, 3L7P.

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: he either replaced the glass for the face in the central figure or he cemented the glass inserted in the re-leading exercise to make it less obtrusive.

Medallion: one piece of mending lead. A jumble of miscellaneous pieces in centre right of the panel removed and replaced with more homogeneous plain glass.

Grisaille: areas of re-building. Left-hand one, the reason is unclear. For the right hand one it appears that intruded pieces were removed.

Borders: two fleurs-de-lys intruded.⁵⁶

Milner White:⁵⁷

Description: "Ananias visits him, Acts 9, verses 3-4."

Comments: This is to ignore the significance of the prominent red gate.

		8		

Brown:⁵⁸

Description: "Ananias visits Saul."

		8		

Current:

		8		

⁵⁶ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5231, ca.1961: 60, 3L7P.

⁵⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

⁵⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

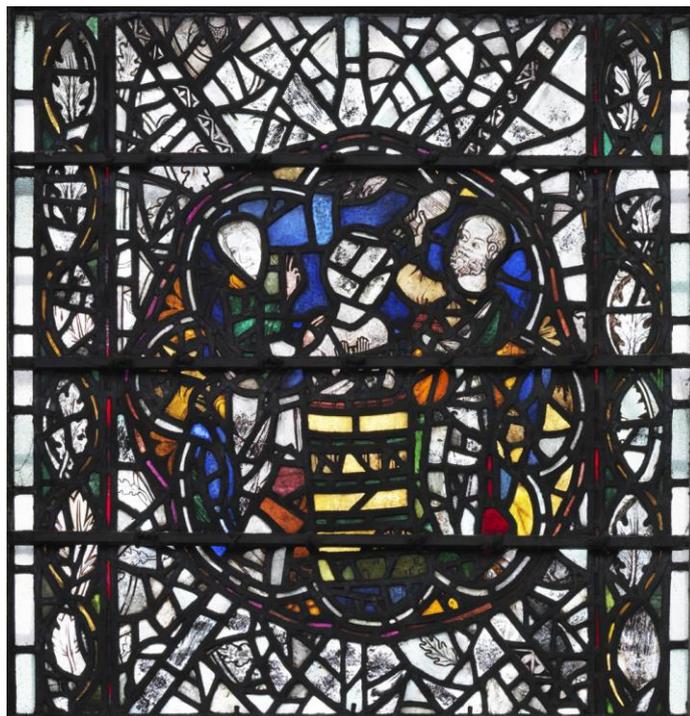


Figure CHs3:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.

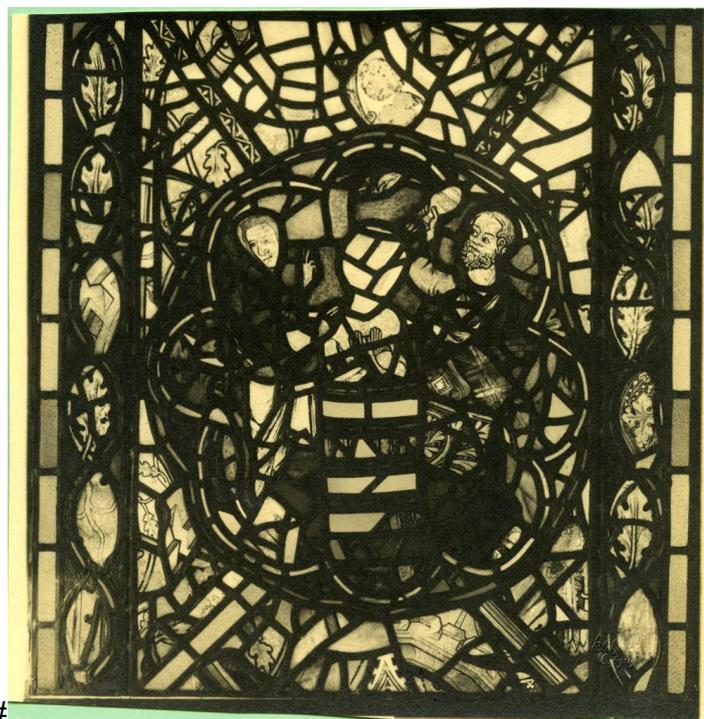


Figure CHs3:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The label "4L7P" reflects the later date when the label was created. An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5233, ca.1961: 60, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21312, ca.1961: 60, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

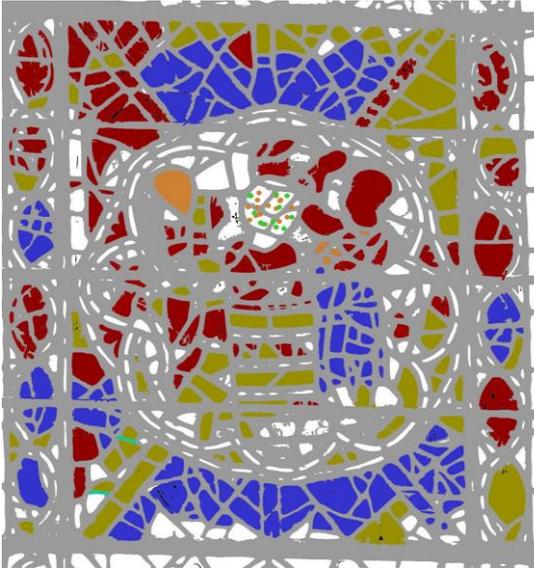


Figure CHs3:9 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:9 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			9	

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration.

Two figures are standing either side of a banded yellow and green font, with murrey lip. The third figure, in the front, is in white glass and shows hands with palms facing forwards. The figure to the right, with an original face, is wearing a yellow tunic and cloak of indeterminate colour (possibly green or white) and is holding a bottle above the central head. The figure to left, with intruded head, is wearing a white cloak and indeterminate tunic (green, according to Torre). One hand is raised as if in blessing, the other hand appears to be touching the shoulder of the figure in the front. There may have been plants up the side of the medallion. No halos are now visible. There is a hand, blessing, at the top of the panel, indicating divine approval. According to Knowles, this emerged from a ruby cloud. Blue background.

Possible sign of green/yellow base.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

Figure to right: wide, big features. Flat hair and curl at forehead. Prominent eyes and nostril. M-shaped mouth and lower lip. Heavy hair line between fair and hair (a feature associated with Workshop 2, although the rest of the head resembles those of Workshop 3). Curly beard. Lines of both eyebrows continue down to create both sides of the nose.

Iconography and original location: Paul baptised.⁶⁰

This panel has been attributed variously to scenes from the lives of Saints John and Paul. Torre and Knowles both identified it as St John in a Vat of Oil,⁶¹ However, Benson,⁶² Milner White⁶³ and Brown⁶⁴ all suggested it showed the Baptism of Paul. In a window, this has only been located in Le Mans cathedral.⁶⁵

It is assumed that the figure baptising Paul is Ananias, but what is unusual is that there are no panels, nor any location for representations of the other episodes involving Ananias. These include his vision,⁶⁶ and his healing of Paul’s blindness by laying his hands upon him.⁶⁷ This suggests a desire to curtail the number of panels showing the conversion of Paul, which otherwise would have meant that the scenes spread across the entire bottom row. This indicates the possible need to free the space in 2e for an alternative scene.

As a B light, it follows the Entry into Damascus in 2c and would have originally been in 2d.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it in 1690-91. See the comments in the summary of CHs3:6. Torre’s description is confused to the extent that it is not clear to which row he was referring but, as it was in the relatively undisturbed fourth light it is assumed that he saw it in its original place.

Torre: ⁶⁸

Description: “21 In 4th Light stands St John naked in a tub of Oyle barreways O & vt. And on Either Side him stands an Executioner 1 habited vt & A the other vt & O pouring Oyle out of a bottle upon the Saints head.”

Comments: There is sufficient original glass to suggest that the original colour scheme reflects what Torre saw.

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4					
2				[9]	
1					

Intervention: in the 1690s (probably) or the 1760s, the panel was shifted to its alternative light-type.

Browne:⁶⁹

Description: “Paul in a hooped font, receiving baptism, a hand is extended from Heaven blessing.”

	9				

⁶⁰ Acts 9:18.

⁶¹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129; Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 201r; Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 86r.

⁶² Benson, “Ancient painted glass,” 24.

⁶³ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

⁶⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 69.

⁶⁵ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Le Mans, Bay 103:3a.

⁶⁶ Acts 9:10-16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁶⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

⁶⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 69.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: part of head obliterated on central figure. Head inserted on left-hand figure. Right-hand figure: body patchwork.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁷⁰

Description: (First) “No 2 bottom row
Martyrdom of St John the Bap
In the centre is yell tub bound by green
hoops and in it a nude figure is seen

	9			

halfways with hands held up in front part of head obliterated. To the left is a man standing side view clad in green tunic with wh robe. Head an insertion hands original. Right hand held up in warning left hand held out. To the right hand a man with long hair and curly beard. Tunic yell, but all other part of figure patch work. Holds up a bottle from which he pours some fluid on the head of the figure in the tub. NB this figure in tub not nimbed. In the top of panel a hand coming out of a ruby cloud. Back of panel blue.”

(Second) “St John in the Cauldron.”

Comments: There is now no sign of a ruby cloud at the top of the medallion. He did not comment on what may have been original green and white drapery on the right-hand figure.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁷¹

Description: “St John in the vat of oil
In the centre of the picture immersed
to the waist. The vat or tub is yellow
and bound with green withs or hoops.

	9			

On the right hand is an executioner pouring the oil on to the saints head. To the left hand is the figure of a man who raises his hand to the sky where in the upper part of the panel is the Hand of God seen in a cloud. Note this subject is out of place.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: one possible piece of re-leading visible. Knowles said that “part” of the head in the tub had been obliterated. In the 1930s photograph it was all obliterated. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷²

	9			

⁷⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.201r.

⁷¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.86r.

⁷² Figure CHs3:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P.

Intervention by Milner White: he re-created the original sequence by switching CHs3:7 and 9.⁷³

Medallion: the lower drapery of right-hand figure was re-built, replaced with clear and red glass.

Grisaille: large areas re-built, involving the removal of an intruded head and architectural features. The overall design (especially of the upper grisaille) has been modified as a result of these changes.

Borders: Some glass removed from the leaves and other glass intruded.⁷⁴

Milner White:⁷⁵

Description: "Baptism. Acts 9, verse 18."

			9	

Brown description:⁷⁶

Description: "Paul is baptised by Ananias".

			9	

Current:

			9	

⁷³ Lazenby, "York Minster windows," fol.14r .

⁷⁴ Concluded from a comparison between Figure CHs3:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5228, 1929-32: 60, 4L7P and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5233, ca.1961: 60, 4L7P.

⁷⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

⁷⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs3:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

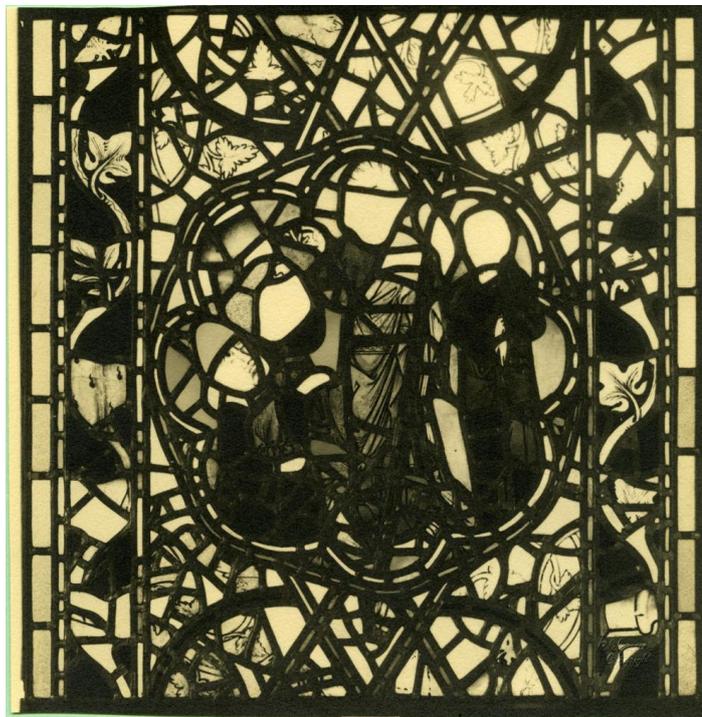


Figure CHs3:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5234, 1929-32: 60, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5235, ca. 1961: 60, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21313, ca.1961: 60, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

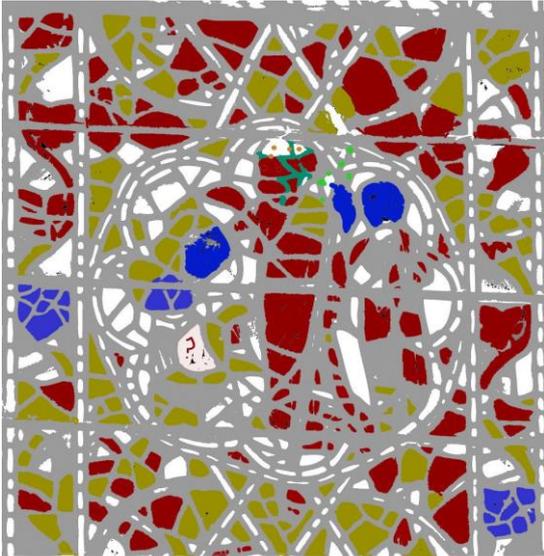


Figure CHs3:10 Restoration History

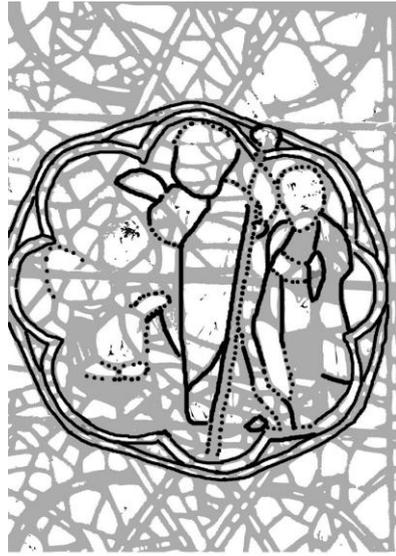


Figure CHs3:10 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				10

Probable original appearance: An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration.

Central figure is in a green tunic and yellow cloak. Most of the head is original, although the pieces may have been moved around. His right hand is held with his palm upwards. What would have been his left hand is holding a staff with cross head. To the right is a figure in a green cloak (the tunic is not clear, but there are signs of original murrey), but Torre saw it as white. To the left are figures crouching on the ground, one in a yellow tunic (possibly intruded). Another figure seems to have some green drapery and is crouching or squatting on the ground. Torre saw the drapery of these figures as green and yellow and Knowles comments on the survival of pieces of glass of the same colours. There are no surviving halos, but there is the outline of a possible Type-2 Jewish headdress, if the trace lines in the head area of the figure on the ground are original. Blue background. No sign of green/yellow base.

Stylistic comments on head:

Probably Workshop 3.
Original head, but glass moved within face.

Iconography and original location: Paul preaching to the Jews in Damascus.⁷⁸

The panel has a blue background and an A border, which means it could only be placed in 2a, 2e, 6a or 6e. As 2a is clearly appropriate for the scene in which Paul as Saul is given letters and as row 6 appears to show five connected scenes from one episode in Paul's career, this means that 2e is the only available slot for this panel. At first sight it is strange that the Damascus preaching and escape scenes should have been split over two rows (2e and 4a). The Jewish references are, at first sight, unexpected, but in this it might have been similar to the well preserved fragments at Metz and Rouen Cathedrals, where the Jewish hats on the listeners have survived.⁷⁹ The scene of Paul preaching in the Synagogue features regularly in Pauline iconography,⁸⁰ and is also referred to in the Liturgy of the Use of York. That Torre saw the figures to the left as a King enthroned may indicate that he saw a seated figure wearing what may have been a prominent headdress, possibly showing Jewish-type headgear.

It appears the narrative design was created in order to accommodate this panel in the current corner location. It is notable that the other preaching scene in the window is in 8a: hence, as with CHs2, a diagonal effect is created across the window by means of placing the two preaching scenes in their current locations (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the implications of this). For example, in the Mass for the Feast of Paul's Conversion, the following appears: "God, who has taught the whole world, through the preaching of the blessed Paul, your Apostle".⁸¹ In the York Missal is written: "Paul's conversion is devoutly to be recalled, in order to ensure that the great teacher called on all nations".⁸² He is celebrated as the Defender of the Church in, "he commends the doctrine of faith".⁸³ He was venerated in the Mass on his own Feast Day as a preacher, in "God, who taught the multitude through the preaching of your blessed Apostle Paul".⁸⁴

In the *Sanctorale*, Paul was equally lauded as the teacher of the world, in "God, who has taught the whole world through the preaching of blessed Paul, thy Apostle".⁸⁵ It is in the *Sanctorale* that his preaching in Damascus is specifically referred to on two occasions in "Having entered the Synagogue, Paul preached about Jesus to the Jews and all who heard him were amazed".⁸⁶ The respect accorded to Paul as a preacher was reflected in the

⁷⁸ Acts 9:20.

⁷⁹ Meredith Lillich, *Rainbow like an Emerald: Stained Glass in Lorraine in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 106.

⁸⁰ The mosaic at Monreale Cathedral, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 19; Paris, BN, MS lat. I, *Vivian Bible*, fol. 386v, *ibid.*, Figure 6; *Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura*, fol. 30, *ibid.*, Figure 7; Monreale Cathedral mosaic, *ibid.*, Figure 19, fol. 6; Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 10752, *ibid.*, 26; Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Auct. D.1-13, fol. 1, *ibid.*, Figure 28; Berlin, staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Theol. lat., fol. 379; *Bible of Heisterbach*, fol. 467, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 127; Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 7, fol. 394, *ibid.*, Figure 161; glass in the cathedrals at Metz, Bay 14: tracery; and Rouen, Bay 14:3b, *Online Archive*, "French sites".

⁸¹ Deus, qui universum mundum beati Pauli apostoli tui praedicatione docuisti," *Missale*, 13.

⁸² "Pauli conversio devote est recolenda quem Dominus tanta ditavit gratia ut doctor gentium ab omni vocetur Ecclesia," *ibid.*, 14.

⁸³ "Fidei doctrinam commende," *ibid.*

⁸⁴ "Deus, qui multitudinem gentium beati Pauli apostoli tui praedicatione docuisti," *ibid.*, 59-60).

⁸⁵ "Deus, qui universum mundum beati Pauli apostoli tui praedicatione docuisti, *Breviarium*, 75, col. 160.

⁸⁶ "Ingressus Paulus in synagogam, predicabat Jesum judies... Stupebant autem omnes qui eum audiebant," *Breviarium*, 75, cols. 164 and 166.

Legenda Aurea, in which, in comparison to Peter, Paul was described as “inferior in dignity, greater in preaching, and equal in holiness”.⁸⁷ In this, and its mirrored preaching scene in 8a, the relationship can be seen to demonstrate the individual contribution made by Paul to the Christian project.

With its A border, its depiction of a preaching scene and its preceding CHs3:16 in 4a, which is clearly the Flight from Damascus, its original location would have been in 2e.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁸⁸

Description: “27 In 5th Light sits a King Inthroned Robed O & vt And an Ancient Monk Extending his Right hand to him & holding in his other a

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Crosyer Staff also another monk stands by habited vt & A hood murry.”

Comments: Plausible as 2e, but there is now no sign of a King inthroned. It seems he saw the figures on the ground as the king seated on a throne and confused a possible Jewish hat for a crown.

Insertion: probably in the 1760s the panel was moved up a row to its original position.

Browne:⁸⁹

Description: “St Paul with Barnabas preaching to several persons.”

				10

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: central figure: top of head patched.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁹⁰

Description: (First) “No 5. St Peter and St Paul healing the impotent Man. St Barnabas Ruby tunic and green cloak

				10

St Paul’s colours Green tunic and yell cloak. St Peter ruby tunic and green cloak

Paul and Barnabas at [Lystra].”

(Second) “No 1 5th light.

A stately and well drawn figure of a man robed in a green tunic and yell cloak the latter thrown over left shoulder and hangs in rich folds to his feet. The lines of these folds much better expressed and very little appearance of a decorated character about them. A diapered band across the middle of cloak but only as a pall on the glass not a separate band. The head is cut in half. The top very patched the lower represents a face with full curly beard and moustache and

⁸⁷ Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 2, 317.

⁸⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

⁸⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 69.

⁹⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.201v.

the eyes look slightly down. He holds a cross staff in his left hand and a right hand outwards.



Behind standing a figure with short curly hair robed in green cloak and ruby tunic (St Barnabas) (but altogether inferior in style) hands hold up robe. In front of the central figure to the left hand of panel a crouching figure or prob two figures as if crippled or lame. On these are portions of green and yell drapery.

Back of blue.”

(Third) “Peter and (Barnabas) healing impotent man at Lystra. Acts 14/8.”

Comments: He notably detected some original green and yellow drapery on the crouching figures, but his identifications show his confusion about the main protagonists in CHs2 and CHs3.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁹¹

Description: “St Paul healing of the [...] man [pencil] Acts 14 8. The apostle stands a little to the right hand holding in one hand a staff with cross head to it and his right hand extended outwards over a cripple who is laid in a crouched position on the ground. Another figure is near but this part of the panel is much [...].

Note the fine attitude of St Paul which is ‘worthy’ of a more highly finished work of art.”

Comments: Knowles appears to have erred and described this panel in 2d, but gives nothing for 2e.

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1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: some new pieces of re-soldering visible. Figure on the right, according to Knowles, had “short curly hair”, which must have been removed in the re-leading. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹²

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Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: modifications have been made to the central head. It appears that one piece of glass (from the top of the head) may have been moved to the back of the head and a piece of mending lead inserted. Other mending leads have been used for the face.

Grisaille: no visible modifications.

*Borders: two areas of architecturally painted glass removed and clear glass inserted.*⁹³

⁹¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.89r.

⁹² Figure CHs3:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5234, 1929-32: 60, 5L7P.

⁹³ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5235, ca. 1961: 60, 5L7P.

Milner White: ⁹⁴

Description: "Preaching (starts at once). Acts 9, verse 20."

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Brown: ⁹⁵

Description: "Paul Preaching."

				10

Current:

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⁹⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

⁹⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Window: CHs3

Panel number: CHs3:16

(CVMA: 4a)

Photographic record:

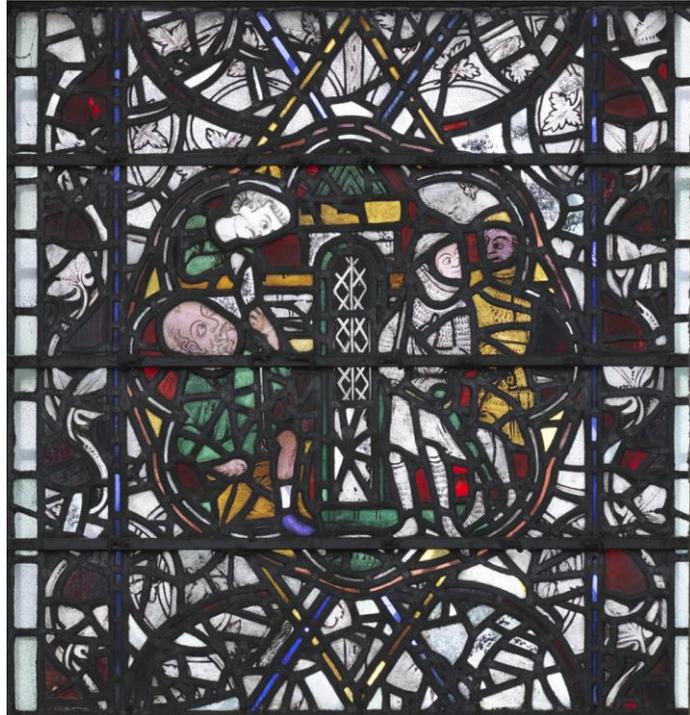


Figure CHs3:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs3:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5242, 1929-32: 60, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

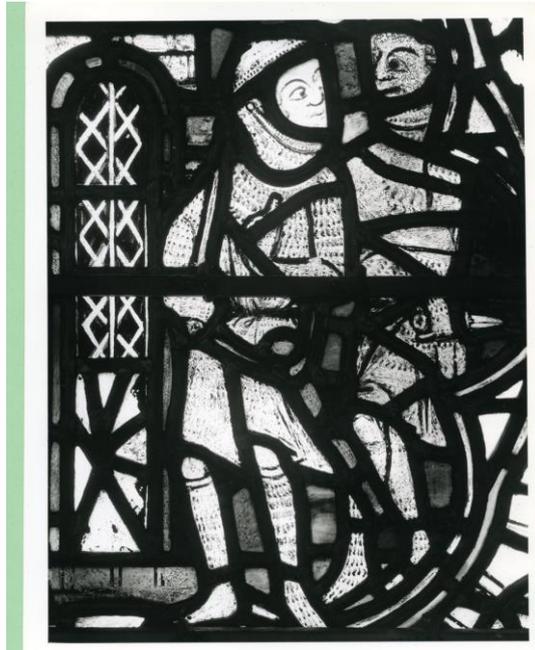


Figure CHs3:16 Green Photographic Collection, 5244, 1969, RCHM, NMR 1301: 60, 1L5P © Crown Copyright. Detail of the soldiers.⁹⁶

Original location, appearance and iconography:

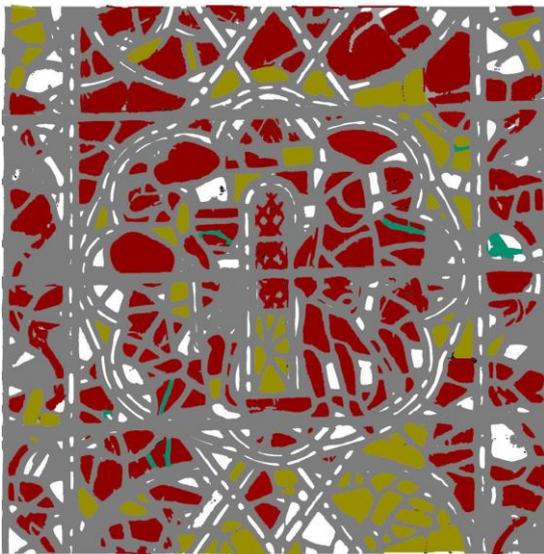


Figure CHs3:16 Restoration History

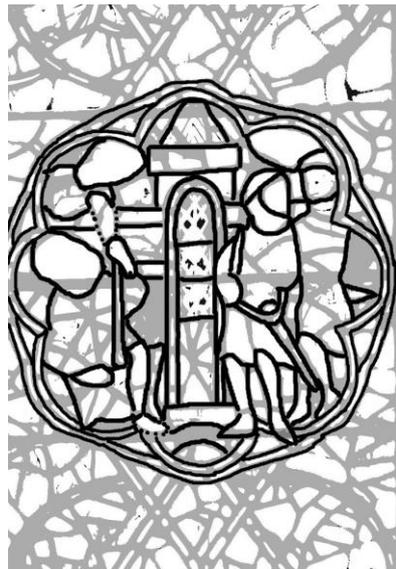


Figure CHs3:16 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

16				

⁹⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5243, ca.1961: 60, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21315, ca.1961: 60, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Probable original appearance: Much of the glass is original. An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Green base.

There is a figure to top left in a green tunic, holding the end of a rope and leaning over a battlement. There is a figure below in green tunic holding on to the rope with his left hand and climbing out of a yellow basket. His knee is bare. He is wearing a blue shoe. White masonry is visible below the yellow battlements. No halo is to be seen.

In the centre is a building with white gates shut, yellow battlements and white masonry below them. Visible are a green roof, door jambs and a base to the building. To the right are two soldiers, in white and yellow mail respectively, the one in white holding an upright sword removed from green scabbard, itself held by yellow band. He has white legs and is possibly holding something in his left hand. The one in yellow seems to have white sword tip visible behind him to the right. He also has white legs. There is an original face above the soldiers, to the top right of the medallion, which has suffered paint loss. Red background to the scene.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. In profile. Tight roll of hair. Wide features. Large eye. Nostril. Eyelids.
2. Bald. Curls to side. Wide features. Wide, rounded eyebrows, the lines of which create the outline of the nose. Prominent nostril. Tight beard. M-shaped mouth and lower lip indicated. Pupils visible. Pink glass.
3. (Partial). Wide and big features. Large eye. Rounded eyebrow, with lines of eyebrows continuing down to the mark the two sides of the nose. Soldier.
4. (Partial). Wide and big features. Large eye. Rounded eyebrow, with lines of eyebrows continuing down to the mark the two sides of the nose. Soldier.
5. Top right: original face with paint loss.

Iconography and original location: Paul fleeing from Damascus.⁹⁷

With its A border and its red background it must have been positioned in 4a, 4b, 8a or 8b; but by a process of elimination (as the others are all more certain), it would originally have been located in 4a. The scene is a common motif in Pauline iconography.⁹⁸ If this is the correct original location, an explanation for the fact that it has been separated on to a different row from its sister panel in 2e (CHs3:10) is probably that the design of the window sought to emphasise Paul as a teacher by placing two preaching scenes in the diametrically opposite corners of the window (2e and 8a). This seems to have

⁹⁷ Acts 9:25 and 2 Cor. 11:32-33.

⁹⁸ It appeared in the thirteenth-century frescoes in S Paolo fuori le mura, Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 374; see also *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals of Le Mans, Bay 103:3e; Sens, Bay 2:6b; and Metz, Bay 14:tracery; in fol. 657 of the mid-thirteenth-century *Epistles of Oxf. Bdl. Auct. D.4.8*, Eleen. *Pauline Epistles*, 78; in fol. 224v of the twelfth-century *Epistles of Troyes*, MS 2381, *ibid.*, Figure 79; in fol. 291v of the early thirteenth-century *Epistles of Avranches* MSS 2 and 3, *ibid.*, Figure 80; and in fol. 395v of mid-thirteenth-century *Epistles of Rome*, Vat. Urb. lat. 7, *ibid.*, Figure 82. It also featured in the mosaics in Monreale Cathedral, *ibid.*, Figure 19; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Cod. 7, fol.134, Kessler, *Bibles from Tours*, Figure 186.

been more important than retaining two related scenes (Chs3:10 ad CHs3:16) in adjacent positions.

History of the Panel

Intervention: in 1669-70, there was “Repair to the Stonework of the chapter house window”,⁹⁹ which probably involved work to the first and second mullions of CHs3. In the course of this, CHs3:16 was moved from 4a to 2a.

Torre:¹⁰⁰

Description: “18 In 4th Row & first Light stand 3 persons before a prison door 1st a Woman habited vt & murry having a present in her hands 2d & 3d Souldiers one habited A the other O leggs bare.”

8					
6					
4					
2	16				
1					

Comments: Figure 1: Figure might be seen as female and could been seen as having something in her hand. Original green glass is visible but there is no sign of murrey. The figure is holding the ropes attached to the basket. Figure 2: Below is in green, but there is no sign of murrey. If this was Torre’s panel, why did he not see this figure? Possibly because the face is pink and from a distance it might look murrey. However, Figures 3 and 4 fit his descriptions (soldiers A and O and bare legs), and the prison door is clear, so this is the panel he saw in 2a. He did not see the face to the top right.

Intervention: probably between 1762 and 1771 the panel was moved back to 4a.

Browne:¹⁰¹

Description: “St Paul descending in a basket down walls. Guards standing at the closed gates.”

	16				

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁰²

Description: (First) “St Paul let down in a basket. [pencil] Acts 9.26.”

(Second) “A scene with a town and gateway in the centre. Two soldiers to

	16				

the right and a man to the left. The gateway has a circular top and has two doors to it. The battens or tracery of which reticulated the top of the gateway terminating in a battlement [deleted and in pencil “a wall”] extending to the left behind single figure. The latter is larger in scale than the two soldiers and appears as if half of him were hidden below the base line. He (for it might be intended for St Peter) has a pink face with bushy beard and short hair like the typical St Peter and has a green robe. His head is turned up heavenwards and he holds his left hand in front of him with the back of it to the solders. These two are clad in chain mail from head to foot.

⁹⁹ YMA E4(a) Fabric Accounts, 6r.
¹⁰⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.
¹⁰¹ Browne, *Representation*, 69.
¹⁰² Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.201v.



The first one being all whit the next has his hauberk yell. but the coif de mail and legs are white. The first has his sword drawn out of a green scabbard. The other appears to be in the act of drawing his. Back of panel ruby. Foregnd grassy.

(Second) St Peter [deleted] St Paul [inserted] let down in a basket [...] the wall. Acts 9/26.”

Comments: It is odd that he does not note the figure at the top left, and less odd that he failed to see the face on the top right. He clearly at one stage assumed this showed a scene from St Peter’s life, but later amended it to St Paul.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁰³

Description: “St Paul let down in a basket

A town with a gateway in the centre with latticed doors which are shut and from the side of the town part of a battlemented wall. To the right hand are two soldiers in mail armour one with gold [...]. The one nearest the gateway holds a sword end and beckons to his companion who advances on tip toe and a grin of satisfaction on his face. To the left of the picture is St Peter being let down in a basket tied by a sheet from the top of the wall by a damsel.”

16				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: unchanged.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁰⁴

16				

*Intervention by Milner White: few modifications visible. Some mending leads.*¹⁰⁵

Milner White:¹⁰⁶

Description: “Escape in a basket. Soldiers wait at the gates of the city to catch him. Acts 9, verse 25.”

16				

¹⁰³ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.85r.

¹⁰⁴ Figure CHs3:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5242, 1929-32: 60, 1L5P.

¹⁰⁵ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5243, ca.1961: 60, 1L5P.

¹⁰⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

Brown: ¹⁰⁷

Description: "Paul lowered in a basket from the walls of Damascus."

16				

Current:

16				

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

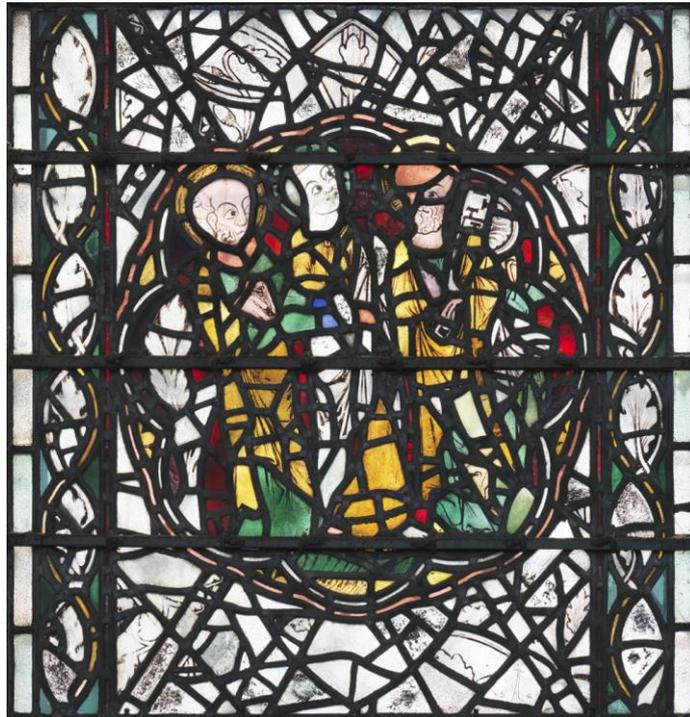


Figure CHs3:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 4b © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs3:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5245, 1929-32: 60, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5246, 1969: 60, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21317, ca.1961: 60, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

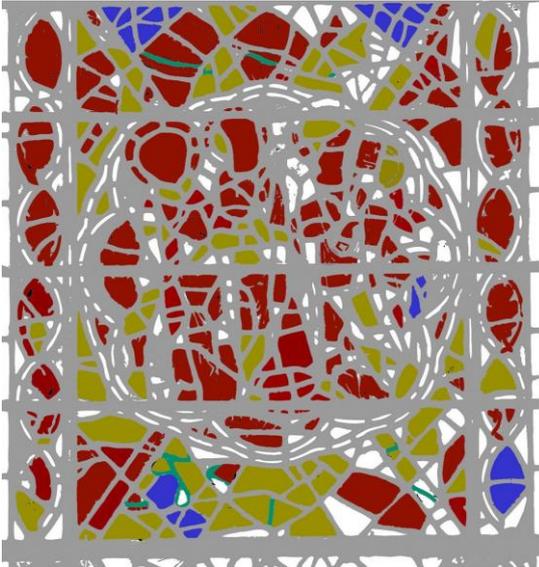


Figure CHs3:17 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:17 Original Lead Lines

Probable original location:

	[17?]			
	17			

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. There is a green and yellow base to the unevenly shaped medallion.

Figure 1 is clad in original and intruded yellow cloak and green tunic. His halo is yellow and he has an original head. As he is bald, it is likely that he represents Paul. He is holding a book (original hand and book). Figure 2 has an original head and a blue/green halo, and is dressed in a mainly original yellow tunic and a white cloak. Figure 3 has some original glass in his head (pink). His halo has some original yellow and extends beyond medallion. He is wearing an original yellow cloak and green tunic. He has original pink hands and his holding a white key. There seems to be some original drapery to the far right of the medallion. Red background. White foliage to the left-hand side. Green/yellow base.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Bald. Tight curls to side. Wide, rounded eyebrows, lines leading to both sides of nose. Large eyes and eyelids. Prominent nostril. Lines to side of mouth. M-shaped mouth and chin bone indicated. Tight beard.
2. Hair in tight roll. Wide, rounded eyebrows, with lines leading to either side of nose. Large eyes with eyelids. Lines to side of mouth. M-shaped mouth with chin bone indicated.
3. (Partial). Tight beard. Wide features.

Iconography and original location: Barnabas with Paul meeting Peter in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹

The panel shows three saints, the right hand of whom is holding a key and hence shows one of the encounters between Paul and Peter. With its red background and B type border, the panel would have been located in 4b, 4d, 8b or 8d. As CHs3:19 in 4d is part of a sequence and as CHs3:39 in 8d shows a scene close to Paul martyrdom, the probable original locations are 4b or 8b. The suggestion here is that CHs3:37 was originally in 8b, following from CHs3:36 in 8a, leaving 4b as the likely original location for CHs3:17.

After his escape from Damascus, Paul was led by Barnabas to Jerusalem where he met the apostles.¹¹⁰ Peter is not specifically named. However, given a scene where a younger saint is standing between two mature men, it is possible this scene is what is depicted here, in location 4b. Elsewhere, Paul wrote that he met Cephas (Peter's alternative name) with the Apostle James on this occasion.¹¹¹

An alternative interpretation would be the meeting of Paul and Peter in Rome, in 8b, an image which features frequently in iconography concerning Peter and also concerning Peter and Paul, but has not been encountered in imagery which is purely Pauline. If it had been in 8b it would have disturbed the pairing of related panels CHs3:36 and 37, more convincing as having occupied 8a and 8b. On balance it is suggested that this scene is less likely to show the encounter in Rome: it does not show the mutual affection and exuberance normally associated with the scene,¹¹² the third saint is not present in any of the surviving images and the scene would still be out of sequence as it would precede episodes of Paul's voyage to Rome.

As such, it appears to be unique among the representations identified by the author of Paul's life. It shows Paul encountering the leading authority in the contemporary Church, the latter holding his badge of seniority, and hence it affirms Peter's importance in the hierarchy. It thus connects Paul to Peter, but in such a way that Peter's significance as the successor to Christ is enhanced, but showing Paul as an equal.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the panel was moved within from 4b to 6b. The probably occurred in 1669-70.

Torre:¹¹³

Description: "9 In 2d Light stand 3 persons together 1st habited O & vt 2^d vt & 3^d [Nothing written]."

8					
6		17			
4					
2					
1					

Intervention: in the 1690s, or, more likely, the 1760s, the panel was moved within its light from 6b back to 4b.

¹⁰⁹ Acts 9:27 and Gal. 1:18. If the two verses are read together it shows that Barnabas is the third saint.

¹¹⁰ Acts 9:27.

¹¹¹ Gal. 1:18.

¹¹² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Bourges, Bay 9:8a (1210-15); the Abbey Church at St Père, Chartres, Bay 221:2a (1280-1305).

¹¹³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

Browne:¹¹⁴

Description: "Meeting of Peter and Paul."

	17			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹¹⁵

Description: No 2 (First) "The Angel taking Peter by the hand and leading him forth with the gaoler near. [Margin] St Peter yell tunic and green [cloak]

	17			

Very illegible. Three figures walking along to the left all nimbed. The first is robed in a green tunic yell cloak loosely cast about him. St Peter. Yell nimbus. Head turned towards the central figure upon whom he looks with great concern and moving forward at a rapid rate. The middle figure has a yell tunic and a white loose robe with blue or green nimbus. The head illegible. The nimbus may have had a [cross] on it but can't make out. He takes hold of St Peter by the right hand. The 3rd figure has a green tunic and yell cloak and yell nimbus and holds a white key in his hand. The frgn is grass and up the left side of panel a stunted tree as if the scene took place in a garden. The backg of panel ruby."

(Second) "Three figures walking together."

Comments: The basis for the identification of an angel came from is uncertain, unless it was the white triangle to the right, which may resemble an angel's wing. Knowles has assumed that the scene is from a Life of St Peter but has ignored the key as Peter's attribute and has assumed that the first figure was Peter.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹¹⁶

Description: No 2. "Peter delivered from prison [pencil] Acts 12.5 St Peter and the angel walking along at a rapid rate. The angel taking hold of St Peter's hand. The jailer is seen standing near holding two keys in his hands. The foreground of the picture is grassy with a small tree on it to the left hand."

	17			

Comments: Knowles clearly saw a key in the right-hand figure's hand and interpreted it as a gaoler. He also interpreted the panel as part of the life of St Peter as opposed to St Paul.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: one piece of re-soldering visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹⁷

	17			

¹¹⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 69.

¹¹⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.187r.

¹¹⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.86r.

¹¹⁷ Figure CHs3:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5245, 1929-32: 60, 2L5P.

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: possible new glass inserted into the background or mending leads
inserted.*¹¹⁸

Milner White:¹¹⁹

Description: “St Paul meets the
apostles. Acts 9, verse 27.”

	17			

Brown:¹²⁰

Description: “Paul meets Peter.”

	17			

Current:

	17			

¹¹⁸ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and CVMA, “York Minster,” no. 21317, ca.1961: 60, 2L5P.

¹¹⁹ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

¹²⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

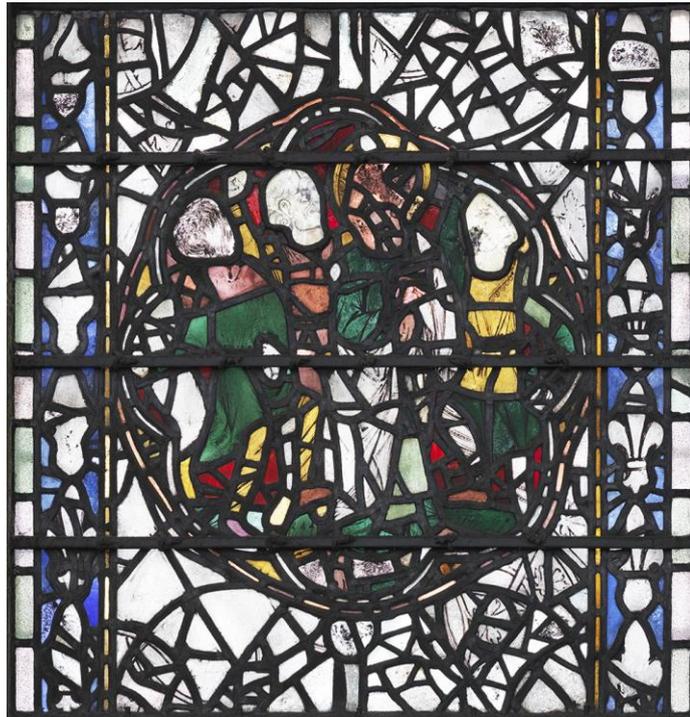


Figure CHs3:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

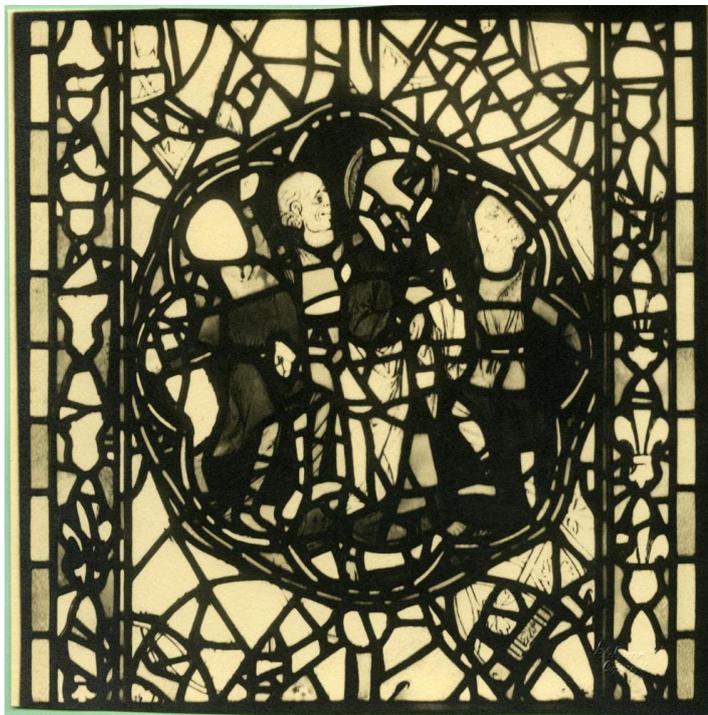


Figure CHs3:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5247, 1929-32: 60, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹²¹

¹²¹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5248, ca.1961: 60, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21318, ca.1961: 60, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

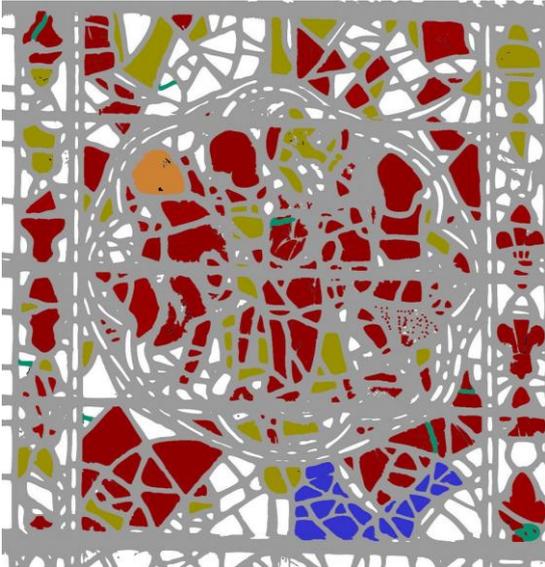


Figure CHs3:18 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:18 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		18		

Probable original appearance: An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with a yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Red background and green/yellow base.

Figure 1 is in a green tunic and yellow hose, with a murrey hood. His right arm extends backwards to his right. Figure 2 has an original head, with indications of an original yellow undergarment and murrey apron. His right arm is raised as if to throw a stone. He has white legs, probably bare. Figure 3 has some pieces of an original yellow halo. His face is intruded, but from the lead lines is turned to face towards the east, in a contrapposto position. He is wearing a green tunic and white cloak. His (original) hands are held together in front of him. He has an original bare foot. His halo extends beyond the medallion. Figure 4 is dressed in an original yellow apron and a green tunic. He has original white legs, with his right knee bent and his left straight. His right arm is raised above his head. His left is held behind the line of his body.

There was possibly some foliage up the left-hand side.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Figure 2: (Jew). Hair curled to side. Top of head bald. Large eyes. Eyelids. Prominent nostril.
2. Figure 4: Probably original face, with paint loss.

Iconography and original location: Paul stoned in Lystra.¹²²

With its scene of a saint being stoned and its red background and C border, the panel shows the stoning of Paul at Lystra, followed by two related scenes in 4d (where Paul is taken out of the City as dead) and 4e (where he revives with the Disciples around him). Only one other version of this scene has been located (not in glass), while neither of the subsequent incidents has been found elsewhere.¹²³

Of possible significance is that this episode commenced with the healing of a lame man (Acts of the Apostles, 14:9), which resulted in Jews, arriving from Antioch and Iconium, inciting the stoning of Paul (Acts of the Apostles, 14:18). The miracle itself is not shown in the window, although its consequences were, namely the way the Jews took advantage of the event to persecute Paul. In other words, only the anti-Semitic part is shown. Note the Jewish caricature of the surviving head of one of the men throwing stones. It is unusual in the chapter house glazing to show the aftermath of a miracle, while omitting the miracle itself.

See the comments in Chapter 3 about the way this panel, visually and thematically, resonates with CHs3:28 in the other central panel above.

This is one of only two lights in the chapter house glass which includes the possible Marian symbol of the fleurs-de-lys in the borders. (The other light is the central light of the Passion and Resurrection window in CH1). There is a visual association with CHs3:28 which would have been in 6c above (see Chapter 3).

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it. The panel was moved from 6c to 1a. See the comments in the summary of CHs3:6.

Torre:¹²⁴

Description: “23 In bottom Row & 1st Light 4 men stand together 1 habited vt leggs O 2d habited gu leggs O 3d habited gu & A glory O being a Saint 4th [1] O & vt leggs A.”

Comments: The most striking fact is that CHs3:18 had been moved inappropriately to an A light during the stonework problems of 1669-70.

8					
6					
4					
2					
1	18				

Intervention: in the 1690s, or, more likely, the 1760s, the panel was moved back to its central light position.

¹²² Acts 14:18.

¹²³ The only other appearance recorded is the twelfth-century bible in Troyes, MS 2391, fol. 225v, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, 79.

¹²⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

Browne:¹²⁵

Description: "Stoning of St Paul."

Comments: The identification is based on the image of secular figures (bare legs), one with hand raised in a gesture that could imply stoning.

		18		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the head of the left-hand figure had already been removed.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹²⁶

Description: (First) "[Titles deleted. Variously the stoning of St Stephen or St Paul, The Scourging of Christ]

In the centre is a figure of [deleted] our Lord Seated [undelete] and clad in a blue tunic and white cloak. Blue nimbus with white cross and on the left side of two men, one in purple sleeveless coat over a yell coat with tight sleeves as in the act of smiting the other in green coat yell socks diagonal striped and pink shoes. Head gone. He holds something in his right hand and stands in defiant attitude. A figure to the right has a short yell waistcoat over a tunic of green with light sleeves white legs and diagonal bands on the. He holds right arm up in attitude of striking."

(Second) "St Paul stoned."

Comments: It is odd that he saw central tunic as "blue". There is no sign of the blue nimbus and white cross.

		18		

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹²⁷

Description: "St Paul stoned The apostle is in the midst of his assailants who are stoning him with stones. St Paul has a book in his hand and holds up his robe."

		18		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: one new piece of re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹²⁸

		18		

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one mending lead in the medallion
*Grisaille: some re-building, which involved the removal of a painted piece of glass. Borders: some mending leads.*¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 70.

¹²⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.187r.

¹²⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.87r.

¹²⁸ Figure CHs3:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5247, 1929-32: 60, 3L5P.

¹²⁹ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5248, ca.1961: 60, 3L5P.

Milner White:¹³⁰

Description: "St Paul stoned at Lystra.
Acts 14, verse 19."

		18		

Brown:¹³¹

Description: "Paul is stoned at Lystra."

		18		

Current:

		18		

¹³⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

¹³¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs3:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 4d © York Glaziers Trust.

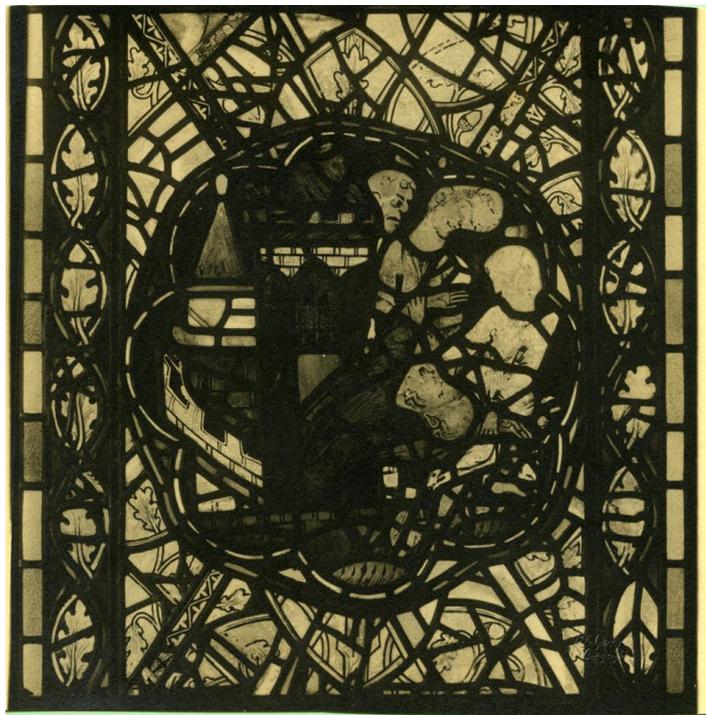


Figure CHs3:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5249, 1929-32: 60, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹³²

¹³² An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5250, 1969: 60, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21319, ca.1961: 60, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

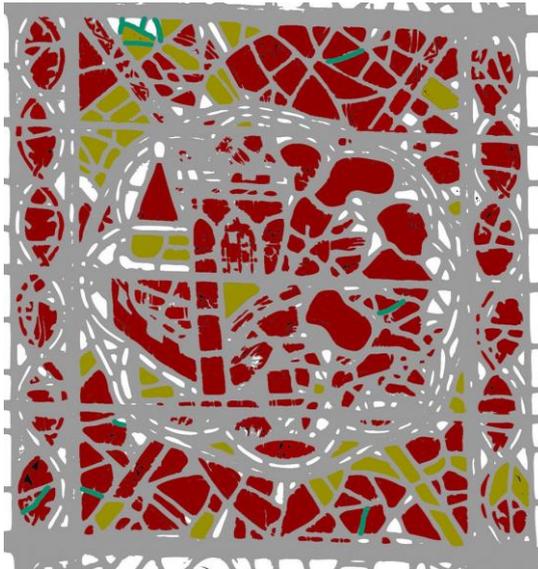


Figure CHs3:19 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:19 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			19	

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Red background and there is a sign of a murrey and green base in same form as the green/yellow base in other panels.

Much original glass survives. There is a yellow roof to the left-hand tower, with green masonry below with a murrey cornice. The remainder of the building had yellow battlements, white masonry, green walkway, blue roof, red gates and yellow interior.

All the heads are original. There are no halos. The figure in green is being pulled through the gates by two figures, one in yellow and the right-hand one in white with murrey legs and a bare foot. Another head is peeping round the corner of the building.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Probably Workshop 3.

From top figure in clockwise direction.

1. (Partial) Jewish appearance.
2. Concave head. Curls. Paint loss.
3. Original.
4. Paint loss.

Iconography and original location: Paul taken from the city as if dead.¹³³
 The panel has a red background and B type borders. It is the central of three panels relating to the sequence of the stoning at Lystra in 4c, in which Paul is revived, surrounded by his disciples in 4e. It appears to be extremely rare in surviving Pauline iconography: no other representation has been identified. The fact that three scenes have been devoted to the one episode of the stoning shows the emphasis in the window on the persecution of Paul and his determination in resuming his mission as a preacher. Because of the involvement of Jews in instigating the stoning of Paul, it continues the anti-Semitic undertone of the window. Note the Jewish caricature of the man observing Paul being taken from the City.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹³⁴

Description: “16 In 4th Light stand 3 holy Men before a prison (Coloured A gu & B) 1 habited O & vt glory A, 2d A & Murry glory O 3rd [nothing written].”

8					
6					
4				19	
2					
1					

Comments: The building could as easily be a city as a prison. Torre did not see all the figures, but the identification is clear. The only difficulty is his reference to halos, none of which is visible and for which there is no space.

Browne:¹³⁵

Description: “The dragging of St Paul out of the City as dead.”

				19	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹³⁶

Description: (First) “No 4: [pencil] St Paul charged and cast out of the city. A scene with a tower in the centre having 2 folding gates with portcullis

				19	

drawn up and out of it is figure casting himself out or what is prob more correct being pulled out by another figure. Two more looking on.

The figure half in the town wears a green tunic St Paul and seems to be falling backwards headlong down. The left arm raised right over the head with the right arm pulled at in the most vicious manner by a figure clad in a white tunic, pink legs yell shoes. He lifting one leg to get better purchase to pull with one of the figures seen behind the 1st is a female with yell tunic. The other only a head seen is a male figure looking intently over his shoulder at the st. The tower is pink colour. The door being red, inside of doorway yell. Pattern of walls green. Back of panel ruby.”

(Second): “St Paul dragged out of the City.”

¹³³ Acts 14:18.

¹³⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹³⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 70.

¹³⁶ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.187r.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹³⁷

Description: "St Paul dragged out of the City

Out of a towered gateway with two folding gates open are shewing a

portcullis drawn up to the top is seen the figure of St Paul dragged out backwards by two men one of them in a most vigorous manner has seized the saint by the arm and applies his left to the wall to obtain greater purchase over his victim. Two figures one is female clad in a yellow tunic look on intently from behind."

			19	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³⁸

			19	

Intervention by Milner White: small pieces of mending leads are visible.¹³⁹

Milner White:¹⁴⁰

Description: "He is dragged out of the city as dead. Acts 14, verse 19."

			19	

Brown:¹⁴¹

Description: "Paul is dragged out of the city by three disciples."

			19	

Current:

			19	

¹³⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.88r.

¹³⁸ Figure CHs3:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5249, 1929-32: 60, 4L5P.

¹³⁹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21319, ca.1961: 60, 4L5P.

¹⁴⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

¹⁴¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

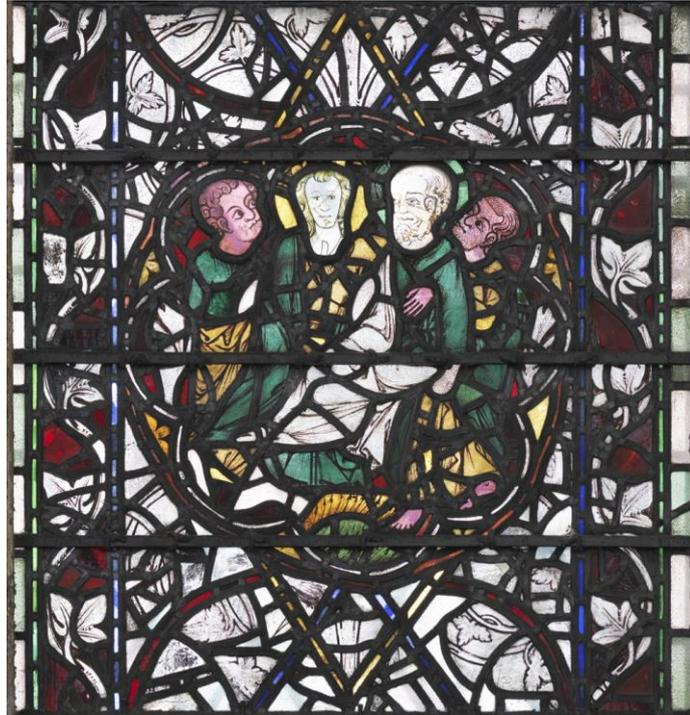


Figure CHs3:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.

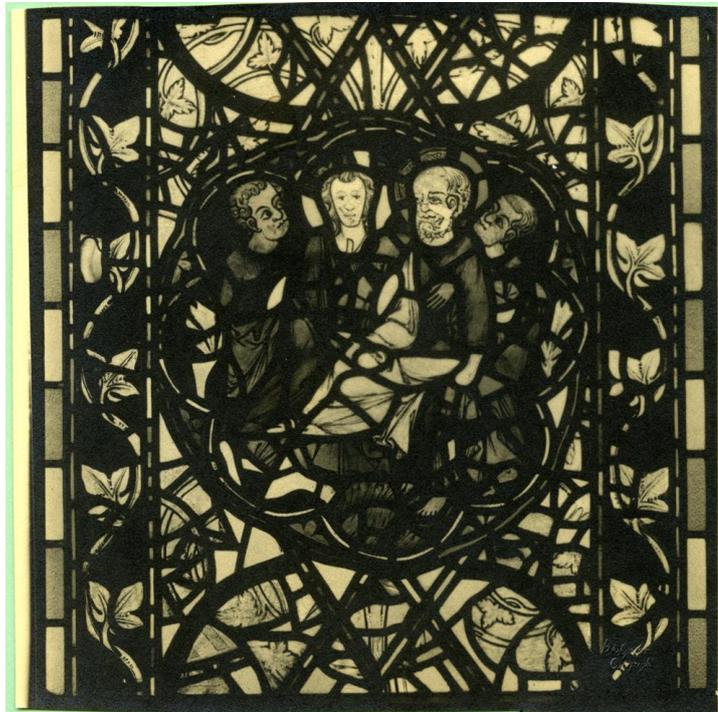


Figure CHs3:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5251, 1929-32: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

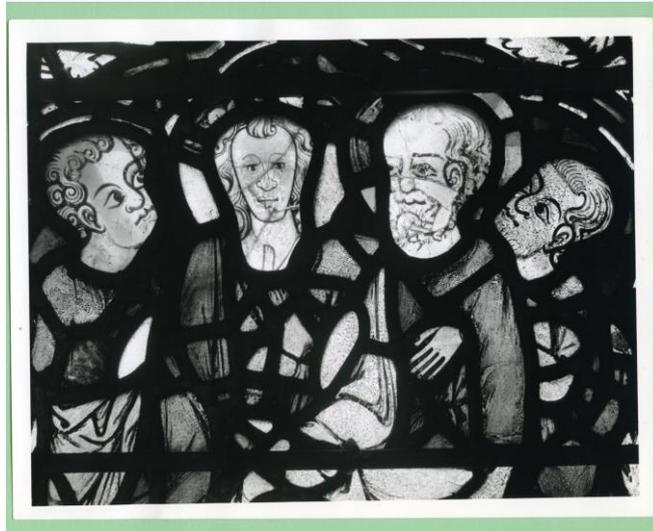


Figure CHs3:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5253, YMR 1302 © Crown Copyright. Detail.¹⁴²

Original location, appearance and iconography:

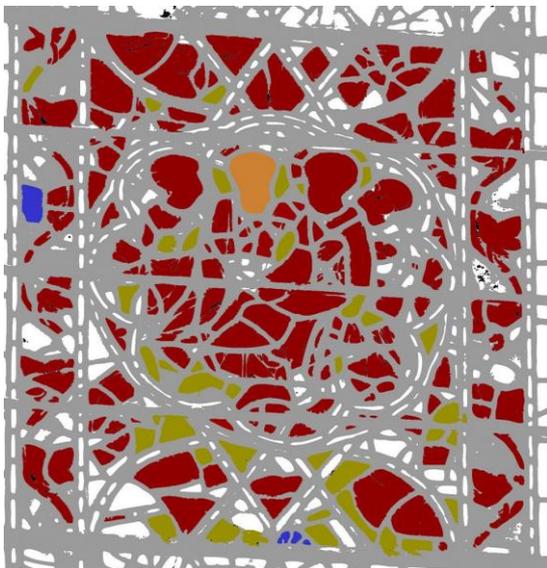


Figure CHs3:20 Restoration History

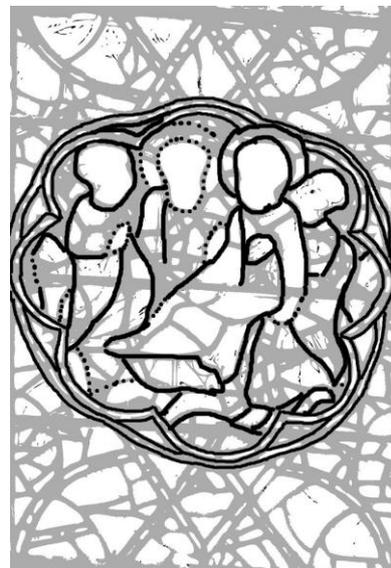


Figure CHs3:20 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				20

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Green/yellow base. Red background.

There were two central figures, one in yellow tunic and green cloak and the second in green tunic and white cloak. The head of the former is intruded, but

¹⁴² See also YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5252, ca.1960: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.

there are signs of an original yellow halo. The latter figure has an original head and green halo. He is semi-recumbent and is supported by a smaller figure to right-hand side, with original, pink head. This third figure is in a yellow tunic and green cloak, and is barefoot. The figure to the left-hand side is in green tunic and yellow cloak with an original, pink head. There are white plants up both sides of the medallion.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Big features. Tight curls. Large eyes. Rounded eyebrows, lines extending to create both sides of nose. Prominent nostril. M-shaped mouth, with prominent chin bone. Pink glass.
2. Bald figure. Big eyes. Hair to side. Flattened eyebrows, lines creating both sides of nose M-shaped mouth and lower lip. Paint loss. White glass.
3. Rolls of tight hair. Big features. Big eyes and eyelids. Wide, rounded eyebrows, lines creating nose. M-shaped mouth and lower lip. Hint of beard. Pink glass.

Iconography and original location: Paul reviving with his disciples.¹⁴³

With its red background and A type border, the panel would have been originally located in 4e. It comprises the third in the sequence of three panels showing the stoning of Paul at Lystra (4c), his removal from the city (4d) and here, his revival surrounded by his disciples. As in the descriptions of the other two panels, no other surviving representation has been identified. The fact that three scenes have been devoted to the one episode of the stoning shows the emphasis in the window on the persecution of Paul and his determination to resume his mission as a preacher, with strong anti-Semitic undertones.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁴⁴

Description “22 In 5th Light 2 holy men Sitt about a Table at meat one habited vt & O glory vt The other vt & glory of the same on either hand them stands a Monk both habited O & vt.”

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1				

Comments: Torre was obviously confused by the panel and saw the figures as sitting at table. The table is difficult to explain but the fact that they, or at least one, was seen as sitting can be understood from Paul’s semi-recumbent posture.

Insertion: probably in the 1760s the panel was moved up a row to its original position.

¹⁴³ Acts 14:19.

¹⁴⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

Browne:¹⁴⁵

Description: "The recovery of St Paul and his disciples assisting him to rise."

				20

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: head inserted in second figure to the left.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴⁶

Description: (First) "No 5: St Paul held up with other souls

A man in position half laid down but supported by another who stands

behind him his hand under the arms. The former is nimbed and wears a green tunic and white cloak and has an aged furrowed face with curly beard and short hair his left arm hanging down as it were helpless. The man who is supporting him is partly seated and appears to look with anxious concern to this seated figure. He is robed in yell tunic and green cloak and red shoes.

To the left side are two figures the one nearest the central doorway only the drapery remaining, a green one probably St Peter head an insertion but the other figure is perfect and represents a man with curly hair and beard looking with great concern at the central figure. He is clad in green tunic and yell robe. The back is ruby. NB the two side heads are very red pink glass although the central head is pink glass although the central head is pink glass a very small tree grows up to the left side of the panel."

(Second) [pencil. Deleted]

Comments: Knowles continues to show his confusion about the subject matter of the window, interpreting it as "St Peter". He saw the feet of the right-hand figure as wearing red shoes. In fact they are original painted pink feet.

				20

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁴⁷

Description: "St Paul supported by Barnabas after being stoned. [pencil] Acts 14 20

The saint is laid on the ground with his

head resting on the heart of Barnabas who places his arms under those of St Paul and looks upon him with most anxious expression. Two more figures are near, one with sorrowful countenance. One of the figures much damaged."

Comments: In these notes, Knowles has recognised the subject matter as being "St Paul".

				20

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁴⁸

				20

¹⁴⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 70.

¹⁴⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.187v.

¹⁴⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.89r.

¹⁴⁸ Figure CHs3:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5251, 1929-32: 61, 5L5P.

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible changes in medallion.
Grisaille: some re-building, part of which involved the removal of a painted piece of glass.
*Border: one mending lead visible in the border.*¹⁴⁹

Milner White:¹⁵⁰

Description: "He recovers. (St Barnabas wears an inserted head of a woman!). Acts 14, verse 19."

				20

Brown:¹⁵¹

Description: "Paul recovers from his injuries."

				20

Current:

				20

¹⁴⁹ Conclusion from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5252, ca.1960: 61, 5L5P.

¹⁵⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

¹⁵¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

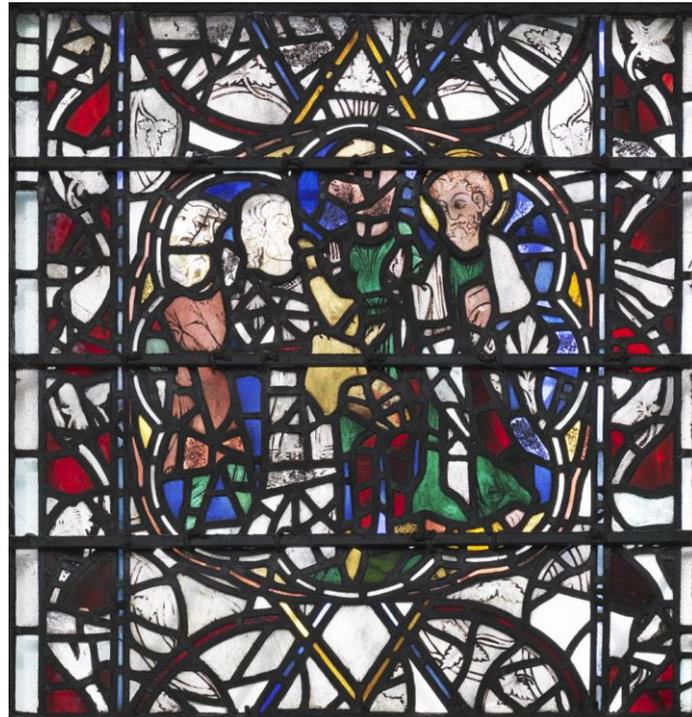


Figure CHs3:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

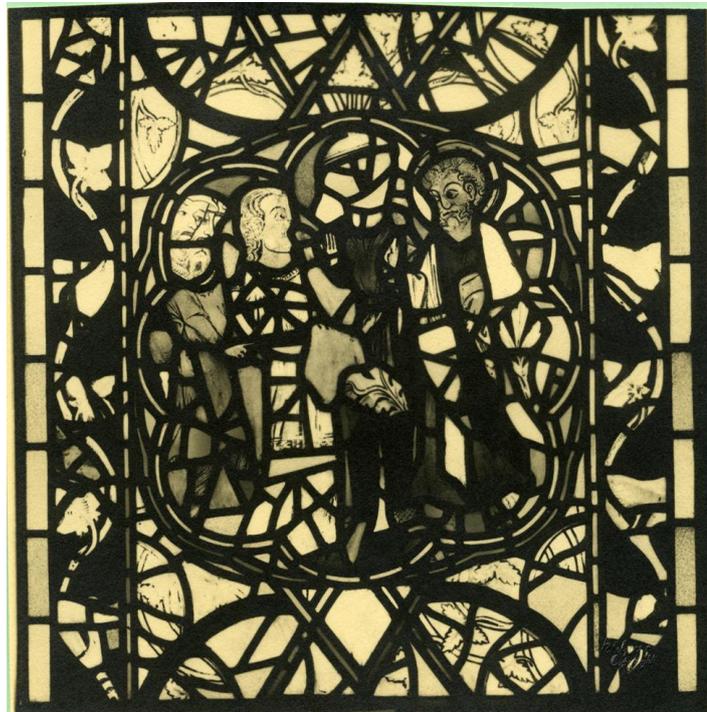


Figure CHs3:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5259, 1929-32: 60, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁵²

¹⁵² An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5260, ca.1961: 60, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21322, ca.1961: 60, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

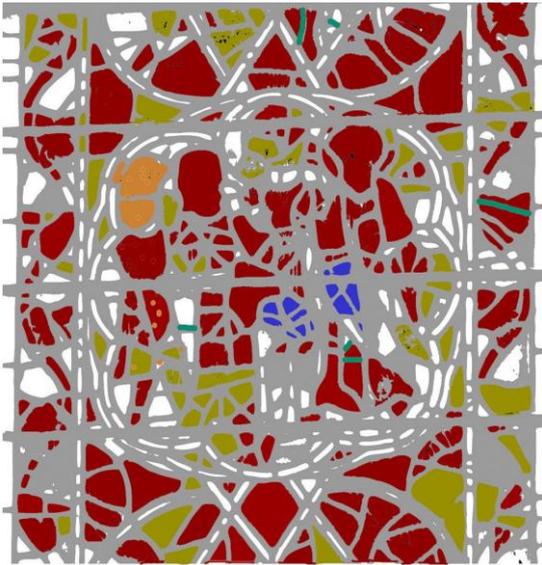


Figure CHs3:26 Restoration History

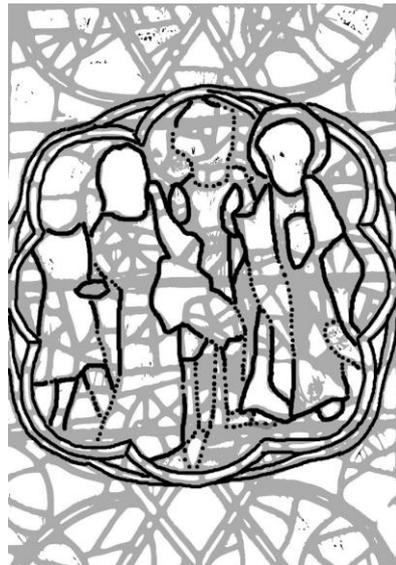


Figure CHs3:26 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

26				

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Green base. Blue background.

The heads of the second and fourth figures are original. The yellow halo to the right-hand figure is original. In order: the left-hand figure has a murrey tunic and green legs (inserted head); the second figure has a white tunic, hair loose, with an open mouth, from which is emerging a long, yellow (according to Torre) shape twisting downwards; the third is in a green tunic and possible red legs, wearing a yellow Type-4 hat (indicating Jewishness or "otherness"); the fourth (the saint) is in green tunic and white cloak, carrying a book in his left hand. His right hand is raised. White foliage can be seen on the right-hand side.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Flat, wavy hair. Wide eyebrows. Large eye. Paint loss.
2. Curly hair. Rounded eyebrows. Lines from both eyebrows creating lines of flattened nose. M-shaped mouth and lower lip. Wavy beard.

Iconography and original location: The evil spirit driven from the slave girl in Philippi.¹⁵³

With its blue background and A border, the panel would need to be located in 6a or 6e. It is suggested that all five panels in this row show scenes from the occasion when Paul cured a slave girl of her demons in Philippi, in which case CHs3:26 would be located in 6a, the shape emerging from the girl's mouth representing the evil spirit. With five scenes, the episode is allocated a far greater significance in Paul's iconography than appears elsewhere: the next most significant are the two scenes that have been identified is the series of frescoes in S Paulo fuori le mura.¹⁵⁴ Otherwise, this particular episode has only been located in two manuscripts.¹⁵⁵

In neither of these other depictions is the slave girl's owner present. It is intriguing, therefore, that both in this and in the subsequent panel (CHs3:27 in 6b) the owner is presented as being Jewish. Given that these two scenes link with the persecution of Paul by beating, it is possible that this attribution is an important indication of the anti-Semitic undercurrents in the window. Note also that Paul is carrying a book, doubtless to emphasise his role as a preacher and theologian.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: whatever happened to the window (see the comments in the summary of CHs3:6) the panel remained in the left-hand light, but was moved from 6a to 4a.

Torre:¹⁵⁶

Description: "13 In 3d Row & first Light stand 2 Saints one habited vt & O glory O the other vt & A Glory of zd Also 2 other Men. 1 habited A another purple legs vt."

Comments: The Type-4 cap of Jewishness or "otherness" on the third figure was seen as a halo, and the yellow of the demon shape as part of the same figure's clothing.

8					
6					
4	26				
2					
1					

Intervention: in the 1690s, or, more likely, the 1760s, the panel was restored to its original position, from 4a to 6a.

Browne:¹⁵⁷

Description: "A yellow, hideous Devil coming out of the mouth of a young damsel."

26					

¹⁵³ Acts 16:16-18.

¹⁵⁴ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figures 397 and 398, showing the parts of the episode involving the gaoler and his conversion. It is also possible that Figure 378, showing a general beating scene, is connected to this sequence.

¹⁵⁵ Venice, Guistiniani Coll., MS XXXV (465), fol. 135, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 179; Avranches, Bibl. Mun., MS 2-3, Vol. 2, fol. 294, *ibid.*, 80 and Figure 179. In both of these representations, the evil spirit is shown ascending from the mouth of the slave girl as opposed to the York image, where it is falling.

¹⁵⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹⁵⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 70.

Comments: It appears that the devil figure was more clearly visible when Browne saw it. The head of the slave girl is possibly drawing number 37 in Browne.¹⁵⁸

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: head inserted on left-hand figure.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁵⁹

Description: (First) "No 1: St Paul and Barnabas withstand Elymas.

[margin note:] Sts Peter and Paul is [point] of a youth who appears [...]

and the back figure [...] [...] of evil spirit. Two figures nimbed to the right hand and two figures in civil costume to the left hand. Both the nimbed figures hold their right hands up in warning. (Prob the subject is Ananias and Sapphira. The first has a green robe and yell cloak St Paul. The second a green robe and white cloak St Peter (St Barnabas?). The figure in front has a red purple coat reaching to the hips with green socks. Where the head has been is an insertion containing two heads in the same piece of glass. The next figure has a long white robe and appears to be that of a female. The back of the panel blue."

(Second): "Ananias and Sapphira."

Comments: Knowles’s description reflects his continued confusion about which window showed the life of St Peter and St Paul respectively.

26				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁶⁰

Description: “Ananias and Sapphira St Peter to the right hand clad in green tunic and white cloak holding his right hand up in front of a woman (Sapphira)

who starts back in fright. A young man behind taking hold of her.[Her] head a later date insertion. To the left hand are two more figures one is clad in a tunic and [busks] intended for one of the young men who [...] Sapphira out. The other figures are onlookers.”

Comments: Further evidence of the confusion about Sts Peter and Paul.

26				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁶¹

26				

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, facing page 14.

¹⁵⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.87v.

¹⁶⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.85r.

¹⁶¹ Figure CHs3:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5259, 1929-32: 60, 1L3P.

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: yellow glass inserted for head of demon, replacing an earlier intruded piece. White glass inserted in the sleeve of St Paul.

Grisaille: a couple of pieces of mending leads are visible.

*Borders: one mending lead can be seen.*¹⁶²

Milner White:¹⁶³

26				

Brown:¹⁶⁴

Description: “?Paul and companions cast out evil spirits.”

26				

Current:

26				

¹⁶² Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5260, ca.1961: 60, 1L3P.

¹⁶³ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

¹⁶⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

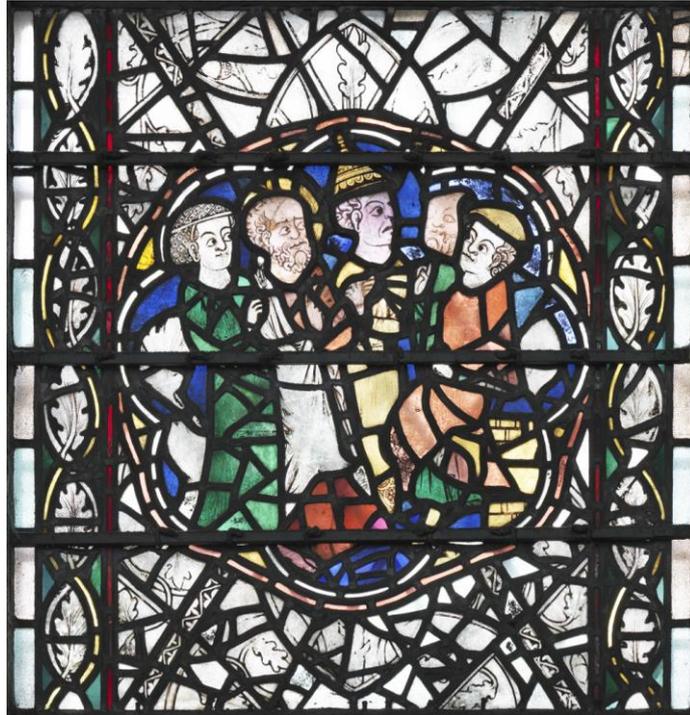


Figure CHs3:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 6b © York Glaziers Trust.

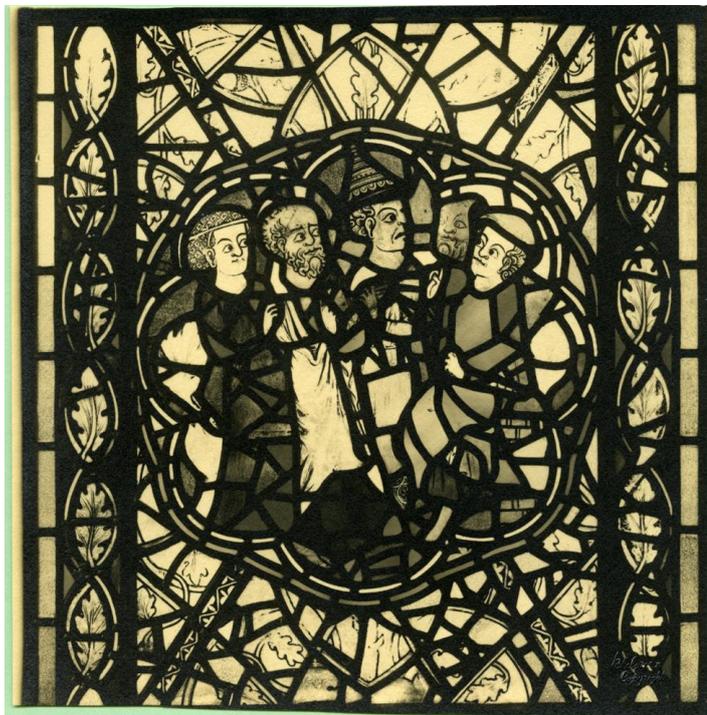


Figure CHs3:27 YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5261, 1929-32: 60, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.



Figure CHs3:27 YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5263, ca.1961: 60, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. Detail of slave-owner's head.



Figure CHs3:27 CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21324, 1969: 60, 2L3P. Photograph by RCHM © Crown Copyright. Detail of the original heads.¹⁶⁵

Original location, appearance and iconography:

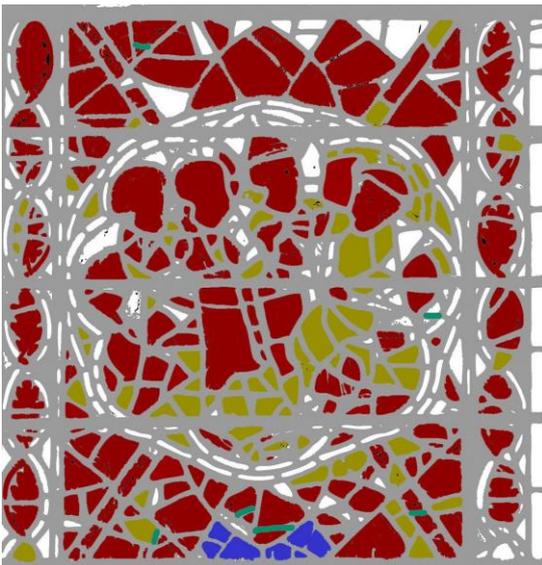


Figure CHs3:27 Restoration History

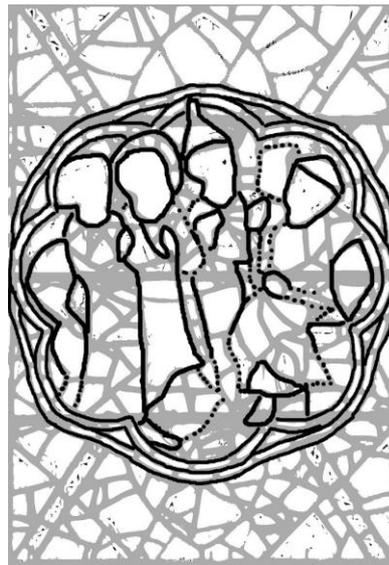


Figure CHs3:27 Lead lines

¹⁶⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5262, ca.1961: 60, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21323, ca.1961: 60, 2L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location:

	27			

Probable original appearance. An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Blue background. No sign of green base (though blue may have replaced it). Foliage to left-hand side and possibly originally also to the right.

There are five figures, all with original heads. Figure 1 (female) has some original green clothing. Her hair is neatly tied back (in contrast to CHs3:26). Her right hand is partially raised. Figure 2 has a white cloak and intruded murrey tunic, bare foot, raised right hand and yellow halo. Figure 3 is in a yellow tunic and the only example in the chapter house of a Type-1 Jewish hat. With his left hand he appears to be restraining or holding the left hand of second figure. Figure 4 is in green, standing facing the first three figures. Figure 5 is seated, in murrey, on yellow masonry. His right hand is raised and his left hand is held across his lap. He is wearing a Type- 4 cap of Jewishness or “otherness”.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Figure 1. Large eyes, line of rounded eyebrows creating nose, big, wide eyes, eyelids, M-shaped mouth and lower lip.
2. Figure 2. Bald top of head and curls to side, big features, straight eyebrows, lines creating both sides of nose, hint of a frown, large eyes, eyelids, prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth and lower lid, straggly beard.
3. Figure 3. Jew. Tight hair, rounded eyebrows, hooked nose, wide features.
4. Figure 4. Possible original head, eyebrow lines create sides of nose, large eyes, pupils, exaggerated M-shaped mouth and lower lip, tight beard.
5. Figure 5. Tight curls, wide features, rounded eyebrows, lines of which create sides of nose, big eyes, eyelids, M-shaped mouth and lower lip.

Iconography and original location: The slave girl’s owner taking Paul to the Magistrate.¹⁶⁶

With its B border and blue background, the only original locations for this panel are 6b and 6d, but as the latter can clearly be identified as following 6c, it means that 6b must be correct. As one of the five scenes associated with the curing of the slave girl, being located between the miracle and the beating in 6c, it is likely to represent Paul being taken by the slave girl’s owner to the magistrate. This would explain the fact that the third figure (the slave owner, with a Jewish cap) is probably hanging on to the left arm of the second figure (St. Paul), leaving the female figure to the left as the slave girl (now in different

¹⁶⁶ Acts 16:19-20.

clothing from the miracle scene). No similar scene has been identified elsewhere. The possible significance of the identification of the slave owner as Jewish has been discussed in connection with CHs3:26.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁶⁷

Description: "14 In 2^d Light stands a Bp his habitt Myter & Cross Staff all O on one side him stands a Monk habited purple skirts vt On the other another Man habited vt."

8					
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4					
2					
1					

Comments: It makes sense if the bishop's "myter" is, in fact, the prominent Jewish Type-1 hat of the central figure. The "Cross Staff" is difficult to locate. Torre did not see or describe Figure 2.

Browne:¹⁶⁸

Description: "Paul brought before master of young damsel and [?] with her accusing Paul, to the Governor of having caused him loss."

	27			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁶⁹

Description: (First) "No 2: The damsel challenging Peter in the outer court of the palace

	27			

Five figures three of them to the right side seated the 1st and 3rd have doctors caps. Opposite to them are two figures one a youthful female. The other a man St Peter are nimbed. The first figure to right hand side has a purp cloak and green tunic. Yell socks and shoes. Yell cap.



And holds his right hand up in a cautionary attitude.



Of the next figure there is only the head visible. In the middle is a man with a yell coat and doctors hat looking angrily at the seated man. His hand on his breast. The next seems to be in a passive attitude. Head with curly hair and beard. St Peter. Yell nimbus. Purp tunic and white cloak. The 5th like a female has a hair like this.



¹⁶⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹⁶⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 70.

¹⁶⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.187v-188r.

whether it is in a coif or not I can't see.
 A green tunic only and holds her hand up in caution.
 The back is blue. A stunted tree grows up at left side but as this does in several panels it might be only a device to fill up that vacant space."
 (Second) [ink. Deleted]

Comments: This description continues Knowles's confusion about the identity of the Life shown in the window.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁷⁰

Description: "Peter in the palace of the High Priest

St Peter is here represented as having been brought into the Hall by St John and who stands looking at the actions of a maid who places her hand on Peter's shoulder and holds her finger up in a questioning attitude. Three figures of scribes stand looking on one of them also raising his finger at Peter prob putting the question "surely thou art one of them". A governor seated in a chair to the left hand also holds his hand in deprecation. [pencil] see 2 of the heads in old copy pg 96a."

Comments: This continues the Peter/Paul confusion.

	27			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: some new pieces of re-soldering visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁷¹

	27			

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one small mending lead

Grisaille: mending leads. One area was rebuilt, with removal of some intruded glass.

*Borders: no change.*¹⁷²

Milner White:¹⁷³

Description: "Paul before magistrates there. Acts 16, verse 20."

	27			

Brown:¹⁷⁴

Description: "Paul brought before magistrates."

	27			

¹⁷⁰ Knowles, "Historic Notes," Vol. 1, fol.86r.

¹⁷¹ Figure CHs3:27 YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5261, 1929-32: 60, 2L5P.

¹⁷² Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5262, ca.1961: 60, 2L3P.

¹⁷³ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

¹⁷⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Current:

	27			

Photographic record:

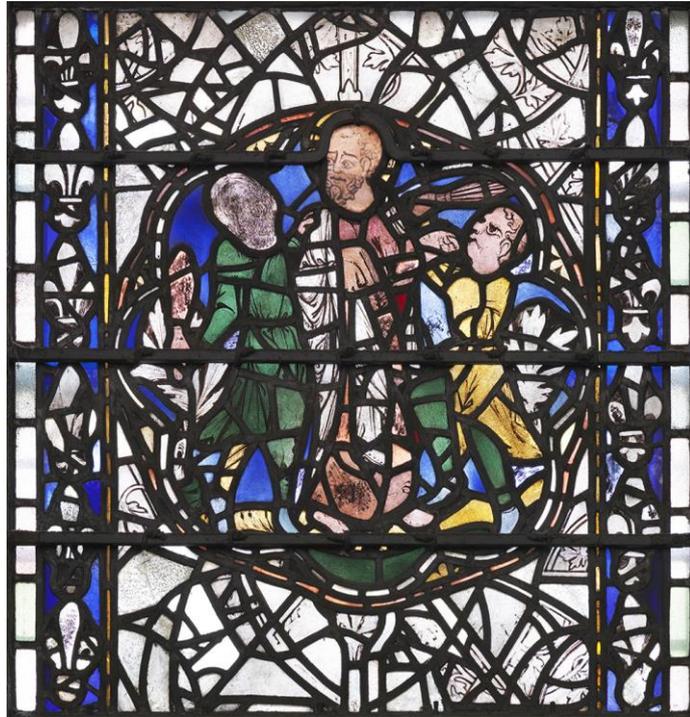


Figure CHs3:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs3:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5265, 1929-32: 60, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5266, ca.1961: 60, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21325, in or before 1961: 60, 3L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

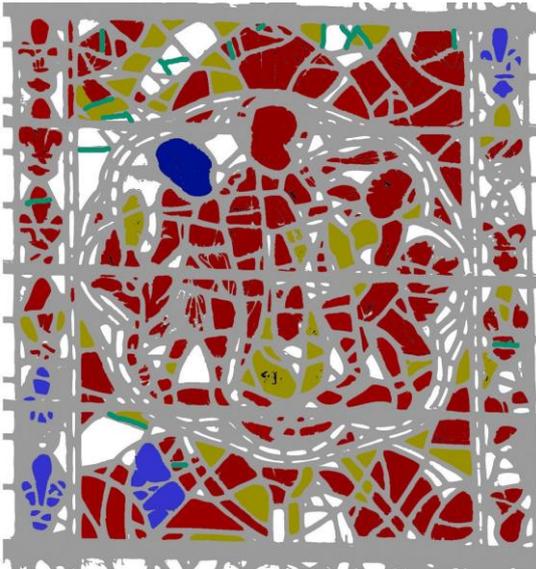


Figure CHs3:28 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:28 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		28		

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Blue background. Yellow base visible, and probable intruded glass for where green would have been.

The central and right heads are original. A nimbed figure is in the centre (with a yellow halo), dressed in a murrey tunic and white cloak. He is holding a book in his right hand, his left hand extended to his left. His halo extends beyond medallion edge. A figure to the left is in a green tunic, with a yellow leg and blue shoes, is holding an object (probably a whip) in his right hand behind him. His left hand is holding the shoulder of the central figure. The figure to the right is in a yellow tunic, brandishing a brush whip in his right hand above the shoulder of the central figure. White foliage to left and right.

The central figure is in contrapposto position with his head turned towards the east.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Workshop 3.

1.... (Central figure) Wide features, large eyes, light curly hair, straight eyebrows, lines creating both sides of flattened nose, prominent nostril, big eyes, eyelids, straggly beard.

2. (Right-hand figure) Deformed face and hooked nose, probably indicating a Jew.

Iconography and original location: Paul beaten in Philippi.¹⁷⁶

The third scene in the Philippi sequence shows Paul being beaten with rods. With its blue background and C border, the only available location is 6c. This is also a rare scene in Pauline iconography: the only other location may have been in the thirteenth-century frescoes in S Paolo fuori le mura, although the exact details of this beating scene cannot be identified.¹⁷⁷ Note the Jewish caricature of the only surviving head of one of the scourgers.

See Chapter 3 for the discussion of the way this panel visually and thematically reflects CHs3:18 in 4c below.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁷⁸

Description “10 In 3d Light stands a Saint habited gu & A glory O & a man on either side him 1 habited vt the other O.”

8				
6		28		
4				
2				
1				

Browne:¹⁷⁹

Description: “St Paul being beaten with rods.”

		28		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁸⁰

Description: (First) “No 3: St Paul scourged

In the centre a figure like our Lord robed in a red purp tunic and white cloak cast over the shoulders and tied up in folds at the girdle. Yell nimbus to head. Face pink with curly hair and beard turned sideways and looking at a figure on the left who is clad in green coat reaching to the hips and yell socks and blue shoes no head gear. He touches our Lord [deleted and added in red St Paul] on the shoulders and holds a staff in his right hand. A figure to the right clad in yell short coat green socks and blue shoes is casting himself down on the knee and raises his hands in supplication. There is a piece of purple glass above this figure like a hand or cloud but can’t make it out. The forgn of Paul is glass. The back blue.”

(Second) “Paul scourged. Acts 16/23.”

Comments: The “purple glass” may represent the brush whip. Because he did not see the whip held by the right-hand figure, he was misled into assuming the figure was kneeling.

		28		

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁸¹

Description: “No 3: St Paul scourged Two men with rods in their hands are seen smiting St Paul who stands in the

		28		

¹⁷⁶ Acts 16:22.

¹⁷⁷ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 378.

¹⁷⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹⁷⁹ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

¹⁸⁰ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.188r.

¹⁸¹ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.87r.

centre looking upon his persecutors one of the men is dressed in green coat yellow [bushes] and red shoes and the other has a green tunic and yellow coat.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁸²

		28		

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no change visible except that he either replaced the head of the left-hand figure or cemented a piece that had been intruded previously.
Grisaille: some mending leads. One area of inserted glass removed and replaced by leaded glass.
*Borders: fleurs-de-llys inserted to replace the intruded glass that was there before.*¹⁸³

Milner White:¹⁸⁴

Description: “He is scourged. Acts 16, verse 22.”

		28		

Brown:¹⁸⁵

Description: “Paul is scourged.”

		28		

Current:

		28		

¹⁸² Figure CHs3:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5265, 1929-32: 60, 3L3P.

¹⁸³ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5266, ca.1961: 60, 3L3P.

¹⁸⁴ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

¹⁸⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs3:29: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 6d © York Glaziers Trust.

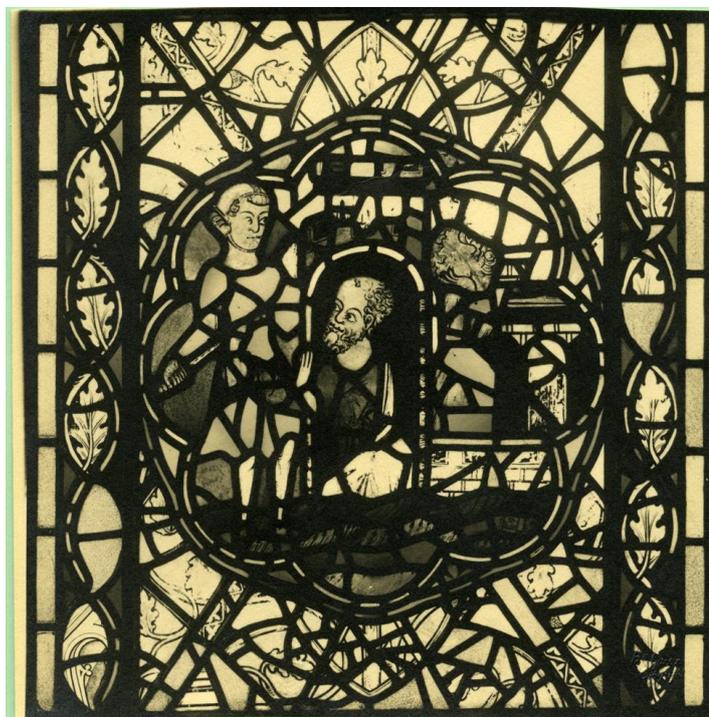


Figure CHs3:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5267, 1929-32: 60, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5268, ca.1961: 60, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21326, on or before 1961: 60, 4L3P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

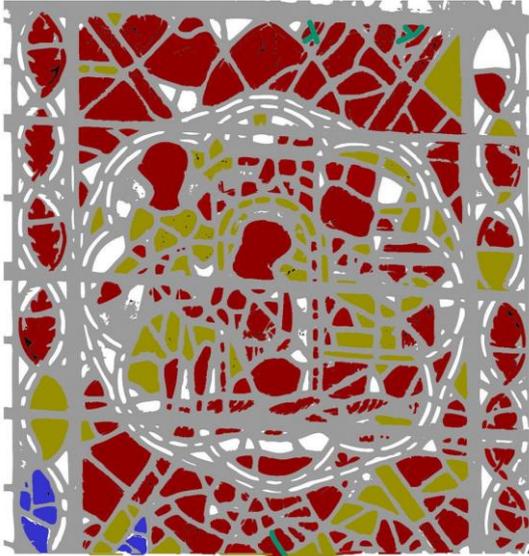


Figure CHs3:29 Restoration History

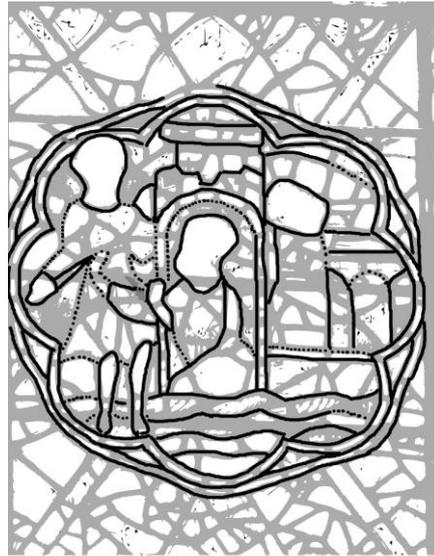


Figure CHs3:29 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			29	

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Blue background. Striking green and yellow ground.

All three heads are original. The standing figure to the left, in a coif, is in murrey tunic and white or bare legs, holding a weapon in his right hand and his left hand raised. The sitting figure under the archway is in a green tunic with a white cloak, with both hands outstretched towards the figure on the left. The archway is white, with green battlements above and yellow at the top, with a white superstructure. The figure to the right has his head in his hand as if he is asleep but his eyes are open. He is clad in murrey and is sitting in another area of masonry, with white stonework, yellow superstructure and white gate with open, red doors.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Tight rolls of hair under coif, wide, rounded eyebrows, lines extending down one side of nose, big eyes, eyelids, M-shaped mouth, chin bone.
2. Curly hair to side and less on top, wide, rounded eyebrows, lines creating nose, big eyes, eyelids, prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth, curly beard.
3. (Partial). Curly hair, big eyes, prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth, lower lip, tight beard.

Iconography and original location: Paul freed by the earthquake in Philippi: the gaoler dismayed.¹⁸⁷

With the B type border and the blue background, the panel must have been located in 6b or 6d and is unusual in that it contains two separate incidents. It shows the gaoler first of all waking up (to the right), presumably seeing the open prison gates, and then about to commit suicide when he incorrectly jumped to the conclusion that his prisoner had taken advantage of the damage caused by the earthquake and escaped. Paul's extended hand is presumably to indicate that he is reassuring the gaoler. The scene follows the beating in 6c and would therefore originally have been in 6d. Again, the only other representation of this scene that has been identified was in the thirteenth-century frescoes in S Paolo fuori le mura.¹⁸⁸

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁸⁹

Description: "11 4th Light a Saint habited vt & A sits at a prison door by him stands an Executioner habited murry leggs A feet B running the sd Saint through with a Naked Sword."

8					
6				29	
4					
2					
1					

Comments: He did not see the figure to the right and assumed the sword was to inflict harm on the prisoner, not on himself.

Browne:¹⁹⁰

Description: "St Paul freed in prison. The Gaolor is terrified."

Comments: The head wearing a coif is possibly Browne's drawing number 23.¹⁹¹

				29	

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁹²

Description: (First) "No 4: St Paul in Prison."

				29	



The greater half of the picture to the right occupied by a tower gateway and battlemented building almost identical with that in no 4 lower row first window but with the addition of more wall to the side. In the doorway the back of which is red is the half figure of St Paul with pink red face curly hair and beard clad in green tunic holding his right hand up and looking up at a man standing near

¹⁸⁷ Acts 16:25-29.

¹⁸⁸ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 397.

¹⁸⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

¹⁹⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, facing page 14.

¹⁹² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.188rv.

the gateway or tower. The man has short curly hair clad in green tunic holding his right hand up looking up at a man standing near the gateway or tower. The man has short curly smooth face and is clad in purple tunic reaching to the thighs. White legs. He holds a sword in his right hand and his left hand up and over the head of St. He has neither wings or nimbus as in the panel in 1st window.”

(Second) [pencil] “St Paul in prison [...] Acts 16/23.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁹³

Description: “No 3. St Paul in prison. Seen through the doorway of a similar tower and gateway represented in the St Peter window is depicted the figure of St Paul with his hand raised and his gaze fixed on a man who stands near the gateway holding a sword in his hand and who is holding his left hand upon in warning or caution and looks at the incarcerated saint.”

			29	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹⁴

			29	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no change visible.
Grisaille: a few mending leads and one replacement section of glass, involving the removal of a piece of intruded, striped glass.
Borders: one architectural insertion for oak leaf replaced by clear glass.*¹⁹⁵

Milner White:¹⁹⁶

Description: “Deliverance from prison. Acts 16, verse 20.”

			29	

Brown:¹⁹⁷

Description: “Paul is released from prison.”

			29	

Current:

			29	

¹⁹³ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.88r.

¹⁹⁴ Figure CHs3:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5267, 1929-32: 60, 4L3P.

¹⁹⁵ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5268, ca.1961: 60, 4L3P.

¹⁹⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

¹⁹⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

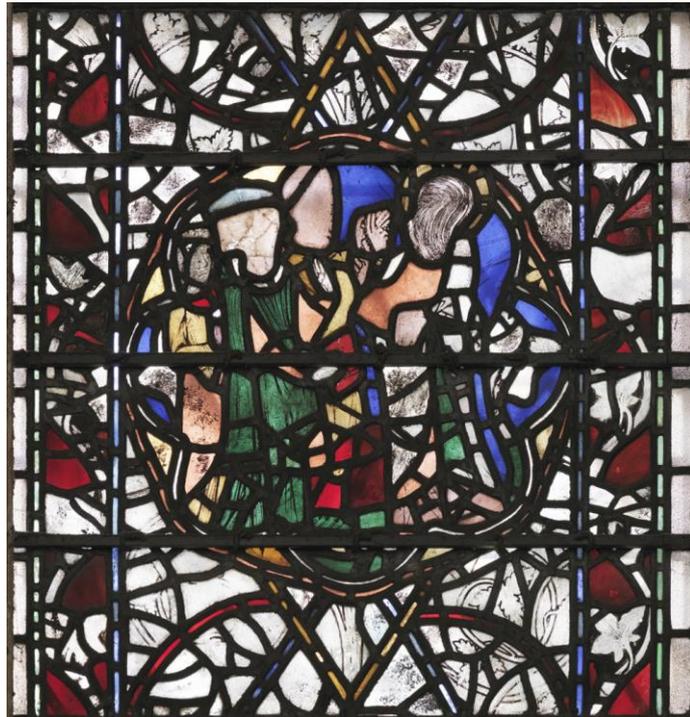


Figure CHs3:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs3:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5265, 1929-32: 60, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5270, ca.1961: 60, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21327, ca.1961: 60, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

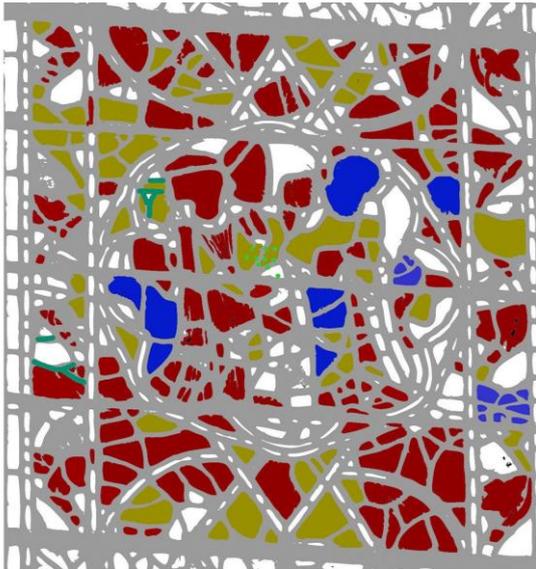


Figure CHs3:30 Restoration History

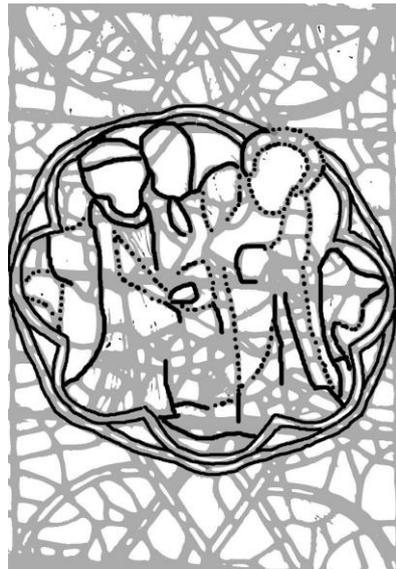


Figure CHs3:30 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				30

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Yellow and possibly originally green ground. Background blue.

Two original heads (paint lost) on the second and third figures. The first figure is in an original yellow tunic, right hand partially raised. The second figure is in a green cloak, right hand held out and would probably have had long curly hair, according to Knowles. His left hand is possibly raised; the right hand may be holding a red object. The third figure is in yellow, with hands possibly raised and the left one entwined with the right hand of Figure 4. The cloak is of indeterminate colour. The fourth figure is nimbed in yellow, with the yellow halo extending beyond medallion. He appears to be holding something, probably a book, in his left hand. He was possibly in a murrey tunic, with his cloak unclear (possibly white) (Torre saw white and green, but not murrey). White foliage to right and possibly left.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Paint loss.
2. Paint loss.

Iconography and original location: The Magistrates in Philippi begging Paul to leave.¹⁹⁹

The original location of this panel, with its blue background and A border, was 6e. After the conversion of the gaoler (which is only implied in the window), the Magistrates freed their prisoner and begged him to leave, having realised that he was a Roman citizen. There are signs of foliage up the side of the medallion, Paul was probably holding a book to denote his preacher/theologian status and one of the magistrates has a Type-4 cap denoting Jewishness or “otherness”.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁰⁰

Description: “16 In 5th Light 4 Men stand together 1 habited O/2d vt, 3d O the 4th being a Saint robed A & vt glory O.”

8					
6					
4					30
2					
1					

Intervention: probably in the 1760s the panel was moved a row higher to its original position.

Browne:²⁰¹

Description: “St Paul entreated by Magistrates to depart.”

					30

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁰²

Description: (First) “No 5: [pencil] Prob Peter withstanding Simon Magus

There are three figures in this panel and appear to represent a disputation

of some sort or other. To the left are two figures. The first a man with long curly hair and wearing a doctors cap or scribe and a full shaped sleeveless tunic and under it a tunic of purple with tight sleeves holds both hands out palms outwards and dissenting.

The next one has a ruby cloak and apparently no headdress and looks straight at a man opposite holding one hand up at the same time in argumentative position.

The figure of the 3rd man is that of a saint with yell nimbus purp tunic and whi cloak. Some ruby at the back of the first figure gives the idea of a building and a short stunted tree fills up the right-hand space. Back of blue.”

(Second) [pencil] “St Paul [withstanding two men]. Acts 19/19.”

Comments: Knowles did not see the figure to the extreme left. His first comments show his confusion about the scene and the saint involved.

					30

¹⁹⁹ Acts 16:38-39.

²⁰⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

²⁰¹ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

²⁰² Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.188v.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁰³

Description: “St Paul withstanding Elymas

St Paul and St Barnabas stand with hands upraised in reprobation before a

man (Elymas robed in a green toga or cloak with a furred collar and on his head a doctor’s hat). He holds his fingers crossed in front in the attitude of deep argument. A woman in an white robed and a man in green [busks] and purple coat stand near Elymas.”

				30

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: some new pieces of re-soldering visible. Figure to the left had “long curly hair”. The paint seems to have been lost, but the glass is probably original. The same figure had “palms facing outwards”, but only one is visible in the 1930s photograph. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁰⁴

				30

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one area probably reglazed and one area of mending leads on left-hand head. He either replaced pieces of intruded glass or he cemented what had been inserted to make it less intrusive.
Grisaille: no change visible.
Borders: small areas of new glass/mending leads.*²⁰⁵

Milner White:²⁰⁶

Description: “The magistrates beg him to go away. Acts 16, verse 39.”

				30

Changes since Knowles’s descriptions:

The right-hand figure in Knowles had a purple tunic. It is now orange and the same orange has been used in Figures 2 and 3.

Brown:²⁰⁷

Description: “Paul and three others.”

				30

Current:

				30

²⁰³ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol. 89r.

²⁰⁴ Figure CHs3:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5265, 1929-32: 60, 5L3P.

²⁰⁵ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5270, ca.1961: 60, 5L3P.

²⁰⁶ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

²⁰⁷ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

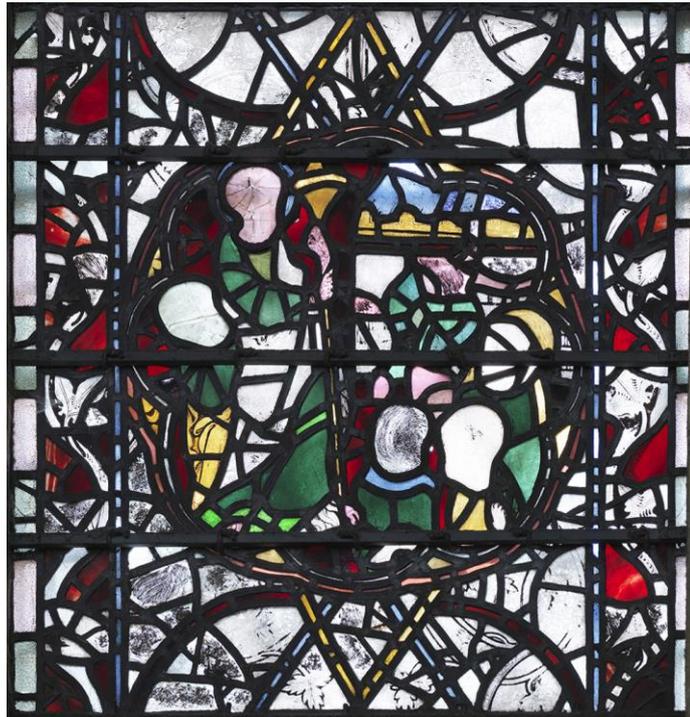


Figure CHs3:36: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 8a © York Glaziers Trust.

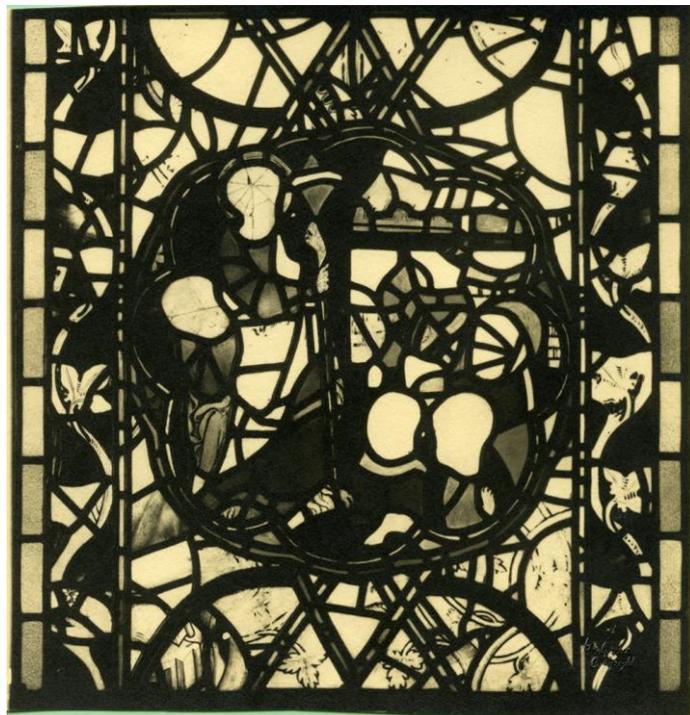


Figure CHs3:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5276, 1929-32: 60, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5227, ca.1961: 60, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21328, ca.1961: 60, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

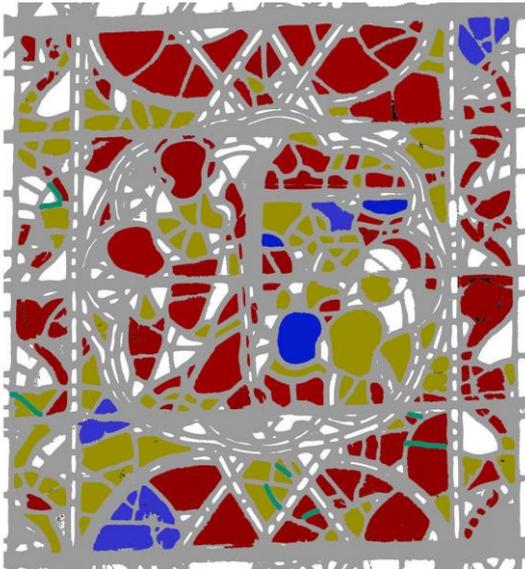


Figure CHs3:36 Restoration History

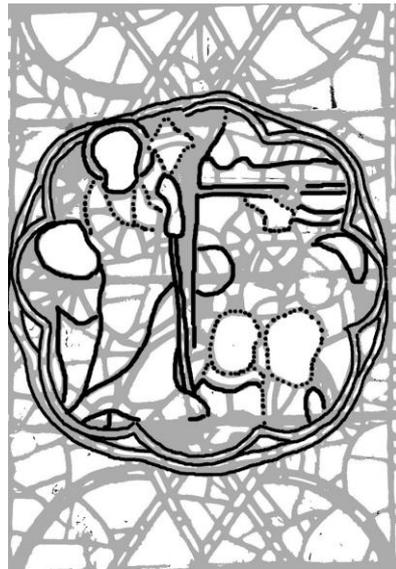


Figure CHs3:36 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

36				

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Red background.

No sign of green/yellow base.

The standing figure to the left has an original head but the paint has mainly been lost. He is dressed in a white cloak and, currently, a green tunic (Torre also saw it as green) and is holding a staff with his left hand (Torre says it is a cross staff), while his right hand is raised. His blue halo extends beyond the internal edge of the medallion. There is a second figure to the left-hand side, also with an original head and a yellow cloak, also suffering paint loss. There is a building in the right half of the panel, with yellow battlements and some white masonry, but the rest of the panel is very confused. There would have been figures within this building, probably two at a low level and possibly an original leg indicating a figure falling from a higher level.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Figure 1: paint loss
2. Figure 2: paint loss
3. Figure 3 (on ground): paint loss if original.

Iconography and original location: Fall of Patroclus (or Eutychus).²⁰⁹

With its A border and red background, this panel would have been located in 8a or 8e, but given the obvious identification of Paul’s martyrdom in CHs3:40 in 8e, this leaves 8a as the original position. There are the trace lines of a building structure to the right, below which is a small group of possible worshippers. In its much disturbed condition, it might be possible to decipher a shape above the group of worshippers, possibly with a limb extending to the right-hand side, which might represent the leg of someone falling. To the left of the structure is a standing figure in preaching mode holding what may, according to Torre, have been a cross-staff,²¹⁰ below whom is a second crouching or kneeling figure. It shows remarkable similarities to one of two scenes in Paul’s life: either that when he was preaching and the boy, Eutychus, listening above, fell and was killed, or the similar scene in Rome when Nero’s cupbearer, Patroclus, similarly overheard his sermon and fell to his death. The sources are ambiguous as to whether Paul was present when Eutychus was revived, while he was unambiguously present for Patroclus and, as in the Patroclus account, the returning spirit may be indicated by the presence of a bird above Paul’s head in CHs2:37. The clues indicate that, on balance, it may have shown Patroclus but this would mean it was out of narrative chronology, as the incident occurred when Paul had arrived in Rome and hence should have followed the shipwreck and viper scenes in CHs3:38 and 39. This would further enhance the significance of the corner location for CHs3:36.

Of the few images that have been identified as this image, it is notable that there is invariably a building in the picture, with the figure of Paul standing outside.²¹¹

Whichever episode is depicted, it is notable as the second main preaching scene in the window (the first being in location 2e). Given that the panel is in the opposite corner of the diagonal of the window, it is probably located here specifically to emphasise the teaching and preaching side of Paul’s contribution, the importance of which in York has been identified in the discussion in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: The panel was involved in the work done to the two left-hand lights and was moved from 8a to 6a.

Torre:²¹²

Description: “8 In 2n Row & first Light stands an holy Man habited vt & A glory B with a Cross-Staff in his hand O.”

Comments: This is a tentative attribution. It depends on assuming there were more figures which Torre did not describe.

8					
6	36				
4					
2					
1					

²⁰⁹ James, *Apocryphal*, 294 (for Patroclus) and Acts 20:7-9 (for Eutychus).

²¹⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

²¹¹ *Vercelli Rotulus*, Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, Figure 191; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.4.1, fol. 230v, *ibid.*, Figure 192; Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Laud Misc. 752, fol. 403v, *ibid.*, Figure 193.

²¹²YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

Browne:²¹³

Description: "Elymas the Magician smitten with blindness."

Comments: Browne does not explain how he arrived at this identification, but, from a process of elimination, this must be the panel concerned.

[36?]				

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²¹⁴

Description: (First) "No 1: Paul preaching at Athens."

A man standing to the left with curly hair and beard. Yell nimbus green tunic and white robe holds something in his left hand and holds his right out in [warning/JM wary] attitude. The whole attitude of man being defiant. To the right of this panel is a building in the backg with yell battlements and blue roof. In front a mixed mass which is hard to decipher but appears to be two men laid down. Back of panel ruby.

36				



[pencil] [...] a ladder."
(Second) "St Paul preaching at Athens."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²¹⁵

Description: "St Paul preaching."

The apostle stands to the left on a raised platform in act of exhortation holding a cross in his left hand. In front are several figures in attitudes of listening two of them reclining on the ground. In the background are buildings to represent a town. Note the very dignified attitude of St Paul."

36				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: one possible piece of new lead visible. Standing figure had "curly hair and beard" according to Knowles. Faint signs of paint in 1930s photograph, and glass original so paint must have been lost in cleaning. See Appendix A.13.

Pre Milner White Restoration:²¹⁶

36				

²¹³ Browne, *Representation*, 69.

²¹⁴ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.188v.

²¹⁵ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.86r.

²¹⁶ Figure CHs3:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5276, 1929-32: 60, 1L1P.

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: no changes visible except either he must have cemented several pieces or he inserted new pieces to replace earlier intrusions.

Grisaille: some mending leads and two small parts rebuilt (architectural bits taken out and replaced with something more suitable).

Borders: one area of probable intruded glass for border motif changed.

*Otherwise, cannot see changes.*²¹⁷

Milner White:²¹⁸

Description: "Euticus [sic] falls from window and is picked up dead (2 scenes in one). Acts 20, verse 9."

36				

Brown:²¹⁹

Description: "Unidentified scene."

36				

Interventions since Knowles's description: the standing figure had a yellow halo in Knowles which is now blue.

Current:

36				

²¹⁷ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5227, ca.1961: 60, 1L7P.

²¹⁸ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

²¹⁹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

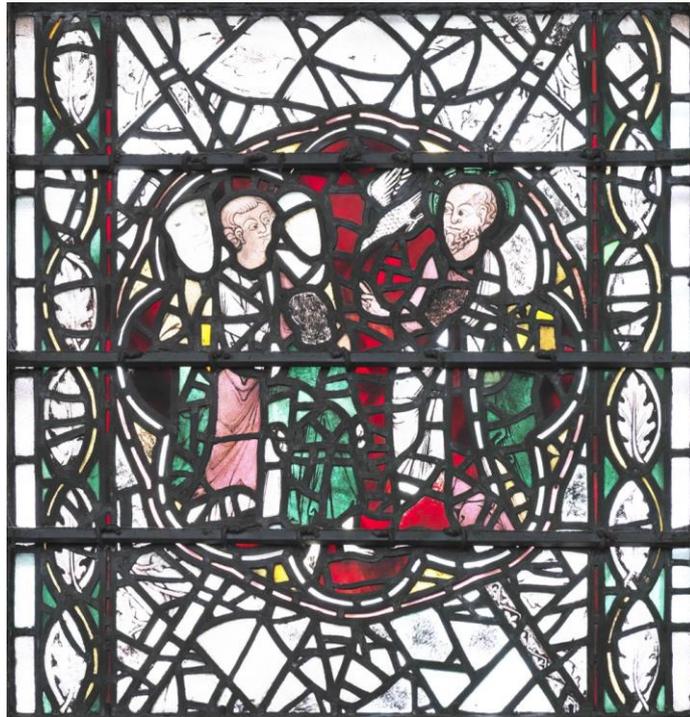


Figure CHs3:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.

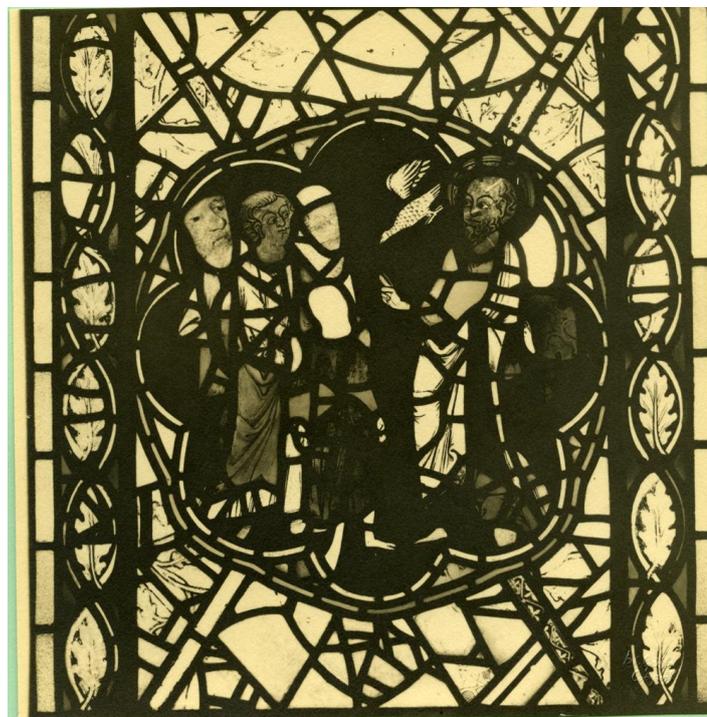


Figure CHs3:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5278, 1929-32: 60, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²²⁰

²²⁰ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5279, ca.1961: 60, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21329, ca.1961: 60, 2L1P © Crown Copyright and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5280, 1976, NMR YM 5973: 60, 2L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

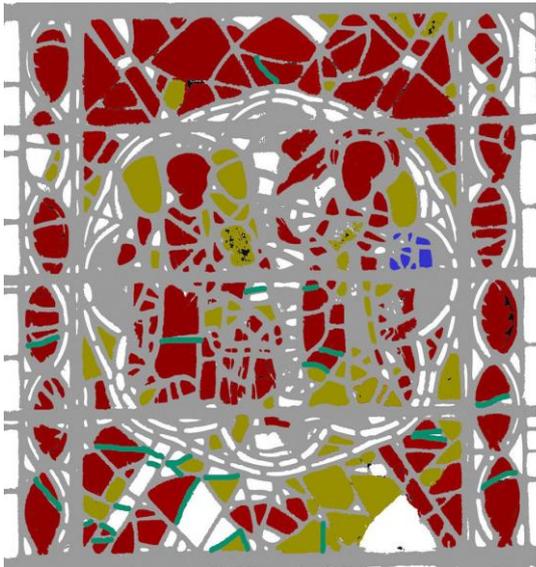


Figure CHs3:37 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:37 Original Lead Lines

History of the Panel:

Original location:

	37			
	[37?]			

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. No sign of green or yellow base. Red background.

There are four figures to the left of the panel and two to the right. The first to left has a yellow tunic and a green cloak. The second figure has an original head, white tunic and pale murrey cloak. He or she may be supporting the smaller figure in front or have their hand on the smaller figure's shoulder. The third figure is unclear. He is standing behind the smaller figure, who is wearing a green tunic and has white hands and feet. Opposite is a nimbed figure with original head, green halo, murrey tunic and white cloak, with his right hand pointing to the facing group or blessing the smaller figure. A sixth figure standing to the extreme right. There are signs of original yellow tunic and green cloak. An original bird is flying in from above.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Second figure: Hair flat on top and roll to side, big ears, wide, rounded eyebrows, lines creating both sides of the nose, M-shaped mouth, lower lip, chin bone.
2. Nimbed figure: Bald head, curl on forehead, big eyes, wavy hair to side, tight beard, rounded eyebrows, lines creating both sides of nose, big eyes, eyelids, prominent nostril, M-shaped mouth, lower lip.

Iconography and original location: Revival of Patroclus (or Eutyclus).²²¹

This is a difficult panel to identify as only one other visual affiliate has been found.²²² Following the similar arguments presented for CHs3:17, with its B border and its red background it is likely to have been located originally in 8b, and follow CHs3:36. It shows a nimbed figure to the right, facing a group of people of whom one appears to have his hand on the shoulder of a youth, an unusual feature being the bird or spirit above the saint's shoulder. This appears to represent the Patroclus healing rather than that of Eutyclus, because the text describing the former incident refers to the spirit on two occasions: Paul perceived the death "by the spirit",²²³ and "the lad received his spirit again".²²⁴ It would be appropriate for such a scene to be on the prestigious top row as it showed Paul bringing a youth back to life in the context of a preaching scene, but, if Patroclus, it would be out of narrative chronology, as this incident occurred when Paul had arrived in Rome and hence should have followed the shipwreck and viper scenes in CHs3:38 and 39). This would enhance the significance of the corner location for CHs3:36.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: The window suffered some considerable disruption between its installation and the time Torre saw it, probably in 1669-70. This panel had been moved into an alternative light-type. See the comments in the summary of CHs2:6.

Torre:²²⁵

Description: "26 In 4th Light stand 4 men together 1st habited O leggs vt 2d vt with a book in his hand closed O 3d habited murry & O leggs O 4th habited vt & O."

Comments: This attribution is not certain. It may be that the head of the youth was seen as his "book".

8					
6					
4					
2					
1				37	

Intervention: in the 1690s, or, more likely, the 1760s, the panel was moved into its original location, from 1d to 8b.

²²¹ James, *Apocryphal*, 294.

²²² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 4:8b.

²²³ James, *Apocryphal*, 294.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 129.

Browne:²²⁶

Description: "The baptism by the Holy Ghost, figured by a white dove descending from heaven in glory to the believers."

	37			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²²⁷

Description: (First) "No 2: Resuscitation of Youth See Sacred and Legendary Art pg 205

To the left of the panel a group of 3

figures and to the right hand one figure. The first of the 3 who stands in the middle is of youthful mien with curly hair pink face has a white tunic and purple cloak thrown loosely across the figure. The next outwards has a yellow tunic Peter and green cloak and the inside one ditto. Both these heads are illegible as also the actions of the figures. The figure opposite has curly hair and beard pink face green nimbus. Pink purple tunic and white cloak and appears to hold the right hand out and his cloak together with his left hand. The attitude rather passive. Overhead in the centre there is the appearance of a white bird flying down. Back of panel ruby."

(Second) [pencil] "St Paul. Holy Spirit descending at this [...] in the form of a cloud. Acts 19/5."

Comments: He did not see what was probably the youth.

	37			

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²²⁸

Description: "The resurrection of a youth

To the right hand the apostle stands with his right hand held out over a

youth who is partly reclining on the ground supported by his mother who is looking intently at the saint. Two other figures are depicted as onlookers. A dove is descending from above on to the prostrate youth."

Comments: It is not clear how he saw the "reclining" figure.

	37			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: no new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²²⁹

	37			

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one piece of painted glass removed and replaced with other glass.
Some mending leads
Grisaille: some mending leads
*Borders: some mending leads.*²³⁰

²²⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 71.

²²⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.188v.

²²⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.87r.

²²⁹ Figure CHs3:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5278, 1929-32: 60, 2L1P.

²³⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5279, ca.1961: 60, 2L1P.

Milner White:²³¹

Description: "The farewell at Miletus.
Acts 20, verse 18."

	37			

Brown:²³²

Description: "Paul says farewell to four
people."

	37			

Current:

	37			

²³¹ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

²³² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

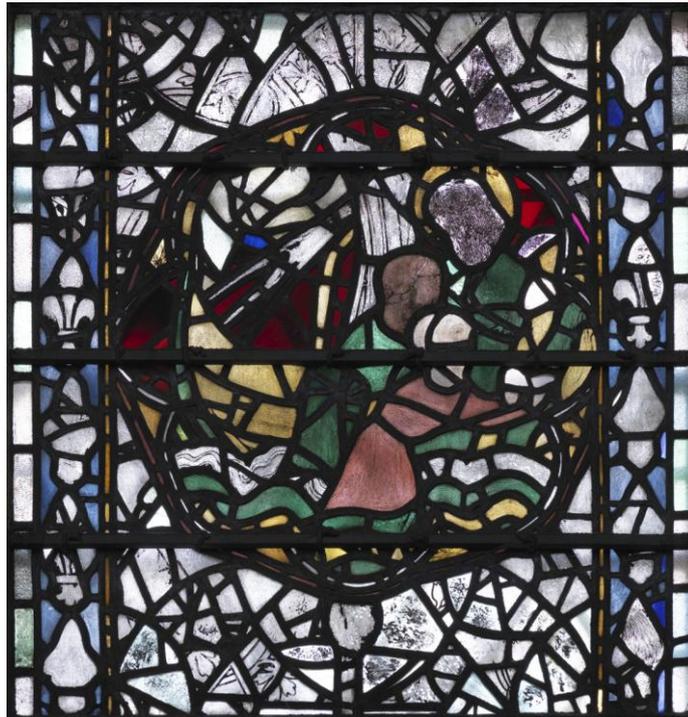


Figure CHs3:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 8e © York Glaziers Trust.

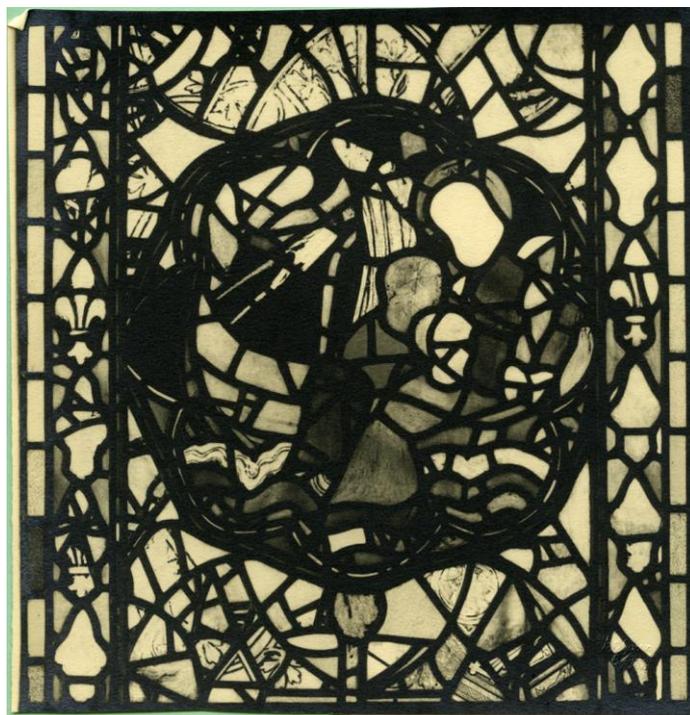


Figure CHs3:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5282, 1929-32: 60, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²³³

Original location, appearance and iconography:

²³³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5283, ca.1961: 60, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21331, ca.1961: 60, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.

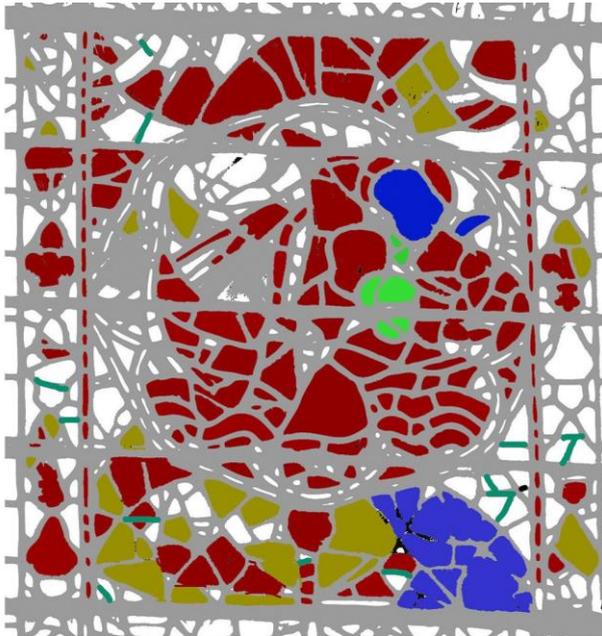


Figure CHs3:38 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:38 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		38		

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Red background. There is a green, white and yellow striped sea, echoing the yellow/green base in some other panels.

Yellow boat is shown on the sea with a white, ripped sail, green prow and broken, yellow mast. There are two white rays across the sky, identified by Knowles (who saw three, including the mast) as "lightening". One figure in the boat is in green drapery and yellow halo looking up to his left. There are two figures outside the boat in the sea, kneeling and facing the first figure. The higher of these has original head (paint lost) and a green garment. The second is in a murrey tunic, also with much paint loss.

Some other shape to extreme right, which may represent another figure (seen by Torre).

Stylistic comments on heads:

Paint loss.

Iconography and original location: Shipwreck on Malta.²³⁴

CHs3:38 has a red background and a C border, so the only possible original location would have been 8c. It depicts the shipwreck endured by Paul and his companions on the way to Malta. It has only rarely been located in Pauline iconography: in the S Paolo frescoes and in the cathedral at Sens.²³⁵ Given its prominence in the liturgy in other uses,²³⁶ its presence in York and its relative rarity elsewhere, provides further evidence of the importance of the liturgy in the design of the window.

This is one of only two lights in the chapter house glass which includes the possible Marian symbol of the fleur-de-lys in the borders. (The other light is, probably significantly, the central light of the Resurrection window in CH1).

History of the Panel

Torre:²³⁷

Description: “6 In the uppermost Row & in the 3d Light is the representation of a golden Ship of one mast and sayl A And 4 Men in her one of wh is a Saint habited vt glory O.”

8			38		
6					
4					
2					
1					

Comments: There is no vestige of his fourth figure apart from some original glass.

Browne:²³⁸

Description: “Paul and his companions shipwrecked at Melita or Malta.”

		38		

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²³⁹

Description: (First) “No 3: The [pencil] storm near Meleta

A ship – yell with green prow seen across the picture and in front of it on or in the water two figures throwing themselves on to another nimbed figure for protection. The 1st of the figures in the water youthful looking pink head and pink purp tunic. The next one pink head and green tunic. The first one has his hands spread out to catch at some support. The figure with nimbus of yell is St Paul and has his head resting upon his hand and reclines in the stern of the boat robed in green tunic and white cloak. The sail appears to be torn and there are three rays darting down on the boat prob to imitate lightening. The water is made up of wavy stripes of whit green and yell glass. Back of panel ruby.

		38		

[margin] St Paul Green tunic whit cloak.”

(Second) [pencil] “St Paul and company escaping to [...] Acts 27/43.”

²³⁴ Acts 27:14-44.

²³⁵ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 405 and Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, 25.

²³⁶ For example, in the *Use of Sarum*, Frederick Edward Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English, Part II* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd, 1911), 399.

²³⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

²³⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 72.

²³⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.190r.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁴⁰

Description: "St Paul cast on the Island of Mileta

On a troubled see is a yellow ship with the sail shattered and rays of light darting from the heaven above it. St Paul and two of his companions struggling through the waves to the land."

		38		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: one piece of re-soldering visible. Knowles says that the saint was resting his head in his hands. This is not visible in 1930s photograph so it is likely to have been changed in the course of the re-leading. Knowles also saw both heads of those in the water as "pink", so one was replaced. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁴¹

		38		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no change visible, but he either replaced the glass for Paul's head or cemented an earlier intrusion.
Grisaille: some mending leads and one area with architectural fragments removed and replaced with other glass.
Borders: occasional mending leads.²⁴²*

Milner White:²⁴³

Description: "Shipwreck at Malta. Acts 27, verse 41."

		38		

Brown:²⁴⁴

Description: "Paul is shipwrecked on Malta."

		38		

Current:

		38		

²⁴⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.85r.

²⁴¹ Figure CHs3:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5282, 1929-32: 60, 3L1P.

²⁴² Concluded between a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5283, ca.1961: 60, 3L1P.

²⁴³ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

²⁴⁴ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs3:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 8d © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs3:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5284, 1929-32: 60, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5285, ca.1961: 60, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22132, ca.1961: 60, 4L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

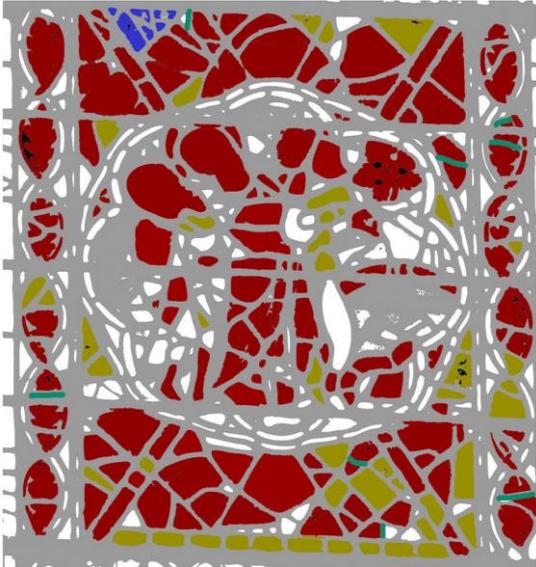


Figure CHs3:39 Restoration History

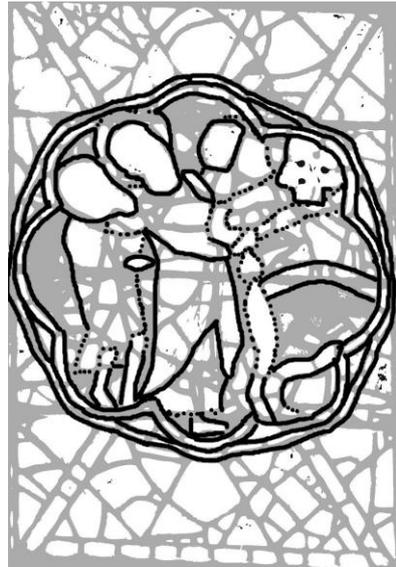


Figure CHs3:39 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			39	

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. Red background. Green and white/yellow base. Foliage up the right-hand side.

There are three original heads. The left-hand figure has his hand up to his face, in green with white legs (Torre saw blue not green). The central figure is in a green tunic and a white cloak and a yellow halo, tussling with what could be a large white snake. A bare foot is visible. A third head is in profile, with a probable green hood, whom Torre saw dressed in green and yellow.

Possible original: Leaf is very clear and may have been a later intrusion.

Stylistic comments on heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Left-hand figure: tight curls, wide features, paint loss.
2. Central figure: tight curls. Paint loss.
3. Right-hand figure: possible Jewish face.

Iconography and original location: Miracle of the viper.²⁴⁶
 CHs3:39 has a red background and a B border: hence its location was originally 8d. It shows Paul's miracle with the viper, which appeared on several occasions in Pauline iconography,²⁴⁷ but has only been identified on one other occasion in glass.²⁴⁸

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁴⁹

Description: "7 4th Light stands an holy Man robed vt & A glory on one side him stands a boy bare-legged habited O & B & on the other a Monk habited vt & O hood of the zd."

8				39	
6					
4					
2					
1					

Comments: This is one of only two CHs3 panels (the other being CHs38) to have remained on the original top row.

Browne:²⁵⁰

Description: "Paul with a yellow and blue Viper hanging [to] his right hand."

Comments: Trace lines indicate a possible snake-like shape around the right hand of the nimbed figure.

			39	

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: Knowles stated that the head of the left-hand figure may have been an insertion, but it resembles other Workshop 3 heads in profile. If the well-conserved leaf is an intrusion, it was added by this time.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁵¹

Description (First) "No 4: [no title but a single illegible word in margin]"

A garden scene with 3 figures two of them of forbidding countenance

dragging at a nimbed figure which is intended for St Paul. He is represented in green tunic and white loose cloak bare feet and yell nimbus (not cruciform) with the body thrown back a man to the right in green coat and yell legs appears to be seizing hold of St Paul by the throat whilst the one to the left hand takes hold of his cloak – this latter man is clad in a green coat white legs and yell shoes. The head appears to be an insertion. The back is ruby and to the right in foregrnd is a grassy mound with a fringe of white leaves to it. A blue leaf appears above but it is almost too well drawn to be an original one." (Second) [pencil] "St Paul casting the viper off from his hand. Acts 28/5."

			39	

²⁴⁶ Acts 28:3-6.

²⁴⁷ Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, Figure 406; Troyes, MS 2391, fol. 223v, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, 79; Avanches, MSS 2 and 3, fol. 290v, *ibid.*, 80; Oxford, Bdl. Auct. D.4.8, fol. 600, *ibid.*, 78.

²⁴⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Auxerre, Bay 9:1b.

²⁴⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

²⁵⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 72.

²⁵¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.190r.

Comments: Note Knowles seems to have first thought some of these panels were about Christ and then changed his mind to Paul. He saw the well-preserved leaf as blue whereas it appears to be white.

Knowles, “Historical Notes” :²⁵²

Description: “No 4. St Paul casting the viper from his hand into a fire near his feet. The viper has a yellow body and blue head. A man to the left holds his hand up to St Paul and points to the viper. Another man turns aside with horrorstricken face.”

			39	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Interventions: some new pieces of re-soldering/re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵³

			39	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible changes
Grisaille: one area of intruded painted glass removed. some mending leads
Borders: mending leads.*²⁵⁴

Milner White:²⁵⁵

Description: “St Paul and the viper. Acts 28, verse 3.”

			39	

Brown:²⁵⁶

Description: “Paul attacked by a viper on Malta.”

			39	

Current:

			39	

²⁵² Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.88r.

²⁵³ Figure CHs3:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5284, 1929-32: 60, 4L1P.

²⁵⁴ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5285, ca.1961: 60, 4L1P.

²⁵⁵ Milner White, “Return,” 1961, 19.

²⁵⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

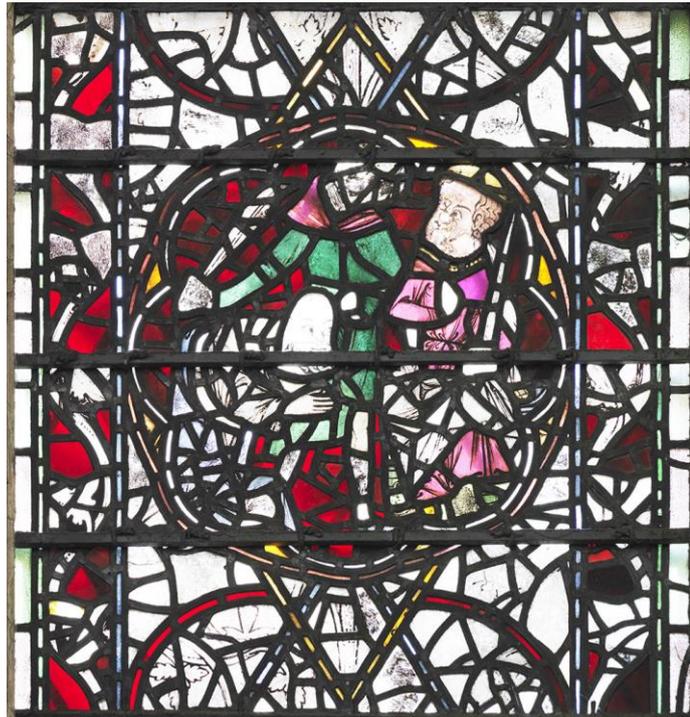


Figure CHs3:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs3, 8e © York Glaziers Trust.

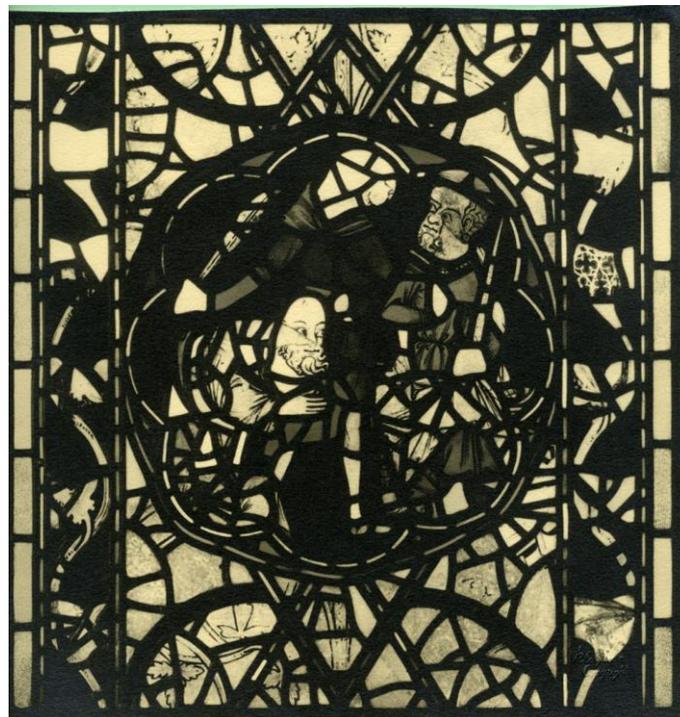


Figure CHs3:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5286, 1929-32: 60, 4L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5288, "before restoration" 1961: 60, 5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 21333, ca.1961: 60, 5L1P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

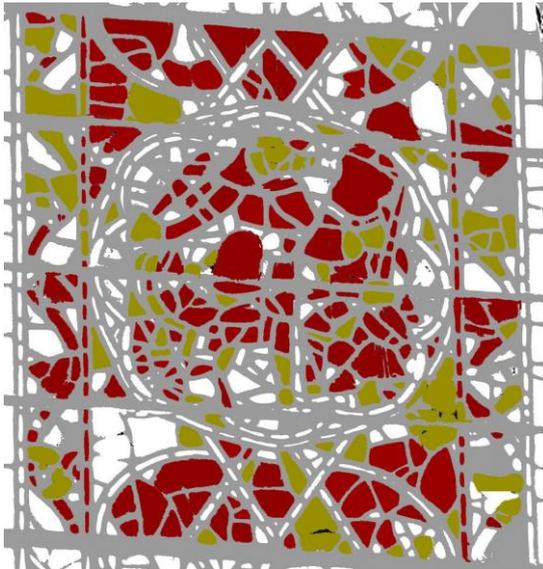


Figure CHs3:40 Restoration History



Figure CHs3:40 Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				40

Probable original appearance:

An octofoil medallion with a white rim, contained within a repressed octofoil shape with a yellow/pink rim. The triangular shapes between the two rims are filled with yellow, probably originally all with the impression of a trefoil decoration. No sign of green/yellow base. Red background.

There is a bending figure with possibly original head, but without a halo. He is dressed in white tunic and blue cloak, with his hand outstretched. Over him is standing a figure with murrey hood and green tunic, bare, white legs. He is holding a sword in his right hand. To the right is a seated figure in authority with original head, with sword upright in his left hand and his right hand pointing upwards. He is wearing a Type-4 yellow cap of Jewishness or "otherness". A yellow neckband. He is dressed in a pink/murrey tunic and white cloak. Red background.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Workshop 3.

1. Bending figure: wide features, large eyes, eyelids, eyebrows: lines creating sides of nose, M-shaped mouth.
2. Right-hand figure: wavy hair, big features, wavy beard.

Iconography and original location: Martyrdom.²⁵⁸

With its A border and red background, the panel's original location was in 8e. It clearly constitutes the last panel in the cycle, showing the execution of Paul, although unusually it also shows Nero or another figure in authority watching events. The scene naturally appears frequently in Pauline cycles,²⁵⁹ and is also in those windows which concentrate on the Life of Peter, but additionally include Paul's martyrdom.²⁶⁰

The most common variation is that which concerns whether or not Paul is blindfolded. In the cathedrals at Chartres and Rouen, and in North Moreton Church and in manuscripts in Avranches, Rome and Vienna, Paul is blindfolded, hence creating a direct connection with the apocryphal legend of Plautilla and implying that the martyrdom is not the culmination of his cult. However, York is not alone in showing Paul without his blindfold: the same imagery is used in St-Julien-du-Sault, St-Père, Bourges and Troyes.²⁶¹

As the scene of his martyrdom and hence giving rise to the Feast of St Peter and St Paul, the top row is an appropriate location. It featured in the Processional for the Feast "Lord God, who on this day has consecrated your apostles, Peter and Paul, as martyrs".²⁶² It demonstrates the culmination of Paul's life, juxtaposed with the unusual inclusion of his initial acceptance of his fate in CHs3:6 in 2a. It is notable that this scene has been chosen to terminate the narrative, and not the post-mortem sequence concerning Plautilla and Nero (Chapter 3).

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁶³

Description: "12 In 5th kneels an holy Woman habited A & B bowing her head over whom stands an Executioner habited vt leggs O."

8					
6					40
4					
2					
1					

Comments: The figure could be described as kneeling (though not female as the male head is original). The executioner is clear. Torre saw the white legs as yellow. Torre clearly erred in omitting the third figure.

Insertion: probably in the 1760s the panel was moved one row higher to its original location.

²⁵⁸ James, *Apocryphcal*, 296.

²⁵⁹ It can be seen in glass in the cathedrals at Rouen, Bay 14:12b and Chartres, Bay 4:11b, *Online Archive*, "French sites"; and the church at North Moreton, *ibid.*, "English sites". It is also in the following manuscripts: Troyes, *Bibl. Mun.*, MS 2391, fol. 228, Eleen, *Pauline Epistles*, 79; Oxford Bod. Lib., MS Auct. D.4.8., fol. 665, *ibid.*, 78; Avranches, *Bibl. Mun.*, MSS 2 and 3, fol. 286, *ibid.*, 80; Rome, *Bibl. Vat.* MS Urb. lat. 7, fol. 396v, *ibid.*, 82; Paris, Mazarine 15, fol. 436v, *ibid.*, 82; Vienna, *Nationalbibl. Cod. Ser. Nov.* 2700, 368, *ibid.*, Figure 201.

²⁶⁰ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 9:9b and Troyes, Bay 204:3b; the churches of St Père, Chartres, Bay 221, right-hand lancet: 6f, St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 1:6d.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*,

²⁶² "Deus, qui hodiernam diem apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti," *Missale*, 60, 197.

²⁶³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 128.

Browne:²⁶⁴

Description: "The beheading of St Paul before Nero seated on his throne."

				40

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁶⁵

Description: (First) "No 5: [pencil] Decapitation of St Paul

To the right hand a doctor seated robed in a pink tunic (the pink almost

like gold ruby) a collar at his neck a yell doctors cap and white cloak. Face with bushy beard is looking intently and with concern at a figure in the centre who standing brandishing a broad blade sword in his right hand he has a green coat on with a red collar or hood. White legs and blue shoes and with his left hand appears to take hold of the head of a man who is kneeling for execution. The latter is robed in white tunic and pale blue robe kneeling and holding his hands out in front. His head bent to receive the blow."

(Second): [Pencil] "beheading of St Paul."

				40

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁶⁶

Description: "No 4. Beheading of St Paul

[pencil] Brown [Cumpail] 5 pg 72

St Paul is represented as an aged man

kneeling in front of an executioner who takes hold of the St's scalp lock and waves aloft a [broad] sword. To the left hand the Governor seated on a throne his countenance an expression of sorrow. Note the presence of the Governor in the Decapitation is unusual in sacred art. The scene of his death was about two miles from Rome outside the Ostian Gate and that the veil which was bound over his eyes was given to him at his request by Plautilla a convert of St Peter who placed herself in the road in order to behold St Paul for the last time where she wept. After his martyrdom St Paul appeared to her and restored the veil stained with his blood."

				40

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁶⁷

				40

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: some pieces of painted glass inserted to create a face for the central figure. Two mending leads inserted

Grisaille; no changes visible

*Borders: no changes visible.*²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 72.

²⁶⁵ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.190r.

²⁶⁶ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.89r.

²⁶⁷ Figure CHs3:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5286, 1929-32: 60, 4L1P.

²⁶⁸ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5288, "before restoration" 1961: 60, 5L1P. The description of "before restoration" is unlikely.

Milner White:²⁶⁹

Description: "Martyrdom in the presence of Nero."

				40

Brown:²⁷⁰

Description: "The martyrdom of Paul, witnessed by Nero."

				40

Current:

				40

²⁶⁹ Milner White, "Return," 1961, 19.

²⁷⁰ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 292.

Photographic record:

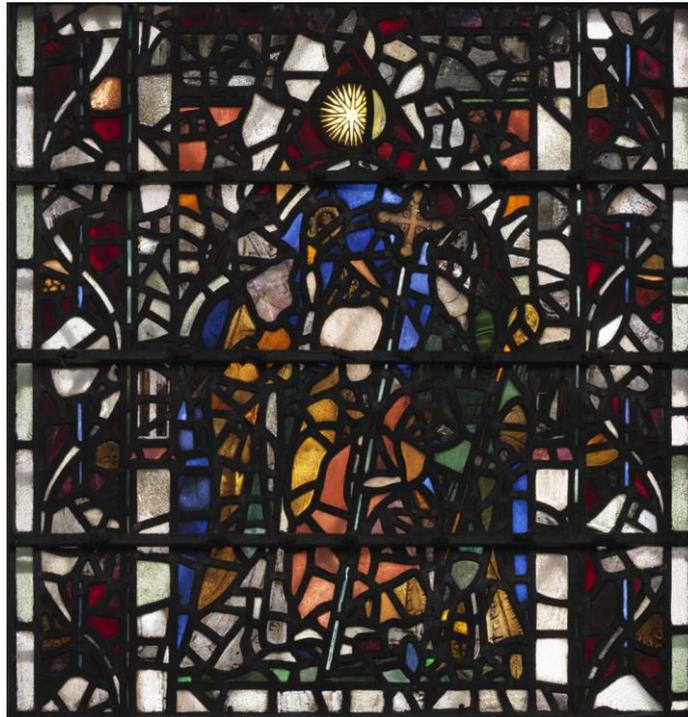


Figure CHs4:6: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 2a © York Glaziers Trust.

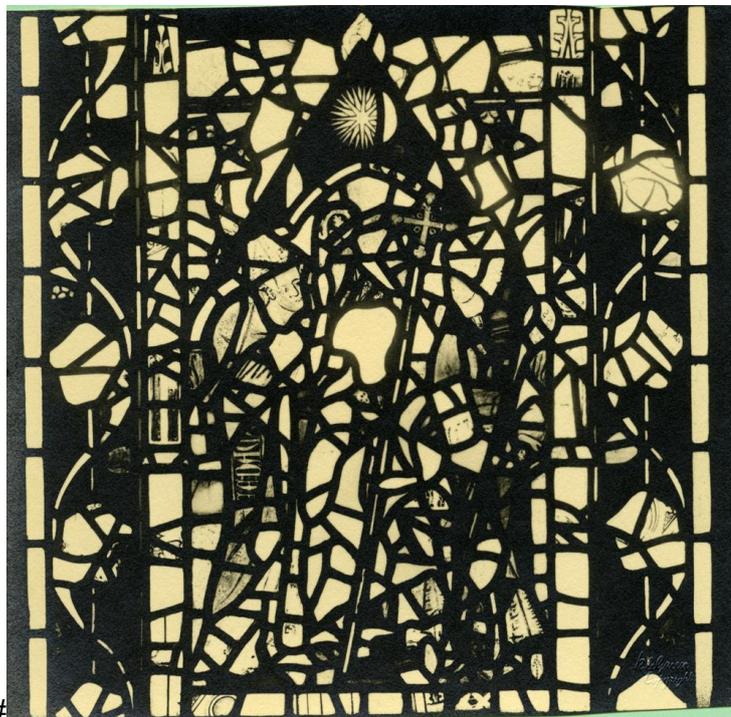


Figure CHs4:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5323, 1929-32: 61, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹

¹ See additional photograph at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5324, ca.1961: 61, 1L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

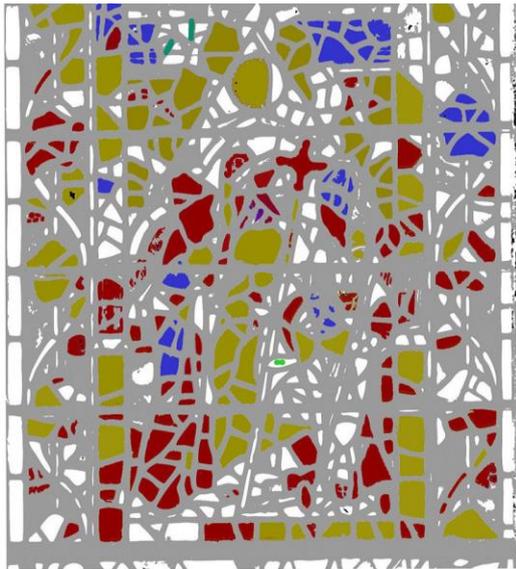


Figure CHs4:6: Restoration History.

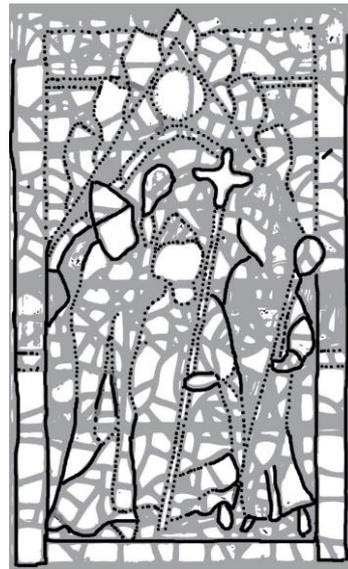


Figure CHs4:6: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		6		

Probable original appearance:

No medallion shape. Instead there is a complicated canopy over the scene. Red background around the canopy, above a white band, itself above a thin green band and a murrey, tiled roof. A triangular canopy shape, with white crockets up the outside, white architectural borders up the sides (with signs of window openings) and murrey capitals. White base. Trefoil headed arch within the canopy with green vault springers against the white wall of the border. Between the upper outside line of the canopy and the outside line of the trefoil arch is an intruded round shape, which probably originally contained a flowerhead or a star.

There are three figures. The central one is seated, holding a cross staff with green staff over his left shoulder. He is dressed in white and yellow patterned material, with a mitre. Torre saw him as robed in yellow with a white pallium (no longer visible), Knowles was more specific, and described a purple chasuble (which he mentions in his "Manuscript Notes" but omits from his "Historical Notes", so the evidence for this is weak). He also described a yellow dalmatic and white alb. Only a yellow overgarment and a white undergarment can now be identified with any confidence. There is no sign of a pallium, but this would have been plausible. There is some murrey, but it is not clear how it relates to the remainder of his apparel. He had blue shoes and Knowles saw a ring, which is not visible.

The second figure, to the left, was in a yellow overgarment and a white gown, probably a chasuble and alb, with some sign of green which Knowles saw as a lining in his "Manuscript Notes". He has a white mitre on his original head and is holding a yellow crozier. He is wearing blue shoes. Knowles in his "Manuscript Notes" saw this figure putting the mitre on the central figure.

The figure to the right was dressed in a green overgarment and a yellow undergarment, which Knowles saw as a green chasuble and yellow dalmatic (although now difficult to decipher). He had yellow shoes.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Concave outline. Small features except for nose. Curly hair. Small, “M” mouth, downturned. Shape under mouth indicating a chin bone. Probably Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Thomas Becket consecrated Archbishop.² It was originally in the centre light: this is where it was seen by Torre and it fits the fact that this is the only light which has canopies as opposed to medallions. The reasons for its move to the left-hand light in the 1760s are discussed in Chapter 1.

It represents the voluntary action by Thomas Becket in accepting consecration which leads inevitably to his martyrdom originally in 8c. His reluctance to accept the offer of the archbishopric is stressed by Willelmo Cantuariensi, John of Salisbury and Herbert de Boseham.³ In this, there are similarities with the other windows, in which a voluntary initial action leads to the inevitable consequences. It may, however, be a coincidence arising from the way his life is normally shown and certainly the rest of the light does not show the features associated with the narratives in the other windows (see Chapter 3).

The only other representation of this scene identified in glass is at Chartres Cathedral.⁴

History of the Panel

Torre:⁵

Description: “23 In 3d Light sits an Abp robed O pall A Myter O Cross-staff vt headed O on either side him stands a Man 1st habited O & A/2d vt & O.”

		6		

Drake:⁶

Comments: Haynes’s etching clearly shows panels 6, 16, 26 and 36 in the central light.

		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		

Intervention: in the 1760s the light was switched from the centre to the left-hand position.

Halfpenny:⁷

Comment: Thomas Becket light is shown in the left-hand light.

² Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 7-8; John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 305; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 368; Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 35-36; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 180-84; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 14-19.

³ Respectively in their *Vitae*, 7, 305 and 180-81.

⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” Chartres Cathedral, Bay 18:4a.

⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

⁶ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

⁷ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

Browne:⁸

Description: "Abbot Nicholas chosen as Bishop of Myra. Enthroned."

6				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Chs4 had been patched by the time Knowles described it.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁹

Description: "1: See Pocket Book 1889 pg 141 for 1st description No 1 left hand bottom row a [...] panel inserted"

6				

Consecration of an archbishop [pencil] probably Paulinus [ink] Blue background archb seated clad in purp chasuble yell dalmatic fringed at slits whit alb ring apparent blue shoes yell mitre on his head. Holds pastoral cross in his hand left hand two bishops one on either side left hand robed in yell chasubles with green lining [squashed below] whit alb not apparent [back to row] whit mitre with yell infula holds a yell crozier in left hand and with right puts on the mitre to archbishop.

On right side bishop in green chasuble yell dalmatic fringed at slit wht alb yell shoes. [see sketch distinguishing mitre of bishop from that of archbishop]



The subject is represented under a canopy of architecture the same date as those in Vestibule and has been patched with perpendicular work here and there. The border of the light is the original one."

Comments: See the discussion in "Probable original appearance" above.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁰

Description: "No 1. Consecration of Paulinus"

Paulinus seated and robed in alb with ruby apparel. Yellow dalmatic fringed purple chasuble blue shoes and yellow mitre and holding a pastoral cross in his left hand. On each side are bishops standing with crosiers in their hands, the left-hand bishop placing the mitre on the head of Paulinus. The alb of use of the bishops has no apparel."

6				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: some pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible. Knowles saw a ring which is no longer visible. See Appendix A.13.

⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 74.

⁹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.196.

¹⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1 fol.99r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹¹

6				

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: two mending leads inserted, two intruded marked pieces on left-hand side replaced by plainer glass, one area of head or headdress replaced, one other area in drapery of same figure replaced.
Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration. Left-hand side: two pieces of intruded, marked glass replaced with plain, one area probably replaced, one mending lead. Right-hand side: one area of glass rebuilt.
*Borders: unchanged from prior restoration: One motif with strong painting removed from right-hand side and replaced with plain glass.*¹²

Milner White:¹³

6				

O'Connor and Haselock: ¹⁴

Description: "[Becket's] entronement as archbishop".

6				

Brown:¹⁵

Description: "St Thomas Becket enthroned."

6				

Current:

6				

¹¹ Figure CHs4:6: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5324, 1929-32: 61, 1L7P.

¹² Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5324, ca. 1961: 61, 1L7P.

¹³ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹⁴ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass," 340.

¹⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs4:7: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 2b © York Glaziers Trust.

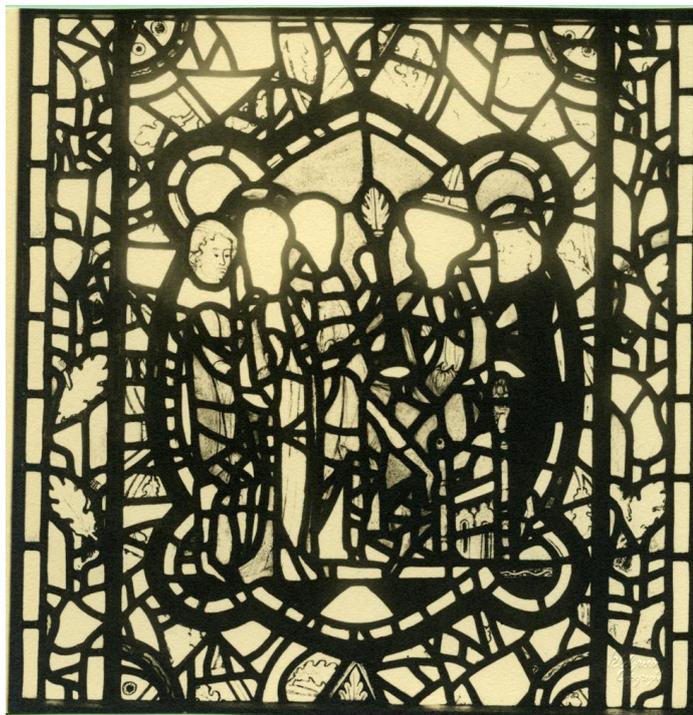


Figure CHs4:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5325, 1929-32: 61, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁶

¹⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5326, ca.1961: 61, 2L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22197, ca.1961: 61, 2L7P © Crown Copyright.

Original location, appearance and iconography:

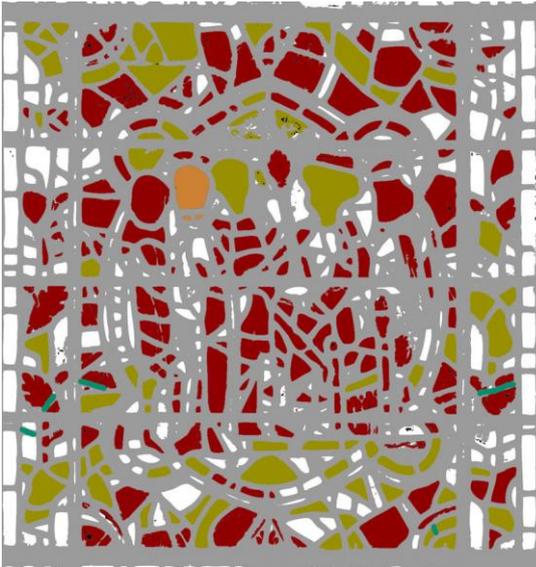


Figure CHs4:7: Restoration History.

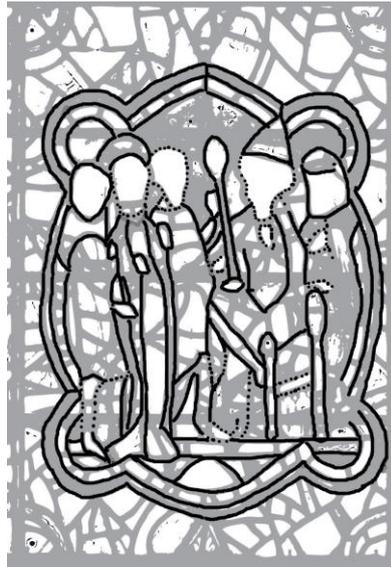


Figure CHs4:7: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

7				

Probable original appearance:

The panel has a predominantly blue border. The medallion has a red outer and a white inner rim, with a white line for floor above a triangular shape of now white glass. The background below is red and above is blue.

There is a seated figure, Olybrius, with high, pointed, possible Type-2 Jewish hat, seated on a golden throne with purple cushion and purple arcading between legs of throne. He is dressed in green cloak and yellow tunic, blue stockings. His left hand is probably resting on the left arm of the throne and his right hand is holding a sceptre. Behind him is standing a bearded figure (original head) with a purple Type-4 cap of "Jewishness" or "otherness", dressed in red. Opposite are standing three figures. The one to the extreme left is wearing a yellow hood, green tunic and probably originally yellow stockings. His right hand appears to be lowered in front of him and his left hand may be holding the shoulder of the central figure. He has an original head. The central figure is St Margaret, with a white tunic and a purple cloak, both covering her feet. She is nimbed in red and has an intruded head. She appears to have both hands held up as if remonstrating. The third figure is wearing a yellow tunic and green leggings. His left hand is held up. He has a plain glass head.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 2.

1. Extreme left figure: Small features. Flat hair. Thick line between face and hair. Line of one eyebrow extending to create outline of nose.
2. Bearded figure behind one in authority. Paint loss. Line between hair and face. Small features. Line of one eyebrow extending to create nose.

Iconography and original location: Margaret facing Olybrius.¹⁷

St Margaret is held between two soldiers, facing Olybrius and his assistant in the first scene of the sequence which will result in her martyrdom. The most significant image is that of Olybrius, seen as a bishop by Torre, implying that either he mistook the tall, pointed Jewish-style hat for a mitre (another significant example of Jewish head-gear used for an evil pagan).

This, one of two narratives in CHs4, falls into the pattern of other windows, where the first panel shows the voluntary action by, here, Margaret resisting Olybrius, which leads inevitably to her martyrdom. This is similar to other initial scenes in the narrative of the windows (see Chapter 3).

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁸

Description: "21 In bottom Row & first Light sits a Bp in a golden Chair habited vt & O Myter & Cross-Staff of zd At his back stands an Attendant habited gu And before him stand 3 Men 1 habited O & vt barelegged Another gu & A/ 3d O."

7				

Comments: The number of figures and the colours match those seen by Torre, but the central of the three figures is female (deduced from the texts and because her feet are covered). The main difference comes in the identification of the seated figure. Torre saw a "mitre", which, indeed, is what the figure now sports. However, as Olybrius, he is a pagan persecutor of Christians. Is the seated figure he would not have been shown thus, nor is the "Cross-Staff" anything more than a staff of office. If Torre saw the mitre as such, it means that the glass must have been inserted before 1690-91, but a more plausible possibility is that the original lead line showed a pointed, and therefore Jewish, hat.

Drake:¹⁹

Comments: Haynes's etching shows the Thomas Becket panels still in their centre light.

Intervention: in the 1760s the Becket light was switched to the left-hand light, so it is probable that the Margaret light was moved to its current position on that occasion.

Halfpenny:²⁰

Comment: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

¹⁷ See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 82; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 289.

¹⁸ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

²⁰ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

Browne:²¹

Description: "Persecution under Diocletian and made a glorious confession."

Comments: The head to the left hand side is possibly drawing number 29 in Browne.²² Browne did not specify the exact location within the second light, but it is probable that he saw the panel in 2b

	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Interventions: the head had been lost from the right-hand figure. Also a head had been inserted to the second figure to the left and a mitre inserted together with "deep glass" for the head to the seated figure, heads had been inserted for the figure hand figure and the second figure to the left and the clothes of the second figure to the left were of "yellow patch".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²³

Description: "No 2: Margaret before Olybrius the Governor of Antioch Represents a King sitting cross legged on a throne and in front of him a lady nimbed held by two men. a man like a doctor standing behind Ks chair. Kg clad in green cloak yell tunic and blue busks holds a sceptre terminating in an oak leaf. Head gone, piece of deep glass inserted with a hat like bishop's mitre.

	7			



Throne yell turned wood like St Nicholas and St Cath windows in nave. Purple cushions on it. Lady long white tunic and long purp cloak fast at the neck. Ruby nimbus. Head a perp insertion prob of the same st and the head crowned. Custodians: 1st one green short coat with yell hold yell shoes yell and whit legs. Head pink with youthful expression and curly hair. 2nd custodian yell surcoat over [deleted] yell [undeleted] green socks and yell shoes. Man behind throne red cloak blue socks curly hair and like a feather on his head or a cap purp. Back blue. Purp of lady looks rose pink and throne deeper shade more [perp] green - grass colour – yell just like deep stain. Blue - ultra and indigo, rather greenish."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁴

Description: "St Margaret before the Governor

Olybrius the governor seated on a throne with his legs crossed clad in a yellow tunic and green cloak. Head destroyed and for his headdress a mitre which is an insertion. The throne is of very early type and has a purple cushion on it. Behind the [deleted] throne is one of the governor's councillors standing

	7			

²¹ Browne, *Representation*, 74.

²² *Ibid.*, facing page 14.

²³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.196.

²⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.100r.

and in front the figure of St Margaret held as a prisoner by two jailers. She is robed in long white tunic and a purple cloak fastened at the neck. One of the custodians has pale colour [bushes] and a green short coat with a yellow hood to it yellow shoes on his feet. The 2nd has green [bushes] and [yellow] coat and shoes.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Two pieces of re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵

	7			

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: it is not clear from pre-restoration photo whether Milner White intruded the head for the central figure on the left-hand side.
Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration. A couple of mending leads visible.
Borders: unchanged from prior restoration: three mending leads visible.²⁶

Milner White:²⁷

	7			

Brown:²⁸

Description: “St Margaret before the Emperor.”

	7			

Current:

	7			

²⁵ Figure CHs4:7: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5325, 1929-32: 61, 2L7P.

²⁶ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5326, ca.1961: 61, 2L7P.

²⁷ Milner White, “Return,” 1956, 36.

²⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

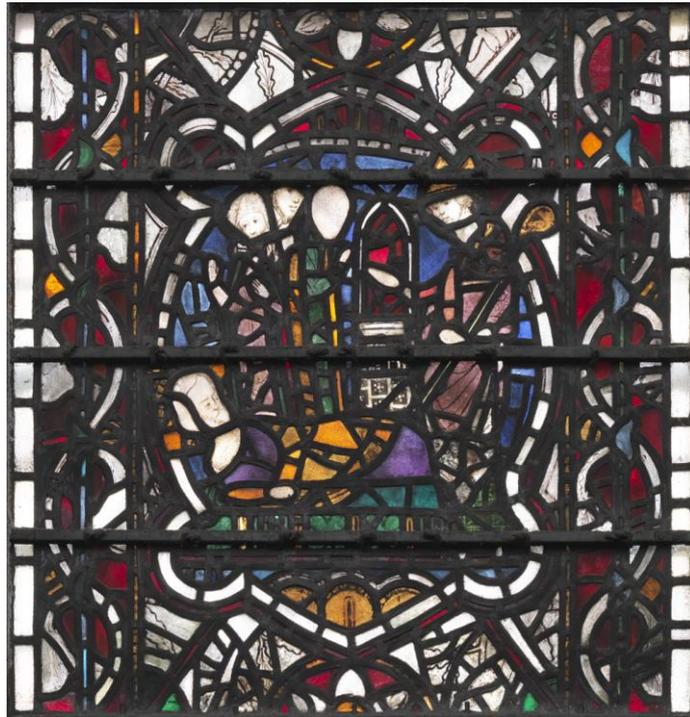


Figure CHs4:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 2c © York Glaziers Trust.

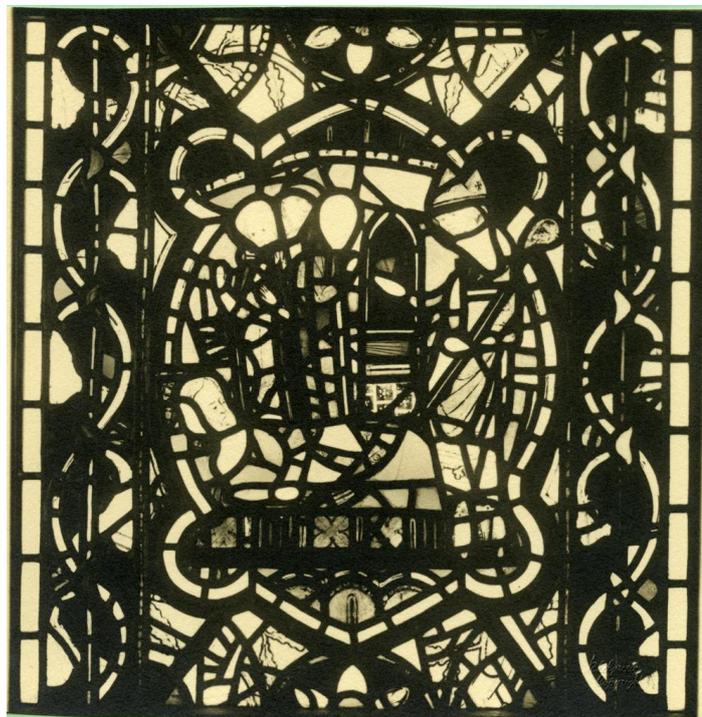


Figure CHs4:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5327, 1929-32: 61, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁹

²⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5328, ca.1961: 61, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22195, ca.1962: 61, 3L7P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

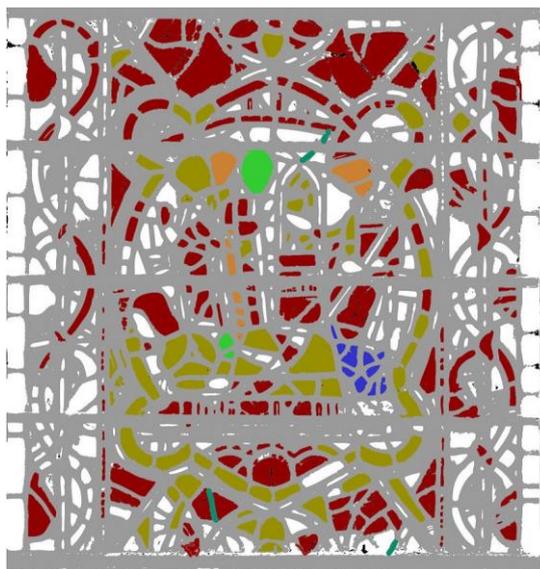


Figure CHs4:8: Restoration History.

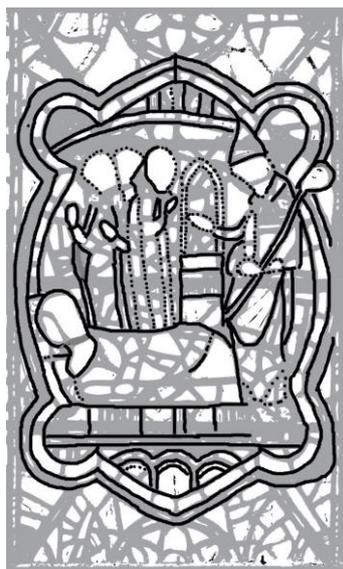


Figure CHs4:8: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	8			

Probable original appearance:

Quatrefoil/octofoil medallion with red outer and white inner rim. There are indications of an inner medallion, with red outer and blue inner background. There are three slim structures in yellow at centre top above the inner medallion. Similar colour at the bottom centre of the outer medallion, with architectural features.

There is a figure to right-hand side with intruded face and a yellow mitre, either holding a crozier with yellow head or securing the crozier in his arm, and holding something in his left hand, such as a money bag. He is dressed in white tunic and murrey cloak. His hand is stretched out in front of a freestanding window, and may originally have been held through the window. The window is gothic-shaped with a red background and white masonry below.

To the left are three standing figures, with intruded glass for heads. The one to the right is dressed in a green tunic and yellow cloak. The central figure may have been in red and possibly yellow (Knowles says it is yellow). The left-hand figure's posture indicates that she is turned to her right (the viewer's left) and is dressed in a murrey tunic and green cloak. She is looking, with hands raised, down to the figure at the bottom of the medallion, namely the figure of a male in bed, with original head, eyes open, possibly with bare shoulders, with a yellow coverlet and some intruded lilac. The sides of the bed are green and there are yellow supports similar to the yellow architectural features at the top of the medallion. The man's head is resting on a yellow cushion.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Small features. Flat hair. Thicker line between face and hair. Varied thickness of line for hair. Line of one (straight) eyebrow extended to create outline of nose. Eyelids. Probably Workshop 2.

Iconography and original location: Nicholas giving money to the three girls.³⁰

One of the most commonly presented scenes, often with a free-standing window, as in York,³¹ although no window is to be seen in Le Mans.³²

There is no scene from the Nicholas light that marks an initial step towards canonisation. In this, therefore, the narrative is similar to that of John the Baptist and Edmund lights. See the discussion in Chapter 3.

Given that CHs4:28 and 38 relate to the same miracle, this panel may have been in either location 2c or 4c. As all the other panels seem to have retained their position with their light, it is suggested that location 2c is original.

History of the Panel

Torre:³³

Description: “22 In 2d Light sitts a Bp habited Murry, Mytre & Crosyer O before him stand 3 persons 1 habited vt & murry 2d vt & O/3d gu & O.”

	8			

Drake:³⁴

Comments: Haynes’s etching shows the Thomas Becket panels still in their centre light.

Intervention: in the 1760s the Becket light was switched to the left-hand light, so it is probable that the Nicholas light was moved to its current position.

Halfpenny:³⁵

Comment: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

Browne:³⁶

Description: “St Nicholas raising the drowned youth from the bottom of the sea.”

		8		

Comments: Allocated to 2c by a process of elimination in the C light medallions

³⁰ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 81-120.

³¹ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 39:5a; at Le Mans, Bay 106:5d; at Sees, Bay 13:1 and 2, a and b; at Troyes, Bay 205:1c and 1d; the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 2:2 a and 2b; “Other sites: Germany,” the Minster at Freiburg (s42:3a); “English sites,” North Moreton, Oxon, s2:3a.

³² *Ibid.*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Le Mans, Bay 106:5d.

³³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

³⁴ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

³⁵ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

³⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 77.

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Heads had been inserted for the right-hand figure and the second figure to the left and the clothes of the second figure to the left were of "yellow patch" in CHs4:8.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":³⁷

Description: "No 3 panel
[pencil] The bishop appears to hold an
[...] over the prostrate man

		8		

An altar with a bishop to the right hand in horror. Holding a crozier in left hand. On the other side 3 figures one a female looking with horror at a head and body of a big man which is laid on the ground. The bishop is clad in a purp chasuble has a plain mitre on his head a crozier terminating in oak scroll in his left hand. Alb not discernible. He appears standing back from the prostrate figure. The 2 [3] figures opposite the first a female in pink tunic and whit wimple the next patch yell with head (perpend) the 3rd a green tunic. Pink head and holds a yell staff. The altar has a brick pall in front of which a few horizontal bars of colour on the top and an arch of wht filled with ruby. In front of the base is a man laid with large head and his hand lain across his chest. Curiously both the heads of onlookers and the bishop are of late workmanship. The bishop is like the work of St William window but as the whole subject seems to belong to this panel the top and bottom of it being architecture ie a low arched base and an attempt at a stunted canopy the two classes of work seem incongruous and the heads may have been an insertion but the bishop is so real to the figure on closer examination certainly the heads are an insertion and the neck of the of bishop a deep flesh red. Therefore the subject is true but the heads false."



Knowles, "Historical Notes":³⁸

Description: "The bishop stands to the right hand robed in a purple chasuble and a low plain mitre on his head holding a crozier in his left hand. His

		8		

right hand holding something like an [...] over a big man who is laid prostrate before him. The bishop's attitude expressive of being suddenly startled. To the opposite side are three figures one a female looking with horror at the man on the ground. Another female stands near with a wimple on her head and a third figure holds a yellow staff. Near the bishop is an architectural [base] with a [slab] on it and over it an arch the inside of a ruby color.

Both the heads of the bishop and the onlooker are insertions but a portion of the neck of the bishop is still preserved."

³⁷ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.196-96v.

³⁸ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.101r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

No pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible. The prostrate figure had his "hand lain across his chest" which is no longer visible. The right-hand of three figures to the left had a "pink head implying original glass". See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:³⁹

		8		

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one mending lead visible.
Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration. Three mending leads visible.
*Borders: no modifications visible.*⁴⁰

Milner White:⁴¹

		8		

Brown:⁴²

Description: "St Nicholas and three ?men in bed."

		8		

Current:

		8		

³⁹ Figure CHs4:8: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5327, 1929-32: 61, 3L7P.

⁴⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5328, ca.1961: 61, 3L7P.

⁴¹ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

⁴² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

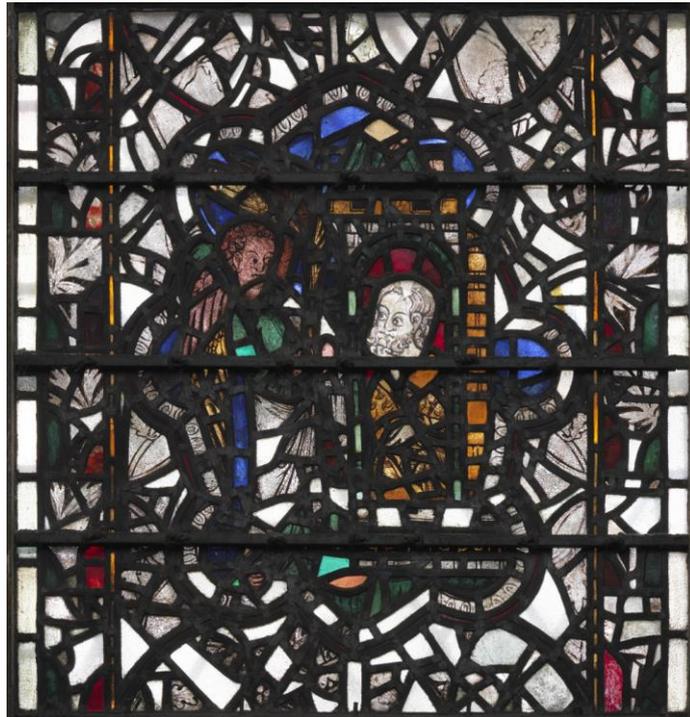


Figure CHs4:9: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 2d © York Glaziers Trust.

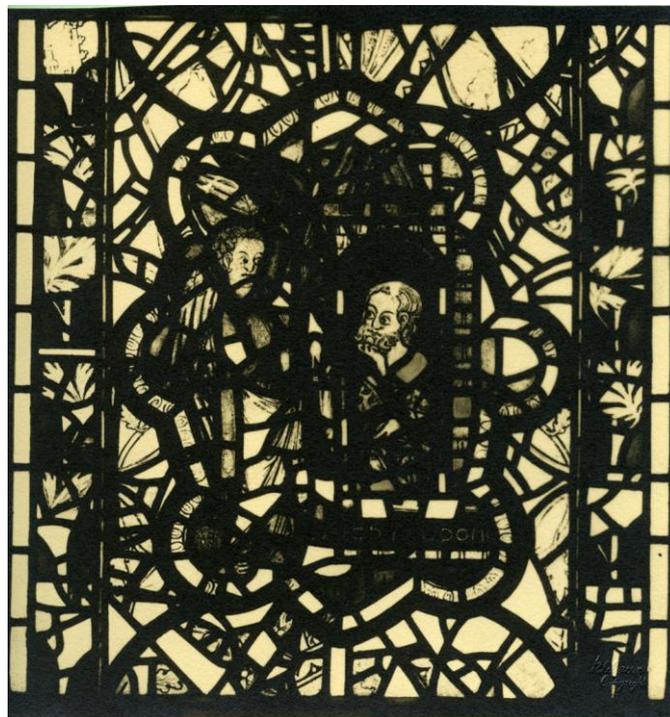


Figure CHs4:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5329, 1929-32: 61, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁴³

⁴³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5330, 1969: 61, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22196, ca.1961: 61, 4L7P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

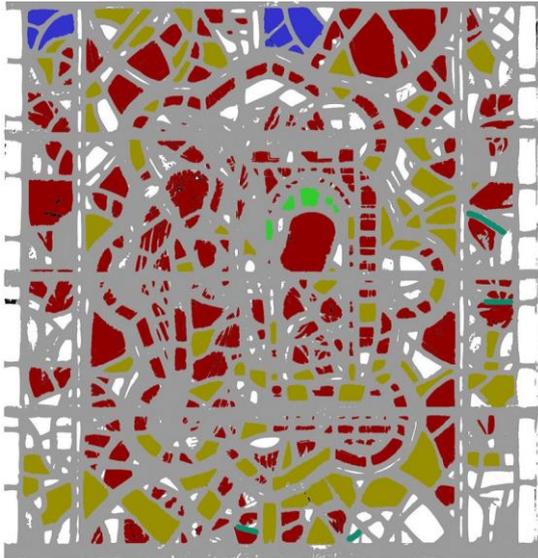


Figure CHs4:9: Restoration History.

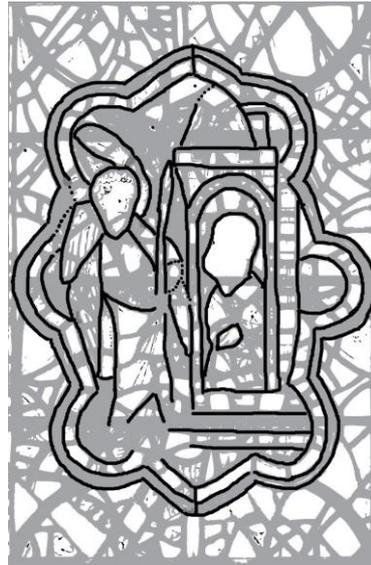


Figure CHs4:9: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			9	

Probable original appearance:

An awkward octofoil medallion, with a white, scalloped internal and a red outer rim. Inside, the background is blue. There are two figures, one (John the Baptist, identified by his yellow hair shirt) sitting inside a prison, which has yellow and white masonry and a green roof. His head has been plated, and both descriptions by Knowles give him a white nimbus which has since been lost. The other figure is an angel, standing outside the prison, dressed in a green tunic and white cloak, with murrey and gold wings, holding a yellow palm leaf.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 3.

1. Erect figure. Tight curls. Large features. Rounded eyebrows, line extending down 1 and part of the other side of nose. Large eyes. Eyelids. Flattened nose. M-shaped mouth.
2. Flat hair. Curly at bottom. Large features. Eyebrows, lines running down sides of nose, prominent eyes, eyelids, wavy beard. Resembles CHs2:36 and CHs3:29.

Iconography and original location: John in prison, greeted by angel holding palm leaf.⁴⁴

There are biblical references to John the Baptist being in prison,⁴⁵ but there is no indication that he was visited by an angel. This is the only window identified which includes an image of his being in prison. It may have been a deliberate echo of CHn2:6, where the Angel Gabriel is, unusually, carrying a palm leaf.

⁴⁴ Matt. 11:2. No reference to the angel.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*; Mark 16:17.

Possibly this is an imagined scene in which John the Baptist is similarly given forewarning of what will happen to him. It also serves to link him with the chapter house iconography of the Virgin, which may be intended to associate him with the virginity theme. This, in turn, may be significant in that it connected William de Langton's personal saint, John the Baptist, with the Virgin (see Chapter 5).

This is the earliest scene of the Baptist narrative as shown in York, although it does not fit the moment of his commitment to his fate as discussed in Chapter 3 in connection with the other windows and the Margaret light. The light was not moved in the 1760s repairs.

History of the Panel:

Torre:⁴⁶

Description: "24 In 4th Light sits an holy Man at a prison door, habited B glory gu by him stands an Angell robed vt B & A winged O bearing a church in his hand (O)."

			9	

Comments: Torre was in error with the blue and the fact that the Angel was carrying a "church". It is clearly a palm leaf.

Browne:⁴⁷

Description: "St John in prison, an angel appearing to him bearing an olive branch."

			9	

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":⁴⁸

Description: "No 4: [Pencil] St John the Baptist in Prison

Under an arch battlemented tower is seen the st with long curly hair and yell cloak whit nimbus to head (curiously made hairy as if for St J Bapt which same subject may have done duty for the latter subject). The tower standing on a green grassy foreground. To the left stands an angel with red glass face rich short curly hair green tunic whit cloak cast loosely about him bare feet red purp and yell wings holds a yell palm in his hand and tucks up his robe holding the other hand in warning to the st. The painting of this is strong and accords with some of the nave."

			9	

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁴⁹

Description: "St John Baptist in Prison

The prison represented by a battlemented tower standing on a grassy foreground with an arched gateway to it in which is seen the Baptist with long curly hair and white nimbus and clad in a hairy coat of tawny colour. To the left hand is an angel with face (red glass) and short curly hair clad in a green tunic and a loose white cloak

			9	

⁴⁶ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130-31.

⁴⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 78.

⁴⁸ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.96v.

⁴⁹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.103r.

cast about him and part coloured wings. In one hand he holds a palm and with the same hand supports his robe and with the other hand holds it up in a warning [position].”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: no pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible. The saint was seen with a white nimbus, for which no lead line is visible. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁵⁰

			9	

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: no modification visible
 Grisaille: two pieces of heavily painted intruded glass removed. Two mending leads inserted.
 Borders: unchanged from prior restoration. One area of painted intruded glass removed and replaced with clear glass. Two mending leads inserted.⁵¹*

Milner White:⁵²

			9	

Brown:⁵³

Description: “St John the Baptist in prison.”

			9	

Current:

			9	

⁵⁰ Figure CHs4:9: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5329, 1929-32: 61, 4L7P.

⁵¹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5330, 1969: 61, 4L7P.

⁵² Milner White, “Return,” 1956, 36.

⁵³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

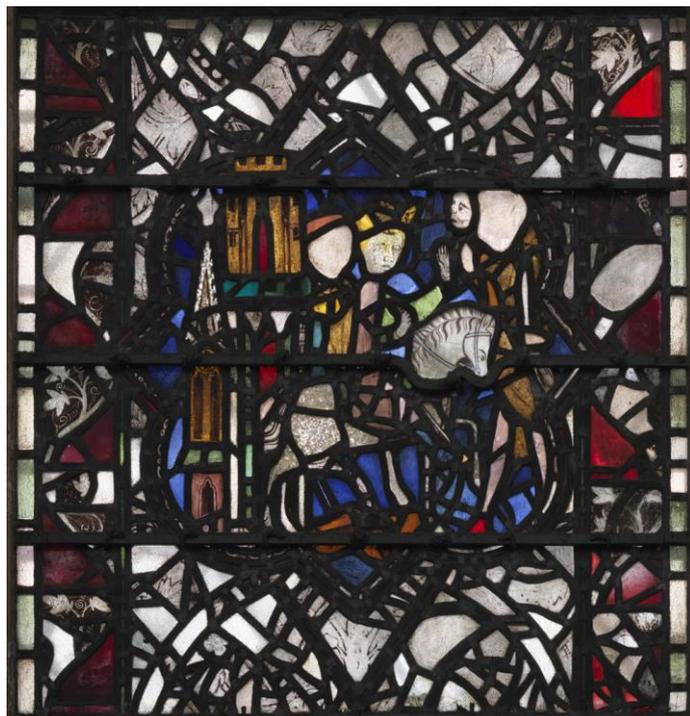


Figure CHs4:10: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 2e © York Glaziers Trust.

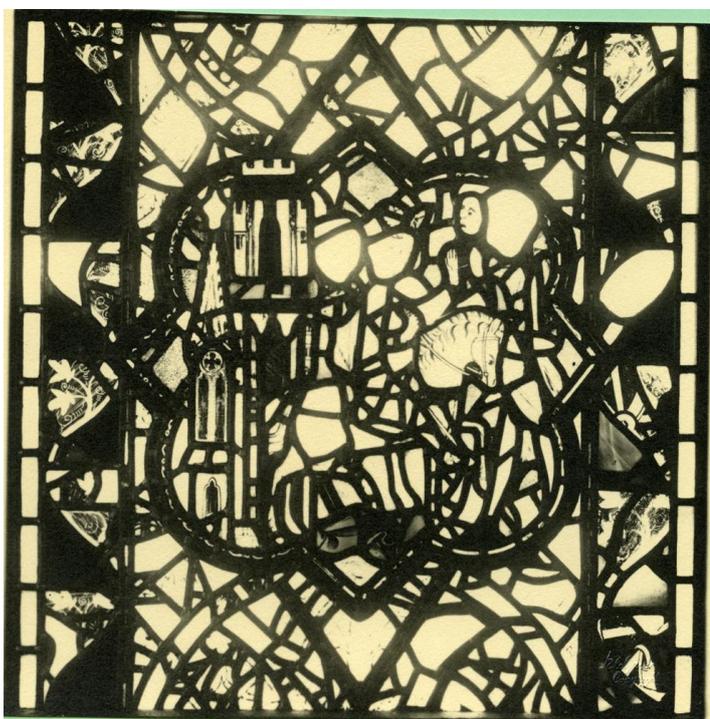


Figure CHs4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5331, 1929-32: 61, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5332, ca.1961: 61, 5L7P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22194, ca.1961: 61, 5L7P © Crown Copyright.



Figure CHs4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5333, 5L7P (detail)
 © Dean and Chapter of York.⁵⁵

Original location, appearance and iconography:

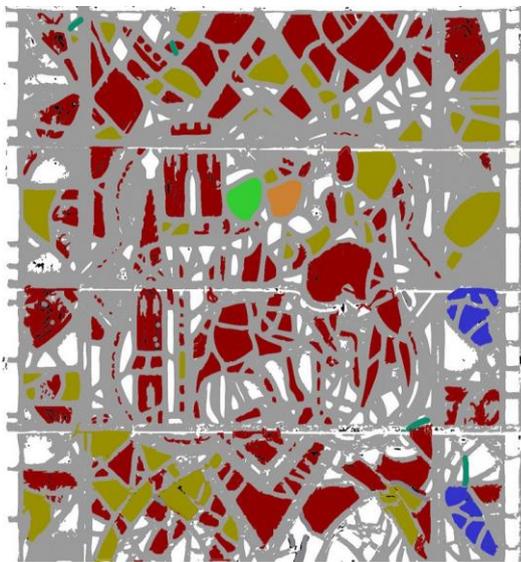


Figure CHs4:10: Restoration History.



Figure CHs4:10: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				10

Probable original appearance:

A quatrefoil medallion, with red outer and white beaded inner edge. Blue background to narrative scene.

There is a prominent building, resembling a church, to the left-hand side, in murrey, green, white, yellow with a yellow tower and red window. Emerging from the building, through an entrance which seems to have turned wood side pieces are two men on horseback. The first of these is riding a horse, with clearly painted head and mane. He is wearing murrey and green and may have an original yellow crown on an intruded head. He is holding his reins in his right hand and is holding his left aloft as in warning or greeting. The second horse is hardly visible, except that at least two of its legs can be seen. It is presumably

⁵⁵ See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22193, 1969: 61, 5L7P (detail) © RCHM.
 1014

being ridden by the figure behind the king. He may be wearing yellow, from the hint of yellow around his neck, in the midst of a patch of different intruded colours. Knowles saw the King's attendant as having a red face with curly hair (see below).

The King appears to be facing one or two men on foot. There is a painted face, which may be intruded as there does not appear to be any indication of a body to which it must be attached. The one figure who is certain is standing facing the king, in a yellow garment, possibly with a hood. His has white hose and may have been wearing red shoes. From the lead line, it is possible that he was holding an upturned sword in his left hand. His right hand is raised to match that of the King. There is a piece of white glass which may be original and may denote a bag of some sort.

Stylistic comments (including possible original head): The structure of the panel is reminiscent of CHn4:30 in CHn4, also by Workshop 1. The head described by Knowles had curly hair, another feature of the workshop style.

Iconography and original location: Edmund rides out to meet the Danes.⁵⁶ The panel is very similar to that in CHn4:30 (also by Workshop 1), though one of the differences is that, in the latter panel, the tower protrudes the medallion into the grisaille above, whereas here the tower is cut off on the line of the medallion (see the discussion of the way CHn4 stresses virginity in Chapter 4).

The cult of St Edmund developed in a similar way to that of other medieval saints, accruing more, often inconsistent, details. The main variations in the accounts concerned whether he fought against the Danes, or whether he submitted to his fate without offering resistance.⁵⁷ He was briefly mentioned, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by about 890, as a King who fought valiantly but was defeated and killed by the Danish invaders.⁵⁸ Three years later, the same reference was made in Asser's *Life of St Alfred*.⁵⁹ By the time of Abbo's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*, these bare bones were elaborated with information ostensibly obtained from Dunstan who, in turn, had heard it from an eye witness,⁶⁰ although this version did not include a reference to any defeat in any battle.⁶¹ Abbo created a different emphasis in the narrative, from Asser's account of bravery, the stress was now on his refusal to fight.⁶² It was the first text to report that Edmund had received threats from the Danes, which he ignored despite being encouraged by his Bishop to surrender.⁶³ He insisted he would

⁵⁶ For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, Francis Hervey, ed., *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi: the Garland of Saint Edmund King and Martyr* (London: J.Murray, 1907), 33.97-107.

⁵⁷ Hervey, *Corolla*, 97-107

⁵⁸ Edwards, *St Edmund*, 6.

⁵⁹ Hervey, *Eadmundi*, 7: 5.

⁶⁰ Dorothy Whitelock, "Fact and fiction in the legend of St. Edmund", in *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, for 1969: Saint Edmund commemorative issue, 869-1969, ed. Christopher Evelyn Blunt, Roy Gilyard-Beer, Elizabeth Parker, Norman Scarfe and Dorothy Whitelock, 217-33 (Ipswich: W.E.Harrison, 1970), 218-19; Anthony Bale, ed., *St Edmund King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 2.

⁶¹ Hervey, *Eadmundi*, 11-21.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 5 and 25-37.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 25-33.

follow the example of Christ, not staining his hands with blood, and only surrender if his Danish opponent converted to Christianity.⁶⁴ He did not offer any resistance and was captured in his hall.⁶⁵

In the late tenth century, this was translated to Old English by Aelfric, Abbot of Eynsham and, after the Norman Conquest, versions in Anglo-Norman started to appear. Geoffrey Gaimar referred to Edmund's battle in his *L'Estoire des Engleis*, and specifically to the fact that he emerged from his castle to meet his enemy,⁶⁶ echoed in Symeon's *History of Durham*, where there is a very brief reference to him, stressing his resistance to the Danes: he "fought with desperate and heroic valour against the invading force".⁶⁷ Roger of Howden followed a similar theme, stating that he died heroically in battle.⁶⁸ Before his depiction in the chapter house glass, however, there had been a further version by Roger of Wendover, who, in his early thirteenth-century *Chronicle*, described Edmund as defeating the Danes but then surrendering to them to avoid further bloodshed.⁶⁹ Subsequently, in further versions of his Life he had also acquired a genealogy and an account of his succession to the throne.⁷⁰ There is no entry in Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* for Edmund: the only reference to him is in the context of St John the Baptist, where he is described as having never refused a request made in St John's name.⁷¹

The scenes selected in York lay emphasis on his martyrdom rather than any powers of intercession. The first (CHs4:10 in 2e) shows Edmund on horseback riding out of his city, accompanied by an assistant. Facing him is a figure with bare legs, or tunic and hose, who may be holding a sword upright. There is an adjacent head, which may have been intruded or which may have "lost" its body through intervening interventions. There appears to be a confrontation between Edmund and the one, certain, standing figure. This presumably relates to the encounter between Edmund and representatives of the Danes when they demand his surrender. There does not appear to be any indication of his refusal to follow the Bishop's advice and surrender immediately. Rather, the scene shows him riding out of his castle as though to go to battle, while most of the main texts suggest that he was actually overwhelmed in the hall of his castle. This suggests that the scene in CHs4:10 is based on the versions of the texts which show Edmund's courage.

The light varies from the narrative emphases of other windows in that, while CHs4:10 can be interpreted as his making a decision which will affect his future sanctity, the light does not terminate with his martyrdom.

⁶⁴ Whitelock, "Fact and fiction," 220.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 225; Hervey, *Eadmundi*, 129.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶⁹ Whitelock, "Fact and fiction," 229.

⁷⁰ Michael Winterbottom, ed., *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto: Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), 5.

⁷¹ Voragine, *Legenda*, Vol. 1, 55.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁷²

Description: “25 In 5th Light is a Church coloured O vt & A. And a King (mounted on a white horse) riding from it, robed Murry, crowned O before him stands another Man habited O.”

				10

Drake:⁷³

Comment: Most of the drawing is unspecific, but does show a horse in 2e.

				10

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

Intervention: the standing figure was “much jumbled”.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁷⁴

Description: “No 5: From life of St Edmund

No 5: to the left a castle with tower above the archway and proceeding out

of a king on horseback and meeting him is a figure with great anxiety depicted on his face. Another figure looking out intently from the tower. The king wears a red purp short cloak blue busks and shoes like the leg of S Will in the St Nicholas window and sits on a white palfrey which he is reining tightly up. The crown is not legible as to [...]. Head gone and a perp one inserted.

				10

The man in front has a yell coat reaching to the hips bare legs and red shoes. And holds something like a bridle in his left hand. The one looking out of the tower a red face with curly hair. No head dress but a yell coat. The tower is in various colours the archway red and the architecture of it exactly corresponds with some of vestibule and the Flagellation window in nth side nave. The man near the King is probably riding as an attendant.”

Comments: Knowles saw only one man facing the King.

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:⁷⁵

Description: “King Edmund informed of the murder of Lodbrok.

To the left of the picture is a castellated tower and out of the

gateway of it rides a king on a white palfrey which he appears to have suddenly reined up. His face shewing great anxiety. Approaching him is a man the bearer of bad news. A figure leans out of a window in the tower in act of listening.”

Comments: Knowles appears to have seen the King’s attendant as someone hanging out of the tower.

				10

⁷² YMA L1/7, Torre, 131.

⁷³ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

⁷⁴ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.196v.

⁷⁵ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.104r.

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: some pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible. The King's attendant must have lost his original head at this stage: it was red, with "curly hair". See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁷⁶

				10

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no modifications visible
Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration. One piece of mending lead inserted.
Borders: unchanged from prior restoration. One mending lead inserted and two areas with heavily painted intruded glass replaced by plain glass.*

Milner White:⁷⁷

				10

Brown:⁷⁸

Description: "St Edmund leaves the city on horseback."

				10

Current:

				10

⁷⁶ Figure CHs4:10: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5331, 1929-32: 61, 5L7P.

⁷⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

⁷⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

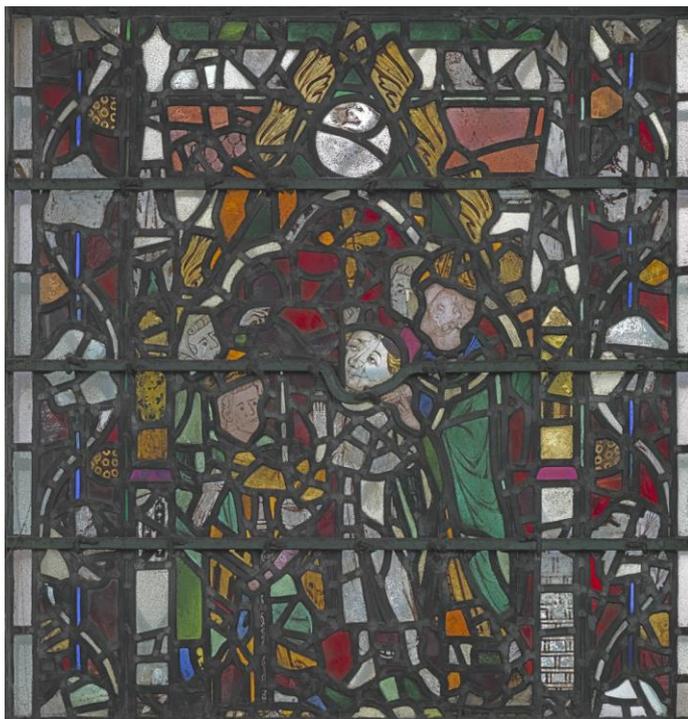


Figure CHs4:16: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 4a © York Glaziers Trust.

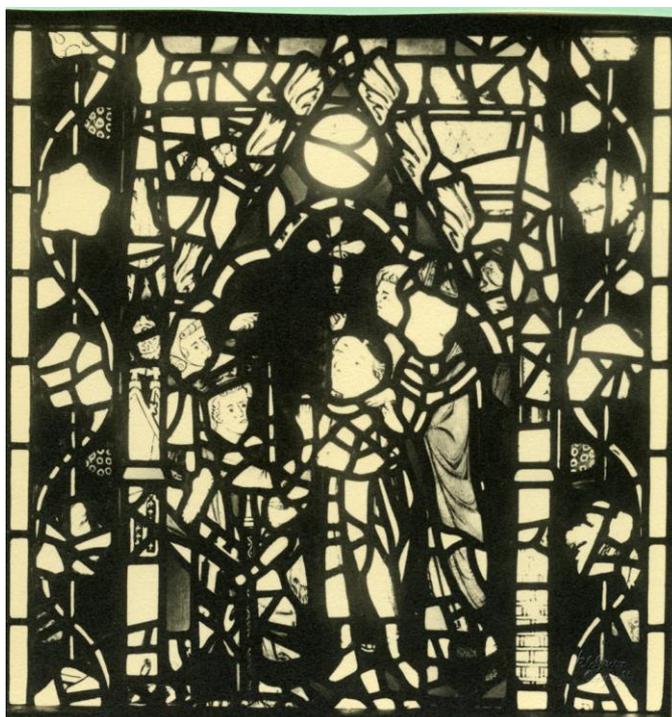


Figure CHs4:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5340, 1929-32: 61, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5341, ca.1961: 61, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22186, ca.1961: 61, 1L5P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

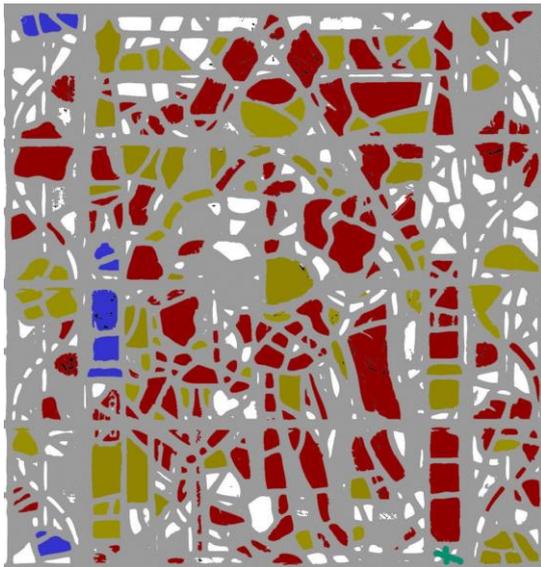


Figure CHs4:16: Restoration History.

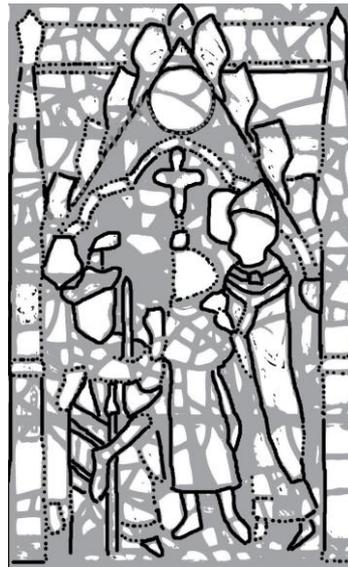


Figure CHs4:16: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		16		

Probable original appearance:

No medallion shape. Instead there is a canopy over the scene. Canopy is above a white band, itself above a murrey, tiled roof, with white below. Triangular canopy shape, with yellow crockets up the outside, white architectural borders up the sides (with signs of yellow window openings), each terminating in a white pinnacle, and murrey capitals. White base. Trefoil headed arch within the canopy with green vault springers against the white wall of the border. Between the upper outside line of the canopy and the outside line of the trefoil arch is a round shape, which may have contained a flowerhead or a star.

There is a red background to the scene. There are several figures: first a king, seated on yellow throne, dressed in yellow and green with a yellow crown and an original head. He is holding an upright sword, probably in his left hand. His right hand may be raised, but the hand may be part of the central figure instead. His legs are murrey and are crossed and he is wearing a blue shoe. Behind him is a figure also with original head, wearing a coif and dressed in green, also possibly with a blue shoe. He has a hand raised above the throned figure, pointing at the figures opposite. There is a pair of hands, which apparently could have come from a seated figure elsewhere, which may be connected to the left-hand figure, in which case the pointing hand above the throned figure is an intrusion.

In the centre stands a figure in white, with white/bare legs and feet and intruded head. There is a disconnected hand which may be raised, or it may be the right hand of the throned figure. The figure to the right is Thomas Becket, with a white pallium and alb, blue apparel, yellow mitre, yellow dalmatic, green cloak and yellow shoes. He has an original head. He is holding a yellow cross-staff over the head of the central figure. He has his left hand on the shoulder of the central figure. The original head behind is in profile: a raised hand over the

central figure may well belong to this person.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Tight roll of hair, painted with lines of varied thickness and at nape and forehead. Straight eyebrows, large nose and small mouth, downturned.
2. Concave shaped head. Tight roll of hair. Large ear. Square eyebrows. Large nose. Small downturned mouth. Shape under mouth.
3. Varied thickness of lines to indicate hair. Square eyebrows.
4. Faint.

Probably Workshop 1.

Iconography and original location: Thomas Becket facing the King over the criminous clerk.⁸⁰

The scene is significant as the culmination of the confrontations between Becket and the King, focussing on who was responsible for trying and punishing clerics guilty of serious offences, probably at one of the Councils at Clarendon or Northampton in 1164.⁸¹ The panel was in an alternate row to CHs4:6 because of the contrast of colours of crockets and background colour. Chs4:6 was logically in 2c and CHs4:16 logically in 4c as the next important scene in the abbreviated Becket narrative.

This scene has not been identified with certainty elsewhere, possibly because it relates to Becket's life story rather than his miracles, but there is a similar one in Chartres Cathedral, where Becket is talking to Henry II, who has a devil on his shoulder. There is another figure standing behind Becket, possibly representing the wayward cleric.⁸² In Saint-Ouen in Rouen there is a confrontation scene, but there is no evidence of the presence of the "criminous clerk".⁸³ There are relatively few windows showing the scene: many will have been destroyed in the Reformation in England, while the French narratives that exist appear less likely to show such a specifically English event,⁸⁴ given that they appear to concentrate on Becket's life after he left France to return to England.

The panel in York does not have any visual or thematic links with CHs4:26 above and so does not fit the theory of the importance of the central panels elaborated in Chapter 3.

History of the panel:

Torre:⁸⁵

Description: "18 In 3d Light sits a King in a golden Chair robed O & vt, crowned as zd having in his hand a Naked Sword poynted Upwards & before him stands a Man covering the Kings face wth his hands And a Bp

		16		

⁸⁰ Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 12; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 374; Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 45; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 264-65; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 24.

⁸¹ Michael Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 17-18.

⁸² *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral at Chartres, Bay 18:4b.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, the abbey church of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, Bay 19:6e.

⁸⁴ One can be seen in *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedral of Coutances, Bay 217:1. There is another in Canterbury Cathedral, *Online Archive*, "English sites," n7:7b, but in neither of these is the clerk clearly present.

⁸⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

stands also by habited vt & O myter O And also his Cross bearer with a golden Crossstaff in his hands behind the Chair stands an Attendant habited vt.”

Comments: It is not clear what he meant when he described the central figure as covering the King’s face. Was this an error for “his own face”? Because the head has been intruded, it is impossible to tell.

Drake:⁸⁶

Comments: The Drake engraving clearly shows CHs4:6, 16, 26 and 36 in the central light.

		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		

Intervention: evidence from elsewhere suggests that the light was moved to the far left in the course of the 1760s repairs.

Halfpenny:⁸⁷

Comment: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

Browne:⁸⁸

Description: “Abbot Nicholas chosen Bishop of Myra [?].”

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:⁸⁹

Description: “No 1

St John of Beverley entrusted to the care of arch Theodoric by King Alfred.

The Life of St John of Beverley

[margin] A decorated panel inserted

Left is again under a canopy same as the one below it and also are the two panels above it. The crockets are like the last but one wind in north side nave.

The subject depicted in this panel is that of a Bishop bringing a youth to a king who is seated on a cross legged chair. The bishop has a green chasuble yell dalmatic white alb with blue apparel yell mitre and shoes and rests his left hand on the shoulder of youth. The youth is dressed in a white tunic girdled at the waist bare feet and holds his hands up in submission to the King who wears a trefoil crown a green cloak over a yell tunic. Blue shoes. Another figure seems to stand behind the King with hand resting on the chair’s back. Back of panel ruby.

[pencil in margin] [...] is it a boy preaching to St Gregory. The cause of St Augustine coming. Note: The panel above this represents a bishop and two other figures in a boat. Probl coming to England and the panel above a figure nimbed kneeling to be beheaded.”

Comments: The description is clearly of this panel, even if Knowles erred in his identification.

16				

⁸⁶ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

⁸⁷ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

⁸⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 74.

⁸⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.97.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":⁹⁰

Description: "A king clad in yellow tunic and green cope and blue shoes with a crown on his head of trefoil design and behind his throne a figure of a man who rests one hand on the back of the throne."

16				

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: a couple of pieces of re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:⁹¹

16				

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one area of intruded, painted glass removed and yellow glass inserted. A few mending leads at the bottom right-hand corner.

Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration. No modifications visible.

Borders: Two pieces of intruded, painted glass removed from left-hand border.

*Upper replaced with painted, lower with clear glass.*⁹²

Milner White:⁹³

16				

O'Connor and Haselock:⁹⁴

Description: "[Becket's] defence of the criminous clerk before Henry II".

Brown:⁹⁵

Description: "Thomas defends a clerk before Henry II."

16				

Current:

16				

⁹⁰ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.99r.

⁹¹ Figure CHs4:16: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5340, 1929-32: 61, 1L5P.

⁹² Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5341, ca.1961: 61, 1L5P.

⁹³ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

⁹⁴ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass", 340.

⁹⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

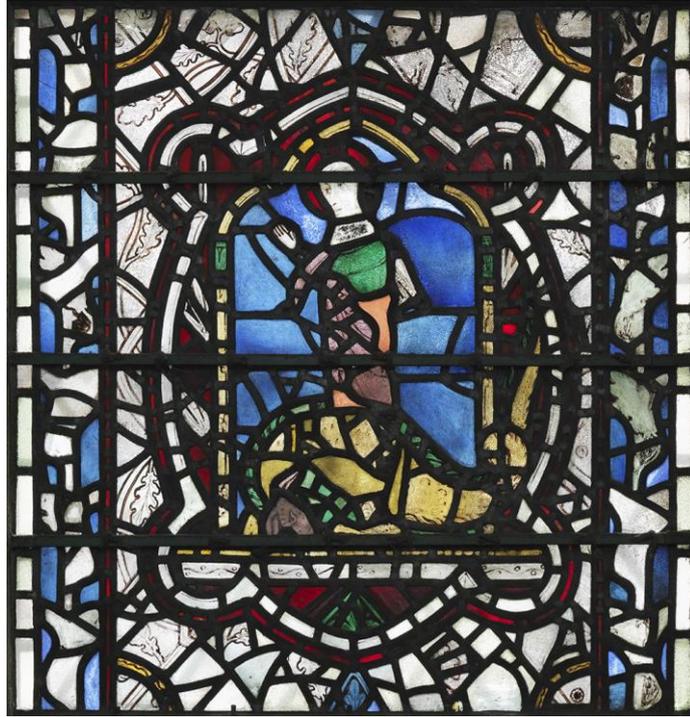


Figure CHs4:17: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 4b © York Glaziers Trust.

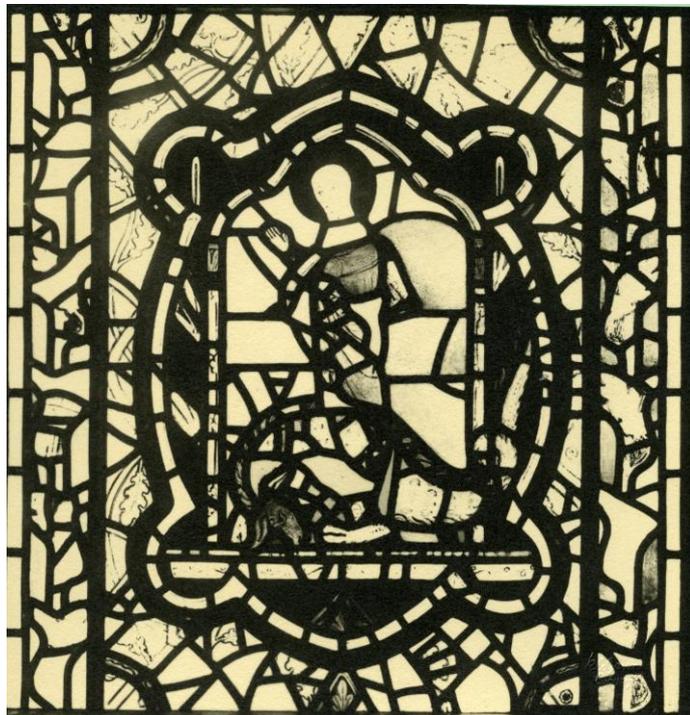


Figure CHs4:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5342, 1929-32: 61, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5343, ca.1961: 61, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22185, ca.1961: 61, 2L5P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

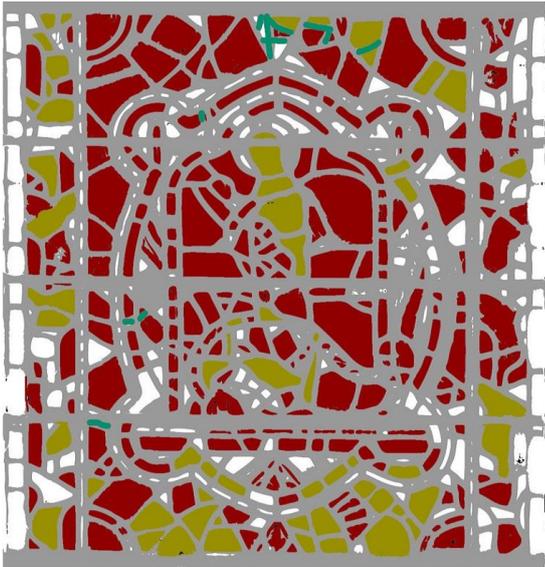


Figure CHs4:17: Restoration History.

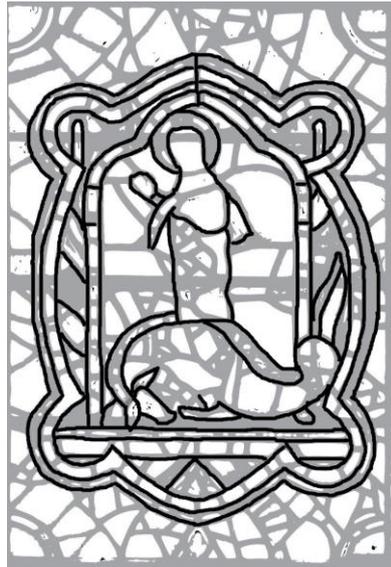


Figure CHs4:17: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

17				

Probable original appearance:

The panel has a predominantly blue border. The medallion has a red outer and a white inner rim. There is a white original floor line with a yellow/beaded layer above. Below the white floor is a triangular piece of glass containing a green fleur-de-lys, meaning that it is possible that this was the feature in the three other panels where this glass has been lost. Above the floor line is a trefoil-headed arch with original yellow glass and, on each side, towards the top, the arch has an original green piece set in.

Outside the arch, the background is red and inside it is blue. Up the outside, on each side, are what appear to be white leaves. Inside the arch, there is a dead dragon on the floor, with yellow body and tail, green mane and pale murrey head. Its tail curls upwards and outside the arch to the right-hand side. There appear to be several intruded pieces of glass and/or paint loss. The saint is standing either behind or in the dragon. The glass has been much disturbed, but the mane seems to be interrupted by the vertical lines of the lower drapery of the standing figure, implying that she is emerging from the dragon, but it is not very clear. The saint is draped in pale murrey cloak over a green tunic, with a white neck piece. On the glass for the tunic, the paint lines of extended arms are visible, as though she is praying towards the left-hand side of the panel (the east). The head is intruded, but presumably would have shown her in three-quarter view, or profile looking to the left.

Iconography and original location: Margaret emerging from the dragon.⁹⁷ If Margaret is emerging from the dragon, it is a very restrained version and possibly suggests some degree of moderation given the educated level of Chapter and the caution with which this part of her *Vita* is dealt with in some of the texts. There are resonances of the trumeau Virgin at the entrance to the chapter house, where the Virgin is standing on the beasts, and close visual and thematic parallels with CHs4:27 in row 6 above. This means that two of the four panels in the light are very similar in visual and iconographic themes. It is the only light in the window showing this feature and leading to the suggestion that, originally, they were intended to form the centre piece of an entire window devoted to Margaret (see Chapter 3).

She is standing alone under a trefoiled arch, with a contrasting background colour inside and out. This was presumably intended to refer not only to her prison cell but also to her state of virginity. St-Julien-du-Sault stresses her virginity: there the stress is even greater with no fewer than nine panels showing her prison and a visual reference to the tower which was associated elsewhere with virginity.⁹⁸ CHs4:17 reflects some of the visual elements in the St Katherine window, namely the prison denoting the physical state of virginity and the way the figure is isolated in space showing her psychological devotion to the state. Outside, up the arch, are visible some white leaves, another device which possibly indicated virginity, resonating with the Virgin and the *Cantica Canticorum*, which was the textual basis for the liturgy for the Virgin.

History of the Panel

Torre:⁹⁹

Description: “16 In 3rd Row and first Light kneels an holy Man in purple robed Murrey Shoulders O glory gu.”

Comments: Torre has confused the saint’s gender. He did not comment on the green of the clothing on Margaret’s shoulder, but it is original, so it must have been present.

17				

Drake:¹⁰⁰

Comment: Haynes’s etching shows Thomas Becket panels still in the centre light.

Intervention: in the 1760s, the light was switched from the left hand to the second to the left.

Halfpenny:¹⁰¹

Comment: This provides the evidence for the switch of the Becket light and therefore, by implication, the Margaret light as well.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Larson, “Role,” 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 186; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 295.

⁹⁸ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 9.

⁹⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹⁰⁰ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹⁰¹ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

Browne:¹⁰²

Description: "A female standing upon a huge Dragon, shewing the triumph of Virtue over Vice."

Comment: Browne did not specify the exact location within the second light, but it is probable that he saw the panel in 4b.

	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁰³

Description: "No 2. Ancient work ie its character is much different from the last described subject and agrees with the two subjects above it.

[pencil] St Margaret

[half sentence about Jonah deleted] and the subject above is a figure with a Resurrection banner standing on a dragon probl the lower one being this type and the top the real Resurrection but to describe "St white head and hands. Green tunic and purp robe red nimbus. [pencil] dragon has yellow head, purp rib on back and fins green. Dragon has its head doubled up under its body as if dead. [ink] yell head purple [rib] on back and [fins] green. Back of panel blue. [in margin] This subject St Margaret [vanquishing] though the dragon is in a Norman font at Cotham in Yorkshire. Vide Romilly Allan."

	17			



Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁰⁴

Description: "No 2. St Margaret standing upon the dragon The St standing and holding a cross staff with a pennon robed in green tunic and purp cloak. The dragon under her feet is laid curled up with its head partly under its body."

Comment: Knowles confused this panel with the one above, as in this one St Margaret is not holding the cross staff. He described CHs4:27 in a similar way in the "Historical Notes", so it is clear that he repeated the description for CHs27 twice in error. He did not provide a description, therefore, of CHs4:17.

	17			

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: no pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁰⁵

	17			

¹⁰² Browne, *Representation*, 75.

¹⁰³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.197.

¹⁰⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.100r.

¹⁰⁵ Figure CHs4:17: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5342, 1929-32: 61, 2L5P.

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: two pieces of mending lead inserted in medallion border.
Grisaille: Mending leads inserted.
*Borders: No modifications visible.*¹⁰⁶

Milner White:¹⁰⁷

	17			

Brown:¹⁰⁸

Description: "St Margaret and the dragon."

	17			

Current:

	17			

¹⁰⁶ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.*, and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5343, ca.1961: 61, 2L5P.

¹⁰⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹⁰⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

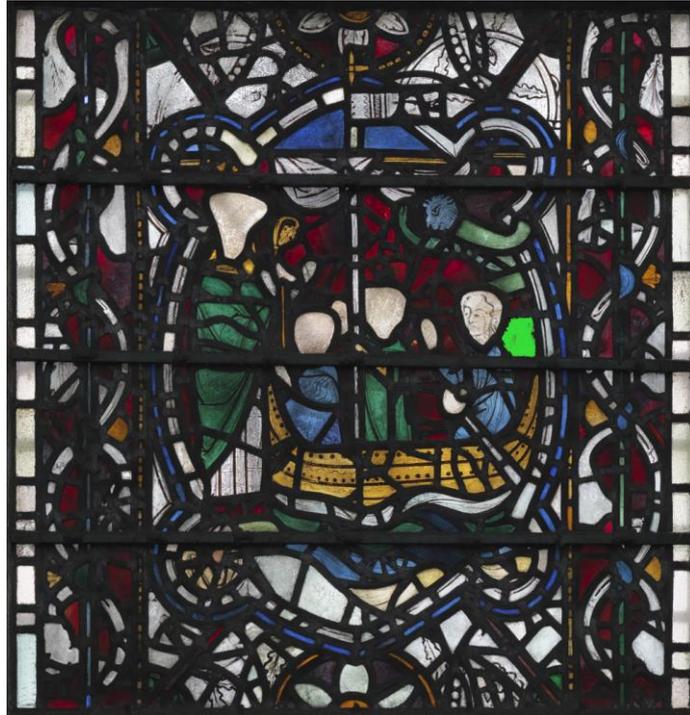


Figure CHs4:18: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 4c © York Glaziers Trust.

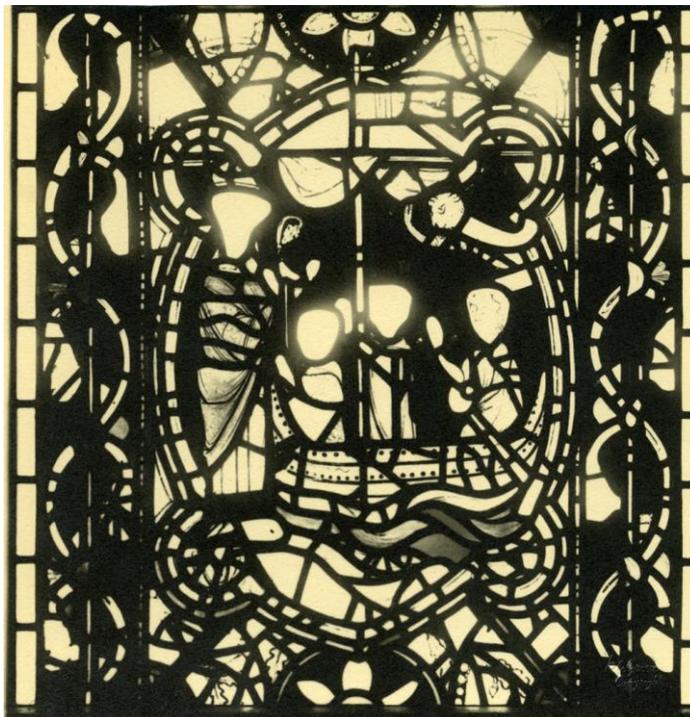


Figure CHs4:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5344, 1929-32: 61, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5345, ca.1961: 61, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22184, ca.1961: 61, 3L5P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

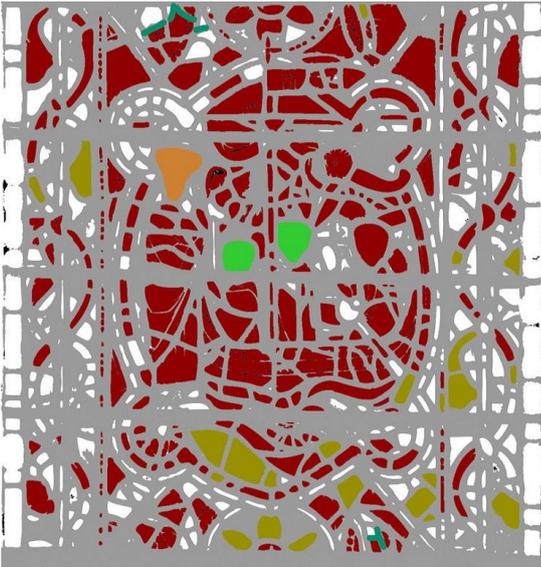


Figure CHs4:18: Restoration History.

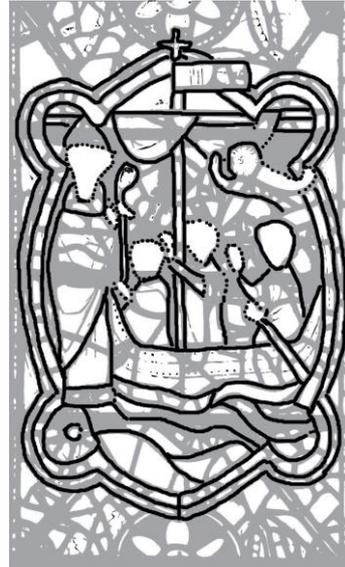


Figure CHs4:18: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	18			

Probable original appearance:

Quatrefoil/octofoil medallion with blue outer and white inner rim. There is a line across the top of the medallion, probably the spar of a boat. Above there is a blue background, below it is red. The mast of the boat divides the medallion vertically and extends above the line of the spar, terminating in a cross. A white pennant is attached to the white mast. White sail is folded over the spar.

Below is a standing figure to the left, holding a yellow crozier in his left hand and dressed in a white tunic, green cloak and yellow apparel. In the 1930s photograph he was wearing a mitre. It looks as though his right hand is raised. He is standing outside a yellow boat, with original cladding. Inside are three figures, the one to the left in blue, the centre one in green with a possible yellow sleeve and the one to the right in blue. This third figure has an original head. He is holding an oar in his left hand. All three figures have their hands raised. Above the oarsman is a strange green shape with a possibly original blue face of a devil. The boat is on a sea painted on waves of white, blue and green.

Stylistic comments on original head:

Small features. Flat hair. Thicker line between face and hair. Line of one (rounded) eyebrow extended to create outline of nose. Probably Workshop 2.

Iconography and original location: Nicholas saving sailors in a storm.¹¹⁰ There are several miracle scenes involving boats, one of which involves the devil giving poison to travellers.¹¹¹ Only in Freiburg is it clear that the devil is leading the boat astray as in York.¹¹² As all the other panels seem to have retained their position with their light, it is suggested that location 4c is original. There is no similarity, either in visual or theme, with CHs4:28 above, and hence the light does not conform to the other windows nor the Margaret light in CHs4.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹¹³

Description: “17 In 2d Light is a Ship (O) with one Mast under Sayl A & 3 persons in her one habited B/2d vt/3d B Also a Bp stands by habited vt Skirts A Myter & Crosyer O.”

	18			

Drake:¹¹⁴

Comment: Haynes’s etching shows the centre light contained the Thomas Becket panels, which is where they are shown in Torre’s description.

Intervention: in the 1760s the lights were switched, moving Thomas Becket to the left and Nicholas to the centre.

Halfpenny:¹¹⁵

Comment: This is the evidence for the switch occurring in the course of the eighteenth century.

Browne:¹¹⁶

Description: “A ship in distress, passengers and crew supplicating St Nicholas for his protecting prayers, against the storm which is represented by a blue and green huge monster in the air, and the sails of vessel tightly braced up.”

		18		

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

The head of the left-hand figure in panel 18 was “much mutilated”.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹¹⁷

Description: “No 3. St Nicholas rebuking the storm
Three men in a yell boat on the sea

		18		

¹¹⁰ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 227-74.
¹¹¹ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedral at Troyes, Bay 205: tracery, and the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 2:4b, have panels alluding to his special relationship with sailors, but not specifically the miracle where he rescued them.
¹¹² *Online Archive*, “Other sites,” Freiburg Minster: s42:2d.
¹¹³ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.
¹¹⁴ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.
¹¹⁵ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.
¹¹⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 75.
¹¹⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.197.

with white rudder. A yell cross and pennon on mast head. Sails furred. A bishop standing on the shore with hand up blessing. A demon in the sky to right hand side. The men in the boat all have bare heads with pink faces curly hair. Two clad in blue one of them rowing. The 3rd clad in green.

The bishop has a green chasuble white alb the head very much mutilated. The demon has a green body and blue head. The water is composed of white blue and green glass. The boat is early shape.



The back of panel ruby but the top part above saint is blue.”

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹¹⁸

Description: “St Nicholas stilling the tempest.

In a yellow ship with a white rudder and the sails close furred are three men with deep pink faces and bare heads. One of the sailors rowing and above in the sky a demon with a green body and blue head blowing on to the boat. On the land

is the figure of St Nicholas holding his right hand up in benediction. He is robed in alb and green chasuble.

The sea is represented by waves of white blue and green glass. Part of the background of the picture is ruby and the upper part blue.”

		18		

1929-32 Re-leading:

No pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible. Knowles said that all the men had got “bare heads, piin faces, curly hair”. Only one had after the exercise. See Appendix A. 13.

Pre-Minster White Restoration:¹¹⁹

		18		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible modifications.
Grisaille: a few mending leads inserted.
Borders: unchanged from prior restoration.¹²⁰*

Minster White:¹²¹

		18		

¹¹⁸ Knowles, “Historical Notes,” Vol. 1, fol.101r-102r.

¹¹⁹ Figure CHs4:18: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5344, 1929-32: 61, 3L5P.

¹²⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5345, ca.1961: 61, 3L5P.

¹²¹ Milner White, “Return,” 1956, 36.

Brown:¹²²

Description: "St Nicholas calms the storm."

		18		

Current:

		18		

¹²² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

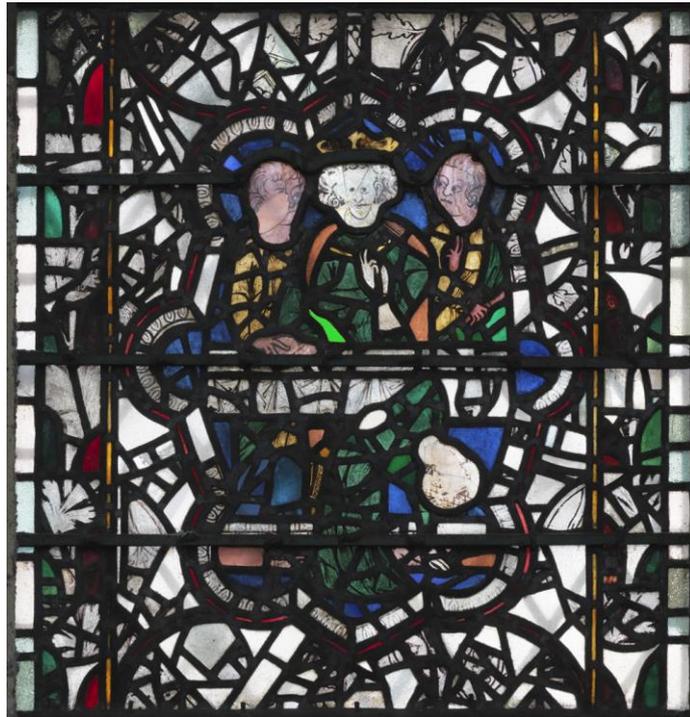


Figure CHs4:19: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 4d © York Glaziers Trust.

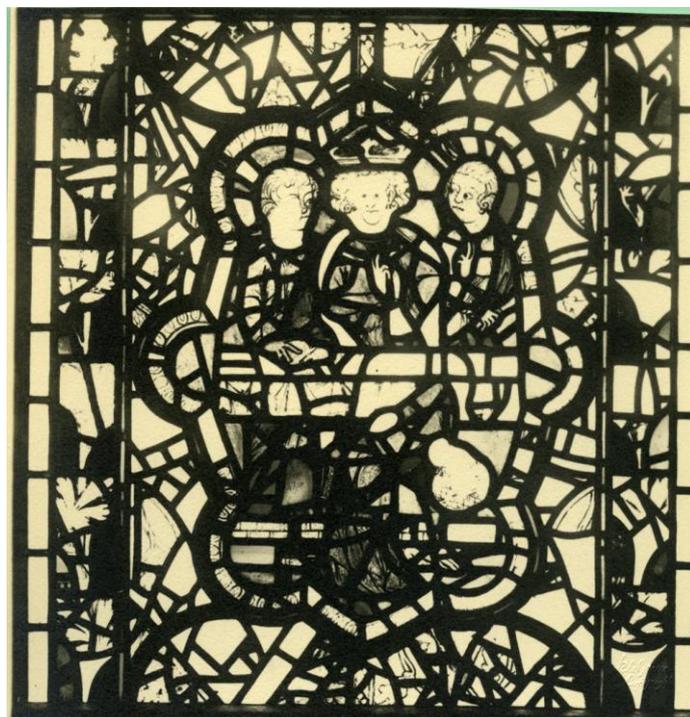


Figure CHs4:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5346, 1929-32: 61, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹²³

¹²³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5347, ca.1961: 61, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22183, ca.1961: 61, 4L5P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

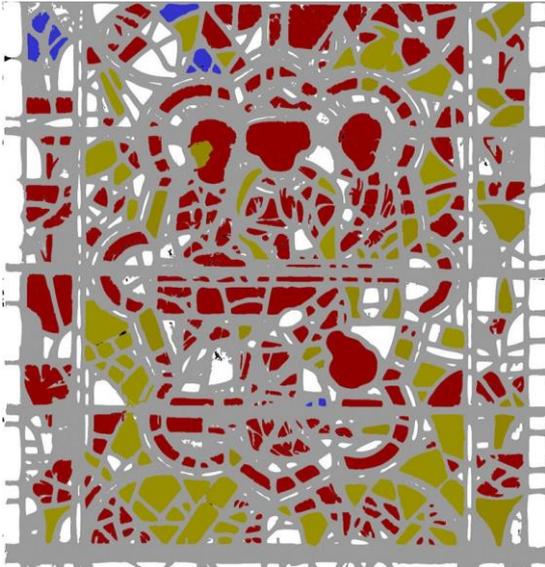


Figure CHs4:19: Restoration History.

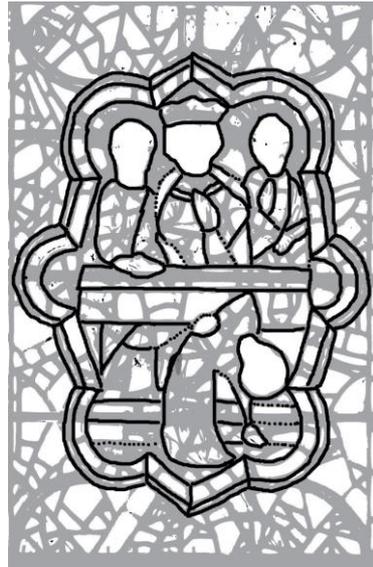


Figure CHs4:19: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			19	

Probable original appearance:

Awkward octofoliar medallion which white inner scalloped rim and exterior rim. Blue background.

Three figures are seated behind a table, facing forwards. The table has a white cover and is on a murrey base. The central figure crowned in yellow, wearing a green tunic and murrey cloak, with one hand raised. The figures to the left and right, are bareheaded (the one to the left, plated) in yellow tunics and green cloaks, the right-hand figure with right hand raised and left hand clutching an object.

In front of the table, an acrobatic, dancing figure, in green.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Flat hair, with curl at nape of neck. Short fringe. Big features. Wide rounded eyebrows. M-shaped mouth and lower lip.
2. Big curly hair. Wide nose. Big ear. M-shaped mouth, with lower lip. Full face. Like CHs2:37 and CHs3:9.
3. Flat hair, curled at nape. Big features. Wide eyebrows, with one line extending to create outline of nose. Big eyes. Eyelids. M-shaped mouth.
4. Paint loss.

Workshop 3.

Iconography and original location: Salome dances for Herod.¹²⁴
 A standard scene, following biblical sources.¹²⁵ It can be found in any narrative which covers the end of John the Baptist's life.¹²⁶ It forms the first of three scenes showing the involvement of Salome in his death. Note that, as discussed in Chapter 3, it does not share visual links with the panel above, CHs4:29, although it does form part of the same incident so it is possible to argue for a thematic connection.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹²⁷

Description: "19 In 4th Light a King sits behind a table Robed vt Crowned O on either side him sits another man, habited O."

			19	

Comments: Torre did not see the foreground figure of Salome.

Browne:¹²⁸

Description: "Herod at the banquet, a damsel dancing or anticking before him (St John the Baptist section)."

			19	

Comments: The crowned head is possibly drawing number 31 in Browne.¹²⁹

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹³⁰

Description: "No 4: Salome dancing before Herod. Blue back. Note the one below diapered ruby. Angel and St Peter Will be the fig of St J Baptist in prison and not St Peter as the subjects above are viz beheading of St John Bap and Salome with head of St John Bap. Now for description. Across the centre of panel a table and seated on a dais of 2 steps behind a King with curly hair wearing green tunic and purp cloak yell crown (early type) on each side of the K is a figure with pink face curly hair yell tunic green robe and red shoes. At the front of the picture in the foreground Salome throwing a half somersault. She has long curly hair and wears a long green robe. [in margin in pencil] [...] 28/14."

			19	

prison and not St Peter as the subjects above are viz beheading of St John Bap and Salome with head of St John Bap. Now for description. Across the centre of panel a table and seated on a dais of 2 steps behind a King with curly hair wearing green tunic and purp cloak yell crown (early type) on each side of the K is a figure with pink face curly hair yell tunic green robe and red shoes. At the front of the picture in the foreground Salome throwing a half somersault. She has long curly hair and wears a long green robe. [in margin in pencil] [...] 28/14."



¹²⁴ Matt. 14:10; Mark 6:27.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

¹²⁶ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the cathedrals at Amiens, Bay 40:5e; at Bourges, Bay 20:8; and at Clermont Ferrand, Bay 1:4b. See also St-Père, Chartres, Bay 225.

¹²⁷ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹²⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 78.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, facing page 14.

¹³⁰ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.197.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹³¹

Description: "Salome dancing before Herod

On a raised dais which extended across the centre of the picture is a table covered with a table cloth hanging in festoons in front and as it [brandy] of various kinds. Seated behind the table is King Herod clad in green tunic purple cloak and yellow crown and on each side are seated a guest wearing yell tunics, green cloaks and red shoes. To the front of the picture is Salome with long curly hair clad in a green robe and throwing a summersault."

			19	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: no pieces of re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹³²

			19	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one piece of what may have been original brickwork removed and replaced with clear glass.
Grisaille: two pieces of glass which had been painted and intruded removed. Replaced with painted glass.
Borders: one area either rebuilt with different glass or given mending leads.¹³³*

Milner White:¹³⁴

			19	

Brown:¹³⁵

Description: "Salome dances before Herod."

			19	

Current:

			19	

¹³¹ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.103r.

¹³² Figure CHs4:19: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5346, 1929-32: 61, 4L5P.

¹³³ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5347, ca.1961: 61, 4L5P.

¹³⁴ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹³⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

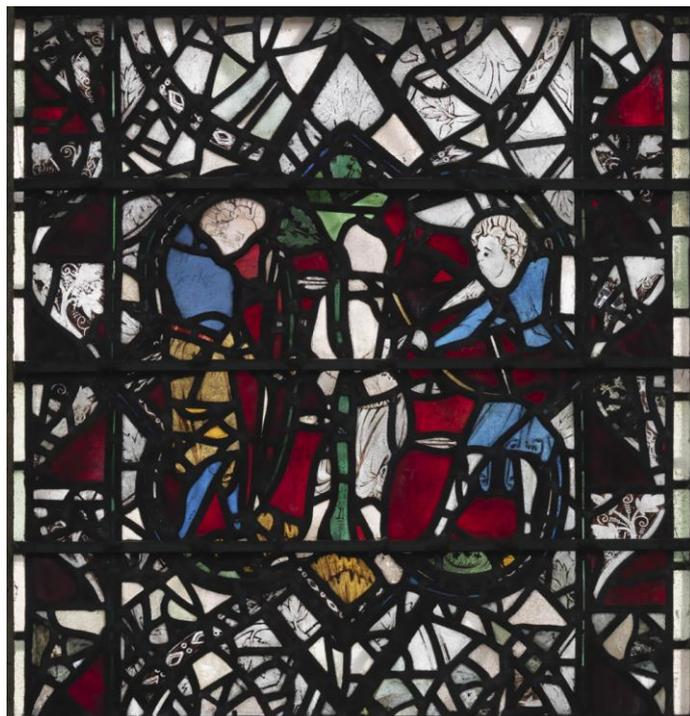


Figure CHs4:20: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 4e © York Glaziers Trust.

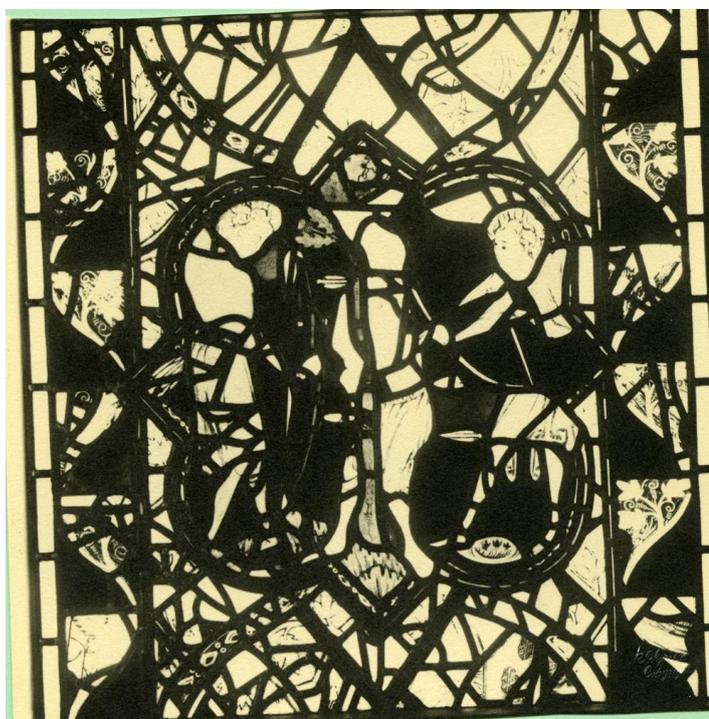


Figure CHs4:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5348, 1929-32: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5349, ca.1961: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22182, ca.1961: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

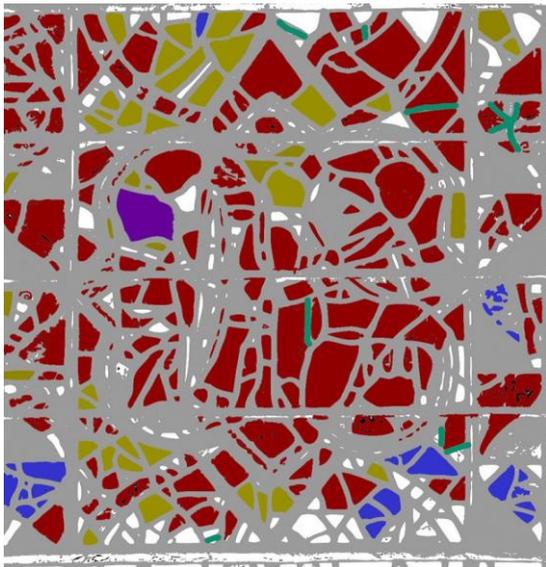


Figure CHs4:20: Restoration History.



Figure CHs4:20: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				20

Probable original appearance:

Medallion in a quatrefoil shape, with a blue outer and beaded white inner rim. The main background to the medallion is red. The ground is yellow and green.

Edmund is standing behind (and probably was tied to) an oak tree (denoted by its large spread of green leaves at the top of the medallion), in what appears to be a white undergarment, falling from his waist. His head and possibly some of his torso intruded. At least four arrows can be seen penetrating his body. To either side of him stand two archers. The one to the right is dressed in blue, with an original head and curly hair (reminiscent of the painting in CH1 and CHn4). He has white hose and yellow shoes. He is pointing his long bow in the direction of the central figure, with a quiver on his back. The figure to the left is standing with his (original) head bowed. He is wearing a tunic the lower part of which is yellow, the upper is now blue, but may originally have been yellow (as seen by Torre). He has blue hose. He is in the process of fixing an arrow in the bow from what may be a quiver.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Figure in profile. Curly hair, swept backwards, indicated with different thicknesses of paint line, large eyes, straight eyebrows.
 2. $\frac{3}{4}$ view, round face. Curly hair, indicated with varied thicknesses of line.
- Note also the structure of the scene is similar to CH1:16 in CH1 and CHn4:28 in CHn4. Probably painted by Workshop 1, the same artist as for CHn4 and CH1.

Iconography and original location: Edmund shot at with arrows.¹³⁷

With its similarity to the Flagellation of Christ in CH1, it may have been a deliberate means of emphasising the Christological aspect of Edmund's cult, as stressed in Aelfric's *Life*, where, like Christ, he is portrayed as king, martyr and virgin:¹³⁸

Just as Christ left [...] on the column the blood which was the mark of his scourging [...] so Eadmund incurred a like penalty.¹³⁹

It follows Edmund's sortie from the castle and would precede a (now lost) image of his martyrdom in 6e.

History of the Panel.

Torre:¹⁴⁰

Description: "20 In 5th Light sits a King inthroned robed gu & A Crowned O on either side him stands an Executioner one habited B leggs bare shooting at the King with an Arrow out of a bow the other habited O leggs B shoes vt."

				20

Comments: It is difficult to see how Torre saw the King as "inthroned" and as wearing any specific colour. I believe in this description he was in error.

Browne:¹⁴¹

Description: "St Edmund bound to a tree and shot at with arrows by 2 archers with plate armour on their legs."

				20

Comments: It is not clear what he meant by "plate armour".

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁴²

Description: "No 5: Prob the martyrdom of St Sebastian [this deleted and inserted is] St Edmund [in different darker ink]."

				20

Tied to a green tree with leaves on it in the centre of panel is a man half nude a white cloak about his loins and several arrows stick into his body. To the right hand an archer shooting at the figure with a bow. (Not a cross bow). He is clad in a blue tunic reaching to the hips has curly hair and white face and legs. The figure to the left has a pink face and yell tunic and is stringing his bow. Back ruby. Foregn partly foliage."

¹³⁷ For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, Hervey, *Corolla*, 43.

¹³⁸ Carl Phelpstead, "King, Martyr and Virgin: *Imitatio Christi* in Aelfric's *Life of St Edmund*," in *St Edmund King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint*, ed. Anthony Bale (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2009), 28.

¹³⁹ Hervey, *Eadmundi*, 35.

¹⁴⁰ YMA L1/7, Torre, 131.

¹⁴¹ Browne, *Representation*, 80.

¹⁴² Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.197.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁴³

Description: "Martyrdom of St Edmund
The King is tied to a tree in a half nude
state and archers are shooting darts
from each side at his body. One of the
archers is in the act of slinging his bow ready to shoot."

Comments: Knowles erred when he described it as Edmund's "martyrdom" as he was actually beheaded.

				20

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: some re-leading visible.

Pre:-Milner White Restoration:¹⁴⁴

				20

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: one mending lead visible
Grisaille: two probable and one possible glass replacements. A few mending
leads inserted.
Borders: two probable and one possible motif inserted. Mending leads inserted.*

Milner White:¹⁴⁵

				20

Brown:¹⁴⁶

Description: "Edmund tied to a tree,
shot at by archers."

				20

Current:

				20

¹⁴³ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.104r.

¹⁴⁴ Figure CHs4:20: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5348, 1929-32: 61, 5L5P.

¹⁴⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

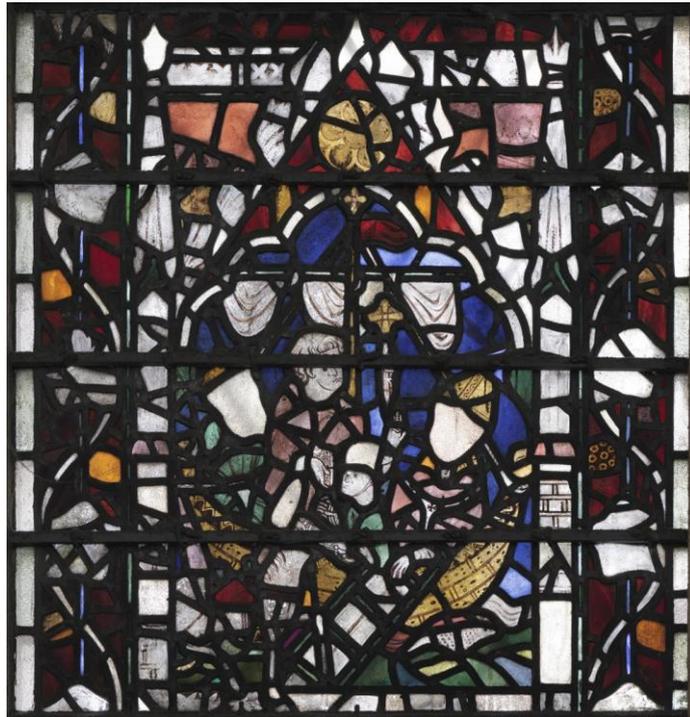


Figure CHs4:26: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 6a © York Glaziers Trust.

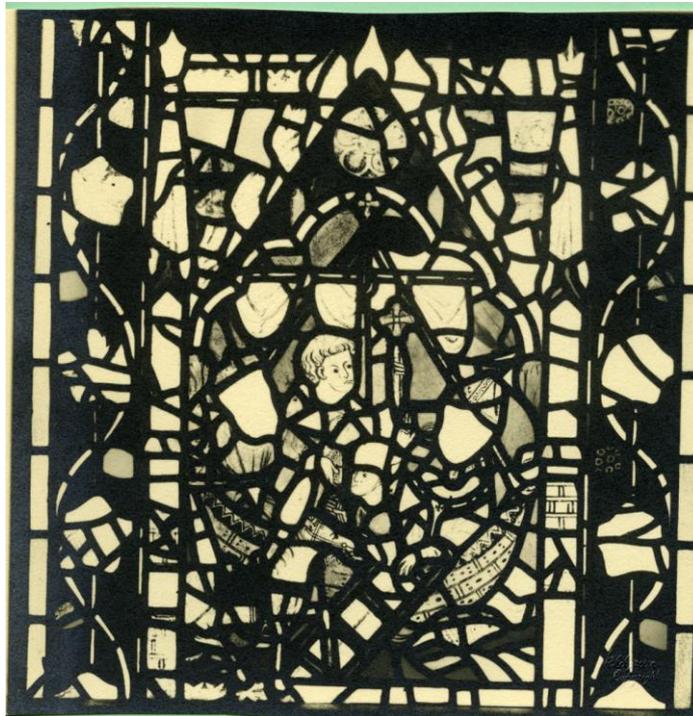


Figure CHs4:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5350, 1929-32: 61, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5351, ca.1961: 61, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22181, ca.1961: 61, 1L3P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

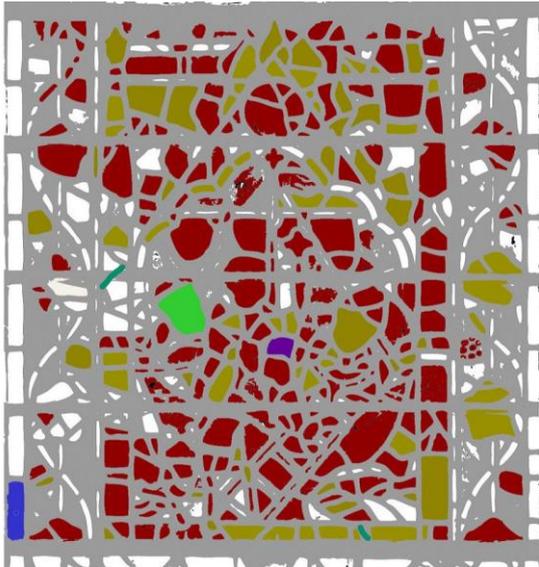


Figure CHs4:26: Restoration History.

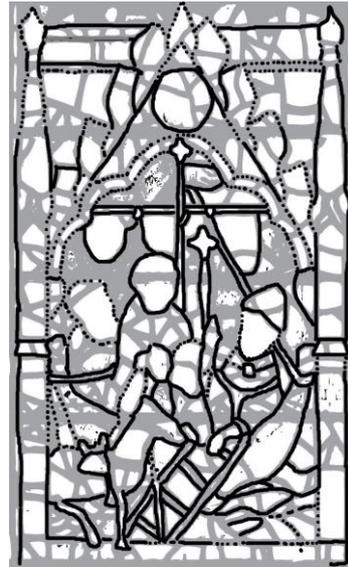


Figure CHs4:26: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		26		

Probable original appearance:

No medallion shape. Instead there is a canopy over the scene. Red background around the canopy, above a white band, decorated with a cross design, itself above a murrey, tiled roof. Simple, triangular canopy shape, with white crockets up the outside, white architectural borders up the sides (with signs of window openings) and murrey capitals, terminating in a white pinnacle on either side. White base. Trefoil headed arch within the canopy with green vault springers against the white wall of the border. Between the outside line of the canopy and the outside line of the trefoil arch round, yellow flowerhead. The background to the scene is blue.

The scene shows a yellow boat with yellow mast, white furled sails and red pennant, surmounted with a yellow cross. The spar is attached to the prow and the stern with rigging. The water was originally blue, green, murrey and white and two fish are swimming. In the boat are four figures. To the right is Becket, in yellow mitre, yellow apparel, white pallium, murrey chasuble and white gloves (which Knowles saw as "jewelled"). He appears to have his right hand raised in blessing. Close to Becket is his cross-staff with white staff and yellow cross. A central figure, with an original head, is dressed in murrey and is holding an object, which is probably a book, in his right hand. In front is a small figure, part original face showing a coif. He appears to be coaxing a small, white horse up two white planks, with green decoration or edging. The horse has a red saddle. There are two mysterious shapes which may have been attached to the saddle, but the glass is intruded so it is not possible to identify what they might have been.

To the left of the boat is possibly another figure, also in green. It is notable that Torre only saw one figure in green.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably painted by Workshop 1.

1....Hair indicated with lines of various thickness. Prominent ear. Large eye. Prominent nose. M-shaped mouth.

2. Large eye and nose,mark under mouth to indicate chin bone.

Iconography and original appearance: Thomas Becket leaving or, more probably, embarking to return to England.¹⁴⁸

It is not clear which of the two voyages is involved. Either is relatively rare in Becket cycles, possibly because the emphasis is normally on his miracles rather than his life insofar as it is possible to decipher from the limited number of representations in England that survived the onslaught by Henry VIII. In Chartres Cathedral there are two relevant scenes, namely Becket leaving England to go into exile and when he sets off back to England. In Coutances Cathedral he is shown crossing the Channel but, as in York, the direction is not certain.¹⁴⁹

If the scene showed him fleeing into exile, it would have immediately followed the Council of Northampton (possibly shown in CHs4:16). However, this action was controversial and was perceived as one of “cowardice and irresponsibility”.¹⁵⁰ Assuming the intention was to show Becket in his best light, it is more likely that it shows him embarking to return to England from exile, despite the dangerous situation it was obvious that he would encounter.

The panel does not share visual or thematic themes with CHs4:16 below. Hence it does not conform to the narrative structures in which the central panels are related, as discussed in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁵¹

Description: “13 In 3d Light is a golden Ship with one Mast A & therein an Abp robed Murry, mitred O & 2 other Men/one habited Murry / the other vt.”

		26		

Comments: Torre only saw one figure in green, but it is not certain to which he was referring. Nor did he see the horse.

¹⁴⁸ Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 42 (leaving) and 86-97 (returning); John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 313 (leaving) and 315 (returning); Edward Grim, *Vita*, 400 (leaving) and 426 (returning); Willelmo Filio Stephani, *Vita*, 70 (leaving) and 115-18 (returning); Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 318 (leaving) and 467-75 (returning); Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 55-56 (leaving) and 67-68 (returning). Some of the texts enhance the effect of his martyrdom by recounting how he was warned not to return, such as Willelmo, Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 86 and Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 472.

¹⁴⁹ In French glazing schemes, there appears to be an emphasis on Becket’s journey to France: *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Coutances, Bay 217, left-hand lancet: 2; and at Angers, Bay 108, left-hand lancet: 3. In the cathedral of Chartres both his voyage to France and his return England are shown, *Online Archive*, “French sites”, Bay 18: 5a and 7b respectively.

¹⁵⁰ Staunton, *Thomas Becket*, 21.

¹⁵¹ YMA L1/7 Torre, 130.

Drake:¹⁵²

Comment: Haynes's etching clearly shows panels 6, 16, 26 and 36 in the central light.

		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		

Intervention: in the 1760s the light was moved from its central position to the extreme left.

Halfpenny:¹⁵³

Comment: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

Browne:¹⁵⁴

Description: "St Nicholas embarking on his journey to the Holy Land. Great eagerness is expressed to cause a horse to walk up a platform, on to the ship."

26				

Comments: The figure wearing a coif is possibly drawing number 24 in Browne.¹⁵⁵

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁵⁶

Description: (First) "A yell boat with sail furled. Cross to top of mast red pennon flying an archbishop seated in the prow in purp chasuble yell mitre with pallium and green infula [in pencil] gloves jewelled

26				

A Deacon holding up a cross clad in purp robe can't tell what another figure seated in the stem with curly hair green coat doctor's hat. A very little horse in the front to left hand. Back of blue. A man sits in the middle with a cap on holds the bridle of a horse which is stepping on to two planks to go onto the boat. Fish are seen in the water. Stirrups to the horse."

(Second) "St Augustine by some called St Austin of Canterbury seated in a boat robed in his chasuble pallium and mitre attended by a deacon robed in purple habit and holding up a cross. A man holds the bridle of a horse which he guides across two planks to reach the shore. Fish are seen swimming about in the water. The sail of the boat has been furled on the mast head and a pennon floating is across him

[by 4a] Note: The panel above this represents a bishop and two other figures in a boat. Probl coming to England and the panel above a figure nimbed kneeling to be beheaded."

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁵⁷

Description: "Paulinus landing Seated in the prow of a boat that has the sails furled and at the mast head a cross and a red pennon is the figure of

26				

¹⁵² Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹⁵³ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

¹⁵⁴ Browne, *Representation*, 75.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, facing page 14.

¹⁵⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.197.

¹⁵⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.99r.

Paulinus robed in purple with green infula on his hands gloves adorned with a jewel on each near to him a deacon holding up a cross. In the middle of the boat is a man sitting and holding in his hand the bridle of a horse which is stepping on to two planks to go out of the boat. Stirrups hanging from its back. In the water near the boat are fish swimming about.”

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: unchanged. Knowles saw the figure to the left as having “curly hair” and the man sitting in the centre as wearing a “cap”. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁵⁸

26				

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: no modification visible except for the insertion of one mending lead on lower rim
 Grisaille: unchanged from prior restoration
 Borders: unchanged from prior restoration.*¹⁵⁹

Milner White:¹⁶⁰

26				

O’Connor and Haselock:¹⁶¹

Description: “[Becket’s] departure into exile”.

Brown:¹⁶²

Description: “Thomas on his way to exile.”

26				

Current:

26				

¹⁵⁸ Figure CHs4:26: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5350, 1929-32: 61, 1L3P.

¹⁵⁹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5351, ca.1961: 61, 1L3P.

¹⁶⁰ Milner White, “Return,” 1956, 36.

¹⁶¹ O’Connor and Haselock, “Stained Glass”, 340.

¹⁶² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

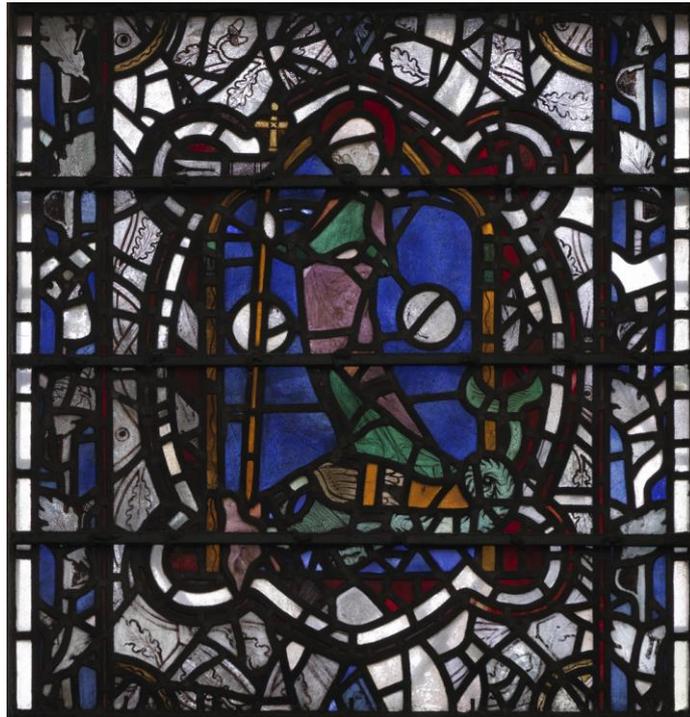


Figure CHs4:27: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 6b © York Glaziers Trust.

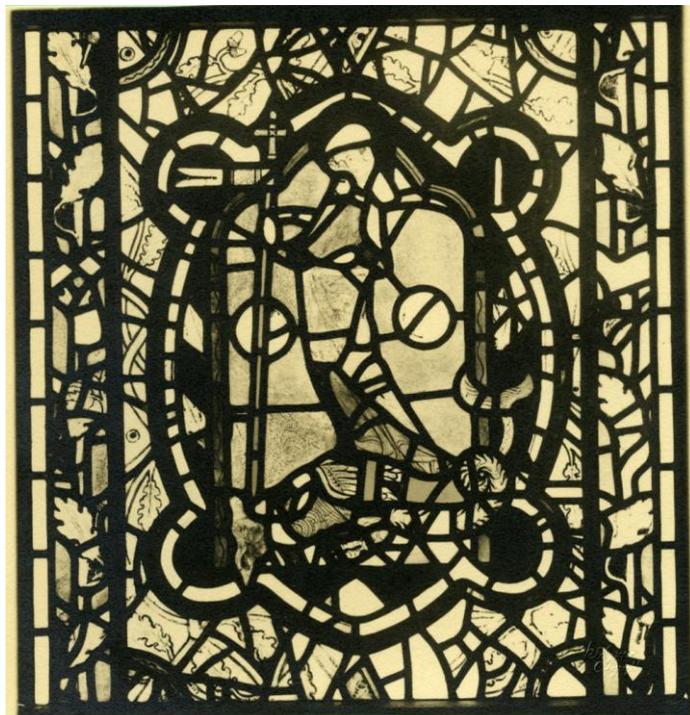


Figure CHs4:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5352, 1929-32: 61, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5353, ca.1961: 61, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22180, ca.1961: 61, 2L3P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

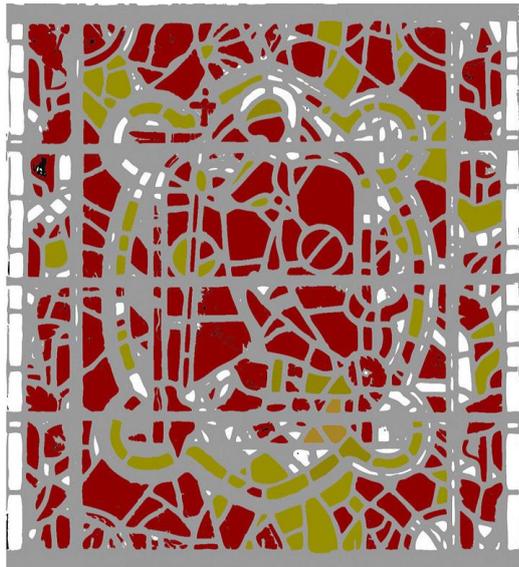


Figure CHs4:27: Restoration History.

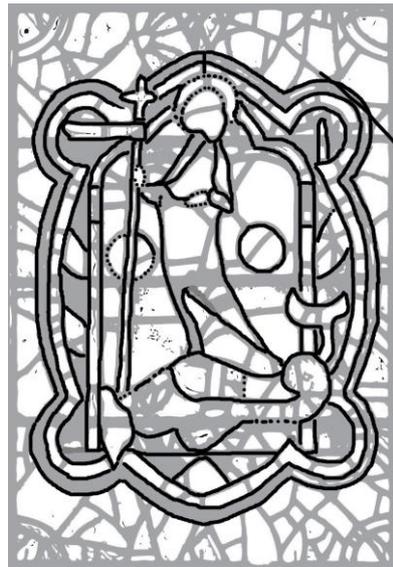


Figure CHs4:27: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

27				

Probable original appearance:

The panel has a predominantly blue border. The medallion has a red outer and a white inner rim. There is a blank triangle at the base, which may have contained a green fleur-de-lys as appears in CHs4:17. There is a trefoil-headed archway, mainly in yellow, but with two small pieces of green glass at the side. Outside the arch, the background is red and inside it is blue. Up the outside of the archway are what appear to be white leaves.

Inside the arch is Margaret standing on the dragon. The latter is now prone and clearly dead. There is much confusion about his colouring, but it appears to show the multi-coloured features of some of the texts. His tail is twisted and extends beyond the edge of the archway. Margaret is standing on top of him, still with her original green tunic and pale murrey cloak. Her feet are not visible. In her right hand she is holding the staff of a long cross, which is rammed into the mouth of the dragon. The top of the cross extends beyond the edge of the medallion, as does the top of her original red halo. Her face is one of the concave types. There are two mysterious balls on either side of the standing figure, which, from conclusions drawn elsewhere in the glazing, may have contained flowerheads.

Iconography and original location: Margaret prevailing over the dragon.¹⁶⁴ What is noticeable is that the cross has appeared from nowhere, possibly a

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 187; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 296.

reference to the moderate position in which Margaret did not escape from the dragon of her own accord,¹⁶⁵ but she was assisted by the True Cross.¹⁶⁶ However, there is no indication of how the cross was delivered: some of the texts say that it was delivered by an angel,¹⁶⁷ but there is no sign of this here. The presence of the cross suggests that Margaret was not completely responsible for her triumph over the dragon but that she had some divine assistance. The way the prison stresses her virginity is similar to the window in St-Julien-du-Sault.¹⁶⁸ The foliage visible outside the archway is reminiscent of the decoration in the equivalent panels in CHn2 and CHn4.

See the comments in CHs4:17, and Chapter 3, about the significance of their similarity and the confusion in Knowles's "Historical Notes".

History of the Panel

Torre:¹⁶⁹

Description: "11 In 2d Row & first Light stands a Saint habited vt & O glory gu bearing a Cross Staff in his hand A top O."

27				

Comment: Torre did not describe the original pale murrey.

Drake:¹⁷⁰

Comment: Haynes's etching shows that the centre light contained the Thomas Becket panels.

Intervention: in the 1760s the lights were switched, moving Thomas Becket to the left and probably Margaret to the second light to the left.

Halfpenny:¹⁷¹

Comment: This is the evidence for the switch occurring in the course of the eighteenth century.

Browne:¹⁷²

Description: "A female standing upon a monstrous Dragon, and thrusting a large cross staff into its mouth. A spirited personification of virtue triumphant."

	7-37			

Comment: Browne did not specify the exact location within the second light, but it is probable that he saw the panel in 6b.

¹⁶⁵ For example, in the text by Mombritius (BHL 5303) in which the dragon burst asunder because Margaret had made the sign of the cross, Clayton and Magennis, *Old English lives*, 7; Jocelyn Price, "The Virgin and the Dragon: The Demonology of Seinte Margarete," *Leeds Studies in English*, Vol. 16 (1985): 357.

¹⁶⁶ Anon, *Stanzaic Life of St Margaret*, University of Rochester: Robbins Library Digital Projects. Middle English Text Series, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/21sr.htm>.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, line 164.

¹⁶⁸ *Online Archive*, "French sites," the church of St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 9.

¹⁶⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹⁷⁰ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹⁷¹ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

¹⁷² Browne, *Representation*, 75.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁷³

Description: (First) "No 2. [pencil]

Probably St Margaret

A figure with curly hair and a nimbus which has the appearance of a cross

on it. Figure robed is in green tunic with purple robe cast loosely round the body holds a staff with a banner and cross at the top of it and stands on a dragon with a green body pink head and yellow wings the tail forked. The staff of banner piercing its mouth.

Back of blue. The figure standing under a depressed arch supported by two pillars. The pillars budding into leaf at the side. See no 2 second row. Ancient work."

(Second) "No 2. [pencil] Probably St Margaret."

	27			

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁷⁴

Description: "St Margaret victorious She is seen in a similar attitude as in No 2 but holds the staff of her spear and pierces the dragon."

	27			

1929-32 Re-leading:

No re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁷⁵

	27			

*Intervention by Milner White: no modifications visible.*¹⁷⁶

Milner White:¹⁷⁷

	27			

Brown:¹⁷⁸

Description: "St Margaret kills the dragon."

	27			

Current:

	27			

¹⁷³ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.198.

¹⁷⁴ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.101r-102r.

¹⁷⁵ Figure CHs4:27: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5352, 1929-32: 61, 2L3P.

¹⁷⁶ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5353, ca.1961: 61, 2L3P.

¹⁷⁷ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹⁷⁸ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs4:28: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 6c © York Glaziers Trust.

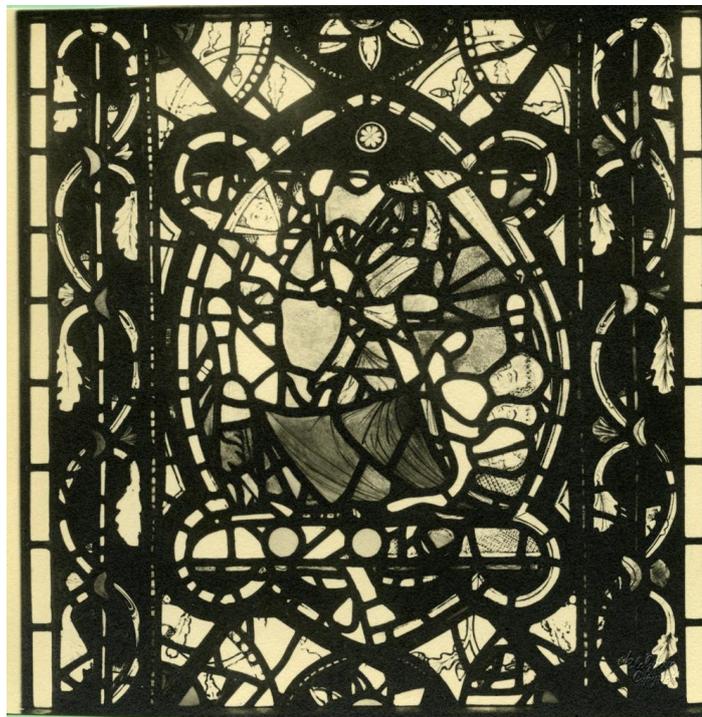


Figure CHs4:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5354, 1929-32: 61, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5355, ca.1961: 61, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22179, ca.1961: 61, 3L3P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

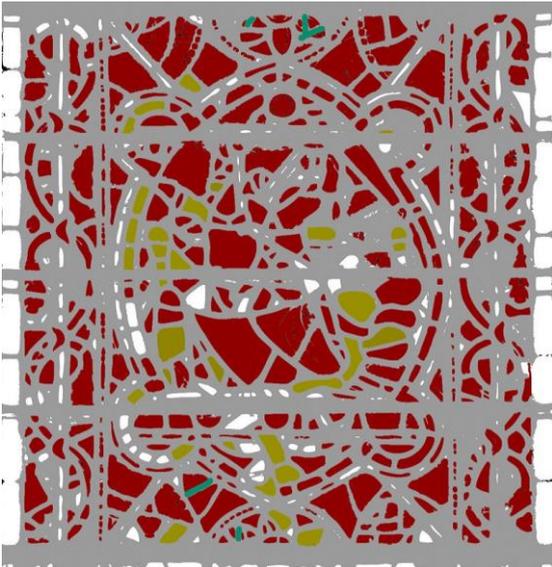


Figure CHs4:28: Restoration History.

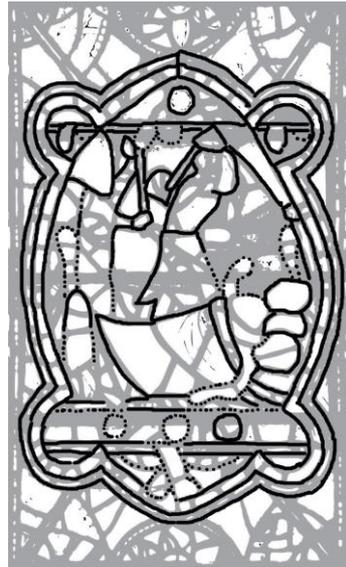


Figure CHs4:28: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	28			

Probable original appearance:

Quatrefoil/octofoil medallion with red outer and white inner rim. One small flowerhead in the ball outline at the top and three larger balls with intruded glass along the base. Possible triangle at base. Inside the medallion is a straight upper line, possibly with a white curtain wrapped round, one end of which runs down the right-hand side of the medallion. Set of white straps hanging over it. Above the line the background is red, as it is below the base.

Within the medallion there are three figures sleeping, naked, in a bed, with a yellow and green coverlet and a blue pillar. There is a mysterious white shape above one of the heads (which might indicate a bed head). There are two similar structures showing the foot of the bed on the left-hand side of the medallion. Down the side of the bed there is a sign of a white structure with two yellow circles (originally three). There are two standing figures. One is a female, standing to the left, with an original head and wearing signs of a murrey robe. She is holding a weapon in her right hand. One is male, dressed in a murrey robe and a white apron, which Knowles saw as a cloak, and has a yellow, Type-2 Jewish hat. He appears to have his arm raised, holding an axe with which he is going to slaughter the men in the bed.

Of the figures in the bed, the furthest, with a plated face, has his eyes open and his right hand raised. The central figure is also awake. The third figure is still asleep, his left arm hanging outside the coverlet.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

- 1. Full face. Thicker line between face and hair.
 - 2. Possibly original
- 3/4/5. Thick line between face and hair. Flat hair and curls on forehead. Line of one eyebrow extending to create outline of nose.
Probably Workshop 2.

Iconography and original location: The Host murdering three clerics.¹⁸⁰
One of the most popular Nicholas scenes, but none other seems to show the involvement of the host's wife.¹⁸¹

It precedes the miracle in 8c, so this is the most plausible location within the light. The position of the light was second to the left. There are no visual or thematic links with CHs4:18 in the location below, as discussed in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁸²

Description: "12 In 2d Light Stand 2 persons together both habited murry."
Comments: He failed to see the figures in the bed.

	28			

Drake:¹⁸³

Comment: Haynes's etching shows the centre light contained the Thomas Becket panels, which is where they are shown in Torre's description.

Intervention: in the 1760s the lights were switched, moving Thomas Becket to the left and probably Nicholas to the centre light to the left.

Halfpenny:¹⁸⁴

Comment: This is the evidence for the switch occurring in the course of the eighteenth century.

Browne:¹⁸⁵

Description: "Three youths are laid down together in perfect repose, beside them stands the finisher of the sentence of Eustachius with uplifted axe, ready to obey the order of an attendant officer (St Nicholas section)."

		28		

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 212-24.

¹⁸¹ *Online Archive*, French sites," the cathedrals at Chartres, Bay 39:10a and 10b (where there is no sign of the revival in the tub; at Le Mans, Bay 106; at Rouen, Bay 51:3a and 4a; at :2d; where the wife is helping; Tours, Bay 209:4d, 5a and 5b; Troyes, Bay 205:3b and 3c, showing the ribcage as in York; the church at Civray, left-hand lancet, rows 1 and 2 where the wife is helping. The panel in row 2 is described as Nicholas saving the three girls, while it is the three youths in a bed; and the church at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 2:3c and 3d. See *ibid.*, "English sites," Lincoln Cathedral, s29: row 4; the church at North Moreton, s2: 2a.

¹⁸² YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹⁸³ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

¹⁸⁴ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

¹⁸⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 76.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":¹⁸⁶

Description: "No 3: Murder of the three boys [pencil] St Nicolas

Across the base of panel is bed in which are 3 figures sleeping nude to

the breast and covered over with a green counterpane lined with yell. A rod lies across the upper pt of panel with a whit curtain to it drawn fastened to the side. Standing near the bed is a figure of a youth with a hatchet wielded aloft to strike the occupants of this bed. He wears a pink tunic and has a whit cloak round his waist at which a female who standing near is pulling with her right hand holding up her left hand in deprecation at the act. She has a headdress like those in the Flagelation window and a similar scarf round her loins.

Comments: Knowles saw the female as holding the cloak of the male, but it is more likely that she is holding the base of another weapon.

		28		



Bck of panel blue. For this headdress for date see [Fanholts costumes pg 94 Date 1275. [...] pg 178.]

Knowles, "Historical Notes":¹⁸⁷

Description: "No. 3 Murder of the three boys

On a bed which crosses the lower part of the panel are the three boys nude

and sleeping. A counterpane of green lined with yellow covering their bodies up to the waist and from a rod running across the background is a curtain suspended and partly drawn aside.

Standing near the bed is a man clad in a pink tunic and a short cloak tied round his waist holding aloft a hatchet ready to strike and behind him is a female with a [...] head dress holding up her hand in deprecation of the deed and pulling at the mans cloak with her other hand."

		28		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: no re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁸⁸

		28		

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible modifications
Grisaille: a few mending leads inserted.
Borders: unchanged from prior restoration.*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.198.

¹⁸⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.102r.

¹⁸⁸ Figure CHs4:28: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5354, 1929-32: 61, 3L3P.

¹⁸⁹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5355, ca.1961: 61, 3L3P.

Milner White:¹⁹⁰

		28		

Brown:¹⁹¹

Description: "Nicholas blesses a recumbent man."

		28		

Current:

		28		

¹⁹⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

¹⁹¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabric*, 293.

Photographic record:

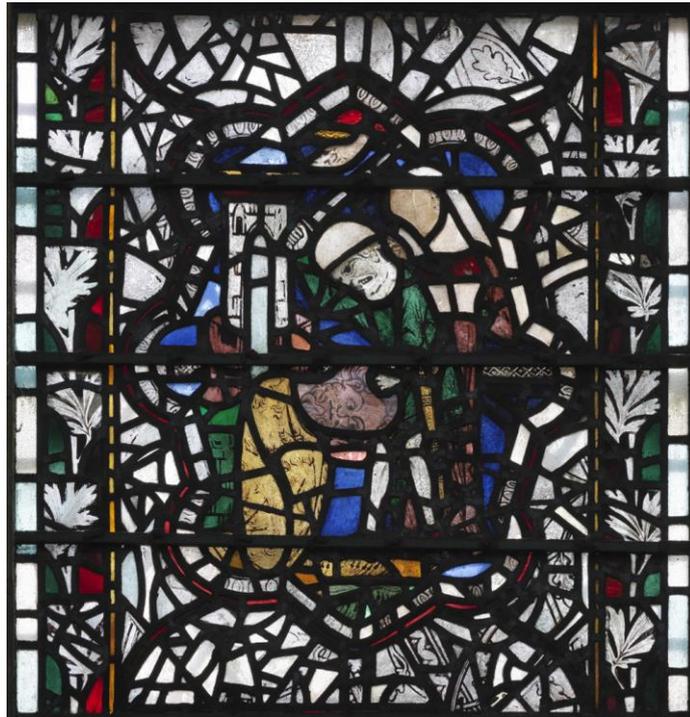


Figure CHs4:29: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 6d © York Glaziers Trust.

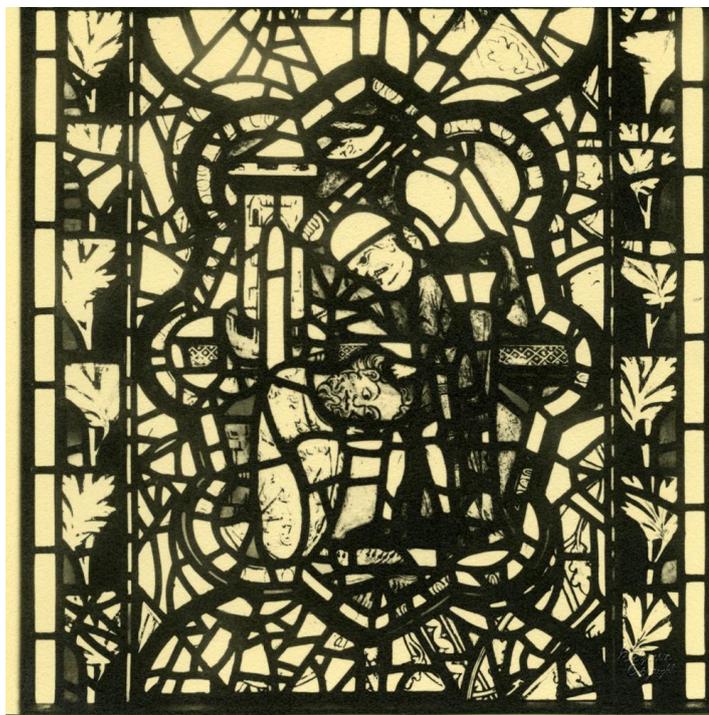


Figure CHs4:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5356, 1929-32: 61, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.¹⁹²

¹⁹² An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5357, ca.1961: 61, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22178, ca.1961: 61, 4L3P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

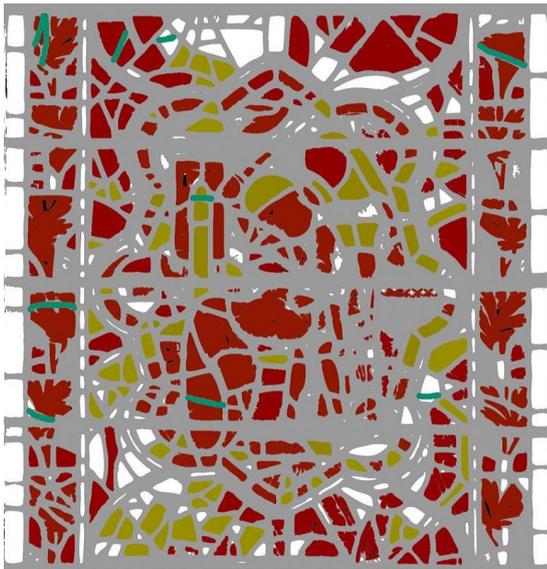


Figure CHs4:29: Restoration History.

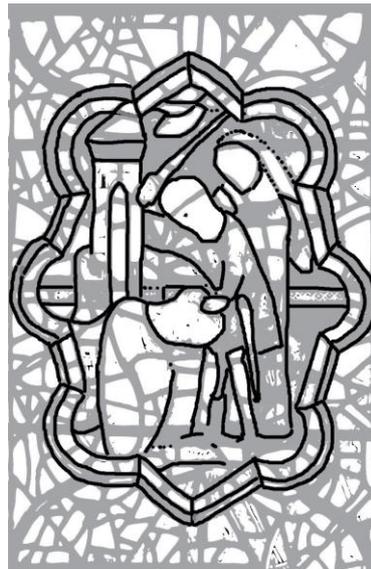


Figure CHs4:29: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			29	

Probable original appearance:

An awkward, octofoliar medallion, with white scalloped inner and red outer rim. Blue background with green and yellow foreground. A tall, white building in the background, with a low murrey wall surrounding it. A thin band seems to stretch across the scene, behind the figures.

There are three figures in the scene. John the Baptist to the left, kneeling with his head bowed, in yellow animal skins, in front of a patch of green masonry. The central figure, with a hooked nose and possible Jewish appearance, is in a green tunic with white leggings, seizing the hair of John the Baptist with his left hand, his right holding a sword aloft. A yellow scabbard is hanging down to his left. To the right is a much disturbed figure, in a murrey robe, possibly with a right hand touching the executioner's shoulder. Torre has this as male, but Knowles as female and hence Salome, which is more likely. Above the scene, a hand emerges from a red and yellow cloud.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 3.

1. Exaggerated "Jewish" face. Executioner.
2. Paint loss.
3. Curly hair. Big features. Rounded eyebrows, with lines extending to one side of nose. Big eyes. Eyelids. M-shaped mouth. Lower lip indicated. Straggly beard. The head at bottom of panel.
4. Green and yellow foreground, as in CHs3.

Iconography and original location: John the Baptist martyred.¹⁹³
 This is a common scene in narratives of his later life.¹⁹⁴ Interesting features here are the Jewish appearance of the executioner and the hand in the clouds expressing divine approval or blessing. Apart from the narrative connection with CHs4:18 below, there is no visual link, as discussed in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel:

Torre:¹⁹⁵

Description: “14 In 4th Light kneels a Saint habited O before whom stands an Executioner habited vt beheading him with a sword by him stands another Man habited Murry & vt.”

			29	

Browne:¹⁹⁶

Description: “The beheading of St John the Baptist before the door of his prison. The saint is in his garment of camel’s hair.”

			29	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:¹⁹⁷

Description: “No 4. Beheading St J Baptist.

In part of town to the left a figure kneeling in front clad in yell hairy robe and over him to the right stands the executioner clad in green tunic white socks a yell scabbard at his hips holds the sword aloft in the act of striking and taking hold of St John by the hair. Behind him stands a female figure clad in ruby with whit wimple and on the top part of panel a hand coming out of a cloud. Tower parti-coloured coloured. Back of panel blue.

[inserted in margin]: Note a panel from Le Mans beheading of St Prolasius where the executioner seizes the forelock. Illust in Hancocks [.....] pg 108.Kn York 1: No 4.”

			29	

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:¹⁹⁸

Description: “St John Baptist beheaded

In front of a tower which is parti coloured St John is kneeling and an executioner stands over him who

seizes the saint by his forelock and wields a sword with his right hand. Salome her head clothed with a wimple stands behind waiting for the saint’s head.”

			29	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: examples of re-leading are visible.

¹⁹³ Matt. 14:10; Mark 6:28.

¹⁹⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 20:9a and at Le Mans, Bay 106:4b and c. See also the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 5:8b and St-Père, Chartres, Bay 225:3a.

¹⁹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

¹⁹⁶ Browne, *Representation*, 79.

¹⁹⁷ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.198.

¹⁹⁸ Knowles, “Historical Notes” Vol. 1, fol.103r.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:¹⁹⁹

			29	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: three mending leads inserted
Grisaille: three mending leads inserted.
Borders: five mending leads inserted.*²⁰⁰

Milner White:²⁰¹

			29	

Brown:²⁰²

Description: "Martyrdom of John the Baptist."

			29	

Current:

			29	

¹⁹⁹ Figure CHs4:29: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5356, 1929-32: 61, 4L3P.

²⁰⁰ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5357, ca.1961: 61, 4L3P.

²⁰¹ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²⁰² Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

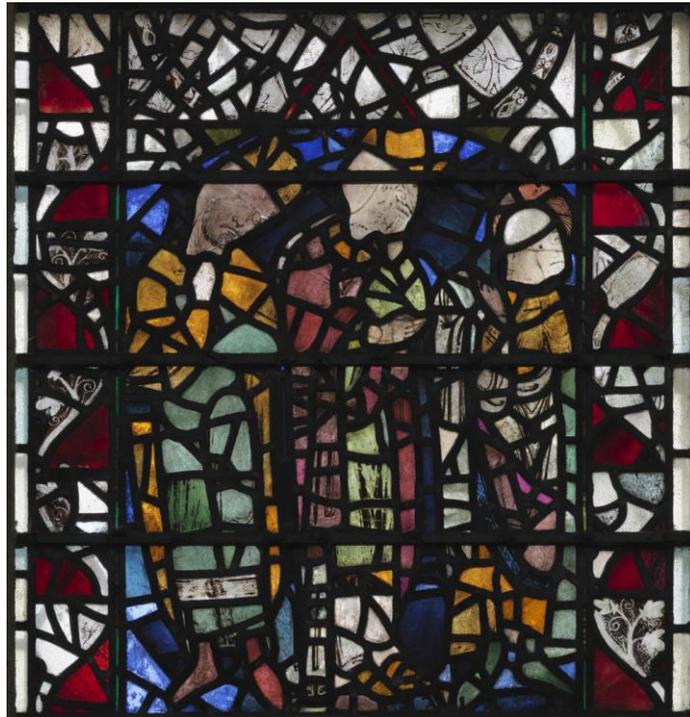


Figure CHs4:30: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 6e © York Glaziers Trust.

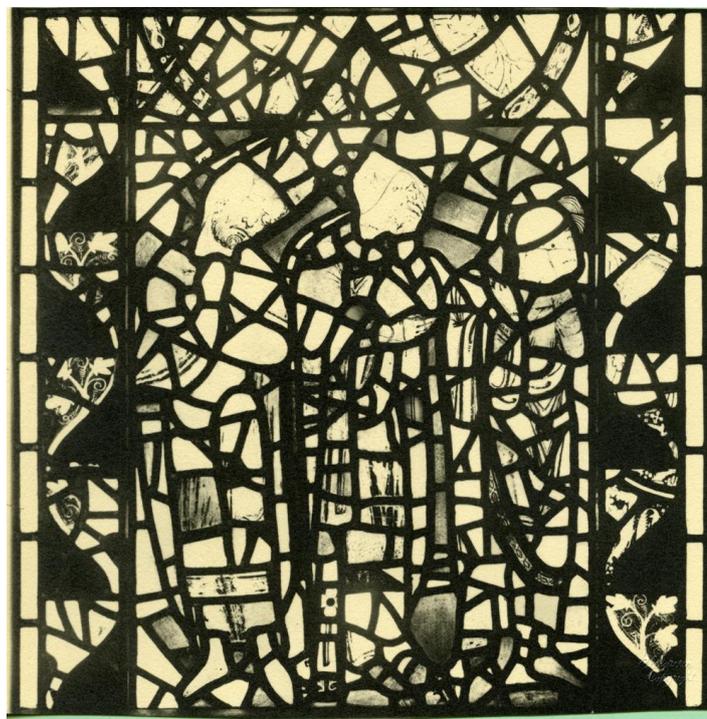


Figure CHs4:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5358, 1929-32: 61, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁰³

²⁰³ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5359, ca.1961: 61, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22177, ca.1961: 61, 5L3P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

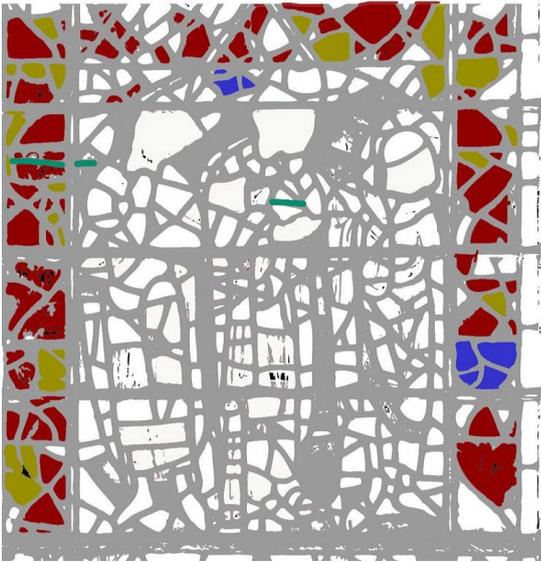


Figure CHs4:30: Restoration History.

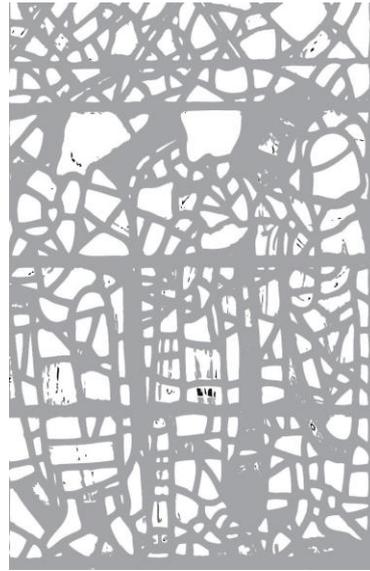


Figure CHs4:30: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				30

Comment on the Panel:

It shows a Romanesque panel of three figures with bowed heads, which has been in this location since before the description by James Torre in 1690-91. The question is whether it was inserted when the window was originally constructed or whether it was moved here in the intervening four hundred years. Ideally, the third panel of the four in Edmund's narrative would have shown Edmund's martyrdom because there is no other martyr in the chapter house whose actual execution is not shown. There are two possibilities: either there was such a panel which suffered damage and was replaced or the Romanesque panel was used at the start. The former seems the more likely: the fifth light of CHs4 is one of the most protected from the natural elements, but it is conceivable that it might have been damaged beyond repair in an accident and it was decided to replace it. The second implies that there was a lack of supervision in the original project or that the Edmund cycle was of less significance than others. It would also be necessary to identify whence the Romanesque panel could have been taken. Were it to have been inserted at the end of the thirteenth century, the only Minster source would have been the transepts: Roger Pont-l'Évêque's choir was still to be in use for the next century and Thomas of Bayeux's nave was to be rebuilt after the presumed completion of the chapter house. It is more likely that the panel was inserted later, possibly after the loss of understanding and skills as a result of the Reformation.

History of the Panel

Intervention by 1690-91: the panel was inserted in 6e.

Torre:²⁰⁴

Description: "15 In 5th Light stand 3 Men together one habited [O & vt] 2d vt & O, 3d Murry."

Comments: The Romanesque panel had already been intruded into this position by the time of Torre.

				30

Browne:²⁰⁵

Description: "The distress of the Church is represented by a Bishop and abbot and deacon, in great grief, wandering (St Edmund section)."

				30

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁰⁶

Description: "No 5: Prob the burial of St Edmund

Two figures to the left in sorrowful attitudes the one nearest centre holding his hand to his face and holding something in his hand which he is presenting to a venerable man on the right.

The first figure left has a green tunic and with a whit cross bar near the bottom of skirt. A yell cloak fast at the neck by a blue morse – face hands and feet pink, curly hair to head. He holds something down at his side in his right hand and his left hand in front of his breast in submissive protest. The next figure has a purp cloak [and pink face] and pale green tunic and holds his left hand to his face in deep grief. Whilst with his right hand he holds something. A figure clad in yell tunic and white loose robe over it. Green socks. Red brown turbaned hat walking in front with his hands raised above his shoulders and in the act of carrying something white which depends from his back. Back blue. This panel has no canopy and no appearance of a medallion arrangement."

				30

Knowles London:²⁰⁷

Description: "Carrying the body of the King

This panel is much confused but [...] figures carrying a burden and in front are mourners one covering his face with his hand and another with his hand on his breast."

				30

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: no re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁰⁸

				30

²⁰⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

²⁰⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 80.

²⁰⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.198.

²⁰⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes" Vol. 1, fol.104r.

²⁰⁸ Figure CHs4:30: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5358, 1929-32: 61, 5L3P.

*Intervention by Milner White:
 Medallion: one area of glass rebuilt (lead lines indicate change from prior restoration). Two mending leads inserted.
 Grisaille: mending leads inserted.
 Borders: one mending lead inserted and one area of intruded painted glass replaced with plain glass.²⁰⁹*

Milner White:²¹⁰

				30

Brown:²¹¹

Description: "Two kings and a saint, twelfth century."

				30

Current:

				30

²⁰⁹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5359, ca.1961: 61, 5L3P.

²¹⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²¹¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

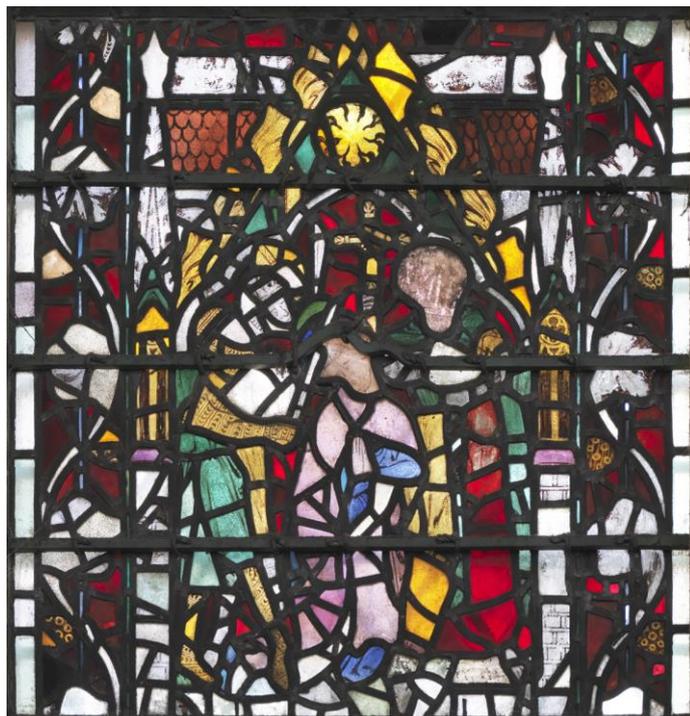
Photographic record:

Figure CHs4:8: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 8a © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs4:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5361, 1929-32: 61, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²¹²

²¹² Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5363, ca.1961: 61, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; YML Green Photographic Collection, 5364, ca.1969: 61, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; YML Green Photographic Collection, 5362, ca.1976: CHs4, 8a © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22173, ca.1961: 61, 1L1P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM); *ibid.*, no. 22173, 1969: 61, 1L1P © RCHM; CVMA, "York Minster,"

Original location, appearance and iconography:

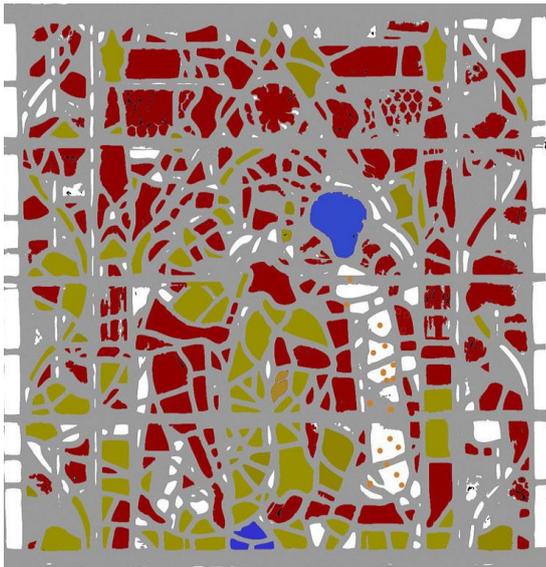


Figure CHs4:36: Restoration History.

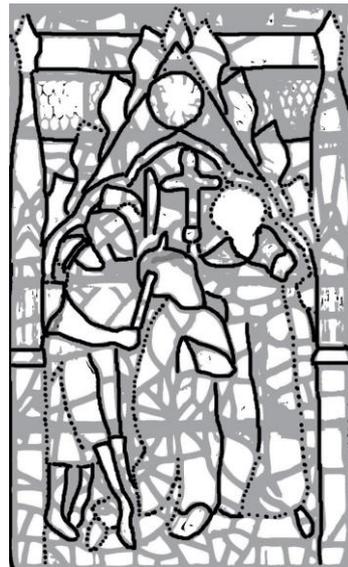


Figure CHs4:36: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

		36		

Probable original appearance:

No medallion shape. Instead there is a canopy over the scene. Canopy is above a white band, itself above a murrey, tiled roof, with white below. Simple, triangular canopy shape, with yellow crockets up the outside, white architectural borders up the sides (with signs of yellow window openings), each terminating in a white pinnacle, and murrey capitals. White base. Trefoil headed arch within the canopy with green vault springers against the white wall of the border. Between the outside line of the canopy and the outside line of the trefoil arch is a round shape, which contains a star.

The central figure is kneeling, with his original head bent to his right and with a blue nimbus. He is wearing a blue tunic or other undergarment, with a murrey cloak. His hands are joined in prayer. The figure to the right has intruded head, green hood and would have had a yellow cloak (as seen by Torre), red tunic and bare foot. He is holding a yellow cross-staff in his right hand. To the left are two soldiers, one in yellow mail and a green overgarment and one in white (with original head visible), both holding white swords aloft.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Probably Workshop 1.

1. Concave outline. Hair indicated with lines of various thickness. Big nose. Square eyebrows. M-shaped mouth, downturned. Mark under mouth to indicate chin bone.
2. Large nose.

Iconography and original location: Thomas Becket martyred.²¹³
 A very common scene in Becket narratives.²¹⁴ Its original location, based on its iconography and its colour scheme, was in 8c. It was, inevitably, one of the most common of the Becket scenes.

There is no visual reference within the panel to Divine approval for what Becket has achieved. In this, it contrasts with the culmination of the Margaret narrative in CHs4:37 and is discussed further in Chapter 3.

History of the Panel

Torre:²¹⁵

Description: “8 In 3d Light stands a Monk habited O with a Cross Staff in his hand And another Man by him habited O & vt Leggs O.”

Comment: Torre only observed a soldier to the left and what was probably a monk to the right.

		36		

Drake:²¹⁶

Comment: Haynes’s etching in Drake clearly shows CHs4:6-36 in the central light.

		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		
		6-36		

Intervention: probably in the 1760s, the panels were switched from the centre light to the far left.

Halfpenny:²¹⁷

Comment: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

Browne:²¹⁸

Description: “A person of noble station kneeling before 2 soldiers who seem commissioned to execute their supplicating prisoner, probably for the non-compliance of some agreement. But St Nicholas, bearing a heavy bundle, has arrested the fulfillment of their commission. The unfortunate noble is without any apparent hope of aid for his protecting shield is placed far from him.”

36				

Previous interventions noted by Knowles (no date specified):

CHs4:36 was “mutilated”, especially the right-hand figure.

²¹³ Willelmo Monacho Cantuariensi, *Vita*, 131-135; Benedict of Peterborough, *Passio*, 10-14; John of Salisbury, *Vita*, 319-320; Edward Grim, *Vita*, 437; Willelmo Fiolio Stephani, *Vita*, 138-142; Herbert de Boseham, *Vita*, 490-522; Roger of Pontigny, *Vita*, 76-77.

²¹⁴ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Angers, Bay 108, left hand light:9; at Chartres, Bay 18:10a and 10b;a-c; at Coutances, Bay 217:4; at Sens, Bay 23:6b and at the Church of St-Ouen in Rouen, Bay 19:6f. In England, the soldiers are shown arriving at Canterbury, n7:5a-5c and the murder is in Checkley, 1:2e and Christ Church, Oxford (Lucy Chapel), east window: tracery, *ibid.*, “English sites”.

²¹⁵ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

²¹⁶ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

²¹⁷ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

²¹⁸ Browne, *Representation*, 75.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²¹⁹

Description: “No 1. Mutilated panel but in the centre kneeling is a youthful figure clad in pink purp with a blue nimbus. Two figures to the left hand clad in mail armour with a yell surcoat with pot helmets holding swords over the pink figure of the kneeling saint. Mutilated figure to the right – colours not discernable. An architectural cross seen over the centre figure completes all that can be made of this panel without a ladder. Back of ruby. Canopy over this group same as those below in the same light.”

36				

Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²²⁰

Description: “Murder of Thomas a Beckett
Two soldiers clad in mail and [pot] helmets hold swords in their hands and stand near a kneeling saint of youthful appearance clad in a pinkish purple coat and his head encircled with a blue nimbus. To the right hand has been another figure but now too much damaged to be made out. Over the centre figure is part of a cross but the cross bearer is obliterated.”

36				

1929-32 Re-leading:

One possible piece of re-soldering visible. Given that Knowles does not comment on the prominent face of the right-hand figure (seen in the Green photograph above), it is likely that this was inserted in the re-leading exercise and was to be replaced by Milner White.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²²¹

36				

*Intervention by Milner white:
Medallion: thia is where the problem of the post-World War II photographs is most obvious. The head of the standing figure to the right was replaced by Milner White, but the photograph dated “1961” must date from before his interventions as it shows the re-leading head, not the one he inserted. The problem really stems from the inconsistent labelling of the 1961 photographs, some of which appear to be before the intervention and some of which are after. A small area at bottom rebuilt. One small mending lead inserted.
Grisaille: no modifications visible.
Borders: no modifications visible.*²²²

²¹⁹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 99v.

²²⁰ Knowles, “Historical Notes” Vol. 1, fol.100r.

²²¹ Figure CHs4:36: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5361, 1929-32: 61, 1L1P.

²²² Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5363, ca.1961: 61, 1L1P.

Milner White restoration:²²³

36				

O'Connor and Haselock:²²⁴

Description: "The martyrdom of Thomas Becket".

Brown:²²⁵

Description: "The murder of Thomas."

36				

Current:

36				

²²³ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²²⁴ O'Connor and Haselock, "Stained Glass," 340.

²²⁵ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

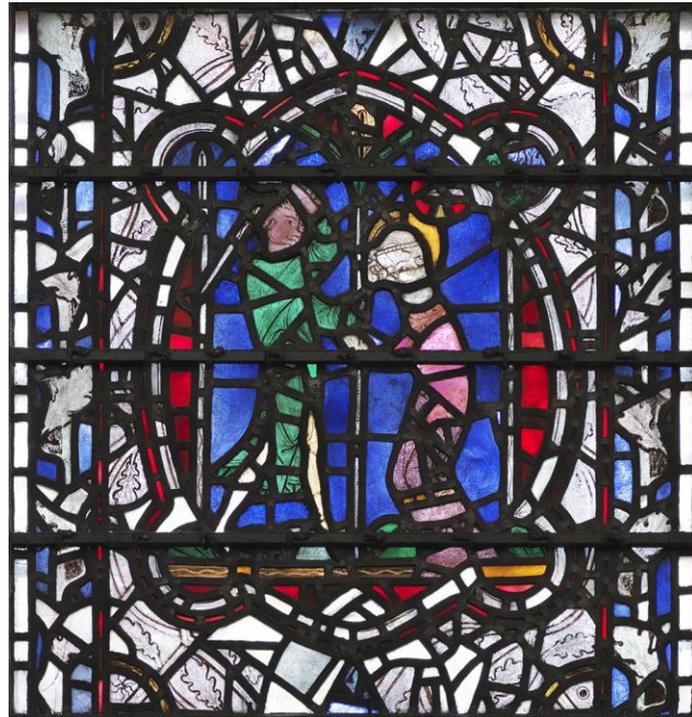


Figure CHs4:37: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 8b © York Glaziers Trust.



Figure CHs4:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5365, 1929-32: 61, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²²⁶

²²⁶ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5366, ca.1961: 61, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York; *ibid.*, 5367, 1976: CHs4, 8b © Crown Copyright. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22171, ca.1961: 61, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM) and *ibid.*, no. 22172, 1976: CHs4: 8b © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

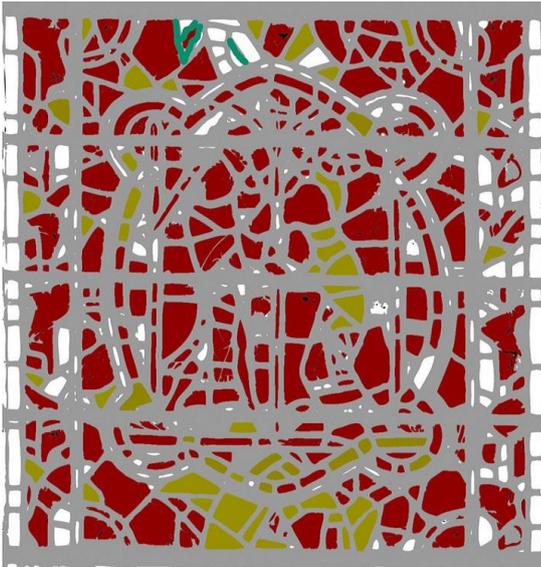


Figure CHs4:37: Restoration History.



Figure CHs4:37: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

37				

Probable original appearance:

The panel has a blue border. The medallion has a red outer and a white inner rim, with a yellow, mainly original, floor line over which is a green layer, presumably to denote grass. The triangle at base, now with blank glass, may have contained foliage. There is a double arcade, each with an original white pillar and what appears to be a green arch. The outside of the arcade is red, inside it is blue.

In the left bay is a figure in green with white legs (all original), with his right hand aloft holding a sword over his head. Margaret is to the right, half kneeling, dressed in sanguine) with a yellow halo and an original, now plated, head. Above her to the right is a hand with a cruciform halo, emerging through a piece of green glass. The arm has blue drapery and represents divine approval.²²⁷

Stylistic comments on original heads:

Possibly Workshop 2.

- 1..... Original head with crude "Jewish" face.
2. Possible thick line between face and hair. Flat hair.

²²⁷ Mâle, *Image*, 2.
1076

Iconography and original location: Margaret martyred.²²⁸

Margaret's virginity has been preserved, because she still occupies her own space: the executioner is separated from her visually by the central pillar. This means that, even though this scene is apparently out of doors, the virgin resonance has been retained. The emerging hand, with an original cruciform halo, is a reference to Margaret's close association with Christ and indicates Divine approval. Such approbation puts the panel in the same category as the main windows, where such approval is acknowledged in the top row, and marks its difference from the other lights in CHs4. The Christological reference is resonant of the *Ancrene Wisse* which stresses her pleas to Christ throughout. At Olybrius's first overture, she cries, "protect my body, which is entirely given to you, from fleshy filths, so that my soul is never soiled with sin through the body's desires".²²⁹ At their second encounter, she affirms, "he has set his mark on me with his seal; not life, nor death, can divide us in two".²³⁰ At a later meeting, she begs him, "always and above all that you keep my maidenhood unstained for yourself, my soul from sin, my wit and my wisdom from the senseless creature".²³¹ There is no reference to the Virgin through foliage up the outside of the arcade, possibly because of the loss of relevant glass.

History of the Panel

Torre:²³²

Description: "6 In the Uppermost Row & first Light kneels a Saint robed Sang glory O over whom stands an Executioner habited vt Leggs murry with drawn Sword in his hand brandished for beheading him."

Comment: Torre has confused Margaret's gender.

37				

Drake:²³³

Haynes's etching shows the Thomas Becket panels still in the centre light.

Intervention: the panels was moved to this light from that at the far left in the 1760s.

Halfpenny:²³⁴

Comments: By now, the Thomas Becket light had been switched to the left-hand light.

²²⁸ See, for example, Larson, "Role," 24; Anon, *Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 334; Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 304.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 289. "Bewite þu mi body, þe is al bitaht, from fleschliche fulden þat neauer mi sawle ne beo nit sunne isulet, þurh þe licomes lust," Anon. *Seinte Marherete, þe Meiden ant Martyr*, ed. Frances Mack (London: published for the Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, press, 1934), 7.

²³⁰ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 291. "He haued his merke on me iseiled wið his in-seil; me me vne lif, de ded noþ er, twemen otwa," Anon. *Seinte Marherete*, 12.

²³¹ Anon, *Ancrene Wisse*, 293. "[...] eauer oueral, þat tu wite to me mi meidhad unmerret, mi sawle from sunne, mi wit mi wisdom from þe unwitlese wiht," Anon. *Seinte Marherete*, 21.

²³² YMA L1/7 Torre, 130.

²³³ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

²³⁴ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

Browne:²³⁵

Description: "An executioner with upturned axe is prepared to execute some sentence upon a kneeling female, but the hand of Providence shown in the clouds arrests the intended act shewing forth the danger of unprotected virtue."

	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			
	7-37			

Comments: Browne did not specify the exact location within the second light, but it is probable that he saw the panel in 8b.

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²³⁶

Description: "No 2:

The execution of St Margaret an early panel like those below. The st robed in a close fitting tunic of purple kneeling down near a centre pillar. Nimbus yellow. Executioner has a slit tunic of green pale yell legs and deep yell shoes. Pink face and deep yell shoes. Pink face and holds a sword over his head. To the right at top there is a hand out of a cloud. Foregrn grassy mound with a yell band of architecture under it.. Note the bottom panel in the row and not of the same early date as these upper three panels although the border to the side is exactly the same."

	37			



Knowles, "Historical Notes":²³⁷

Description: "Execution of St Margaret On a grassy foreground near a pillar is the figure of the saint kneeling and an executioner with his arms thrown back and grasping a sword to [...] to decapitate the saint."

	37			

1929-32 Re-leading:

No re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²³⁸

	37			

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: no visible modification
Grisaille: mending leads inserted.
Borders: no visible modification.*²³⁹

²³⁵ Browne, *Representation*, 75.

²³⁶ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol.199v.

²³⁷ Knowles, "Historical Notes" Vol. 1, fol. 101r.

²³⁸ Figure CHs4:37: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5365, 1929-32: 61, 2L1P.

Milner White:²⁴⁰

	37			

Brown:²⁴¹

Description: "The martyrdom of St Margaret."

	37			

Current:

	37			

²³⁹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5366, ca.1961: 61, 2L1P. See comments about the dating of the latter photograph in Appendix C, CHs4:36 above.

²⁴⁰ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²⁴¹ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs4:38: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 8c © York Glaziers Trust.

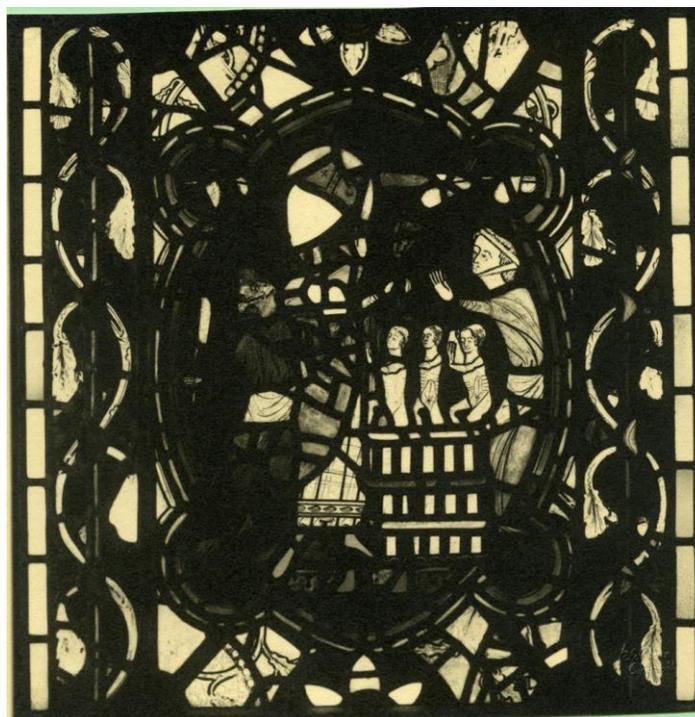


Figure CHs4:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5368, 1919-32: 61, 3L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁴²

²⁴² See additional photographs at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5369, ca. 1961 “before conservation”: 61, 3L1P; YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5371, 1969: 61, 3L1P.

Original location, appearance and iconography:



Figure CHs4:38: Restoration History.



Figure CHs4:38: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

	38			

Probable original appearance:

Quatrefoil/octofoil medallion with a blue outer and a yellow inner rim. The background is red throughout, but there is the hint of a line across the top which may have white substances wrapped round it. Along the line of the possible inner medallion is some yellow glass possibly indicating a platform, above which is a green feature possibly representing grass.

To the right is a female figure, largely original, with a blue tunic and white apron. She is holding out both hands together as though in supplication. To the left is a male, in a green Jewish Type-2 hat, dressed in a green tunic, apparently hitched up, with a white apron and possible yellow leg or foot. In his right hand he is holding a white weapon and is staring upwards. The most prominent figure is in the centre. There are signs of an original yellow mitre, a yellow crozier or other symbol held by an original hand and a left hand held up as though in blessing or remonstrance. The figure wore a white gown and a blue cloak, with pink feet. Between him and the woman are three small, naked figures emerging from a tub, with their hands raised in prayer. They appear to have original heads, but it is not clear if they are supposed to represent youths or children. Their ribcages are clearly drawn. The tub is made of three layers, with blue, yellow, blue horizontal and three rows of white/black vertical features.

Stylistic comments on heads:

- 1. Damaged. Small features. Thicker line between face and hair. Line of one eyebrow extended to create outline of nose.
 - 2/3/4. All share the line of one eyebrow extended to create outline of nose. 2 and 3 have small features and curls on forehead, 4 has flatter hair with a thick line between his face and his hair.
 - 5. Line between hair and face. Line of one brow extending to create outline of nose. Eyelids.
- Workshop 2.

Iconography and original location: Nicholas bringing three clerics back to life.²⁴³ See the description of CHs4:28 for other exemplars.

As the miracle associated with Chs4:28, it is likely to be in this position within the light (albeit the light itself has been moved). As discussed in Chapter 3, it does not represent the culmination of Nicholas’s cult, nor is there any sign of Divine approval. Hence the Nicholas narrative does not fall into the narrative patterns identified in the Margaret light nor the other main windows.

History of the panel

Torre:²⁴⁴

Description: “7 In 2d Light stands a Bp habited B/Mitered O And another Man by him, habited vt girl with a white girdle feet O.”

	38			

Drake:²⁴⁵

Comment: Haynes’s etching shows the centre light contained the Thomas Becket panels, which is where they are shown in Torre’s description.

Intervention: in the 1760s the lights were switched, moving Thomas Becket to the left and probably Nicholas to the centre light to the left.

Halfpenny:²⁴⁶

Comment: This is the evidence for the switch occurring in the course of the eighteenth century.

Browne:²⁴⁷

Description: “Three youths placed standing in a hooped tub or other confined enclosure, with hands in supplicating posture: beside them stands an executioner ready to perform the orders of a person in authority standing by. The appearance of St Nicholas seems to interfere with their duties and prevents the execution.”

		38		

²⁴³ See, for example, Wace, *Hagiographical Works*, lines 213-26, although Wace does not specify the way the host sought to hide the corpses.

²⁴⁴ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

²⁴⁵ Drake, *Eboracum*, facing page 476.

²⁴⁶ Halfpenny, *Gothic ornaments*, Pl. 102.

²⁴⁷ Browne, *Representation*, 76.

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁴⁸

Description: “No 3. St Nicholas raising the 3 boys out of the tub.

The St stands to the left hand near the tub with cross in left hand but in this

panel he is looking down at a little figure near him and which he appears to grasp by the hand. The bishop wears a yell mitre and blue nimbus blue chasuble but alb and dalmatic are not legible. The small man clad in green and blue cap on his head. Holding a knife in his right hand. He stands in a turned away position from this bishop but looking eagerly at him. The tub in whit with yell bands across. Pot metal. And the three boys with fig leaves on their privities are in whit glass at the opposite of the vat to the bishop is a female figure clad in blue robe. her headdress same as those in the Flagellation w. The backg is ruby. Across the top of panel there is a bar of green or yell but can’t make out its connection – also the inside strap to this panel is pot yellow, all the others below being whit.”

		38		



Knowles, “Historical Notes”:²⁴⁹

Description: “St Nicholas raising the boys from the vat.

The bishop robed in alb and blue chasuble a low [niche] on his head which is encircling a nimbus in this picture looking down upon a small figure near him and which he grasps by the hands apparently the murderer who is represented with a knife in his hand and stretching away from the bishop but with his gaze fixed on him. In the vat which is white with yell bands are the three boys nude but their privities covered.”

		38		

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: one possible piece of re-soldering / re-leading visible. Previously, the saint had been described with a “cross in left hand”. See Appendix A.13.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁵⁰

		38		

Intervention by Milner White:

Medallion: one piece of mending lead inserted

Grisaille: two pieces of mending lead inserted

*Borders: four pieces of mending lead inserted.*²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol. 199v.

²⁴⁹ Knowles, “Historical Notes” Vol. 1, fol.102r.

²⁵⁰ Figure CHs4:38: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5368, 1919-32: 61, 3L1P.

Milner White:²⁵²

		38		

Brown:²⁵³

Description: "Nicholas restores to life three boys from the pickling tub."

		38		

Current:

		38		

²⁵¹ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5371, 1969: 61, 3L1P.

²⁵² Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²⁵³ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:



Figure CHs4:39: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 8d © York Glaziers Trust.

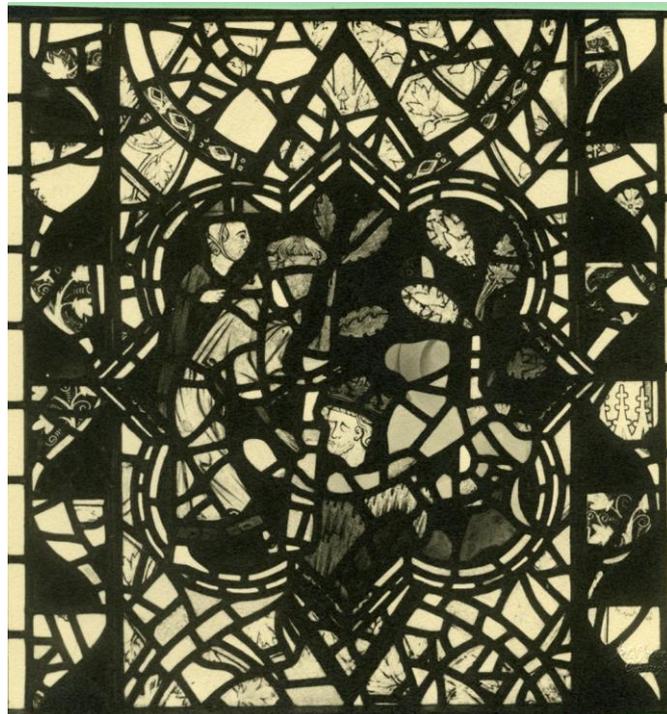


Figure CHs4:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5372, 1961: 61, 2L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Additional photographs are available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5374, 1969: CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22166, 1969: 61, 2L1P © RCHM and *ibid.*, no. 22164, 1976: CHs4, 8d © RCHM.

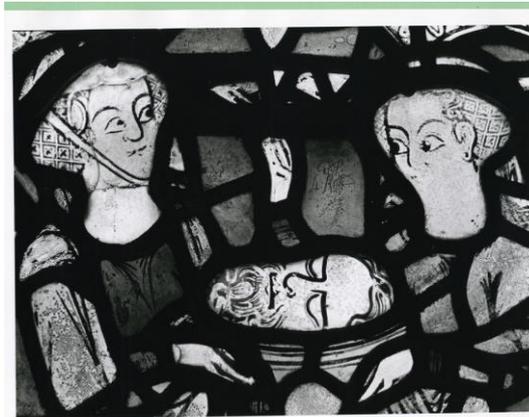


Figure CHs4: 39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5375, “after restoration”: 61, 2L1P (detail) © Crown Copyright.²⁵⁵

Original location, appearance and iconography:

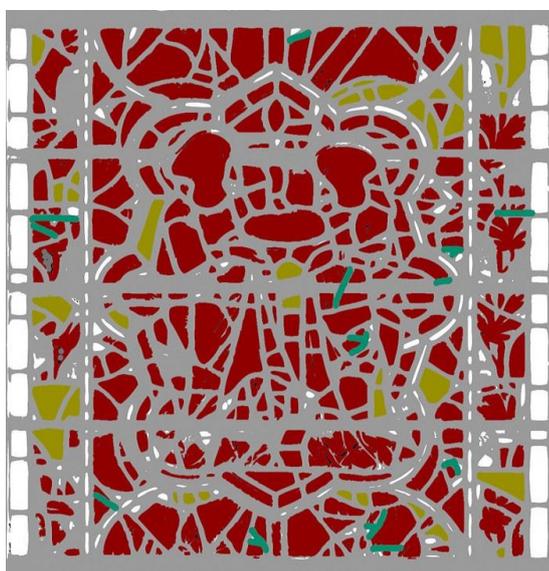


Figure CHs4:39: Restoration History.

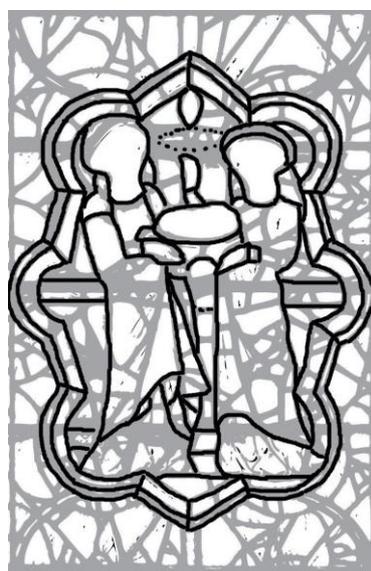


Figure CHs4:39: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

			39	

Probable original appearance:

An awkward, octofoliar medallion, with white scalloped inner and red outer rim. Blue background, with yellow patch to bottom. Narrow bands of white glass across the centre and the bottom of the medallion. An inexplicable oval shaped piece of glass is in the top centre of the medallion, which may be what Torre saw as a dove. Two female figures, one to the left in a green tunic and yellow cloak, with a wimple, receiving or giving a dish containing the head of John the Baptist from or to the figure to the right, who is in a green tunic and murrey cloak. The latter’s right hand is raised.

²⁵⁵ See also CVMA, no. 22167, 1969: 61, 2L1P (detail) © RCHM 1088

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Some paint loss. Big features. Rounded eyebrows, one line extending to side of nose. Similar female head (left-hand figure) to that in CHs2 30 (reversed).
2. Flat hair. Straight brows, lines extending to one and a half sides of nose. Nostril. M-shaped mouth and lower lip. Full beard. Paint loss. Rounded eyebrows. Big eyes.

Workshop 3.

Iconography and original location: Salome handing Herodias John’s head in a dish.²⁵⁶

Biblical sources exist for the scene.²⁵⁷ It is also common in narratives of John the Baptist.²⁵⁸ It is clearly the last scene in an abbreviated narrative, but it does not have any indication of divine approval: hence it does not fit the narrative themes of the main windows and the Margaret light (see Chapter 3). Nor is the scene of the martyrdom itself shown as the culmination of his cult.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁵⁹

Description: “9 In 4th Light stand 2 Saints one habited vt & O glory A the other murry glory gu wth something in his hand & a Dove hovering over him.”

Comments: Torre erred in identifying them as saints.

			39	

Browne:²⁶⁰

Description: “The damsel presenting to her mother the head of St John the Baptist on a charger or dish.”

			39	

Knowles, “Manuscript Notes”:²⁶¹

Description: “No 4: Salome presenting the head of the Baptist to his mother Both pink faces and curly hair.

Two female figures facing each other both have pink faces and curly hair the one to the left robed in a green tunic with yell robe lined with ermine – receiving a dish. The one opposite robed in a tight fitting pink purp (face colour) tunic with tight sleeves has the dish upon which lays the head of the Baptist (whit glass). Back of panel blue with whit horizontal bars across it same as one below it.”

			39	

²⁵⁶ Matt. 14:11; Mark 6:28.

²⁵⁷ Matt. 14:11 and Mark 6:28.

²⁵⁸ *Online Archive*, “French sites,” the cathedrals at Bourges, Bay 20:10a; and Le Mans, Bay 106:5b; the churches at St-Julien-du-Sault, Bay 5:8 and St-Père, Bay 225:4a.

²⁵⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

²⁶⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 79.

²⁶¹ Knowles, “Manuscript Notes,” Vol. 2, fol.200.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁶²

Description: "No 4. Salome presenting the head of the Baptist to Herodius. Salome robed in a close fitting tunic holds a dish with the Baptists head on it and is presenting it to Herodius who is robed in regal costume of [fold] cloak lined with ermine over his tunic."

			39	

1929-32 Re-leading:

Intervention: several pieces of re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁶³

			39	

*Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: mending leads inserted.
Grisaille: mending leads inserted.
Borders: mending leads inserted.²⁶⁴*

Milner White:²⁶⁵

			39	

Brown:²⁶⁶

Description: "Herodius and Salmone with the head of St John the Baptist."

			39	

Current:

			39	

²⁶² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.104r.

²⁶³ Figure CHs4:39: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5372, 1961: 61, 2L1P.

²⁶⁴ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5374, 1969.

²⁶⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²⁶⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Photographic record:

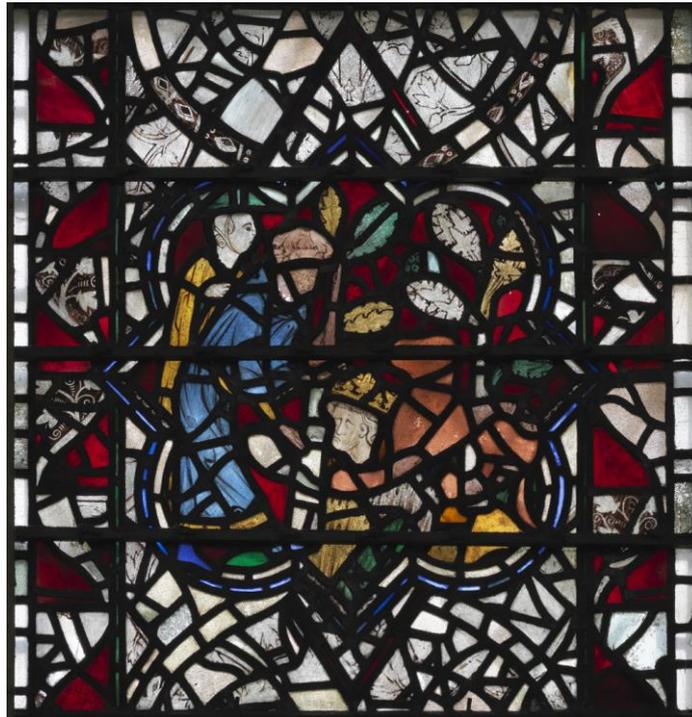


Figure CHs4:40: Photograph by Nick Teed and Anna Milsom, 2014: CHs4, 8e © York Glaziers Trust.

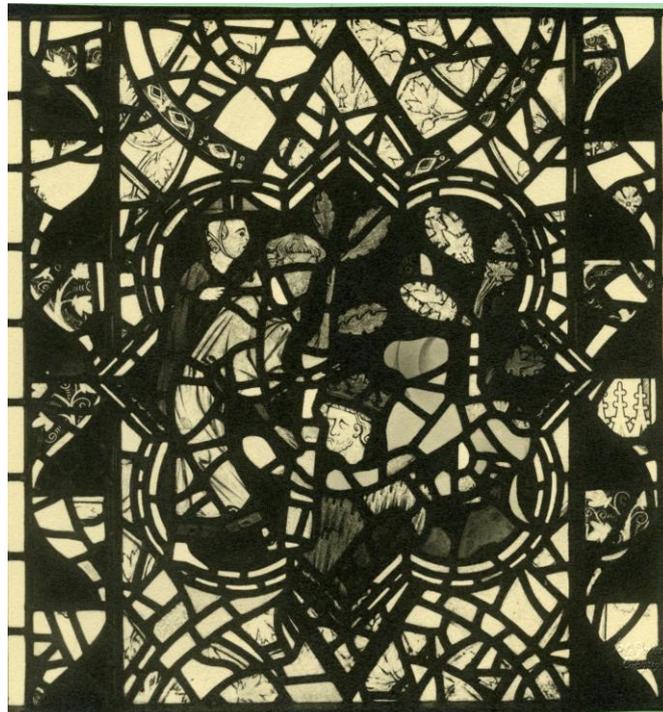


Figure CHs4:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5376, 1929-32: 61, 5L1P © Dean and Chapter of York.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ An additional photograph is available at YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5377, ca.1961: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter of York. See also CVMA, "York Minster," no. 22163, ca.1961: 61, 5L5P © Dean and Chapter at York (RCHM).

Original location, appearance and iconography:

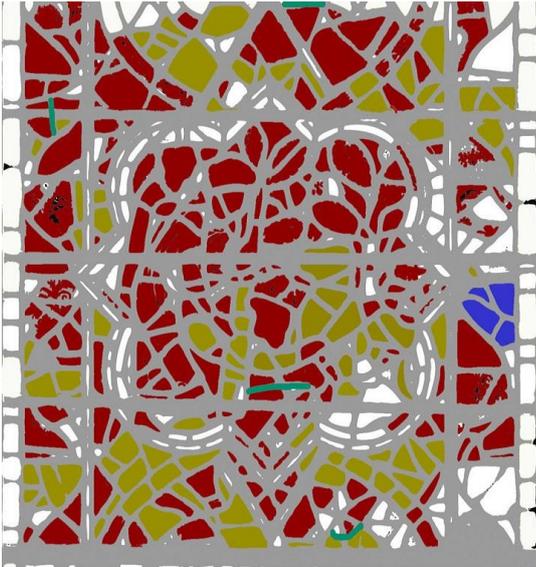


Figure CHs4:40: Restoration History.

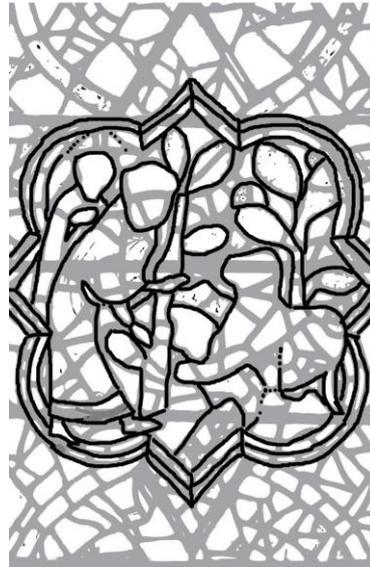


Figure CHs4:40: Original Lead Lines

Original location:

				40

Probable original appearance:

A quatrefoiled medallion, with a blue outer and a white inner rim, with a red background to the scene. There is a yellow and green floor and oak trees with leaves of green, white and yellow can be seen.

Two figures are standing to the left. One, in the foreground, with a pink face and wearing blue, is bending towards the king's head. The other figure, in the background, is wearing a coif and a yellow cloak. The lead outline of the wolf can be seen, with its front paws proffered towards the figure in blue, the king's crowned head can be seen between the two paws. There are some signs of murrey for the wolf.

Possible original: The leaf may have been an intrusion.

Stylistic comments on original heads:

1. Figure in profile. What can be seen of hair is shown with a roll at the side and nape, painted with lines of various thicknesses, straight eyebrows and large eyes.
2. From what can be seen the hair is curly, painted with lines of various thicknesses.
3. The third head is the one which is dissimilar to other Workshop 1 styles, with its pronounced concave face for the three-quarters view.

Iconography and original location: The discovery of Edmund's head.²⁶⁸
 The panel is a unique design in the Edmund sequence, unlike CHs4:10 and 20 which are based on other cartoons, and the intruded CHs4:30. It does not show his martyrdom in the final scene.

History of the Panel

Torre:²⁶⁹

Description: "10 In 5th Light stand 3 Men kneeling & bowing, 1 habited O / 2d A/ 3d gu."

Comments: It might just be possible to interpret this panel as 3 kneeling etc. But the real trouble is the colour range. 1 is O but 2 is a very clear blue (unless the panel was very dark, dirty etc).

				40

Browne:²⁷⁰

Description: "The head of St Edmund discovered in the brushwood of a forest, probably by people the presence of a faithful, large dog, which is represented couchant and guarding the royal head."

				40

Knowles, "Manuscript Notes":²⁷¹

Description: "No 5. An outdoor scene with trees. The latter rather conventional. Oak leaves.

To the left a man with a pink face in like a monk's dress blue with yell border round bottom edge in the act of raising up a king who has apparently been thrown down and half buried in the grass of foreg a crown is on his head. To the right a pink lion is seen [inserted] standing facing 2 other figures with his paws on the king's shoulders.

And behind this man in blue is a female figure in yell robe and green cap looking intently on the scene.

				40



The King is embedded up to this hips in the foregrn the lion with jaws on his shoulder and looking up at the man and woman

The back is ruby."

Comments: Knowles does not recognise the scene. He saw the animal as a lion.

²⁶⁸ For example, *The Passion of St Eadmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, Hervey, *Corolla*, 43.

²⁶⁹ YMA L1/7, Torre, 130.

²⁷⁰ Browne, *Representation*, 80.

²⁷¹ Knowles, "Manuscript Notes," Vol. 2, fol. 200.

Knowles, "Historical Notes":²⁷²

Description: "Finding the body of the King

In a wooded scene is the figure of a man habited like a monk raising up the dead body of a king who lies half buried in the shrubby foreground. And on whose shoulder rests the paws of a large wolf. Two figures stand near looking on with sorrowful faces. One a female with her head clothed in a "mutch".

Comments: Still not clear if Knowles had identified the scene.

				40

1929-32 Re-leading:

No re-soldering / re-leading visible.

Pre-Milner White Restoration:²⁷³

				40

Intervention by Milner White:
Medallion: mending lead inserted.
Grisaille: mending leads inserted.²⁷⁴
Borders: one mending lead inserted and one piece of architecturally painted glass (intruded) removed from border motif and replaced with clear glass.

Milner White:²⁷⁵

				40

Brown:²⁷⁶

Description: "St Edmund's severed head and two searchers."

				40

Current:

				40

²⁷² Knowles, "Historical Notes," Vol. 1, fol.104r.

²⁷³ Figure CHs4:40: YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5376, 1929-32: 61, 5L1P.

²⁷⁴ Concluded from a comparison between *ibid.* and YML, Green Photographic Collection, 5377, ca.1961: 61, 5L5P.

²⁷⁵ Milner White, "Return," 1956, 36.

²⁷⁶ Brown, *Magnificent Fabrick*, 293.

Appendix D: Summary of the features associated with the three Workshops involved in the production of the chapter house glass

The comments are based on a preliminary study of the panels, through photographs and a scope. The categories are, therefore, not based on a detailed examination of the panels on the bench.

Workshop 1

Those features which survive in CH1:2c show a great similarity with the original heads from CHn4, and CHs4 (Becket and Edmund). The workshop has been identified as Workshop 1. Similar features can also be found in the copies made by Barnett, except for CH1:6, which may indicate there was not much remaining for him to copy.

There are two main features. The first is a dramatic style of hair, in various forms. Examples are big, curly hair swept backwards (CH1:36 original and copy), sometimes creating a quiff (CH1:28 and CHn4:37), and layers of big curls (CHn4:37 and CHs4:20). When there is a headdress (in the case of Workshop 1, there is often a coif), the curls of hair on the forehead can be seen as a roll on the forehead (CHs4:16 and CHs4:20).



CH1:36 original



CH1:36 copy



CH1:28 copy



CHn4:37



CHn4:37



CHs4:20



CHs4:16



CHn4:29

There is a greater variety of position of heads than in the other workshops. There are faces shown in profile (CH1:36 and CHn4:17) and the occasional concave face in three-quarter view (CHn4:28, CHs4:6).

			
CHn4:17	CH1:36 original	CHn4:28	CHs4:6

The workshop carried on (with Workshop 2) into the vestibule (possibly elements of CHn6, CHn8 and CHs6).

Cartoons: CHs4:10 has a similar structure to CHn4:30 and there are some similarities between the scourging scenes in CHs4:20, CHn4:28 and CH1:16.

Workshop 2

The heads in CHn2 resemble the three heads which have survived in CHn3 and the Nicholas and Margaret lights in CHs4. The workshop has been identified as number 2. Along with Workshop 1, this workshop continued into the Vestibule, possibly being responsible for elements of CHn5 and CHs7

Features include the following. Hair, flat, heavy line between hair and face. Furrowed brow. Heavy rounded or straight eyebrows, the line for one of which continues to create the nose. Dense lines for eyebrows and nose outlines. Prominent upper and lower eyelids. Prominent chin bone, marked under bottom lip of M-shaped mouth; corrugated lower outline to beard. Parallel marks to either side of mouth. Hair different for those who are bald (possibly Paul in CHn2:29 and CHn2:38): curls across forehead. Generally features are small.



CHn2:6



CHn2:17



CHn2:29



CHn2:37



CHn2:38 (rear)



CHn3:37



CHn3:38



CHs4:7



CHs4:8

Workshop 3

This workshop produced CHs2, CHs3 and the John the Baptist light in CHs4, but had no part in the Vestibule glazing.

The main head types show large heads with large features. Eyebrows are extended to create both sides of the nose and, at the other end, almost to the hairline. Upper and lower lids are indicated. Prominent nostril. Often a V-shape indicates lower lip. Beards tend to be neat and tight. Hair is often composed of tight curls. Some of the figures are slim and upright.

However, in CHs3, there is a greater variety of curly/wavy/flat hair and beards and the extent to which the eyebrow lines create both or part of both sides of the nose. There do not seem to be any of the tall, slender figures of CHs2.

A separate feature is the awkwardness of the medallion shapes and their placings between the borders of the panels.

		
CHs2:8	CHs2:10	CHs2:17
		
CHs2:36	CHs3:6	CHs3:9
		
CHs3:26	CHs4:9	CHs4:29

Appendix E: Summary of the identifications, current locations and suggested original locations of the narrative panels in the chapter house glazing¹

CH1			
Temp. number	Location of copy now	Original location of original panel	Identification
CH1:6	S21:4a	CH1:2b	The Agony in the Garden.
CH1:7	S21:4c	CH1:2d	Christ healing the ear of Malchus.
CH1:8	S21:4d	CH1:2c	Judas plotting with the High Priests.
CH1:9	N20:4d	CH1:6d	Noli me Tangere.
CH1:10	N20:4a	CH1:4b	The Harrowing of Hell.
CH1:16	S22:4a	CH1:4a	The Flagellation of Christ.
CH1:17	S21:4e	CH1:2e	The Arrest of Christ.
CH1:18	S22:4c	CH1:4c	The Crucifixion of Christ.
CH1:19	S22:4e	CH1:4e	The Entombment.
CH1:20	S22:4b	CH1:4b	Via Crucis: carrying the cross to Calvary.
CH1:26	N20:4b	CH1:6a	The Three Marys at the Tomb.
CH1:27	N19:4c	CH1:8e	Christ in Judgement.
CH1:28	N20:4c	CH1:6c	The Resurrection of Christ.
CH1:29	N20:4e	CH1:6e	Doubting Thomas touches the wounds of the risen Christ.
CH1:30	S21:4b	CH1:2a	Entry into Jerusalem.
CH1:36	CH1:2c	CH1:8a	The Ascension (original in CH1:2c)
CH1:37	S22:4d	CH1:4d	The Deposition.
CH1:38	N19:4d	CH1:8c	The Coronation of the Virgin.
CH1:39	N19:4e	CH1:4d	Raising the Dead at the Last Judgement.
CH1:40	N19:4b	CH1:8b	Pentecost.

CHn2 (Option 2)			
Temp. number	Location now	Original location	Identification
CHn2:6	2a	2a	The Annunciation, possibly doubling with the announcement of Mary's impending death.
CHn2:7	2b	8b	The High Priest healing the blind from Jerusalem or the Jew watching the funeral procession.
CHn2:8	2c	2b	The Visitation.
CHn2:9	2d	2c	The Nativity.
CHn2:10	2e	4a	The Magi on horseback following the star.
CHn2:16	4a	4c	The Adoration of the Magi.
CHn2:17	4b	4b	The Magi before Herod.
CHn2:18	4c	6c	The Purification.
CHn2:19	4d	4d	The Virgin and Child receiving gifts from the Magi.
CHn2:20	4e	2d	The Angel appearing to the Shepherds.
CHn2:26	6a	6b	Herod observing the Massacre of the

¹ References are available in Appendices B and C.

			Innocents.
CHn2:27	6b	6a	Flight into Egypt.
CHn2:28	6c	8e	The Assumption of the soul of the Virgin.
CHn2:29	6d	8d	The Apostles witnessing the Assumption.
CHn2:30	6e	4e	The Magi warned in a dream.
CHn2:36	8a	2e	The Coronation of the Virgin.
CHn2:37	8b	8a	The Funeral Cortège.
CHn2:38	8c	6e	The moment of the Virgin's death.
CHn2:39	8d	6d	The Apostles at the Virgin's deathbed.
CHn2:40	8e	8c	Christ taking Mary's soul.

CHn3			
Temp. number	Location now	Original location	Identification
CHn3:6	2a	2a	Ouse Bridge miracle.
CHn3:7	2b	[2d]	[Lost. Would have been "William dies".]
CHn3:8	2c	2c	Enthronement.
CHn3:9	2d	6b	Besing overwhelms Ralph.
CHn3:10	2e	8a	[Probably] A trumpeting angel.]
CHn3:16	4a	6a	Ralph and Besing fighting.
CHn3:17	4b	2b	William greeted outside the Minster.
CHn3:18	4c	6c	Ralph's blindness cured.
CHn3:19	4d	4d	Woman brought to the tomb on a cart.
CHn3:20	4e	4e	[Probably] Woman on the cart cured.
CHn3:26	6a	4a	Blind girl from Leeds healed.
CHn3:27	6b	4b	[Lost. It would have been A single miracle panel, showing healing with mortar, curing lepers or curing the mad.]
CHn3:28	6c	4c	Several cripples healed.
CHn3:29	6d	6d	[Lost. Either a double miracle (eg woman who swallowed a frog taken to the tomb) or a single miracle.]
CHn3:30	6e	8e	William is canonised or otherwise honoured/welcomed, or his Translation.
CHn3:36	8a	2e	William's corpse unharmed after fire.
CHn3:37	8b	8b	An early part of the drowning boy miracle, or William comes to the aid of sailors.
CHn3:38	8c	8c	William saves a drowning boy.
CHn3:39	8d	8d	A boy drowns in the well and is shown revived.
CHn3:40	8e	6e	[Lost. Either a double miracle (eg woman cured after swallowing a frog) or a single miracle.]

CHn4			
Temp. number	Location now	Original location	Identification
CHn4:6	2a	2d	The angel visits Katherine in prison.
CHn4:7	2b	2b	Katherine protesting to Maxentius.
CHn4:8	2c	2c	Katherine escorted to prison.
CHn4:9	2d	2a	Beasts brought to be sacrificed.
CHn4:10	2e	2e	Maxentius and advisers hatching the plot.

CHn4:16	4a	4d	Katherine brought from prison.
CHn4:17	4b	4b	Maxentius and philosophers.
CHn4:18	4c	4c	Philosophers presented to Maxentius.
CHn4:19	4d	4a	Maxentius sends a messenger to gather philosophers.
CHn4:20	4e	4e	Katherine faces Maxentius and the philosophers
CHn4:26	6a	6d	Katherine returned to prison.
CHn4:27	6b	6b	Katherine before Maxentius.
CHn4:28	6c	6c	The scourging of Katherine.
CHn4:29	6d	6a	Philosophers thrown into flames.
CHn4:30	6e	6e	Maxentius leaves the City.
CHn4:36	8a	8d	Martyrdom of Katherine.
CHn4:37	8b	8b	Christ visits Katherine in prison with angels.
CHn4:38	8c	8c	Katherine saved from the wheels.
CHn4:39	8d	8a	The Empress and Porphyrius visit Katherine in prison.
CHn4:40	8e	8e	Katherine's soul carried to heaven by angels.

CHs2: St Peter			
Temp. number	Current location	Original location	Identification.
CHs2:6	2a	8a	Christ's selection of Peter in "on this rock".
CHs2:7	2b	4b	Peter healing with his shadow.
CHs2:8	2c	4c	Peter and John before the High Priest.
CHs2:9	2d	2b	Christ leads Peter and Andrew away.
CHs2:10	2e	2a	The Call of Peter and Andrew.
CHs2:16	4a	2e	Christ asks Peter to walk on water.
CHs2:17	4b	4d	Ananias and Sapphira bring their reduced sale proceeds to Peter. Or the good followers bring their sale proceeds to Peter.
CHs2:18	4c	2c	The cripple at the Gate asks for Peter's help.
CHs2:19	4d	2d	The cripple at the Gate is healed.
CHs2:20	4e	4a	A preaching scene? Or specifically "Signs and wonders were done among the people in Solomon's Portico"?
CHs2:26	6a	6e	Simon Magus falling between Peter and Nero.
CHs2:27	6b	6d	Simon Magus flying before Peter and Nero.
CHs2:28	6c	8c	Angel leading Peter to the gates of the city.
CHs2:29	6d	8b	Angel freeing Peter from prison.
CHs2:30	6e	4e	The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira.
CHs2:36	8a	6a	The Vision of Cornelius.
CHs2:37	8b	6b	The Baptism of Cornelius.
CHs2:38	8c	6c	Peter and Paul before Nero and Simon Magus.
CHs2:39	8d	8d	Peter arrested and brought before Nero or Agrippa.
CHs2:40	8e	8e	The Crucifixion of Peter.

CHs3: St Paul			
Temp. number	Location now	Original location	Identification.
CHs3:6	2a	2a	Paul given letters by the High Priest.
CHs3:7	2b	2b	The Conversion on the road to Damascus.
CHs3:8	2c	2c	Paul led blind into the City.
CHs3:9	2d	2d	Paul baptised.
CHs3:10	2e	2e	Paul preaching to the Jews in Damascus.
CHs3:16	4a	4a	Paul fleeing from Damascus.
CHs3:17	4b	4b	Paul meeting Peter in Jerusalem.
CHs3:18	4c	4c	Paul stoned in Lystra.
CHs3:19	4d	4d	Paul taken from the city as if dead.
CHs3:20	4e	4e	Paul reviving with his disciples.
CHs3:26	6a	6a	The evil spirit driven from the slave girl in Philippi.
CHs3:27	6b	6b	The slave girl's owner taking Paul to the Magistrate.
CHs3:28	6c	6c	Paul beaten in Philippi.
CHs3:29	6d	6d	Paul freed by the earthquake in Philippi: the gaoler dismayed.
CHs3:30	6e	6e	The Magistrates in Philippi begging Paul to leave.
CHs3:36	8a	8a	Fall of Patroclus.
CHs3:37	8b	8b	Revival of Patroclus.
CHs3:38	8c	8c	Shipwreck on Malta.
CHs3:39	8d	8d	Miracle of the viper.
CHs3:40	8e	8e	Martyrdom.

CHs4: Five Saints			
Temp. number	Location now	Original location	Identification
CHs4:6	2a	2c	Thomas Becket consecrated Archbishop.
CHs4:7	2b	2a	Margaret facing Olybrius.
CHs4:8	2c	2b	Nicholas giving alms to the three girls.
CHs4:9	2d	2d	John in prison, greeted by angel holding palm leaf.
CHs4:10	2e	2e	Edmund rides out to meet the Danes.
CHs4:16	4a	4c	Thomas Becket facing the King over the criminal cleric.
CHs4:17	4b	4a	Margaret emerging from the dragon.
CHs4:18	4c	4b	Nicholas saving sailors in a storm.
CHs4:19	4d	4d	Salome dances for Herod.
CHs4:20	4e	4e	Edmund shot at with arrows.
CHs4:26	6a	6c	Thomas Becket leaving or, more probably, embarking to return to England.
CHs4:27	6b	6a	Margaret prevailing over the dragon.
CHs4:28	6c	6b	The Host murdering three clerics.
CHs4:29	6d	6d	John the Baptist martyred.
CHs4:30	[6e]	[6e]	[Lost. It would have been "The Martyrdom of Edmund".]
CHs4:36	8a	8c	Thomas Becket martyred.

CHs4:37	8b	8a	Margaret martyred.
CHs4:38	8c	8b	Nicholas bringing three clerics back to life.
CHs4:39	8d	8d	Salome handing Herodias John's head in a dish.
CHs4:40	8e	8e	The discovery of Edmund's head.

