

**Illuminating Narrative: An Interdisciplinary Investigation of the
Fifteenth-century St Cuthbert Window, York Minster**

5 Volumes

Volume 2: Appendices

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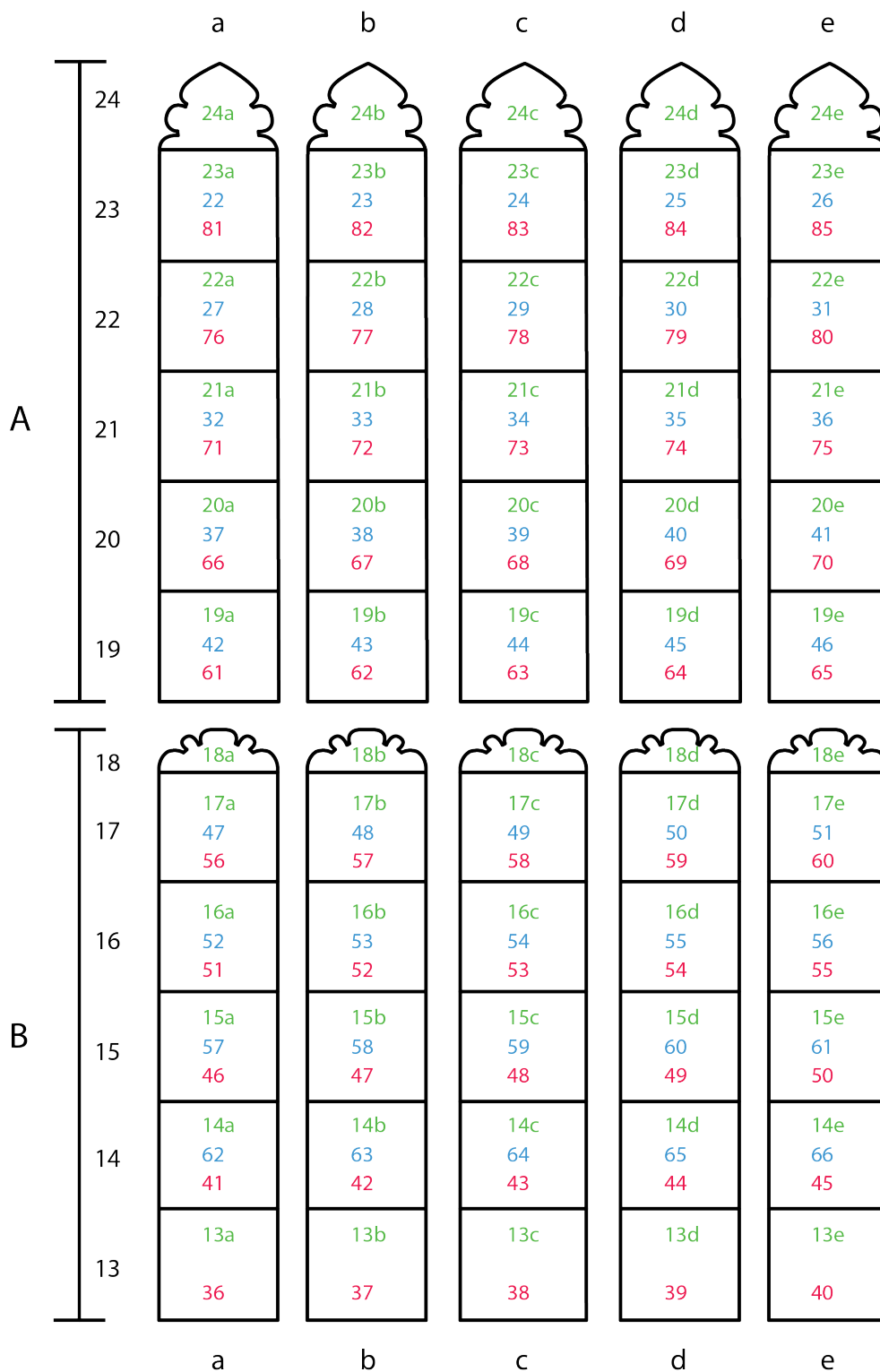
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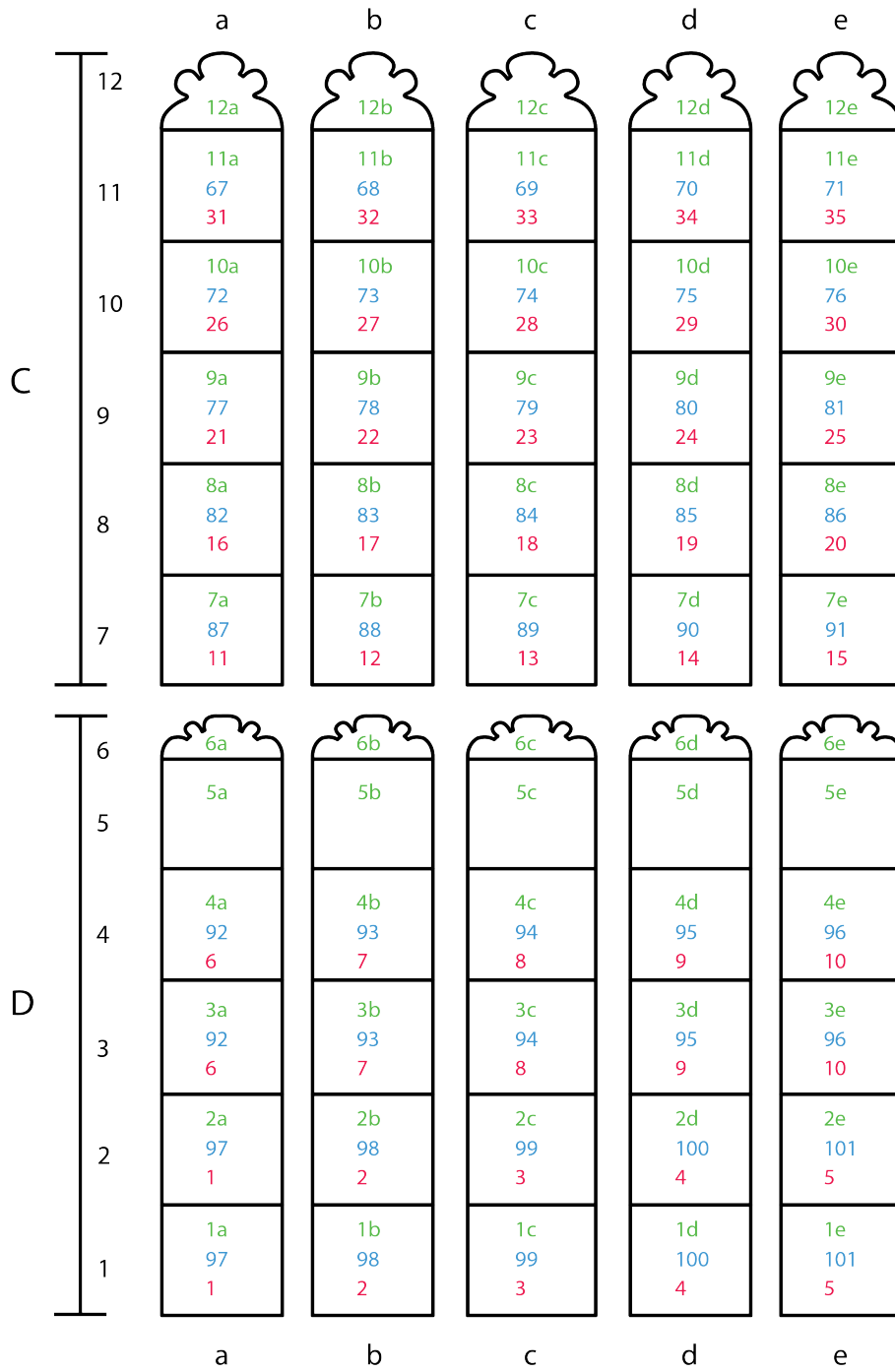
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Appendix 1. Historic Arrangements of Panels within the St Cuthbert Window

1.1 Diagram of the St Cuthbert Window showing the corresponding numbering systems used by Torre, Fowler and the CVMA





Key

1a - CVMA Numbering

97 - Torre Numbering


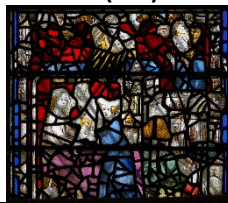

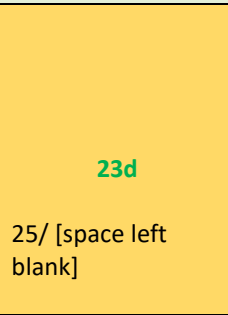












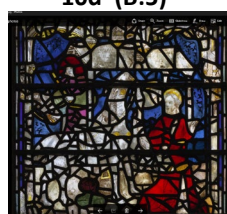







1 - Fowler Numbering



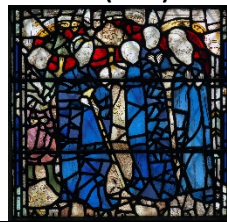

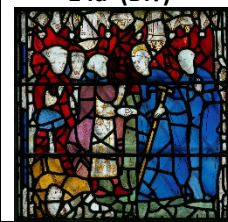
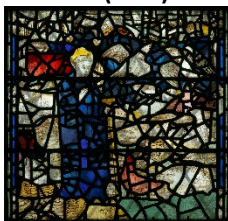
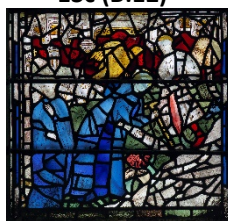

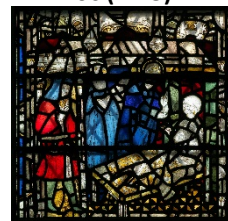
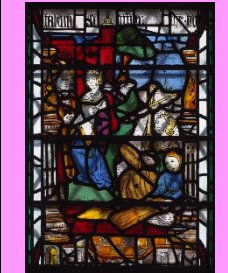


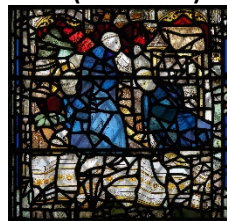

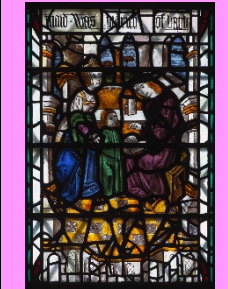




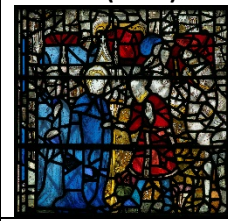
1.2 Diagram showing the arrangement of panels in the St Cuthbert Window in 1691, based on the order described by James Torre in 1691¹





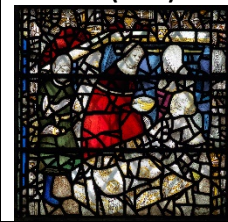




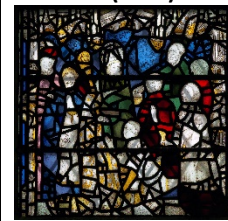

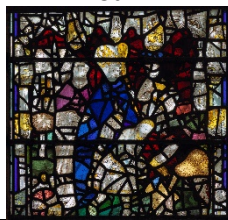
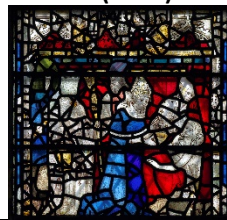
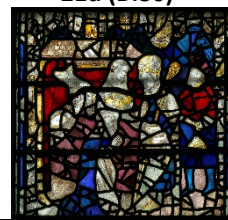



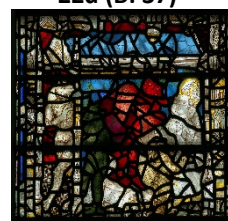
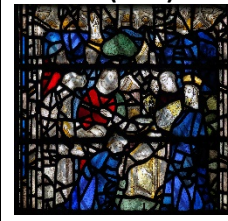
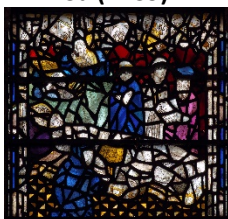
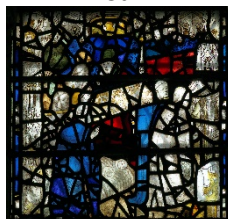
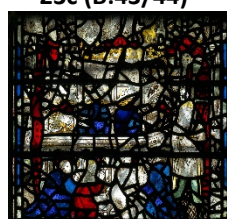
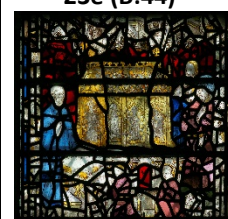
Key

	Description not provided by Torre
	Description could not be matched to extant panels
	Panel inserted from elsewhere
1a	Location within the window
"1/"	Torre's panel number
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)

¹ Torre, James. "The Antiquities of York Minster Collected out of the Records of the Said Church and Some Other Authorities", York, York Minster Library, L1/7, ff.51r-54r.









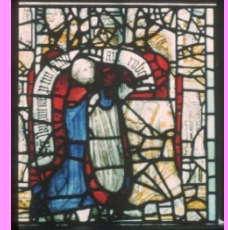

Section A				
<p>23a "22/" 11d (B:8)</p> 	<p>23b "23/" 7a (L: 7)</p> 	<p>23c "24/" 9c (L: 7)</p> 	<p>23d 25/ [space left blank]</p> 	<p>23e "26./" 21c</p> 
<p>22a 27/ In 2d under Row. And in the first light is a church. And a B(isho)p. Standing w(i)th his back on it habited B(lue) mantle purple myter O(r) before him stands a fair Lady habited B(lue) And a monk habited gu(les) hood V(er)t.</p>	<p>22b "28" 7c (L:20)</p> 	<p>22c "29/" 22a (B:3)</p> 	<p>22d "30/" 7b (L: 9)</p> 	<p>22e "31./" 9b (L:23/B:1)</p> 
<p>21a "32/" 9d (B:2)</p> 	<p>21b "33/" 11c (B:7)</p> 	<p>21c "34/" 9e (B:2)</p> 	<p>21d "35./" 11b (L: 9?)</p> 	<p>21e "36/" 7d (B:4)</p> 
<p>20a "37/" 13a (B:9)</p> 	<p>20b "38/" 15c (B:9)</p> 	<p>20c "39/" 10d (B:5)</p> 	<p>20d "40/" 8d (L:20)</p> 	<p>20e "41/" 13d (B:10)</p> 
<p>19a "42/" 10c (B:6?)</p> 	<p>19b "/43/" 8b (L: 10)</p> 	<p>19c "44/" 10b (B:3)</p> 	<p>19d "45/" 10a (B:4)</p> 	<p>19e "46/" 20a (B:2?)</p> 

Section B				
<p>17a "47/" 15a (B:11)</p> 	<p>17b "48./" 17d (B:11)</p> 	<p>17c "49/" 14e (B:18)</p> 	<p>17d "50./" 13b (B:12)</p> 	<p>17e "51/" 14a (B:?)</p> 
<p>16a "52/" 16d (B:19)</p> 	<p>16b "53/" 13c (B:12)</p> 	<p>16c "/54/" 14d (B:13)</p> 	<p>16d "55/" 20c (B:15)</p> 	<p>16e "56/" CH1 2b</p> 
<p>15a "57/" 16a (B:17)</p> 	<p>15b "58/" 16b (B:11)</p> 	<p>15c "59/" 16e (B:17 or 21)</p> 	<p>15d "60/" 15e (B:17)</p> 	<p>15e "61./" CH1 4c</p> 
<p>14a "62/" 16c (B:19)</p> 	<p>14b "63/" 15b (B:16)</p> 	<p>14c "64/" 17a (B:20)</p> 	<p>14d "65/" 17b (B:20)</p> 	<p>14e "66/" 17c (B: 15)</p> 
13a	13b	13c	13d	13e

Section C				
<p>11a "67/" 13e (B:22)</p> 	<p>11b "68/" n7 10d</p> 	<p>11c "69/" 19a (B:24)</p> 	<p>11d "70/" 14b (B:25)</p> 	<p>11e "71. /" 19e (B:25)</p> 
<p>10a "72/" 15d (B:24)</p> 	<p>10b "73" n7 2d</p> 	<p>10c "74/" 19b (B: 26)</p> 	<p>10d "75/" 21a (B:33)</p> 	<p>10e "76/" 19d (B:26)</p> 
<p>9a "77/." 21e (B:35)</p> 	<p>9b "78/" 9a</p> 	<p>9c "79/" 20e (B: 29)</p> 	<p>9d "80/" 21d (B:30)</p> 	<p>9e "81/ In 5th Light. not plain"</p>
<p>8a "82/" 23b</p> 	<p>8b "83/" 19c (B:26)</p> 	<p>8c "84/" 21b (B: 34)</p> 	<p>8d "85/" 22d (B: 37)</p> 	<p>8e "86/" 22c (B:38)</p> 
<p>7a "87/" 23a (B: 39)</p> 	<p>7b "88/" 23d</p> 	<p>7c "89/" 23c (B:43/44)</p> 	<p>7d "90/ In 4th Light not plain"</p>	<p>7e "91/" 23e (B:44)</p> 






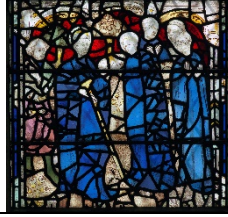







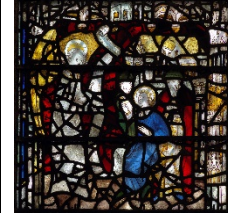
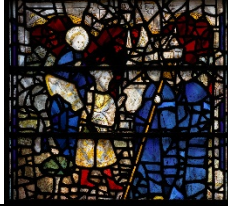
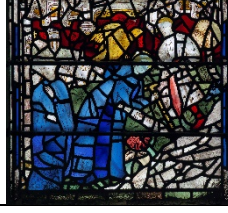
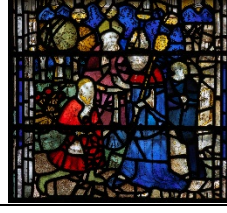
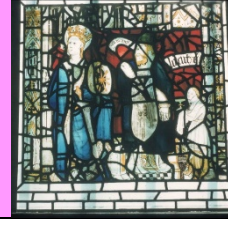
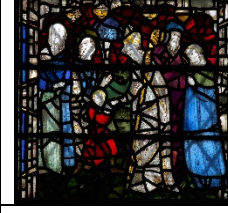
1.3 Diagram showing the arrangement of panels in the St Cuthbert Window in 1877, based on the order described by Joseph Fowler in 1877²




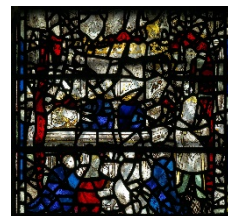
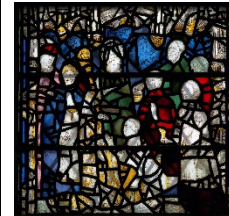
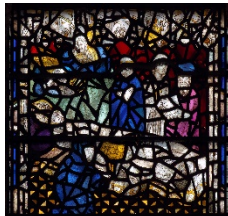






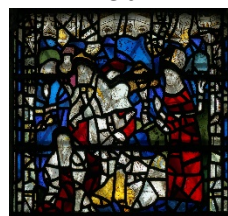

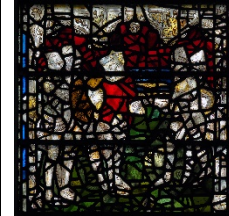
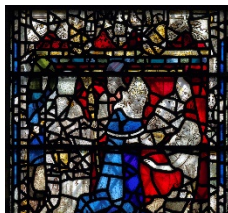

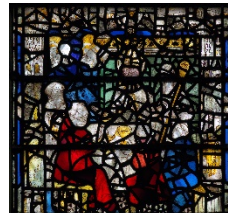
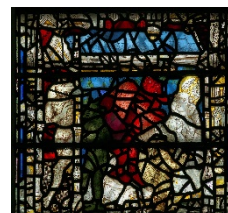
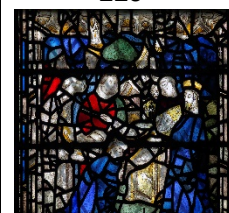
	Panel inserted from elsewhere
1a	Location within the window
1	Location according to Fowler's numbering
"Subject"	Subject proposed by Fowler
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)

Section A				
<p>23a 81 "With mother in field" 7c</p> 	<p>23b 82 "Girdle brought to Aelflede?" 17c (B: 15)</p> 	<p>23c 83 "Rebuking/driving birds from corn" 16d</p> 	<p>23d 84 "Building with sea-borne plank" 16e (B:17 or 21)</p> 	<p>23e 85 "Bringing back ships" 10b</p> 
<p>22a 76 "Entertaining angel" 11c</p> 	<p>22b 77 "Angel on white horse" 9d</p> 	<p>22c 78 "Praying in the sea" 13d</p> 	<p>22d 79 "Invocation of St William" S7 2c</p> 	<p>22e 80 "Birth" 7a</p> 



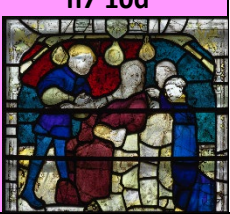


² Fowler, "Cuthbert Window," 370-372.

Section A				
<p>21a 71 "Hildmer healed by bread" 20c</p> 	<p>21b 72 "Boisil's Prophecy" 11d</p> 	<p>21c 73 "Angel curing knee" 9e</p> 	<p>21d 74 "Discussing Rule/Monastic Institutes" 15b</p> 	<p>21e 75 "Committed to guardian" 8b</p> 
<p>20a 66 "Last voyage to Farne" 22a</p> 	<p>20b 67 "Expelling demons" 15e</p> 	<p>20c 68 "Crow begging pardon" 17b</p> 	<p>20d 69 "Embarkation in stone boat" 8d</p> 	<p>20e 70 "Baptism" 7b</p> 
<p>19a 61 "Learning the Psalter" 7d</p> 	<p>19b 62 "Feet washed" 22b</p> 	<p>19c 63 "Layks & Plays" 9b</p> 	<p>19d 64 "Instructing Monks & Laics" 15c</p> 	<p>19e 65 "Vision of death of St Aidan" 10a</p> 

Section B				
<p>17a 56 "Voyage to Coquet?" 17d</p> 	<p>17b 57 "Building Farnes cell with angel" 16a</p> 	<p>17c 58 "Rebuking crows that stole thatch" 17a</p> 	<p>17d 59 "Horse pulling down bread" 10d</p> 	<p>17e 60 "Cinque-cento panel" CH1 4c</p> 
<p>16a 51 "Receiving fish from Eagle" 13b</p> 	<p>16b 52 "Journey with 3 monks and layman" 14e</p> 	<p>16c 53 "Cinque-cento panel" CH1 2b</p> 	<p>16d 54 "Preaching in pulpit" 13a</p> 	<p>16e 55 "Journey with 2 monks" 15a</p> 
<p>15a 46 "Consecration" 19b</p> 	<p>15b 47 "Met by Hildmer" 14a</p> 	<p>15c 48 "Sowing corn" 16c</p> 	<p>15d 49 "Holy Well" 9c</p> 	<p>15e 50 "Angel and Scroll" 20a</p> 
<p>14a 41 "Starting for Melrose?" 10c</p> 	<p>14b 42 "Sharing fish with Eagle" 13c</p> 	<p>14c 43 "Reception at Melrose" 11b</p> 	<p>14d 44 "St Catharine" s4 1a</p> 	<p>14e 45 "Healing a boy?" 21c</p> 
<p>13a 36 Blank</p>	<p>13b 37 Blank</p>	<p>13c 38 Blank</p>	<p>13d 39 Blank</p>	<p>13e 40 Blank</p>

Section C				
<p>11a 31 "About to send holy water" 14b</p> 	<p>11b 32 "Remonstrating in chapter?" 15d</p> 	<p>11c 33 "Investiture by King Egfrith" 19a</p> 	<p>11d 34 "The first tomb" 23c</p> 	<p>11e 35 "Works of mercy" 19d</p> 
<p>10a 26 "Deathbed" 23a</p> 	<p>10b 27 "In Farne with 3 monks?" 16b</p> 	<p>10c 28 "Woman before a Judge" n7 2d</p> 	<p>10d 29 "Preparing to celebrate mass" 21d</p> 	<p>10e 30 "Earl Sibba's servant healed" 19e</p> 
<p>9a 21 "With St Columba" 9a</p> 	<p>9b 22 "Almsdeeds" 19c (B:26)</p> 	<p>9c 23 "Body wrapped in Sheet?" 23b</p> 	<p>9d 24 "Falsely accused" 13e</p> 	<p>9e 25 "Vision of Egfrith's death" 20b</p> 
<p>8a 16 "Healing Heunna's Wife?" 20e</p> 	<p>8b 17 "Restoring a Dying Child" 21a</p> 	<p>8c 18 "Turning Water into wine?" 21b</p> 	<p>8d 19 "Vexed by demons" 22d</p> 	<p>8e 20 "Blessing /last illness" 22c</p> 

Section C

<p>7a 11 "Last Shrine" 23e</p> 	<p>7b 12 "Vision at Aelflede's?" 21e</p> 	<p>7c 13 "Cooking goose?" n7 10d</p> 	<p>7d 14 "Fire put out" 14d</p> 	<p>7e 15 "Enshrinement" 23c</p> 
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1.4 Diagram showing the arrangement of panels in the St Cuthbert Window in 1691, showing background patterns of the panels.³









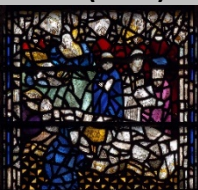

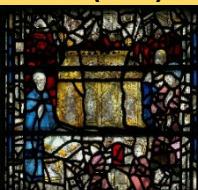
Key

	Cross-hatched 'seaweed'-patterned background
	'Solid' 'seaweed'-patterned background
	No evidence of background pattern style
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)

³ Torre, "Antiquities", YMLA, L1/7, f.51r-54r.

Section A				
<p>23a</p> <p>11d (B:8)</p>	<p>23b</p> <p>7a (L: 7)</p>	<p>23c</p> <p>9c (L: 5 or 7)</p>	<p>23d</p> <p>25/ [space left blank]</p>	<p>23e</p> <p>21c</p>
<p>22a</p> <p>[Panel unidentified]</p>	<p>22b</p> <p>7c (L:20)</p>	<p>22c</p> <p>22a (B:3)</p>	<p>22d</p> <p>7b (L: 9)</p>	<p>22e</p> <p>9b (L:23/B:1)</p>
<p>21a</p> <p>9d (B:2)</p>	<p>21b</p> <p>11c (B:7)</p>	<p>21c</p> <p>9e (B:2)</p>	<p>21d</p> <p>11b (L: 9?)</p>	<p>21e</p> <p>7d (B:4)</p>
<p>20a</p> <p>13a (B:9)</p>	<p>20b</p> <p>15c (B:9)</p>	<p>20c</p> <p>10d (B:5)</p>	<p>20d</p> <p>8d (L:20)</p>	<p>20e</p> <p>13d (B:10)</p>
<p>19a</p> <p>10c (B:6)</p>	<p>19b</p> <p>8b (L: 10)</p>	<p>19c</p> <p>10b (B:3)</p>	<p>19d</p> <p>10a (B:4)</p>	<p>19e</p> <p>20a (B:2)</p>

Section B				
<p>17a</p> <p>15a (B:11)</p> 	<p>17b</p> <p>17d (B:11)</p> 	<p>17c</p> <p>14e (B:18)</p> 	<p>17d</p> <p>13b (B:12)</p> 	<p>17e</p> <p>14a (B:13)</p> 
<p>16a</p> <p>16d (B:19)</p> 	<p>16b</p> <p>13c (B:12)</p> 	<p>16c</p> <p>14d (B:13)</p> 	<p>16d</p> <p>20c (B:15)</p> 	<p>16e</p> <p>INSERTED</p> 
<p>15a</p> <p>16a (B:17)</p> 	<p>15b</p> <p>16b (B:11)</p> 	<p>15c</p> <p>16e (B:17 or 21)</p> 	<p>15d</p> <p>15e (B:17)</p> 	<p>15e</p> <p>INSERTED</p> 
<p>14a</p> <p>16c (B:19)</p> 	<p>14b</p> <p>15b (B:16)</p> 	<p>14c</p> <p>17a (B:20)</p> 	<p>14d</p> <p>17b (B:20)</p> 	<p>14e</p> <p>17c (B:15)</p> 

Section C				
<p>11a</p> <p>13e (B:22)</p> 	<p>11b</p> <p>[Panel unidentified]</p>	<p>11c</p> <p>19a (B:24)</p> 	<p>11d</p> <p>14b (B:25)</p> 	<p>11e</p> <p>19e (B:25)</p> 
<p>10a</p> <p>15d (B:25)</p> 	<p>10b</p> <p>INSERTED</p> 	<p>10c</p> <p>19b (B: 26)</p> 	<p>10d</p> <p>21a (B:33)</p> 	<p>10e</p> <p>19d (B:26)</p> 
<p>9a</p> <p>21e (B:35)</p> 	<p>9b</p> <p>9a</p> 	<p>9c</p> <p>20e (B: 29)</p> 	<p>9d</p> <p>21d (B:30)</p> 	<p>9e</p> <p>81/ In 5th Light. not plain</p>
<p>8a</p> <p>23b (B: 32)</p> 	<p>8b</p> <p>19c (B:26)</p> 	<p>8c</p> <p>21b (B: 34)</p> 	<p>8d</p> <p>22d (B: 37)</p> 	<p>8e</p> <p>22c (B:38)</p> 
<p>7a</p> <p>23a (B: 39)</p> 	<p>7b</p> <p>23d</p> 	<p>7c</p> <p>23c (B:43/44)</p> 	<p>7d</p> <p>90/ In 4th Light not plain</p>	<p>7e</p> <p>23e (B:44)</p> 

Appendix 2. Figure Types in the St Cuthbert Window

2.1 Table showing figure types of St Cuthbert







Figure Type	Key features	Panels	Example
Infant	Naked, short curly yellow hair. Nimbed.	7a 7b	 Panel 7b
Child	Short, with short, straight hair, usually yellow. Nimbed. Wearing a long-sleeved, knee-length tunic, belted at waist. Tunic sometimes slit up side, or with border along sleeves, breast and skirt edge. Long hose, with sole visible at foot (where intact).	7c 8b 8d 9b	 Panel 8b
Youth	Closer in height to adults. Clean-shaven, with mid-length, curly hair. Nimbed. Wearing a long-sleeved, floor-length tunic, with fur/cuff at neck and wrists and ornamented collar of undergarment visible. Belted at waist.	9d 9e (damaged) 10b 20a (head replacement)	 Panel 10b

Figure Type	Key features	Panels	Example
Young Man	<p>Adult height. Mid-length, curly hair, and short, curly, forked beard, both white. Nimbed.</p> <p>Wearing a long-sleeved, floor-length or knee-length tunic, with fur at neck and wrists and ornamented collar of undergarment visible. Belted at waist.</p>	<p>7d (although belt uncertain here)</p> <p>10c (some damage)</p> <p>10d (some damage)</p>	 <p>Panel 7d</p>
Monk	<p>Floor-length blue habit, with hood (down).</p> <p>Tonsured, white (one yellow).</p> <p>Often with tau-cross staff, usually in left hand.</p>	<p>11c, 11d, 10a, 13b 13c, 13d, 13e, 14a 14b, 14d, 14e (staff in right), 15a, 15b (head replaced, 15c, 15d, 15e 16a, 16b, 16c (staff in right), 16d, 16e, 17a 17b (head damaged) 17d, 19a, 20c (heavily damaged), 22b</p>	 <p>Panel 13b</p>
Bishop	<p>A yellow and white mitre. Nimbus around mitre. Short curled hair, usually white. Clean shaven.</p> <p>Wear a cope or chasuble (can be red, blue, white or purple) over a dalmatic or alb (often with embroidered or fringed border). High embroidered collar.</p> <p>Usually holds golden crozier.</p>	<p>19b 19c 19d (very damaged) 21a (face replaced) 21b (very damaged) 21d 22c (head replaced) 22d (very damaged) 23a (face replaced) 23c</p>	 <p>Panel 21d</p>

2.2 Table showing the current grouping of panels within the four phases of St Cuthbert's life.

Phase (Textual analogue)	Panel and Subject Identification (Textual Analogue, Chapter)	No. of extant panels
Infant (<i>Libellus</i>)	7a – Birth (<i>Libellus</i> , 7) 7b – Baptism (<i>Libellus</i> , 9) 9c – Neighbours react to birth (<i>Libellus</i> , 7)	3
Child (<i>Libellus</i> & VP)	7c – Cuthbert’s miraculous fire (<i>Libellus</i> , 20) 8b – Calf prediction (<i>Libellus</i> , 10) 8d – Cuthbert defeats thieves through prayer (<i>Libellus</i> , 20) 9b – Cuthbert’s miraculous robes/forbid Layks & plays (<i>Libellus</i> , 23 and VP, 1) 11b – Cuthbert introduced to bishop (<i>Libellus</i> , 9?) 21c – Cuthbert introduced to bishop (<i>Libellus</i> , 9?)	6
Youth (VP)	9d – Greeting angel (VP, 2) 9e – Angel heals knee (VP, 2) 10b – Cuthbert calms storm (VP, 3) 20a – Talking to angel (VP, 2) 22a – Monks praying for brethren on boats (VP, 3)	5
Young man (VP)	7d – Watching sheep (& St Aidan’s soul) (VP, 4) 10a – Aidan’s death (VP, 4) 10c – Joining monastery (VP, 6) 10d – Horse finds food (VP, 5)	4
Monk (VP)	11c – Cuthbert fetches bread (VP, 7) 11d – Boisil’s prophecy (VP, 8) 13a – Cuthbert Preaching (VP, 9) 13b – Eagle provides fish (VP, 12) 13c – Cuthbert shares fish (VP, 12) 13d – Cuthbert praying in sea with otters (VP, 10) 13e – Cuthbert preaching (VP, 22) 14a – Cuthbert warns congregation against distraction (VP, 13) 14b – Blessing water (VP, 25) 14d – Phantom fire (VP, 13) 14e – Sea provides plank (VP, 21) 15a – Cuthbert predicts provision of food (VP, 11) 15b – Cuthbert teaches monastic rule (VP, 16) 15c – Cuthbert forgives spying monk (VP, 10) 15d – Abbot endorses Cuthbert’s election (VP, 25) 15e – Cuthbert banishes demons from Farne (VP, 17)	29

Phase (Textual analogue)	Panel and Subject Identification (Textual Analogue, Chapter)	No. of extant panels
	16a – Angel helps Cuthbert build on Farne (VP, 17) 16b – Dolphin meat provided (VP, 11) 16c – Sowing miraculous barley (VP, 19) 16d – Cuthbert rebukes crows for eating barley (VP, 19) 16e – Monks helping C build on Farne (VP, 18 or 21) 17a – Rebuking crows (VP, 20) 17b – Crows apologise (VP, 20) 17c – Hildmer asks for help (VP, 15?) 17d – Cuthbert predicts end of storm (VP, 11) 19a – Ecgfrith appoints Cuthbert bishop (VP, 24) 19e – Water heals man (VP, 25) 20c – Hildmer’s wife healed (VP, 15) 22b – Cuthbert washing angel’s feet (VP, 7)	
Bishop (VP)	9a – Cuthbert’s vision of Ecgfrith’s death (VP, 27) 19b – Cuthbert consecrated bishop (VP, 26) 19c – Cuthbert gives money to poor and sick (VP, 26) 19d – Cuthbert feeds and clothes poor and sick (VP, 26) 20b – Ecgfrith’s death (VP, 27) 20e – Woman healed with water blessed by Cuthbert (VP, 29) 21a – Cuthbert heals a child (VP, 33) 21b – Cuthbert’s vision of a soul carried to heaven (VP, 34) 21d – Cuthbert heals a nun (VP, 30) 21e – Cuthbert gives water the taste of wine (VP, 35) 22c – Cuthbert heals a monk whilst dying (VP, 38) 22d – Cuthbert tormented by demons on his deathbed (VP, 37) 23a – Cuthbert’s death (VP, 39) 23b – Cuthbert heals a young man (VP, 32) 23c – Sick healed at Cuthbert’s first tomb (VP, 43/44) 23d – Cuthbert’s body brought to Lindisfarne (VP, 40) 23e – Cuthbert’s shrine (VP, 44)	17

2.3 Table showing the figure types of other characters in the St Cuthbert Window

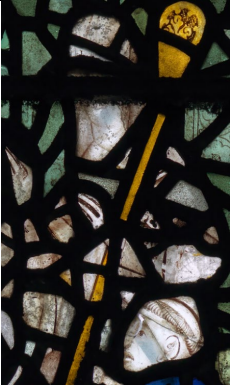


Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Abbess	White habit, wimple and veil. Holding yellow crozier.	21b (damaged, but wimple visible)	 <p>Panel 21b</p>
Abbot	Clean-shaven. Narrow tonsure, yellow or white, sometimes with tuft on forehead; ears visible. Floor-length blue habit, with hood (usually down). Holding yellow crozier.	15d	 <p>Panel 15d</p>
Angel	Mid-length curly yellow hair, clean-shaven, nimbed. Large outspread wings, typically yellow, but occasionally white. Clothing varies based on context: Long-sleeved garment (white, blue or purple) with high collar and contrasting cloak (white, blue or purple) when healing Cuthbert's knee. Blue habit when visiting during Cuthbert's monastic years. White long-sleeved garment and cloak when carrying soul to heaven.	9d 9e 10a 11c 15e 16a 20a 21b (paint loss) 22b 23a	 <p>Panel 9e</p>




Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Archbishop	<p>A yellow and white mitre. Short curled hair, usually white. Clean shaven.</p> <p>Wear a cope or chasuble (can be red, blue, white or purple) over an alb or dalmatic (often with apparel, or jewelled or fringed border). High embroidered collar. Pallium with crossed over garments. Usually holds a yellow cross- staff.</p>	19b (staff top lost)	 <p>Panel 19b</p>
Bedridden Invalid	<p>Sits upright in bed, legs beneath bedcover. Veil over loose hair if female; bare-headed if male. Bare-chested, or wears white, long-sleeved garment.</p>	11d 20c	 <p>Panel 20c</p>
Bishop (equivalent to Cuthbert 'Bishop')	<p>A yellow and white mitre. Short curled hair, usually white. Clean shaven.</p> <p>Wear a cope or chasuble (can be red, blue, white or purple) over an alb or dalmatic (often with apparel, or jewelled or fringed border). High embroidered collar. Usually holds yellow crozier.</p>	<p>Narrative: 7a 7b 8b 10a 11b 19b 20e 21c</p> <p>Non-narrative: 1-2a 1-2e</p>	 <p>Panel 19b</p>


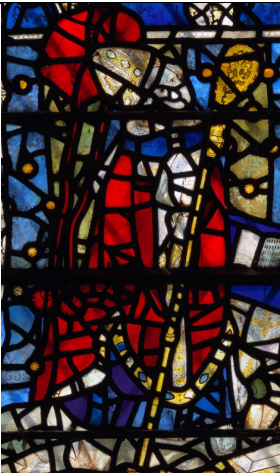

Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Boy (equivalent to Cuthbert 'Child')	Short, with short, straight hair, usually yellow. Wearing a long-sleeved, knee-length tunic, belted at waist; sometimes with sword hanging. Tunic can be patterned or solid colour, sometimes slit up side, or with border along sleeves, collar and skirt edge. Fur or collar sometimes visible at neck, with undergarment visible. Long hose, with sole visible at foot (where intact).	9a 9b 13b 13c	 Panel 9a
Cardinal	Wear the clothing of their lesser rank (i.e. bishop or archbishop). A large, padded red hat, with long red tassels, superimposed over their mitre.	Non-narrative: 1-2b 1-2d	 Panel 1-2b
God	Mid-length, white curled hair and beard, cruciform nimbus. Yellow and white long-sleeved robe and yellow cloak. One hand raised in blessing. Sometimes holding orb.	7a 23a	 Panel 23a




Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
King	<p>Wears yellow crown.</p> <p>Patterned cloak with jewelled border, lined with ermine. Or ermine-lined purple cloak with ermine/fur border and mantle.</p> <p>Belted robe (probably purple) with furred cuffs and collar.</p> <p>(20b shows king dressed in armour, with crown on helmet and red breastplate.)</p>	<p>Narrative:</p> <p>19a (robe and head insertions)</p> <p>20b</p> <p>23e (side of shrine)</p> <p>Non-narrative:</p> <p>3-4a</p> <p>3-4b</p> <p>3-4d</p> <p>3-4e</p>	 <p>Panel 19a</p>
Knight	<p>Dressed in full white and yellow armour with helmet, visor raised to reveal face.</p> <p>Sometimes patterned or coloured breastplate.</p> <p>Sometimes holding shield and sword, axe or crossbow.</p>	20b	 <p>Panel 20b</p>
Layman Type 1a: Peasant?	<p>Long-sleeved, knee-length tunic, (white, white-patterned, blue, red or green). Cinched at waist, no belt visible.</p> <p>Often bareheaded, simple sounded cap, or separate hood over shoulders, drawn up around face.</p> <p>Long hose, in plain matching or contrast colour.</p>	19c 19d 14d	 <p>Panel 14d</p>




Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Layman Type 1b: Sick Peasant	<p>Long-sleeved, knee-length, plain white, sometimes with small patches.</p> <p>Bareheaded, hat or separate hood over shoulders, drawn up with yellow lining visible around face.</p> <p>Sickness indicated by boils; closed eyes for blindness; crutches or sticks for lameness.</p>	19c 19d 23c	 <p>Panel 19c</p>
Layman Type 1c: Shepherd	<p>White, long-sleeved, knee-length tunic, with utensils (cup/knife) hanging from belt. White hood, with yellow border around face and shoulders. Wide-brimmed white hat, sometimes with upturned front edge.</p>	7d (23b seated figure?)	 <p>Panel 7d</p>
Layman Type 1d: Sailor	<p>Bareheaded or simple cap.</p> <p>Plain (blue, green, red), long-sleeved tunic, with narrow collar with v-slit at front. Cinched at waist, no belt visible.</p>	10b 17d 22a	 <p>Panel 10b</p>



Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Layman Type 2a: Male attendant/groom	Short hair and beard. Baggy cap with narrow headband, or chaperon. Plain (white or green), knee-length tunic with long, baggy sleeves and tight cuffs and collar. Contrasting (patterned or coloured) sleeveless tabard over <i>houppelande</i> , with dagged hems at shoulders; probably belted. Long hose in solid colour, with sole visible at foot (where intact).	10d 17c	 Panel 17c
Layman Type 2b: Male attendant/clerk	Cleanshaven or small beard. Bareheaded, or wearing chaperon (simple pleats, or with short, dagged pendants); or hat with wide brim, upturned (sometimes with scalloped edge at front); or hat with wide brim, slit on either side and upturned at back, folding twice at front; or baggy cap with narrow headband. Shin-length <i>houppelande</i> , with long, loose-fitting sleeves and narrow cuffs, with white lining, undershirt cuff often visible. Narrow white collar, with shirt collar beneath. <i>Houppelande</i> plain red, blue, green, or purple; belted. Beneath belt, skirt slit up side with dagged hems; or up front with white hem edging. Long hose in solid contrasting colour (blue, green, white), with sole visible at foot (where intact).	Full-figure: 9b 9e 13a 14b (14d?) 17c 21a 21d 23e Head/torso only: 8b 9a 9c 9b 13a 14b 19c 19d 21e 22c 23b	 Panel 17c

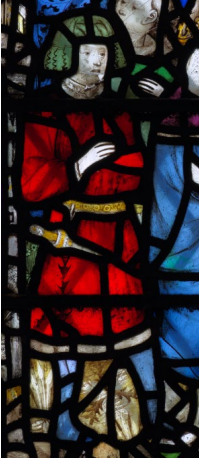


Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Layman Type 2c: Elite male attendant/knightly class?	As for 2b, but with sword hanging from belt.	8b 8d 9d 13e 14e 19a 20c 20e 23b	 Panel 8b
Layman Type 2d: Treasure clerk/merchant/urban elite?	As for 2b, but with money-bag hanging from belt.	14b 21d	 Panel 14b
Layman Type 3a: Male attendant/teacher/advisor?	Mid-length hair and beard, usually white. Hat (green, blue, yellow) with round top and small bobble, and wide, upturned brim. Floor-length robe, with long, baggy sleeves and narrow open cuffs with white edging. White collar. Robe purple, or white patterned with black or yellow, with yellow jewelled hems. Belted, with skirt pleated below belt. Cloak in contrasting colour (red, white purple).	9d 10b 11b 15c (no hat) 20c 21c (damaged) 21e (damaged)	 Panel 20a

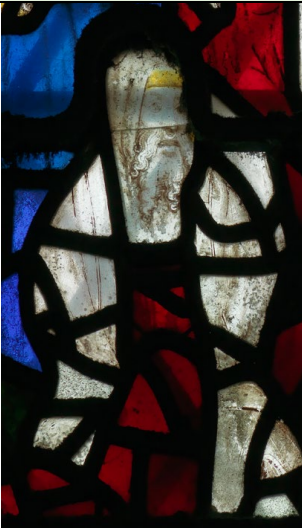

Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
<p>Layman Type 3b:</p> <p>Type 3a but travelling?</p>	<p>Mid-length hair and beard, usually white. Hat (green, yellow) with round top and small bobble, and wide, upturned brim.</p> <p>Cloak, plain (red or white) or patterned white and yellow cloak, with patterned yellow hems. Sometimes undergarment with hood drawn up under hat.</p>	<p>13a 15c 20a 20e 23b</p>	 <p>Panel 23b</p>
<p>Layman Type 4a:</p> <p>Lower nobility? Merchant class?</p>	<p>Short hair, usually clean-shaven. Hat (white) with wide brim, slit on either side and upturned at back, folding twice at front; or straw hat with upturned brim.</p> <p>Shin-length white-lined surcoat (red, green or patterned white), with long sleeves, slit open partway and arms protruding in undergarment of baggy white, yellow-patterned sleeves with tight-fitting cuffs. Belted, with skirt pleated below belt; sword hanging.</p> <p>Long hose in contrasting colour.</p>	<p>10a 19e 21b (bare-headed)</p>	 <p>Panel 19e</p>


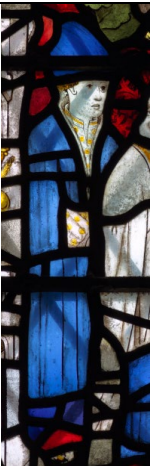

Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
<p>Layman Type 4b: Lower nobility? Merchant class?</p>	<p>Mid-length hair and beard, white. Bareheaded.</p> <p>Ankle-length robe (white with yellow pattern), with long baggy sleeves and tight-fitting cuffs. Belted, with skirt pleated below belt; money-bag hanging.</p> <p>Cloak, purple, draped over arms and across body.</p>	14a	 <p>Panel 14a</p>
<p>Layman Type 4c: Same as 3a or doctor/academic?</p>	<p>Short hair, clean-shaven. Tall, bulbous hat with thick headband.</p> <p>Floor-length blue surcoat, with long, sleeves slit open to reveal baggy white, yellow-patterned sleeves with tight-fitting cuffs. Belted, with skirt pleated below belt. V-necked, with white hem, open at collar to reveal white and yellow-patterned robe with collar.</p>	10a	 <p>Panel 10a</p>
<p>Layman Type 4d: Nobility?</p>	<p>Mid-length hair and beard, white. Hat over hood.</p> <p>Floor-length robe (white with yellow pattern), with long baggy sleeves and tight-fitting cuffs. Belted, with skirt pleated below belt.</p> <p>Cloak, blue, draped over arms and across body.</p>	13e	 <p>13e</p>


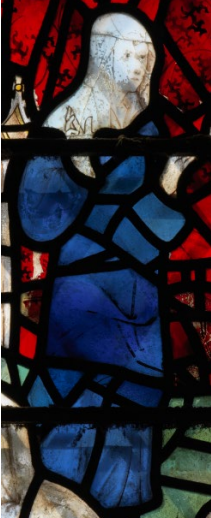

Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Laywoman Type 1: Peasant	<p>Hair covered by veil with straight edges, usually one side wrapped around neck.</p> <p>Floor-length, belted gown with baggy sleeves, sometimes with fur cuffs. Usually plain white.</p>	14d 9c	 <p>Panel 9c</p>
Laywoman Type 2: Female Servant	<p>Hair covered by veil with scalloped edges, usually open to reveal neck of gown.</p> <p>Floor-length, belted gown with baggy sleeves, sometimes with fur cuffs. Usually plain white, blue or green. Sometimes two-tone, divided vertically.</p>	7a 7b 9c 19e 21c	 <p>Panel 9c</p>
Laywoman Type 3: Merchant class?	<p>Hair bound in side buns (but not horned), covered by veil, often with scalloped edges, wrapped across neck or open to reveal neck of gown.</p> <p>Floor-length, belted gown with baggy sleeves, sometimes with fur cuffs and collar. Usually plain white, blue or green.</p>	23b	 <p>Panel 23b</p>



Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
<p>Laywoman Type 4: Noblewoman</p>	<p>Horned headdress. V-necked, long-sleeved gown with long belt, fur at neck and wrists. Sometimes skirt drawn up at front to reveal underdress of contrasting colour, perhaps indicating particularly high status.</p> <p>If in bed, hair is loose under a veil and white long-sleeved garment is worn.</p>	<p>7a 7b 7c 8d 13e 19e (left of priest, heavily patched) 20e 21a 21c (head and upper torso insertions) 21d</p>	 <p>Panel 13e</p>
<p>Monk (equivalent to Cuthbert 'Monk')</p>	<p>Clean-shaven. Narrow tonsure, yellow or white, sometimes with tuft on forehead; ears visible.</p> <p>Floor-length blue habit, with hood (usually down).</p>	<p>10a (holding book) 11d, 13b, 13c 13e, 14a, 14b, 14e 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 16b, 16d, 16e, 17d, 19a, 19c, 19d, 20c, 21a, 21b, 21e, 22a, 22b, 22c, 23a, 23d, 23e</p>	 <p>Panel 15a</p>






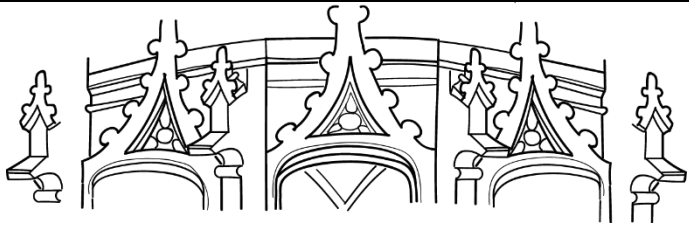
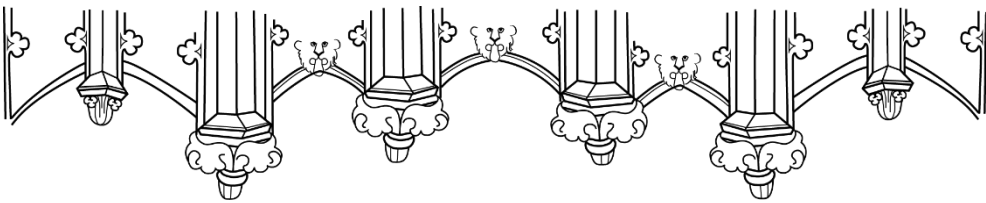
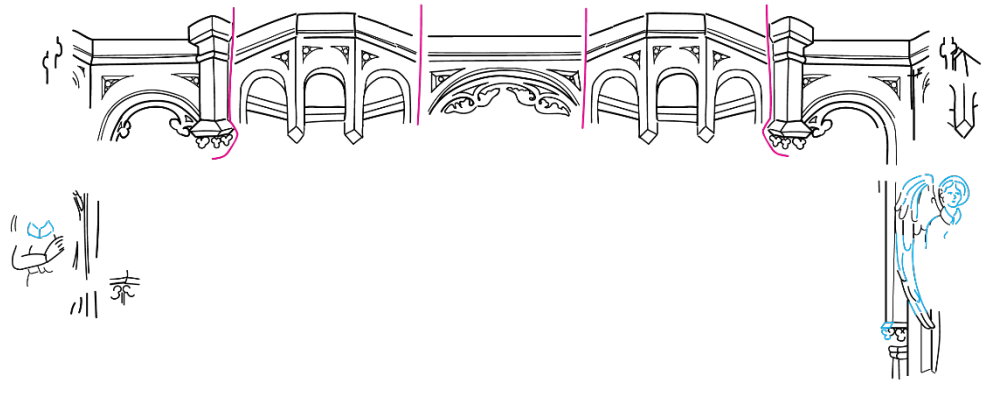
Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
<p>Nun</p>	<p>White habit with white wimple and veil. Sometimes with blue cloak.</p>	<p>21d (blue patching)</p>	 <p>Panel 21d</p>
<p>Priest</p>	<p>Clean-shaven. Small tonsure, typically white hair, longer at the sides, partially or totally covering the ears.</p> <p>Floor-length, long-sleeved hooded white cassock, hood down. Sometimes with hood rolled into thick collar, and chasuble or cloak (red or blue) over; or a cloak with separate hood, usually in matching colour, with furred lower hem and rolled into thick white collar.</p> <p>Stole worn during ceremonies.</p>	<p>7b 10a 13e 19b 19e 20e (mitre erroneous) 21a 21b 21c 21d 21e 22c 23a 23d</p>	 <p>Panel 10a</p>

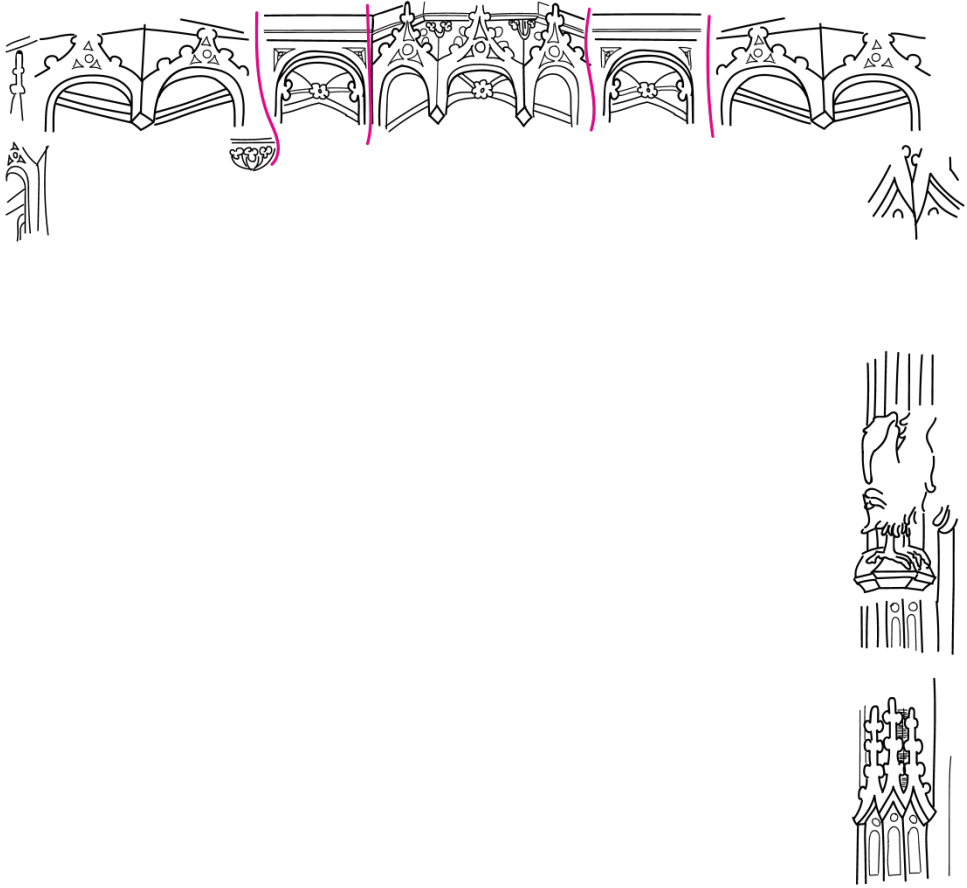
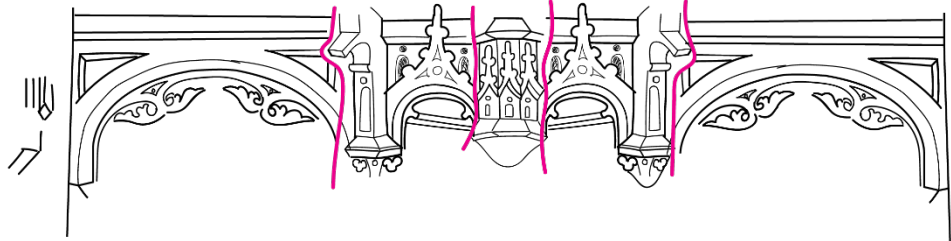
Figure type	Key features	Panels	Example in St Cuthbert Window
Soul	Short-haired and clean-shaven. Naked, praying, being carried by angel(s).	10a 21b (figure lost) 23a (figure lost)	 <p data-bbox="1002 683 1129 714">Panel 10a</p>
Young child	Small, long-sleeved garment. Short hair or cap matching garment.	9b 21a	 <p data-bbox="1002 1227 1129 1261">Panel 9b</p>
Young Man (equivalent to Cuthbert 'Young Man')	<p data-bbox="416 1272 778 1384">Adult height. Short/mid-length hair and beard, both white.</p> <p data-bbox="416 1429 778 1659">Wearing a long-sleeved, floor-length or knee-length tunic, with fur at neck and wrists and ornamented collar of undergarment visible. Belted at waist.</p>	23b (some damage and paint loss)	 <p data-bbox="1002 1740 1129 1771">Panel 23b</p>

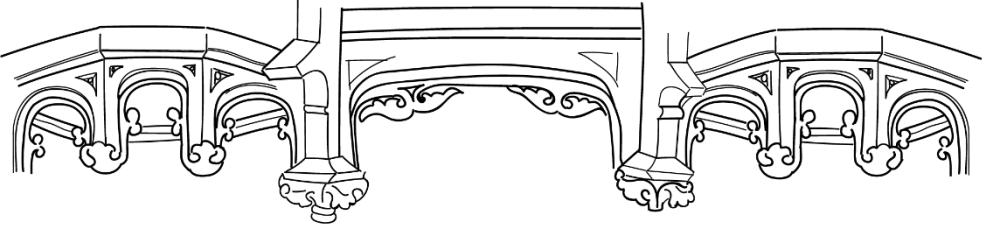

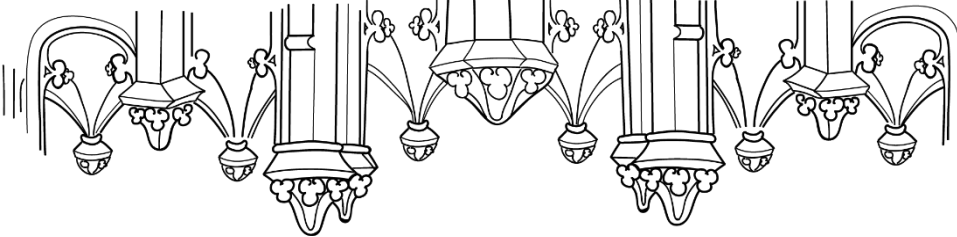
Appendix 3. Architectural Frames


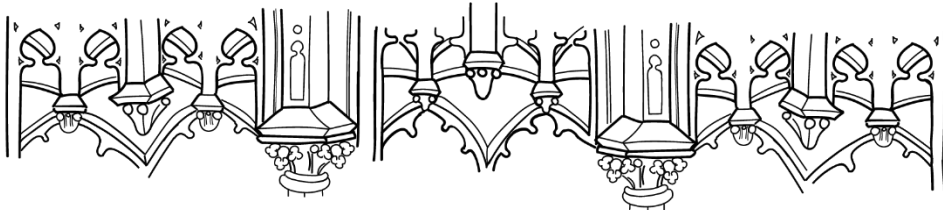
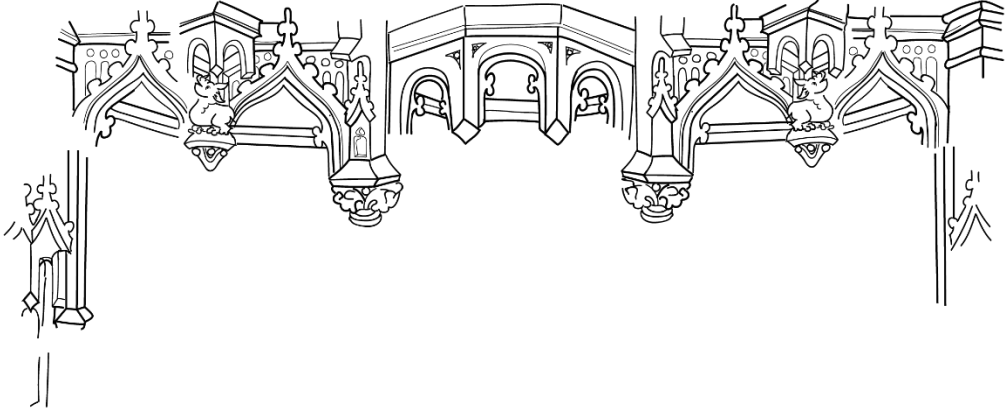
3.1 Table of architectural canopy types

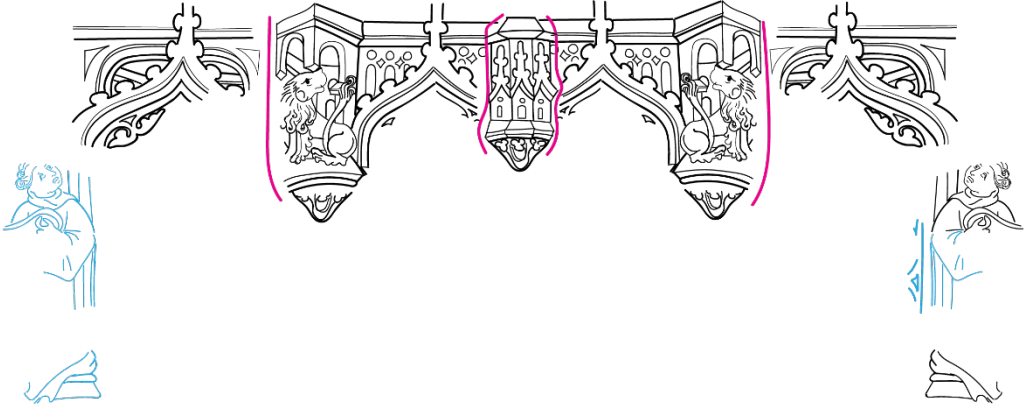


Reconstruction drawings have been made of the architectural frames for the narrative panels (Sections A-C). The probable original appearance of each canopy type, based on firm evidence drawn from the extant panels, is shown in black. Conjectural elements, for which no extant glass survives, are shown in blue. Where the possible locations of original leadlines are evident, or obscure the detail of the architectural canopy, they have been shown in pink. Some details of extant vertical borders have been included; where the evidence only survives on one side, the inferred details of the other side are shown in blue.

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
A.ii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	24a, 24b, 24c, 24d, 24e	Row 24
A.i		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	7a, 7b, 9c, 11b, 21c	Row 23
B		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels


Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
	7c, 8b, 8d, 9b 16c, 16d, 17a, 17b (poss. 14e)	Row 22 Row 14
C		
	9d, 9e, 10b, 20a, 22a	Row 21
D		
	Panels 7d, 10a, 10c, 10d, 22b 15b, 15e, 16a, 16e (poss. 14e)	Probable location(s) of panels Row 20 Row 15

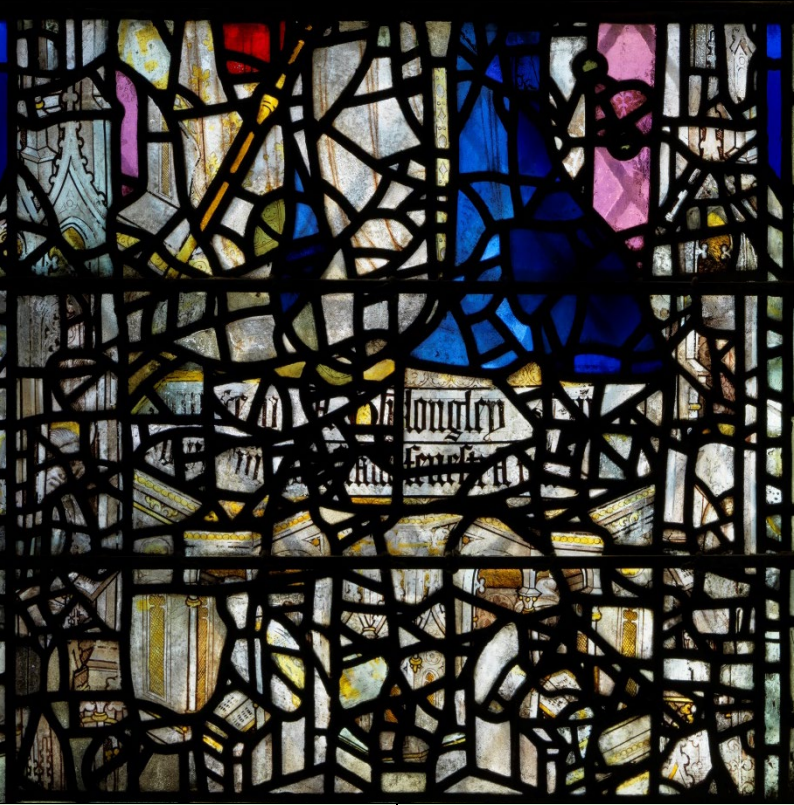

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
E		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	11c, 11d, 13d, 15c 13a, 13c, 14d, 17c, 20c	Row 19 Row 16
F.ii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	18a, 18b, 18c, 18d, 18e	Row 18
F.i		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	14a, 15a, 16b, 17d, 13b	Row 17

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
G.ii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	12a, 12b, 12c, 12d, 12e	Row 12
G.i		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	13e, 14b, 19a, 19e	Row 11
H		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	15d, 19b, 19c, 19d, 21a, 21b, 22c, 22d, 23b	Row 10 Row 8


Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
I		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	9a, 20b, 20e, 21d, 21e	Row 9
J		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	23a, 23c, 23d, 23e	Row 7
K.vi		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	6a, 6b, 6c 6d, 6e	Row 6

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
K.v		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	5a, 5b, 5d, 5e	Row 5
K.iv		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	4a, 4b, 4d, 4e	Row 4

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
K.iii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	3a, 3b, 3d, 3e	Row 3
K.ii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	2a, 2b, 2d, 2e	Row 2

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
K.i		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e	Row 1
L.iv		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	5c	Row 5

Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
L.iii		
	Panels 4c	Probable location(s) of panels Row 4
L.ii		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels






Type	Reconstruction Drawing/Image	
	3c	Row 3
L.i		
	Panels	Probable location(s) of panels
	2c	Row 2

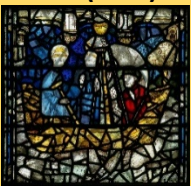







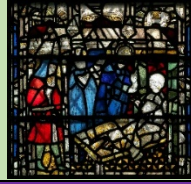




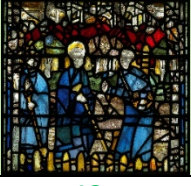
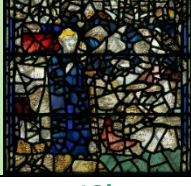
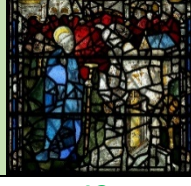
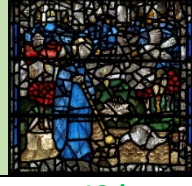
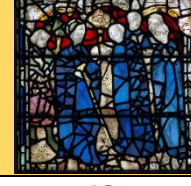
3.2. Diagram showing the reconstruction of the St Cuthbert Window's narrative based on canopy type groupings










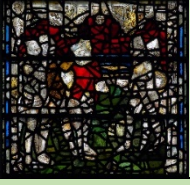





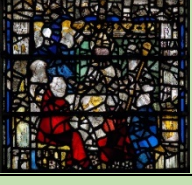

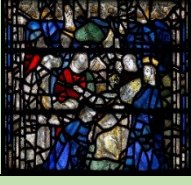




Key to diagram

	Canopy type for row
	Strong evidence of canopy type
	Limited evidence of canopy type
	Possible missing panel location
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)

Section A					
A.ii	24a	24b	24c	24d	24e
A.i	23a 9c (L: 5 or 7) 	23b 7a (L: 7) 	23c 7b (L:9) 	23d 11b (L:9?) 	23e 21c (L:9?)
		22b 8b (L:10) 	22c 8d (L:20) 	22d 7c (L:20) 	22e 9b (L:23/B1)
B	23a 				
C	21a 9d (B:2) 	21b 20a (B:2) 	21c 9e (B:2) 	21d 10b (B:3) 	21e 22a (B:3)
		20a 7d (B:4) 	20b 10a (B:4) 	20c 10d (B:5) 	20d 10c (B:6)
D					20e 22b (B: 7 or 18)

Section A					
E	19a 11c (B:7)	19b 11d (B:8)	19c 15c (B:10)	19d 13a (B:9)	19e 13d (B:10)
					



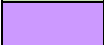

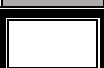
Section B					
F.ii	18a	18b	18c	18d	18e
F.i	17a 17d (B:11)	17b 15a (B:11)	17c 16b (B:11)	17d 13b (B:12)	17e 14a (B:13)
					
E	16a 13c (B:12)	16b 14d (B:13)	16c	16d 17c (B:15)	16e 20c (B:15)
					
D	15a 15b (B:16)	15b 15e (B:17)	15c 16a (B:17)	15d 16e (B:17 or 21)	15e
					
B	14a 16c (B:19)	14b 16d (B:19)	14c 17a (B:20)	14d 17b (B:20)	14e 14e
					
	13a	13b	13c	13d	13e


















Section C					
G.ii	12a	12b	12c	12d	12e
G.i	11a 13e (B:22)	11b	11c 19a (B:24)	11d 14b (B:25)	11e 19e (B:25)
					
H	10a 15d (B:25)	10b 19b (B:26)	10c 19c (B:26)	10d 19d (B:26)	10e
					
I	9a 9a (B:27)	9b 20b (B:27)	9c 20e (B:29 or 31)	9d 21d (B:30)	9e 21e (B:35)
					
H	8a 23b (B:28)	8b 21a (B:33)	8c 21b (B:34)	8d 22d (B:37)	8e 22c (B:38)
					
J	7a 23a (B:39)	7b 23d (B:40)	7c 23c (B:43/44)	7d	7e 23e (B:44)
					













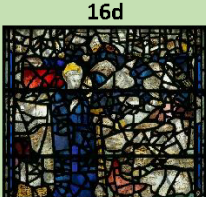
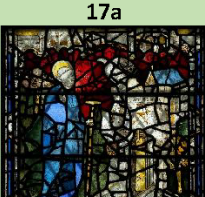

Appendix 4. Possible Reconstructions of the Original Narrative Sequence in the St Cuthbert Window



















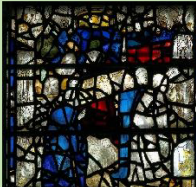
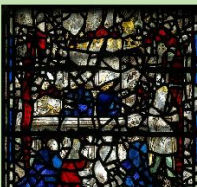
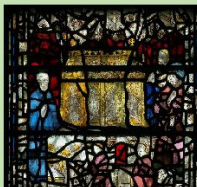
4.1 Diagram showing the reconstruction of the narrative sequence of the St Cuthbert Window, using securely-identified panels only

Key to diagram

	Limited evidence of canopy type
	Strong evidence of canopy type
	Possible location of missing panel
	Originally plain-glazed
	Paired or grouped panels
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)







Section A				
<p>23a Cuthbert's Birth (L:7) 7a</p> 	<p>23b Neighbours react to birth (L:7) 9c</p> 	<p>23c Cuthbert's baptism (L:9) 7b</p> 	<p>23d</p>	<p>23e</p>
<p>22a Cuthbert's vision of unborn calf (L:10) 8b</p> 	<p>22b</p>	<p>22c Cuthbert prays to defeat thieves (L:20) 8d</p> 	<p>22d Cuthbert's miraculous fire (L:20) 7c</p> 	<p>22e Play forbidden & miraculous robes (L:23/B:1) 9b</p> 
<p>21a Angel arrives (B:2) 9d</p> 	<p>21b Angel speaks to Cuthbert (B:2) 20a</p> 	<p>21c Angel heals knee (B:2) 9e</p> 	<p>21d Cuthbert calms storm (B:3) 10b</p> 	<p>21e Monks pray in storm (B:3) 22a</p> 
<p>20a Cuthbert sees St Aidan's soul (B:4) 7d</p> 	<p>20b St Aidan's death (B:4) 10a</p> 	<p>20c Horse finds food (B:5) 10d</p> 	<p>20d Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (B:6) 10c</p> 	<p>20e Cuthbert washes angel's feet (B: 7) 22b</p> 
<p>19a Cuthbert fetches bread (B:7) 11c</p> 	<p>19b Boisil's prophecy (B:8) 11d</p> 	<p>19c Cuthbert preaching (B:9) 13a</p> 	<p>19d Cuthbert prays in sea & otters (B:10) 13d</p> 	<p>19e Cuthbert forgives spying monk (B:10?) 15c</p> 


Section B					
<p>17a Cuthbert predicts storm's end (B:11) 17d</p> 	<p>17b</p>	<p>17c Dolphin meat provided (B:11) 16b</p> 	<p>17d</p>	<p>17e Cuthbert predicts & eagle brings fish (B:12) 13b</p> 	
<p>16a Cuthbert shares fish (B:12) 13c</p> 	<p>16b Cuthbert drives away demon & false fire (B:13) 14d</p> 	<p>16c</p>	<p>16d Hildmer asks for help (B:15) 17c</p> 		<p>16e Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife (B:15) 20c</p> 
<p>15a Cuthbert teaches monastic rule (B:16) 15b</p> 	<p>15b Cuthbert banishes Farne demons (B:17) 15e</p> 	<p>15c Angel helps Cuthbert building (B:17) 16a</p> 	<p>15d</p>	<p>15e Cuthbert & monks build using plank (B:21) 16e</p> 	
<p>14a Cuthbert & monks sow barley (B:19) 16c</p> 	<p>14b Cuthbert rebukes crows eating crop (B:19) 16d</p> 	<p>14c Cuthbert rebukes crows taking roof (B:20) 17a</p> 	<p>14d Crows apologise (B:20) 17b</p> 	<p>14e</p>	
<p>13a</p>	<p>13b</p>	<p>13c</p>	<p>13d</p>	<p>13e</p>	

Section C				
<p>11a Cuthbert preaching (B:22) 13e</p> 	<p>11b</p>	<p>11c Ecgrith appoints Cuthbert bishop (B:24) 19a</p> 	<p>11d Cuthbert blesses healing water (B:25) 14b</p> 	<p>11e Water heals Baldhelm (B:25) 19e</p> 
<p>10a Abbot endorses election (B: 25) 15d</p> 	<p>10b</p>	<p>10c Cuthbert consecrated (B:26) 19b</p> 	<p>10d Cuthbert gives money to sick (B:26) 19c</p> 	<p>10e Cuthbert feeds & clothes poor (B:26) 19d</p> 
<p>9a Cuthbert sees Ecgrith's death(B:27) 9a</p> 	<p>9b Ecgrith's death (B:27) 20b</p> 	<p>9c Woman healed by blessed water (B:29) 20e</p> 	<p>9d Cuthbert heals a nun (B:30) 21d</p> 	<p>9e Cuthbert gives water wine taste (B:35) 21e</p> 
<p>8a Cuthbert heals a young man (B:32) 23b</p> 	<p>8b Cuthbert heals a child (B:33) 21a</p> 	<p>8c Cuthbert sees soul ascend (B: 34) 21b</p> 	<p>8d Demons torment Cuthbert (B:37) 22d</p> 	<p>8e Cuthbert heals a monk (B:38) 22c</p> 
<p>7a Cuthbert's death (B:39) 23a</p> 	<p>7b Body taken to Lindisfarne (B:40) 23d</p> 	<p>7c Cuthbert's first tomb (B:40) 23c</p> 	<p>7d</p>	<p>7e Cuthbert's shrine (B:44) 23e</p> 






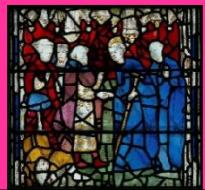






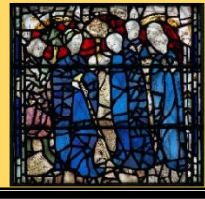



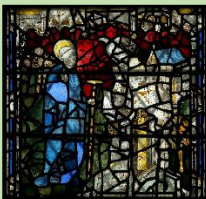

4.2 Diagram showing the reconstruction of the narrative sequence of the St Cuthbert Window, with securely-identified panels and the probable locations of the remaining panels

Key

	Limited evidence of canopy type
	Strong evidence of canopy type
	Probable location of missing panel
	Panel not grouped according to canopy evidence
	Originally plain-glazed
	Paired or grouped panels
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Confirmed subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)
(B:1?)	Most likely subject of panel

Section A				
<p>23a Cuthbert's Birth (L:7) 7a</p> 	<p>23b Neighbours react to birth (L:7) 9c</p> 	<p>23c Cuthbert's baptism (L:9) 7b</p> 	<p>23d Cuthbert meets bishop (L:?) 21c</p> 	<p>23e Cuthbert meets bishop (L:9?) 11b</p> 
<p>22a Cuthbert's vision of unborn calf (L:10) 8b</p> 	<p>22b Missing panel (L: Cuthbert & mother leaving Bishop?)</p>	<p>22c Cuthbert prays to defeat thieves (L:20) 8d</p> 	<p>22d Cuthbert's miraculous fire (L:20) 7c</p> 	<p>22e Play forbidden & miraculous robes (L:23/B:1) 9b</p> 
<p>21a Angel arrives (B:2) 9d</p> 	<p>21b Angel speaks to Cuthbert (B:2) 20a</p> 	<p>21c Angel heals knee (B:2) 9e</p> 	<p>21d Cuthbert calms storm (B:3) 10b</p> 	<p>21e Monks pray in storm (B:3) 22a</p> 
<p>20a Cuthbert sees St Aidan's soul (B:4) 7d</p> 	<p>20b St Aidan's death (B:4) 10a</p> 	<p>20c Horse finds food (B:5) 10d</p> 	<p>20d Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (B:6) 10c</p> 	<p>20e Cuthbert washes angel's feet (B: 7) 22b</p> 
<p>19a Cuthbert fetches bread (B:7) 11c</p> 	<p>19b Boisil's prophecy (B:8) 11d</p> 	<p>19c Cuthbert preaching (B:9) 13a</p> 	<p>19d Cuthbert prays in sea & otters (B:10) 13d</p> 	<p>19e Cuthbert forgives spying monk (B:10?) 15c</p> 

Section B

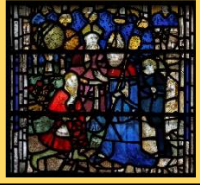
<p>17a Cuthbert predicts storm's end (B:11) 17d</p> 	<p>17b Cuthbert predicts provisions (B:11) 15a</p> 	<p>17c Dolphin meat provided (B:11) 16b</p> 	<p>17d Cuthbert predicts & eagle brings fish (B:12) 13b</p> 	<p>17e Cuthbert shares fish (B:12) 13c</p> 
<p>16a Cuthbert warns congregation (B:13?) 14a</p> 	<p>16b Cuthbert drives away demon & false fire (B:13) 14d</p> 	<p>16c Missing panel (B: Chapter 14? Cuthbert extinguishes real fire through prayer)</p>	<p>16d Hildmer asks for help (B:15) 17c</p> 	<p>16e Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife (B:15) 20c</p> 
<p>15a Cuthbert teaches monastic rule (B:16) 15b</p> 	<p>15b Cuthbert banishes Farne demons (B:17) 15e</p> 	<p>15c Angel helps Cuthbert building (B:17) 16a</p> 	<p>15d Sea provides plank (B: 21) 14e</p> 	<p>15e Cuthbert & monks build using plank (B: 21) 16e</p> 
<p>14a Cuthbert & monks sow barley (B:19) 16c</p> 	<p>14b Cuthbert rebukes crows eating crop (B:19) 16d</p> 	<p>14c Cuthbert rebukes crows taking roof (B:20) 17a</p> 	<p>14d Crows apologise (B:20) 17b</p> 	<p>14e Missing panel (B: Chapter 18? Cuthbert digs water from rock)</p>
<p>13a</p>	<p>13b</p>	<p>13c</p>	<p>13d</p>	<p>13e</p>









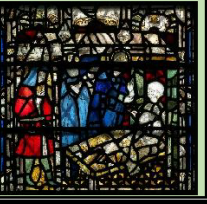


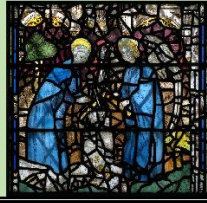
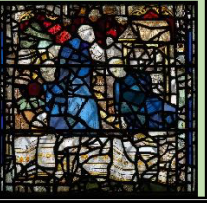
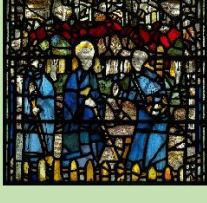



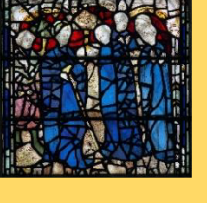
Section C				
<p>11a Cuthbert preaching (B:22) 13e</p> 	<p>11b Missing panel (B: Chapter 23? Cuthbert's girdle heals Aelflaede)</p>	<p>11c Ecgrith appoints Cuthbert bishop (B:24) 19a</p> 	<p>11d Cuthbert blesses healing water (B:25) 14b</p> 	<p>11e Water heals Baldhelm (B:25) 19e</p> 
<p>10a Abbot endorses election (B: 25) 15d</p> 	<p>10b Missing panel (B: Chapter 24? Synod elects Cuthbert as bishop)</p>	<p>10c Cuthbert consecrated (B:26) 19b</p> 	<p>10d Cuthbert gives money to sick (B:26) 19c</p> 	<p>10e Cuthbert feeds & clothes poor (B:26) 19d</p> 
<p>9a Cuthbert sees Ecgrith's death(B:27) 9a</p> 	<p>9b Ecgrith's death (B:27) 20b</p> 	<p>9c Woman healed by blessed water (B:29) 20e</p> 	<p>9d Cuthbert heals a nun (B:30) 21d</p> 	<p>9e Cuthbert gives water wine taste (B:35) 21e</p> 
<p>8a Cuthbert heals a young man (B:32) 23b</p> 	<p>8b Cuthbert heals a child (B:33) 21a</p> 	<p>8c Cuthbert sees soul ascend (B: 34) 21b</p> 	<p>8d Demons torment Cuthbert (B:37) 22d</p> 	<p>8e Cuthbert heals a monk (B:38) 22c</p> 
<p>7a Cuthbert's death (B:39) 23a</p> 	<p>7b Body taken to Lindisfarne (B:40) 23d</p> 	<p>7c Cuthbert's first tomb (B:40) 23c</p> 	<p>7d Missing panel (B:42? Opening of first tomb)</p>	<p>7e Cuthbert's shrine (B:44) 23e</p> 

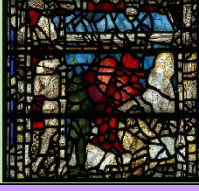
4.3 Diagram showing alternative reconstruction of the narrative sequence of the St Cuthbert Window

Key to diagram

	Limited evidence of canopy type
	Strong evidence of canopy type
	Probable location of missing panel
	Panel not grouped according to canopy evidence
	Originally plain-glazed
	Paired or grouped panels
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number
(B:1)	Confirmed subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's VP, L = <i>Libellus</i>)
(B:1?)	Most likely subject of panel

Section A				
<p>23a Cuthbert's Birth (L:7) 7a</p> 	<p>23b Neighbours react to birth (L:7) 9c</p> 	<p>23c Cuthbert's baptism (L:9) 7b</p> 	<p>23d Cuthbert meets bishop (L:?) 21c</p> 	<p>23e Cuthbert meets bishop (L:9?) 11b</p> 
<p>22a Cuthbert's vision of unborn calf (L:10) 8b</p> 	<p>22b Missing panel (L: Cuthbert & mother leaving Bishop?)</p>	<p>22c Cuthbert prays to defeat thieves (L:20) 8d</p> 	<p>22d Cuthbert's miraculous fire (L:20) 7c</p> 	<p>22e Play forbidden & miraculous robes (L:23/B:1) 9b</p> 
<p>21a Angel arrives (B:2) 9d</p> 	<p>21b Angel speaks to Cuthbert (B:2) 20a</p> 	<p>21c Angel heals knee (B:2) 9e</p> 	<p>21d Cuthbert calms storm (B:3) 10b</p> 	<p>21e Monks pray in storm (B:3) 22a</p> 
<p>20a Cuthbert sees St Aidan's soul (B:4) 7d</p> 	<p>20b St Aidan's death (B:4) 10a</p> 	<p>20c Horse finds food (B:5) 10d</p> 	<p>20d Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (B:6) 10c</p> 	<p>20e Cuthbert washes angel's feet (B: 7) 22b</p> 
<p>19a Cuthbert fetches bread (B:7) 11c</p> 	<p>19b Boisil's prophecy (B:8) 11d</p> 	<p>19c Cuthbert preaching (B:9) 13a</p> 	<p>19d Cuthbert prays in sea & otters (B:10) 13d</p> 	<p>19e Cuthbert forgives spying monk (B:10?) 15c</p> 

Section B				
<p>17a Cuthbert predicts storm's end (B:11) 17d</p> 	<p>17b Cuthbert predicts provisions (B:11) 15a</p> 	<p>17c Dolphin meat provided (B:11) 16b</p> 	<p>17d Cuthbert preaching? (B:12?) 14a</p> 	<p>17e Cuthbert predicts & eagle brings fish (B:12) 13b</p> 
<p>16a Cuthbert shares fish (B:12) 13c</p> 	<p>16b Cuthbert drives away demon & false fire (B:13) 14d</p> 	<p>16c Missing panel (B: Chapter 14? Cuthbert extinguishes real fire through prayer)</p>	<p>16d Hildmer asks for help (B:15) 17c</p> 	<p>16e Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife (B:15) 20c</p> 
<p>15a Cuthbert teaches monastic rule (B:16) 15b</p> 	<p>15b Cuthbert banishes Farne demons (B:17) 15e</p> 	<p>15c Angel helps Cuthbert building (B:17) 16a</p> 	<p>15d Missing panel (B: Chapter 21? Sea provides plank)</p>	<p>15e Cuthbert & monks build using plank (B: 21) 16e</p> 
<p>14a Cuthbert & monks sow barley (B:19) 16c</p> 	<p>14b Cuthbert rebukes crows eating crop (B:19) 16d</p> 	<p>14c Cuthbert rebukes crows taking roof (B:20) 17a</p> 	<p>14d Crows apologise (B:20) 17b</p> 	<p>14e Cuthbert digs water from rock (B: 18?) 14e</p> 
13a	13b	13c	13d	13e

Section C				
<p>11a Cuthbert preaching (B:22) 13e</p> 	<p>11b Missing panel (B: Chapter 23? Cuthbert's girdle heals Aelflaede)</p>	<p>11c Ecgrith appoints Cuthbert bishop (B:24) 19a</p> 	<p>11d Cuthbert blesses healing water (B:25) 14b</p> 	<p>11e Water heals Baldhelm (B:25) 19e</p> 
<p>10a Abbot endorses election (B: 25) 15d</p> 	<p>10b Cuthbert consecrated (B:26) 19b</p> 	<p>10c Cuthbert gives money to sick (B:26) 19c</p> 	<p>10d Cuthbert feeds & clothes poor (B:26) 19d</p> 	<p>10e Missing panel (B: Chapter 28 or 31 or 36?)</p>
<p>9a Cuthbert sees Ecgrith's death(B:27) 9a</p> 	<p>9b Ecgrith's death (B:27) 20b</p> 	<p>9c Woman healed by blessed water (B:29) 20e</p> 	<p>9d Cuthbert heals a nun (B:30) 21d</p> 	<p>9e Cuthbert gives water wine taste (B:35) 21e</p> 
<p>8a Cuthbert heals a young man (B:32) 23b</p> 	<p>8b Cuthbert heals a child (B:33) 21a</p> 	<p>8c Cuthbert sees soul ascend (B: 34) 21b</p> 	<p>8d Demons torment Cuthbert (B:37) 22d</p> 	<p>8e Cuthbert heals a monk (B:38) 22c</p> 
<p>7a Cuthbert's death (B:39) 23a</p> 	<p>7b Body taken to Lindisfarne (B:40) 23d</p> 	<p>7c Cuthbert's first tomb (B:40) 23c</p> 	<p>7d Missing panel (B:42? Opening of first tomb)</p>	<p>7e Cuthbert's shrine (B:44) 23e</p> 

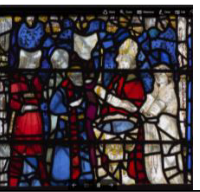
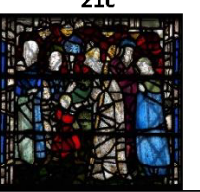
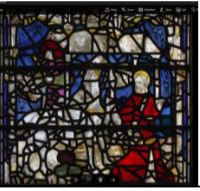

Appendix 5. Proposed Reconstruction of the Original Narrative Sequence in the St Cuthbert Window

5.1 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing subject and panel


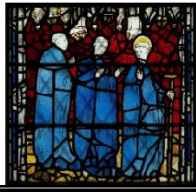



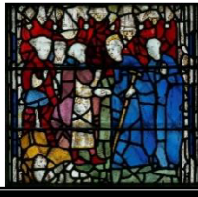

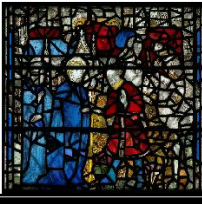
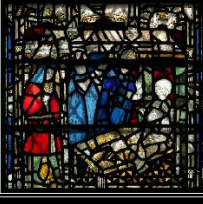

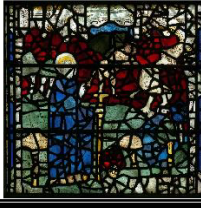

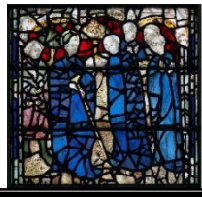

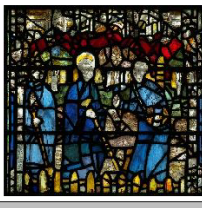



Key







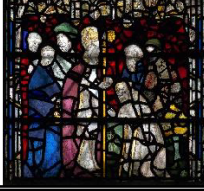
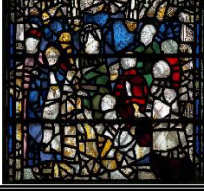



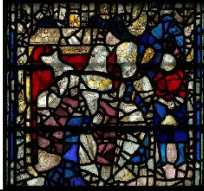

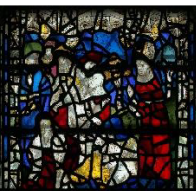



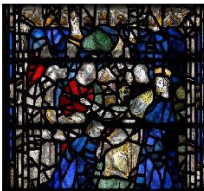
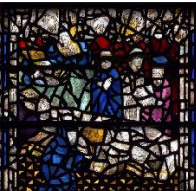
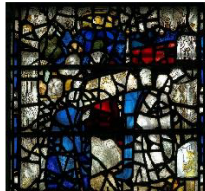
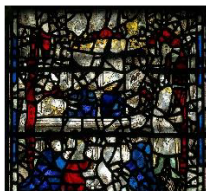
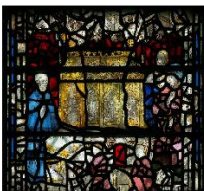
1a	Location within the window
1a	Panel number (current location)
(B:1)	Subject of panel and chapter (B = Bede's <i>Vita Prosaica</i> , L = <i>Libellus</i>)
	Originally plain-glazed
	Paired or grouped panels

Section A

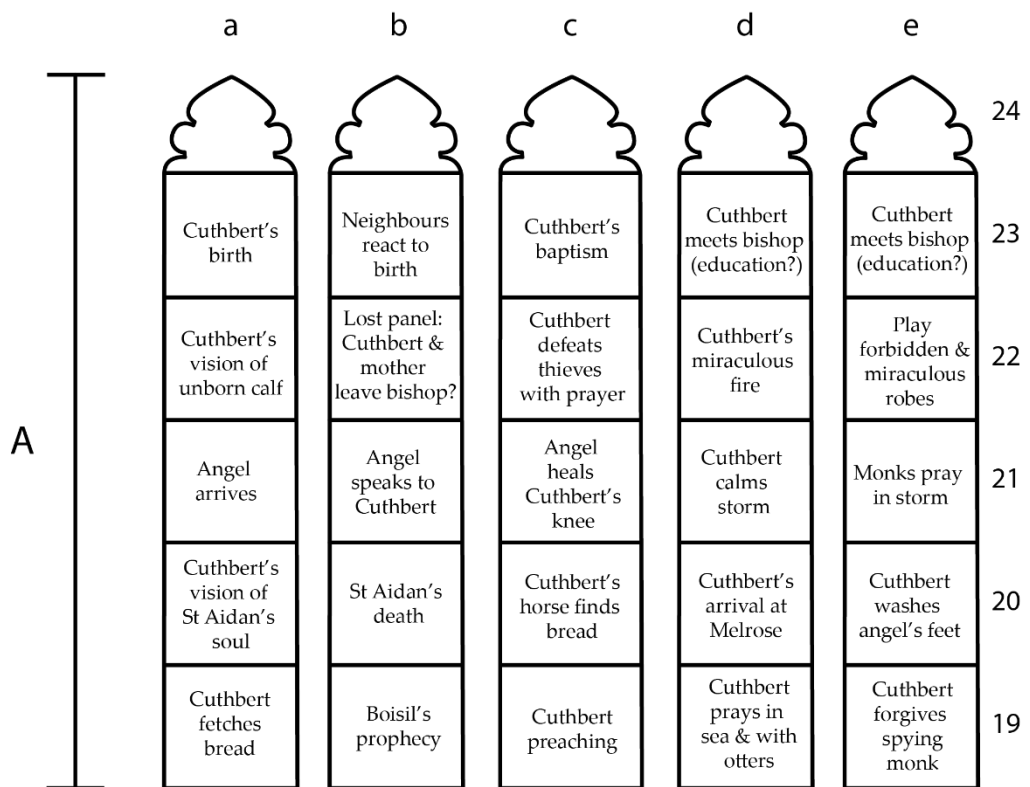
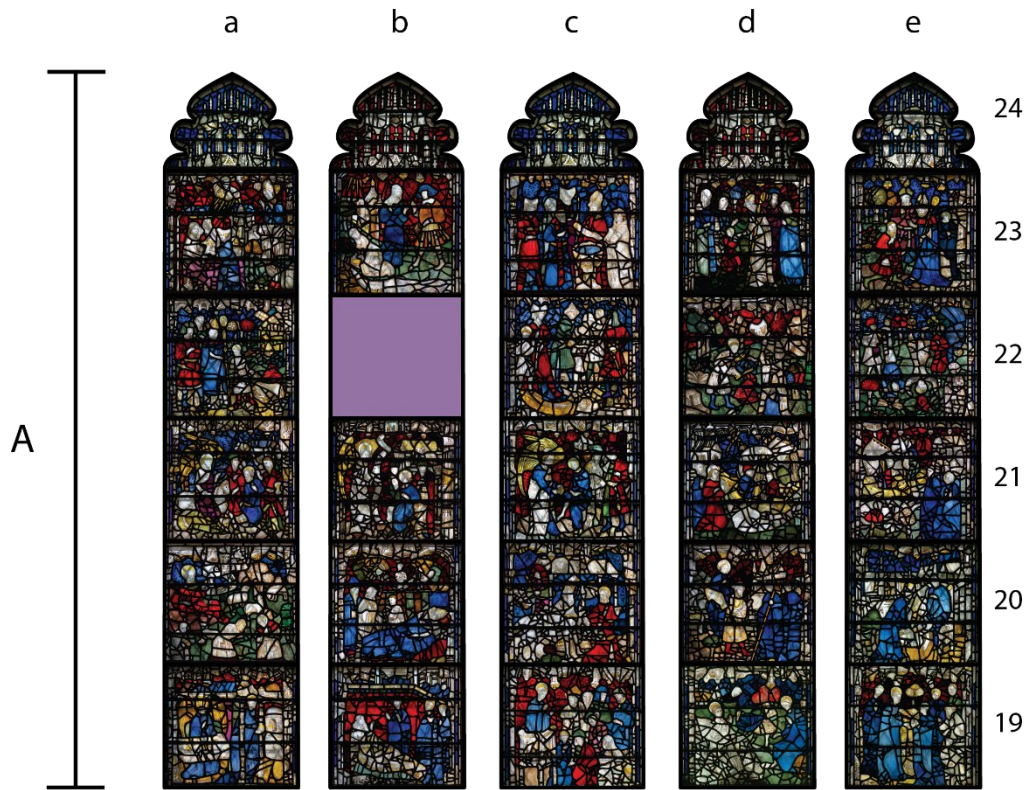
<p>23a Cuthbert's Birth (L:7) 7a</p> 	<p>23b Neighbours react to birth (L:7) 9c</p> 	<p>23c Cuthbert's baptism (L:9) 7b</p> 	<p>23d Cuthbert meets bishop (L:?) 21c</p> 	<p>23e Cuthbert meets bishop (L:9?) 11b</p> 
<p>22a Cuthbert's vision of unborn calf (L:10) 8b</p> 	<p>22b Missing panel (L: Cuthbert & mother leaving Bishop?)</p>	<p>22c Cuthbert prays to defeat thieves (L:20) 8d</p> 	<p>22d Cuthbert's miraculous fire (L:20) 7c</p> 	<p>22e Play forbidden & miraculous robes (L:23/B:1) 9b</p> 
<p>21a Angel arrives (B:2) 9d</p> 	<p>21b Angel speaks to Cuthbert (B:2) 20a</p> 	<p>21c Angel heals Cuthbert's knee (B:2) 9e</p> 	<p>21d Cuthbert calms storm (B:3) 10b</p> 	<p>21e Monks pray in storm (B:3) 22a</p> 
<p>20a Cuthbert sees St Aidan's soul (B:4) 7d</p> 	<p>20b St Aidan's death (B:4) 10a</p> 	<p>20c Horse finds food (B:5) 10d</p> 	<p>20d Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (B:6) 10c</p> 	<p>20e Cuthbert washes angel's feet (B: 7) 22b</p> 
<p>19a Cuthbert fetches bread (B:7) 11c</p> 	<p>19b Boisil's prophecy (B:8) 11d</p> 	<p>19c Cuthbert preaching (B:9) 13a</p> 	<p>19d Cuthbert prays in sea & otters (B:10) 13d</p> 	<p>19e Cuthbert forgives spying monk (B:10) 15c</p> 

Section B

<p>17a Cuthbert predicts storm's end (B:11) 17d</p> 	<p>17b Cuthbert predicts provisions (B:11) 15a</p> 	<p>17c Dolphin meat provided (B:11) 16b</p> 	<p>17d Cuthbert predicts & eagle brings fish (B:12) 13b</p> 	<p>17e Cuthbert shares fish (B:12) 13c</p> 
<p>16a Cuthbert warns congregation (B:13) 14a</p> 	<p>16b Cuthbert drives away demon & false fire (B:13) 14d</p> 	<p>16c Missing panel (B: Chapter 14? Cuthbert extinguishes real fire through prayer)</p>	<p>16d Hildmer asks for help (B:15) 17c</p> 	<p>16e Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife (B:15) 20c</p> 
<p>15a Cuthbert teaches monastic rule (B:16) 15b</p> 	<p>15b Cuthbert banishes Farne demons (B:17) 15e</p> 	<p>15c Angel helps Cuthbert building (B:17) 16a</p> 	<p>15d Digging for water/Sea provides plank (B: 18 or 21) 14e</p> 	<p>15e Cuthbert & monks build using plank (B: 21) 16e</p> 
<p>14a Cuthbert & monks sow barley (B:19) 16c</p> 	<p>14b Cuthbert rebukes crows eating crop (B:19) 16d</p> 	<p>14c Cuthbert rebukes crows taking roof (B:20) 17a</p> 	<p>14d Crows apologise (B:20) 17b</p> 	<p>14e Missing panel (B: Chapter 18? Cuthbert digs water from rock)</p>
<p>3a</p>	<p>13b</p>	<p>13c</p>	<p>13d</p>	<p>13e</p>

Section C				
<p>11a Cuthbert preaching (B:22) 13e</p> 	<p>11b Missing panel (B: Chapter 23? Cuthbert's girdle heals Aelflaede)</p>	<p>11c Ecgrith appoints Cuthbert bishop (B:24) 19a</p> 	<p>11d Cuthbert blesses water for healing (B:25) 14b</p> 	<p>11e Water heals Baldhelm (B:25) 19e</p> 
<p>10a Abbot endorses Cuthbert's election (B: 25) 15d</p> 	<p>10b Missing panel (B: Chapter 24? Synod elects Cuthbert as bishop)</p>	<p>10c Cuthbert consecrated (B:26) 19b</p> 	<p>10d Cuthbert gives money to sick (B:26) 19c</p> 	<p>10e Cuthbert feeds & clothes poor (B:26) 19d</p> 
<p>9a Cuthbert's vision of Ecgrith's death (B:27) 9a</p> 	<p>9b Ecgrith's death (B:27) 20b</p> 	<p>9c Woman healed by blessed water (B:29) 20e</p> 	<p>9d Cuthbert heals a nun (B:30) 21d</p> 	<p>9e Cuthbert gives water wine taste (B:35) 21e</p> 
<p>8a Cuthbert heals a young man (B:32) 23b</p> 	<p>8b Cuthbert heals a child (B:33) 21a</p> 	<p>8c Cuthbert sees soul carried to heaven (B: 34) 21b</p> 	<p>8d Demons torment Cuthbert (B:37) 22d</p> 	<p>8e Cuthbert heals a monk (B:38) 22c</p> 
<p>7a Cuthbert's death (B:39) 23a</p> 	<p>7b Body taken to Lindisfarne (B:40) 23d</p> 	<p>7c Cuthbert's first tomb (B:40) 23c</p> 	<p>7d Missing panel (B:42? Opening of first tomb)</p>	<p>7e Cuthbert's shrine (B:44) 23e</p> 

5.2 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing subject and image



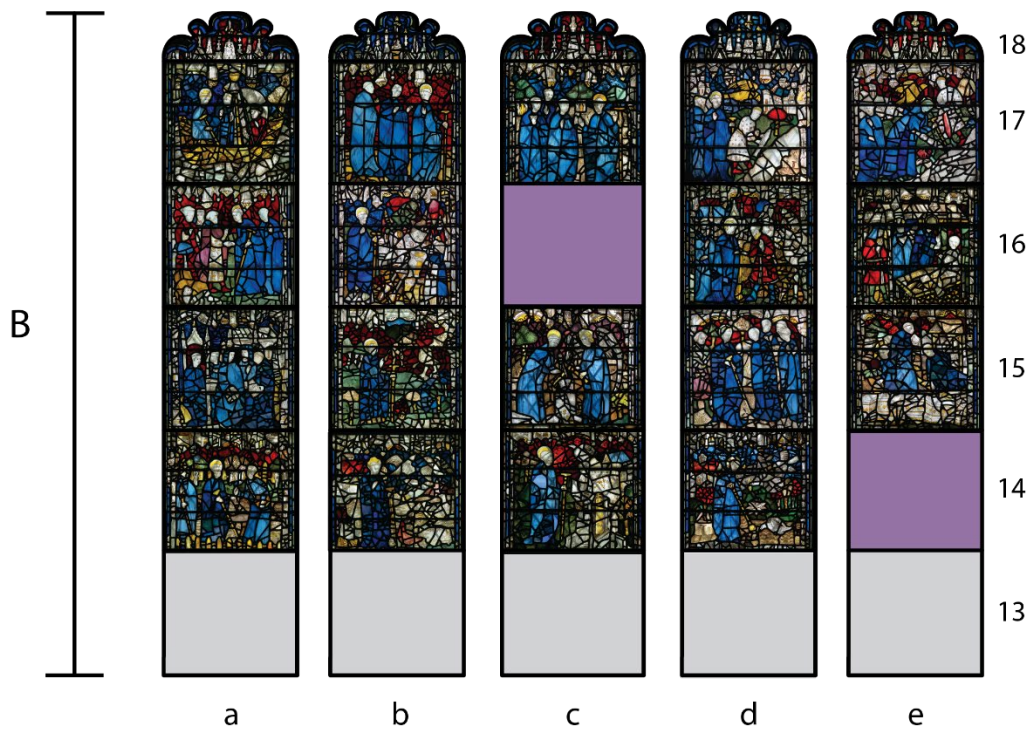
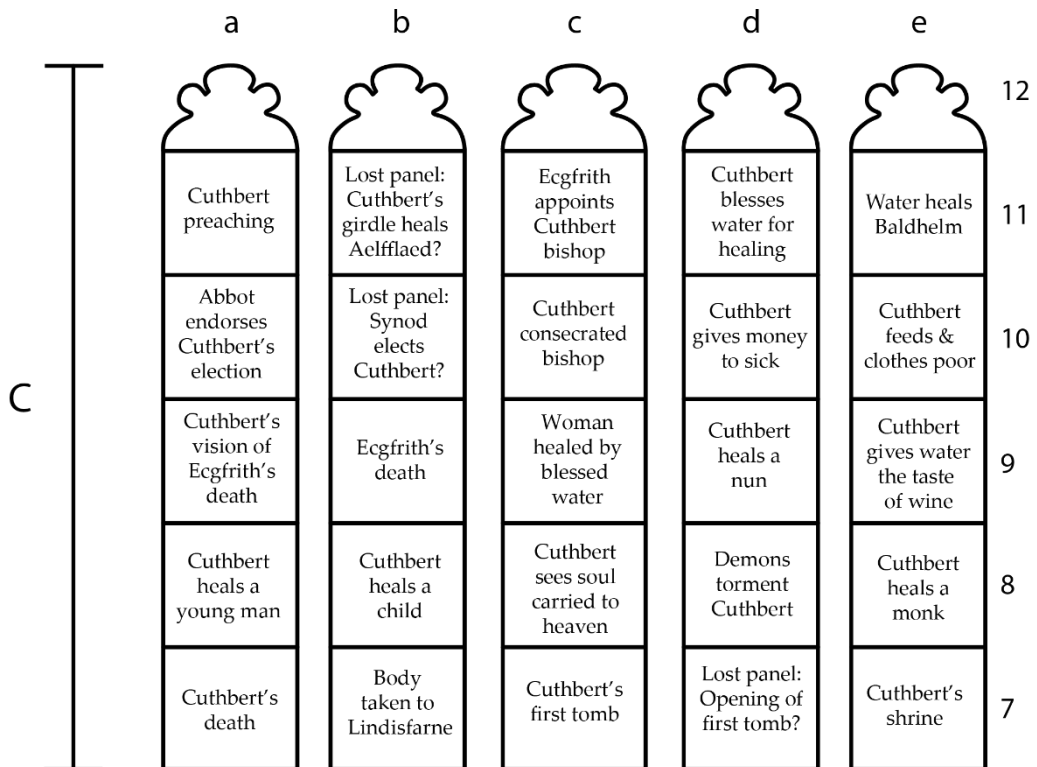
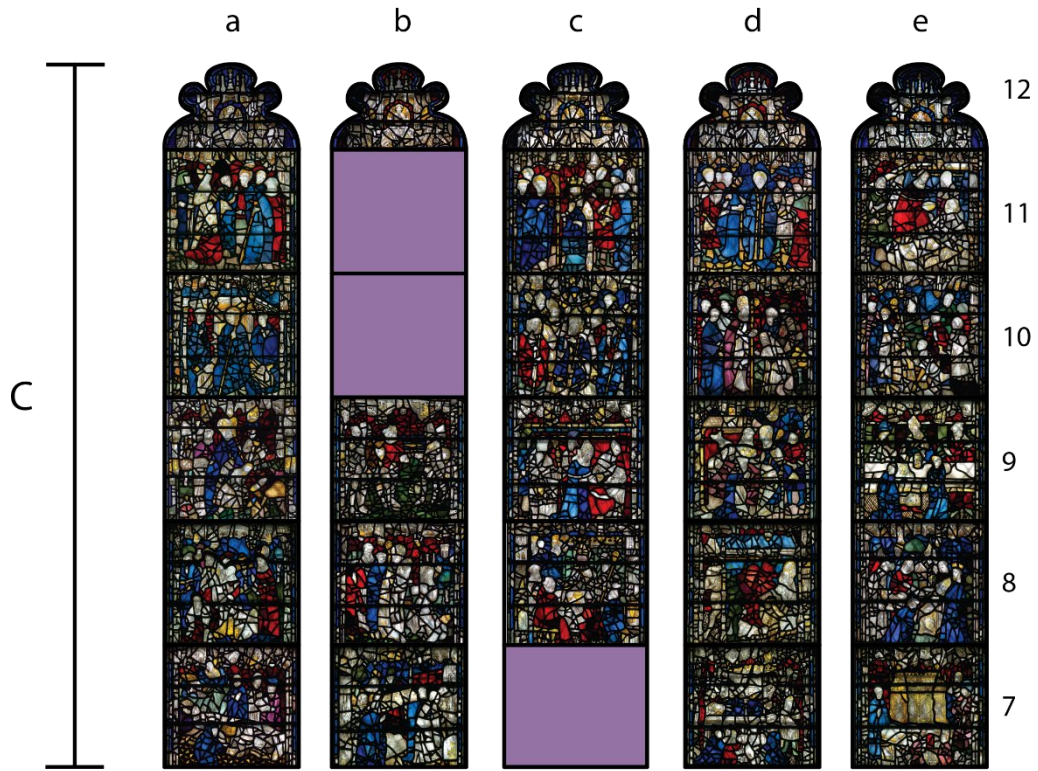






Diagram showing five windows (a, b, c, d, e) with a vertical scale on the right ranging from 13 to 18. A vertical line on the left is labeled 'B'. The windows are divided into sections, each containing text describing a scene or event.

					18	
	Cuthbert predicts end of storm	Cuthbert predicts provision of food	Dolphin meat provided	Cuthbert predicts & eagle brings fish	Cuthbert shares fish	17
	Cuthbert warns congregation	Cuthbert drives away demon & false fire	Lost panel: Cuthbert extinguishes real fire	Hildmer asks for help	Hildmer's wife healed	16
	Cuthbert teaches monastic rule	Cuthbert banishes Farne demons	Cuthbert & angel building	Sea provides plank	Cuthbert & monks building	15
	Cuthbert & monks sow barley	Cuthbert rebukes crows eating crop	Cuthbert rebukes crows taking thatch	Crows apologise	Lost panel: Cuthbert digs water from rock	14
						13
	a	b	c	d	e	



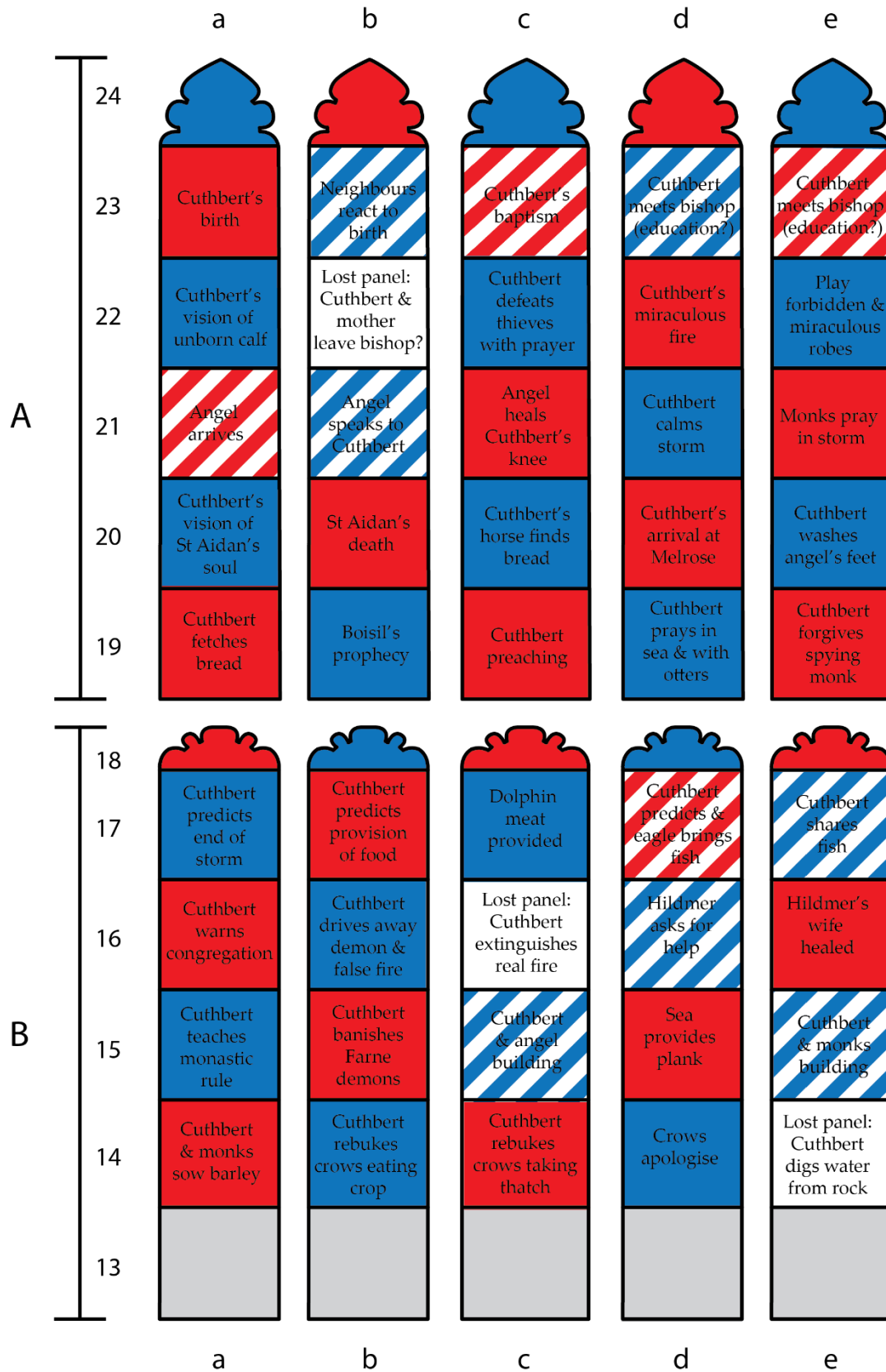
5.3 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing the background colours of panels

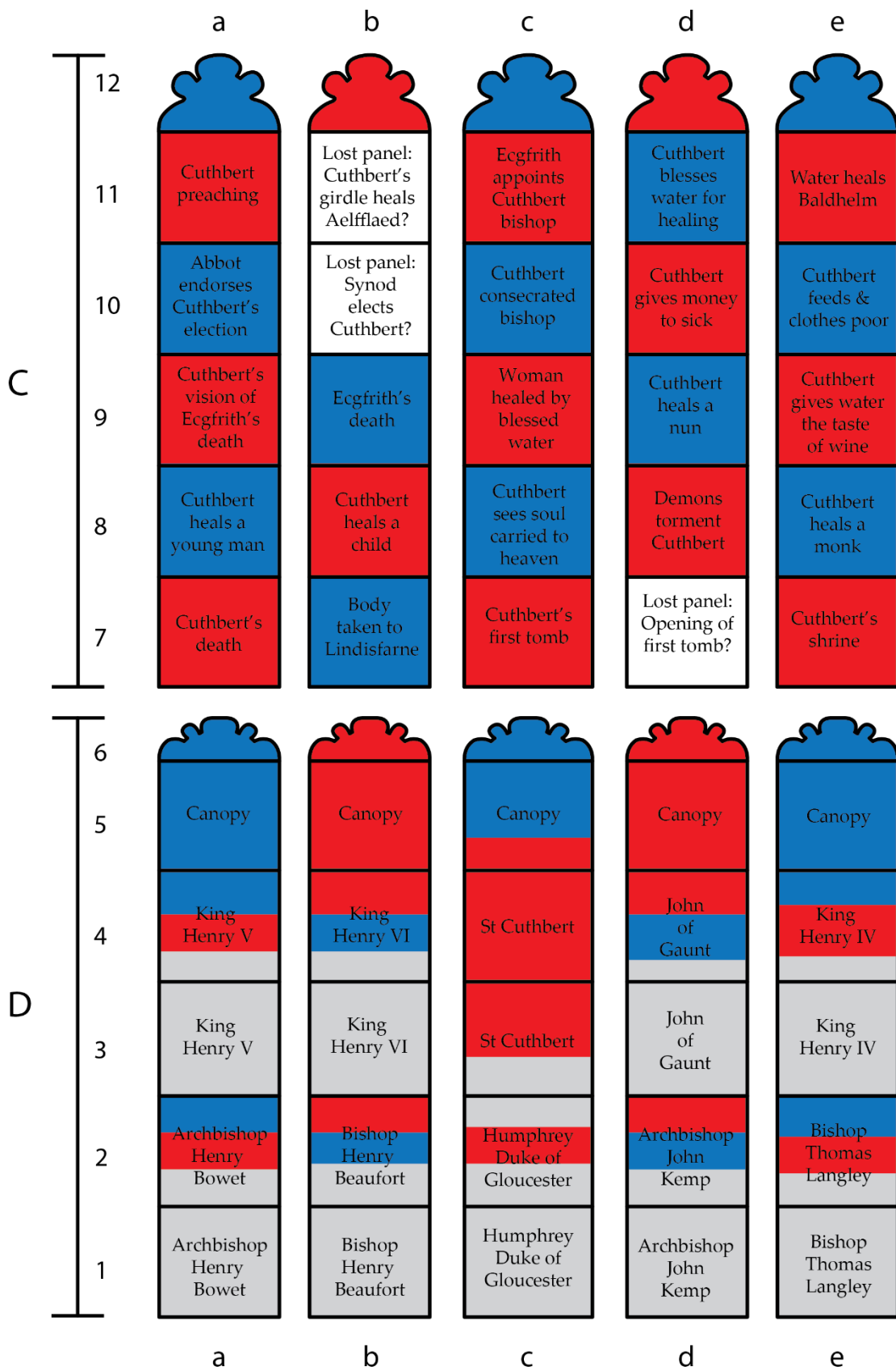
Key

	Blue background		Red (or purple) background in location where counterchange indicates it should be blue
	Red background		Blue background in location where counterchange indicates it should be red

In this diagram, panels which do not fit the counterchange pattern have been identified with a striped colour, indicating the colour that would be expected if the counterchange were followed (i.e. not the actual colour of their background), to enable the counterchange pattern and deviations to be seen.

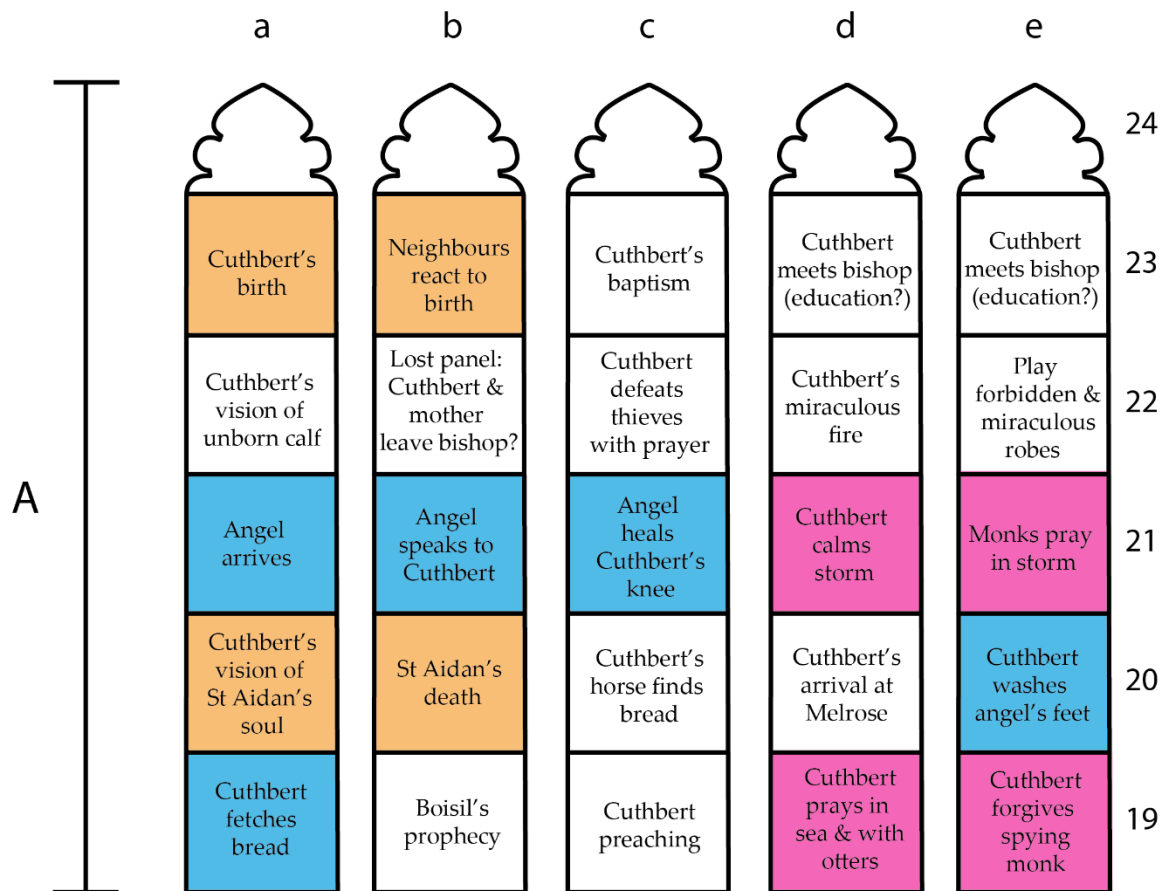
Panel 20b originally had a blue background and so is shown as blue (in location 9b).

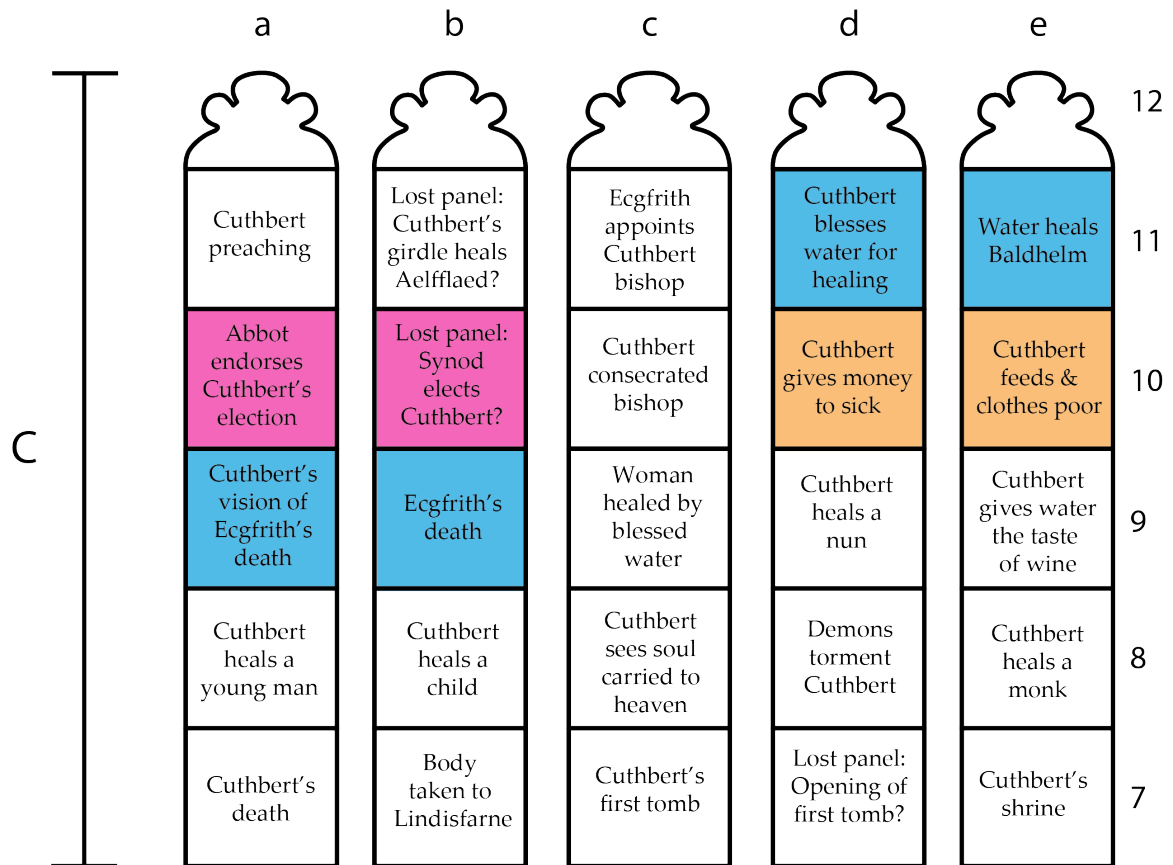
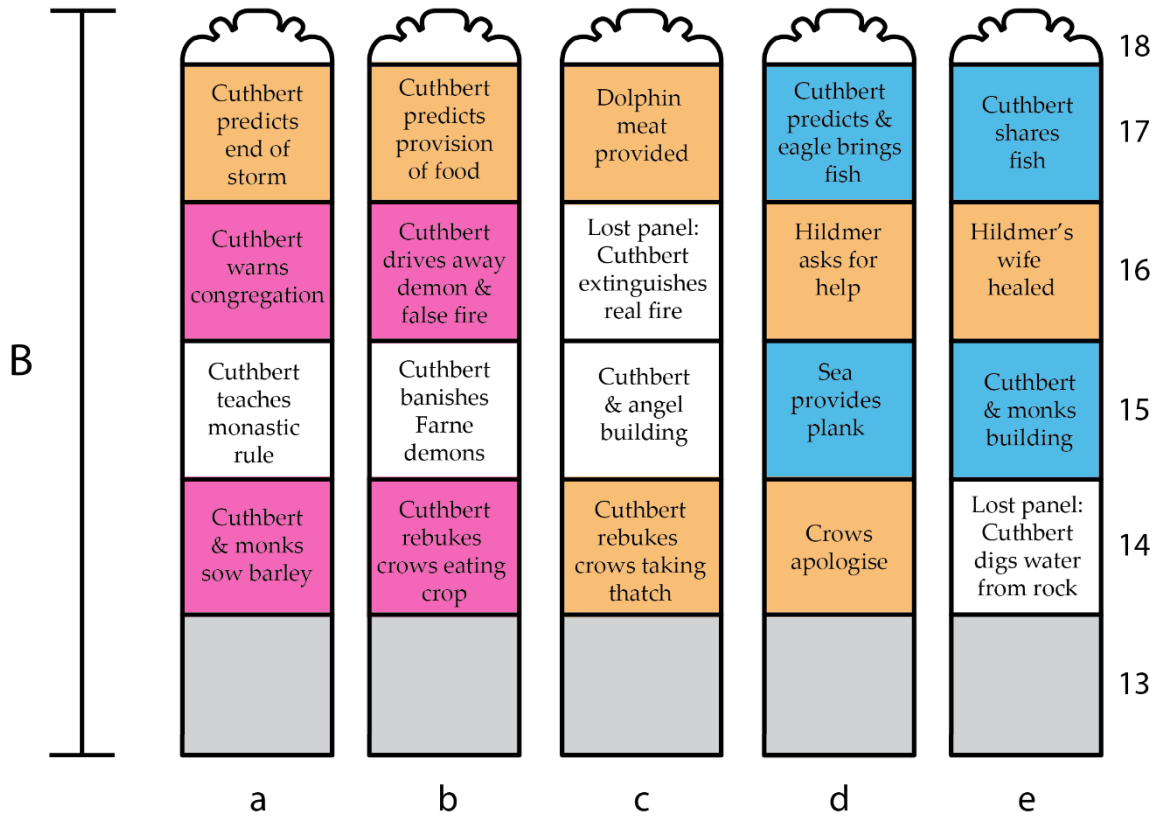




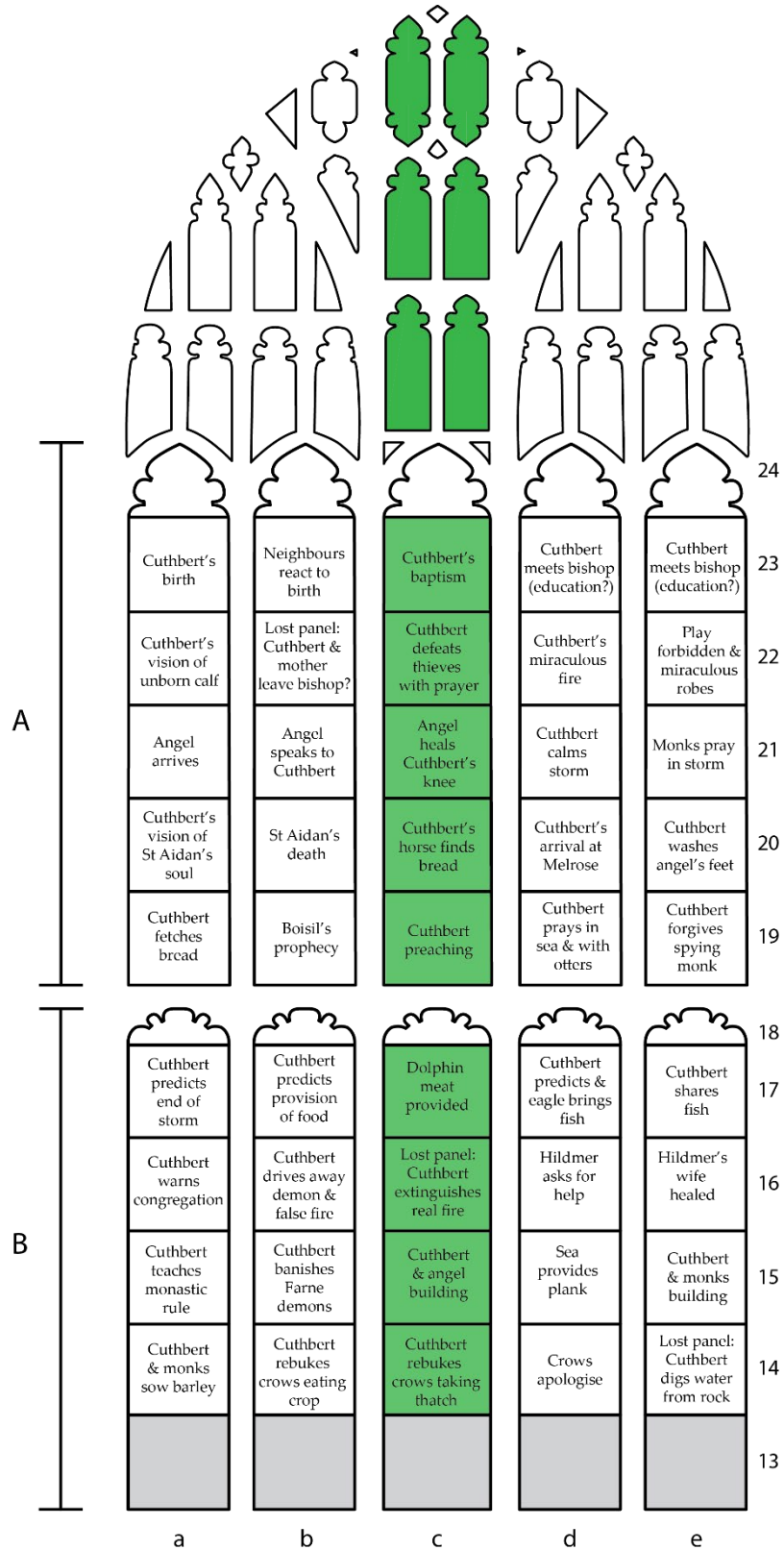
5.4 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing multi-panel scenes

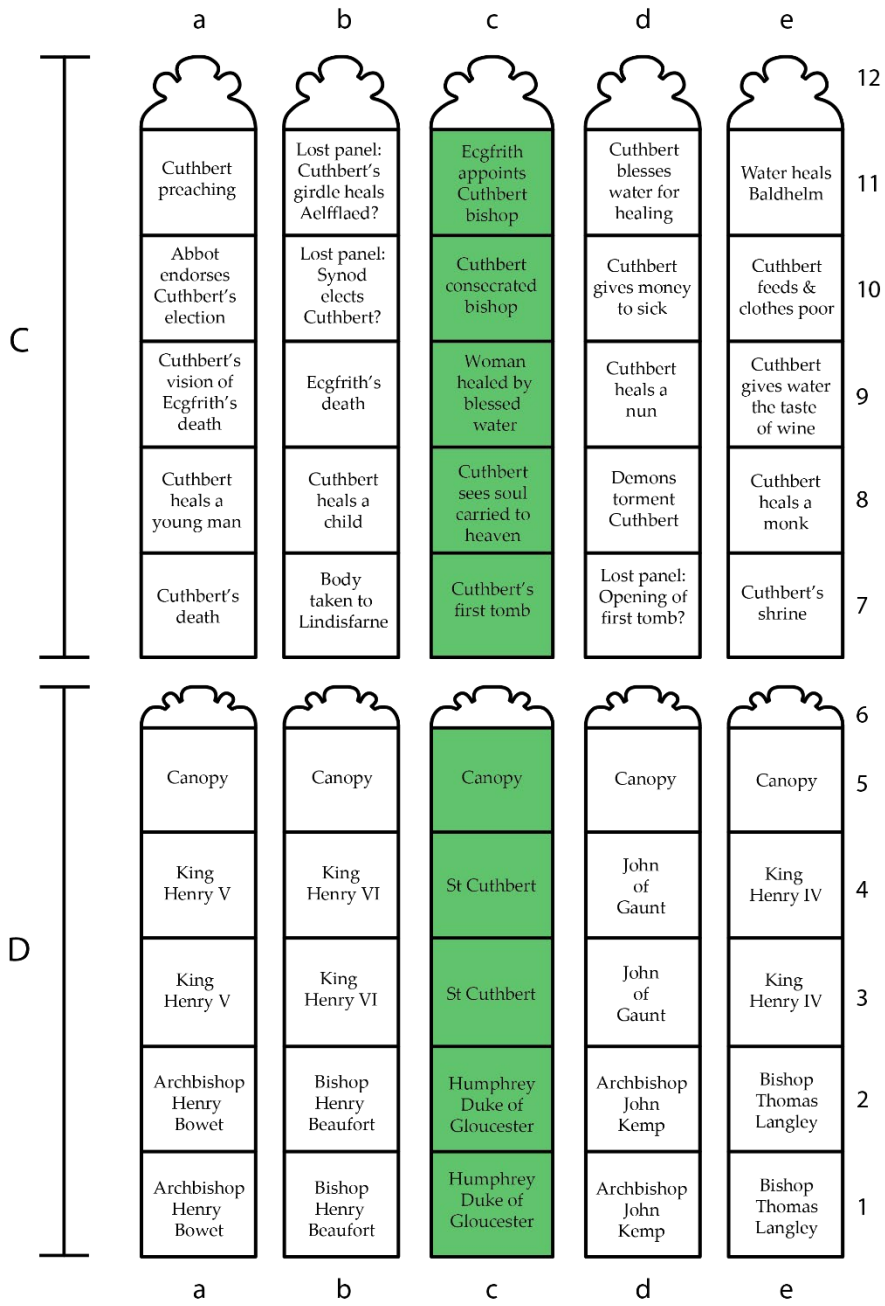
	Originally plain-glazed
	Paired or grouped panels. Colours alternate orange, blue and pink, to enable sequential and inter-row groups to be identified.



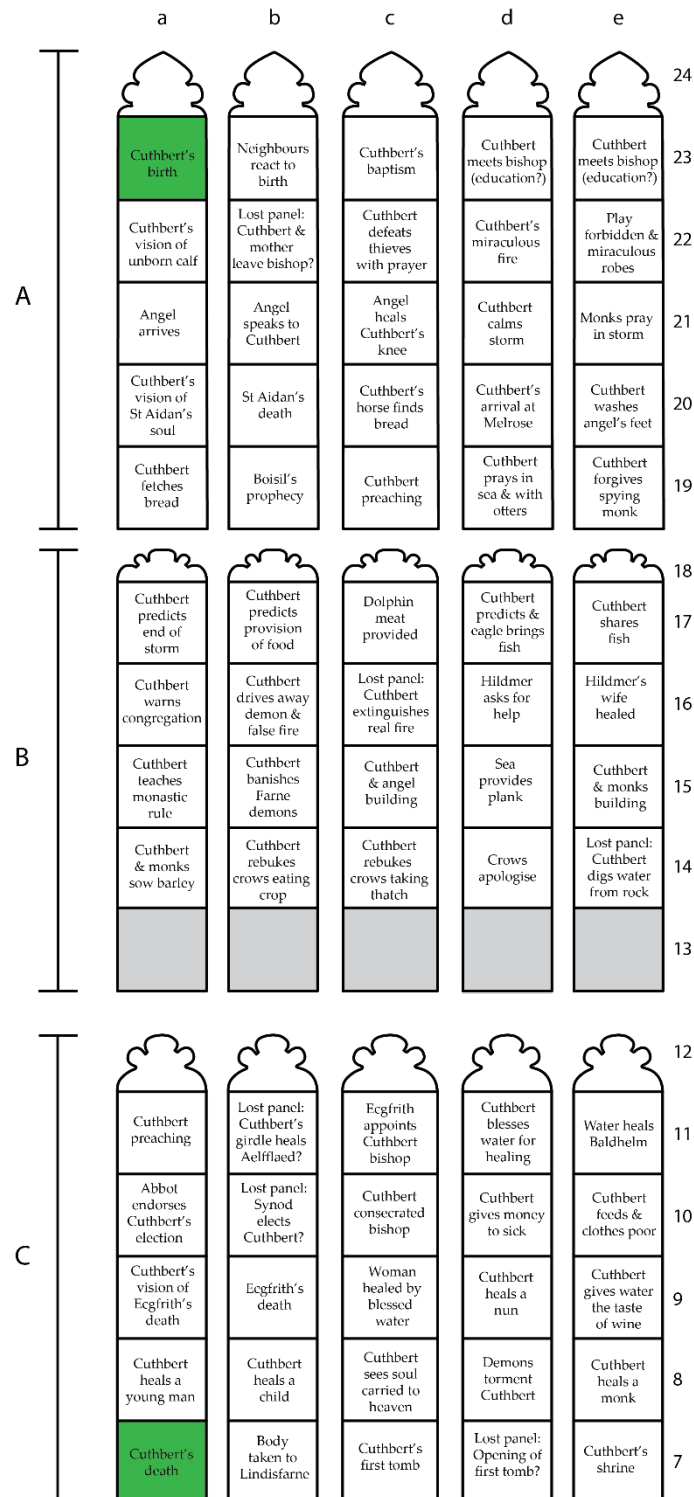


5.5 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing central axis





5.6 Diagram of the proposed original narrative sequence in the St Cuthbert Window, showing alignment of Cuthbert's birth and death.



Appendix 6. Diagrams of the Proposed Narrative Reconstruction Showing Thematic Arrangements

Key to Thematic Arrangement Diagrams

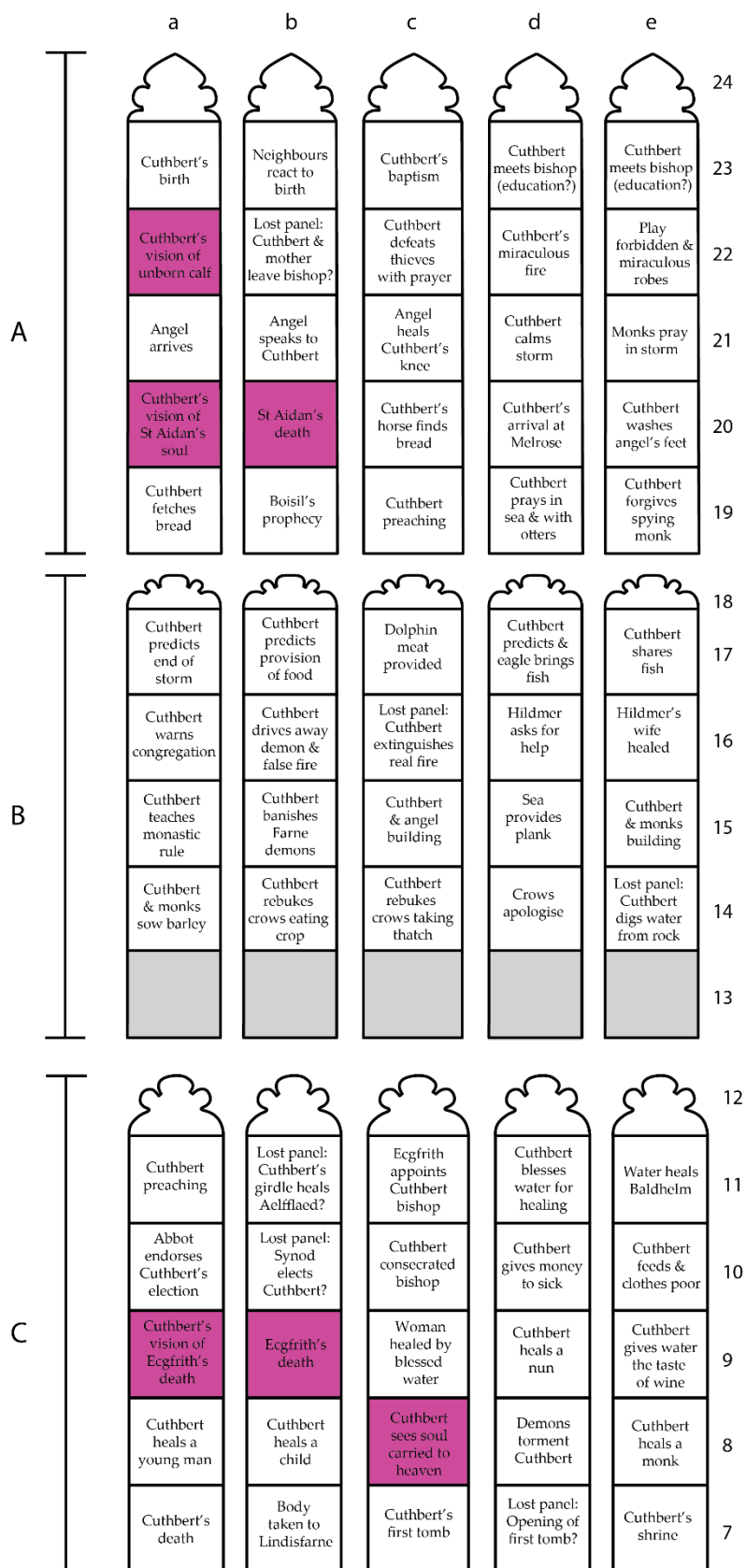


A note on labelling:

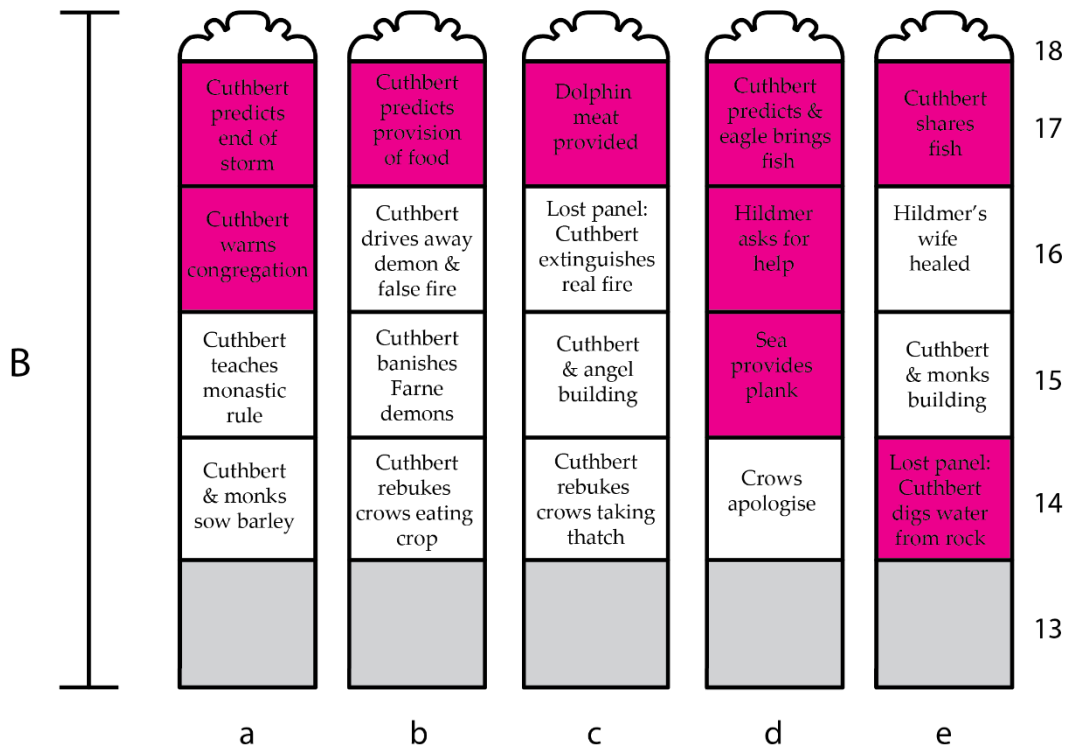
In diagrams showing only one theme, all panels of each relevant episode are highlighted, although the theme may not be articulated on all panels.

In diagrams showing multiple themes, the separate themes of each panel are highlighted (using stripes where multiple themes are evoked by a single panel).

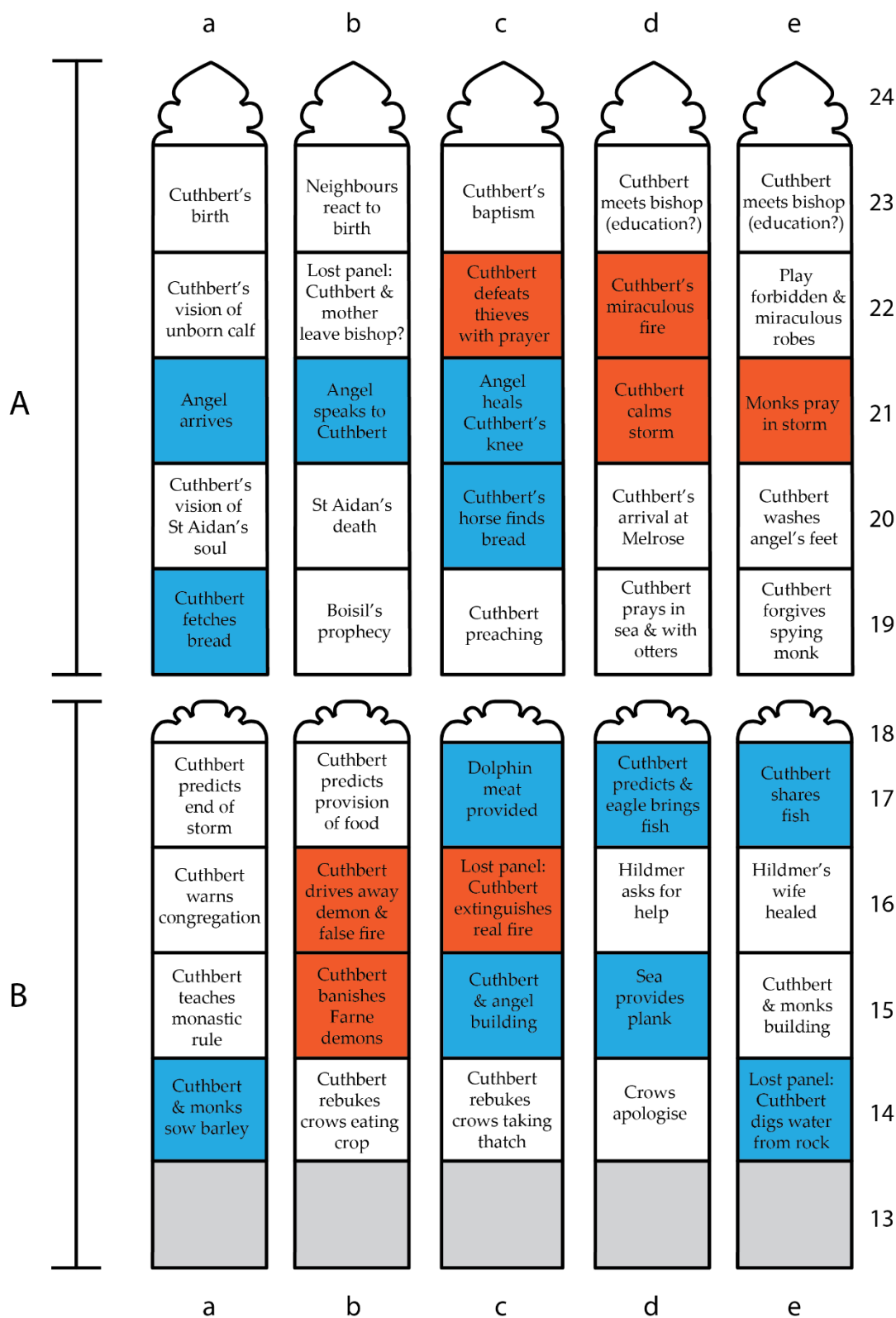
6.1 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of vision episodes



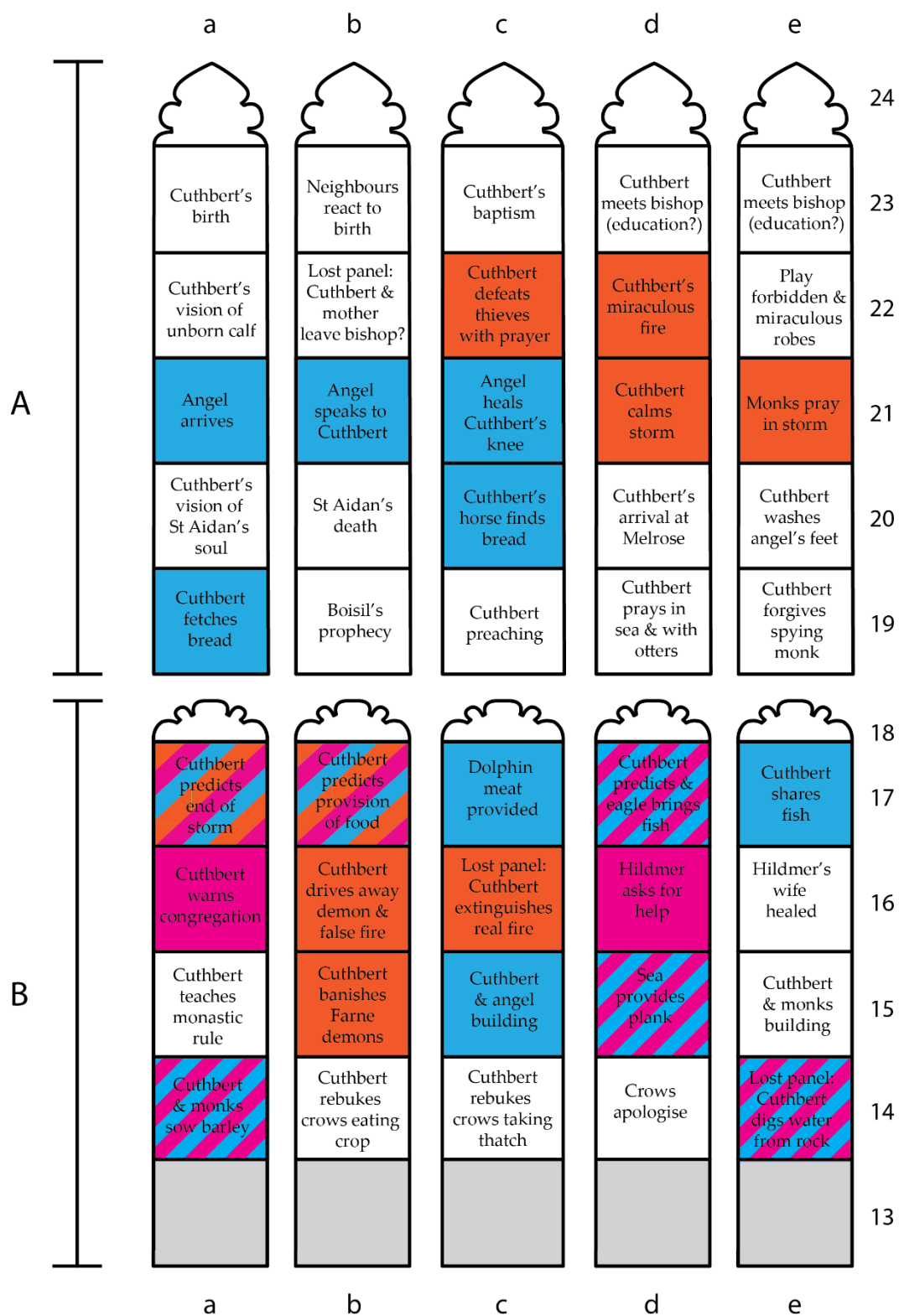
6.2 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of prophecy episodes (Section B only)



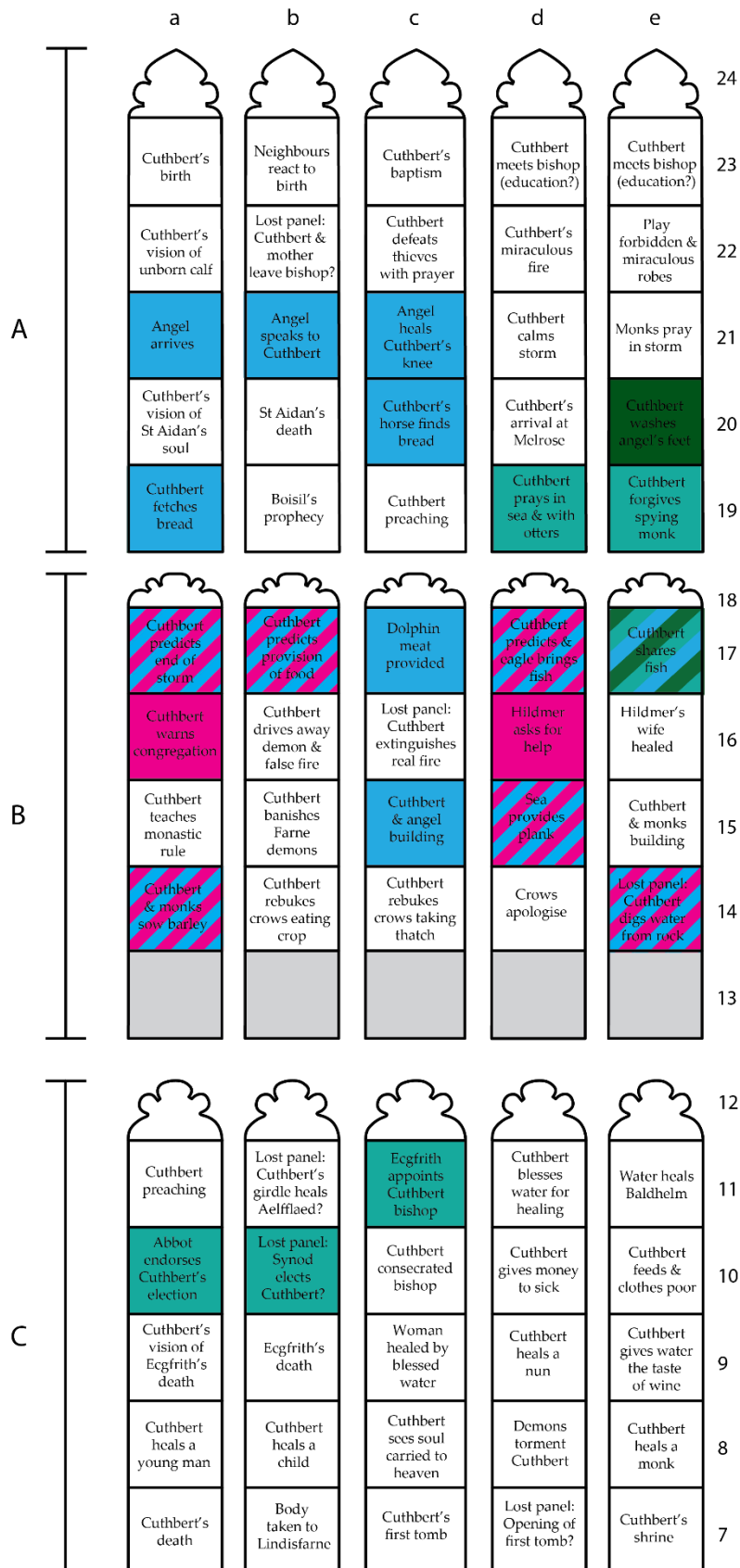
6.3 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of divine assistance and intercession episodes (Sections A and B only)



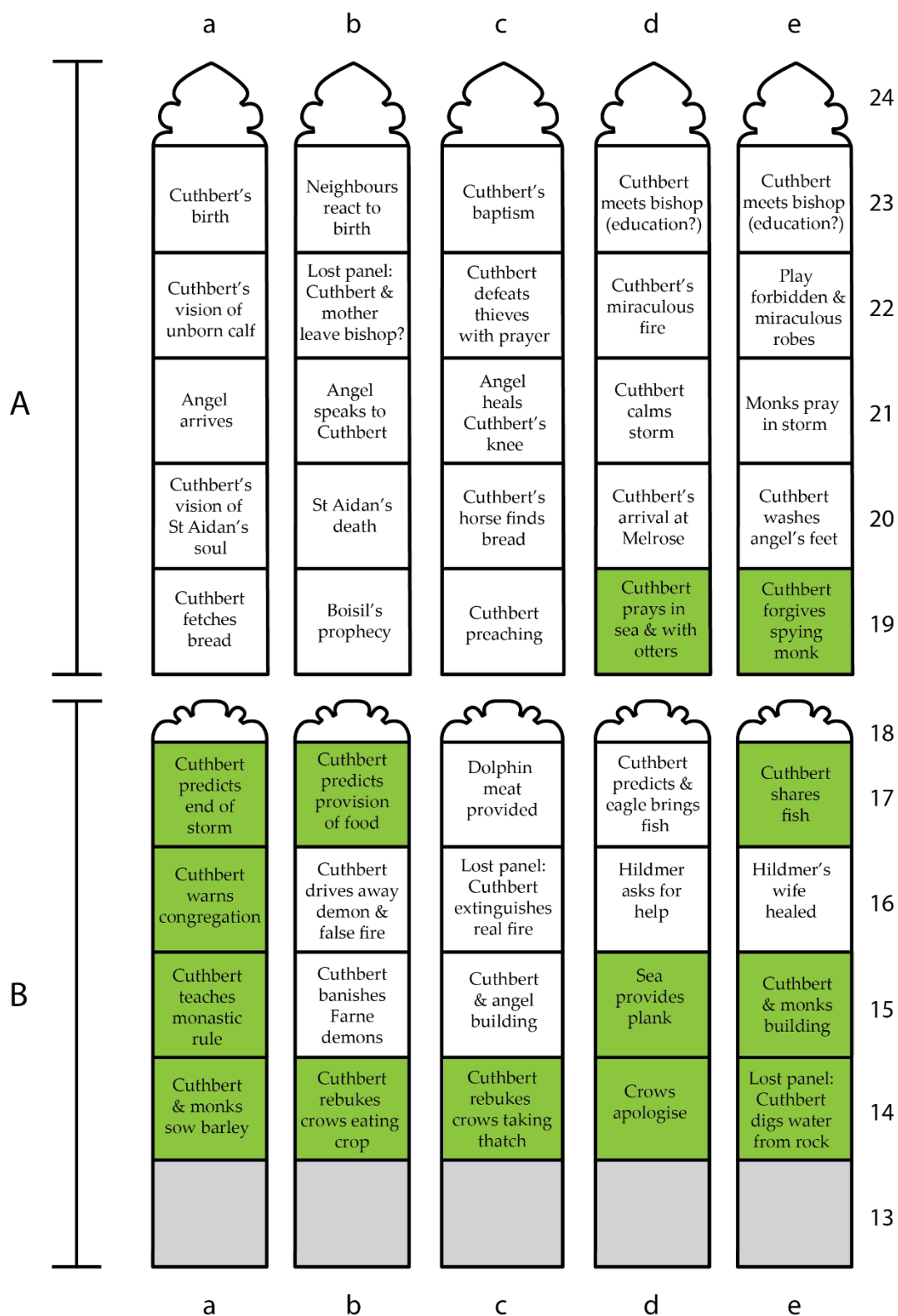
6.4 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of prophecy, intercession and divine assistance episodes (Sections A and B only)



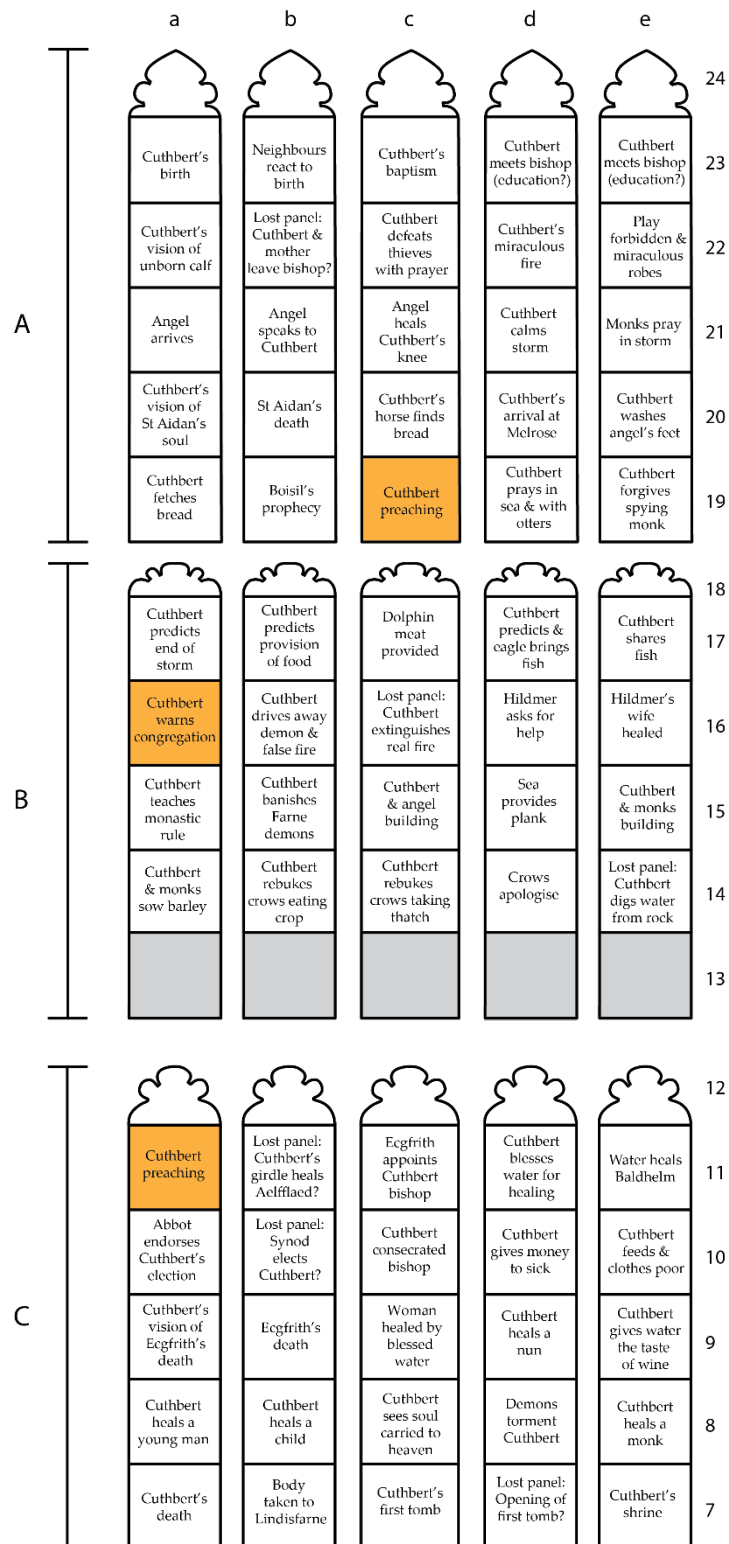
6.5 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of prophecy, divine assistance, humility and hospitality episodes.



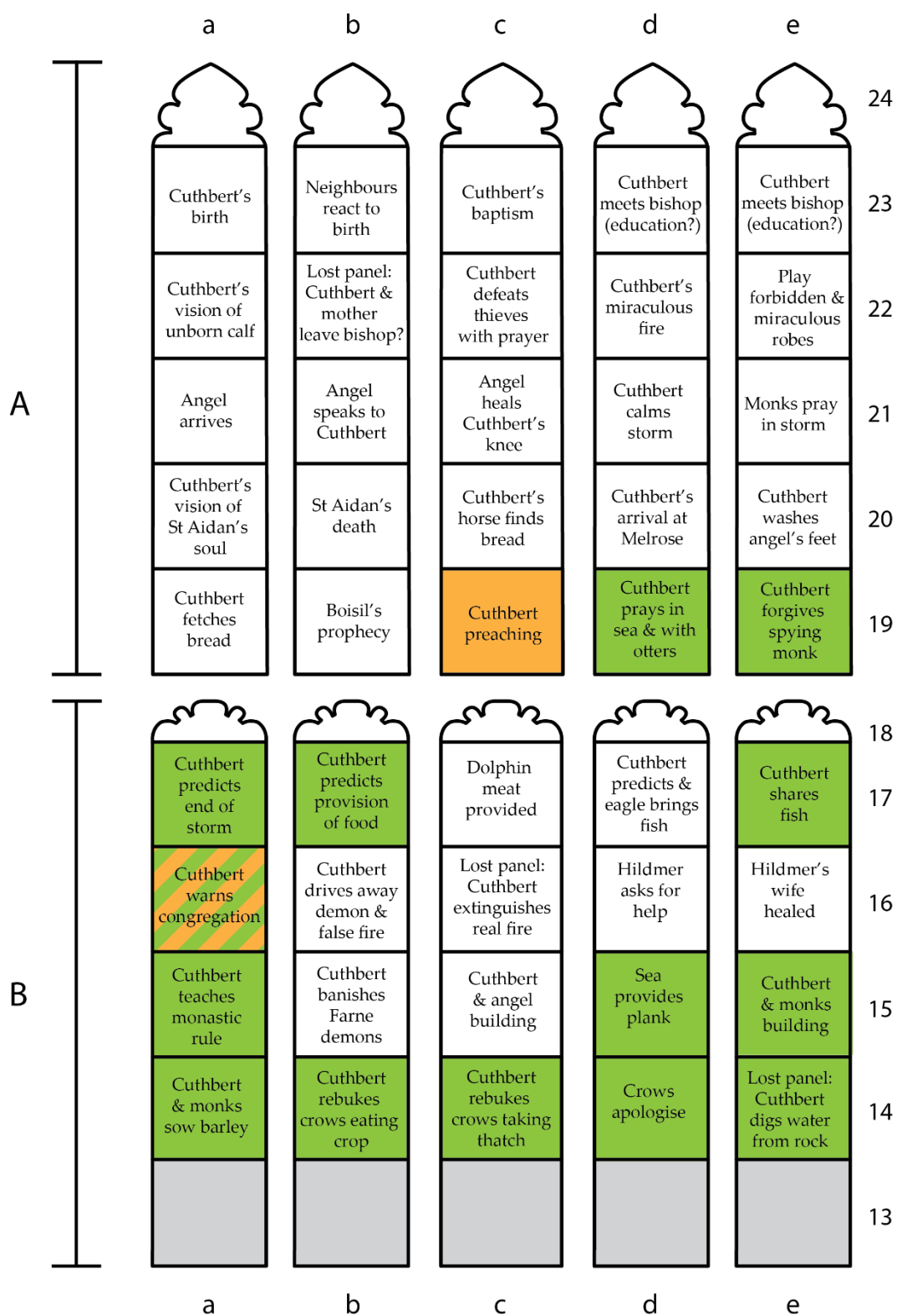
6.6 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of obedience episodes (Sections A and B only)



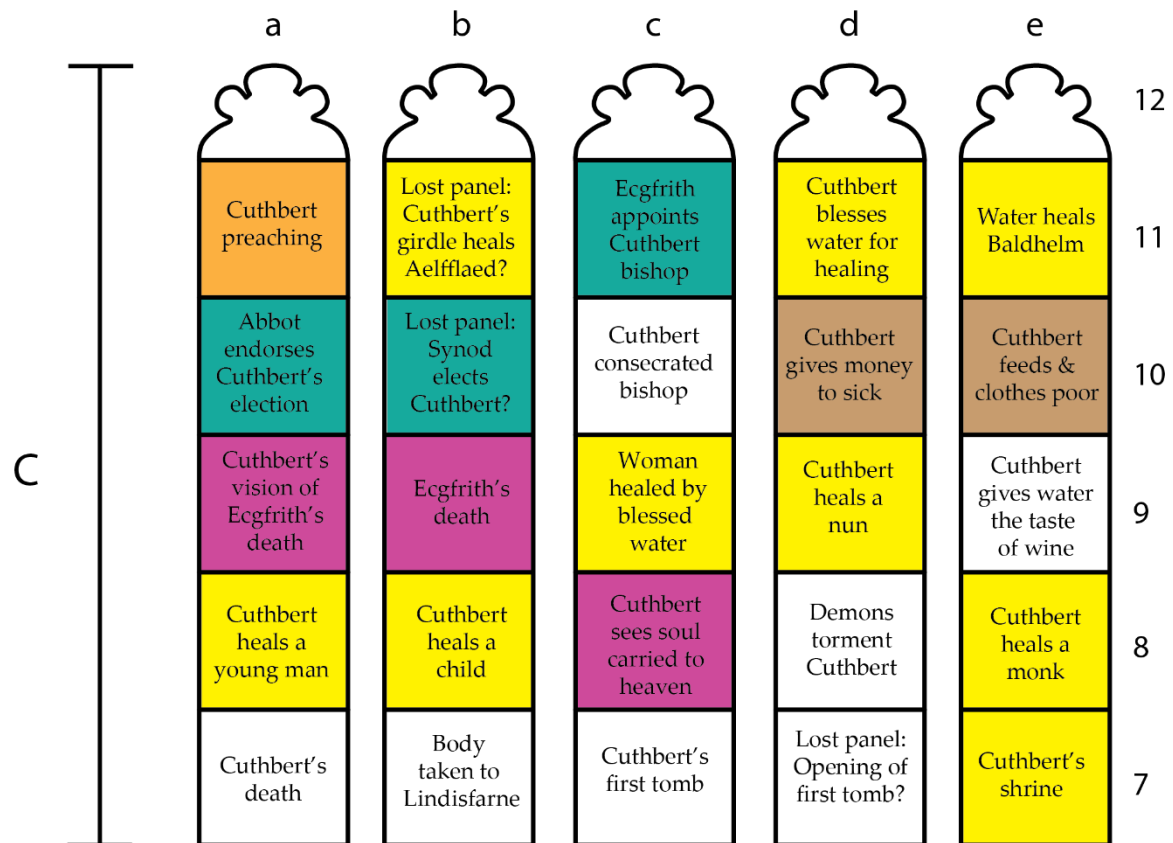
6.7 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of preaching episodes.



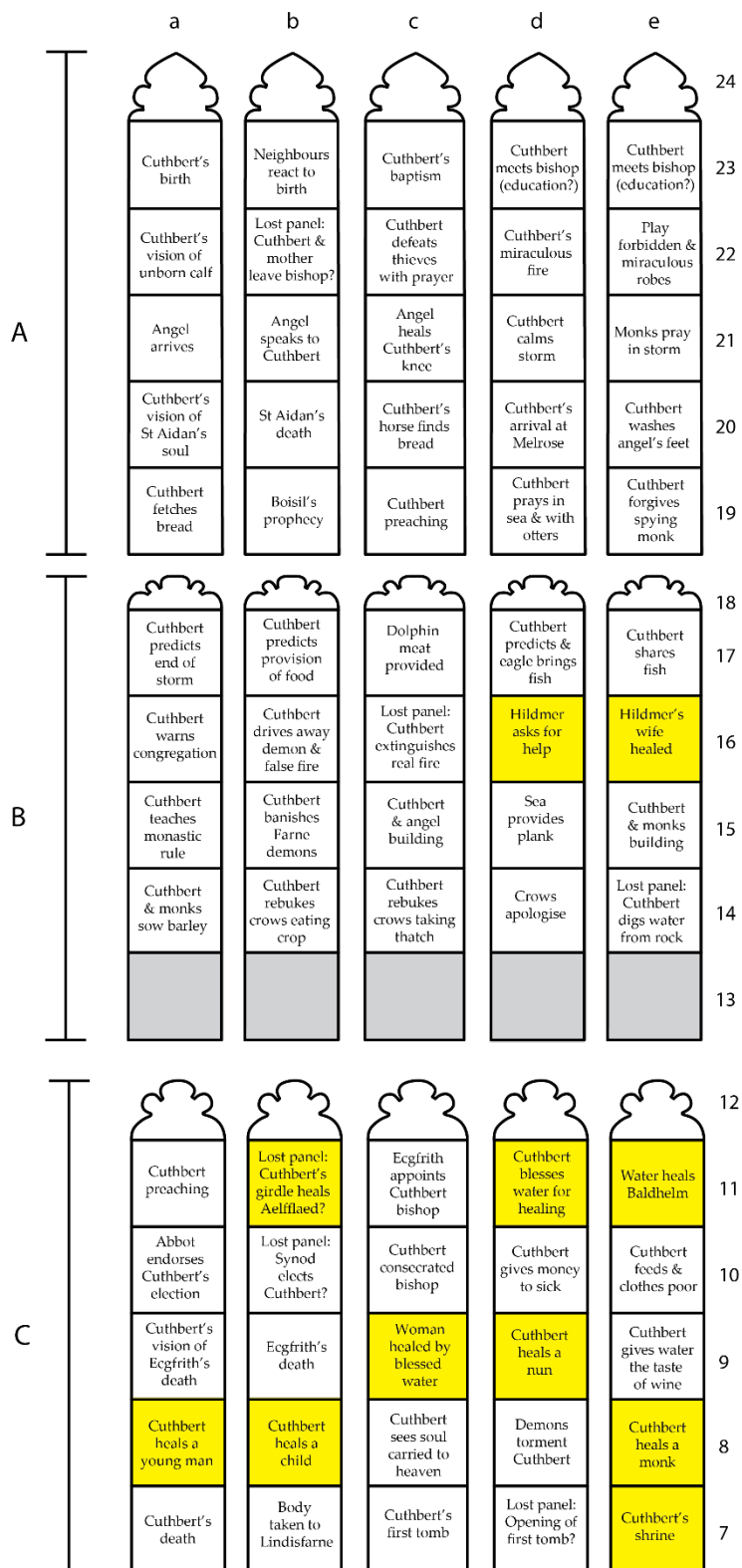
6.8 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of preaching and obedience episodes (Sections A and B only)



6.9 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of episodes in episcopal emphasis: preaching, healing, humility and charity (Section C only)



6.10 Diagram of the proposed narrative reconstruction, showing location of healing episodes



Appendix 7. *Libellus* Chapter Concordance

7.1 Table showing *Libellus* chapters marked in Titus, Fairfax and York manuscripts

Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
i	Start of Preface	f.134r: "Incipit p(re)fac(i)o in libellu(m) de ortu s(ancti) Cuthberti" Decorated capital: C[um]	f.1r: "Incipit p(re)facio de ortu b(eat)i Cuthberti de historiis hiber(nen)sum excerpt(us) et t(ra)nslat(us)" Decorated capital: C[um]	f.71r: "Incipit p(re)fac(i)o de ortu s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti" Decorated capital: C[um]
	End of Preface	f.134v: "Explicit p(ro)logus"	f.1r: "Explicit p(re)fac(i)o"	f.71v: "Explicit p(re)facio"
1	Start of <i>libellus de ortu</i>	f.134v: "Incipit libellus de ortu beati patris Cuthberti" Marginal note: "ca.1." Historiated initial: C[uthbertus]	f.1r: "Incipit libel(us) de ortu eiusdem" Capital: C[uthbertus]	f.71v: "Incip(i)t libellus de ortu s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti" Decorated capital: C[uthbertus]
2	How St Cuthbert's father killed the king, who was the father of Cuthbert's mother	f.135r: "Quom(od)o p(at)r(is) s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti occid(i)t rege(m) ex cui(us) filia gen(i)a(n)t Cuthb(er)ti" Marginal note: "cap. II." Decorated capital: R[ex]	f.1v: Capital: R[ex]	f.72r: Decorated capital: R[ex]
3	On the treatment of his mother and her noble behaviour	f.135v: "De (con)dic(i)o(n)e(m) m(at)ris ei(us) et hui(us) alte" Marginal note: "3" Decorated capital: N[ullii]	f.1v: Capital: N[ullii]	f.72v: Decorated capital: N[ullii] Rubric: "Cap."
4	On the resistance of St Cuthbert's mother to his father's advances	f.136r: "De (con)stantia(m) m(at)ris s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti"	f.2r: Capital: I[gitur]	f.73r: Decorated capital: I[gitur]

Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
		Marginal note: "4" Decorated capital: I[gitur]		Red "Cap."
5	How St Cuthbert was conceived	f.136r: "Q(ua)l(ite)r Cuthb(er)t(us) fu(i)t geniat(ur)" Marginal note: "5" Decorated capital: I[gitur]	f.2r: Capital: I[gitur]	f.73r: Decorated capital: I[gitur]
6	Cuthbert's mother put into his grandmother's care	f.136v: "De loco origi(ni)s ei(us)" Marginal note: "6" Decorated capital: P[uella]	f.2r: Capital: P[uella]	f.73v: Decorated capital: P[uella]
7	The birth of St Cuthbert	f.137v: "De p(rim)o mirac(u)lo i(n) ortu" Marginal note: "7" Decorated capital: S[ed]	f.2v: Capital: S[ed]	f.74v: Decorated capital: S[ed]
8	The bishop rebukes Cuthbert's grandmother	f.137v: "De arguc(i)o(nem) Regine p(er) Epi(scopu)m" Marginal note: "8" Decorated capital: E[n]	f.2v: Capital: E[n]	f.74v: Decorated capital: E[n]
9	Cuthbert's grandmother explains the situation, the bishop baptises Cuthbert	f.138r: "Excusac(i)o(nem) Regine" Marginal note: "9" Decorated capital: T[unc]	f.3r: Capital: T[unc]	f.75r: Decorated capital: T[unc]
10	Cuthbert has a vision of the colour of an unborn calf in a pregnant cow	f.138r-138v: "De colore vicculi deprehensio(que) s(en)s(u)m in utero vacce" Marginal note: "10" Decorated capital: Q[uadam]	f.3r: Capital: Q[uadam]	f.75r: Decorated capital: Q[uadam]
11	The statement of Archbishop	f.138v:	f.3r:	f.75v:

Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
	Matthew, describing Cuthbert's bell being repaired by rushes	"De ti(nt)innab(u)lo Cuthb(er)ti p(er) cirpos r(e)p(ar)ato" Marginal note: "11" Decorated capital: Q[uoniam]	"Assercio Mathie Archiepi(scopi)" Decorated capital: P[uer] Marginal note: "Q(uoniam) puer d(o)m(ini) (omnibu)s"	"Asserc(i)o Mathie Archiepi(scopi)" Decorated capital: Q[uoniam]
12	About the place of Cuthbert's birth	f. 139r: "De loco nati(v)itat(us)" Marginal note: "12" Decorated capital: E[st]	f.3v: Capital: E[st]	f.76r: Decorated capital: E[st]
13	The death of the bishop	f. 139v: "De morte Epi(scopi)" Marginal note: "13" Decorated capital: S[ec]	f.3v: Capital: S[ec]	f.76v: Decorated capital: S[ec]
14	Cuthbert and his mother went to a port to leave for England, but Cuthbert dropped his psalter into the sea, where it was swallowed by a fish	f. 140r: "De lib(r)o lapso i(n) mari (et) p(er) pisce(tus) i(l)liu)s rep(ar)ato" Marginal note: "14" Decorated capital: P[uerulus]	f.4r: Capital: P[uerulus]	f.76v: Decorated capital: P[uerulus]
15 (1)	Interpolated material on Cuthbert's education	f. 140v: "De m(odo) educac(i)o(n)is s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti et ei q(uo) fu(er)at educat(us)" Marginal note: "Cap. I." Decorated capital: Q[uedam]	f.4r: Capital: Q[uedam]	f.77r: Decorated capital: Q[uedam]
16 (2)	St Cuthbert has a miraculous vision beneath the sea	f. 140v-141r: "Visio(nem) mirab(i)lis s(an)c(t)a ip(s)i(us) pu(er)o" Marginal note: "2"	f.4v: Capital: I[n]t[er]rea	f.77v: Decorated capital: A[l]t[er]rea uisio

Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
		Decorated capital: A[llterea visio]		
17 (3)	The meaning of the vision is explained and the ship reaches England	f.141r: "Expo(situm) p(er)ace(r) visionis" Marginal note: "3" Decorated capital: P[uer]	f.4v: No capital.	f.78r: Decorated capital: P[uer]
18 (4)	As they came ashore a great seal cast Cuthbert's psalter onto the beach	f.141v: Marginal note: "4" Decorated capital: E[cce]	f.4v: Capital: E[cce]	f.78v: Decorated capital: E[cce]
19 (5)	Cuthbert makes a stone curroc float	f.141v: "De currok lapid(is)" Marginal note: "5" Decorated capital: U[t]	f.5r: Capital: U[t]	f.78v: Decorated capital: U[t]
20 (6)	Cuthbert's prayers cause robbers to attack one another, then he builds a miraculous fire	f.142r: "Q(ua)l(ite)r p(er) or(and)om ei(us) ip(s)e (et) m(ate)r lib(er)at(or) a picto(m)" Marginal note: "6" Decorated capital: E[xeuntes]	f.5r: Capital: E[xeuntes]	f.79r: Decorated capital: E[xeuntes]
21 (7)	Cuthbert's mother takes him to St Columba to be educated with St Brigit, he revives a blackbird killed by a jealous servant	f.142v: "De s(us)titac(i)o(n)e(m) merula(m) p(er) oratorum" Marginal note: "7" Decorated capital: A[t]	f.5r: Capital: A[t]	f.79r: Decorated capital: A[t]
22 (8)	Brigid departs from Cuthbert	f.143r: "B(ri)gida a Cuthb(er)to discessit" Marginal note: "8" Decorated capital: T[unc]	f.5v: Capital: T[unc]	f.79v: Decorated capital: T[unc]
23 (9)	Cuthbert's clothes miraculously	f.143r-143v: "qualis capite Cuthberti	f.5v: Capital E[piscopi]	f.80r:



Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
	conceal him when he performed a handstand	terras illiso uestes tegebant posteria eius" Marginal note: "9" Decorated capital: E[iscopii]		Decorated capital: E[iscopii]
	End of the little book of Cuthbert's nativity, excerpted and translated from Irish histories	f. 143v: "Explicit"	f.6r: "Explicit libellus de na(ti)u(i)tate s(an)c(t)i Cuthb(er)ti de historiis hib(er)niens(u)m exc(er)ptus (et) t(ra)nslat(us)"	f.80v: "Explicit libellus de natiuitate sancti Cuthberti de hystoriis hybernensum exceptus et translatus"
24 (10)	Beginning of other stories about Cuthbert's entry into Scotland	f. 143v: "Incipit alia de Infancia Cuthb(er)ti et mirac(u)lis ipsi(us)" Marginal note: "10" Decorated capital: P[ostquam]	f.6r: "Incipit de adue(n)tu(m) eius in Scotia" Decorated capital: P[ostquam]	f.80v: Decorated capital: P[ostquam]
25 (11)	A miracle of St Cuthbert	f. 144r: "Q(ua)liter itaque per noctando orauit" Marginal note: "11" Decorated capital: S[olitariabus]	f.6r: Capital: S[olitariam]	f.81r: "Mirac(u)l(u)m b(eat)i Cuthb(erti)" Decorated capital: S[olitariam]
26 (12)	After Cuthbert left, Scottish Count Maccie Mor fled to Cuthbert's sanctuary; when he brought his wife and daughters, he fell and broke his leg	f. 144v: Marginal note: "12" "Cap.iii" Decorated capital: P[ost]	f.6v: Capital: P[ost]	f.81v: "Mirac(u)l(u)m" Decorated capital: P[ost]
27 (13)	The daughter of a king falsely accuses St Cuthbert of adultery and is swallowed by the earth	f. 145r: "Quare m(u)lieres no(n) intra(n)t Eccl(es)iam S(an)c(t)i Cuthberti" Marginal note: "13" Decorated capital: I[nterea]	f.6v: Capital: I[nterea]	f.82r: "Q(ua)re mulieres no(n) intr\ a/nt ecc(lesi)am b(eat)i Cuthb(erti)" Decorated capital: I[nterea]

Chapter no. (Titus margin nos.)	Subject	BL, Cotton Titus A.ii	Bodleian, Fairfax 6	YMLA, MS XVI.I.12
28 (14)	St Cuthbert appears to a hermit at Cuthbert's chapel/cave at Moddri, near Bedford	f. 145v: Marginal note: "14" Decorated capital: M[oderno]	f.7r: Capital: M[oderno]	f.82v: "Alia Rac(i)o(nem) Decorated capital: M[oderno]
29 (15)	A demon disguised as a beautiful woman distracts Cuthbert's congregation, he dispels it with blessed water	f. 146v: "Alia causa quare m(u)lieres" Marginal note: "15" Decorated capital: E[piscopante]	f.7v: Decorated capital: E[piscopante]	f.83v: "Alia" Decorated capital: E[piscopante]
30	Epilogue explaining the sources and reasons for writing the Scottish histories	f.147r: Red overwriting of brown: "Alia causa quare m(u)lieres"	f.7v: Decorated capital: H[ec]	f.84r: Capital: H[ec]
		f.147v: "Amen"	f.8r: "Explicit libel(us) de vita s(an)c(t)i Cuthberti de hystoriis scotto(rum) excerptus"	f.84v: "Explicit libellus de natiuitate s(an)c(t)i Cuthberti"

Appendix 8. Salisbury Breviary Illustrations to St Cuthbert Readings

8.1 Table showing illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert in the *Salisbury Breviary*

All photographs © BNF⁴

Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)	Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)	Subject
 <p>A miniature illustration showing St Cuthbert, depicted as a bishop with a mitre and a crozier, standing and blessing a monk who is kneeling before him. The monk is holding an open book. The scene is set within an architectural space with a red and blue background. The illustration is framed by a decorative blue and red border.</p> <p>f.434v, second column, beneath rubric</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed as a bishop, blessing a monk who kneels before him holding an open book towards the saint.</p>
 <p>A miniature illustration showing four tonsured monks in white robes standing around a book open on a lectern. A text banner rises above them. Behind them to the right is an altar with a seated effigy of the saint, his right hand raised in blessing. The scene is set within an architectural room with a red and blue background. The illustration is framed by a decorative border.</p> <p>f.434v, lower right margin</p>	<p><i>Deus qui per</i> (Text in second column, 16 lines directly above; first line after rubric)</p>	<p>Set within an architectural room, four tonsured monks stand around a book open on a lectern. The text banner rises above them. Behind them to the right is an altar with a seated effigy of the saint, his right hand raised in blessing.</p>
	<p><i>S. Turbert</i></p>	<p>Cuthbert arrives at Melrose</p>

⁴ “Bréviaire de Salisbury, fait pour le duc de Bedford”, *Gallica*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470142p/f121.image.r=17294.langFR>, accessed 15 March 2016













<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.435r, upper main page (for larger image, see Illustrations to Chapter 2: Figure 2.27).</p>	<p>(4 labels)</p> <p><i>Ecce seruus dei</i> (Text in first column of f.345v (overleaf), but full text runs from f.434v-435v)</p>	<p>In the upper left St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed as a shepherd stands on a hillside surrounded by three sleeping figures and cows. He looks up at St Aidan's soul being carried to heaven by angels (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, IV). In the lower left, St Cuthbert is shown nimbed and kneeling before a group of habited and tonsured monks in the doorway of a monastery. The text banner rises above the monks (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, VI). To the right, through an arched opening in the monastery, Cuthbert is seen nimbed, kneeling and with head bowed before a seated monk, with an open book on his lap, who gestures towards him (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, VII?), and his coronation as bishop of Lindisfarne (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, XXIV). On the right, set within an architectural structure, with steps leading down to the monastery, St Cuthbert is shown being enthroned as bishop. (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, XXIV)</p>



Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)	Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)	Subject
 <p>f.435r, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Quadam nocte</i> (Text in second column, f.434v (facing page)).</p>	<p>Cuthbert watching cows. St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, stands looking at three seated shepherds, one of whom holds a spear and is rubbing his face as if tired. Behind them are three cows and a scroll (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, IV)</p>
 <p>f.435r, lower right border</p>	<p><i>Rem q(ue) illa(m) mirabile</i> (Text immediately above, first line of introduction.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert leans towards sleeping cowherds, declaring what he has seen. St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothes, stands gesturing over two sleeping laypeople, with a scroll rising from his left hand. One of the laymen has a spear (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, IV)</p>



<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.435r, middle right border</p>	<p><i>Uidit subito</i> (Lectio I. Text in first column, other side of page)</p>	<p>Cuthbert sees the soul of St Aidan carried to heaven by angels.</p> <p>A secular figure holding a spear is seated on the left, with a text scroll rising from his left hand. St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, kneels in prayer on the right. He looks up at two angels carrying a figure, also with his hands raised in prayer, naked except for a bishop's mitre. (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, IV)</p>
 <p>f.435r, upper right border</p>	<p><i>Per uigil i(n) or(at)ione</i> (Lectio I. Text in first column, other side of page)</p>	<p>Cuthbert prays to God.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, kneels in prayer to God, who looks down from an opening in the sky. A layperson stands to the right, with a scroll rising from his right hand and a spear in his left. (Bede, <i>Vita Prosaica</i>, IV)</p>



<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.435v, upper left border</p>	<p><i>San(ctus)</i> <i>li(ndiffarnensis)</i> (Lectio I. Text in first column, 1 line below bottom of medallion)</p>	<p>Cuthbert sees the soul of St Aidan carried to heaven by angels.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, kneels in prayer on the left. To the right two laymen kneel in prayer and surprise, looking up at two angels holding a third angel, with a scroll.</p>
 <p>f.435v, middle left border</p>	<p><i>Non multo post</i> (First line of lectio II. Text in first column, 4 lines above top of medallion)</p>	<p>Cuthbert gives away money before joining the monastery</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, stands before three laymen, one with a crutch, who hold out their hands towards him. A scroll rises above them. Cuthbert has one hand in his purse and gives money with the other.</p>



<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.435v, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Ecce seruus dei</i> (Lectio II. Text in first column, 8 lines above top of medallion)</p>	<p>Boisil greets Cuthbert upon his arrival at Melrose.</p> <p>Set within an architectural structure, St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed in secular clothing, embraces a habited monk. A scroll rises from behind the monk's head. The monk is turned to look at a second monk whose arms are extended towards Cuthbert.</p>
 <p>f.435v, lower right border</p>	<p><i>Quo facto</i> (Lectio II. Text in second column, 27 lines above top of medallion)</p>	<p>Cuthbert receives the monastic habit.</p> <p>Set within an architectural structure, St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and dressed in a white habit with black hood, kneels in prayer on the right. To his left stands a habited and tonsured monk holding out a black habit. On the far left stands a monk with arms raised, a scroll rising above him.</p>
 <p>f.436r, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Famulus d(omi)ni</i> (First line of Lectio III. Text in first column, 17 lines above top of medallion)</p>	<p>Cuthbert washes the feet of an angel disguised as a man.</p> <p>A monk, nimbed and habited in black, kneels before a seated boy in secular clothes and washes his feet. Behind the monk stands a male figure and a scroll rises above him.</p>



<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.436r, upper right border</p>	<p><i>Cerno q(uo)d angel(us)</i> (Lectio III. Text in Column 1, 11th line.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert returns to see the bread provided by the angel, who leaves.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and habited in black gestures towards three loaves of bread on a table to his right. A scroll rises from his left hand. A young man (angel) in secular clothes walks away from the table towards a door on the right.</p>
 <p>f.436r, middle right border</p>	<p><i>Cum ergo ven(er)abi(lis)</i> (First line of Lectio IV. Text in first column, level with top of medallion.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert teaches monastic rule.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and habited in black is greeted by two monks within an architectural frame. The scroll rises between the two monks.</p>



<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 846 539 880">f.436r, lower right border</p>	<p data-bbox="810 360 970 898"><i>Insulam medio</i> (End of Lectio IV. Text in second column, 27 lines above top of medallion (last word taken from end of lines X and X))</p>	<p data-bbox="1002 360 1362 427">Cuthbert becomes a hermit on Lindisfarne.</p> <p data-bbox="1002 479 1385 786">On an island St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and habited in black, kneels before two habited monks, one of whom holds a scroll, who stand on land separated from St Cuthbert's island by a thin strip of water.</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1617 528 1650">f.436v, upper left border</p>	<p data-bbox="810 916 970 1140"><i>Electus est</i> (Lectio V. Text on previous page, f.436r, Column 2.)</p>	<p data-bbox="1002 916 1321 983">Monks elect Cuthbert as bishop?</p> <p data-bbox="1002 1034 1394 1218">Two groups of three monks facing each other within an architectural structure. A scroll rises from the hand of a monk on the left.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.436v, middle left border</p>	<p><i>Genua flectunt</i> (Lectio V. Text on previous page, f.436r, Column 2.)</p>	<p>Ecgfrith asks Cuthbert to become bishop.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and wearing a red cloak trimmed in yellow, kneels in prayer before an altar and a kneeling king. Two monks kneel behind him and a scroll rises above him.</p>
 <p>f.436v, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Q(uo)d susceptum</i> (Lectio V. Text in column 1, 6th line.)</p>	<p>As bishop, Cuthbert performs virtuous works following apostolic precedents.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and dressed as a bishop, stands in a room with a desk/lectern behind him. He is holding a crozier and facing a group of laymen. The laymen stand facing Cuthbert with a scroll rising from the mouth of the foremost man.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.436v, lower right border</p>	<p><i>Quodam autem</i> (First line of Lectio VI. Text in column 1, 16th line.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert's actions as bishop.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and dressed as a bishop, stands outside with a group of monks and laymen. A scroll is set above the group.</p>
 <p>f.437r, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Totam deum ergo</i> (Lectio VI)</p>	<p>Cuthbert gives clothes to the poor.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed, tonsured and dressed as a bishop, stands before two clerics, a scroll rises from the right hand of one. He is blessing a secular man he has given a robe to. Two more laymen stand behind the first, their arms raised in gesture.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.437r, upper right border</p>	<p><i>Data</i> <i>b(e)n(e)dict(i)</i> <i>o(n)e</i> (Lectio VI Text on f.436v, 2nd column. (facing page)</p>	<p>St Cuthbert heals a youth.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed as a bishop, stands before a woman holding a young boy. He raises his hand in blessing. A monk stands behind Cuthbert and a cleric/academic standing behind the woman holds a scroll.</p>
 <p>f.437r, middle right border</p>	<p><i>Duob(us)</i> <i>e(r)g(o)</i> <i>annis</i> (First line of Lectio VI [not exact text]. Text on f.436v, 2nd column. (facing page)</p>	<p>Cuthbert spends his final years as a hermit.</p> <p>St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed as a monk sits reading from a book outside a small building. A cleric/academic stands on the right holding a scroll.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>A miniature illustration from a manuscript showing three monks in a room. One monk is lying in a bed, covered with a red patterned blanket. Two other monks stand by the bed, one holding a white disc. A scroll above them contains the Latin text 'Si quidem'. The scene is set within an architectural frame with a window on the right.</p>	<p><i>Si quidem</i> <i>q(ua)рта</i> (Lectio VII. Text in 1st column, 8th line.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert's death.</p> <p>A monk holds a white disc in front of an invalid in bed. Two monks stand on the left, a scroll rising above them.</p>
<p>f.437r, lower right border</p>  <p>A miniature illustration showing three monks placing a naked, tonsured body into a stone coffin. The body is held by two monks, while a third monk stands behind them. A scroll above the scene contains the Latin text 'post decessum'. The scene is set in a room with a window on the left.</p>	<p><i>Post</i> <i>decessum</i></p> <p>(First line of Lectio VIII. Text on f.437r (previous page), 1st column.)</p>	<p>Cuthbert's body placed in his tomb.</p> <p>Three monks place the naked body of Cuthbert, tonsured and nimbed, into a stone coffin. A cleric/academic stands behind the monk on the right, a scroll coming from his mouth.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Illustration (Folio, placement on folio)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Scroll text (Lesson & location in main text)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Subject</p>
 <p>f.437v, middle left border</p>	<p><i>Nam pu(er)</i> <i>q(ui)d(em)</i></p> <p>(Lectio VIII. Text on f.437r (previous page), 1st column.)</p>	<p>A boy possessed by demon healed by an infusion made from soil where Cuthbert's body was washed.</p> <p>A monk holds a black object over a young boy, whose hands are raised above him. On the right a black demon leaps over the boy. In the background in an empty white coffin. On the left a cleric/academic stands looking, with a scroll rising from his left hand.</p>
 <p>f.437v, lower left border</p>	<p><i>Et</i> <i>ap(er)ientes</i> <i>sep(u)lcr(um)</i>)</p> <p>(Lectio IX. Text in 1st column.)</p>	<p>The discovery of Cuthbert's incorrupt body.</p> <p>A group of monks look into an open stone coffin at St Cuthbert, nimbed and dressed as a bishop, who lies inside. A cleric/academic on the left holds a scroll. A building is in the background.</p>

Appendix 9. *Life of St Cuthbert* Choir Screen Paintings, Carlisle Cathedral

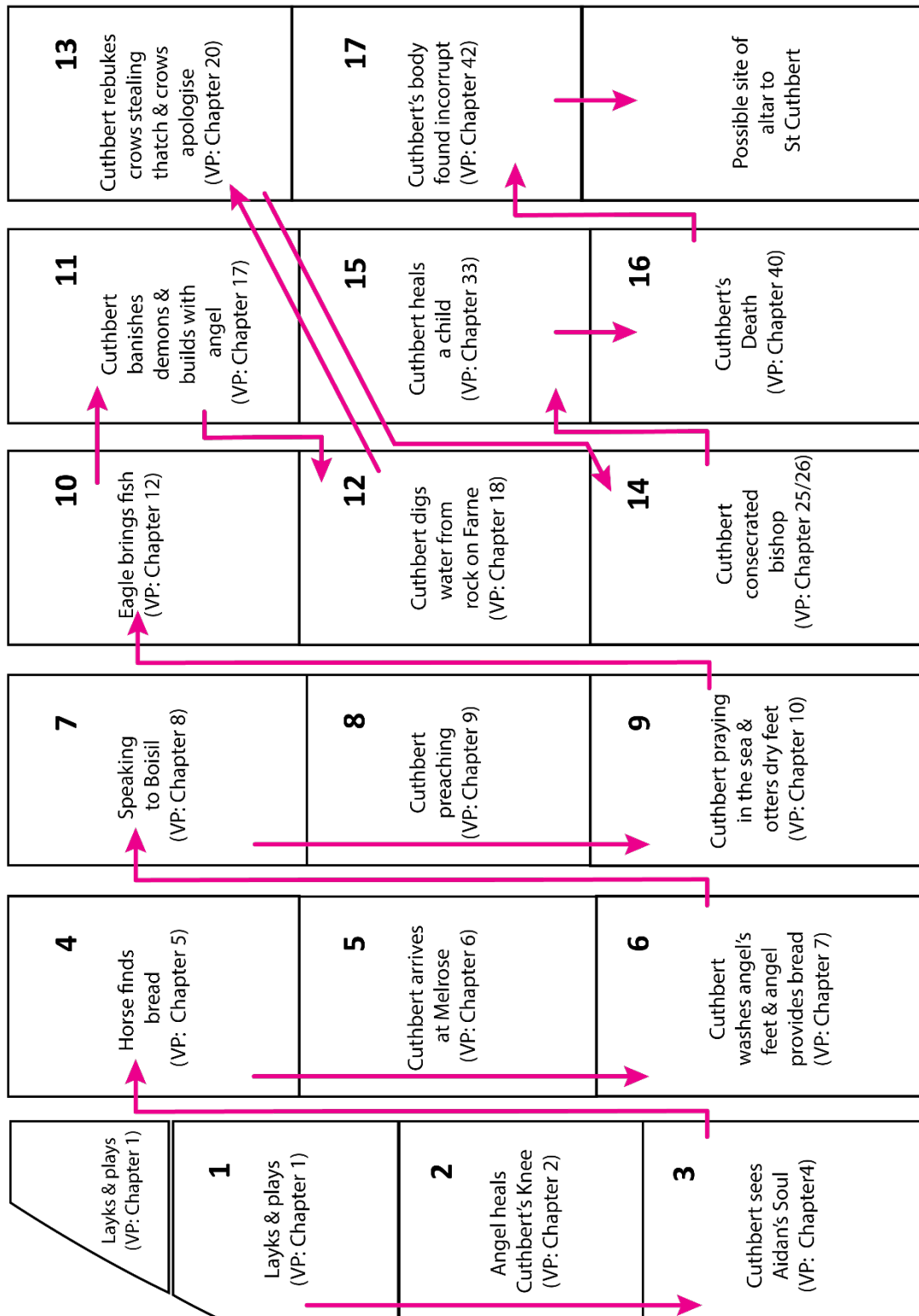
9.1 Diagram of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, choir screen painting, Carlisle Cathedral, showing panel subjects (painting numbers in bold)

Layks & plays? (VP: Chapter 1)	1 Layks & plays (VP: Chapter 1)	2 Angel heals Cuthbert's Knee (VP: Chapter 2)	3 Cuthbert sees Aidan's Soul (VP: Chapter 4)
4 Horse finds bread (VP: Chapter 5)	5 Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (VP: Chapter 6)	6 Cuthbert washes angel's feet & angel provides bread (VP: Chapter 7)	
7 Speaking to Boisil (VP: Chapter 8)	8 Cuthbert preaching (VP: Chapter 9)	9 Cuthbert praying in the sea & offers dry feet (VP: Chapter 10)	
10 Eagle brings fish (VP: Chapter 12)	12 Cuthbert digs water from rock on Farne (VP: Chapter 18)	14 Cuthbert consecrated bishop (VP: Chapter 25/26)	
11 Cuthbert banishes demons & builds with angel (VP: Chapter 17)	15 Cuthbert heals a child (VP: Chapter 33)	16 Cuthbert's Death (VP: Chapter 40)	
13 Cuthbert rebukes crows stealing thatch & crows apologise (VP: Chapter 20)	17 Cuthbert's body found incorrupt (VP: Chapter 42)		

9.2 Diagram of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, choir screen painting, Carlisle Cathedral, showing *tituli* (painting numbers in bold)

	<p>4</p> <p>"Her [...] hym and hys palfray/ [G]od send hym fude in hys jorney"</p>
<p>1</p> <p>"Her Cuthbert was forbid lalyks/ and plays ; As Saint) bede i(n) hys story sa[lyst]"</p>	<p>5</p> <p>"[...] mellrosse [...] w(ith) [...] and mol[al.].re"</p>
<p>2</p> <p>"Her the Angel did hym [c]ure/ [...] made h[is] so[...]. o [...]e + s[...]"</p>	<p>6</p> <p>"The angel he did as gest refreshe/ w(ith) met and drynk + hys fete weshe"</p>
<p>3</p> <p>"Her saw he Ay- dalns] saul up go/ to heuyn blys w(ith) ang[els] two"</p>	<p>9</p> <p>"Her stode he nakyd in y(e) see/ to all dauid psalmz[?] sayd had he"</p>
<p>7</p> <p>"Her bosile told hym yt h[e]l must de/ aln[.]d after yt he [...]d be"</p>	<p>10</p> <p>"He was gydyd by y(is) egle fire./ and fede w(ith) yis delfyn[.] as [...]"</p>
<p>8</p> <p>"H[er] to hys bred[.]en + pepyl eke/ h[er] prechyd glo[dys] word(s) myld + mek"</p>	<p>12</p> <p>"Fresh water [g]od send from[?] ye [...] to hym in falrn[e] + ble[fo]re] wals] [n]on"</p>
<p>9</p> <p>"Her stode he nakyd in y(e) see/ to all dauid psalmz[?] sayd had he"</p>	<p>14</p> <p>"Consecrate byss- hop yai mad[e] [hy(m)] [h]er/ off lyndisfame both far and [ne]r"</p>
<p>11</p> <p>"Her he prayers fendys out farm gl/ ad \ /and w(ith) Angel ha(n)d(s) hys hous mad"</p>	<p>13</p> <p>"The crows ys yt did hys hous unthek/ y(en)for full law fell at hys fete"</p>
<p>15</p> <p>"To thys chyld god gralyn[ty]d llyfe/ through hys prayfers] [...][r?]s wysse[?]"</p>	<p>17</p> <p>"Xl yer after yt beryd was he/ yai fand hym hole as red may ye"</p>
<p>16</p> <p>"Bishop two [yer]ys when he had beyn/ [in?] farne h[er] d[ile]d both holy + clene"</p>	<p>Possible site of altar to St Cuthbert</p>

9.3 Diagram of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, choir screen painting, Carlisle Cathedral, showing panel subjects and chronological reading order according to VP (painting numbers in bold)



9.4 Diagram of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, choir screen painting, Carlisle Cathedral, showing panel subjects and the corresponding readings in the SEL (and *Gilte Legende*), shown in red, and York Use breviaries, shown in green

Layks & plays (VP: Chapter 1)	1 Layks & plays (VP: Chapter 1) SEL/GL: 1 YB: 1	Horse finds bread (VP: Chapter 5)	Speaking to Boisil (VP: Chapter 8)	Eagle brings fish (VP: Chapter 12)	Cuthbert banishes demons & builds with angel (VP: Chapter 17)	Cuthbert rebukes crows stealing thatch & crows apologise (VP: Chapter 20)
	2 Angel heals Cuthbert's Knee (VP: Chapter 2) SEL/GL: 4 YB: 2 (+3)					
3 Cuthbert sees Aidan's Soul (VP: Chapter 4) SEL/GL: 2 YB: 1 (+6)	6 Cuthbert washes angel's feet & angel provides bread (VP: Chapter 7) SEL/GL: 5 YB: 4	9 Cuthbert praying in the sea & otters dry feet (VP: Chapter 10) SEL/GL: 6 YB: 10	14 Cuthbert consecrated bishop (VP: Chapter 25/26) SEL/GL: 7 YB: 8	16 Cuthbert's Death (VP: Chapter 40) SEL/GL: 8 YB: 9	13 Possible site of altar to St Cuthbert	

9.5 Diagram of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, Carlisle Choir Screen, showing panel subjects and the corresponding readings in the SEL/*Gilte Legende* (red), Sarum Use breviaries (blue) and York Use breviaries (green)

<p>Layks & plays (VP: Chapter 1)</p>	<p>1 Layks & plays (VP: Chapter 1) SEL/GL: 1 YB:1</p>	<p>2 Angel heals Cuthbert's Knee (VP: Chapter 2) SEL/GL: 4 YB:2 (+3)</p>	<p>3 Cuthbert sees Aidan's Soul (VP: Chapter 4) SEL/GL: 2 YB:1 (+6) SB:1</p>
<p>4 Horse finds bread (VP: Chapter 5)</p>	<p>5 Cuthbert arrives at Melrose (VP: Chapter 6) SEL/GL: 3 YB:2 SB:2</p>	<p>6 Cuthbert washes angel's feet & angel provides bread (VP: Chapter 7) SEL/GL: 5 YB:4 SB:3</p>	
<p>7 Speaking to Boisil (VP: Chapter 8)</p>	<p>8 Cuthbert preaching (VP: Chapter 9)</p>	<p>9 Cuthbert praying in the sea & otters dry feet (VP: Chapter 10) SEL/GL: 6 YB:10</p>	
<p>10 Eagle brings fish (VP: Chapter 12)</p>	<p>12 Cuthbert digs water from rock on Farne (VP: Chapter 18)</p>	<p>14 Cuthbert consecrated bishop (VP: Chapter 25/26) SEL/GL: 7 YB:8 SB:5</p>	
<p>11 Cuthbert banishes demons & builds with angel (VP: Chapter 17)</p>	<p>15 Cuthbert heals a child (VP: Chapter 33)</p>	<p>16 Cuthbert's Death (VP: Chapter 40) SEL/GL: 8 YB:9 SB:7</p>	
<p>13 Cuthbert rebukes crows stealing thatch & crows apologise (VP: Chapter 20)</p>	<p>17 Cuthbert's body found incorrupt (VP: Chapter 42) SB:9</p>	<p>Possible site of altar to St Cuthbert</p>	

