

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

5 Volumes

Volume 5: Illustrations & Bibliography

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Photographic References

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Illustrations

1. Illustrations to Introduction and Chapter 1



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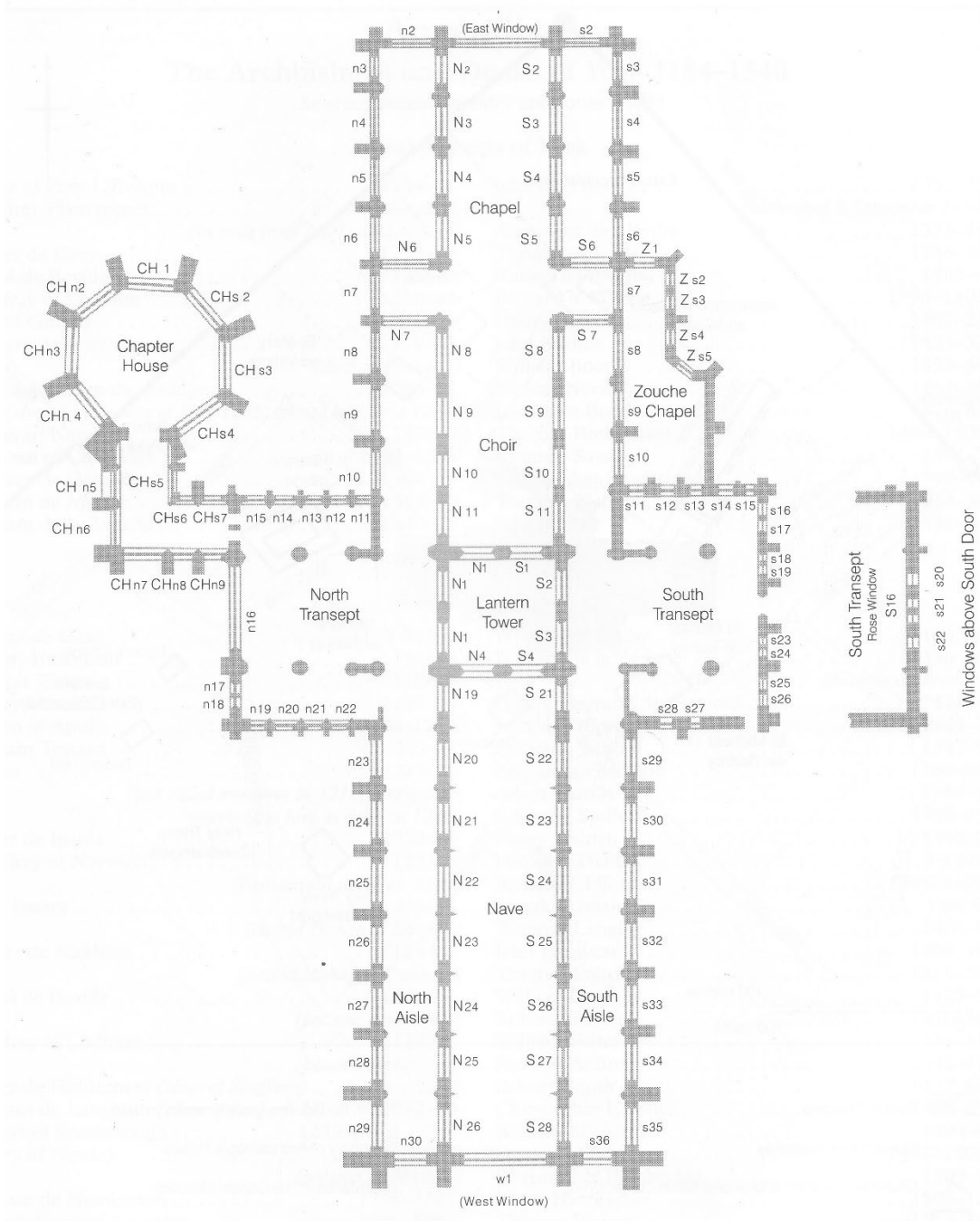


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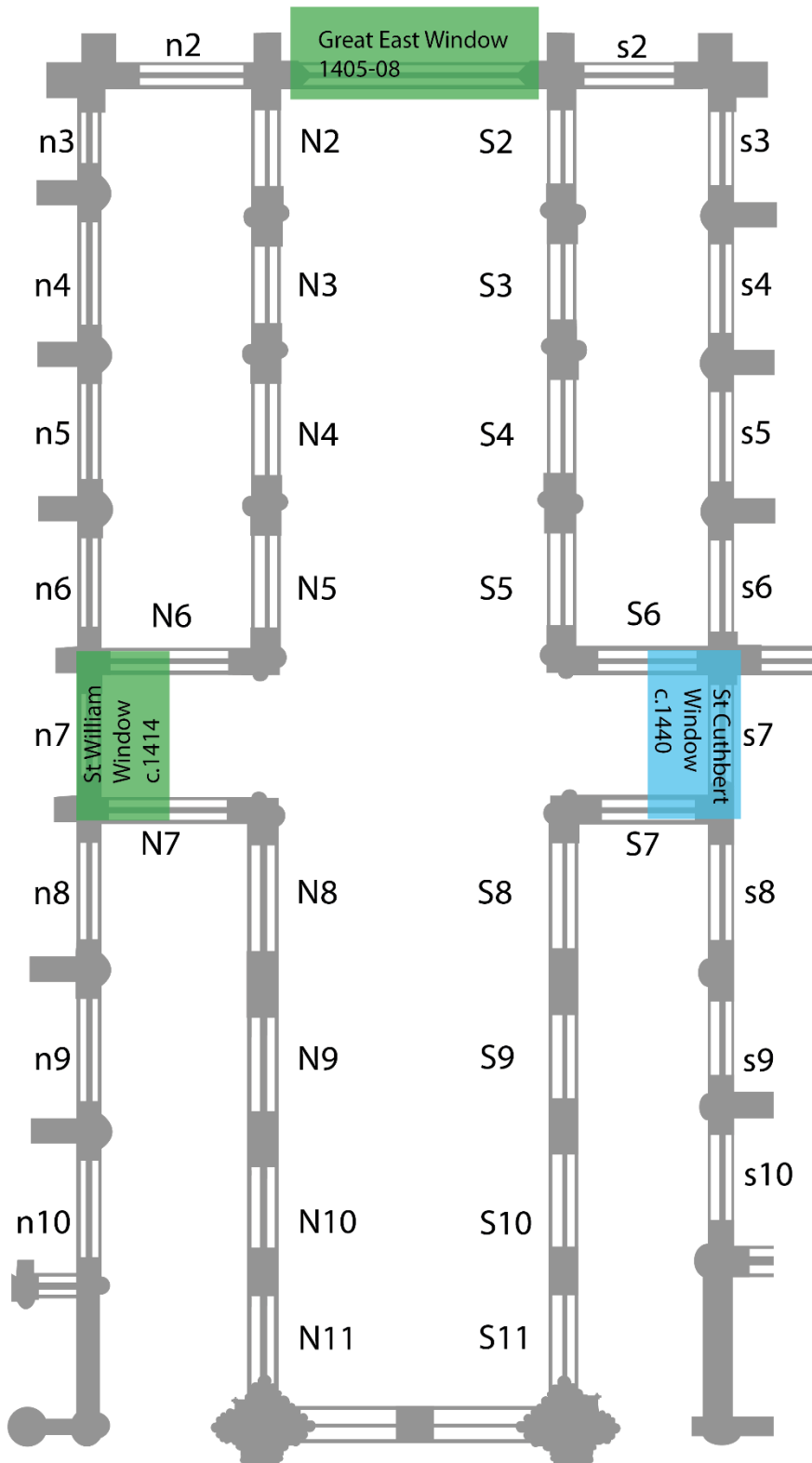


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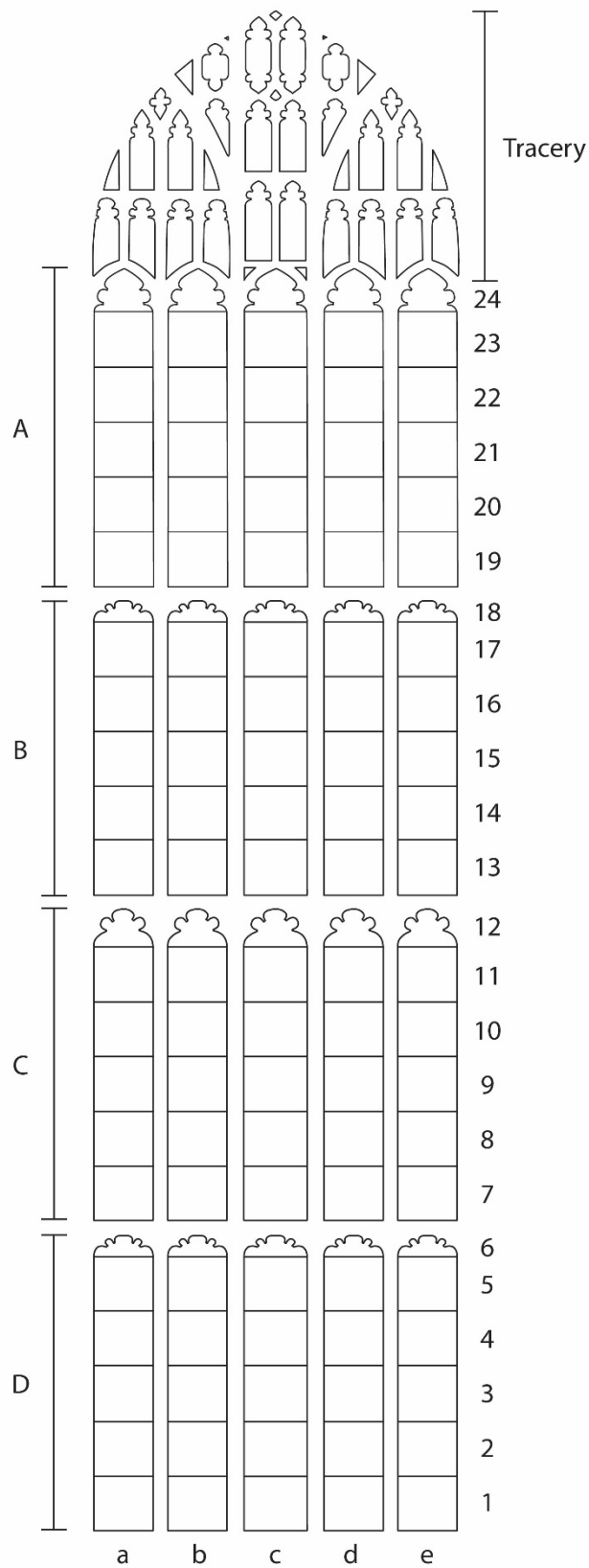


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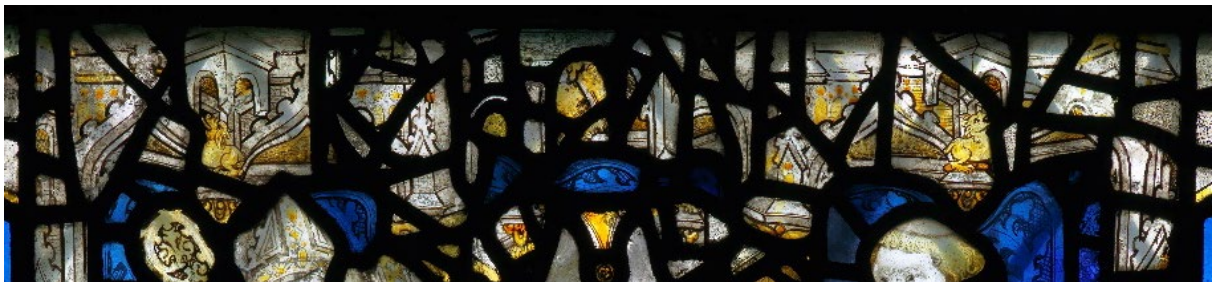


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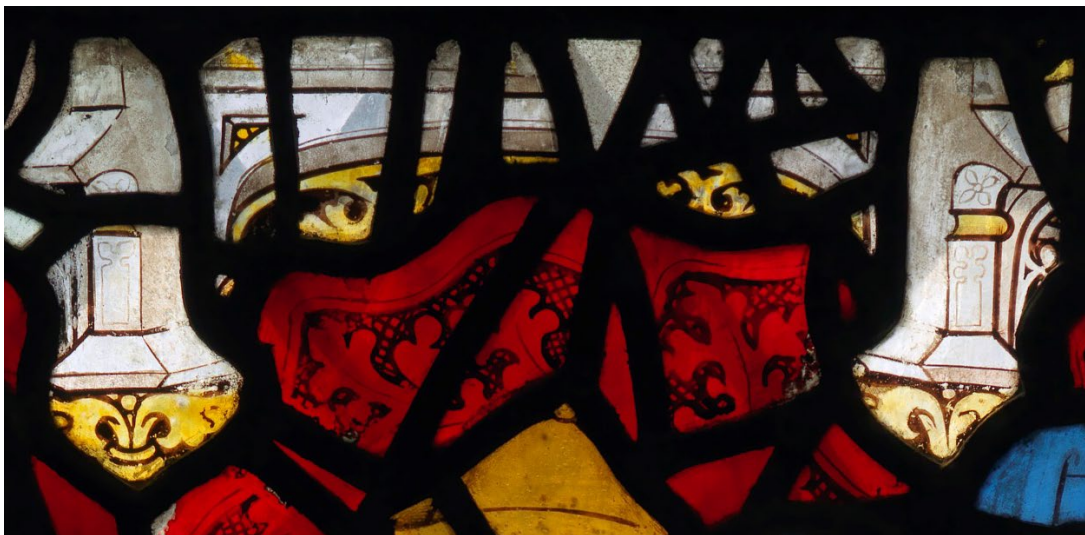


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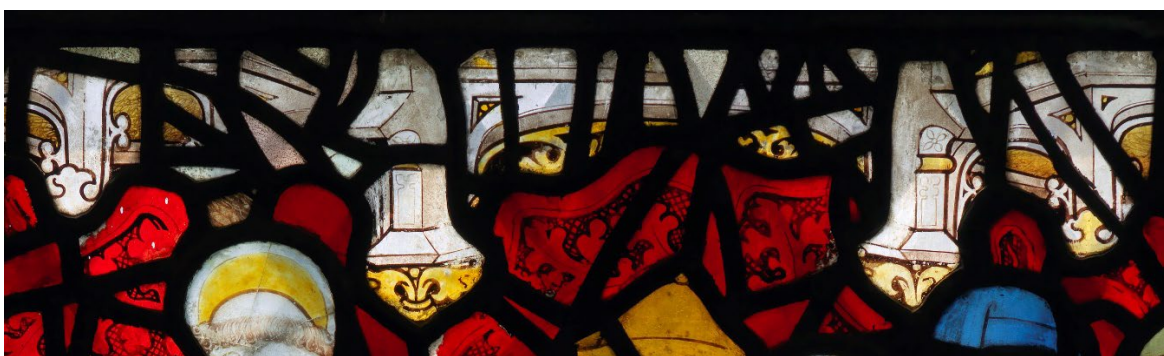


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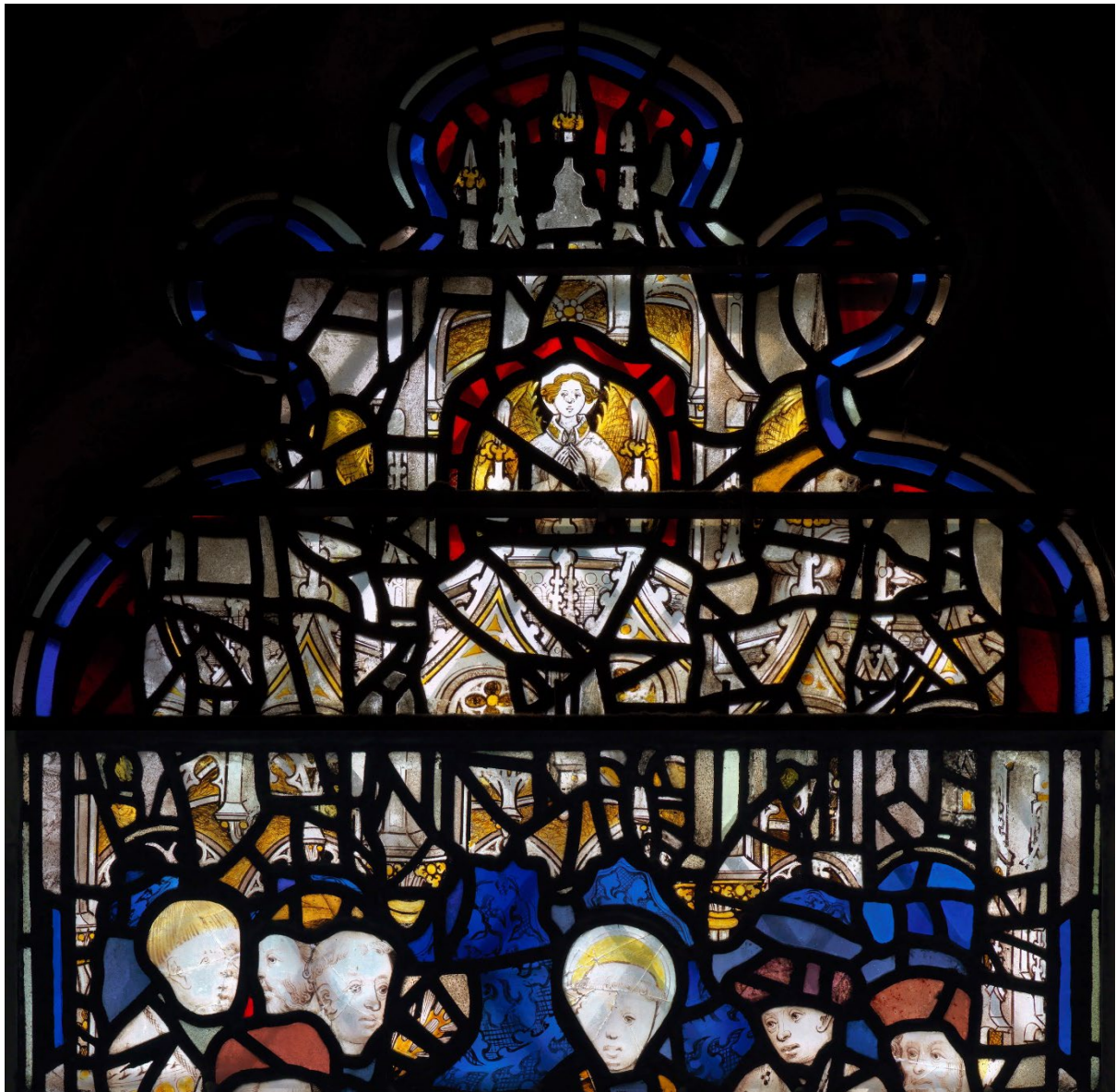


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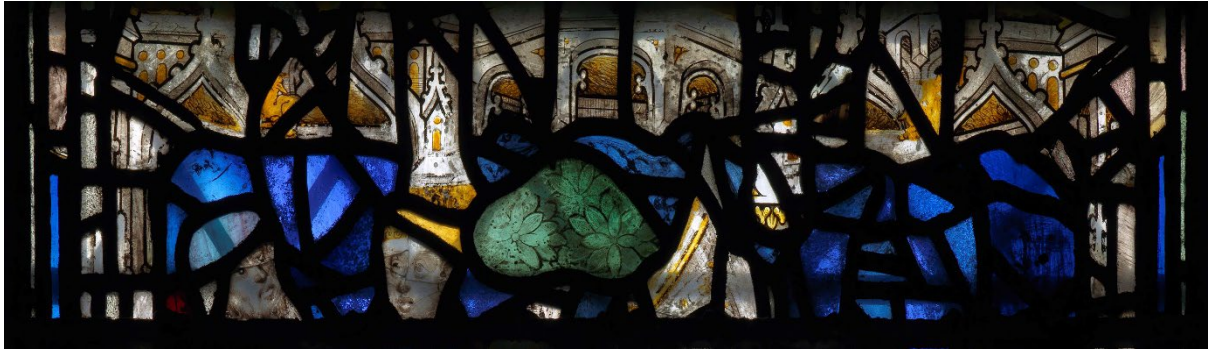


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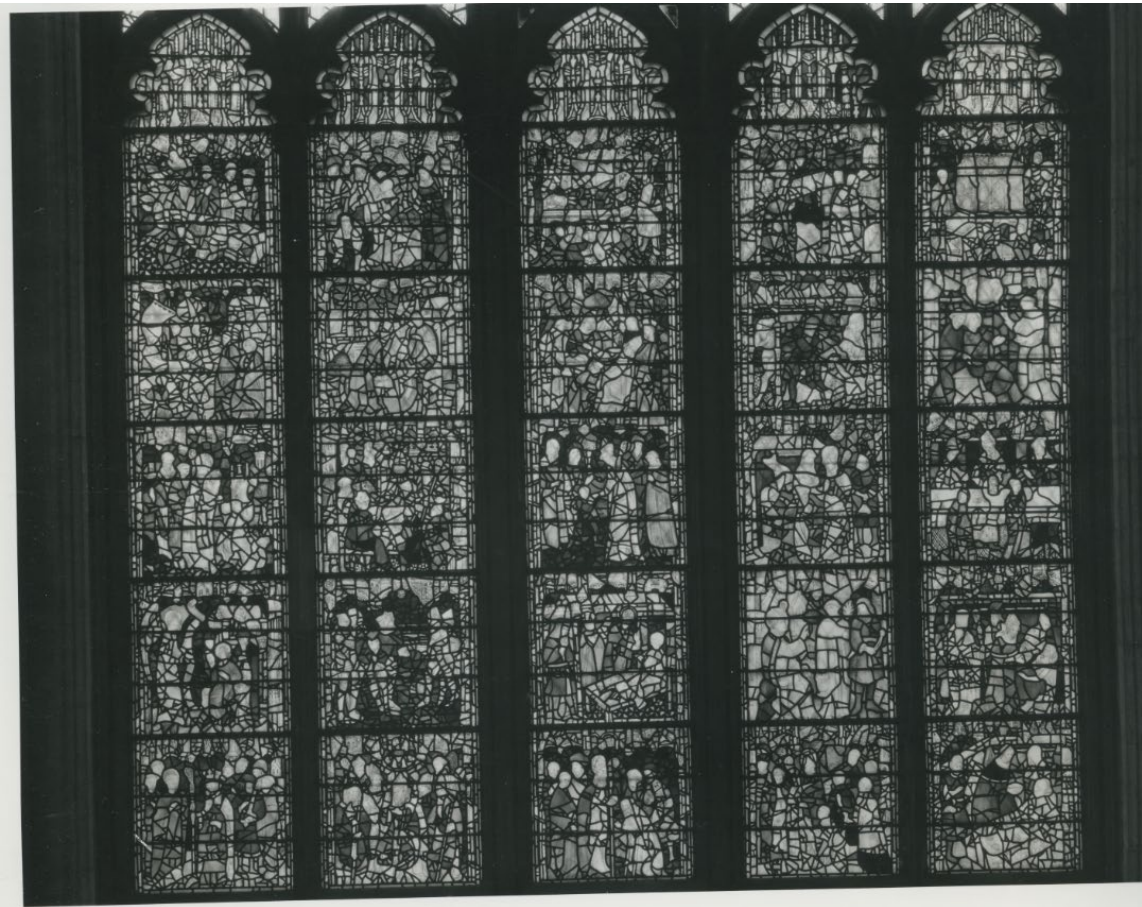


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Figure 1.44. Knowles & Sons rubbing and drawing of s7 15a, York Minster, c.1886-8, VAM, E.760-1929 (Image © VAM).



Figure 1.45. Name scrolls and emblems in the outer borders, Parker Window (n9) 1a, York Minster, c.1415 (Image YGT © DCYM)

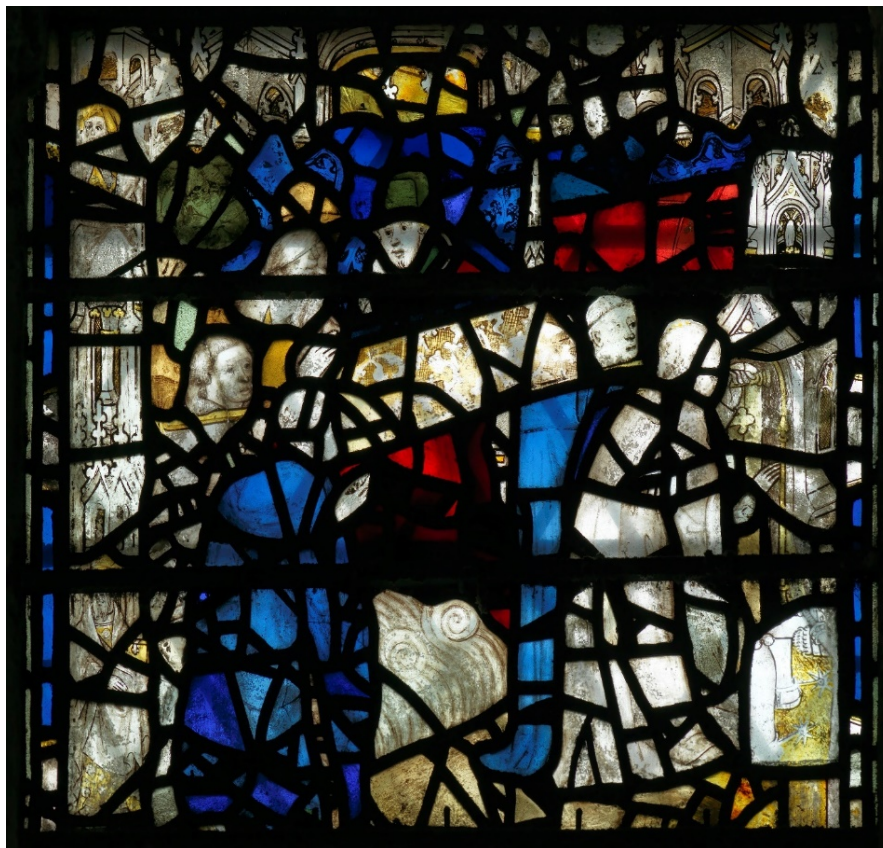


Figure 1.46. The brethren bring Cuthbert's body (in a coffin) ashore and into the church at Lindisfarne, s7 23d, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 1.47. Knowles & Sons rubbing and drawing of s7 23d, York Minster, VAM, c.1886-8, E.798-1929 (Image © VAM)

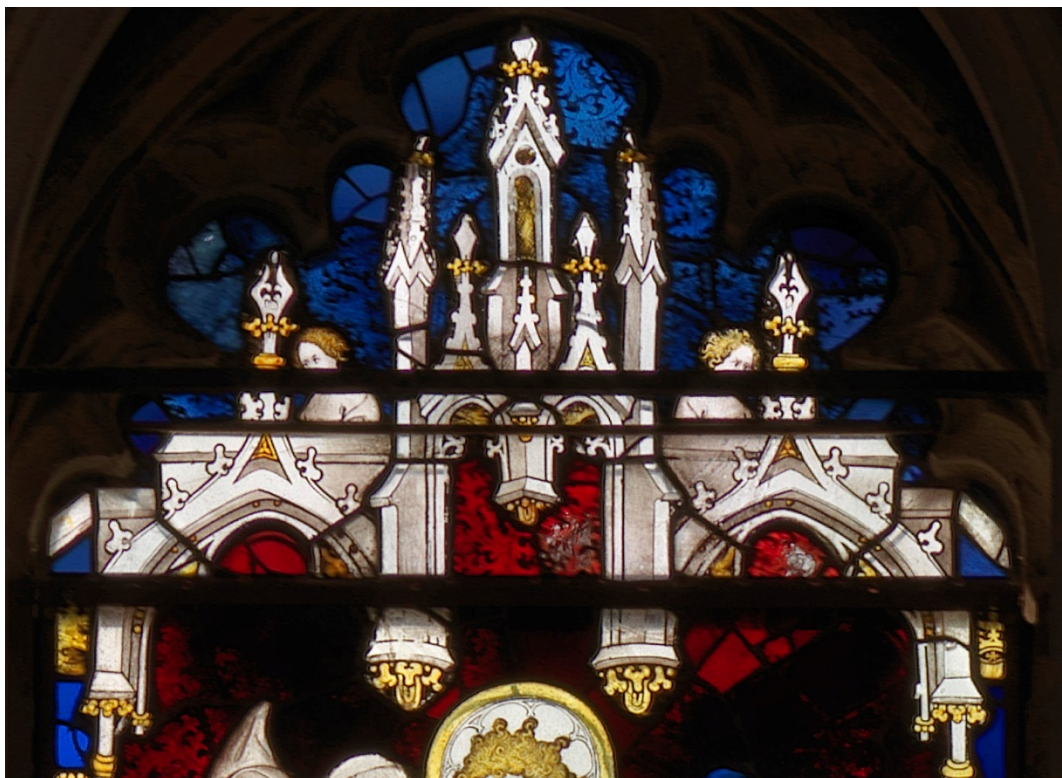


Figure 1.48. The alignment of the architectural canopy across 12c and the upper edge of 11c, Great East Window (1), York Minster, 1405-08 (Image YGT © DCYM)

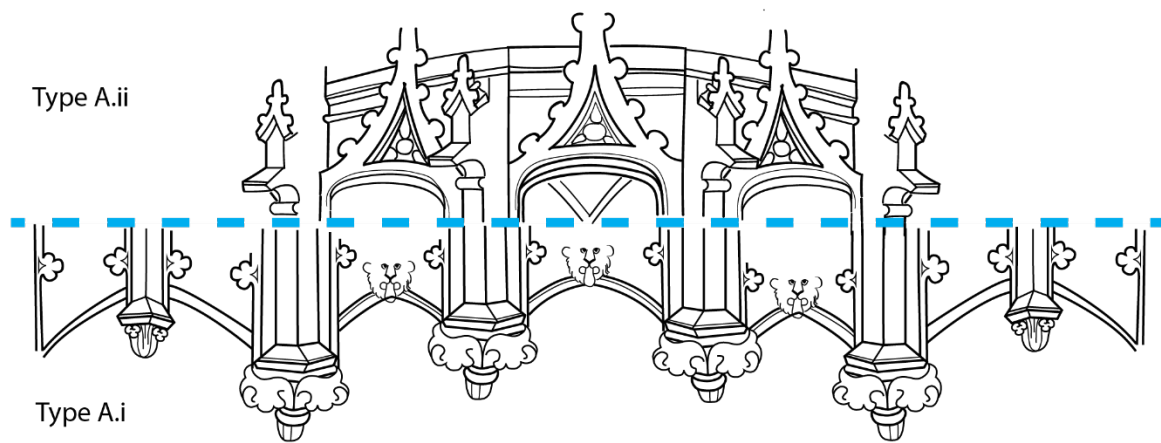


Figure 1.49. Reconstructive tracing of canopy type A.i below A.ii (Image by author)



Figure 1.50. St Cuthbert shares the fish with the eagle, s7 13c, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 1.51. The counterchange of red and blue between each vertical and horizontal section of the micro-architecture is visible in Section D of s7 (Image YGT © DCYM)

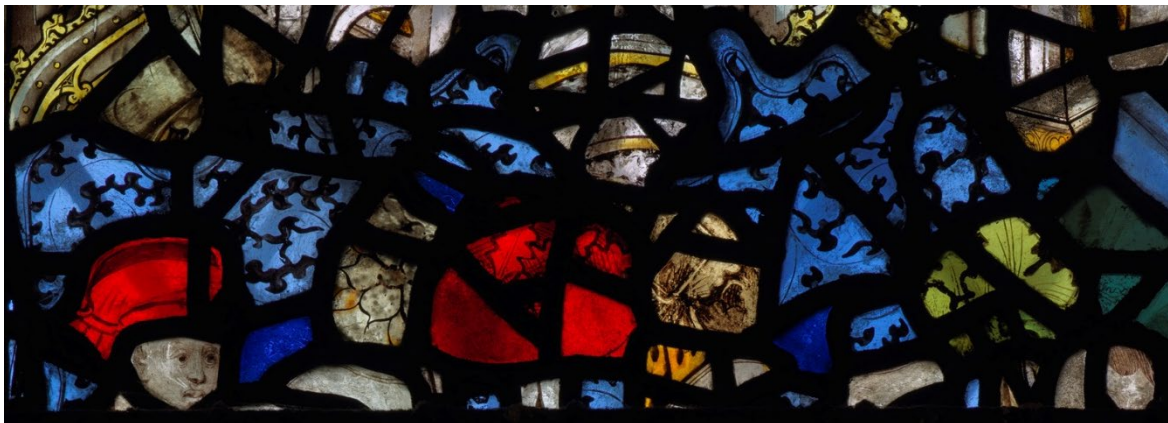


Figure 1.52. Detail showing 'solid' foliate background pattern in s7 9b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 1.53. Detail showing 'cross-hatched' foliate background pattern in s7 13a (Image YGT © DCYM)

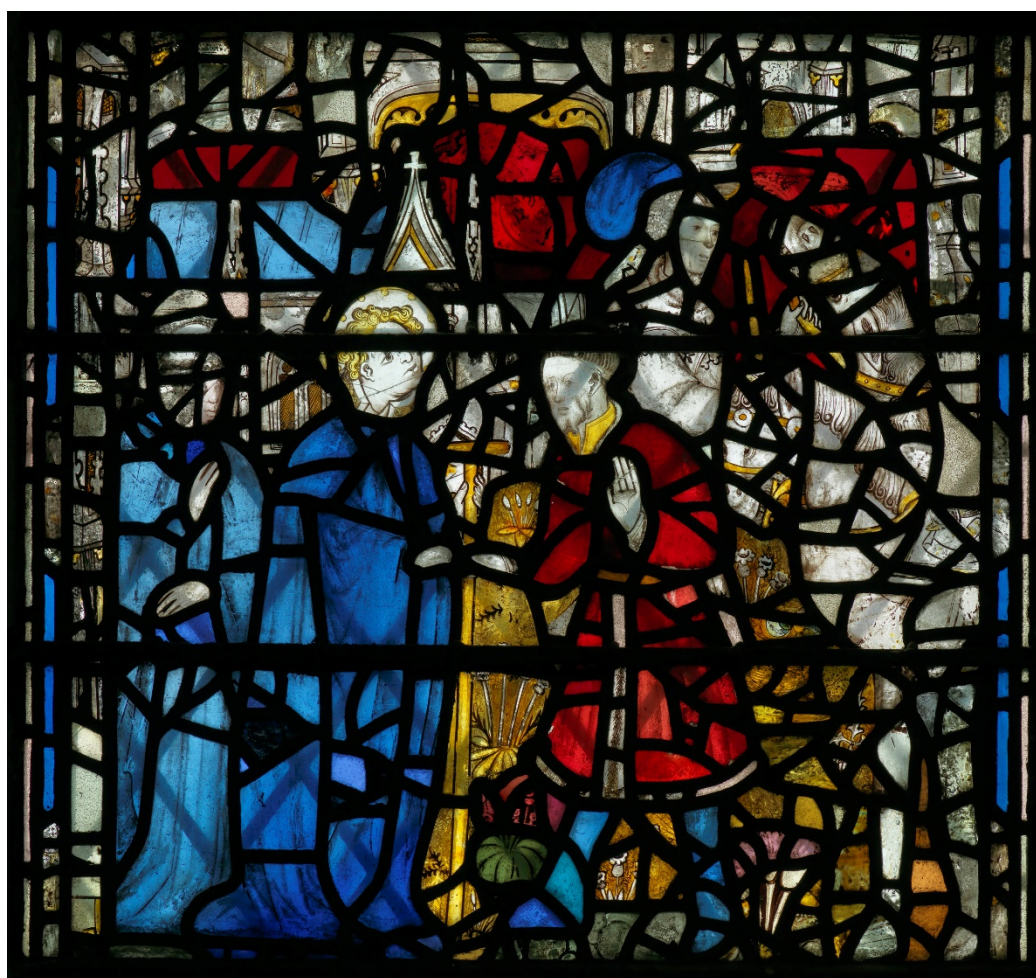


Figure 1.54. Hildmer seeks St Cuthbert's help, s7 17c (Image YGT © DCYM)

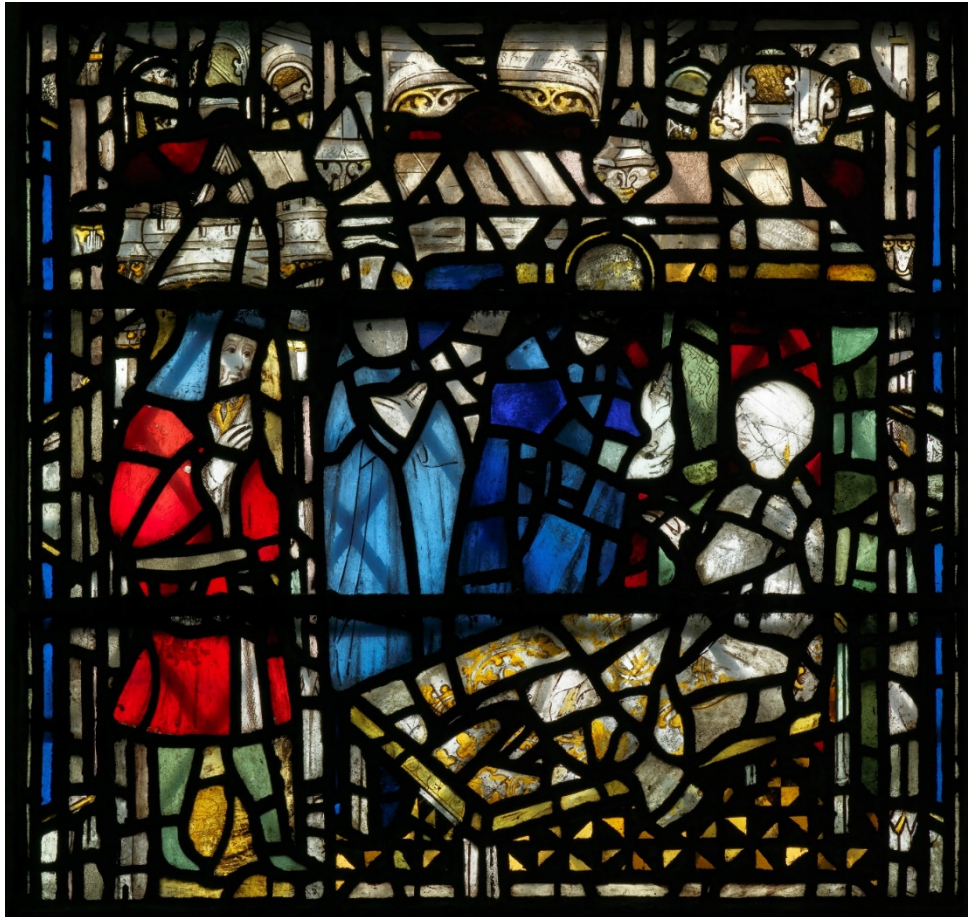


Figure 1.55. St Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife, s7 20c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 1.56. St Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife, YT26 (twelfth century), f. 33v (Image © BL)



Figure 1.57. Author's yellow highlights of two examples of three-panel scenes set within mullion sub-divisions in the Great East Window (1), rows 7-11, York Minster, c.1405-8 (Photo YGT © DCYM)

2. Illustrations to Chapter 2



Figure 2.1. St Cuthbert, twelfth century, wall-painting, Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)



Figure 2.2. Cuthbert's consecration (left) and vision of a death (right), twelfth century, wall-painting window reveal, St Lawrence, Pitlington, http://www.saint-laurence.org.uk/img_0430

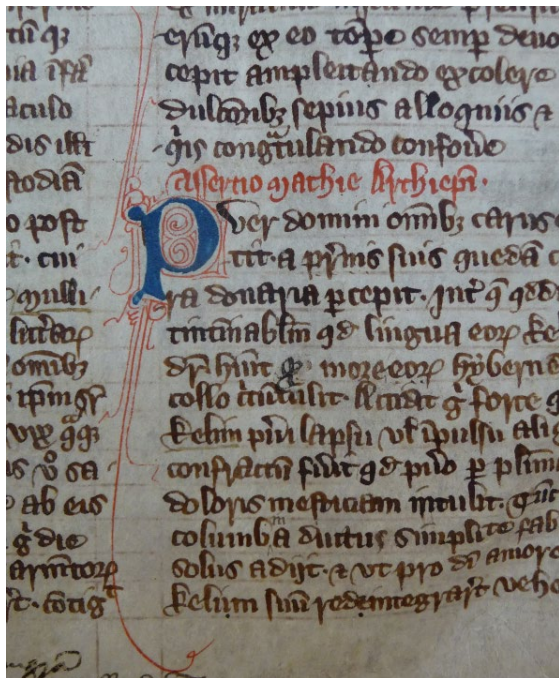


Figure 2.3. Decorated initial and rubricated title indicating an interpolated section (chapter 11) within the *Libellus* in Bodleian, Fairfax 6, f.3r (Photo by author © Bodleian)

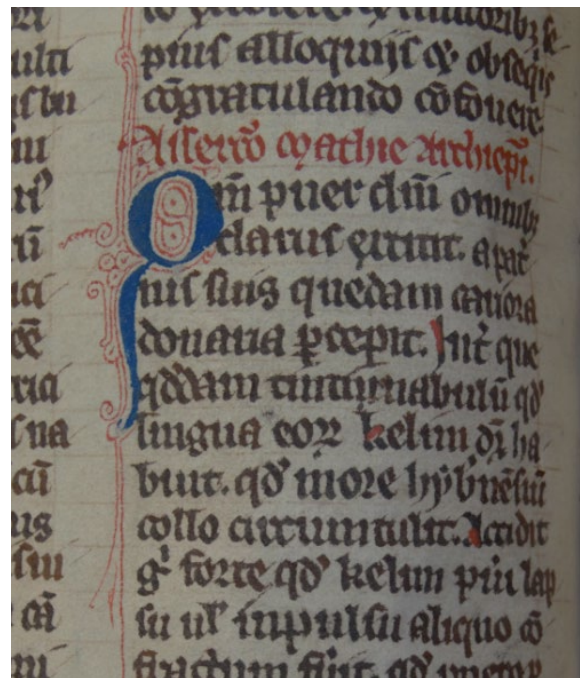


Figure 2.4. Decorated initial and rubricated title indicating an interpolated section (chapter 11) within the *Libellus* in YMLA, MS XVI.I.12, f.75v (Photo by author © DCYM)

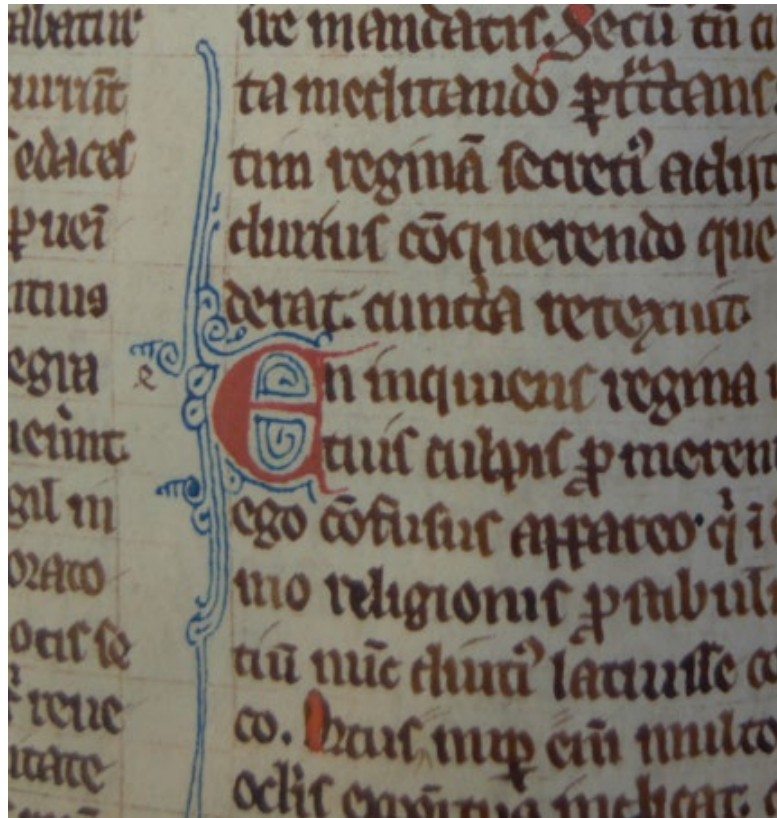


Figure 2.5. Detail showing decorated initial at the start of chapter 8 of the *Libellus*, "En...", YMLA, MS XVI.I.12, f.74v (Photo by author © DCYM)

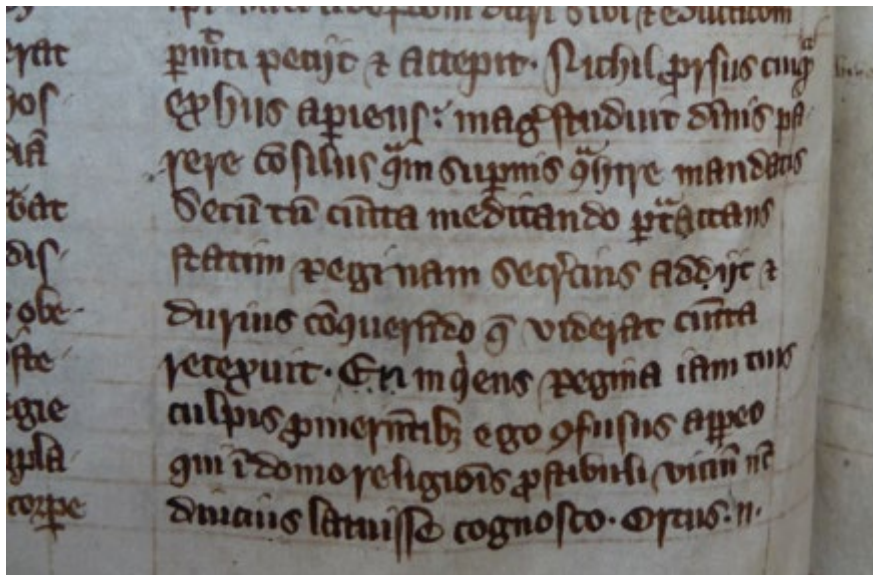


Figure 2.6. Detail showing unembellished start of chapter 8 of the *Libellus*, "En..." (seventh line pictured), Oxford, Bodleian Fairfax 6, f.2v (Photo by author © Bodleian)



Figure 2.7. Monk kissing the feet of St Cuthbert (left) and a scribe writing (right), c.1200, YT26 (twelfth century), f.1v-2r (Images © BL)

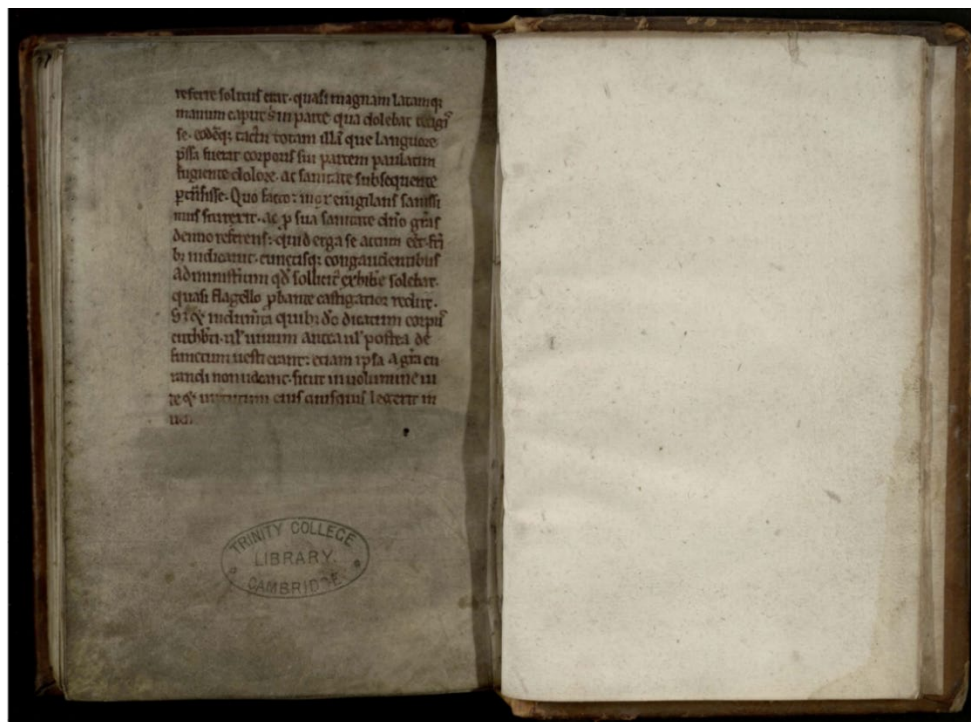


Figure 2.8. Final page with erasure, Trinity, MS O.1.64 (c.1200), f.88v-89r, (Image © MFTC)



Figure 2.9. Under-drawing for illustrations to VP chapter 2, Trinity, MS O.1.64 (c.1200), f.9v-10r (Image © MFTC)



Figure 2.10. Illustration to preface, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.10 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.11. Cuthbert forbidden layks and Plays, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.18 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.12. Dolphin meat divinely provided, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.48 (Image © Bodleian)

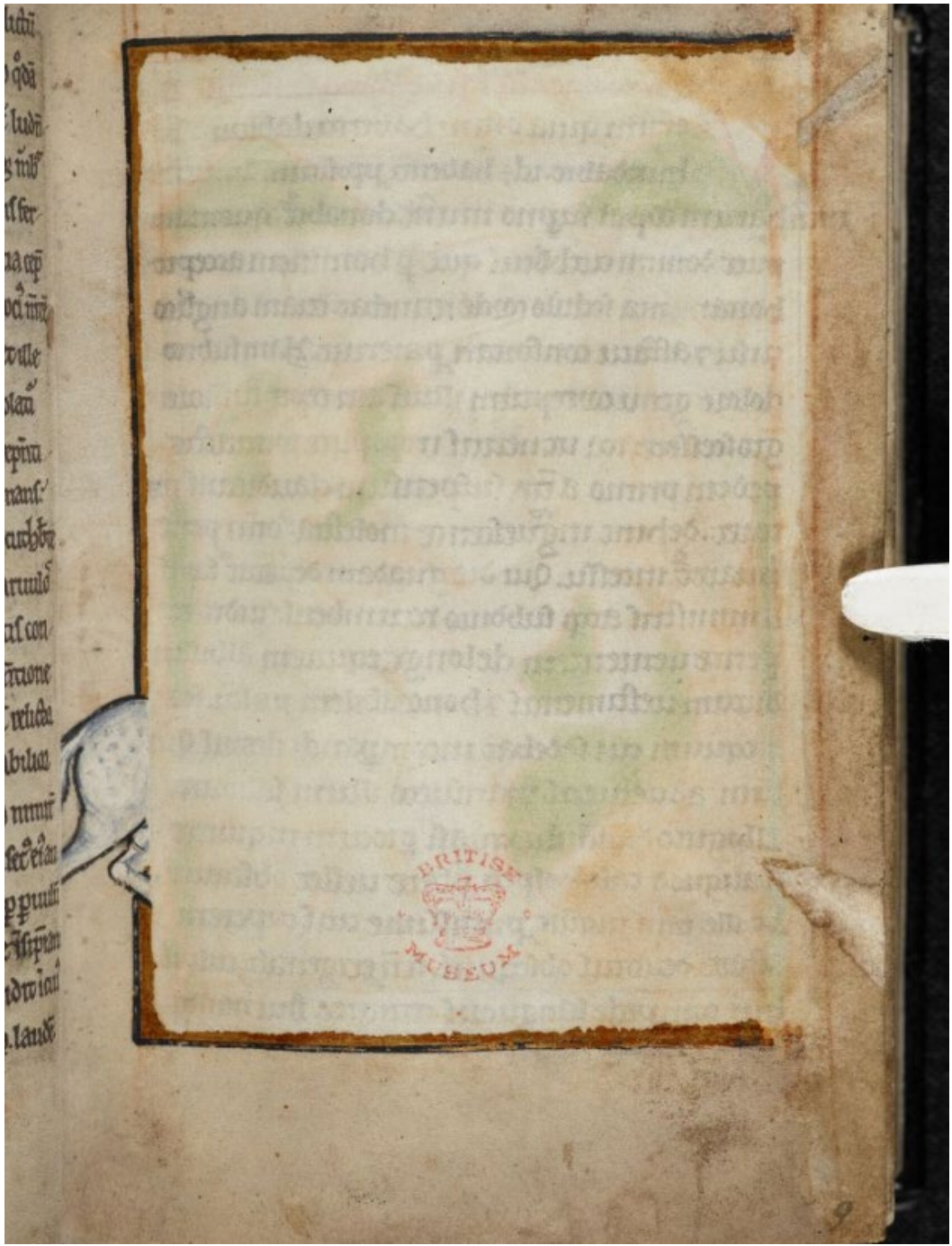


Figure 2.13. Surviving details from a lost illustration, originally illustrating VP chapter 2, YT26 (twelfth century), f.9r (Image © BL)



Figure 2.14. Cuthbert teaching the monks at Lindisfarne, YT26 (twelfth century), f. 35v (Image © BL)



Figure 2.15. Cuthbert healing Hildmer's wife, YT26 (twelfth century), f.33v (Image © BL)



Figure 2.16. Cuthbert healing Hildmer's wife, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.57 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.2.17. Cuthbert healing a gesith's servant, YT26 (twelfth century), f.54r (Image © BL)



Figure 2.18. Cuthbert healing a gesith's servant, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.86 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.19. Detail of Cuthbert's arm emerging from his tomb to heal a paralytic, YT26 (twelfth century), f.83r (Image © BL)



Figure 2.20. A paralytic healed at Cuthbert's tomb, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.140 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.21. Cuthbert predicts the end of the storm and prays, YT26 (twelfth century), f.26r (Image © BL)



Figure 2.22. Dolphin flesh predicted by Cuthbert is divinely delivered, YT26 (twelfth century), f.26v (Image © BL)



Figure 2.23. Cuthbert and angel building (foreground) and Cuthbert banishing demons (background), YT26 (twelfth century), f.39r (Image © BL).



Figure 2.24. Sea provides plank forgotten by monks, YT26, f.45v (Image © BL)



Figure 2.25. Sea provides plank forgotten by monks, Univ. 165, p.75 (Image © Bodleian Library)



Figure 2.26. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.434v (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.27. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.435r (Image © BNF)

gra quo uer: & nulla usquam cer-
 nebit. R. aens autem nix terram
 terreat: que facillime uiantes it
 proder potrat. S. iustitatus uir
 domini mensam reposuit in con-
 dau. S. regressus continuo ob-
 uiam habuit nix odoris fragran-
 tiam. Simulspiciens unde ellet
 orta: uidit uicra positos tres panes
 calidos. insulati candidos & gratie.
 P. aens q; cerno ait. quod auge-
 lus in est quem suscipi: palare re-
 meus non passu. J. taq; de ostia
 miraculi uirtute compunctus:
 maioran ex eo uirtuten. opib;
 curam impendebat. **Lectio iij.**
Sum ergo uenerabi-
 lus domini famul.
 multos in maillio
 senu monasterio legens annos.
 multas uirtuti spiritualium. da-
 raret signis manifestis cum reue-
 rentissimis abbas ipsius eata
 in monasteriu. quod in lidistat
 nerisui insula situm est: ut ubi
 quoc; regulam monastice per-
 fectioris. & prepositi auctoritate
 daret. et exemplo uirtutis oster-
 dett. Nam & ipsum locum: tunc
 idem uicentissim' pater abbas
 tunc regerat. At postq; in eode
 monasterio multa annoy curi
 aila explant: tandem diu con-
 cupita. quesita. ac petita solitu
 dms secreta comitate presati

abbas sui simul & fratrum gra-
 mulam letabundus adijt. Et
 in purnis quidem solitarie uite
 rudimentis ad quandam locum
 secessit: qui in exteriorib; eius cel-
 le parib; serocios apparet. Ac cu
 ibidem aliquidu solitarius cu
 hoste inuisibili orando ac ieiuna-
 do cetaret tandem maiora pre-
 sumens reuocatum ad homib;
 locum certans perijt: insulam
 saluet que fame dicitur medio
 in mari positam. **Lectio v.**
Ium in fame insula
 beatus cuthbertus
 solitariam ageret
 sedulus uitam. congregata si-
 nudo non parua sub presantia pi-
 ulum ac deo dilecti regis exstidi.
 cu beate memorie theodorus ar-
 chiepiscopus presidebat: uianum
 omi consensu ad epatum ecclesie
 fundiffamentu electus est. Qui
 cum multis legatis ac legata-
 riy litteris ad se premissis. ne
 quag; suo loco posset erui: tande-
 rex ipse una cum sanctissimo
 antistite trinitano. nec non &
 alijs quimpurimis religiosus
 ac potentib; uiris ad insulam
 nauigauit. cetera stectunt
 omnes. adiuuunt per diuin la-
 cernas fundunt obsecrant:
 domet ipm quoc; lacrimis ple-
 ni dulcib; extrahunt latentib;



Figure 2.29. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.436r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.30. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.436v (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.31. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.437r (Image © BNF)



dum ex dextro antistiti suo refer-
 rent arduum consilio eorum, insitque
 ut die depositionis eius id est ter-
 tiodidimo kalendas aprilium
 hoc facerent. Quod et fecerunt.
 Et apientes sepulchri inueniunt
 corpus totum quasi ad huc vi-
 ueret integru. et integru actu
 compagibus indissolutum. mul-
 to dormienti quam mortuo simili-
 s. et vestimenta omnia quibus
 indutus erat intemerata. Quod
 ubi uiderunt fratres: mirum mor-
 stupore et timore sunt passi.
 Extremam tamen indumentorum
 eius partem ad ostendendum
 mortificationis signum auerunt.
 nam que carni illius proxima
 aderant. prius tangeri time-
 bant: et inuolutum nouo a-
 mictu corpus tanquam in terra re-
 conditum super paunitionem
 sanctuam deposuerunt. **Cetera**
omnia de comuni uirginitate et uir-
ginitate bene dicitur abba-
ns uirginitatis.
Quoniam deus sempiternus
 tenet deus qui hodie
 eterna die carnis educ-
 tum agastulo beatissimi confes-
 sorem tuum benedictum sub te

uasti ad alium. concede quodcum-
 que festis tuis famulis celebrantibus
 cunctis ueniam delictorum ut
 qui exultantibus animis eius da-
 ntati congaudent. ipso apud te
 uterueniente conseruato et me-
 ritis. per. **Actio i.**
Quod uir uir ueneta
 bilis gratia benedictus
 et nomine. ab ipso
 puertate sue tempore cor generis
 saule etatem quippe uiribus tra-
 sicens multi animam uoluptati
 dedit. Sed diu in hac terra ad
 huc allet quod temporaliter libere
 uti possidet. despicit iam ardu
 mendu cum flore. hinc uir de
 liberou genere et provincia mur-
 sic exiuit: rome liberalibus liter-
 ens: studiis traditus fuerat. Et
 cum in eis uulcos ut per abrupta
 uictor recedet. cum que quasi
 in ingressu mundi posuisset re-
 traxit pedem. ne siquid de laia
 eius attingeret: ipse quoque post-
 modum in imane perpicuum
 totus iret.
Quod uir uir ueneta
 literarum studiis re-
 licta domi. ubique
 patris soli deo placere studens
 sancte conuersationis huius
 quesuit. Recellit igitur stren-
 ter nequus et sapienter indutus:
 sed uir ergo omnia gesta non di-

Figure 2.32. Illustrations to the readings for St Cuthbert's feast day (20 March) in the *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.437v (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.33. Detail showing Cuthbert's arrival at Melrose and Boisil's prediction, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.435r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.34. Detail showing St Cuthbert praying at night, before his vision of St Aidan, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.435r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.35. Detail showing St Martin's vision while praying, Paris, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.640r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.36. Detail showing Abraham praying to God, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.132r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.37. Detail showing St Cuthbert washing the feet of an angel disguised as a man, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, MS Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.436r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.38. Detail showing St Cuthbert finding the bread left miraculously by an angel disguised as a man, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, MS Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.436r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.39. St Cuthbert washes the feet of an angel disguised as a man, YT26 (twelfth century), f.17v (Image © BL)



Figure 2.40. St Cuthbert finds the bread left miraculously by the angel disguised as a man YT26 (twelfth century), f.18r (Image © BL)



Figure 2.41. Detail showing St Martin's boots being removed, BNF, Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.638v (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.42. St Cuthbert greets an angel disguised as a man, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.36 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 2.43. Detail of large miniature which depicts four scenes: (top) St Cuthbert's vision of St Aidan's soul being carried to heaven (VP: 4), (lower left) his arrival and reception at the monastery (VP: 6), (lower centre) Boisil's prophecy (VP: 7), and (right) his coronation as bishop of Lindisfarne (VP: 24), BNF, Latin 17294 (1424-60), f.435r (Image © BNF)



Figure 2.44. *Life of St Cuthbert*, c.1478-95, oil on wood, Choir Screen, Carlisle Cathedral (Photo by Roger Willcox)



Figure 2.45. Detail of painting 17, showing the vernacular couplet describing the discovery of Cuthbert's incorrupt body, *Life of St Cuthbert*, c.1478-95, oil on wood, Choir Screen, Carlisle Cathedral (Photo by Louise Willcox)



Figure 2.46. An angel arrives to heal Cuthbert's knee, painting 2, *Life of St Cuthbert*, c.1478-95, oil on wood, Choir Screen, Carlisle Cathedral (Photo by author)



Figure 2.47. An angel arrives to heal Cuthbert's knee, s7 19d, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.48. An angel heals Cuthbert's knee, s7 19e, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.49. St Cuthbert forbid layks and plays, painting 1, *Life of St Cuthbert*, c.1478-95, oil on wood, Choir Screen, Carlisle Cathedral (Photo by author)



Figure 2.50. Cuthbert's miraculous robes and being rebuked for playing, s7 9b, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.51. Cuthbert washes the feet of an angel disguised as a man (left), and the angel miraculously provides bread (right), painting 6, *Life of St Cuthbert*, c.1478-95, oil on wood, Choir Screen, Carlisle Cathedral (Photo by Roger Willcox)

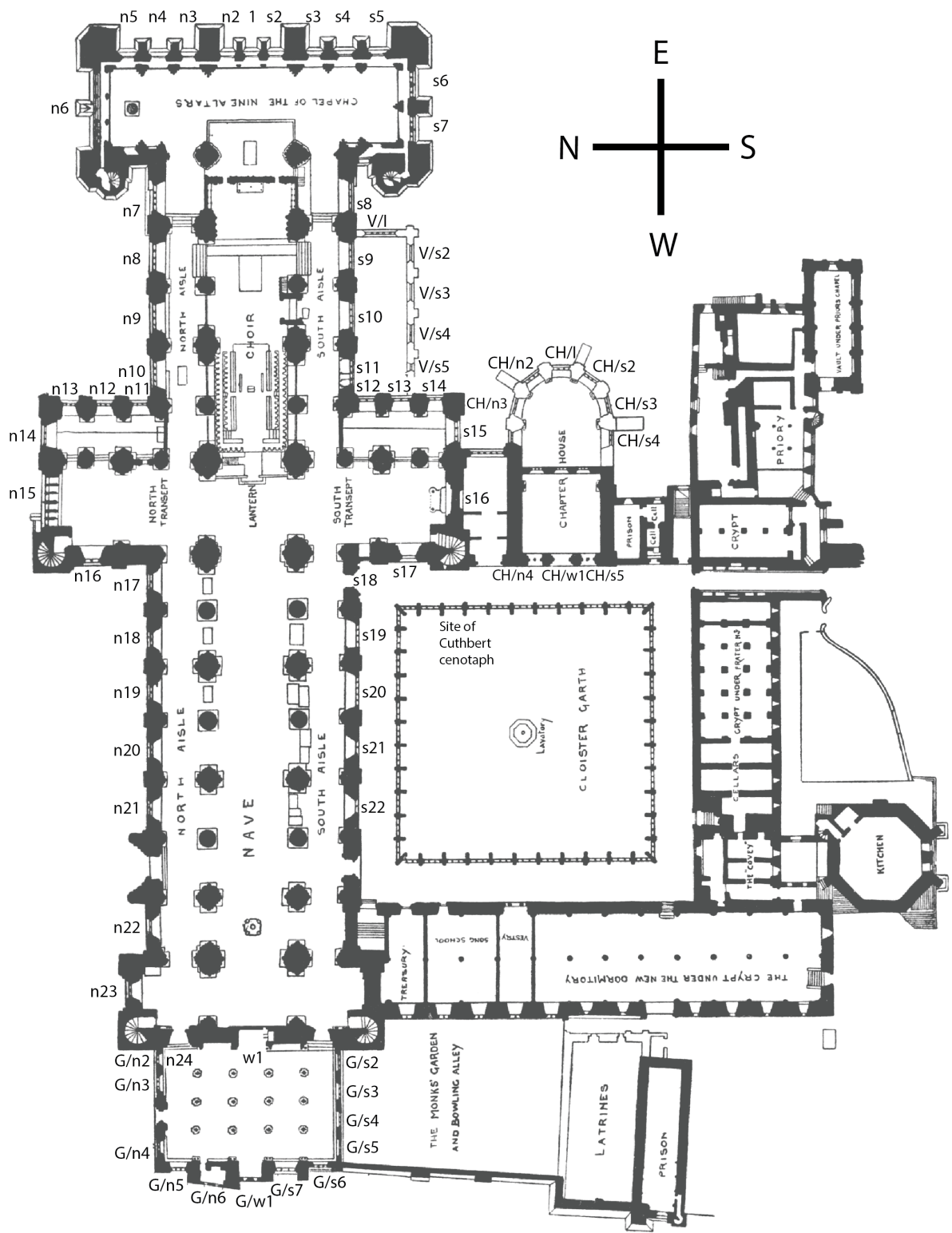


Figure 2.52. Plan of Durham Cathedral showing the location of windows discussed in the text (Plan from Bygate, J.E. *The Cathedral Church of Durham: A Description of Its Fabric and a Brief History of the Episcopal See* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1905), 118, windows labelled according to CVMA numbering by the author)

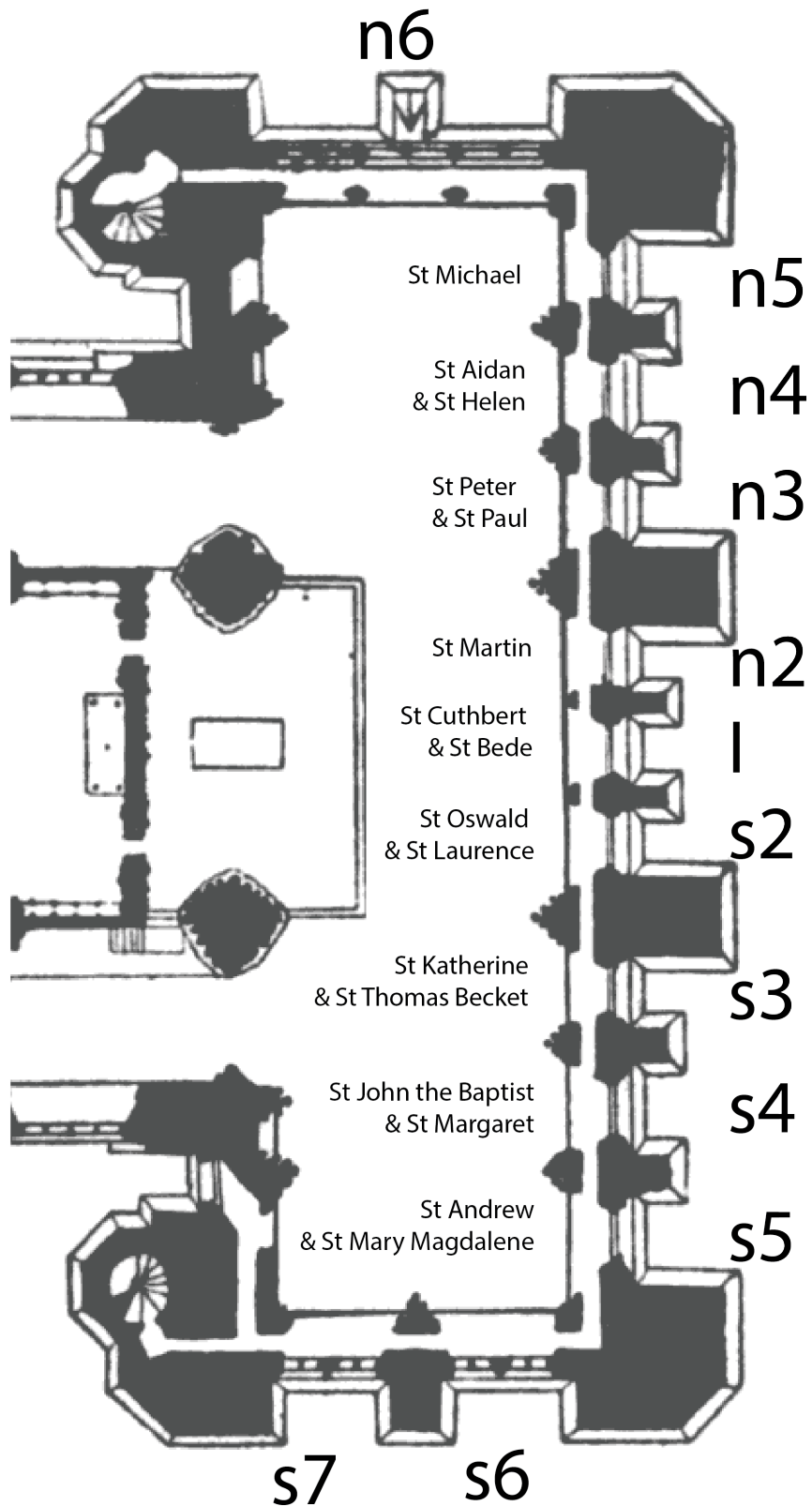


Figure 2.53. Plan of Chapel of the Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral showing the dedication of the altars and the location of windows discussed in the text (Plan from Bygate, *Cathedral Church*, 118, with labelling by author)

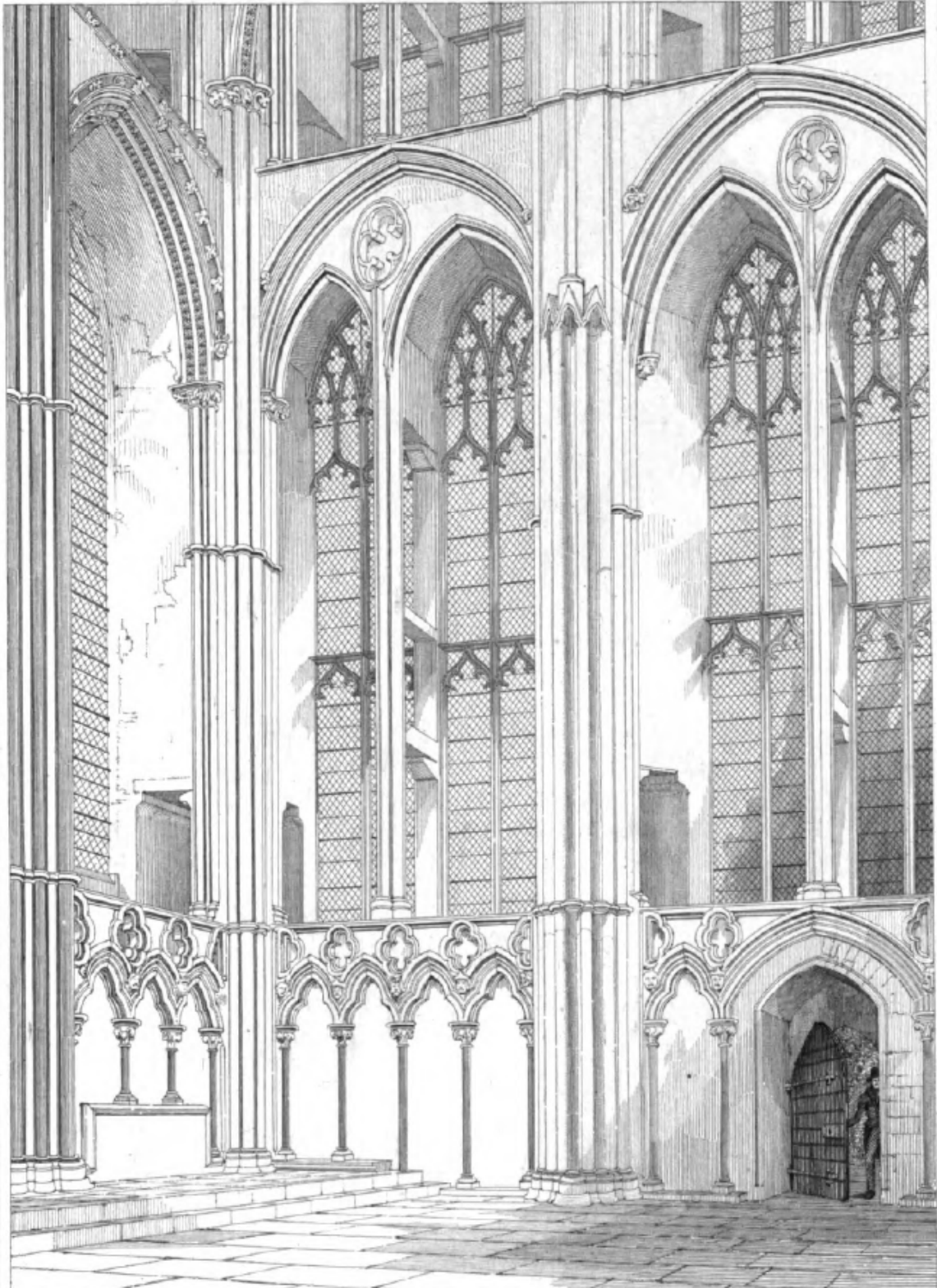


Figure 2.54. R.W. Billings, *Windows South End of the Nine Altars*, c.1841, engraving, *Architectural Illustrations and Description of the Cathedral Church at Durham* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1841), Pl. 64



Figure 2.55. South end of the Chapel of the Nine Altars, showing windows s6-7 beneath S6-7 (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)

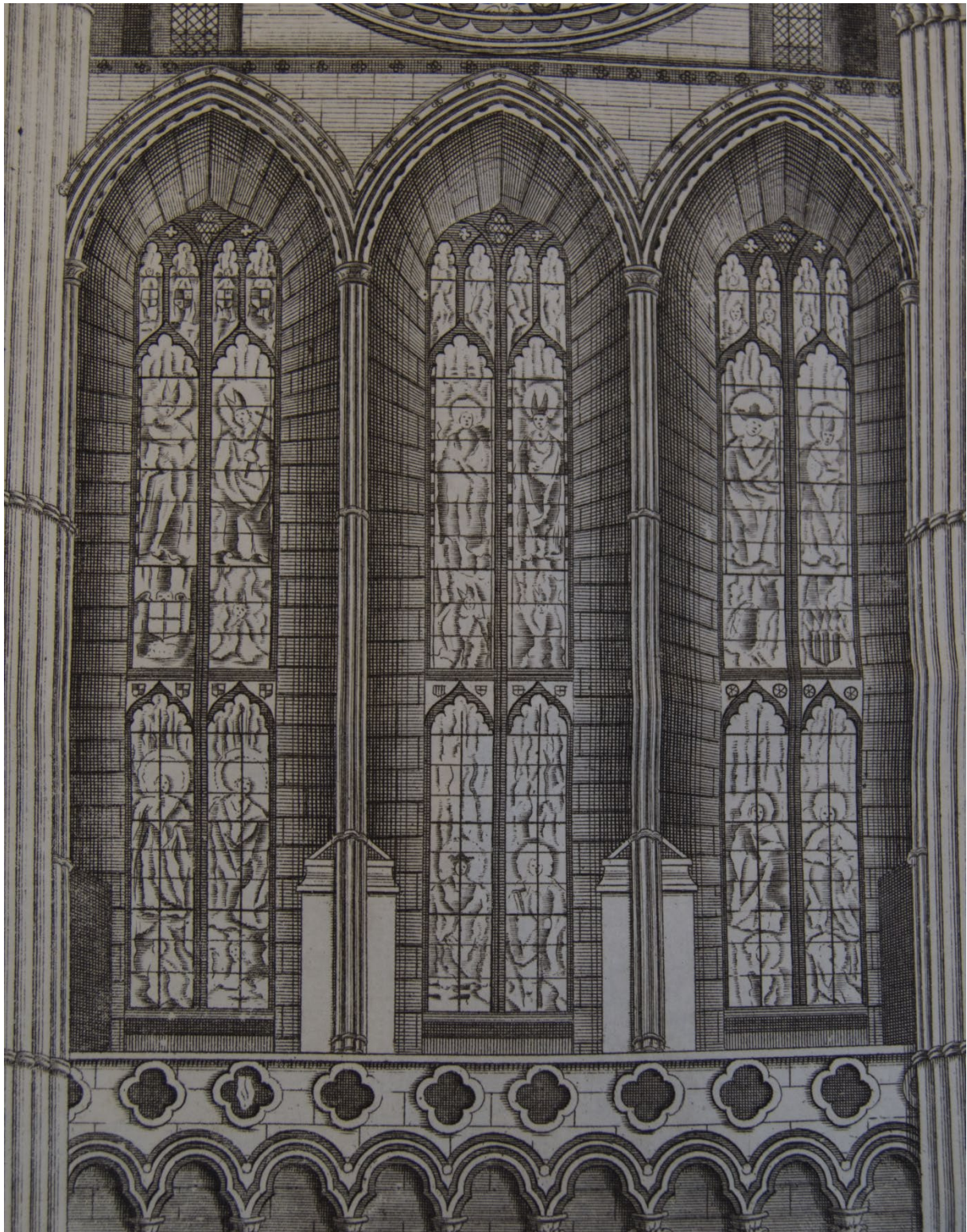


Figure 2.56. Detail of M.P. Gucht "Interior of the E end in 1722", engraving, frontispiece to Smith, John ed., Bede, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*. Cambridge: University Press, 1722 (Photo by author © DCYM)

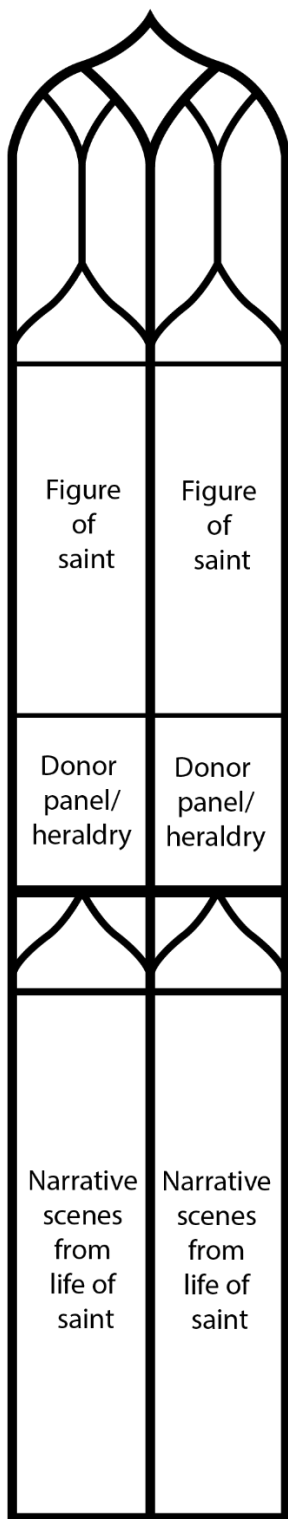


Figure 2.57. Diagram of the proposed arrangement of iconography in eastern windows of the Chapel of the Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral (Not to scale) (Image by author)

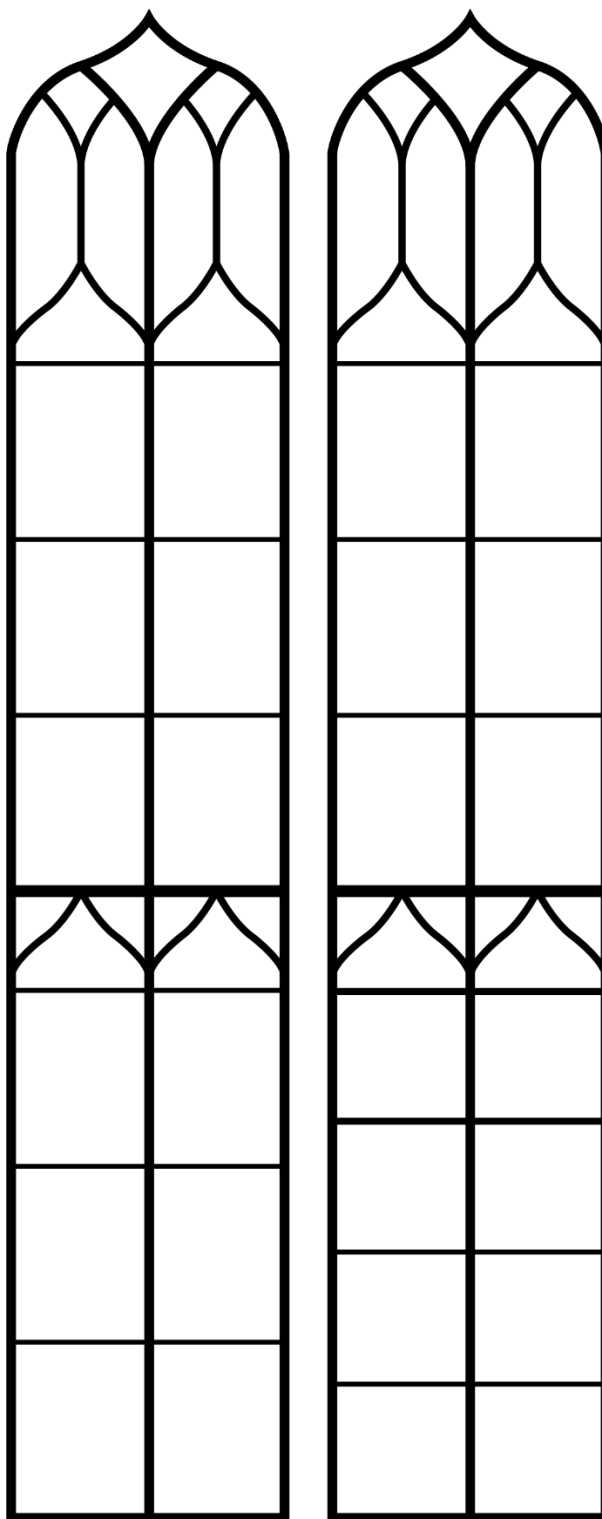


Figure 2.58. Diagram comparing the number of panels in the lower register of the eastern windows of the Chapel of the Nine Altars, Durham Cathedral (not to scale) (Image by author)

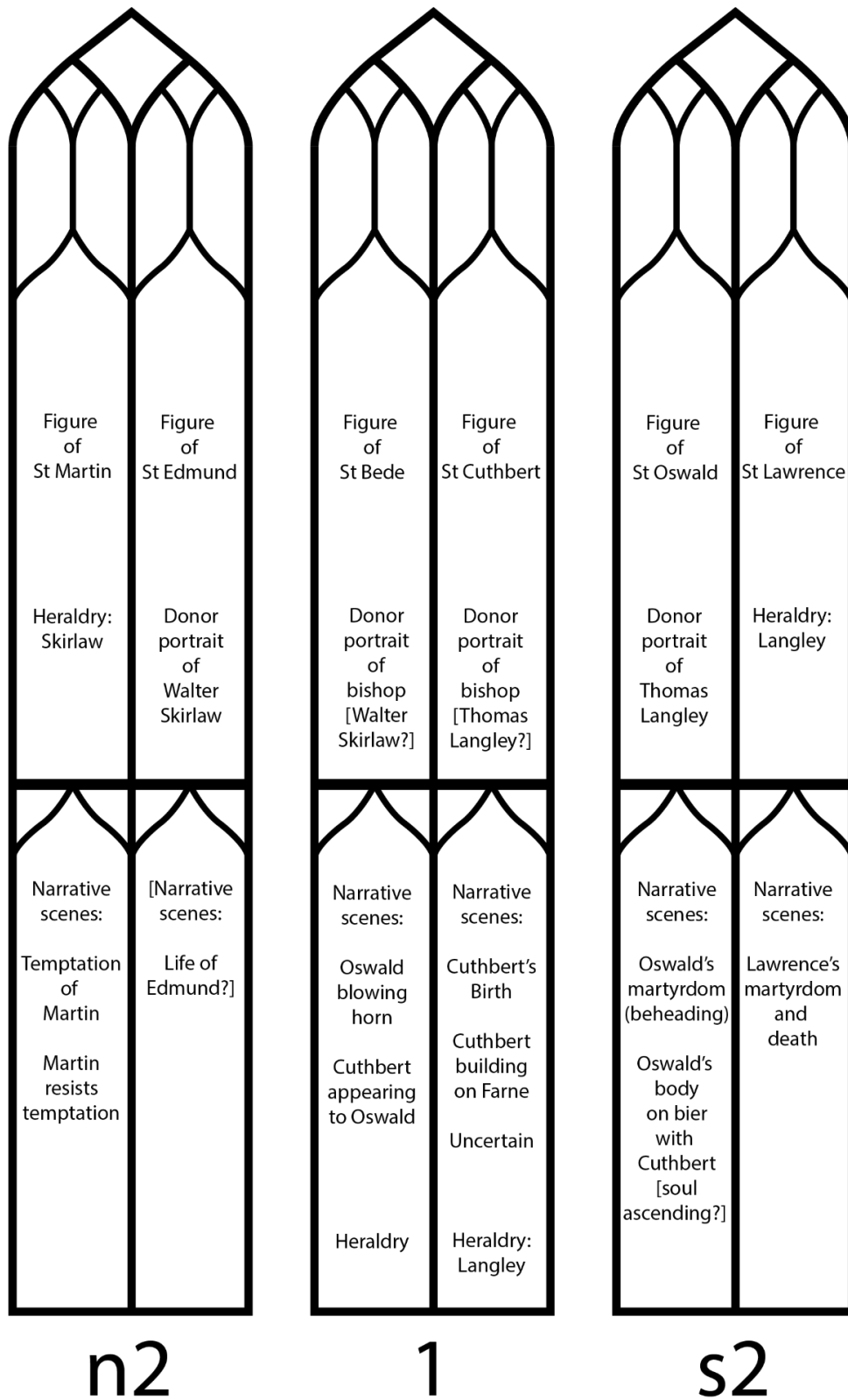


Figure 2.59. Diagram showing the iconography of the lost glazing, and its probable arrangement in n2, 1 and s2, Durham Cathedral, based on the descriptions in *Windows* (diagram not to scale) (Image by author)

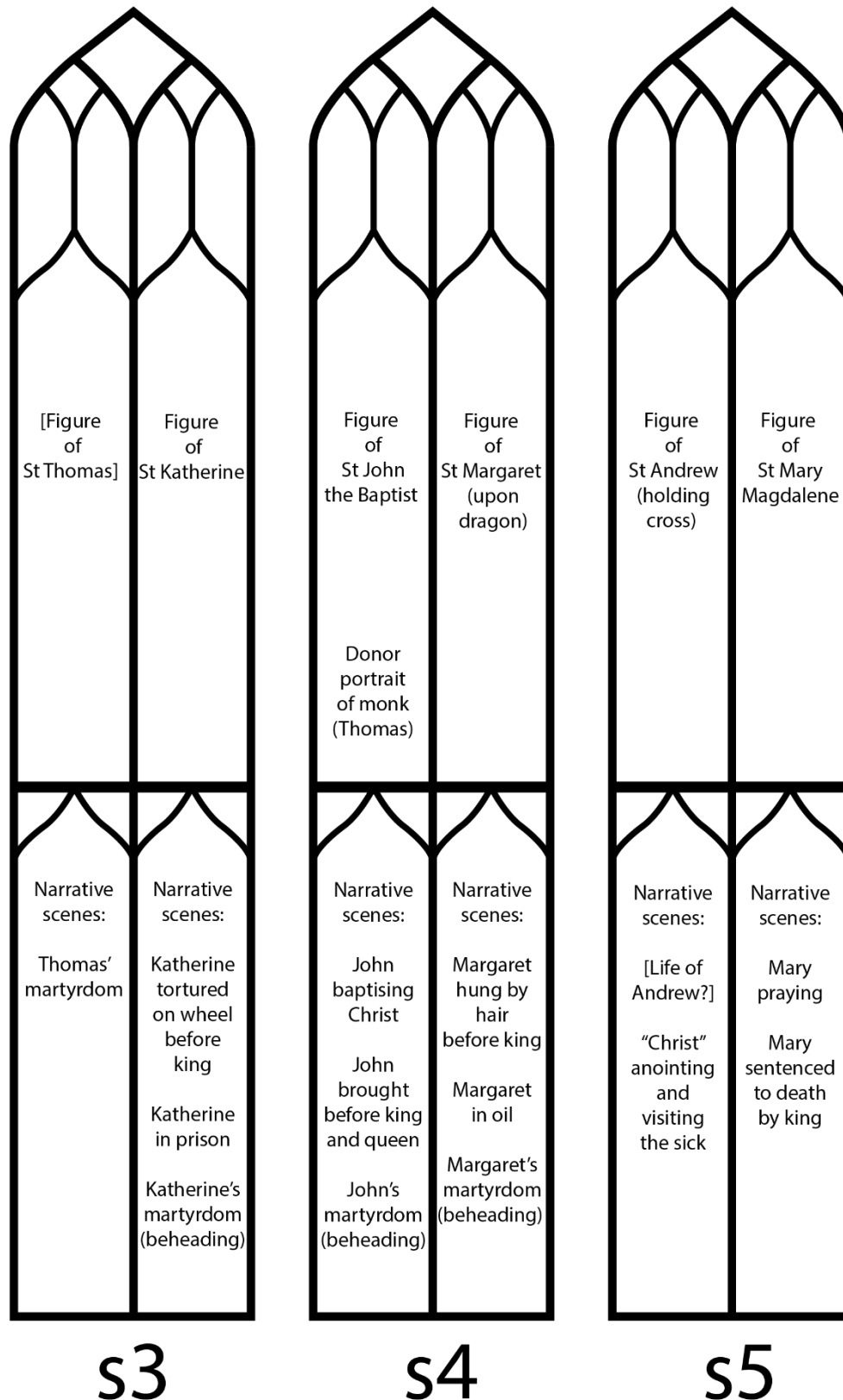


Figure 2.60. Diagram showing the iconography of the lost glazing, and its probable arrangement in s3-5, Durham Cathedral, based on the descriptions in *Windows* and *Rites* (diagram not to scale) (Image by author)

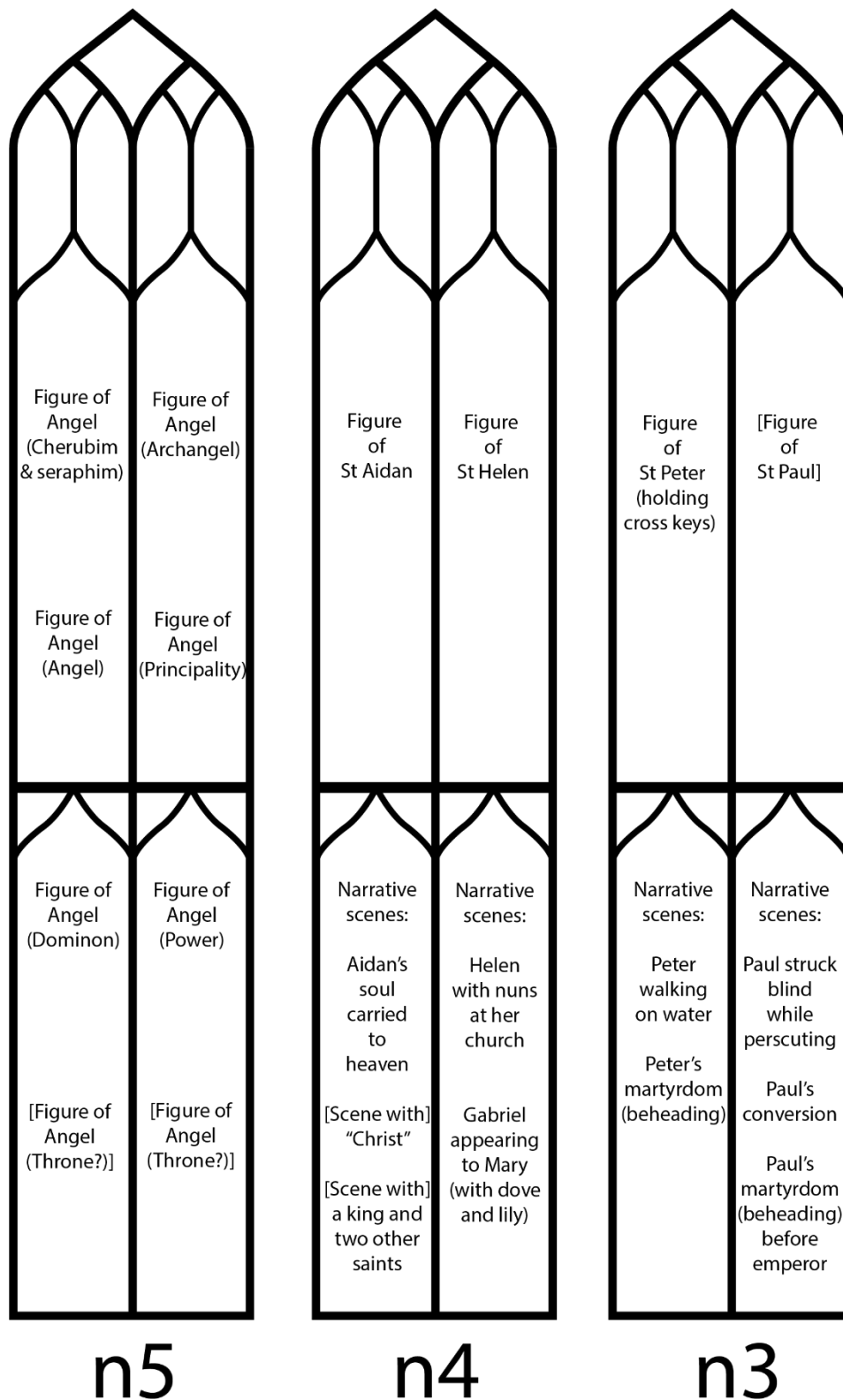


Figure 2.61. Diagram showing the iconography of the lost glazing, and its probable arrangement in n3-5, Durham Cathedral, based on the descriptions in *Windows* (diagram not to scale) (Image by author)

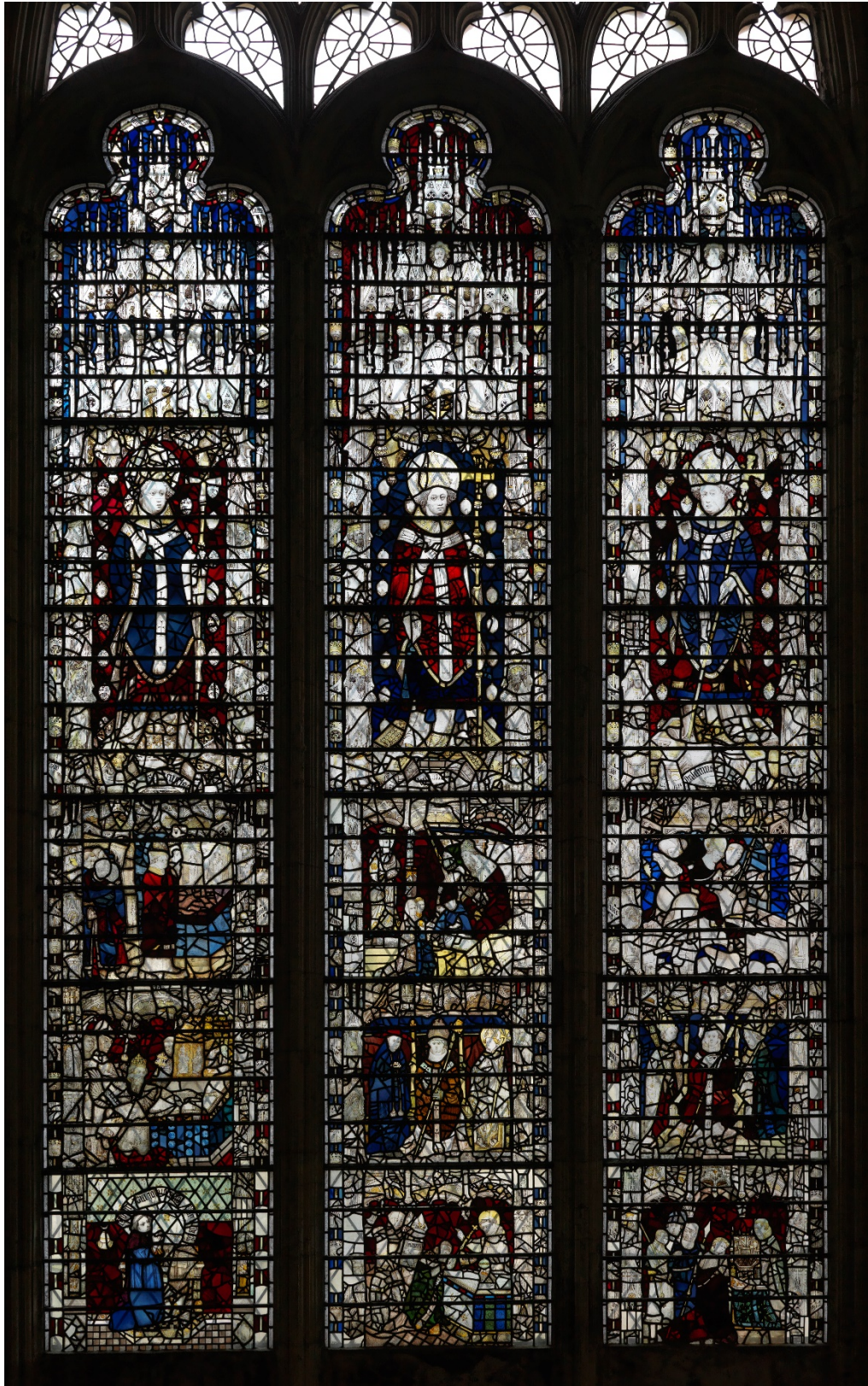


Figure 2.62. The Parker Window (n9), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)

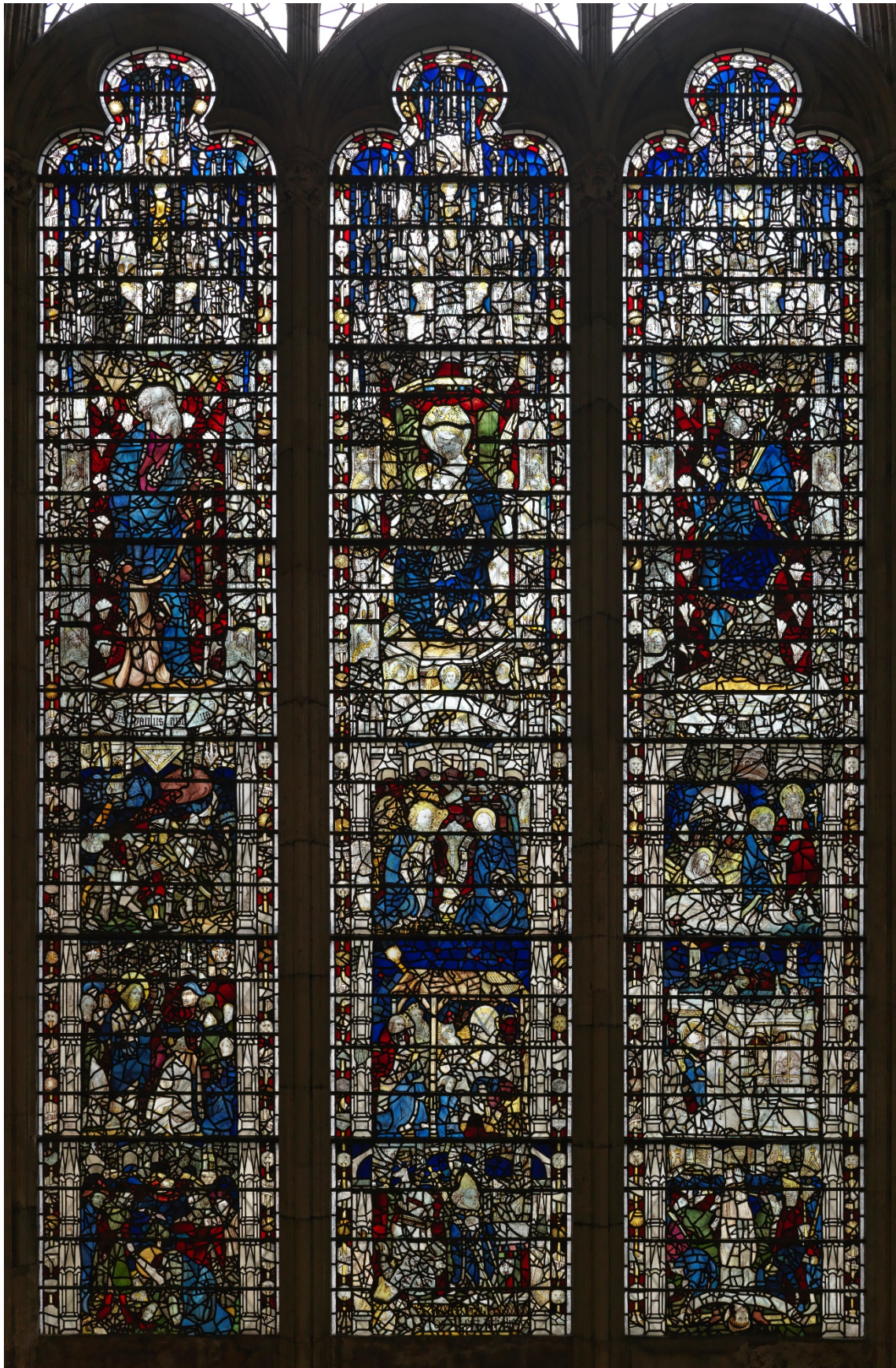


Figure 2.63. The Bowett Window (n10), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.64. The Wolden Window (n8), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.65. St Cuthbert building on Farne with the help of an angel, s7 16a, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.66. St Cuthbert building on Farne with the help of monks and planks divinely provided by the sea, s7 16e, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.67. St Cuthbert seeing St Aidan's soul carried to heaven by angels, s7, panel 7d, York Minster, c.1440.



Figure 2.68. St Aidan's soul carried to heaven by angels, s7 10a, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

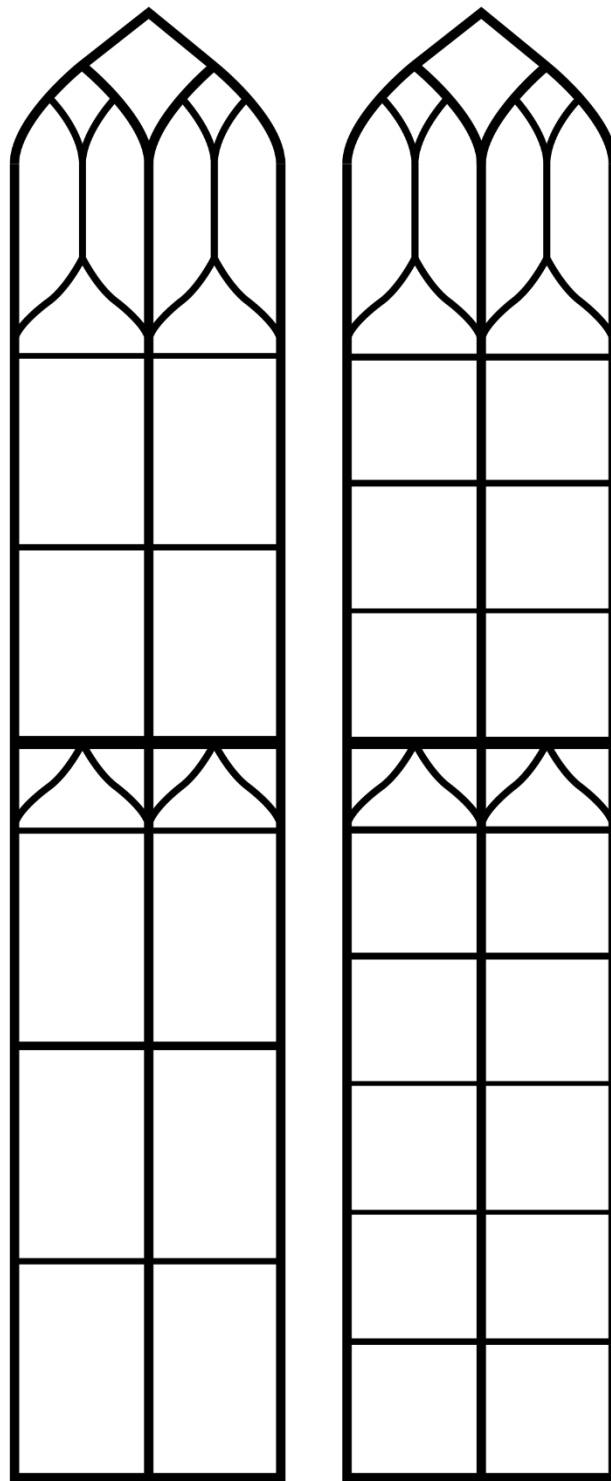


Figure 2.69. Diagram comparing the number of panels possibly originally in each 'lancet' of s6-7, Durham Cathedral (not to scale) (Image by author)

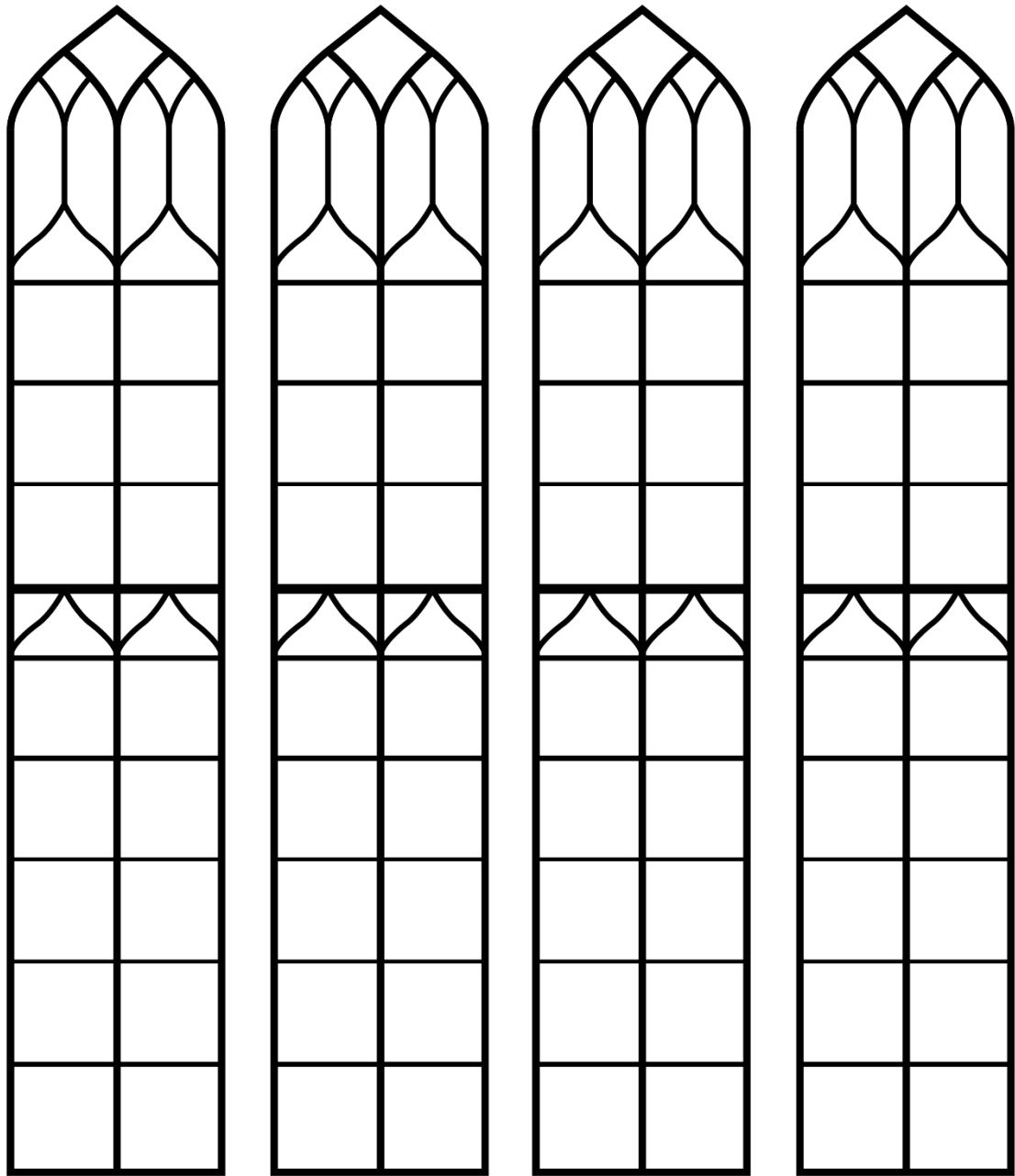


Figure 2.70. Diagram of the proposed number of panels originally in s6-7, Durham Cathedral (not to scale) (Image by author)



Figure 2.71. Birth of St Cuthbert, s7 7a, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 2.72. View of the eastern walk windows from within the cloister garth, Durham Cathedral (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)

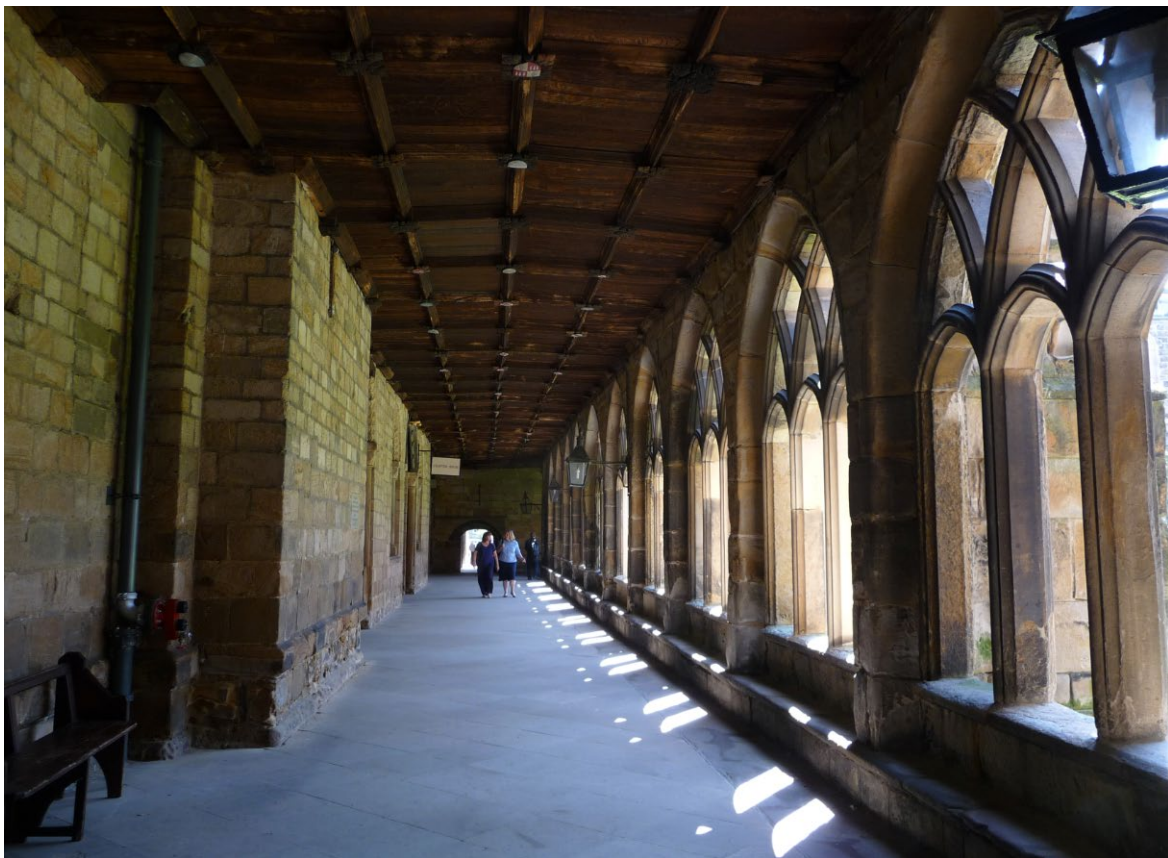


Figure 2.73. Interior view of the eastern walk windows, looking south, Durham Cathedral (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)



Figure 2.74. St Cuthbert's body brought to Lindisfarne, s7 23d, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

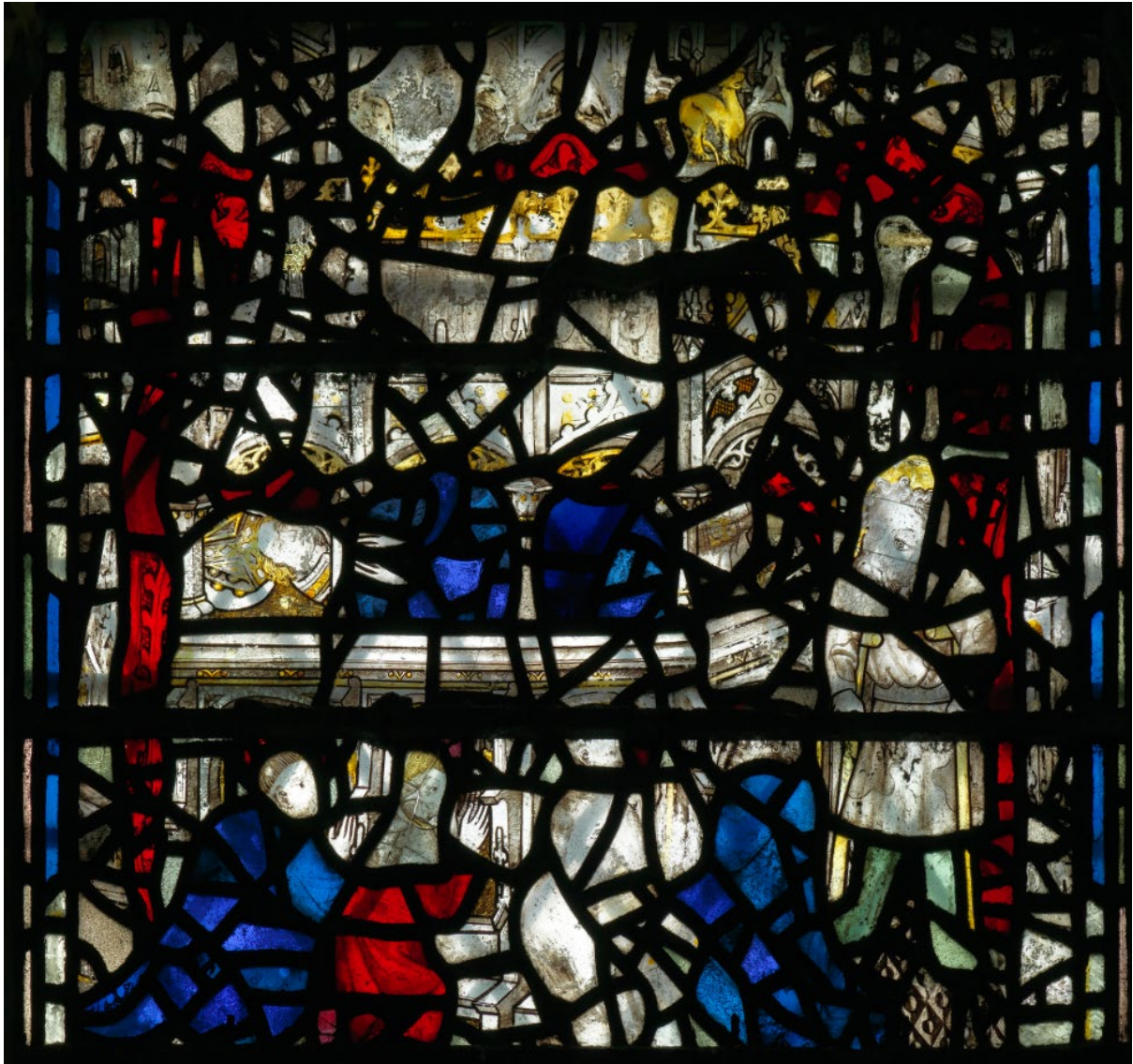


Figure 2.75. A sick man (on crutches, right) healed at St Cuthbert's tomb, s7 23c, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

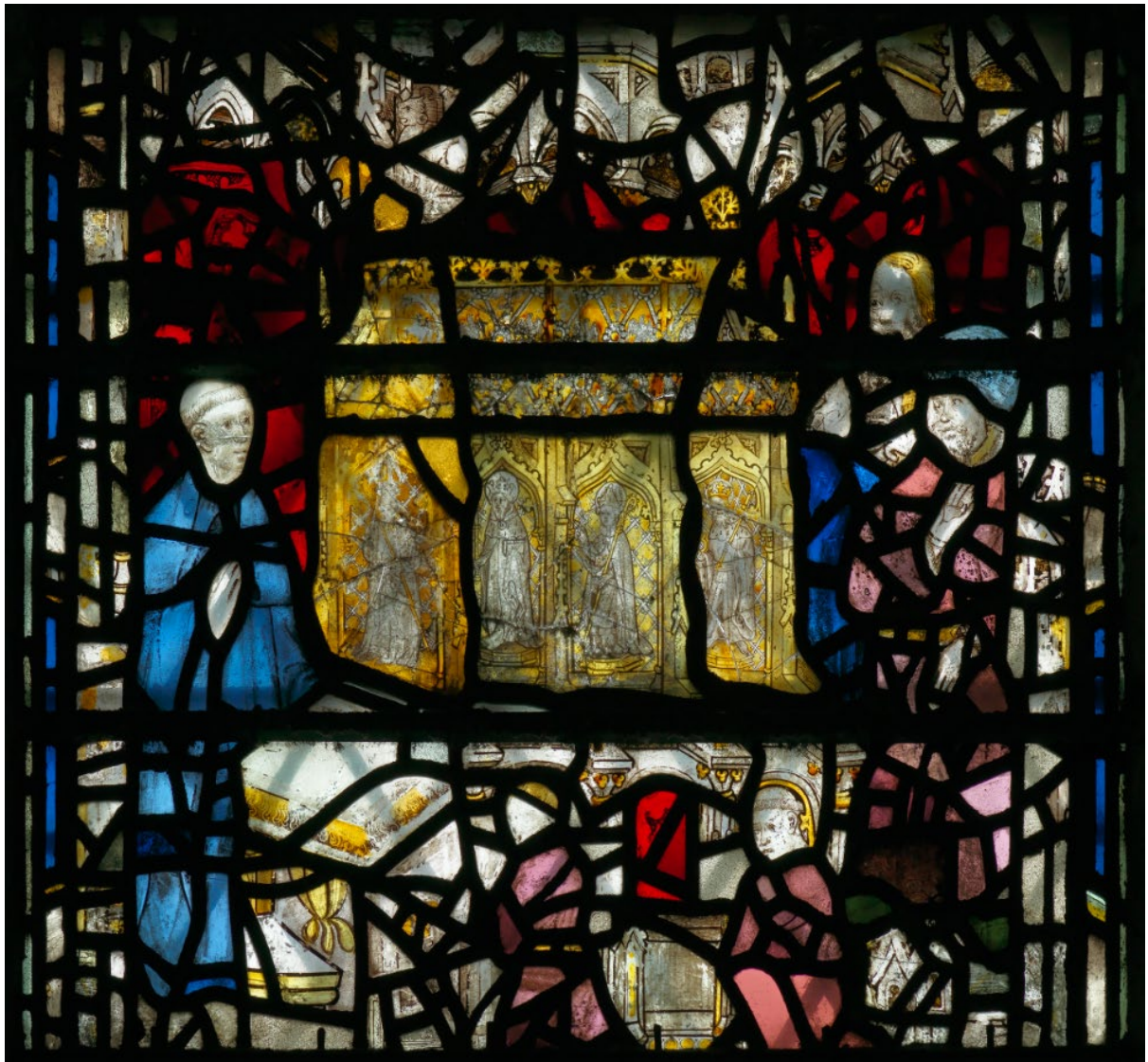


Figure 2.76. St Cuthbert's shrine, s7 23e, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

3. Illustrations to Chapter 3



Figure 3.1. Section D, showing St Cuthbert (top, centre) surrounded by kneeling kings and prelates, s7, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)

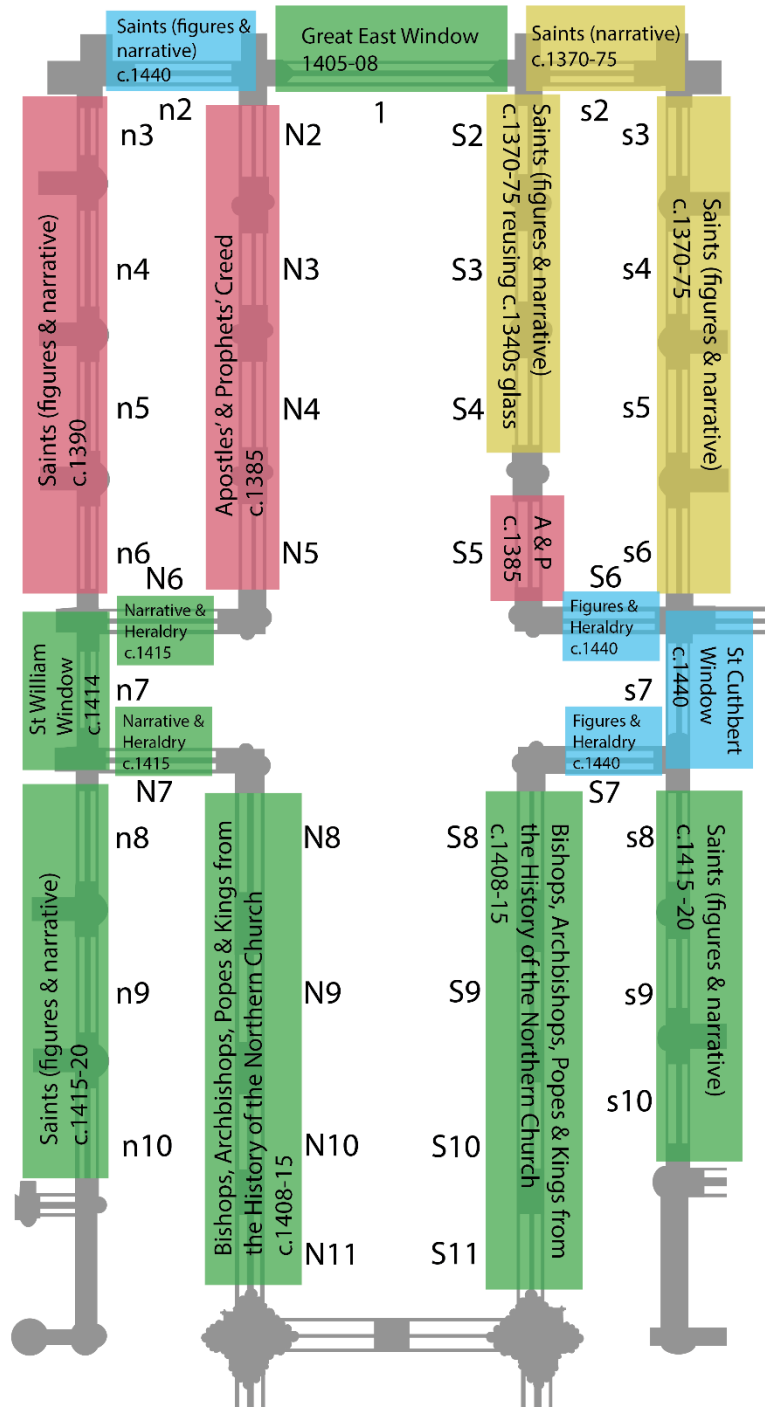


Figure 3.2. Plan showing the dating and iconography of the glazing of the eastern arm of York Minster, as it probably appeared c.1440 (After Brown, York Minster Brown, "York Minster", Plan 7 and Norton "Sacred Space", Figure 2)



Figure 3.3. Series of popes, archbishops and kings, N8-10, York Minster, c.1408-15 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.4. Apostles and prophets with Creed scrolls, N4, York Minster, c.1385 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.5. Langley's arms beneath an archbishop (2c) in S9, York Minster, c.1408-15 (Image YGT © DCYM)

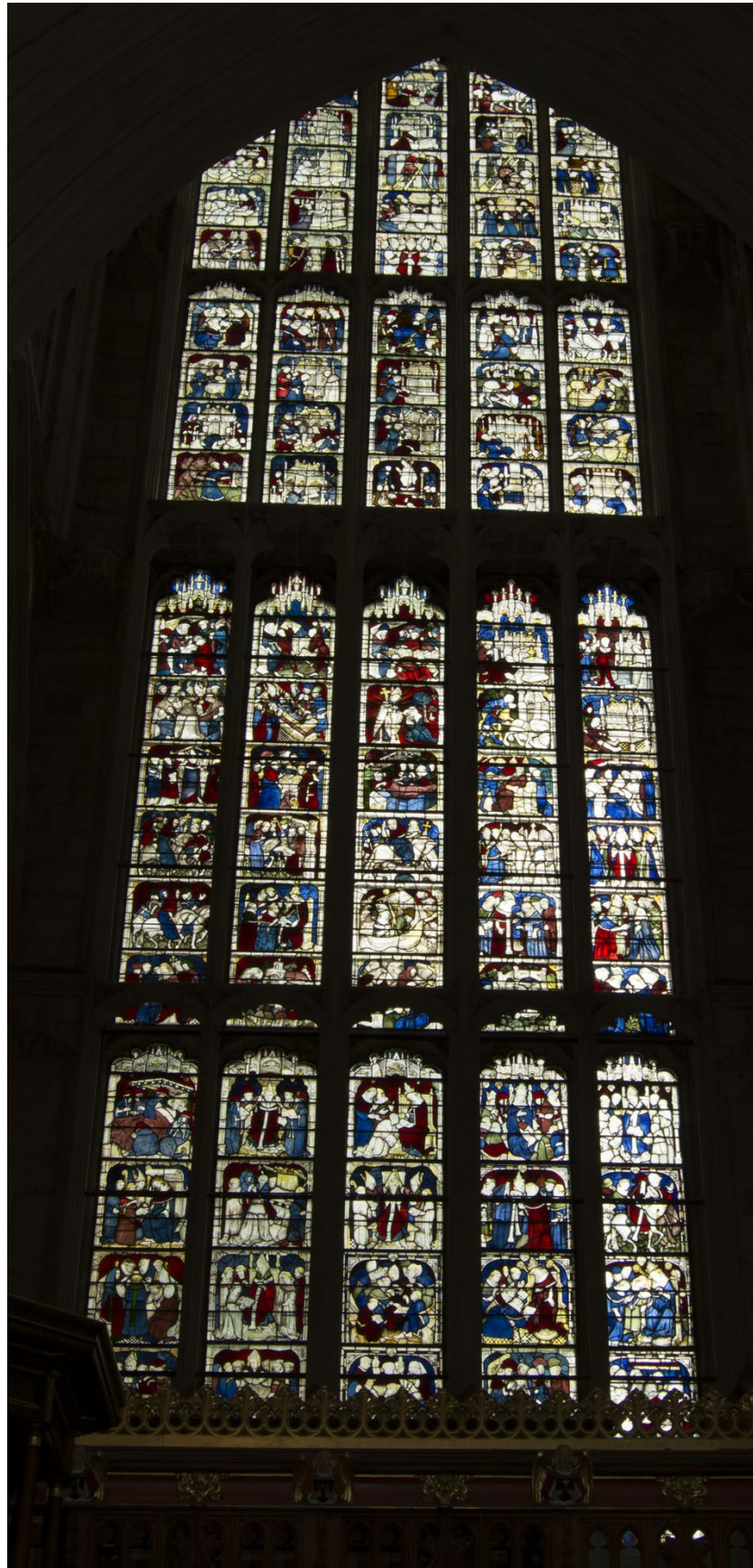


Figure 3.6. View of the St William Window (n7) from the medieval site of the high altar, York Minster, c.1414 (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 3.7. Upper half of the St William Window (n7), York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.8. North choir aisle, looking north-west to show visibility of (left to right) windows n10, n9 and n8, York Minster, c.1415-20 (Photo by author)



Figure 3.9. Choir, site of the medieval high altar, looking north-west to show visibility of (left to right) windows n10 and n9 over the choir stalls, York Minster, c.1415-20 (Photo by author)



Figure 3.10. The Wolden Window (n8), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)

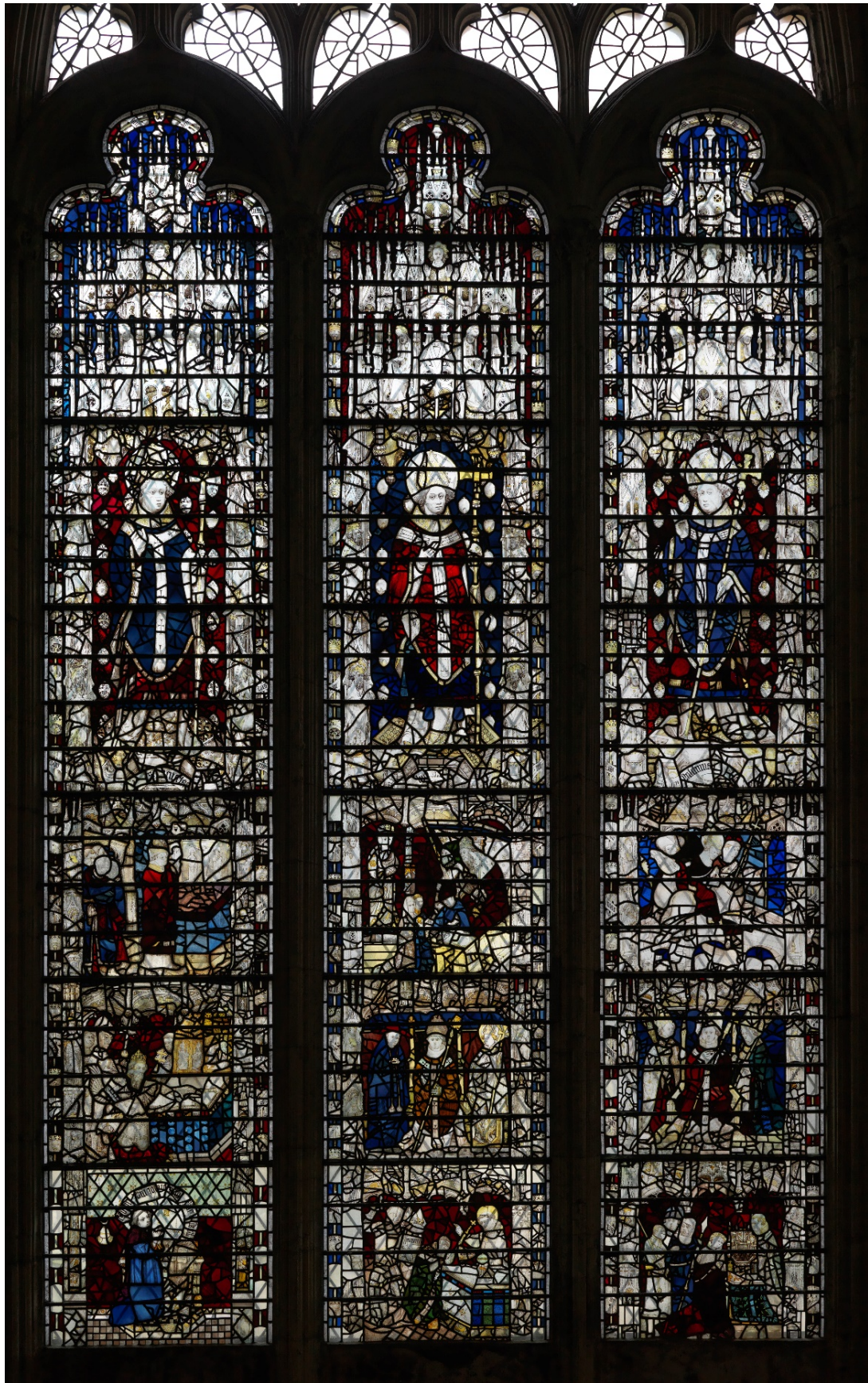


Figure 3.11. The Parker Window (n9), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)

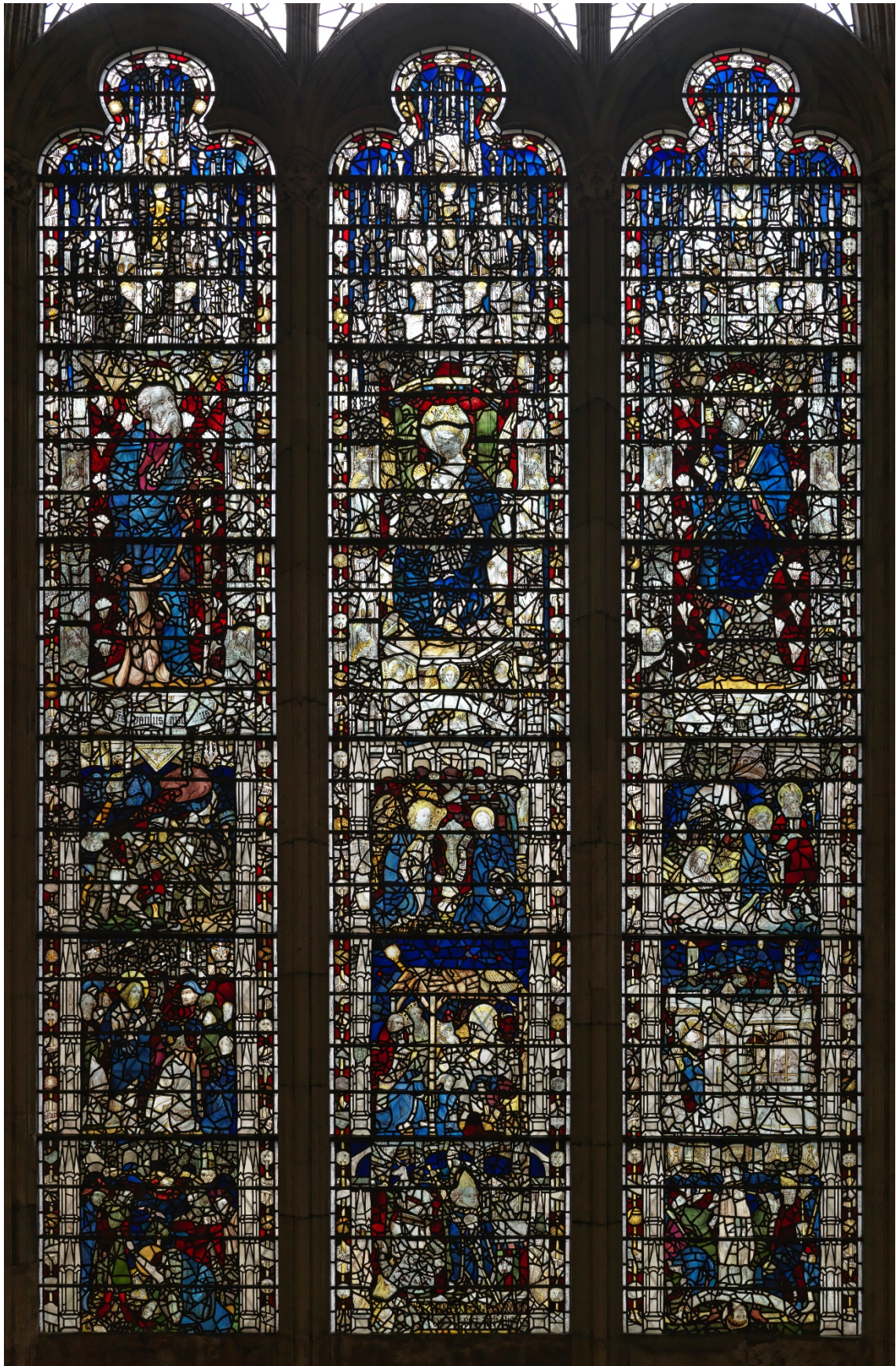


Figure 3.12. The Bowett Window (n10), York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.13. St Michael slaying the dragon, beneath the arms of the See of York, s12, York Minster, c.1435 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.14. St Gabriel, beneath shield of St Paul, s13, York Minster, c.1435 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.15. Detail showing St Nicholas, beneath the arms of Robert Wolveden, n11, York Minster, c.1435 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.16. Detail showing St William, beneath the arms of Robert Wolveden, s11, York Minster, c.1435 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.17. Donor figures in row 1 and the narrative beginning in row 2, n7, rows 1-2, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)

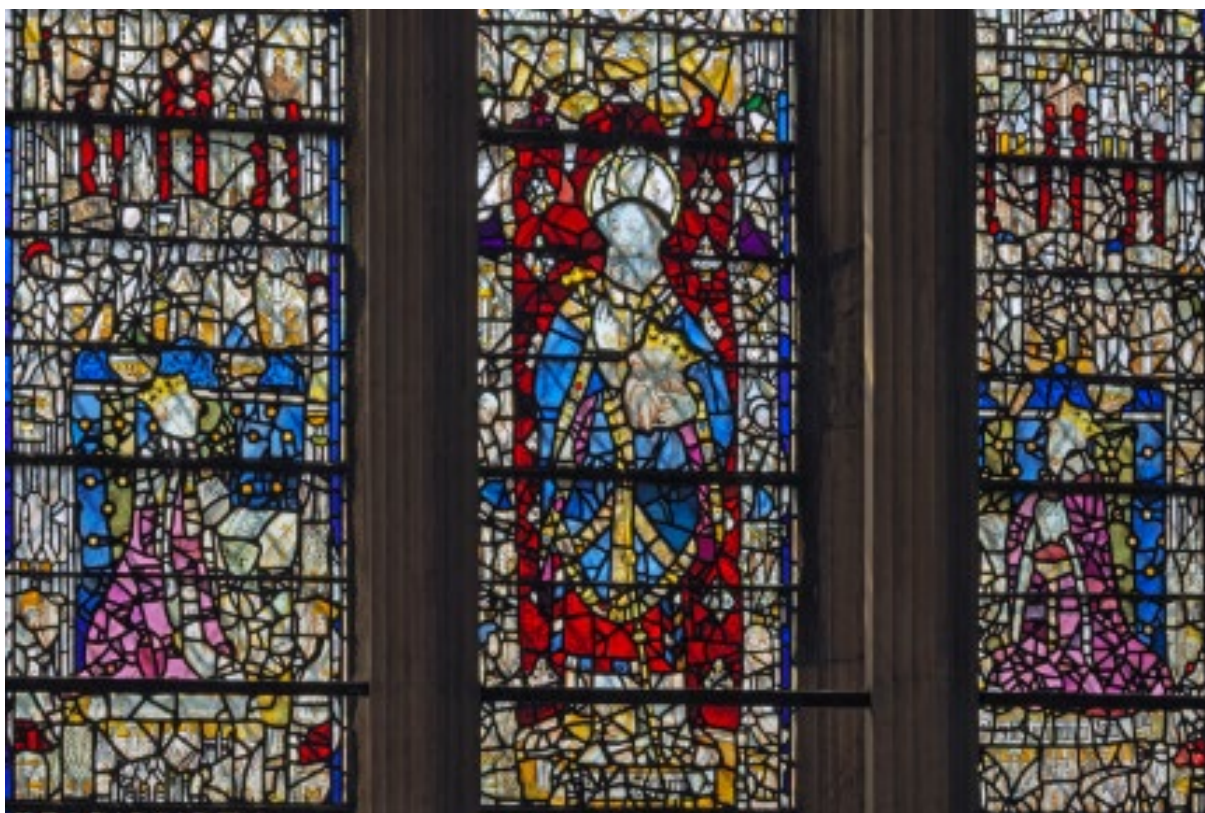


Figure 3.18. St Cuthbert holding St Oswald's head, flanked by Henry VI and John of Gaunt, s7 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.19. St Cuthbert holding St Oswald's head, s7 3-4c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.20. Henry VI (1422-61, 1470-1), s7 3-4b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.21. John of Gaunt (1340-99), Duke of Lancaster and Aquitaine and King of Castile, s7 3-4d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.22. Henry V (1413-22), s7 3-4a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.23. Henry IV (1399-1413), s7 3-4e (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.24. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447), s7 1-2c (Image YGT © DCYM)

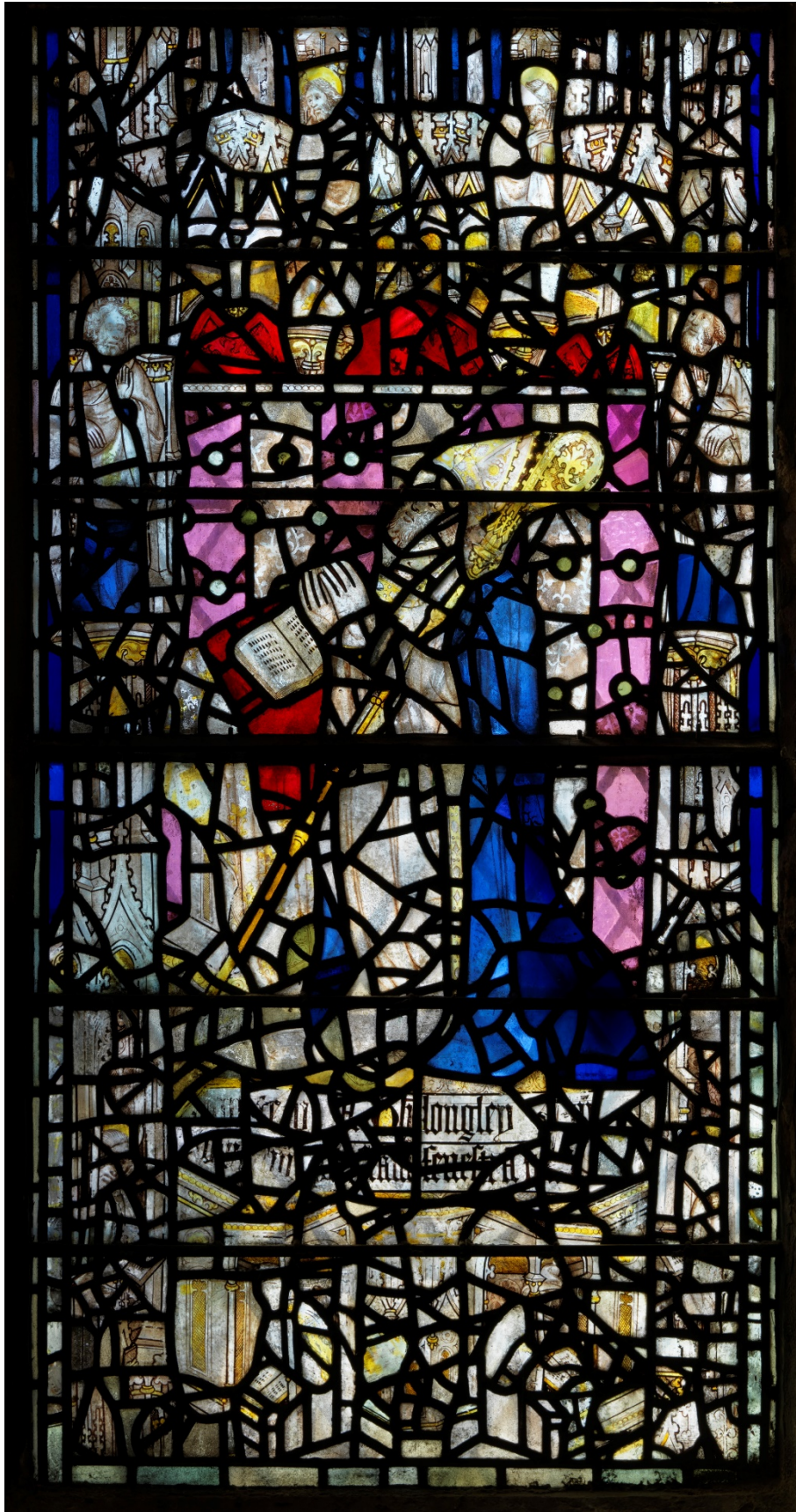


Figure 3.25. Donor, Thomas Langley (Bishop of Durham 1406-37), s7 1-2a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.26. Henry Beaufort (Bishop of Winchester 1404-1447 and Cardinal of St Eusebius 1426-47), s7 1-2b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.27. Cardinal John Kemp (Archbishop of York 1426-52 and Cardinal of St Balbina 1439-54), s7 1-2d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.28. Detail showing thick paint where fused gems, now lost, were applied to represent jewels on Beaufort's mitre, s7 2b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.29. Detail showing fused gems (some missing) used to represent orphreys in the border of Beaufort's chasuble, s7 1b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.30. Henry Bowet (Archbishop of York 1406-23), s7 1-2a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.31. King praying to statue of St William, n7 18d, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)

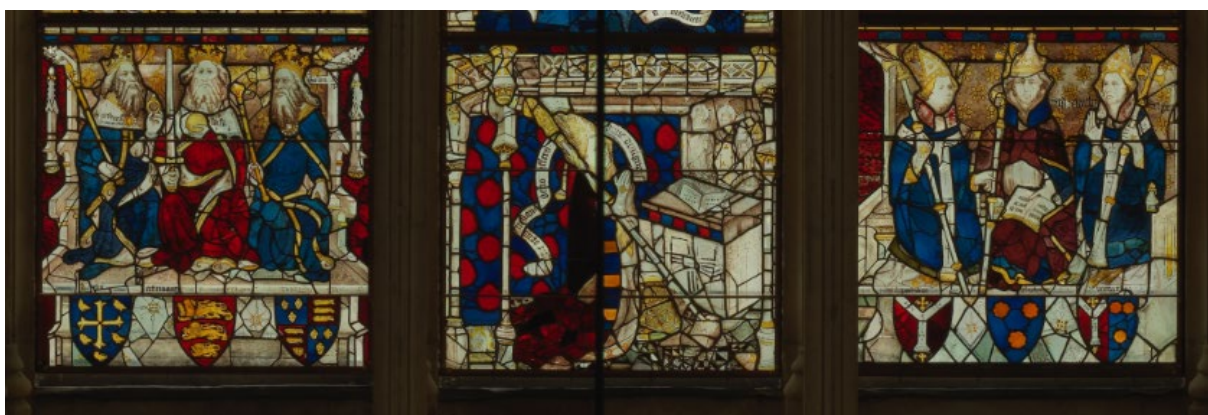


Figure 3.32. Detail showing Walter Skirlaw flanked by kings (left) and archbishops (right), Great East Window (1) 1d-f, York Minster, 1405-1408 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.33. Walter Skirlaw (1e) flanked by kings (left) and archbishops (right) in row 1, Great East Window, rows 7 to 11, York Minster, 1405-1408, (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.34. Walter Skirlaw, donor, Great East Window (1) 1e, York Minster, 1405-08 (Image YGT © DCYM)

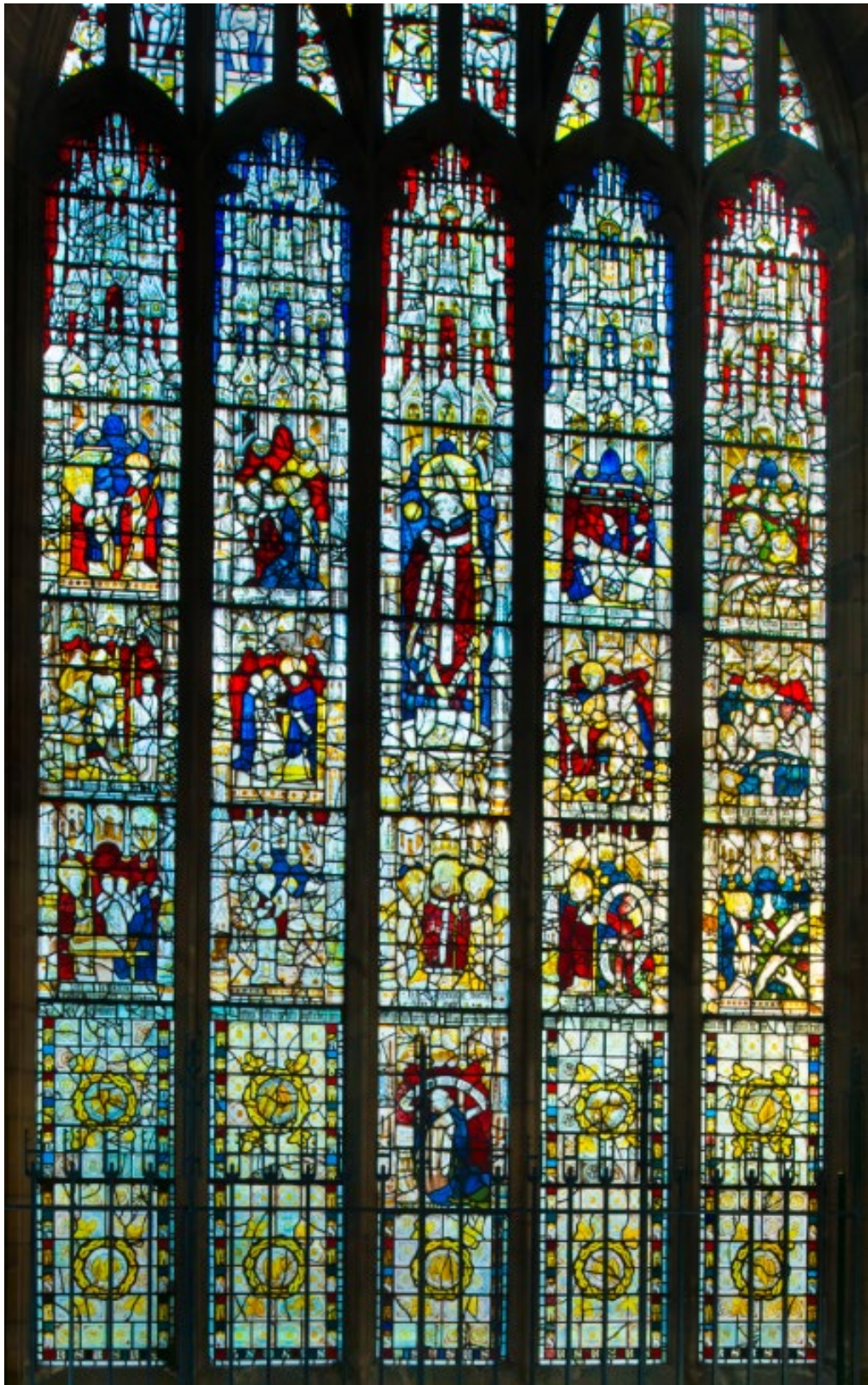


Figure 3.35. St Martin Window (formerly w1), St Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York, c.1430s
(Image © Chris North)



Figure 3.36. Saints in windows n7 and n8, antechapel, All Souls Oxford, c.1441-5 (Photo by author)



Figure 3.37. Saints in window n7, antechapel, All Souls Oxford, c.1441-5 (Photo by author)

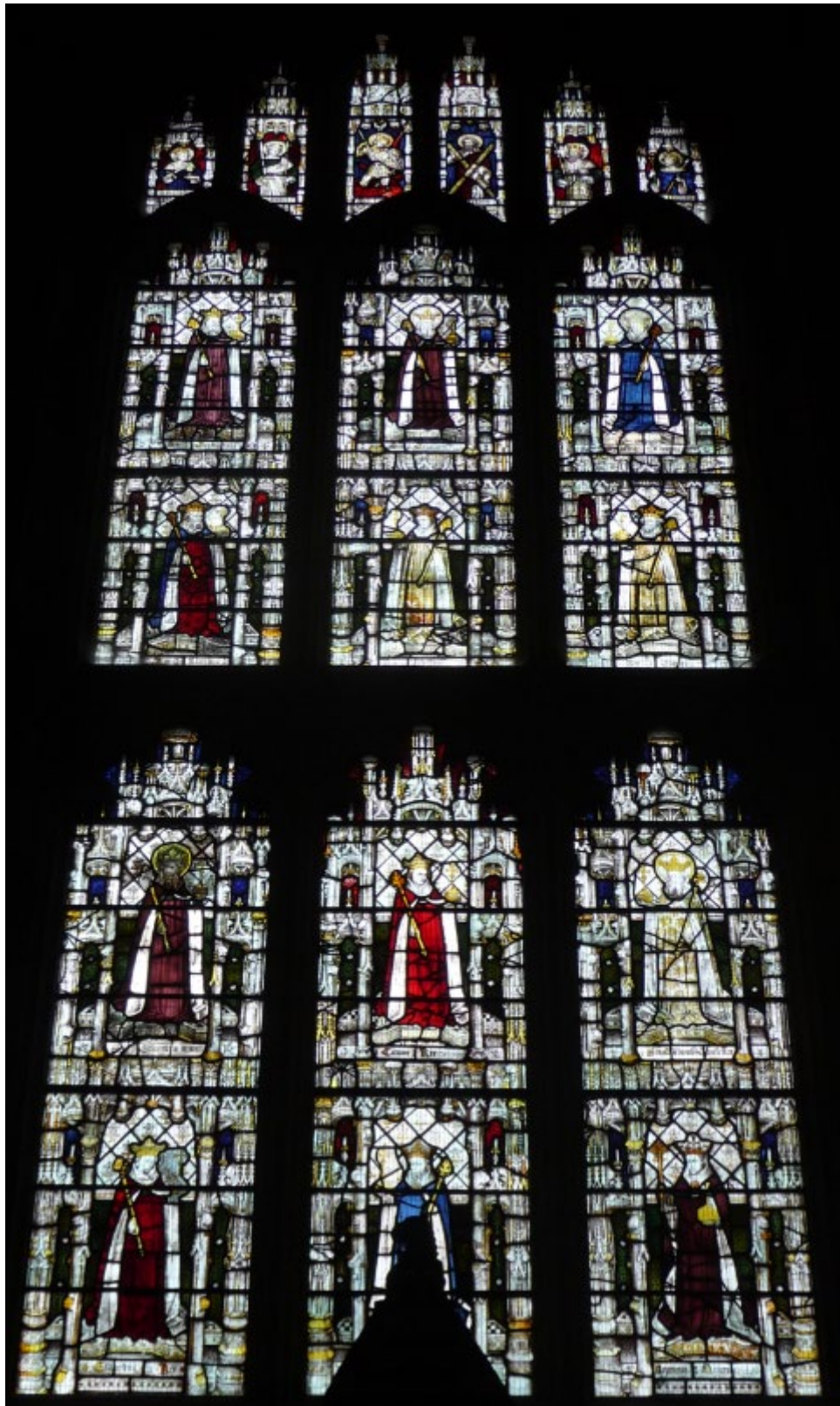


Figure 3.38. Figures from a series of church fathers, kings and archbishops originally in the Old Library, c.1441-5, now in n9, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford (Photo by author)

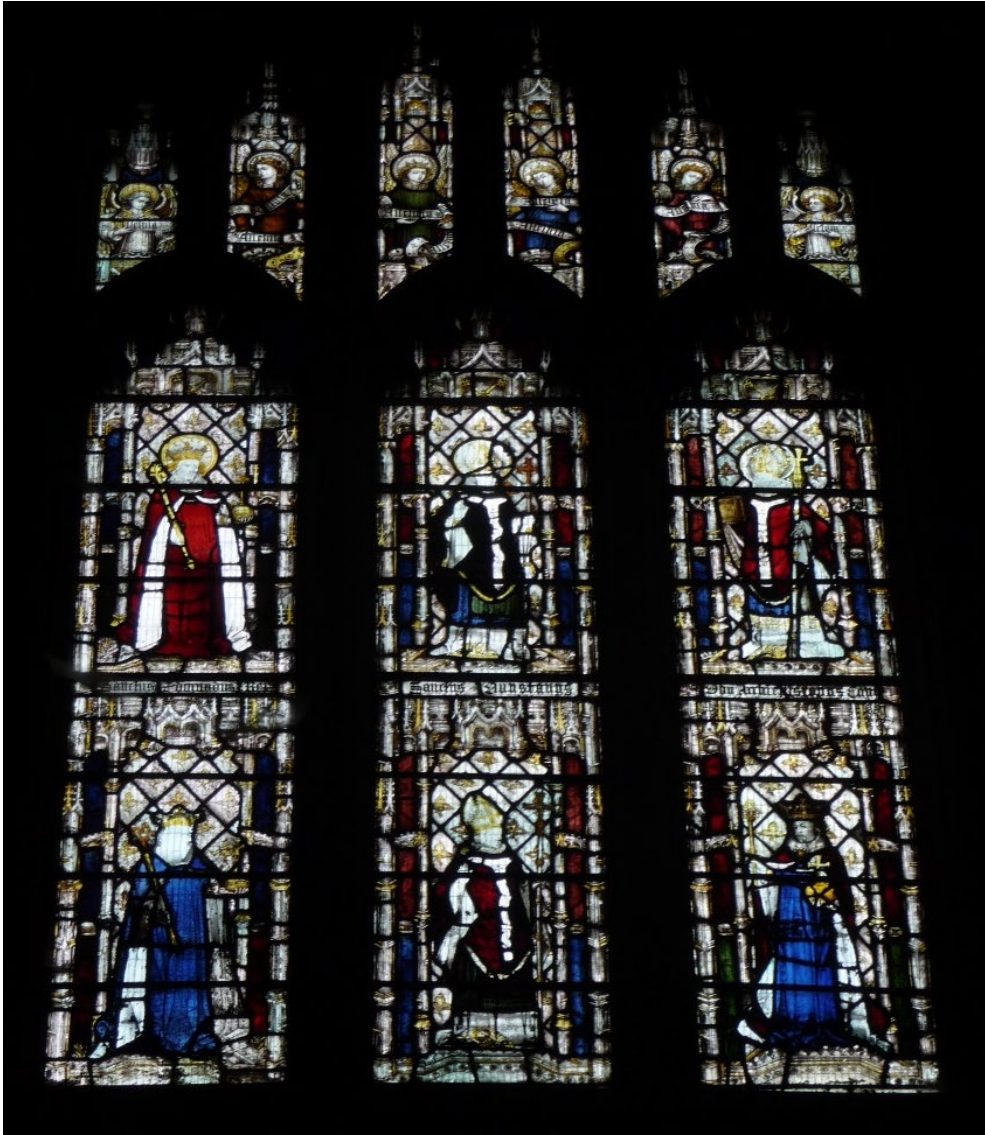


Figure 3.39. Figures from a series of church fathers, kings and archbishops originally in the Old Library, c.1441-5, now in n10, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford (Photo by author)

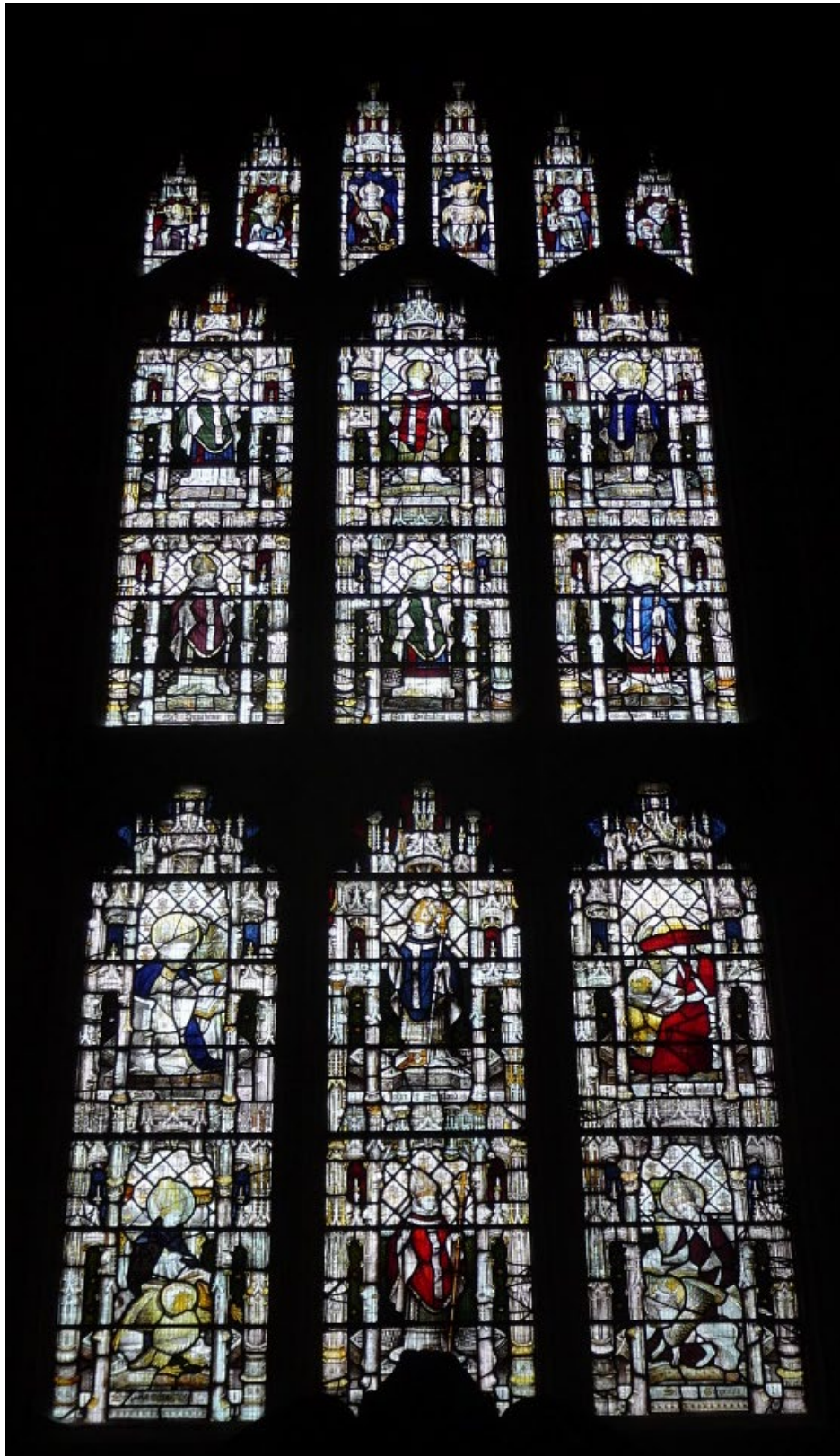


Figure 3.40. Figures from a series of church fathers, kings and archbishops originally in the Old Library, c.1441-5, now in n11, All Souls College Chapel, Oxford (Photo by author)



Figure 3.41. Unpainted stone shields beneath the St Cuthbert Window (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 3.42. Stone shields beneath the St William Window, painted with heraldic arms (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.43. Archbishop Henry Bowet (donor), n10 1b, York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)

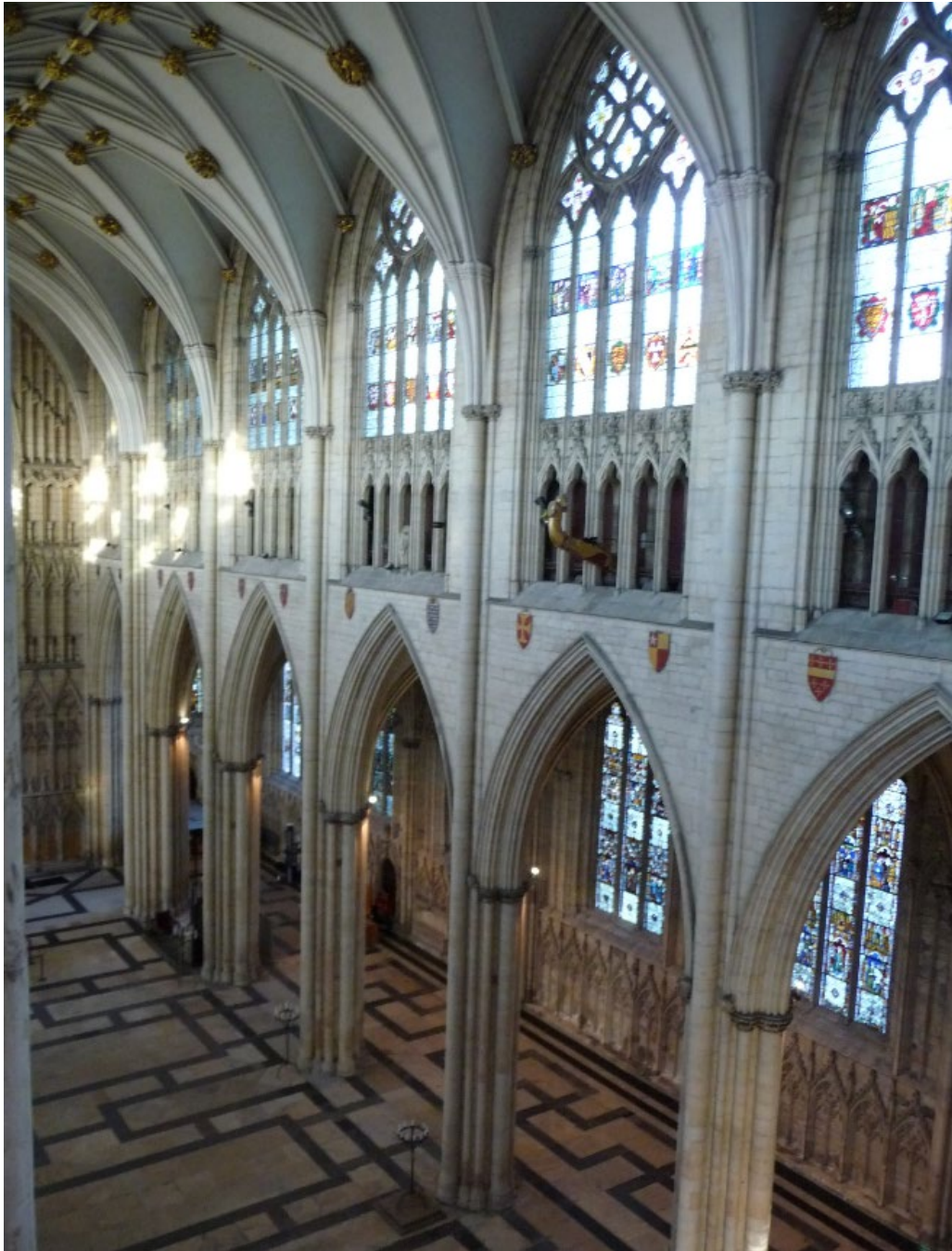


Figure 3.44. Nave of York Minster, looking north-west, showing heraldry in stone (arcade spandrels) and glass (clerestory glazing), fourteenth-century (Photo by author)

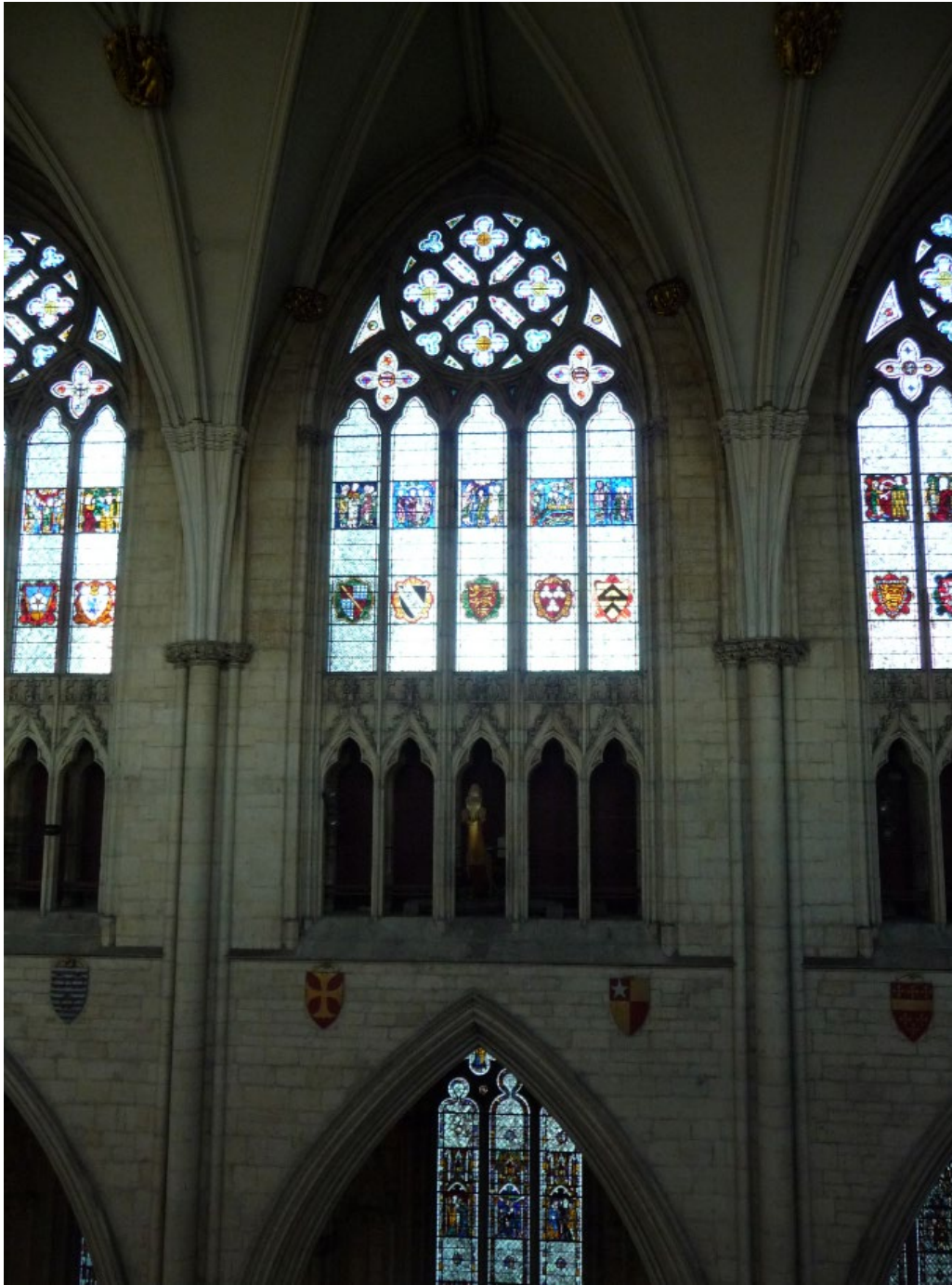


Figure 3.45. Heraldic shields in stone (arcade spandrels) and glass (clerestory glazing, N22), in the nave clerestory, fifth bay from the west, York Minster, fourteenth-century (Photo by author)



Figure 3.46. Thomas Langley's arms over the south door to the Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral, c.1429-35 (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)



Figure 3.47. Thomas Langley's arms on his tomb, set before the altar of the Virgin, Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral, c.1429-35 (Photo by author, with kind permission of Durham Cathedral)



Figure 3.48. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, J. Le Boucq, crayon drawing, 1500–99 (after drawing), Bibliothèque Municipale d'Arras, France (Image © Encyclopædia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Humphrey-Plantagenet-Duke-of-Gloucester/media/235715/11116>)



Figure 3.49. Figure of a king, with a scroll "Ang/lie /et ffranc/ie", and short beard with two tufts, N11 3-4c, York Minster, c.1408-15 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.50. Henry IV's tomb effigy, c.1420s, alabaster, Canterbury Cathedral (Image © Jonathan Cardy, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Henry_the_IV%27s_tomb,_Canterbury_09.JPG)

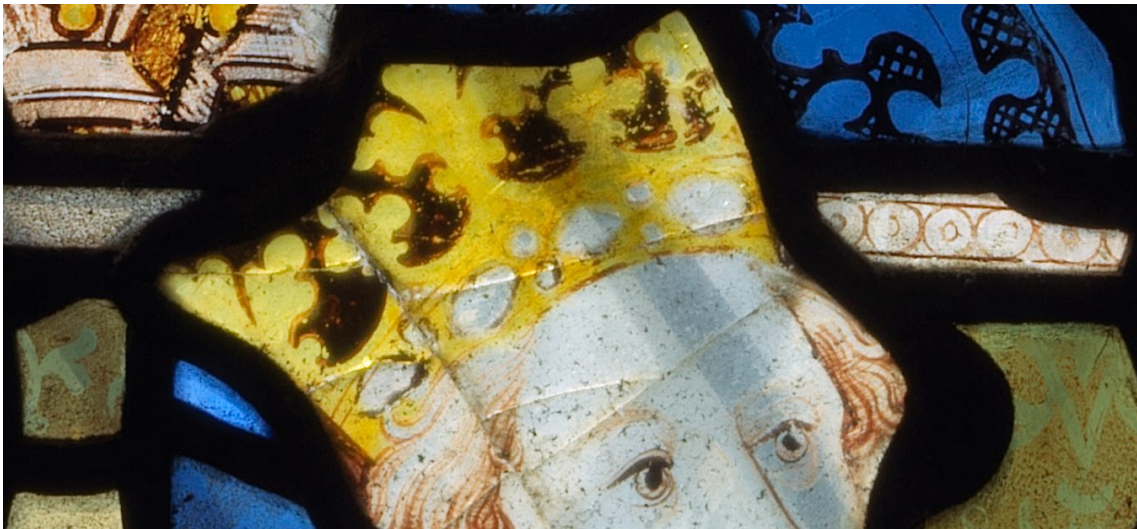


Figure 3.51. Detail showing traces of paint where fused gems were attached to the crown, s7 4b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.52. Detail showing simulated text in prayer book, s7 3b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.53. Detail showing text of psalm 50 on scroll, s7 3b (Image YGT © DCYM)

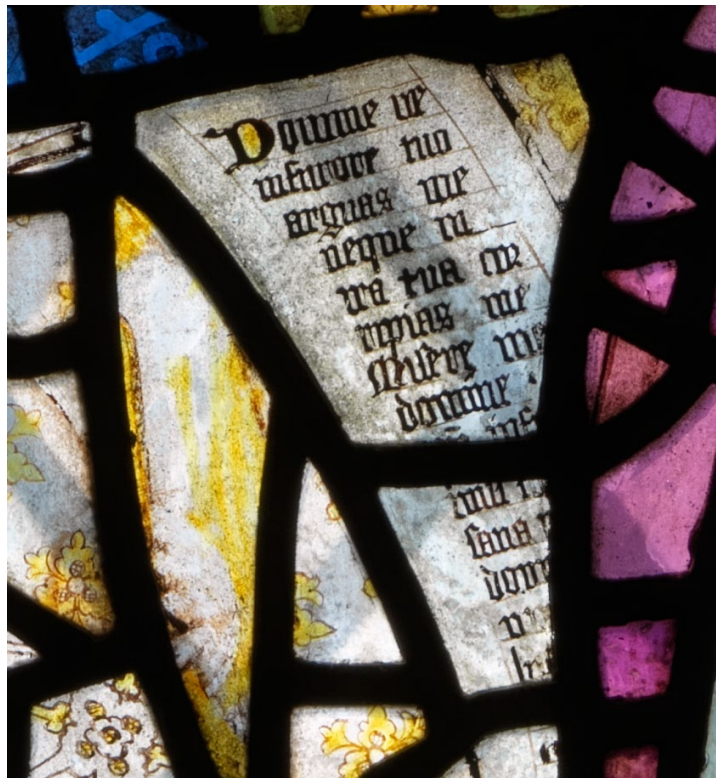


Figure 3.54. Detail showing text of psalm 6 on scroll, s7 3d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.55. Detail showing traces of text in fragmentary book, s7 2d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.56. Text of psalm 6 legible in Margaret Blackburn's book, e1 1a, All Saints North Street, c.1412-35 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.57. Robert Semer, donor, kneels in prayer, before a book with text from psalm 50, St Martin Window (formerly w1) 2c, St Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York, c.1430s (Photo by author)



Figure 3.58. Stephen Scrope kneeling beneath Archbishop Richard Scrope, S6, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.59. Robert Wolveden kneeling beneath St William, S7, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.60. Detail showing Archbishop Richard Scrope's label "D(omin)us Ricard(us) Scrope", S6 3c, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.61. Detail of S6, 2c, showing Stephen Scrope praying to Archbishop Richard Scrope “O ricarde p/as[tor]/ bone tu/i fam/[u]ll[i]/ misere Steph[ani]”, S6 2c, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 3.62. Detail showing St William's label “S(anct)us Wil(lel)mus”, S7 3c, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)

4. Illustrations to Chapter 4

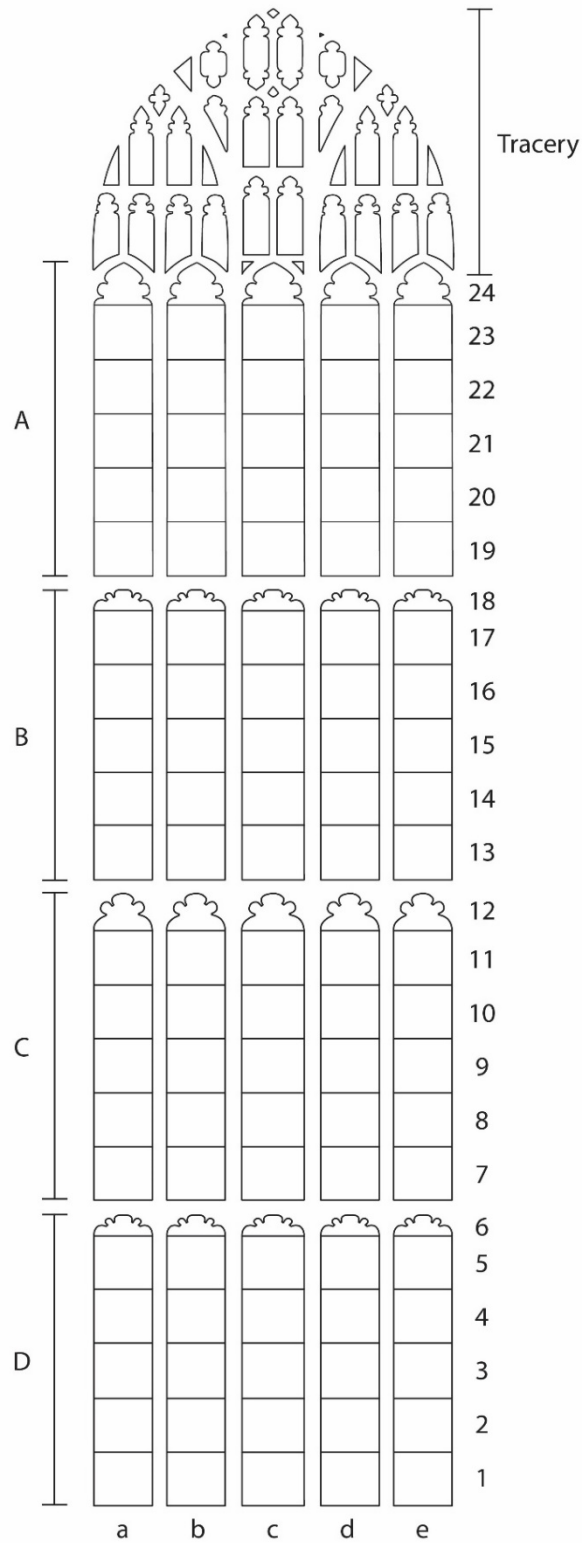


Figure 4.1. The St Cuthbert Window, York Minster, showing section (left), row (right) and light (bottom) labels (Image by author)



Figure 4.2. Cuthbert's horse finds food, s7 10d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.3. Cuthbert's horse finds food, YT26 (twelfth century), f.14r (Image © BL).



Figure 4.4. The use of the same stonework design in (left) the St Cuthbert Window (s7), top half, c.1440, and (right) the St William Window (n7), top half, c.1414 (Images YGT © DCYM)

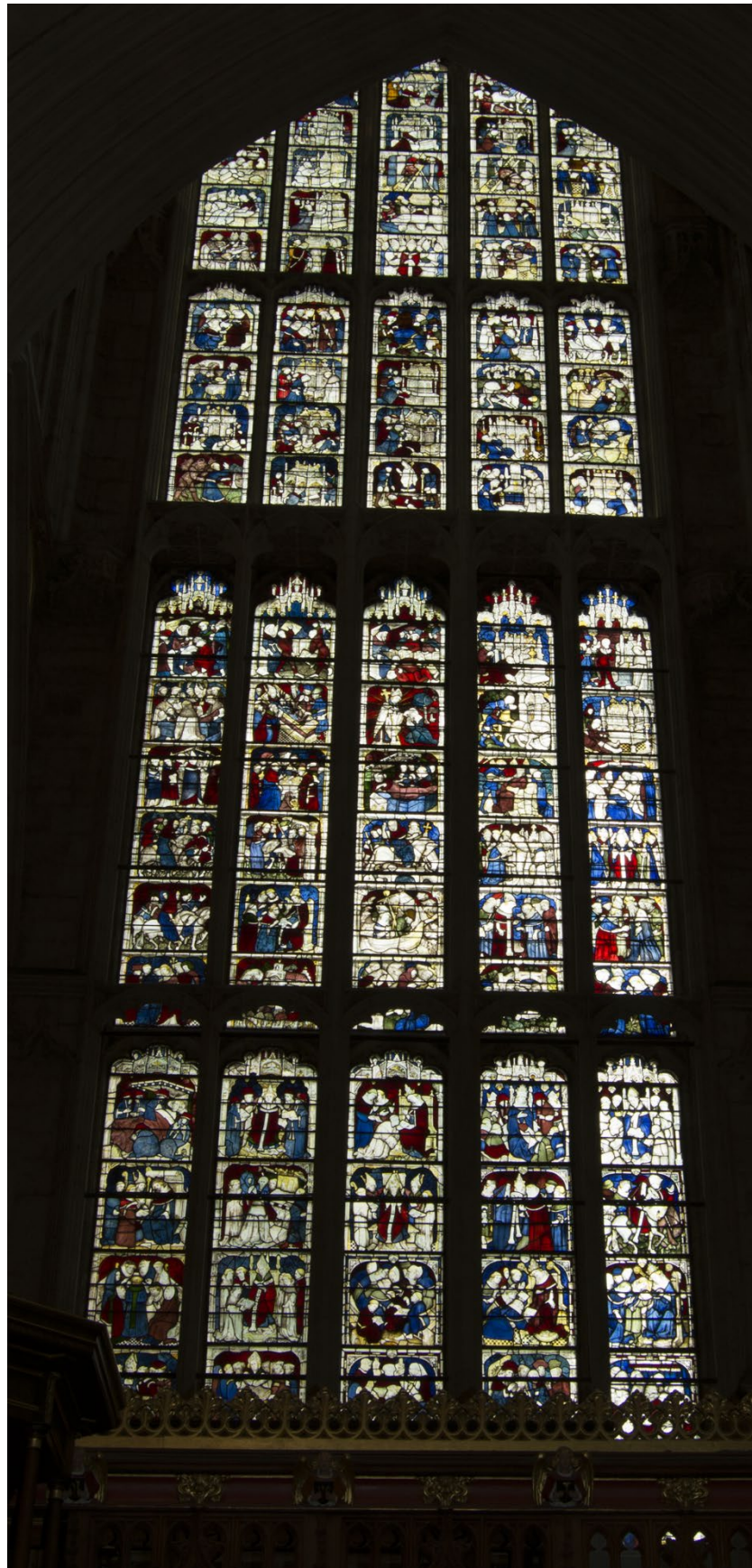


Figure 4.5. Row 1 obscured by choir screen (nineteenth-century replacement of medieval original) when viewing the St William Window (n7) from the medieval site of the high altar, York Minster, c.1414 (Photo by Mark Willcox)

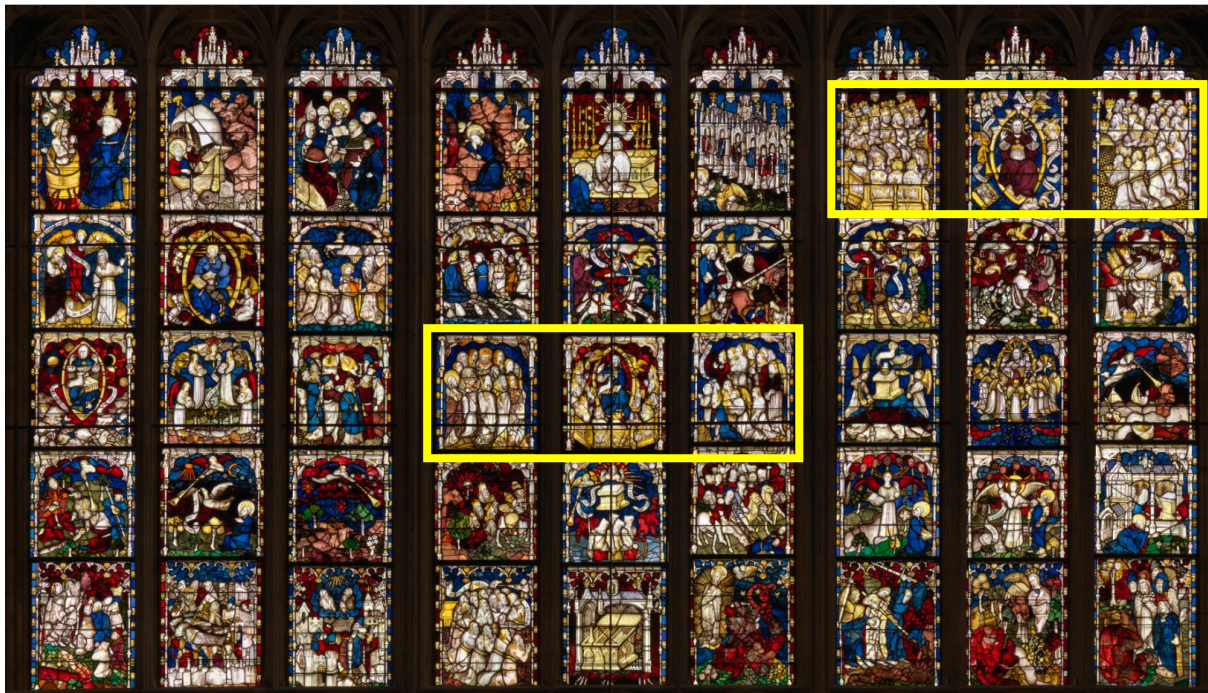


Figure 4.7. Author's yellow highlights of two examples of three-panel scenes set within mullion sub-divisions in the Great East Window (1), rows 7-11, York Minster, c.1405-8 (Photo YGT © DCYM)

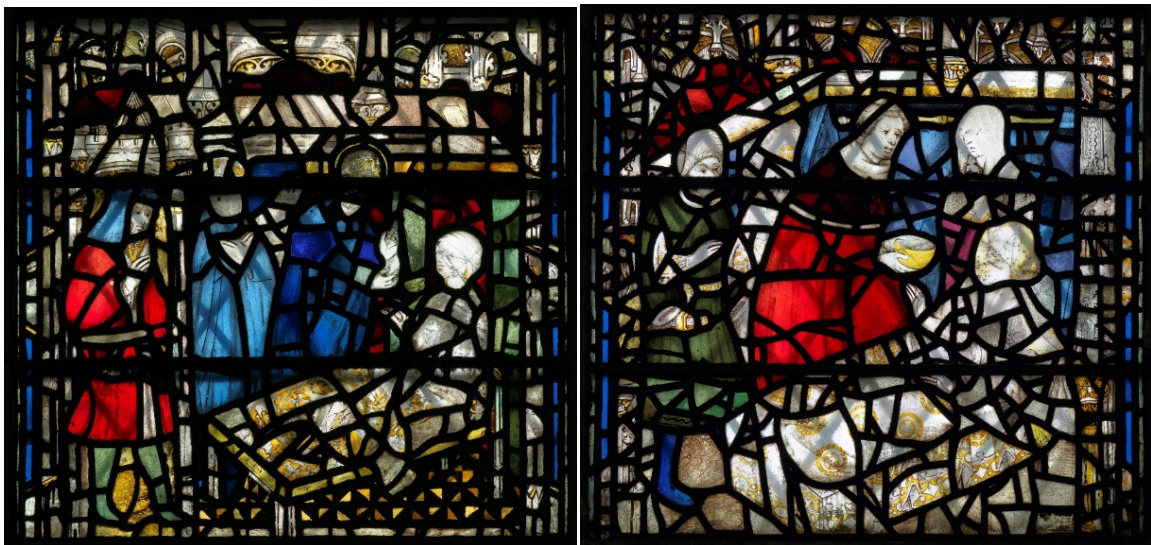


Figure 4.8. Repetition of composition to underline similitude: (left) St Cuthbert heals Hildmer's wife, s7 20c and (right) man healed with water blessed by Cuthbert, s7 19e (Image YGT © DCYM)

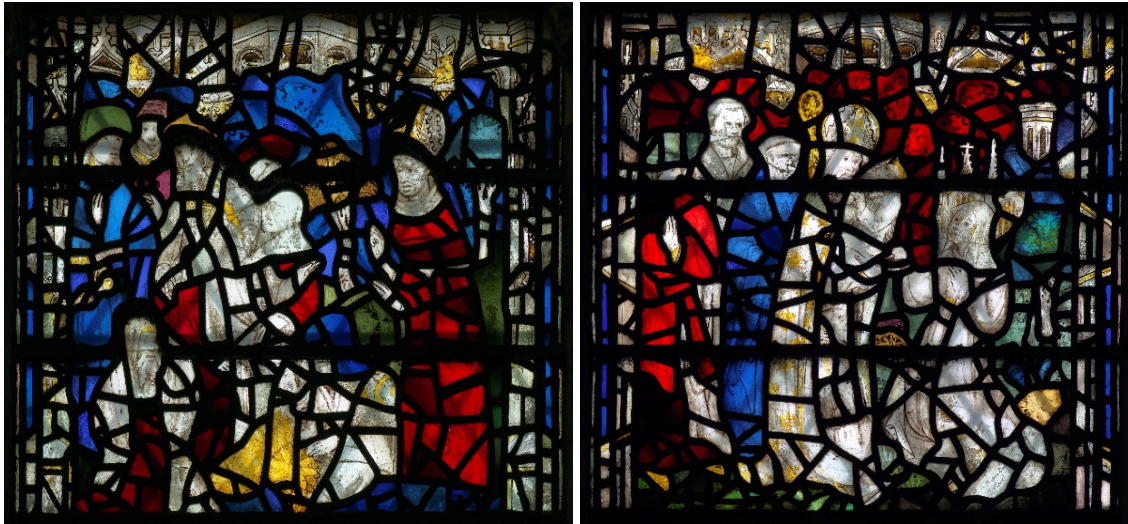


Figure 4.9. Mirroring of composition to underline similitude: (left) St Cuthbert heals a young man, s7 23b and (right) St Cuthbert heals a child, s7 21a (Image YGT © DCYM)

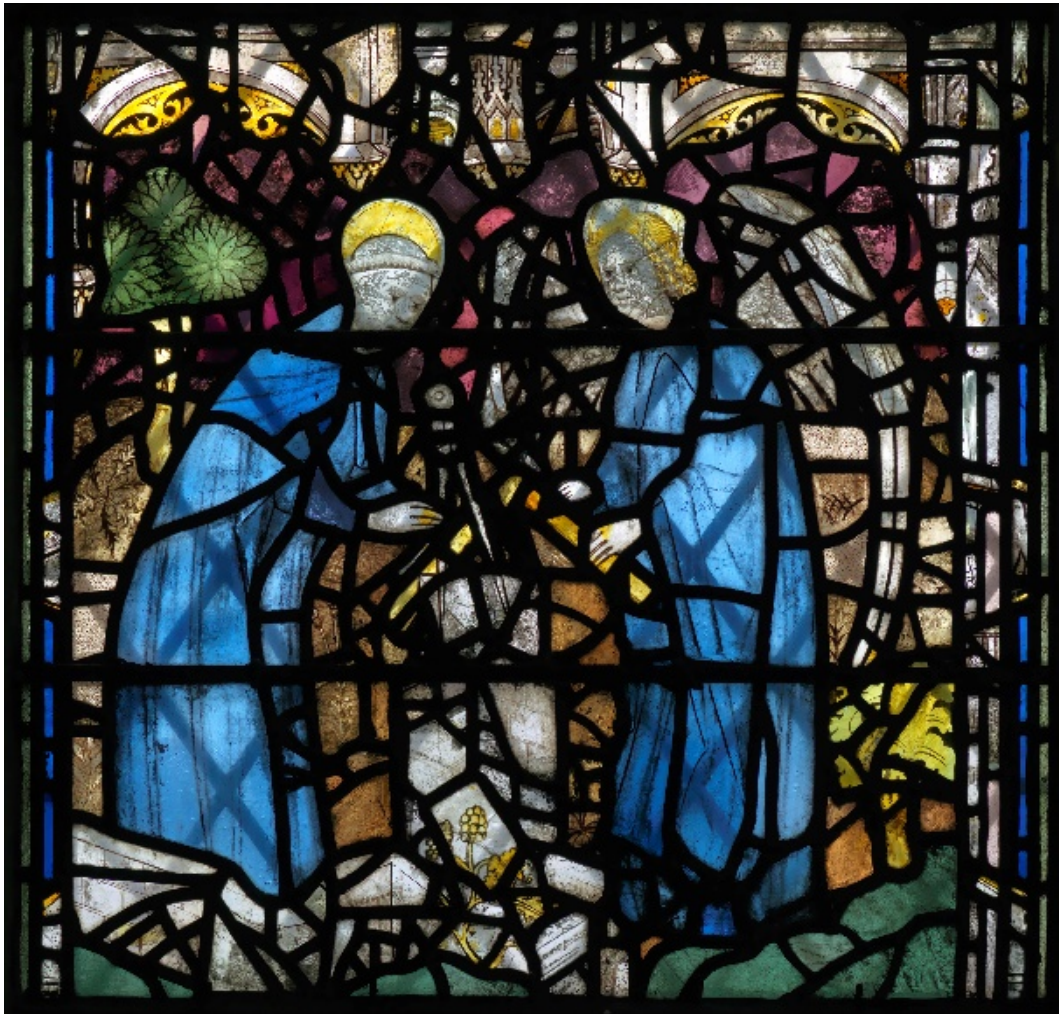


Figure 4.10. Cuthbert and an angel building, s7 16a (Image YGT © DCYM)

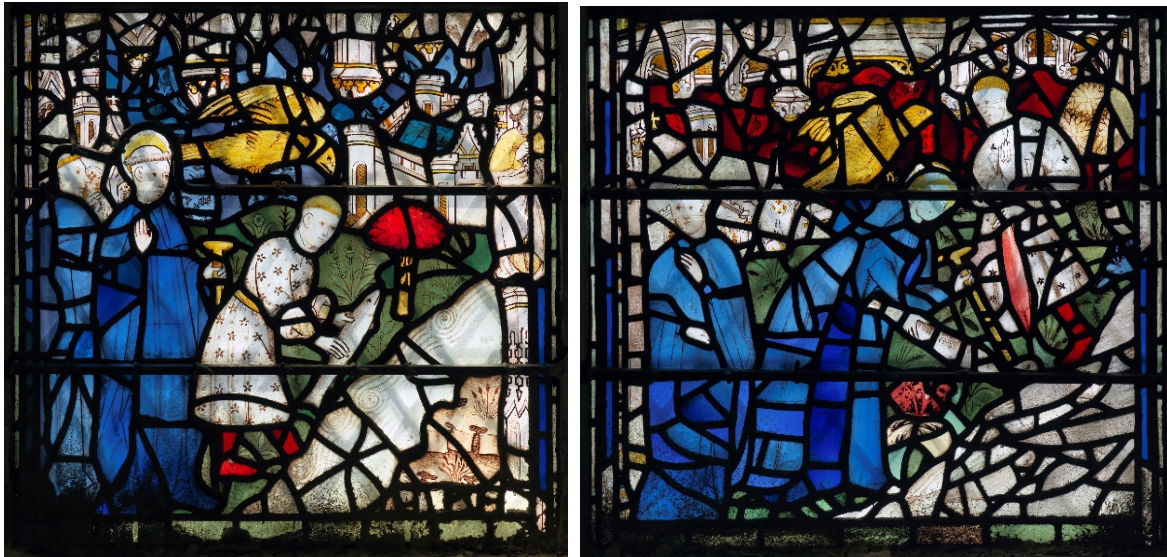


Figure 4.11. Contrasting actions through juxtaposition: (left) Boy retrieves fish, s7, 13b and (right) Cuthbert shares fish, s7 13c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.12. Cuthbert (on the right, head replaced) faces left while teaching monastic rule, separating the scene from the rest of the row, s7 15b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.13. St Cuthbert's Birth, s7 7a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.14. Neighbours react to Cuthbert's birth, s7 9c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.15. Cuthbert and angel building (foreground) and Cuthbert banishing demons (background) YT26, f.39r (Image © BL)



Figure 4.16. Cuthbert banishes Farne demons, s7 15e (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.17. God creating the world, now s27 4a, York Minster, c.1440 (Photo by author © DCYM)

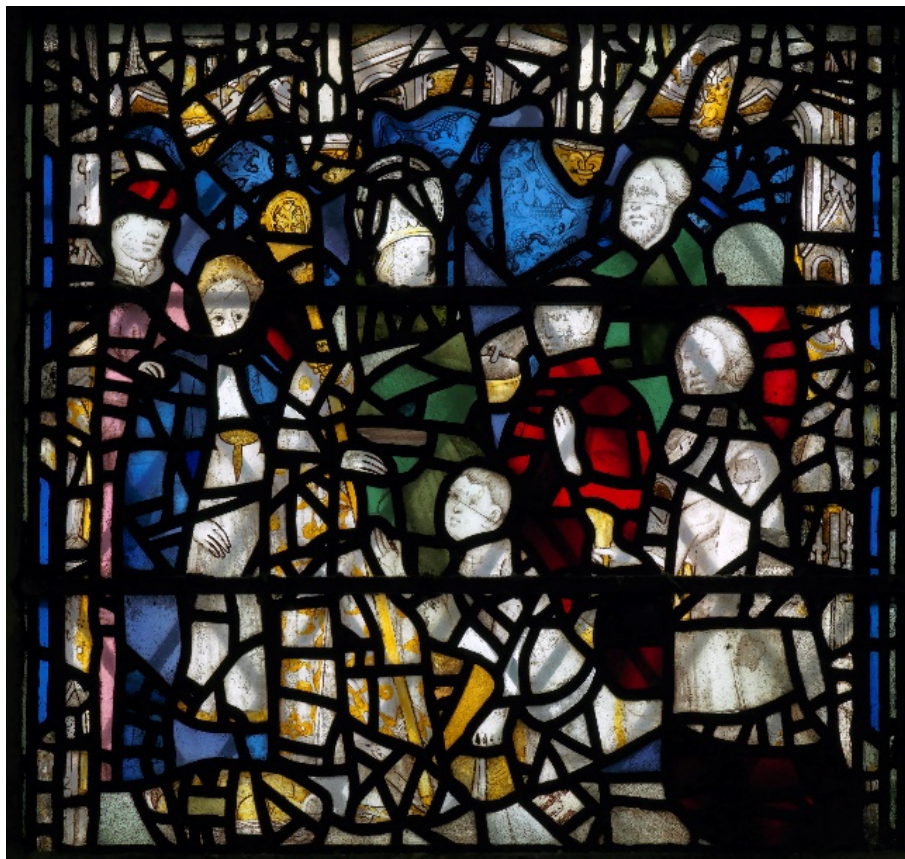


Figure 4.18. Cuthbert feeds and clothes the sick and poor, s7 19d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.19. Cuthbert heals Wahlstod, s7 22c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.20. Cuthbert heals Wahlstod, YT26 (twelfth century), f.39r (Image © BL)



Figure 4.21. Cuthbert preaching, s7 13a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.22. Peter preaching, ivory plaque, Florence, Museo Nazionale (Hahn, *Portrayed*, 143)



Figure 4.23. Cuthbert preaching, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.43 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 4.24. Cuthbert preaching, YT26 (twelfth century), f.22v (Image © BL)



Figure 4.25. St Julien preaching, in a reversal of the typical arrangement of the *topos*, window 107 1d, St Julien's Cathedral, Le Mans, c.1250 (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 4.26. 'Kilian preaching', from the *Passio Kyliani* in Hannover Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 189, (Hahn, *Portrayed*, 148)



Figure 4.27. St Martin preaching from pulpit, window 20, Notre Dame Cathedral, Chartres, c.1215-25 (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 4.28. St Martin preaching from pulpit, window 29b, Notre Dame Cathedral, Chartres, c.1225-35 (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 4.29. St Nicaise preaching from pulpit, window 18 2b, St Ouen, Rouen, c.1325-39 (Photo by Mark Willcox)



Figure 4.30. Reynaud the fox preaching, Capital K3, 5th pier from east, northern choir arcade, north face, York Minster, early fifteenth century (Photo by author)



Figure 4.31. Reynaud the fox preaching, capital sculpture, 2nd pier from south, triforium arcade, west side of south choir transept, York Minster, early fifteenth century (Photo by author)



Figure 4.32. St Stephen is shown preaching in a pulpit on the left, with the congregation on the right, n2 1a, York Minster, c.1440 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.33. Cuthbert gives money to the sick and poor, s7 19c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.34. Giving clothes to the poor, n4 2a, All Saints, North Street, c.1410-35 (Image © Gordon Plumb)



Figure 4.35. Feeding the poor, n4 3a, All Saints, North Street, c.1410-35 (Image © Gordon Plumb)



Figure 4.36. Providing water to the thirsty, n4 2b, All Saints, North Street, c.1410-35 (Image © Gordon Plumb)



Figure 4.37. Doubting and believing midwives in *Nativity*, Robert Campin (or the Master of Flémalle), Musée des Beaux-arts de Dijon, c.1420 (Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <https://useum.org/artwork/Nativity-Campin-Robert-Campin-1420>)



Figure 4.38. A midwife warms a cloth at the Nativity, I 2c, St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, c.1455 (Photo by author)



Figure 4.39. Monk witnessing Cuthbert healing Hildmer's wife crosses his hands across his chest, s7 20c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.40. Cuthbert retrieves fresh bread while entertaining an angel disguised as a man, s7 11c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.41. Cuthbert discovers bread provided by an angel, YT26 (twelfth century), f.18r (Image © BL).



Figure 4.42. St William's baptism, n7 8b, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.43. St Cuthbert's baptism, s7 7b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.44. Cuthbert's miraculous robes and being rebuked for playing, s7 9b (Image YGT © DCYM)

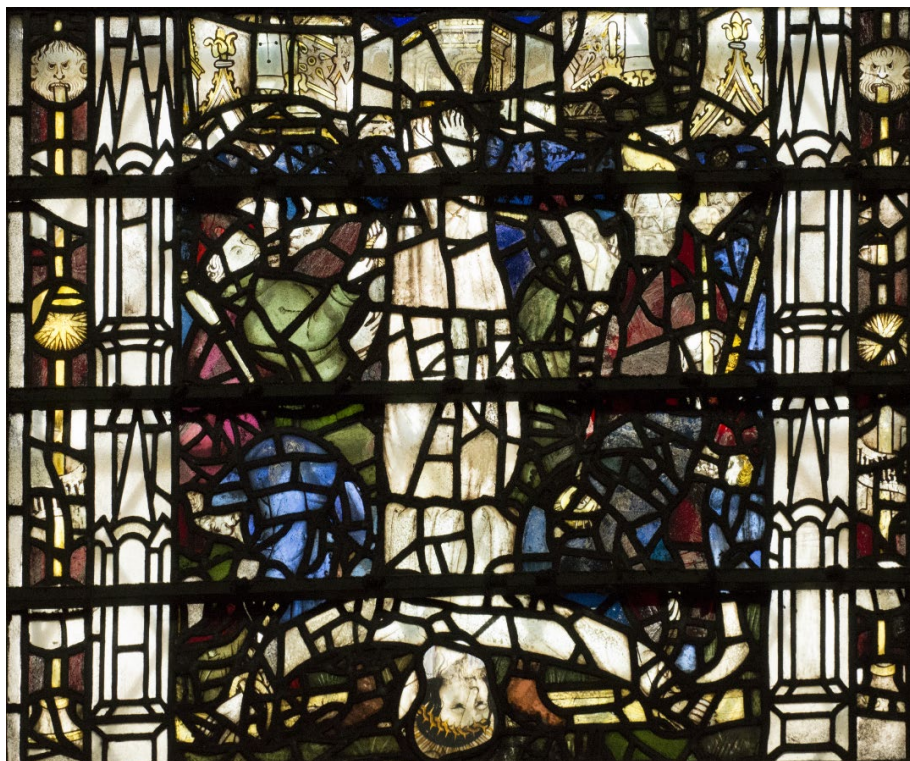


Figure 4.45. St Peter's robes remain upright when he is crucified, n10 1c, York Minster, c.1415-20 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.46. Death of St Cuthbert, s7 23a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.47. Cuthbert's vision of St Aidan's soul, Carlisle Cathedral, c.1478-95, panel painting, (Photo by author)



Figure 4.48. Cuthbert witnesses St Aidan's soul ascending to heaven (top of central illustration and marginal illustrations), *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.434r (Image © BNF)



Figure 4.49. An angel speaks to Cuthbert (seated), s7 20a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.50. Cuthbert washes the feet of an angel disguised as a visitor (seated), s7 22b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.51. Cuthbert predicts, and an eagle provides, a fish, Univ. 165 (c.1100), p.43 (Image © Bodleian)



Figure 4.52. Cuthbert prays in the sea (left) and otters dry his feet (right), while a monk spies (top right), YT26 (twelfth century), f.24r (Image © BL)



Figure 4.53. Cuthbert prays in the sea (left) and otters dry his feet (right), while a monk spies (top left), s7 13d (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.54. Cuthbert forgives the monk who spied, s7 15c (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.55. A monk sows barley (centre), which miraculously grows and is eaten by birds (bottom right), Cuthbert rebukes the birds (left) and they fly away (top right), YT26 (twelfth century), f.42v (Image © BL)



Figure 4.56. Crows eat thatch (top), Cuthbert rebukes the birds (left) and they bring butter to apologise (bottom right), YT26 (twelfth century), f.42v (Image © BL)



Figure 4.57. Sea provides plank forgotten by monks, YT26 (twelfth century), f.45v (Image © BL)



Figure 4.58. Egfrith endorses Cuthbert's episcopal election, s7 19a (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.59. Cuthbert consecrated bishop, s7 19b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.60. Priest administers water blessed by Cuthbert, wearing a mitre, s7 20e (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.61. Cuthbert is shown administering blessed bread, in contrast with the text it accompanies, YT26 (twelfth century), f.61r (Image © BL)



Figure 4.62. Cuthbert blesses water (centre), after Hildmer asks for help (left), s7 14b (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.63. Priest administers water blessed by Cuthbert to heal a man, s7 19e (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.64. Cuthbert blesses water (left) and his priest administers it to heal a man, YT26 (twelfth century), f.54r (Image © BL).



Figure 4.65. Cuthbert gives clothing to poor, marginal medallion, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.437r (Image © BNF)



Figure 4.66. Egfrith persuades Cuthbert to accept bishopric, YT26 (twelfth century), f.51r (Image © BL)



Figure 4.67. Cuthbert and King Egfrith kneel before an altar, marginal medallion, *Salisbury Breviary*, BNF, Latin 17294 (c.1424-60), f.436v (Image © BNF)

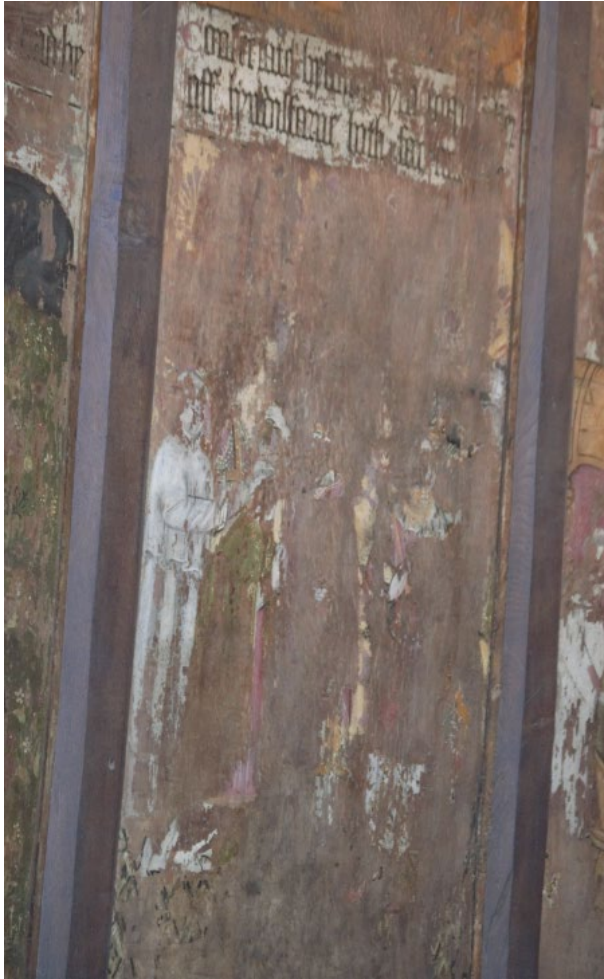


Figure 4.68. Cuthbert's consecration, Carlisle Cathedral, c.1424-60, panel painting (Photo by author)



Figure 4.69. Cuthbert's consecration, St Lawrence Church, Pitlington, wall-painting, twelfth century (Image © St Lawrence Church)



Figure 4.70. William welcomed by king after returning with pallium, n7 8e, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.71. William's enthronement, depicted as a consecration, n7 9e, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.72. William's consecration, n7 4c, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.73. William returns with pallium, n7 8c, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.74. William predicting his successor at Canterbury, n7 8d, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)



Figure 4.75. William's miracle on Ousebridge, n7 8c, York Minster, c.1414 (Image YGT © DCYM)

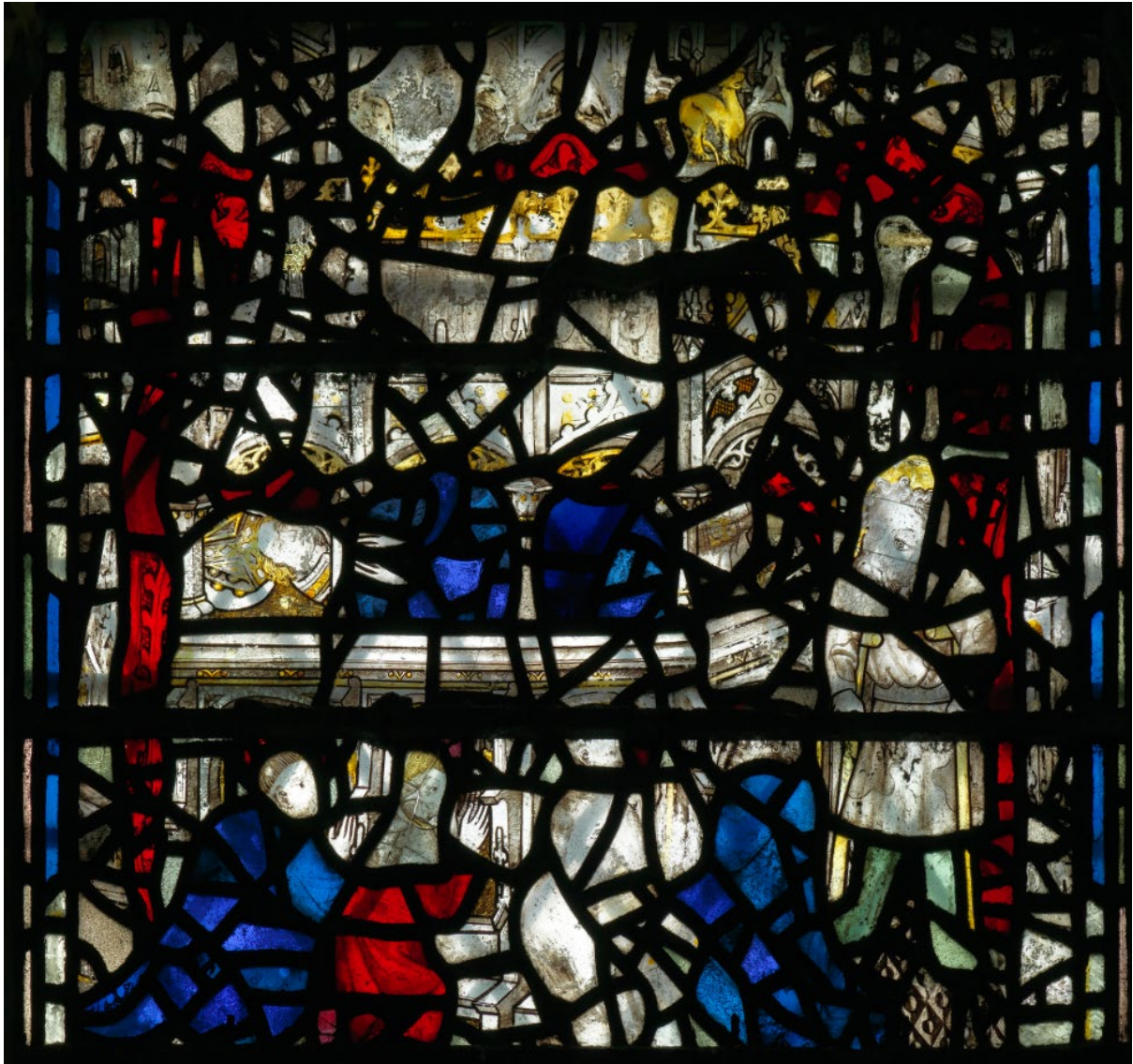


Figure 4.76. A sick man (on crutches, right) healed at St Cuthbert's tomb, s7 23c, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

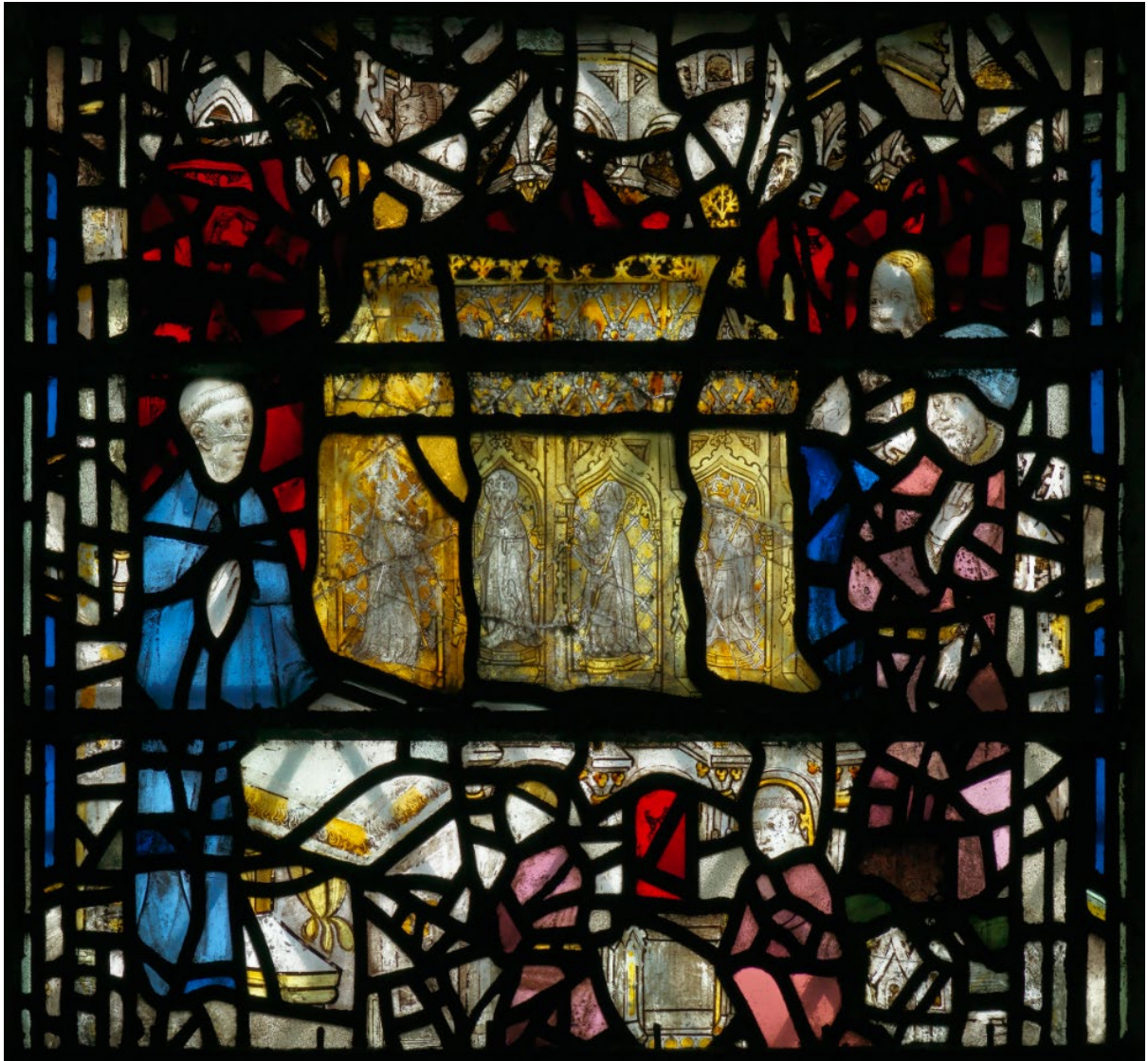


Figure 4.77. St Cuthbert's shrine, s7 23e, York Minster (Image YGT © DCYM)

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MS C.III.23 (The Hogg Roll), c.1593

Durham, University Library

CCB B/1/1 (189809) (Account of William Chancellor), 1416-7

CCB B/1/2 (189782) (Account of William Chancellor), 1418-9

CCB B/1/3 (189810) (Account of William Chancellor), 1425-5

CCB B/13/1 (188714) (Arrears account of William Chancellor), 1406-8

CCB B/72/5 (190004) (Account of John Durham), 1421-2

CCB B/82/1 (190012) (Account of Richard Burton), 1425-6

CCB B/82/2 (190013) (Account of Richard Burton), 1426-7

CCB B/82/3 (190015) (Account of Robert Rolleston), 10 May 1429

CCB B/82/4 (190014) (Account of Robert Rolleston), 1429-31

Cosin MS B.II.11 (*The Rites of Durham*), c.1620

DCD-Sacr.acs (Sacrists' Account Rolls) 1402-41

Loc.II:19(1-10) (Accounts of John Wessington for the Durham cloister work), 1409-19

Loc.XXVII:1a (List of building works and repairs done in the time of Prior Wessington), 1442

Misc.Ch. 2352, 19 July 1438

Misc.Ch. 2622 (Inventories of goods of bishops of Durham, drawn up by Prior John Wessington), mid-fifteenth century

Misc.Ch. 5713-21 (Works accounts), 1429-35

Misc.Ch. 5727a-b (Memorandum of works from Wessington's priorate), c.1442

Misc.Ch. 7111a (Memorandum of works from Wessington's priorate), c.1446

Misc.Ch. 7131a-b (Works done by Prior Wessington), c.1442

London, British Library

Cotton MS Titus A.ii (Symeon of Durham, etc.), first half of fourteenth – fifteenth century

Egerton MS 3309 (*Metrical Life of Cuthbert*), first or second quarter of fifteenth century

Harley MS 4431 ('The Book of the Queen'), c.1415

Harley MS 4843, Tode, William. "Lives of St Cuthbert and other texts relating to the Cathedral Priory of St Cuthbert, Durham", c.1528

Royal MS 15 E.vi (*Talbot Shrewsbury Book*), c.1445

Stowe MS 594 (*Bruges Garter Book*), c.1430-40

Yates Thompson MS 26 (*Life of Cuthbert*), fourth quarter of the twelfth century.

London, Lincoln's Inn

Hale MS 114 (*The Red Book*), first half of fifteenth century

London, National Art Library

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MSL/1929/1212, Knowles, J.W. "St Cuthbert's and St William's Windows, Vol. 2", c.1886-1907

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Oxford, Bodleian Library

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Fairfax 6 (*Life of Cuthbert*), second half of fourteenth century

Laud Misc. 108 (*South English Legendary*), c.1300 with additions

Rawlinson MS B.300, c.1603

Oxford, University College Library

University MS 165 (*Life of Cuthbert*), c.1100

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

MS Latin 17294 (*The Salisbury Breviary*), c.1424-60

York, Borthwick Institute

Archbishop's Register 19: John Kemp (1425-1452)

York, Minster Library and Archives

Additional MS 2 (*Bolton Hours*), c.1405-15

Additional MS 70 (York Use Breviary), c.1400-50

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