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List of Abbreviations

Abp. Reg.	York, Borthwick Archives, Archbishops' Registers of the Archdiocese of York.
Add. MS. 2	York, York Minster Library, Add. MS. 2.
CVMA	the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (online picture archive for England and Wales: www.cvma.ac.uk).
MS. L1 (8)	York, York Minster Archives, MS. L1 (8) [James Torre's "Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York", 1691].
CFR	Calendar of Fine Rolls.
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
<i>Foedera</i>	Rymer, Thomas, ed. <i>Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica: inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte saeculo duodecimo, viz. ab anno 1101. ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractata: ex autographis, infra secretiores archivorum regionum thesaurarias per multa saecula reconditis, fideliter exscripta</i> . Vol. 9. London, 1739-1745.
<i>Golden Legend</i>	Caxton, W. <i>The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints</i> , 1483, from the Temple Classics Edition by F. S. Ellis (London 1931) and digitised in the Medieval Sourcebook, Jacobus de Voragine, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/goldenlegend .
MS. Top. Yorks.	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Yorks. c. 14, Henry Johnston's Topographical and Church Notes, 1669-70.
Prob. Reg.	Probate Registers, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England.
TE	Raine, James. <i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> , Vols. II and III. London, 1855-65.

1. Introduction

In May 1405, Richard Scrope, the archbishop of York; the clergy of York Minster; many of the local Yorkshire gentry; and possibly as many as 8,000 inhabitants of York marched six kilometres north of the city to join rebel forces led by the Earl of Norfolk.¹ The archbishop's grievances against Henry IV of England (reigned 1399–1413) included unjust taxation, the oppression of the clergy, and parliamentary corruption.² Scrope soon faced an army led by the Earl of Westmorland and Prince John, son of Henry IV, but there was no battle. Instead, after a negotiated surrender, the archbishop's ecclesiastical accoutrements were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. After a perfunctory trial, Scrope was taken on a horse without a saddle from his place of confinement and publicly executed on a hill in a field owned by Clementhorpe Nunnery, just outside the walls of the city of York.³ Kneeling on the grass, he asked the executioner for “fyve strokys w[ith] thy hende”, in imitation of the five wounds of Christ.⁴ This is the only instance of the judicial execution of a prelate in medieval English history, and within a few days it had led to the beginnings of a cult of Richard Scrope.⁵

The parish of All Saints, North Street in the city of York was significantly affected by the political turbulence. The Mayor of York in 1405, Adam del Banke, was a parishioner of this church; the parish priest in 1405 had to pay a large sum of money to the king due to his involvement in the revolt, and a subsequent parish priest, appointed in 1413 (the same year Henry IV died), was associated with insurrections elsewhere in England connected to Scrope's revolt.⁶ This priest, James Baguley, donated a window to the church and likely guided the ca.1410–40 glazing scheme of five new windows. The main lights of his window show St Michael killing the many-headed Beast, and St John recording the event in the Book of Revelation (Figure 1). Across the chancel from the Revelation window is a depiction of the

¹ Christian Liddy, “William Frost, the City of York and Scrope's Rebellion of 1405,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 64.

² Peter McNiven, “The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 54, no. 1 (1971): 173–213.

³ For the “hyll”, see the fifteenth-century poem *That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise*, line 9, quoted in Stephen K. Wright, ed., “That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 113. The abbess was promised, and subsequently received, the miracle of a fertile crop; Danna Pirovansky, “‘*Martyrio pulchro finitus*’: Archbishop Scrope's Martyrdom and the Creation of a Cult,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 110. For a further discussion of the exact execution place, see Chapter 4.

⁴ Wright, “That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise,” 114.

⁵ Pirovansky, “‘*Martyrio pulchro finitus*’,” 109. The execution of Thomas Becket, the most famous archbishop killed following the wishes of an English king, was not carried out through a judicial process. Other medieval English bishops were censured by kings, losing their position or privileges, but none were executed.

⁶ See Chapter 4 for a description of Banke's and the priests' careers and role in the revolt and subsequent Scrope veneration.

Fifteen Last Days before Doomsday (Figure 2). This window combines a narrating sequence of fifteen panels with text and images describing the last days of the world. There are nine kneeling donor figures at the base of the window and a Last Judgement in the tracery. The Fifteen Last Days window is the only survival of Middle English poetry in stained glass.⁷ When the window was made, the poem was believed to have been written by the early fourteenth-century hermit and mystic, Richard Rolle.⁸

This dissertation asks to what extent these two fifteenth-century eschatological stained-glass windows in a York parish church interact with the 1405 martyrdom of the Archbishop of York. Apocalyptic associations with the martyred archbishop can be made directly; the Scrope family showed a notable interest in apocalyptic books in their wills, in the images they donated around Yorkshire, and in their burial location in York Minster, next to its monumental early fifteenth-century apocalypse window.⁹ The attributed writings of Richard Rolle, including the apocalyptic poem upon which the All Saints window is based, were extremely popular in late medieval York, particularly in the clerical milieu in which Scrope and many of those involved in his revolt lived and worked.¹⁰ Acknowledging the loss of so much medieval art but carefully examining the surviving glass, this dissertation will argue that the intersection between Scrope devotion and apocalyptic art can best be understood through consideration of the iconographic and narratological influence of Rolle's mystical writing.

⁷ Extensive discussion of this window will be provided throughout this dissertation. As an initial summary, the key works describing and analysing it are E. A. Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 151–202; Sue Powell, "All Saints' Church, North Street, York: Text and Image in the Pricke of Conscience Window," in *Prophecy, Apocalypse, and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 292–316; Ellen K. Rentz, *Imagining the Parish in Late Medieval England* (The Ohio State University Press, 2015), chap. 5; & Steven Rozenski, "A Light to Lighten the Gentiles: Stained Glass, The *Prick of Conscience*, and Theological Double Vision in All Saints (North Street), York," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 285–308. For a recent evaluation of the source poem, see Michael Johnston, "Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience* in Late Medieval England," *Speculum* 95, no. 3 (2020): 742–801.

⁸ Rolle will be discussed in greater detail in the introduction to Chapter 7. The October 2024 *Speculum* cluster discussing the mystic provides both an overview of his life and work, and an in-depth evaluation of his most important concept, *canor*, highly applicable to the conclusions of this dissertation; see in particular Andrew Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1132–48.

⁹ Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 153–56. For a survey of lay book ownership in late medieval York, see P. J. P. Goldberg, "Lay Book Ownership in Late Medieval York: the Evidence of Wills," *The Library* 6, no. 3 (1994): 181–89. The connection between Scrope's rebellion and martyrdom, and local commissions has been demonstrated in the example of a Book of Hours (the Bolton Hours: York, York Minster Library, Add. MS. 2) and the architecture of York Minster, but not in the parish churches despite the wealth of surviving evidence, perhaps because this connection has never previously been noted; Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, and Arlyn Diamond (Brepols, 2005), 243; and Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 158–59.

¹⁰ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 1.

1.1. The Historical Context

1.1.1. A Brief History of Medieval Apocalypticism

Christian eschatological writings were born out of Jewish apocalyptic expectations in the centuries either side of the year zero.¹¹ Subsequently, during late antiquity, debate raged over the respective merits of a spiritual or literal/historical understanding of the Book of Revelation and related texts.¹² For Augustine of Hippo (354–430 C.E.), the eventual certainty of the apocalypse was a spur for mankind to reform their behaviour in the present day, though the timing could not be predicted.¹³ Clerics, church fathers and saints — Origen (ca.185–ca.253 C.E.), Jerome (331–420 C.E.), and Cassiodorus (ca.485–ca.585 C.E.), to name but a few — wrote, or were later believed to have written, on the apocalypse.¹⁴ From late antiquity onwards, art reflected politics, with the state sponsorship of Christianity focusing on Christ as heavenly king within apocalyptic imagery, and creating an image of Christ in Majesty presiding over the end of days that would become central to later medieval apocalyptic art.¹⁵ The late seventh-century Syriac commentary of Pseudo-Methodius explicitly connected the apocalypse to both the rise of Islam and the Roman Empire,¹⁶ whilst Pope Gregory the Great, along with Gregory of Tours, used eschatology to emphasise the need for church reform.¹⁷ Moving further west, in early medieval England, Christian apocalyptic themes drew on “the language of German heroism”.¹⁸ Bede (in Jarrow, around 130 km north of York) and Alcuin (a native of York at the Carolingian court) wrote commentaries, whilst concepts were formed in Ireland that would

¹¹ Bernard McGinn, “John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 4.

¹² McGinn, “John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality,” 14 & 18.

¹³ Brain E. Daley, “Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 30–31.

¹⁴ For an overview of this, see Daley, “Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology,” 7–42. For Cassiodorus, see M. del Cogliano, F. X. Gumerlock and T.C. Schmidt, eds., *Writings on the Apocalypse* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2022). The list of church fathers who did not engage with the apocalypse would be far shorter than the list of those who did.

¹⁵ Peter K. Klein, “Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson & Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 162.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Methodius’ commentary was translated into Greek, then Latin and remained influential throughout the Middle Ages; James Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 60 & 107; Witold Witakowski, “Syriac Eschatology in Antiquity,” in *Eschatology in Antiquity: Forms and Functions*, ed. Hilary Marlow, Karla Pollmann, and Helen Van Noorden (Routledge, 2021), 509; & Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 38. For earlier Syriac thought, see Witakowski, “Syriac Eschatology in Antiquity,” particularly page 505.

¹⁷ Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 57.

¹⁸ Robert Boenig, “The Apocalypse in Medieval England,” in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Brill, 2016), 312.

spread eastwards and inform apocalyptic formulations, including Pseudo-Bede's schema of the Fifteen Last Days.¹⁹ The millennium brought expectations of the fulfilment of the prophecies of John of Patmos (conflated with St John the Evangelist) and an imminent end to history.²⁰ Evidently, these expectations were not fulfilled, but, to quote Bernard McGinn, "medieval folk lived in a more or less constant state of apocalyptic expectation".²¹

From the twelfth century onwards, the work of Joachim of Fiore influenced apocalyptic thought across Christendom, with an increasing belief in Revelation as a prophecy revealing forthcoming historical events and being the key to "the meaning of human history".²² E. Randolph Daniel relates this to the increasing focus from the twelfth century onwards on the bodily suffering of Christ.²³ In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council adopted Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as the basis for orthodox eschatology in Latin Christendom.²⁴ Lombard considered "eschatology as the climax of history and the culmination of Christology".²⁵ This echoed Joachim of Fiore's historical eschatology.²⁶ In the thirteenth-century, apocalyptic ideas are commonly found in Franciscan writings, often drawing on Joachim of Fiore's work.²⁷ Mendicant monks saw themselves as harbingers of millennialism (in the most positive sense),

¹⁹ Robert E. Lerner, "Millennialism," in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 343; & Martin McNamara, "The Irish Legend of Antichrist," in *The Bible and the Apocrypha in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600–1200): Collected Essays* (Brepols, 2015), 780–82. For the breadth of the Fifteen Last Days signs in Irish medieval literature, see Martin McNamara, "The (Fifteen) Signs before Doomsday in Irish Tradition," in *The Bible and the Apocrypha in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600–1200): Collected Essays* (Brepols, 2015), 824.

²⁰ McGinn, "John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality," 13 & 16. Recent research has shown climatic resonances for an increased belief in the imminence of the end times around the millennium; Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "Restless Skies at the Turn of the First Millennium AD: Climate Fluctuations, Astronomic Phenomena and Socio-Political Turbulences in 10th and 11th Century Byzantium and Japan in Comparative Perspective," *Medio Aevo Avance en línea* 13, no. 1 (2024): 14–18.

²¹ Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100–1500," in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 74–75. See also Eugen Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 31–33.

²² E. Randolph Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 87; & Majorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1993). For Fiore's conception not necessarily being universal in late medieval York, see Richard K. Emmerson, "Visualising the Apocalypse in Late Medieval England: the York Minster Great East Window," in *Cross, Crown and Community: Religion, Government and Culture in Early Modern England, 1400–1800*, ed. David J. B. Trim and Peter J. Balderstone (Peter Lang, 2004), 57–59.

²³ Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore," 88. For a fuller exploration of the writings and impact of Joachim of Fiore, see J. E. Wannenmacher, ed., *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration: Essays in Memory of Marjorie E. Reeves (1905–2003)* (Routledge, 2013); & Matthias Riedl, ed., *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Brill, 2017). There is however very little consideration in this collection of essays of the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century impact of the abbot's thinking; it is noted only briefly on page 15.

²⁴ Lucie Mazalová, *Eschatology in the Work of Jan Hus* (Brepols, 2021), 43.

²⁵ Mazalová, *Eschatology*, 44.

²⁶ Alfredo Gatto, "The Life and Works of Joachim of Fiore — An Overview," in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedl (Brill, 2017), 28; & Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 18.

²⁷ McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform," 99.

whilst, at the same time, some thirteenth-, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers labelled them servants of Antichrist.²⁸ Apocalyptic beliefs often also centred on the pope, either seeing the current incumbent as Antichrist or looking ahead to an Angelic Pope who would preside over a period of great joy before the end of days.²⁹ The papal schisms of the fourteenth century contributed to, and perhaps fanned, interest in apocalyptic writings, an interest that persisted until and into the sixteenth century.³⁰ Barring the writing of John Wycliffe and his followers, medieval apocalyptic thinking was rarely explicitly condemned as heretical.³¹

Late medieval calls for clerical reform were presented as part of a historical apocalyptic view in which the church needed to be purified before imminent Judgement.³² In John of Rupescissa's mid-fourteenth-century *Vademecum in tribulatione*, "the subversion of the church was linked to belief in a social upheaval and in a *justitia popularis* opposing nobles and the rich".³³ Eschatology in the writings and later influence of the late fourteenth-century Oxford cleric John Wycliffe has been understood as creating an "apocalyptic narrative [that] offers consolation to those who are enduring persecution, but also presents them with a warning and thus a call to decision in the midst of crisis".³⁴ For Wycliffe, the pope as an institution was Antichrist, notwithstanding the identities of individual pontiffs.³⁵ Writings by Wycliffe and his followers contain references to Antichrist, identifying his presence or exact identity in contemporary events.³⁶ These ideas were taken up by the Bohemian Hussites, though Hus himself focused more on using eschatological themes to criticize and reform contemporary behaviour than he did upon prophesying the end of history.³⁷ Writing by Wycliffe and his

²⁸ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 145; Francis Young, "A Monastic Antichrist Satire from Medieval Bury St Edmunds: Interpreting the *Iconotypicon Buriense*," *The Downside Review* 141, no. 4 (2023): 127. For the two possibilities together, see Bernard McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," *Church History* 47, no. 2 (1978): 155.

²⁹ McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform," 100; & Lerner, "Millennialism," 337.

³⁰ McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist," 170 & 172.

³¹ Boenig, "The Apocalypse in Medieval England," 297.

³² McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform," 98. For this in a literary context, see Boenig, "The Apocalypse in Medieval England," 317.

³³ Gian Luca Potestà, "Radical Apocalyptic Movements in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 125.

³⁴ Ian Christopher Levy, "Wycliffites, Franciscan Poverty, and the Apocalypse," *Franciscan Studies* 73 (2015): 297.

³⁵ Potestà, "Radical Apocalyptic Movements," 123.

³⁶ Levy, "Wycliffites, Franciscan Poverty and the Apocalypse," 316; & Stephen Lahey, "Antichrist in Bohemia: A Theme in the Genesis of Hussite Theology," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 35 (2021): 21. For an example of this, see the Second Conclusion of the Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards, which reads: "that is the livery of Antichrist" (*pat is þe leueree of antecryst*), referring to bishops' ordinations; H. S. Cronin, "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 86 (1907): 296.

³⁷ Mazalová, *Eschatology*, 217. Towards the end of his life (before being burnt for heresy during the Council of Constance), Hus did begin to believe that the end times were nigh. For, as relevant later in this dissertation, the works of Richard Rolle in pre-Hussite Bohemia, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 353. For earlier examples

followers also demonstrates a pervading connection between apocalyptic imaginings and the desire for change; either with a desire for the imminent arrival of the halcyon Final Days, and the Angelic Pope or Christ's Second Coming, or for the destruction of the Earth and the eternal heavenly bliss of good souls.³⁸

Literary evidence of interest in apocalyptic themes in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England abounds. Piers Plowman dreams of Antichrist, the Pearl Poet evokes the New Jerusalem, and the flood in *The Miller's Tale* reminds the reader of the first few signs before Doomsday.³⁹ Though less well known in contemporary scholarship, the survival of *The Prick of Conscience* poem in more than one hundred manuscripts and in dialects across medieval England attests to widespread interest in eschatological writing.⁴⁰ In autobiographical works, Margery Kempe sees a vision of the New Jerusalem, and Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* present an exegetical view of Doomsday.⁴¹

Eschatological imagery was common in late medieval English churches. Many, perhaps the majority, of the parish, cathedral, monastic and mendicant churches of late medieval England had Judgement scenes painted onto their chancel arches or western walls, including dooms surviving on the walls of St George, Trotton and Holy Trinity, Coventry.⁴² Described as

of apocalyptic prophecies, see James W. Earl, "Prophecy and Parable in Medieval Apocalyptic History," *Religion & Literature* 1, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 25–45. For prophecies alongside apocalypses in illuminated manuscripts, see Emerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 153.

³⁸ Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (Hambledon Press, 1984), 38; & Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards* (Brill, 1998), 57.

³⁹ Emerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," 303 & 316; Boenig, "The Apocalypse in Medieval England," 314; Claudia Rattazzi Papka, "The Limits of Apocalypse: Eschatology, Epistemology, and Textuality in the Commedia and Piers Plowman," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 251; & Mícheál F. Vaughan, "Chaucer's Imaginative One-Day Flood," *Philological Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (1981): 117. Apocalyptic allusions can be found across apparently secular literature; see Emerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," 294–95 & 325.

⁴⁰ Johnston, "Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience*," 745.

⁴¹ Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Barry A. Windeatt (Penguin Books, 1994), 103. The quote is: "And, when this creature saw Jerusalem — she was riding on an ass — she thanked God with all her heart, praying him for his mercy that, just as he had brought her to see this earthly city of Jerusalem, he would grant her grace to see blissful city of Jerusalem". For eschatological themes in Julian of Norwich, see Justin M. Byron-Davies, *Revelation and the Apocalypse in Late Medieval Literature: The Writings of Julian of Norwich and William Langland* (University of Wales Press, 2020). I refer to these works as autobiographical for the sake of brevity. The extent to which these works are autobiographical is open to considerable debate. See Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350–1550)* (Herder & Herder, 2012), 474; Azime Pekşen Yakar, "The Strategic Use of Memory in the Book of Margery Kempe/Margery Kempe'in Kitabı'nda Hafızanın Stratejik Kullanımı," *Folklor/Edebiyat* 27, no. 106 (2021): 308–09; Sebastian Sobecki, "'The writyng of this tretys': Margery Kempe's Son and the Authorship of Her Book," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 37 (2015): 266; & Lynn Staley Johnson, "The Trope of the Scribe and the Question of Literary Authority in the Works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe," *Speculum* 66 (1991): 820–38.

⁴² Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Boydell, 2008), 79. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (Yale University Press, 1992), 157. See also Richard Marks, "A Widow, Two Wills, Two Windows and Two Tombs: The Memorial of Dame Anne Danvers in Dauntsey Church, Wiltshire," in *Licht(t)räume: Festschrift für Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz zum 65.*

“throbbing with the inevitability of death”, these images prompted congregations to remember to repent lest eternal damnation await them.⁴³ Surviving examples show Christ in Judgement, often with representations of his crucifixion.⁴⁴ To his left (and the viewers’ right), the condemned tumble down to Hell into various forms, prodded, pushed and punished by demonic creatures. To Christ’s right, the saved proceed in a considerably more orderly fashion towards the Kingdom of Heaven, often escorted by St Peter or the Archangel Michael. Saints, prophets, angels, and the Elders from Revelation populate the upper reaches of these images.⁴⁵ Towards the base, and towards the viewer, the dead rise from their tombs. Comparable images are found across medieval media, particularly in manuscripts and panel paintings, and in the stained glass of York Minster’s East Window, the largest Gothic apocalypse glass yet (and probably ever) extant.⁴⁶ By the end of the late medieval period, the audience for this art is experiencing the apocalypse as if they are “percipients of the visionary experience, unframed, unmediated by an internal spectator”.⁴⁷

Geburtstag, ed. Katharina Georgi, Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, Eva Scheiwiller-Lorber and Angela Schiffhauer (Michael Imhof, 2016), 145. For a more monumental version of this, see the south porch of Lincoln Cathedral; Jennifer M. Feltman, “The Last Judgement Porch at Lincoln Cathedral over the Longue Durée: Iconography, Interaction, and Religious Thought,” in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 109. Dooms could be painted elsewhere in the church; Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 77. They also frequently appeared in stained glass; see, for example, Veronika Decker, “In the Vineyard of the Lord: Art, Imagination, and the Stained Glass Commissions of William of Wykeham in Fourteenth-Century English Colleges,” *British Art Studies* 6 (2017): 1–33.

⁴³ Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings* 24.

⁴⁴ For these, see Simon A. Cotton, Helen E. Lunnon, and Lucy J. Wrapson, “Medieval Rood Screens in Suffolk: Their Construction and Painting Dates,” *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 43 (2014): 231.

⁴⁵ For examples of each of these see, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, plate 55; & Clifford Davidson, “The Lost Coventry Drapers’ Play of Doomsday and Its Iconographic Context,” *Leeds Studies in English* 17 (1986): 151.

⁴⁶ Michael Camille, “Visionary Perception and Images of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 277; Thomas French, *York Minster: The Great East Window* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 145; & Klein, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Art,” 169. The Virgin associated with the woman clothed in the sun is also commonly found in art, see Richard K. Emmerson, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 322. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For Antichrist in stained glass, see Frank Mangelsdorf, ed., *Der gläserne Schatz: Die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 105–41. Many of these manuscripts recreate Revelation as a form of courtly romance, with courts, quests and forces of evil; Penn Szittya, “Domesday Bokes: The Apocalypse in Medieval English Literary Culture,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 388. An image of Antichrist can be proposed in Bury St Edmunds, see Young, “A Monastic Antichrist Satire from Medieval Bury St Edmunds,” 126. Manuscript miniatures of the Fifteen Last Days will be discussed in more detail at the end of Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Camille, “Visionary Perception,” 289.

1.1.2. Late Medieval England

Whilst the early fifteenth century was a time of increased literacy, medieval England was a largely illiterate society and imagery in the parish church was key to conveying messages, both religious and secular.⁴⁸ From around the twelfth century, the kingdom in its various iterations had been becoming more literate, driven by the requirements of royal government.⁴⁹ Vernacular literature (Anglo-Norman and Old/Middle English) survives from earlier than the fourteenth century, but from around 1380, whilst Latin remained the language of liturgy and government, the growth in Middle English literature suggests that the vernacular was being widely read, though writing was likely still largely confined to scribes.⁵⁰ Levels of literacy can be divided by the requirements of the reader, whether a lawyer needing to read sophisticated texts, someone (male or female, noble or bourgeois) reading for pleasure, or the pragmatic literacy necessary for a merchant or artisan household to conduct their business.⁵¹ Gender was also a significant division in the context of literacy. Within the artisan class and higher social and economic classes, it is likely that both men and women could read.⁵² However, women's literacy was often confined to the home, to domestic duties such as teaching children to read (seen in the St Anne window in All Saints, North Street), and pragmatic literacy that would support the household and its economic activities.⁵³ Lay men and women who could read Latin words may not have fully understood them; they could read and sing the Latin words in a

⁴⁸ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton University Press, 1983), 13. For medieval literacy as a concept, see Charles F. Briggs, "Literacy, Reading, and Writing in the Medieval West," *Journal of Medieval History* 26, no. 4 (2000): 398. Literacy is a spectrum from reading a few words to a whole manuscript, and dependent upon the requirements of a given society. Briggs sees England as having transformed by the early fourteenth century to a culture of practical literacy where some familiarity with the written word was necessary; Briggs, "Literacy, reading, and writing," 404. See also Carol M. Meale, "'... alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englich, and frensch': Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 128–56. For conveying messages through the stained glass of cathedrals, see Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?" in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 147. For Caviness (amongst others), windows are the "Bible transformed into popular romance". Kemp argues similarly for a jongleur inspiration for the stories in the windows of Chartres; Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 152.

⁴⁹ Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Blackwell, 1993), 328.

⁵⁰ Christopher Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature: England, 1300–1400* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 4–9.

⁵¹ M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (Hambleton Press, 1991), 275; & Briggs, "Literacy, Reading, and Writing," 400–01. For a questioning of what literacy should mean, see Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 117–19.

⁵² Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 239.

⁵³ Katherine Zieman, "Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England," in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Brepols, 2023), 98; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 13; & Felicity Riddy, "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text," *Speculum* 71, no. 1 (1996): 86.

familiar order but only knew the meaning in the vernacular.⁵⁴ They possibly could not construct their own phrases in Latin or isolate the meaning of each word. This may have been the case with the Latin in the windows of All Saints, North Street; the meaning of the phrase in Latin was known to some or many of the parishioners, but the Latin language would not be understood by the majority on a word-by-word basis. However, a greater number of parishioners are likely to have been able to read the Middle English in the Fifteen Last Days window and almost all would have comprehended the meaning of this vernacular text when it was read to them.

The texts of late medieval England were produced within a world that was rapidly changing and constantly threatened. From 1341–1453, England was intermittently at war with France, in the series of conflicts known as the Hundred Years War. This period saw, focusing only on York, increased taxation, an increased risk of piracy and loans extracted by royal government from the city's wealthiest inhabitants.⁵⁵ The arrival of bubonic plague in 1348 killed a significant proportion of the population, and led to societal upheaval and increased social and financial mobility.⁵⁶ Pestilence regularly returned throughout the remainder of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a notable spike in mortality in northern England in

⁵⁴ Michael A. Hicks, "The Piety of Margaret Lady Hungerford (d. 1478)," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38, no. 1 (1987): 24; & Nicholas Watson, "Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1162.

⁵⁵ Kenneth B. McFarlane, "War, the Economy and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years War," *Past & Present* 22 (1962): 6; W. M. Ormrod, "An Archbishop in Revolt: Richard Scrope and the Yorkshire Rising of 1405," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 9; Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, "Piracy, Patriotism, and Profit in England around 1400," in *Merchants, Pirates, and Smugglers: Criminalization, Economics, and the Transformation of the Maritime World (1200–1600)*, ed. Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, Philipp Höhn and Gregor Rohmann (Campus Verlag, 2019), 3; & Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 215–22.

⁵⁶ The literature on this is vast. See, for example, Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester University Press, 2013); Ole Jørgen Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346–1353: The Complete History* (Boydell Press, 2006), 388–89; Andrew Noymer, "Contesting the Cause and Severity of the Black Death: A Review Essay," *Population and Development Review* 33 (2007): 616–27; Mark Bailey and Stephen Rigby, eds., *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death: Essays in Honour of John Hatcher* (Brepols, 2013); Joseph Byrne, *Encyclopedia of the Black Death* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012); Monica H. Green, ed., *Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death* (Amsterdam University Press, 2015); John Aberth, *The Black Death: A New History of the Great Mortality in Europe, 1347–1500* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 217–26; Sarah Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068–1350* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 293–4; P. J. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Clarendon Press, 1992); Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Penguin Books, 1982), 188–89, 241 & 244–45; A. Hamilton Thompson, "The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York," *Archaeological Journal* 71, no. 1 (1914): 97–154; & P. J. P. Goldberg, "Mortality and Economic Change in the Diocese of York, 1390–1514," *Northern History* 24, no. 1 (1988): 38–55. It is important to remember that the effects of the plague varied between individuals and levels of society; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 274. For apocalyptic responses to the Black Death see Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities,"; Laura A. Smoller, "Of Earthquakes, Hail, Frogs, and Geography: Plague and the Investigation of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 157; &, with a more sceptical view, John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse* (Routledge, 2010), 79–213.

1390–91.⁵⁷ Furthermore, England’s northern border saw regular Scottish raids throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁸ Beyond the British Isles, the Western Schism created two and then three popes between 1409 and 1417, and Christmas 1400 saw the Byzantine emperor in London asking for help to counter the Ottoman threat to what remained of the Eastern Roman empire.⁵⁹

Richard II’s (reigned 1377–99) England was characterised by instability and weak government.⁶⁰ In 1381, the fourteen-year-old king rode out to meet the leaders of the uprising of southern English gentry, clergy and peasants later dubbed the Peasants’ Revolt, and promised to meet almost all of the rebels’ demands.⁶¹ He, or his regents and advisors, soon reneged on those promises.⁶² The poet John Gower, in his 1390 *Vox clamantis*, links the revolt to Judgement Day, whilst Walter Brute, a writer and follower of John Wycliffe, appears to have believed both that Antichrist had appeared in England, and that Antichrist must appear in England due to its mirroring of the celestial kingdom.⁶³ Here, the Apocalypse is not vague, symbolic, spiritual or prophetic; instead it is, in 1390, present, local and visceral. The king’s safety was again threatened later in the same decade, by the Lords Appellant who wanted to remove the king’s favourites and curtail royal power.⁶⁴ Alexander Neville, then Archbishop of York, was deprived of his see by the Lords Appellant, and would die in exile in Leuven.⁶⁵ Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York and then Canterbury, was likewise removed in 1397 and

⁵⁷ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 91–92.

⁵⁸ Anthony Goodman, “Introduction,” in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Goodman and Anthony Tuck (Routledge, 1992), 2.

⁵⁹ Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, “The Conceptualization and Imagery of the Great Schism,” in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, ed. Joelle Rollo-Koster, and Thomas M. Izbicki (Brill, 2009), 146, see 151–56 for apocalyptic responses; & Helen Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart: The Tragedy of Richard II and Henry IV* (Avid Reader Press, 2024), 371–72. Richard II had also responded to Manuel Palaeologus’ request for assistance; Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 313. After the 1453 Conquest of Constantinople, the Ottoman/Turkish armies were identified with various, usually negative, apocalyptic characters; Emerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 192–93.

⁶⁰ For the most recent evaluation of Richard II’s reign, see Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*. Castor sees Richard’s key fault as prioritising his personal rule rather than “the established constitution” and, in doing so, creating his own reality; Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, xxix.

⁶¹ Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 61. For literacy as a factor in the Peasants’ Revolt, see Steven Justice, *Writing and Rebellion: England in 1381* (University of California Press, 1994), 48. As described in Chapter 4, literacy likewise played a key role in the Scrope revolt, with the rebels’ demands nailed to the doors of York’s churches.

⁶² Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 64.; & Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (Yale University Press, 1997), 81–82.

⁶³ G. C. Macaulay, ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower: The Latin Works*, vol 4 (Clarendon Press, 1902), 40. Gower likewise uses apocalyptic resonances to condemn the Pope; Emerson, “The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture,” 302; & Szittyá, “Domesday Bokes,” 396–97.

⁶⁴ Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 138–66.

⁶⁵ R. B. Dobson, “Neville, Alexander,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

forced to flee abroad.⁶⁶ In Paris, he met up with Henry Bolingbroke, the exiled cousin of Richard II.⁶⁷ In 1399, Richard would in turn be deposed by Bolingbroke, who then became Henry IV. Richard died in mysterious circumstances in 1400.⁶⁸ Unsurprisingly, contemporary commentators saw “the [Peasants’] revolt as the loosing of Satan predicted in Apocalypse 20:7”.⁶⁹

All Saints, North Street still stands in roughly in its fifteenth-century form on the south bank of the River Ouse in the city of York (Figure 3). It is in many ways a typical example of a late medieval urban parish church.⁷⁰ It is neither particularly large nor particularly small, it retains much of its medieval fabric, though with significant renovations, and is known from documentary sources (wills and poll tax records, amongst others) to have served parishioners across the social scale. Unlike the monasteries, friaries and private chapels found across late medieval England, parish churches were open to all. They were a place of worship and learning, somewhere to show wealth and status or exchange information, to sell fish, or hold a cockfight, and a building to be buried in and around. Parish membership was not limited to the wealthy, the educated or those in religious orders. It was not limited to local elites, many of whom would have been enthusiastic members of fraternities or guilds, which then absorbed some of their devotion and financial attention.⁷¹ Instead, the laws of the church explicitly allowed anyone to enter the parish church and through it the Christian community.⁷² For every Christian, attendance was both mandatory (in theory at least) and beneficial, with tangible temporal benefits to be gained alongside the necessity for salvation. This dissertation does not the study the unusual or the alien, but a building and institution that was an intrinsic part of daily life.

⁶⁶ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (Yale University Press, 2008), 378; & Joel T. Rosenthal, “Richard II’s Bishops: Fair Weather Friends?” in *Creativity, Contradictions and Commemoration in the Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of Nigel Saul*, ed. Jessica A. Lutkin and J. S. Hamilton (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 191.

⁶⁷ Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 330.

⁶⁸ Peter McNiven, “Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II’s Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 76, no. 1 (1994): 93.

⁶⁹ Szittyá, “Domesday Bokes”, 396. Norman Cohn sees this as the beginnings of an English return to ideas of a future Golden Age of equality; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 1970), 198.

⁷⁰ For fifteenth-century churches in London, see Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 2. For the same in York, see David Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 215. Clive Burgess suggests that the survival of parish churches (surviving because they were considered useful after the Reformation) obscures the other religious provisions in late medieval England, particularly chantries; Clive Burgess, “Time and Place: The Late Medieval English Parish in Perspective,” in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Eamon Duffy and Clive Burgess (Shaun Tyas, 2006), 2.

⁷¹ David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Guilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547* (York University Press, 2000), 148.

⁷² R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 33; & Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, “The Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian,” *Journal of Medieval History* (2006): 405.

Whilst the churches were open to all, commissioning art in the parish church required significant wealth.⁷³ The donors of All Saints' stained-glass windows were the merchants and priests of late medieval York. They lived in a small parish, but in the Micklegate ward of the city, close to the southern gate and in an area known for its concentration of gentry families.⁷⁴ This was also the area of the city closest to the site of Scrope's martyrdom, and the base of the guild that provided a focus for devotion to this local popular saint.⁷⁵ However, looking beyond the wealthy donors of the windows, All Saints, North Street in the early fifteenth century was noticeably different to most of the other parishes of York in that it was dominated by one craft. The vast majority of the recorded late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century artisan parishioners of All Saints, North Street were tanners or part of a tanner household. In the 1381 Lay Subsidy, there were forty-one tanners assessed in All Saints, North Street, comprising 61.5% of the taxable parish population (the remaining percentage are merchants, other artisans and widows, possibly tanner widows).⁷⁶ In the same subsidy only two other tanners are listed elsewhere in the city of York.⁷⁷ This is likely to be partly a distortion caused by the historical record, with tanners being wealthier than other artisans and thus making more impact in the historical record, but it indicates a significant presence of tanners in the parish. This likelihood is reinforced by the location of the parish, near the river and on the outskirts of the city. After the lay subsidy, continued tanner dominance in the parish is difficult to establish as no other survey

⁷³ For Marks, windows in parish churches were more legible simply because they were more visible; the glass high in the tracery of York Minster would have been practically invisible to the average viewer at floor level. Alongside the frequency with which this glass was seen by parishioners or those passing the church, this would have increased the impact of the reception of glass in parish churches, thus making it potentially more significant to the study of medieval beliefs; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 59–60. The iconography of these parish windows is varied and complicated, showing local and international saints, religious subjects such as the Corporal Acts of Mercy, and biblical narratives; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 59–90; Sarah Brown, *Apocalypse: The Great East Window of York Minster* (Third Millennium Publishing, 2014); & Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 158–59.

⁷⁴ Sarah Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope, the Bolton Hours and the Church of St Martin in Micklegate: Reconstructing a Holy Neighbourhood in Later Medieval York," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 225.

⁷⁵ For Scrope's sainthood, see Danna Pirovsky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 71.

⁷⁶ Carolyn Fenwick, ed. *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Wiltshire to Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 154–55; & P. J. P. Goldberg, "Urban Identity and the Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381," *The Economic History Review* 43, no. 2 (1990): 208. The 1381 poll tax returns provide lists of the inhabitants of each parish of York (and much of England), often with a trade designation next to each name. The returns for All Saints, North Street list over two hundred parishioners in 1381, a number far higher than can be determined for any other period. A few entries have been lost and others have sections, such as the tax amount, missing. However, these losses do not pose significant problems, and the returns still provide the most exhaustive list of parishioners. More problematic is the widespread fraud associated with the administration of the tax. Jeremy Goldberg has shown that the returns were subject to extensive falsification to protect the poorer residents of York from the tax's financial burden. This means that the returns do not comprehensively record all parishioners liable for taxation, excluding the poor from the record. However, those who were too poor to contribute to the tax are also likely to have been too poor to contribute to the church, although they would have used it and been buried in the churchyard.

⁷⁷ Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, 152–56.

of a large proportion of the population survives until the sixteenth century. However, the probate evidence indicates that there were large numbers of tanner parishioners until at the least the mid-fifteenth century.⁷⁸

The division between the franchised and the unfranchised (between citizen and non-citizen) was the largest social and political division in late medieval York.⁷⁹ Joining the franchise, either through the completion of an apprenticeship, through patrimony, or through payment of a fee, gave access to trade in the city, toll-free movement in England and higher social status. Citizens were usually male, although some women entered, often taking over their deceased husbands' businesses. In the context of this dissertation, the unfranchised would appear to be those who would have seen stained glass in churches but could not afford to commission it or decide the content. However, the above division privileges the male perspective. In fact, considering that parish priests, Minster clerics, and merchants' wives had no need to join the franchise, a small, elite proportion of those who would never have been part of York's franchise were heavily involved in the commissioning and production of stained glass. Those who were poor and disenfranchised likely had no influence; those who were rich but still not citizens did. Hence, in this dissertation, the term citizen will be used sparingly, and only when strictly referring to those who were freemen, of both genders, of York.

1.2. Historiographical Survey

With regards to eschatological scholarship, a general consensus exists that, to quote Gian Luca Potestà, late medieval apocalyptic movements expressed a "longing for deep changes in society in all its political aspects".⁸⁰ For example, for Samuel Cohn, the ideology of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt showed a desire and an expectation of a future Golden Age of social equality, a development that he saw as novel, though drawing on late antique apocalypticism.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 66; Prob. Reg. 2, fols. 174 & 390; Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 325; & Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 23.

⁷⁹ Sarah Rees Jones, "York's Civic Administration, 1354–1464," in *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Borthwick Publications, 1997), 124. An enfranchised citizen, and there was no other kind of citizen, was authorised to trade within the city, given access to civic government and allowed to participate in the election of city officials; J. N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages," *The Economic History Review* 12 (1979): 20; R. B. Dobson, "Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages," *The Economic History Review*, 26 (1973): 12; Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 323–24; Rees Jones, "York's Civic Administration," 130; Jennifer Kermode, "Urban decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York," *The Economic History Review* 35, no. 2 (1982): 191; & Heather Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns," *Past and Present* 121 (1988): 47.

⁸⁰ Potestà, "Radical Apocalyptic Movements," 111.

⁸¹ Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 198.

Corroborating studies on this include (restricting the range to thirteenth-, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England), vernacular poetry, the theology of John Wycliffe, and illuminated manuscripts.⁸² Narratology, as referenced in the methodology section below, also appears in these studies, seeking, for example, to understand fragmented understandings of time in medieval eschatology.⁸³ Iconography is a major part of art historical approaches to the topic, often examining the sources for the images, how they were experienced, and the historical context in which these images were made.⁸⁴ Most recently, eco-criticism has married evidence from the natural sciences with more traditional historical sources to provide new insights into the reception of medieval apocalyptic thought.⁸⁵ These studies emphasise how much of late medieval English culture was influenced by consideration of the apocalypse.

Source survival means that illuminated manuscripts and theological texts provide the greatest amount of information for ways of thinking about the late medieval apocalypse. Thus, historians of all disciplines (most pertinently from art history, literary studies, and theology) have approached medieval eschatology through surviving sources which privilege elite

⁸² Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism and Piers Plowman* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); R.K. Emmerson and R.B. Herzman, "The Canterbury Tales in Eschatological Perspective," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven University Press, 1988), 404–24; & Richard K. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours," *Traditio* 50 (1995): 178–83. Early scholarship saw late medieval English apocalypticism resulting from the crises of the late fourteenth century, in summary, "social unrest, plague, and the seemingly unending war with France"; Boenig, "The Apocalypse in Medieval England," 317.

⁸³ This may not fit with the strictest definition of narratology, as constrained by literary theory, but I use the term to refer to common methodologies relevant to many media, as shown in Marie-Laure Ryan, "Narration in Various Media," in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier, Wolf Schmid, and Jörg Schönert (Hamburg University, 2009), <https://www-archiv.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/lhn>. For examples of this in an eschatological context, see Szittyá, "Domesday Bokes,"; & Earl, "Prophecy and Parable in Medieval Apocalyptic History," 25–45.

⁸⁴ Nigel Morgan, "The Franciscans in the Commentary Illustrations of the Gulbenkian and Abingdon Apocalypses," in *Testimony, Narrative and Image: Studies in Medieval and Franciscan History, Hagiography and Art in Memory of Rosalind B. Brooke*, ed. Michael Cusato and Michael J.P. Robson (Brill, 2022), 368; Daniela Wagner, "Prophecy and Prognostication in Visual Art of the Medieval Western Christian World," in *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, ed. Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers and Hans-Christian Lehnert (De Gruyter, 2021), 961; & Martha Driver, "Picturing the Apocalypse in the Printed Book of Hours," in *Prophecy, Apocalypse, and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 53–67. For a combination of narratology and art history, see Anne F. Harris, "Glazing and Glossing: Stained Glass as Literary Interpretation," *Journal of Glass Studies* (2014): 303–16; & Alyce A. Jordan, "Stories in Windows: The Architectonics of Narrative," in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass*, ed. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Elizabeth Pastan (Brill, 2019), 189–201.

⁸⁵ Shannon Gayk, "Apocalyptic Ecologies: Eschatology, the Ethics of Care, and the Fifteen Signs of the Doom in Early England," *Speculum* 96, no. 1 (2021): 1–37; & Preiser-Kapeller, "Restless Skies at the Turn of the First Millennium," 9–34. See also Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Ewald Kislinger, "The Sun Was Darkened for Seventeen Days (AD 797): An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Celestial Phenomena between Byzantium, Charlemagne, and a Volcanic Eruption," *Medieval Worlds* 17 (2022): 3–58. Going further back, the rise in eschatology after the Plague of Justinian has been seen as responding "to the need to orientate personal eschatologies within time", creating meaning in an uncertain world; Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 79.

understandings.⁸⁶ Much of this scholarship engages with the textual work of medieval theologians and mystics, work that is pertinent to this dissertation's focus on Richard Rolle.⁸⁷ The illuminated manuscripts used by historiography discussed in the following paragraph also have noble, and often royal, patrons and audiences, and thus evaluations of their production and reception must be seen as most pertinent to elite circles. Work on the late medieval apocalypse using these elite sources has tended to agree with McGinn that eschatological theories absorbed late medieval crises into their existing narratives rather than developing anything new.⁸⁸ Whilst not disagreeing with McGinn, this dissertation will add a more popular view, investigating art that was both available to anyone who entered the church, and expressly intended to be seen by people from across social and economic, whilst still largely urban, spectrums.

Art-historical scholarship on subjects drawn from the Book of Revelation (without its typological pairings) and other stories explicitly dealing with the end of the material world examines iconographic schema, patrons and patronage. It often explored the political priorities of these patrons or the secularisation (and romanticisation) of apocalyptic imagery, as well as looking at style, form, and workshop.⁸⁹ As indicated above, there is a focus on illuminated

⁸⁶ See for example the focus on Joachim of Fiore, including Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (Macmillan, 1985); Robert E. Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities," *The American Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (1981): 540; Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore & the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (Alan Sutton, 1999); E. Randolph Daniel, *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachimism: Selected Articles* (Ashgate Variorum, 2011); Wannenmacher, *Joachim of Fiore and the Influence of Inspiration*; & Riedl, *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*. For an example of this with apocalyptic art, see Heather Coffey, "Painting the Advance of Islam. Joachim of Fiore's *Liber figurarum* in Medieval Southern Italy," *Convivium* 10, no. 2 (2023): 26–45. Looking more widely, John of Rupescissa has been seen as "look[ing] to both longstanding and innovative methods to understand the crises he observed and to fashion a response to them"; Leah DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, 2009), 150. These responses included the study of biblical prophecy, astrology, the natural world and, seen as part of the natural world, alchemy.

⁸⁷ For example, Roberto Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 303. For Rolle see, in particular, the October 2024 cluster in *Speculum*, discussed and evaluated in the introduction to Chapter 7, and in this cluster, with its consideration of the sources for and transmission of Rolle's Apocalypse commentary; Andrew Kraebel, "Hermit Libraries: Material Sources and the Making of Richard Rolle's Prose," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1081–96.

⁸⁸ McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform," 97. Lerner calls the flagellants "not unusual but typical of their age"; Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities," 537. For a different, earlier interpretation, see Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*.

⁸⁹ For Richard Marks, the Book of Revelation is key to understanding medieval stained glass: the apocalyptic text's association between glass and the heavenly Jerusalem "invested windows with particular metaphysical significance"; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 59. For an early example of form and workshop see Erwin Panofsky, "The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (1935): 433–73. For more recent examples, see Alexander Holton, "The Constructional Context of the Great East Window at York Minster," in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Brown, Sarah Rees Jones, and Tim Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 108–32; & chapters in Part 1 of Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Elizabeth Carson Pastan, ed., *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods, and Expressions* (Brill, 2019).

manuscripts. Richard Emmerson's iconographic survey of illuminated apocalypse manuscripts discusses the ways in which these manuscripts should be located both within a wider medieval tradition of the expectation of the end times, and within specific societies from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.⁹⁰ Suzanne Lewis's study of thirteenth-century apocalypse manuscripts agrees with Emmerson's conclusions, showing how the manuscripts' iconography engaged with developments in silent, interiorised devotion. Approaching illuminated manuscripts through narratology, she shows how the interplay of text and image "ritually enacted" the Revelation text.⁹¹ These conclusions are, necessarily due to the audiences for these manuscripts, confined to elite strata in society. Other interpretations of apocalyptic art as an aristocratic art form highlight associations of eschatological characters with perceived political foes and identify a growing emphasis on courtly romance elements drawn from the apocalyptic story.⁹² This lay, elite interest in apocalyptic art both shows how these manuscripts engaged their readers, and the success of this engagement.

Looking at apocalyptic art with a wider audience, Michael Camille argues that the placement within late medieval art of the figure of St John is indicative of the increasing importance given to the authorial voice,⁹³ and Richard Marks explores the iconographic

⁹⁰ Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 197–98. For an example of apocalyptic imagery illustrating contemporary intellectual understandings of the biblical text and world history, see Emmerson, "The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours," 179.

⁹¹ Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 337. For an earlier (both in terms of scholarship and period studied) example of the study of pictorial narratives in manuscripts, see Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Clarendon Press, 1962).

⁹² Peter K. Klein, "Traditionen und Etappen der mittelalterlichen Apokalypse Illustration," in *Apocalypse Now! Visionen von Schrecken und Hoffnung in der Kunst vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015), 69; & Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," 307. See also Eneko Tuduri, "Buttressing Our Souls for the Last Judgment: Female Artistic Patronage in a Navarrese Parish Church after 1348," *Comitatus* 53 (2022): 121–46; Richard K. Emmerson, "Medieval Illustrated Apocalypse Manuscripts," in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Brill, 2016), 49; Wolfgang Huber, "Biblische Botschaft aus Farbe und Licht," in *Der gläserne Schatz: Die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Frank Mangelsdorf (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 32; Coffey, "Painting the Advance of Islam"; & Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," 311. This reflects wider understandings of medieval art as an expression of politics. As an example of this in an English context, David King's work on Norfolk suggests that the glass in Salle and East Harling shows connections to factions in the Wars of the Roses, and that a window in St Peter Mancroft symbolised a reunited civic body; David King, "Reading the Material Culture: Stained Glass and Politics in Late Medieval Norfolk," in *Rule, Redemption and Representations in Late Medieval England and France*, ed. Linda Clarke (Boydell Press, 2008), 122; & David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, (Oxford University Press, 2006), clxxxvii. For status more widely in late medieval English art, see work on heraldry. For example, Marks used heraldry in three fifteenth-century churches to argue that it was used to "underline . . . recently acquired political or social status," and Michael Michael has argued that armorials in churches showed a desire to ensure earthly status was maintained after death, just as it was in life; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 87; & Michael Michael, "The Privilege of Proximity: Towards a Redefinition of the Function of Armorials," *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 1 (1997): 73.

⁹³ Lewis, *Reading Images*, 336; & Camille, "Visionary Perception," 287. See also Renana Bartal, *Gender, Piety, and Production in Fourteenth-Century English Apocalypse Manuscripts* (Routledge, 2016); & Adam R. Stead, "'Eye Hath Not Seen . . . Which Things God Hath Prepared . . .': Imagining Heaven and Hell in Romanesque and

schemes of eschatological glass, noting that Last Judgement wall paintings allowed greater freedom than stained glass to create more elaborate compositions, though, as the fifteenth century progressed, representations in glass became more complex.⁹⁴ All of the above work agrees that apocalyptic art reflects societal developments towards the rise of more private devotion in the late Middle Ages. Alongside this, and reflecting the priorities of medieval patrons, producers and audiences, this scholarship has emphasised how apocalyptic iconography was intended to provoke a drive towards salvation.⁹⁵ Work on artistic depictions of the fifteen last days before the end of the world tends to follow this interpretation.⁹⁶

Scholarship on stained glass has often focused on cathedrals. In England, the twelfth- and fifteenth-century windows of Canterbury Cathedral have attracted regular attention, most recently concerning their dating, whilst York Minster's windows, particularly those at the eastern end, have been studied with regards to their construction, donors, and conservation.⁹⁷

Gothic Art," in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, ed. Richard Matthew Pollard (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 193–222.

⁹⁴ Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 81.

⁹⁵ Linda Seidel, "Apocalypse and Apocalypticism in Western Medieval Art," in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 500; Driver, "Picturing the Apocalypse," 66; & Meg Twycross and Pamela King "Doomsday as Hypertext: Contexts of Doomsday in Fifteenth-Century Northern Manuscripts," in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 388. For a counterpoint see Hartmut Scholz, "Design and Execution in Southern German Stained Glass of the Late Middle Ages and the Age of Dürer," in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods and Expressions*, ed. Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Brill, 2019), 62: "Donors' growing levels of self-confidence and need to be represented personally, are easily gauged from the changing nature of what is depicted. Subjects rooted in the history of salvation step further and further into the background in favour of self-representation [in the fifteenth century]".

⁹⁶ For primarily iconographic studies, see Louis Grodecki, "Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde dans les vitraux allemands, français et alsaciens," in *Kunst des Mittelalters in Sachsen: Festschrift Wolf Schubert* (Böhlau, 1967); & G. and U. Frenzel, "Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht in der St. Martha-Kirche zu Nuremberg," in *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, ed. U. Schlegel and C. Zöge von Manteuffel (Berlin, 1965), 224–238 (the authors believed that the fifteen last days are only known as an single monumental program in the glass of St Martha's, Nuremberg). For studies that connect the fifteen days to patrons and politics, see Hartmut Scholz, *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg: Lorenzer Stadtseite, Katalog* (Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2019), 526; Daniela Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht: spätmittelalterliche Bildkonzepte für das Seelenheil* (Reimer, 2016), 267; Driver, "Picturing the Apocalypse," 283; & a mention in Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," 309.

⁹⁷ Laura Ware Adlington, Ian C. Freestone and Léonie Seliger, "Dating Nathan: The Oldest Stained Glass Window in England?" *Heritage* 4, no. 2 (2021): 937–60; Madeleine H. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton University Press, 1977); Anne F. Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass at Canterbury Cathedral," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Brill, 2004), 243–81; Jeffrey Weaver and Madeline H. Caviness, *The Ancestors of Christ Windows at Canterbury Cathedral* (Getty Publications, 2013); Rachel Koopmans, "Water mixed with the blood of Thomas': Contact Relic Manufacture Pictured in Canterbury Cathedral's Stained Glass," *Journal of Medieval History* 42, no. 5 (2016): 535–58; Brown, *Apocalypse*; Laura Ware Adlington, Ian C. Freestone, Jerzy J. Kunicki-Goldfinger, Tim Ayers, H. Gilderdale Scott, and Anna Eavis, "Regional Patterns in Medieval European Glass Composition as a Provenancing Tool," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 110 (2019); & French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*. For this outside England, see Mangelsdorf, *Der gläserne Schatz*, 156–95. Chartres and Sainte Chapelle in France have attracted the most scholarship, whilst the cathedrals and churches of Germany are fairly evenly and consistently studied. Stained glass survival outside England is

Apocalyptic imagery in stained glass also influenced medieval texts; for example, Tessa Morrison sees the description of the appearance of New Jerusalem in the late fourteenth-century *Pearl* poem as drawn from depictions in stained glass.⁹⁸ Whilst not quite as well studied, a considerable amount of medieval (generally late medieval) glass survives in England's parish churches, though what remains is only a small part of what is likely to have originally been installed, and much of that which does survive is fragmented and no longer in its original position.⁹⁹ In line with a widespread interest in commemoration amongst medieval art historians, donors are often the focus of scholarship on the glass of England's medieval parish churches. The importance of seeing donor panels as part of the whole window when examining the message conveyed is emphasised by David King in his work on the political context of stained glass, whilst Marks's *Image and Devotion* sees images of donors as playing an important role in supporting their social status, and most of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA) volumes include a section on likely donors of the windows.¹⁰⁰ Fairford church

generally more patchy. Practically no medieval glass survives from Scotland, but there is a comparative wealth from North Wales. France's cathedrals and monumental churches have preserved a considerable amount of high and late medieval glass, but less survives from French parish churches. Germanic and Scandinavian glass does survive, though not in the same amounts as found in England, but there is very little surviving from other areas of Latin Christendom, perhaps due to a medieval preference for frescoes, but definitely influenced by post-medieval destruction due to war. Much of the surviving medieval glass, and evidence for glass since destroyed, is catalogued by the CVMA.

⁹⁸ Tessa Morrison, "“Seeing” the Apocalyptic City in the Fourteenth Century,” in *End of Days: Essays on the Apocalypse from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Karlyn Kinane and Michael A. Ryan (McFarland, 2009), 82.

⁹⁹ For fragmented windows see Claire Gobbi Dauntton, “Contrasting Patrons and their Glass: the Church of St John the Baptist, Mileham, Norfolk,” in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (Shaun Tyas, 2008), 25. For the recreation of lost glass see Richard Marks, “A Will Casts Light: Robert Hunt and the West Window of St Margaret’s Church, Westminster,” in *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium* (Shaun Tyas, 2012), 370.

¹⁰⁰ For an introduction, see Nicholas Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England* (Yale University Press, 2021), 109–15; King, “Reading the Material Culture,” 122; & Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Sutton Publishing, 2004), 176. For example, the Lincolnshire study CVMA identifies the donors by heraldry and inscriptions, classifying the donors into five main groups: baronial, local seigneurs, mercantile classes, clerical and corporate bodies; Penelope Hebgin-Barnes, *The Medieval Painted Glass of the County of Lincolnshire* (British Academy, 1996), xxxvii–viii. Work based in the discipline of history tends to ascribe gifts of stained glass to the piety of the donor, whilst art history is more concerned with the iconography and materiality. For history, see Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: the Diocese of Salisbury, 1250–1550* (Oxford University Press, 1995); Clive Burgess, ““A Fond Thing Vainly Invented”: An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Late Medieval England,” in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750*, ed. Susan Wright (Hutchinson, 1988), 56–84; & Heather Gilderdale Scott, “The Royal Window (c. 1485) at Canterbury Cathedral and the Magnificat Window (c. 1500) at Great Malvern Priory (Worcs.): Dynastic Rivalry in Late Medieval England?” in *Medieval Art, Architecture & Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Routledge, 2013). For art history, see Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, vii; Nigel Morgan, “Texts, Contexts and Images of the Orders of Angels in Late Medieval England,” in *Glas, Malerei. Forschung: internationale Studien zu ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann*, ed. Hartmut Scholz, Ivo Rauch and Daniel Hess (Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2004), 220; King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft*; Richard Marks, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Northamptonshire*, (British Academy, 1998); Hebgin-Barnes, *The Medieval Painted Glass of the County of Lincolnshire* & Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, 24. The division between these two disciplines has been disappearing.

has been the subject of particular attention as its glazing scheme was given by one donor and, in a slightly different context, the glass of Merton College, Oxford, has been studied for its form, iconography and style.¹⁰¹ Most recently, the political motivations and reception of late medieval stained glass has been identified in images supporting Isabella of France, and in a Tudor window in Great Malvern priory.¹⁰² Alongside this study of donors, recreating the iconography of medieval glass has allowed investigation of the presentation of priests in glass, of iconography to promote an educational agenda, and of the place of the liturgy.¹⁰³

Work on the visual culture of parish churches covers most areas of late medieval England.¹⁰⁴ This includes case studies of individual parish churches, for example on the complicated history of the floor of St Botolph's, Boston, and thematic explorations, for example Nigel Morgan's study of the Nine Orders of Angels.¹⁰⁵ With a wider geographical focus, Nigel Saul's work on tomb monuments includes the art of parish churches and particularly the ways in which local clergy and the laity were shown.¹⁰⁶ Whilst Paul Binski's

¹⁰¹ Sarah Brown and Lindsay MacDonald, *Life, Death and Art: The Medieval Stained Glass of Fairford Parish Church* (The History Press, 1997); & Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Merton College, Oxford* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 16–81.

¹⁰² Laura Slater, "Rumour and Reputation Management in Fourteenth-Century England: Isabella of France in Text and Image," *Journal of Medieval History* 47, no. 2 (2021): 257–92; & John-Wilhelm Flattun, "Prince and Pretender: Marian Iconography and Devotion as Political Rhetoric in the *Magnificat* Window in Great Malvern Priory Church," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 91, no. 2 (2021): 74–94. See also, as discussed later in this dissertation, Laura D. Gelfand, "'I was blind and now I can see!': Sight and Revelation in the St William Window in York Minster," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and Its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018); & Rozenski, "A Light to Lighten the Gentiles," 285–308.

¹⁰³ Claire Dauntton, "The Priest and the Patronage of Stained Glass in Late Medieval Norfolk," in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Clarke and Sarah James (Routledge, 2019), 203–19; Decker, "In the Vineyard of the Lord," 1–33; & Madeline H. Caviness, "Performative Interaction of Liturgy and Light through the Medium of Painted Glass," in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods and Expressions*, ed. Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Brill, 2019), 175–88.

¹⁰⁴ As just a few examples, see Paul Williamson, "The Parish Church," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, ed. Richard Marks, Paul Williamson, and Eleanor Townsend (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003), 375–423; Christopher Wilson, "'Excellent, New and Uniforme': Perpendicular Architecture c.1400–1547," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, ed. Richard Marks, Paul Williamson, and Eleanor Townsend (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003), 113–16; Brown and MacDonald, *Life, Death and Art: The Medieval Stained Glass of Fairford Parish Church*; Eamon Duffy, "The Parish, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood Screens," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600*, ed. Gary Gibbs, Katherine French and Beat Kümin (Manchester University Press, 1997); & Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2002). The south of England tends to be much better covered, and the north-west is the least well-studied.

¹⁰⁵ Sally Badham, "'From remembrance almost out araced': The Brasses and Indents of St Botolph's Church, Boston," in *'The beste and fayrest of al Lincolnshire': The Church of St Botolph, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments*, ed. Sally Badham and Paul Cockerham (Oxford University Press, 2012), 214–36; & Morgan, "Texts, Contexts and Images of the Orders of Angels," 211–20. See also Stephen Freeth and John Schofield, "John Reynewell and St Botolph Billingsgate," in *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Christian Steer and Elizabeth A. New (University of London Press, 2019), 245–73; & Frances Cook, "Medieval Representations of St Margaret of Antioch and St Nicholas of Myra in English Parish Churches: Sacramental Associations and the Construction of a Christian Communal Identity," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 8, no. 4 (2023): 266–330.

¹⁰⁶ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford University Press, 2011), for example, 114–19.

Medieval Death only touches on the art in parish churches, elsewhere he examines the potential for studying the parish church, with a particular focus on the value of rood screens.¹⁰⁷ Julian Luxford has summarised patronage in the medieval church in a similar vein to Binski, emphasising the corporate nature of these institutions and the variety of potential donors.¹⁰⁸ Several of the parish churches of Norfolk have also been the subject of brief but in-depth studies.¹⁰⁹ Other parish churches have invited interest due to multiple donors of the fabric and windows, and therefore are likely to be more typical of the piecemeal construction of medieval parish churches.¹¹⁰ Recent work on England and Europe has emphasised economic aspects of art in the parish, and other churches, as well as identifying masons' marks, graffiti, and folkloric aspects.¹¹¹ This scholarship further emphasises the centrality of the parish church to medieval life, and the myriad ways in which the physical building was used by parishioners.

The parishes of late medieval England have received a significant amount of scholarly attention.¹¹² As the basic unit of ecclesiastical organisation, they are of considerable interest to historians of the late medieval church, particularly those looking at the effect of institutional change on religious practices, but have also been used by social historians exploring wider trends.¹¹³ Katherine French's work has consistently addressed the relationship between the

¹⁰⁷ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (British Museum Press, 1996), 56, 118 & 135; & Paul Binski, "The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem," *Studies in Iconography* (1999): 1–26.

¹⁰⁸ Julian Luxford, "The Patronage of the Church and its Purposes," in *The History of British Art: 600–1600*, ed. Tim Ayers, vol. 1 (Tate Britain, 2008), 99.

¹⁰⁹ T. A. Heslop, "The Visual Arts and Crafts," in *Medieval Britain: The Cambridge Cultural History*, ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 199; Heslop, "Swaffham Parish Church: Community Building in Fifteenth Century Norfolk"; & David King, "Reading the Material Culture," 105–34.

¹¹⁰ Heslop, "Swaffham Parish Church,"; Richard Marks, "Sir William Horne and His Scowred Window at Snailwell, Cambridgeshire," in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (Routledge, 2016); & Marks, "A Will Casts Light."

¹¹¹ Gabriel Byng, "The 'Great Rebuilding' of the Late Middle Ages: Revising the *longue durée* History of the Gothic Parish Church," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 36; Zoë Opačić, "Cui Bono? The Founding and Funding of Medieval Religious Institutions under Charles IV," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 107; Zachary Stewart, "One and Many: Parish Church Planning in Late Medieval England," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 79, no. 3 (2020): 264–85; Richard Asquith, "Rebuilding St Andrew Undershaft: A Study in Executorial Discretion in Early Tudor London," *The London Journal* 49, no. 2 (2024): 139–40; Orme, *Going to Church in Medieval England*, 130; Stuart Harrison and John Phillips, "The Date of Beverley Minster and its Role in the Development of Northern Gothic in the Late 12th and Early 13th Centuries," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 176, no. 1 (2023), 108; & M. Champion, "Magic on the Walls: Ritual Protection Marks in the Medieval Church," in *Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Christian Britain*, ed. R. Hutton (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹¹² Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), For entire regions see; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; Kameron, *Popular Piety and Art in The Late Middle Ages*; & Marks, "A Will Casts Light," 366–85. For specific aspects see; Heslop, "Swaffham Parish Church."

¹¹³ For examples of this, see particularly Burgess, "Time and Place"; Katherine L. French, "Women Churchwardens in Late Medieval England," in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: proceedings of the 2002*

parish and the laity, frequently focussing on the role of women, whilst Clive Burgess has explored connections between piety, expressed in wills and churchwardens' accounts, and church ornamentation in a primarily urban and southern English context.¹¹⁴ In other notable work, Eamon Duffy and Beat Kümin examine rural parishes for wider trends, combining many communities in one study.¹¹⁵ Throughout their work, the corporate nature of the parish is frequently emphasised, with the role of guilds and fraternities often highlighted.¹¹⁶ The importance of reducing the amount of time spent in Purgatory is often seen as the focus of lay activities in the parish church, and, looking forward to the Reformation, the fifteenth-century church is seen as either a dissolute church in need of reform or as relevant and well-loved by the laity and so arguing that change was imposed from the top.¹¹⁷

These studies are concentrated in southern England. Burgess' work focuses on London and Bristol, whilst French brings together evidence from the parishes of the diocese of Bath and Wells.¹¹⁸ Duffy uses the considerable amount of surviving evidence from East Anglia and,

Harlaxton Symposium, ed. Eamon Duffy and Clive Burgess (Shaun Tyas, 2006), 302–21; P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: 'To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor'," *Northern History* 29 (1993): 24–39; Katherine L. French, "Maidens' Lights and Wives' Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998): 399–425; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370–1532* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984); & Clive Burgess, "Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair (Oxford University Press, 1996), 246–86.

¹¹⁴ French, "Maidens' Lights and Wives' Stores"; French, *The People of the Parish*; Katherine L. French, "The Seat Under Our Lady: Gender and Seating in Late Medieval English Parish Churches," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (State University of New York Press, 2005), 141–60; French, "Women Churchwardens"; Katherine L. French, "Genders and Material Culture," in *Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford University Press, 2013), 197–212; Katherine L. French, "Women in the Late Medieval English Parish," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. C. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Cornell University Press, 2003), 156–73; Clive Burgess, "Chantry in the Parish, or Through the Looking-Glass," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164 (2011): 100–29; Clive Burgess, "Longing to be prayed for: Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44–65; Clive Burgess, "The Benefactions of Mortality: The Lay Response in the Later Medieval Urban Parish," in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Late Medieval England*, ed. D. Smith, Borthwick Studies in History (1991); & Burgess, "Shaping the Parish."

¹¹⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; Beat A. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c.1400–1560* (Routledge, 1998); & Beat Kümin, "Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking beyond London and Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 119, no. 480 (2004): 87–99.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 131–54.

¹¹⁷ Burgess, "The Benefactions of Mortality"; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; & Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented'," 56–84. For the dissolute church, see R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Penguin Books, 1970), 143. For the relevant church, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 2; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215–c.1515*, 340; & Burgess, "'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented'," 78.

¹¹⁸ Burgess, "Shaping the Parish"; Clive Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Alan Sutton, 1990), 14–33; Clive Burgess, "London Parishes: Development in Context," in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Sutton Publishing, 1998), 151–74; & French, *The People of the Parish*. For

in another study, from Morebath in Devon.¹¹⁹ The rural parish of Prescott in Lancashire is used as a case study for Kümin's *Shaping of the Community*, but the other parishes that his book is based upon are from southern England.¹²⁰ In general, urban parish studies have not ventured further north than Peterborough, excepting the *Mass and Parish* volume on York and Saul's case study of medieval monuments of Barton-on-Humber in Lincolnshire.¹²¹ The following work will address this dearth of studies and provide an extensive case study drawn from one urban parish in northern England.¹²²

Historiography on the church of All Saints, North Street and its fifteenth-century parish community has argued for a fashionable, internalized, and affective piety amongst the donors of the windows.¹²³ Historians have focused on the Blackburn family and been less interested in

some of the considerable work on London parishes, see Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (University of Michigan Press, 1989); A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Clarendon Press, 1947); Vanessa Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Late Medieval London," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester University Press, 1992), 119–35; Marks, "A Will Casts Light,"; French, "The Seat Under Our Lady"; Caroline Barron and Jane Roscoe, "The Medieval Parish Church of St Andrew Holborn," *London Topographical Record* (1980): 31–60; Christian Steer, "Commemoration and Women in Medieval London," in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Matthew P. Davies and Andrew Prescott (Shaun Tyas, 2008), 230–45; & Sheila Lindenbaum, "Literate Londoners and Liturgical Change: Sarum Books in City Parishes after 1414," in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Matthew P. Davies and Andrew Prescott (Shaun Tyas, 2008), 384–99.

¹¹⁹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; & Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (Parergon, 2001).

¹²⁰ Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community*, 9.

¹²¹ P. S. Barnwell, "Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease': The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints, North Street, York," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: the Use of York*, ed. P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft (Spire Books, 2005), 57–88; & Nigel Saul, "The Medieval Monuments of St Mary's, Barton-on-Humber," in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. Matthew P. Davies and Andrew Prescott (Shaun Tyas, 2008), 265–71. See also Badham, "'From remembrance almost out araced'." Studies that emphasise the individuality of late medieval urban parishes and the importance of the parish in the lives of urban parishioners include Norman Tanner's work on late medieval Norwich and Tim Tatton-Brown's on Canterbury; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, 2–18; & Tim Tatton-Brown, "Medieval Parishes and Parish Churches in Canterbury," in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. Terry R. Slater and Gervase Rosser (Aldershot, 1998), 236–71.

¹²² This may or may not provide a contrast to the south of England. It will add to the consideration of whether there was a north-south divide in medieval England, potentially stemming from the centuries-long effect of the eleventh-century Harrying of the North, perhaps persisting in northern resistance to the Reformation, and frequently seen in modern culture understandings of England.

¹²³ Rees Jones and Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York," 249; Sarah Pedersen, "Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York," *Northern History* 36, no. 1 (2000): 33–42; & Amanda Daw, "The Communion of St Denis and the Feast of Corpus Christi in the Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass of All Saints North Street in York," *Journal of British Archaeology* 168 (2015): 142–64. An obverse suggestion is made by Pat Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg; P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann M. Hutchison, Carol Meale and Lesley Johnson (Brepols, 2000), 235. However, this may stem from a misreading of their source material; Kathryn M. Rudy, "The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. MS. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 280.

the apocalyptic glass.¹²⁴ The Revelation window has been all but ignored and the Fifteen Last Days window is almost always interrogated with reference to the *Prick of Conscience* poem that its text was drawn from, and conclusions drawn that emphasise its textual basis.¹²⁵ For example, Sue Powell examines the text within the window as a source for Middle English poetry, rather than as a material object and work of art, whilst Ellen K. Rentz argues the window was a gift of the source poem to the parish community, aping how books were willed, also seeing the window as a text.¹²⁶ Stephen Rozenski sees the window as providing a visual manifestation of the texts of the *Prick of Conscience* and the Book of Revelation.¹²⁷ All of these studies approach the window as a literary artifact, rather than considering it as primarily an image containing text.

Both literary and more historical and art historical work on the Fifteen Last Days window fails to consider the wider context in which it was made. Most pertinently for this dissertation, there has been no consideration of the political context in which the window's designers and donors lived, or the connection between the perceived author of the *Prick of Conscience*, Richard Rolle, and further expressions of his mysticism within the glass. Beyond the solely literary evaluations, Daniela Wagner considers how the donors of the window knew the *Prick of Conscience* poem, whilst understanding the window as a whole as centred around the donors' salvation, and Eleanor Cox sees the window as focused on community salvation.¹²⁸ Clifford Davidson's examination of the glass of the Fifteen Last Days window considers the iconography, whilst suffering from a lack of consideration of which parts of the iconography are medieval and which are modern. It also ignores the window's donors and focuses on the text in the glass.¹²⁹ Sharon Gayk writes that the Fifteen Last Days is a "surprisingly literal" interpretation that eschews "symbols or allegories".¹³⁰ This dissertation seeks to show that a closer examination of the window demonstrates that this perspective is unsound, and

¹²⁴ A note on spelling: throughout this dissertation, the spelling of surnames given in the glass will be used instead of other variants. This ensures continuity and to some extent differentiates toponymic surnames from place names.

¹²⁵ Gee includes the Revelation window in his survey; Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints", 168–70. I know of no other evaluation of this glass. Most recently, it receives only a cursory mention in Virginia Chieffo Raguin's All Saints, North Street chapter; Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *The Illuminated Window: Stories across Time* (Reaktion Books, 2023), 110.

¹²⁶ Powell, "All Saints' Church, North Street," 296; & Rentz, *Imagining the Parish in Late Medieval England*, 134.

¹²⁷ Rozenski, "A Light to Lighten the Gentiles," 306.

¹²⁸ Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*, 22 & 119–20; & Eleanor Cox, "Apocalyptic Thought in Late Medieval England, c.1350 to c. 1425" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2023), 176.

¹²⁹ Clifford Davidson, "The Signs of Doomsday in Drama and Art," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 26, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 229–35. For a lack of identification of modern replacements in the iconography, see the fish on page 232.

¹³⁰ Gayk, "Apocalyptic Ecologies," 4.

investigating both the text and the glass shows strong connections between the window, the martyrdom of Archbishop Scrope, and the mysticism of Richard Rolle.

Previous work on the windows of this parish church suffers from methodological errors that result in historical arguments relating to the medieval period being based upon nineteenth-century glass, which differs from the glass recorded in the antiquarian sources. In the context of the St Anne window, Patricia Cullum and P.J.P. Goldberg do discuss the “much restored” nature of the donor panels of the Blackburn window, but other scholars have overlooked this.¹³¹ For example, Claire Marie Barnett uses the image of Margaret Blackburn in the St Anne window to support an argument about medieval dress, despite the evidence, both antiquarian and material, that this figure was made in the nineteenth-century.¹³² Moreover, Pedersen’s study of the devotional choices of the Blackburn family partly bases its argument about internalised fifteenth-century piety on this nineteenth-century glass.¹³³ The same methodological errors undermine some work on the Fifteen Last Days window.¹³⁴ Despite the wealth of surviving material culture, no substantial study of the church of All Saints, North Street has been made since the mid-twentieth century when Eric Gee undertook a comprehensive study of the church’s stained glass.¹³⁵

There has been surprisingly little work on the material remains of the churches of late medieval York.¹³⁶ Archaeologists have published on St Mary Castlegate, St Helen-on-the-Walls and St Mary Bishophill Junior in studies that focus on the architectural development of the churches, with their late medieval alterations included, although reasons for these alterations are beyond the scope of the scholarship.¹³⁷ The stained glass in individual churches has also

¹³¹ Cullum and Goldberg, “Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York,” 24–39.

¹³² Clara Maria Barnett, “Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York” (PhD diss., University of York, 1997), 194.

¹³³ Pedersen, “Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York,” 33–34.

¹³⁴ Davidson, “The Signs of Doomsday in Drama and Art,” 232. In a 2023 PhD dissertation, Eleanor Cox does not recognise that the figures in the borders are prophets, leading to an incongruous interpretation, perhaps due to the literature-based focus of the PhD; Cox, “Apocalyptic Thought,” 170. For examples where the provenance of the glass is to some extent prioritised, see Rozenski, “A Light to Lighten the Gentiles,” 285–308; & Powell, “All Saints’ Church, North Street,” 292–316 (Powell evaluates the Fifteen Last Days glass, but makes incorrect assumptions about other windows in the church).

¹³⁵ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 151–203. The last full catalogue of the church was made in 1908; Patrick Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street* (The Church Shop, 1908).

¹³⁶ Catalogues have been made of all the parishes; Edward Miller, *A History of the County of York: the City of York* (Victoria County History, 1961) & B. Wilson and F. Mee, *The Medieval Parish Churches of York: The Pictorial Evidence* (Council for British Archaeology, 1998). The parishes are frequently mentioned in scholarship on the city, for example in Miller, *A History of the County of York*, 365; Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, 65; Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 126–27; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 124–28; & Rees Jones, *York: the Making of a City*, 68.

¹³⁷ C. M. Briden, John Guy, David Stocker, and Leslie Peter Wenham, *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate* (York Archaeological Trust, 1987); & J.R. Magilton, *The Church of St Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*

been examined, often in relation to the donor(s), and emphasising the importance of considering the background of these donations.¹³⁸ The tomb monuments of the churches of York have rarely been studied, but the little work done has focused on the Blackburn family.¹³⁹ Social connections to the parish appear in work as diverse as analyses of testamentary bequests, studies of the civic government of the city and the backgrounds of the Minster clerics, as well as work on the devotional cultures in the city.¹⁴⁰ Throughout this literature, connections between the people of York are constantly evaluated and networks frequently found within and between parishes.

Investigations of the role of the York Corpus Christi guild in civic life are of particular relevance to this dissertation as the guild was an expression of Scrope devotion.¹⁴¹ Likewise, the York cycle of Corpus Christi plays has received a considerable amount of attention from historians, literary and otherwise, investigating late medieval drama and civic pageantry. This work emphasises the value that these plays had in mediating disputes within the city and creating a sense of a unified corporate body.¹⁴² Finally, the Scrope revolt, martyrdom and cult have attracted attention from historians, art historians and literary scholars, with debates arising

(Council for British Archaeology, 1980). Archaeological excavations were also undertaken at All Saints, North Street in the summer of 2014.

¹³⁸ Lisa Reilly and Mary B. Shepard, “The Early-Sixteenth-Century Stained-Glass Programme of St Michael-le-Belfrey, York,” in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Brown, Sarah Rees Jones and Tim Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 209–38; Rachel Koopmans, “Early Sixteenth-Century Stained Glass at St Michael-le-Belfrey and the Commemoration of Thomas Becket in Late Medieval York,” *Speculum* 89, no. 4 (2014): 1040–100; Susanna Wyse Jackson, “Female Reception of Stained Glass Images of St. Anne in Late Medieval York: Women, Mothers, and Wives,” *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 58, no. 2 (2023): 150–68; & P. E. S. Routh, “A Gift and its Giver: John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York,” *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 58 (1986): 109–21. York’s parish churches are also included in general studies such as Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 34, 76 & 158; &, in a more specific study of one church, Claire Cross, “A York Priest and His Parish: Thomas Worrall at St Michael Spurriergate, York, in the Early Sixteenth Century,” in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: the Use of York*, ed. P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft (Spire Books, 2005), 90–96.

¹³⁹ Ann Rycraft, “The Blackburn Indent — a York Merchant and his Wives,” *Bulletin of the Monumental Brass Society*, 123 (2013): 450; & Sally Badham, “Commemoration in Brass and Glass of the Blackburn family of York,” *Ecclesiology Today*, 43 (2010): 68–82.

¹⁴⁰ Palliser, *Medieval York*, 215; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 40, 62, 155 & 356; Cullum and Goldberg, “Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York,” 26; & Rees Jones and Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York,” 242.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of this.

¹⁴² For a collection of key works on the guild and plays, see chapters in A. F. Johnston, *The City and the Parish: Drama in York and Beyond: Shifting Paradigms in Early English Drama Studies* (Routledge, 2017). For an important monograph, see Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity, and Power*. For Corpus Christi (including the liturgy, processions and plays), see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991). For comparisons in Europe, see Klára Benešová and Zoë Opačić, “Wenceslas IV and the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the New Town of Prague,” in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity: Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, ed. Zoë Opačić and Achim Timmermann (Brepols, 2011), 157–75; & Károly Goda, “Binding the Bonds: Metropolitan Modes of Eucharistic Confraternal and Processional Life in Late Medieval East-Central Europe,” in *Practising Community in Urban and Rural Eurasia (1000–1600)*, ed. Fabian Kümmeler, Judit Majorossy, and Eirik Hovden (Brill, 2021), 384–402. For similar processions and their use of space in a wider context, see Zoë Opačić, “Vienna’s Heiligtumstuh: the Sacred Topography of Stephansplatz and its context,” *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 62, no. 1 (2014): 81–108.

over the motivation behind the revolt, the extent of the involvement of the city, and the public and private manifestations of the cult.¹⁴³ However, connections between the revolt and the stained glass of the city's parish churches have not yet been explored.

Literature on late medieval York has examined attempts by the city government to create unity amongst diverse and disparate groups. In her discussion of York merchants and artisans, Heather Swanson argues that mercantile policies suppressed artisan crafts that could have posed a threat to the mercantile hegemony,¹⁴⁴ whilst the York Mystery Cycle has been understood as intended to affirm the unity of the city in a time of political and social tension.¹⁴⁵ Beadle and Palliser understand the creation of the play cycle as part of a collective response to the Black Death, controlled by the mercantile oligarchy but involving artisans, whilst Goldberg suggests that the craft guilds which organised labour in the city could have been the product of the plays.¹⁴⁶ The Corpus Christi Guild has also been seen as maintaining a unified civic body by giving poorer artisans a stake in its success, providing "a focus for many disparate groups and interests, offering them a common fraternal bond within a framework of traditional piety".¹⁴⁷ However, despite these attempts at unity, disputes between the citizens are frequently recorded, indicating the need for such efforts. In 1381, revolts broke out across England, revolts which, in York, appear to have been caused by a desire on the part of the citizens of the city for a different mayor.¹⁴⁸ R.B. Dobson saw the uprisings in York in 1380 and 1381 as resulting from

¹⁴³ See, in particular, essays in P. J. P. Goldberg, ed., *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr* (Shaun Tyas, 2007).

¹⁴⁴ Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure," 43. Maintaining this control necessitated preventing the tanners of York from achieving any political power. As one of the richest crafts, and one that did not rely on mercantile suppliers to provide the goods for their trade, the tanners were less susceptible to mercantile control and so needed to be prevented from achieving any real power. However, despite this reduced status, the tanners still had more in common with the merchants and other enfranchised artisans than with the unfranchised; Rees Jones, "York's Civic Administration," 124.

¹⁴⁵ Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 24.

¹⁴⁶ Richard Beadle, "The York Corpus Christi Play," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 86; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 208; & P. J. P. Goldberg, "Performing the Word of God: Corpus Christi Drama in the Northern Province," in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c.1100–c.1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. Diana Wood (Boydell Press, 1999), 149.

¹⁴⁷ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 195. There is very little evidence for men below the rank of citizen, excluding clerics; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 222. It may be that the poorer inhabitants were encouraged to support the oligarchy as they benefited from the charity of merchants, but they may simply have accepted Christian teaching that promised an easier route to salvation for the poor than for the rich and that God had put the rich in their position so it should be accepted by society; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266; & Palliser, *Medieval York*, 225.

¹⁴⁸ Margaret Aston, "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants' Revolt," *Past and Present* 143 (1994): 4. These revolts have been seen as the higher levels of the peasantry and the lower gentry rebelling against the conditions they were confined to after the Black Death, whilst the revolt of the Londoners directly protested against perceived legal injustices; Bruce S. Campbell, "The Land," in *A Social History of England: 1200–1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. M. Ormrod (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 223–4; Christopher Dyer, "The Social and Economic Background to the Rural Revolt of 1381," in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton

a city oligarchy at serious odds with the aspirations of many of the town's freemen".¹⁴⁹ More recently, Christian Liddy has shown that the disturbances emerged from changes in the mid-fourteenth century where an oligarchy that had previously been based on landowning was forced to coexist with the wool and cloth merchants involved in the Staple, unpopular royal service, and high finance.¹⁵⁰ The divisions of the 1381 revolt found further expression in 1405.¹⁵¹

1.3. Methodologies and Structure

Two research questions arise from the historical context. The first asks whether the surviving evidence allows a connection to be made between devotion to Archbishop Scrope and the apocalyptic imagery in the rebellious parish of All Saints, North Street. Connections between martyrdom and eschatology have long been recognised by scholars, and a specific connection between Scrope and the apocalypse has been alluded to in modern historiography, most notably by Christopher Norton in his survey of Scrope's building program in York Minster.¹⁵² Norton sees the archbishop's burial below the apocalyptic Great East window as providing a strong indication of a connection.¹⁵³ Establishing an evidential basis beyond the monumental in material culture for this connection will provide a foundation for future studies of the Scrope revolt and martyrdom, and for other work on the creation of apocalyptic imagery and literature in late medieval England. All Saints, North Street provides an excellent starting point for this discussion due to its strong connections with the Scrope revolt. Secondly, and arising from an examination of the stories in the apocalyptic glass in All Saints, North Street, this dissertation will ask to what extent devotion to Scrope on the part of the donors or designers of the windows was mediated through the mysticism of Richard Rolle. Rolle was an early fourteenth-century

and T. H. Aston (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 42; Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 155; & Andrew Prescott, "London in the Peasants' Revolt: A Portrait Gallery," *The London Journal* 7, no. 2 (1981): 138.

¹⁴⁹ R. B. Dobson, "The Risings in York, Beverley and Scarborough, 1380–1381," in *The English Rising of 1381*, edited by R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 120.

¹⁵⁰ Christian Liddy, "Urban Conflict in Late Fourteenth Century England: The Case of York in 1380–1," *English Historical Review* 118, no. 475 (2003): 31. The Staple was the system of ports and the taxation levied there that controlled overseas trade.

¹⁵¹ Liddy, "William Frost."

¹⁵² "Martyrdom and eschatology, which are causally and exegetically related"; Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois: Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50, no. 3 (2019): 198; Vladimir Cvetković, "Symbols, Icons, Liturgy: Eschatology in Early Christian Art," in *Eschatology in Antiquity: Forms and Functions*, ed. Hilary Marlow, Karla Pollmann, and Helen Van Noorden (Routledge, 2021), 557; & Catherine Saucier, "Sacrament and Sacrifice: Conflating Corpus Christi and Martyrdom in Medieval Liège," *Speculum* 87, no. 3 (2012): 714. For Scrope, see Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 153–56; & Twycross and King, "Doomsday as Hypertext," 384.

¹⁵³ Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 153–56.

hermit, patronised by the Scrope family, and subject to popular canonisation after his death.¹⁵⁴ In the fifteenth century, Rolle was believed to be the author of the *Prick of Conscience* poem that provided the source text for one of the apocalyptic windows in the church, the Fifteen Last Days.¹⁵⁵ Taking inspiration from sound studies, this dissertation investigates to what extent Rolle's *canor* can be found in the apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street and why this audio concept is seen in the visual medium of glass.¹⁵⁶

To answer these questions, this dissertation will use a case study of the parish church of All Saints, North Street, chosen due to its remarkable survival of medieval stained glass and involvement of prominent parishioners in the 1405 Scrope revolt, as fully explained in Chapter 4 below.¹⁵⁷ It will address the aforementioned lack of historiography regarding the building's apocalyptic windows, especially the Revelation window.¹⁵⁸ The dissertation also draws on evidence from wills in a way that goes beyond a survey of items bequeathed or a quantitative study of charitable bequests. Furthermore, the dissertation draws on evidence and scholarship from across Europe.¹⁵⁹ This provides a wider evidential basis and more innovative methodologies, particularly the use of narratology on stained glass, as most frequently applied to French art, and light and sound studies which have been used more often in Byzantine

¹⁵⁴ For an introduction to Rolle, see Andrew Albin and Andrew Kraebel, "Introduction," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1043–51. Rolle's popularity in late medieval England is evident from the number of surviving manuscripts authored or thought to have been authored by him; McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism*, 339. An exact number of manuscripts containing works by Rolle or considered by fifteenth-century readers to have been by him is difficult to calculate with certainty, not least due to necessity of deciding how much of a fragment need survive to be included. McGinn calculates over five hundred. There are at least 135 surviving copies of the *Prick of Conscience* (believed to be by Rolle), alongside 10 of the *Melos amoris*, and many other works, including extracts referred to as works in their own right. Oxford's Bodleian Library catalogue records 70 manuscripts in Oxford alone. Rolle's works were also popular on the European continent, suggesting that many more copies may be found in non-English archives, should they be searched for; McGinn, *The Varieties of English Mysticism*, 337.

¹⁵⁵ Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, "Richard Rolle, English Writer," in *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle* (Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 11. For the continuing importance of Rolle in the fifteenth century, see McGinn, *The Varieties of English Mysticism*, 490.

¹⁵⁶ *Canor* is the concept most closely identified with Rolle. It denotes the experiencing of divine song. This will be discussed in more detail later in this dissertation.

¹⁵⁷ For the theological suitability of using glass to depict subjects drawn from the Book of Revelation, see Herbert L. Kessler, "'Consider the Glass, It Can Teach You': the Medium's Lesson," in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods, and Expressions. Reading Medieval Sources*, ed. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, and Elizabeth Pastan (Brill, 2019), 144–45; & Elina Gertsman, "Divine Darkness," in *Lumen: The Art and Science of Light, 800–1600*, ed. Kristen M. Collins and Nancy K Turner (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2024), 87.

¹⁵⁸ See earlier in this chapter for the key works on the Fifteen Last Days. There has been no academic evaluation of the iconography of the Revelation window. Neither window has been subject to narratology; this is unsurprising with the Revelation window in which the narrative is not obvious, but the narrative in the Fifteen Last Days window is clear. However, even the Great East Window of York Minster, with its narrative of the history of the world has not been studied narratologically, perhaps due to an enduring belief that images cannot be studied as narratives. For further discussion of this, see later in this chapter.

¹⁵⁹ For a recent example of this wide geographical focus in late medieval urban history, see Christian D. Liddy, "The Making of Towns, the Making of Polities: Towns and Lords in Late Medieval Europe," *Past & Present* 264, no. 1 (2024): 3–47.

studies. Interpretations of the apocalypse by art historians are focusing more and more upon specific media, and this dissertation will provide a case study drawn from stained glass, with particular attention paid to how stories are constructed within these windows. This creates the possibility of examining the potential motives of the fifteenth-century donors of the windows and how the stories the windows tell, and the ways in which they tell them, give indications of the donors' priorities and motivations.¹⁶⁰

The ways in which certain words are used in this dissertation must be defined. Firstly, *imagery* is used to refer to the individual and collective pictures and shapes within the windows, particularly in regard to the religious messages that they sent. *Iconography* refers to what the images represented and communicated to an audience, and *iconology* includes a broader cultural interpretation, including the context in which the windows were made. *Story* refers to the events within the narrative, whilst *discourse* refers to how this story is expressed. *Donor* refers to those commemorated in the window, including but not limited to the people who likely paid for it, and *designer* refers to anyone who decided the content of the window. *Apocalypse* refers to the events and process culminating in the destruction of the world, whilst *eschatological* refers more specifically to the events and process leading up to and including the Last Judgement, presumed to be Christian but, where occasionally relevant, also including Jewish and Islamic interpretations of the same concept. The final book of the Bible will be referred to as Revelation, rather than Apocalypse, to better distinguish the biblical text from the illuminated apocalypses referred to throughout this dissertation.¹⁶¹ Other terms, including revolt/rebellion and divine song/*canor* are defined where and when they are used.

To provide a solid evidence base, the dissertation will first survey the surviving sources, both documentary and material, in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, the apocalyptic windows will be examined to establish the extent of their medieval survival. An example of how this is done can be seen in Figure 4. This image, taken from the Fifteen Last Days window, shows medieval and nineteenth-century glass in the same panel, with large amounts of leading that indicate the most intensively repaired areas. A close visual examination reveals the difference between the two: the modern glass has a reddish tinge, whilst the medieval glass is greener (see Figure 5);

¹⁶⁰ As the chronological bounds of this dissertation do not move much beyond 1440, it thus sits before the intensification of apocalyptic thought occasioned by the 1453 Conquest of Constantinople, the late fifteenth-century culmination of the Reconquista, and apocalypticism as the 1500 jubilee approached; Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 189–93; Duncan Hardy, “‘There Can Be No Agreement to Take up Arms against the Turks Unless We First Restore the Empire’: The Fall of Constantinople and the Rise of a New Political Dynamic in the Holy Roman Empire, 1453–1467,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 55 (2024): 532; & McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism*, 312 (Savonarola).

¹⁶¹ This also conforms to the English name given by The SBL Handbook of Style; Society of Biblical Literature, *The SBL Handbook of Style* (SBL Press, 2014), 170.

the black of the nineteenth-century restoration appears red on the outside of the glass; the modern letter “a” has a slant on the cross-bar, whilst the medieval is straight, and both the “e” and the “d” are more elongated in the medieval glass.¹⁶² The documentary record, in this case notes made by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Henry Johnston, can be used to support the material attribution, and examining manuscript evidence alongside the medieval glass allows a thorough evaluation of the antiquarian record.¹⁶³ Throughout this dissertation, relevant panels will be examined in this way, and the results presented in a diagram in which the differences between the medieval and modern glass are suggested through the (appropriately for glass) opacity. Where medieval glass remains but has likely been moved, it is retained in the diagram. The modern glass is retained in the diagram to indicate what could have been in the medieval glass, particularly as the evidence from comparing antiquarian sketches and the modern presentation of the glass suggests that the nineteenth-century restorers copied the remains of medieval glass where possible.

Following this evaluation, the political, social, and religious history as described above will provide structure and context for the discussion, firstly with regards to an evaluation of the role of the parishioners of All Saints, North Street in the Scrope revolt in Chapter 4. Then, an iconographical and narratological analysis of the apocalyptic windows will explore the possible intentions of those involved in their creation, with Chapters 5–7 examining the role of

¹⁶² For the greenish tint to fifteenth-century York glass, see Ian Freestone, Jerzy Kunicki-Goldfinger, Heather Gilderdale-Scott, Tim Ayers, “Multidisciplinary Investigation of the Windows of John Thornton, Focusing on the Great East Window of York Minster,” in *The Art of Collaboration: Stained-Glass Conservation in the 21st Century*, ed. Mary B. Shepard, Lisa Pilosi, Sebastian Strobl (Harvey Miller, 2010), 155. For the geographic origins of medieval glass, see Adlington et. al, “Regional Patterns in Medieval European Glass Composition,” 8–10; & Laura Ware Adlington, “Making a Medieval Stained Glass Window: An Archaeometric Study of Technology and Production” (PhD diss., University College London, 2023), 191, 211 & 215. York glass from a century and a half earlier (1290s–1307) originated in England or north-west France, most likely in France. By the early fifteenth century, white glass is more likely to have come from Staffordshire in England, and coloured glass from the Rhine valley.

¹⁶³ MS. Top. Yorks., 195 (page)/fol. 99r. Johnston recorded this couplet as “Ye 3^[rd] day yt sall be playne// And . . . stand in his (con/.) again”. The medieval text according to an examination of the glass colour and lettering is: “ye . . . yne// And . . . ayne”, suggesting that the middle section of the couplet had been destroyed between Johnston’s 1669 visit and Knowles’ 1861 restoration. Similar examples can be found in all the windows (and will be discussed in detail in the relevant chapter), but this example will suffice to show how an examination of the medieval remains of the glass can provide an evidential basis for answering the research questions. Continuing with the example above, Johnston’s record was largely accurate, although he modernised the spelling of “agayne”. The glass section (“yne// ayne”) could have been taken from another broken window and inserted here. This scenario is possible, but there are no couplets in the *Prick of Conscience* which match this text and the rarity of English in glass makes it extremely unlikely the text could be taken from elsewhere. Johnston’s manuscript in general should therefore be read with caveats as regards the spelling. There are physical limitations to this methodology. It is difficult to examine the glass at the top of the windows, making it necessary to rely upon photographs taken in the 1970s when the glass was conserved. Likewise, much of the glass is protected by metal bars, obscuring access.

temporality in the apocalyptic glass and the narrative space of these stories.¹⁶⁴ For scholars who see the potential for developed stories in medieval art, narratology can offer a “perspective on one of the most central issues of cultural studies: the elucidation of man as a ‘storytelling animal’”.¹⁶⁵ Showing how stories were told allows the investigation of why they were told in this way and what might have been the motivations of the medieval designers of the windows, particularly as late medieval English texts suggest that contemporaries understood how stained glass could create a narrative.¹⁶⁶ For example, in Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*, the Dreamer awakes in a room decorated with a stained-glass window narrating the Trojan War (*al the storie of Troye // Was in the glasing y-wroght thus*).¹⁶⁷ Following Wolfgang Kemp’s stricture that “the student of stained glass has to concentrate on the narrative that transcends the image; the narrative logic of many images, as a sequence and as an argumentative device”, this dissertation will consider the story told by each of the apocalyptic windows, and the narrative created by both windows together.¹⁶⁸ An approach that embraces both text and image will be taken in order to show that a narratological investigation elucidates meanings within the glass and casts new light upon the commemorative strategy of the donors or designers of the window.

Throughout the discussion, geographically diverse studies of light and climate provide methodologies with which to study the impact and significance of the materiality of the glass

¹⁶⁴ See chapters in Colum Hourihane, *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography* (Routledge, 2017). For examples of iconographical study of stained glass pertinent to this dissertation, see Morgan, “Texts, Contexts and Images of the Orders of Angels,” 211–20; & Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, “If the Sea Were Made of Ink: A Word on Medieval Visual Poetry,” in *Tributes to Paul Binski: Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture and Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 286–99. For narratology and art history, see Werner Wolf, “Narrative and Narrativity: A Narratological Reconceptualization and its Applicability to the Visual Arts,” *Word & Image* 19, no. 3 (2003): 180–97; & Suzanne Lewis, “Narrative, Narratology, and Meaning,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 147–69. For an overview of the early development of narratology and stained glass, see Madeline H. Caviness, “Beyond the Corpus Vitrearum: Stained Glass at the Crossroads,” *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* 9 (1998): 328. For an example of narratology used to analyse medieval stained glass, see Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*. For a more recent example, see Flattun, “Prince and Pretender,” 74–94. For the possibility (or not) of a narrative voice separate from the author in late medieval writing, see Sebastian Sobiecki, *Last Words: The Public Self and the Social Author in Late Medieval England* (Oxford University Press, 2019). For the obverse argument, see Timothy Glover, ““Strange in His Ways, Strange in His Words”: Eccentricity, Eremitism, and Autobiography in the Works of Richard Rolle,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (October 2024): 1055–56. In the context of a window, it is relatively simple to imagine the change in medium creating a greater possibility to separate the narrator from the author of the story. However, I know of no scholarly literature on this.

¹⁶⁵ Wolf, “Narrative and Narrativity,” 193.

¹⁶⁶ Anne F. Harris, “The Iconography of Narrative,” in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Routledge, 2016), 292.

¹⁶⁷ Harris, “The Iconography of Narrative,” 287.

¹⁶⁸ Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, 4. Unfortunately, Kemp does not define exactly what he means by “narrative”. For definitions of narrative art through the documentary record in fifteenth-century Italy, see David Ekserdjian, *The Italian Renaissance Altarpiece: Between Icon and Narrative* (Yale University Press, 2021), 160–62. For the medieval viewer (again, Italian) “actively engaged in reading” stories in art, see Jules Lubbock, *Storytelling in Christian Art from Giotto to Donatello* (Yale University Press, 2006), 11.

in the church.¹⁶⁹ These methodologies invite consideration of the ways in which light is used by a material object — the glass — and how it is employed within religious imagery. Previous work on medieval light has largely been undertaken by Byzantinists, though an ever-greater number of scholars working on central and western Europe are approaching their material sources with a consideration of the effect of light.¹⁷⁰ Noteworthy in recent work on light in late medieval England is Tom Nickson's use of churchwardens' and visitation records to show the possibilities inherent in studies of natural and devotional light in parish churches.¹⁷¹

In the concluding discussion chapter, aspects of sound studies will be used to analyse mundane and eschatological soundscapes, in particular divine song within the apocalyptic glass.¹⁷² It will also touch on the legacy of these windows. Medieval sound studies likewise initially developed amongst Byzantinists, but has spread to studies of western Europe in recent years.¹⁷³ Despite their diverse subject matter, this work is united by an approach that considers

¹⁶⁹ For a wide range of approaches to light in the medieval church, see Vladimir Ivanovici and Alice Isabella Sullivan, eds., *Natural Light in Medieval Churches* (Brill, 2023). For consideration of Western churches, see Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Michael W. Cothren, "The Iconography of Light," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. C. Hourihane (Routledge, 2017), 465–78; & Tom Nickson, "The Parish Church Illuminated," in *Towards an Art History of the Parish Church, 1200–1399*, ed. Meg Bernstein (The Courtauld Research Forum, 2021); Caviness, "Performative Interaction of Liturgy and Light," 175–88; Fabio Barry, "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 627–56; & Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image: The Golden Retable of the Pentecost at Stavelot," *Material Religion* 16, no. 1 (2020): 9–40.

¹⁷⁰ For the most recent work see for example, Vera Henkelmann, "Candles of Death and the Death of the Virgin Mary as a Model of the Ideal Death on the Threshold of the Early Modern Era," in *The Moment of Death in Early Modern Europe, c. 1450–1800*, ed. Benedikt Brunner and Martin Christ (Brill, 2024); chapters in Kristen M. Collins and Nancy K. Turner, *Lumen: The Art and Science of Light, 800–1600* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2024); & the September 2024 conference in Jena, entitled "Light: Art, Metaphysics and Science in the Middle Ages". I am grateful to Bernat Racz for sharing his paper from this conference on light in Mosan art.

¹⁷¹ Nickson, "The Parish Church Illuminated."

¹⁷² For an example of sound studies and medieval eschatology, see Sara Offenberg, "Staging the Blindfold Bride: Between Medieval Drama and Piyyut Illumination in the Levy Maḥzor," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Brepols, 2015), 281–94.

¹⁷³ Pentcheva, "Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image," 9–40; & Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Performative Images and Cosmic Sound in the Exultet Liturgy of Southern Italy," *Speculum* 95, no. 2 (2020): 396–466. See also Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Audiovision in the Middle Ages: Sainte-Foy at Conques* (Stanford University Press, 2023). Pentcheva's forthcoming second volume on Conques will further add to the study of liturgical sound. For sound in studies of medieval western Europe, see Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," 1132–48; Judith H. Oliver, "Sounds and Visions of Heaven: The Fusion of Music and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kersebroeck," in *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Brepols, 2015), 237–50; Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the "Roman de Fauvel"* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (2013): 22; Lisa Colton, "Song in Space and Space in Song: Physical and Conceptual Boundaries in English Devotional Music, 1250–1500," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and Its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 208–37; Laura Slater, "Musical Wit and Courtly Connections at Cogges," in *Tributes to Paul Binski: Medieval Gothic. Art, Architecture and Ideas*, ed. Julian M. Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 198–209; & Claire Taylor Jones, "A Musical Variation on Late Medieval Religious Reform: Johannes Nider and the Observant Dominican Liturgy," *Austrian History Yearbook* 55 (2024): 538–51. For projects on late medieval sound, see SOUNDSPACE: How Processions Moved: Sound and Space in the Performance of Urban Ritual, c.1400–c.1700; Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe; & ReSound – Giving Voice to Hispanic Chant. For recreating

the intangible aural dimension of sound a valid topic of study.¹⁷⁴ This dissertation does not consider how sound was heard and used in the parish church, but instead how it is presented within the windows. The investigation of the use of sound within a visual medium can indicate how sound was understood by those involved in the production of medieval art. In these ways, this dissertation intends to contribute to the development of the importance of considering light and sound in the churches of more western areas of Europe.

In summary, the contributions that this dissertation aims to make to scholarship are (art) historical and methodological. In terms of methodology, it provides a case study for the examination of narratives within fifteenth-century stained-glass. Likewise, the ways in which light interacts with glass are, despite the undeniable connections between the two, understudied and this dissertation will contribute to a growing literature. The contribution to sound studies shows how intrinsic sounds can be to understanding medieval images. In a way that is more specific to time and place, the dissertation aims to show that the significance of both Richard Scrope and Richard Rolle, primarily studied in manuscript sources, is also seen in late medieval art, supporting and expanding conclusions drawn from solely textual sources. Moreover, it expands on studies of the vernacular, examining the interaction of text and image within glass, and the ways in which the mode of transmission affects the story told. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this dissertation contributes to previous studies emphasising the ubiquity of apocalyptic thought in medieval culture. What appears to have been the case in late antique Byzantium, through early medieval England, to high medieval romance and into Dürer's prints is also the case in a small, urban parish in early fifteenth-century England.

late medieval sound, see Magnus Williamson, "Quadriring Cows: Resourcing Music in the Pre-Reformation Parish," in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, ed. S. Harper, P. Barnwell, and M. Williamson (Routledge, 2016).

52. Many of these studies necessarily draw on and engage with musicology. For examples of studies of medieval music, see M. A. Anderson, *Music and Performance in the Book of Hours* (Routledge, 2022). For definitions of various terms in sound studies, largely relating to the modern period, see David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny, *Keywords in Sound* (Duke University Press, 2015).

¹⁷⁴ Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art* (Routledge, 2021), 1.

2. The Sources

Source survival encourages the study of York's parish churches as the city boasts a wealth of documentary and material evidence that the towns and cities of southern England do not have.¹ Foremost amongst the documentary sources are the probate records of the Exchequer Court of the Archbishop of York. Other records include the York Memorandum Books and the Registers of the Freemen of York.² Antiquarian sources record the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century appearance of many of the churches. The material evidence is even richer, with much of the fabric of over a dozen medieval parish churches surviving, along with guildhalls, a few domestic houses and York Minster itself. This chapter will first discuss the documentary sources relating to All Saints, North Street. It will then move onto a consideration of the parish church itself, excluding the fifteenth-century apocalyptic glass which will be evaluated in the next chapter.

2.1. The Documentary Record

2.1.1. Last Wills

Eighty registered copies of wills from between 1387 and 1503 survive for All Saints, North Street, detailing the last wishes of the parishioners and others connected to the parish.³ The majority of testators are male; most are married, clerics, or widowed wives; and the laity are almost all from mercantile or tanner families. The wills describe the location in which testators

¹ See the historiographical survey in the introduction to this dissertation. In summary, scholarship on the parishes of London and Bristol has exploited surviving churchwardens' accounts and other records made by the parish: Clive Burgess, "Shaping the Parish: St Mary at Hill, London, in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair (Oxford University Press, 1996), 246–86; Beat A. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c.1400–1560* (Routledge, 1998); Beat Kümin, "Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking beyond London and Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 119, no. 480 (2004): 87–99; & Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Very few Churchwardens' Accounts survive from the north of England. In terms of material evidence, only the stained glass of St Mary Fairford exceeds North Street for a complete medieval glazing scheme in a parish church. Medieval stained glass survival is higher in the cathedrals of England and France, as well as in some parts of Central Europe and Italy. Outside England and Gotland, Sweden, survival of medieval windows from parish churches is extremely rare, and what does survive is usually fragmentary panels.

² Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part I (1376–1419)* (Surtees Society, 1912); Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part II (1388–1493)* (Surtees Society, 1915); Joyce W. Percy, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part III* (Surtees Society, 1973); & Frances Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: from the City Records*, vol. 1, 1272–1558 (Durham, 1897).

³ Wills were surveyed from the whole of the fifteenth century in order to find later references to images, altars etc. seen in the early fifteenth-century church.

wished to be buried, often mentioning areas of the church, altars or church furnishings.⁴ There are bequests to clerics, family, friends and members of the deceased's household, followed by specific types of charity, for example gifts to those imprisoned or to the maintenance of bridges.⁵ Chuntries and guilds are mentioned in All Saints' wills, as are friars and anchorites.⁶ Codicils are occasionally added.⁷ The wills are almost all written in Latin, in contemporary fifteenth-century hands, and most survive only as copies of the originals, registered with the Exchequer Court of the Archbishop of York.

Wills have been a vital source for social historians for many decades. Early examples of scholarship drawing from them include Sylvia Thrupp's seminal study of the merchants of London and A. Hamilton Thompson's survey of the English clergy.⁸ Since then, these documents have provided evidence for a wide variety of studies of the social history of late medieval England and Europe, including work on guilds, women in towns, hospitals, and urban gentry, as well as being used in studies of material culture.⁹ Wills are also central to the scholarly examination of the late medieval English parish.¹⁰ This is particularly seen in Clive Burgess' body of work on late medieval Bristol and his exploration of the choices of the

⁴ For example, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266; & Prob. Reg. 2, fols. 82 & 378.

⁵ Prob. Reg. 2, fols. 153, 378 & 572.

⁶ York, York Minster Archive, MS. H2/1, fol. 2; & Prob. Reg. 3, fols. 415 & 266.

⁷ Percy, *York Memorandum Book, Part III*, 44; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 378; & Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 15.

⁸ Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (University of Michigan Press, 1989), 10; & A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Clarendon Press, 1947), 122.

⁹ For English examples, see David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547* (York University Press, 2000), 9–10; P. J. P. Goldberg, "Women in Fifteenth-Century Town Life," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John A. F. Thomson (Alan Sutton, 1988), 109; P. H. Cullum, "'For pore people harberles': What was the Function of the Maisonsdieu?" in *Trade, Devotion and Governance: Papers in Later Medieval History*, ed. Dorothy J. Clayton and Richard Garfield Davies (Alan Sutton, 1994), 41; Rosemary Horrox, "The Urban Gentry in the Fifteenth Century," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John A. F. Thomson (Alan Sutton, 1988), 27; Richard Marks, "A Will Casts Light: Robert Hunt and the West Window of St Margaret's Church, Westminster," in *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Paul Binski and Elizabeth A. New (Shaun Tyas, 2012), 366–85; Sally Badham, "The Robertsons Remembered: Two Generations of Calais Staplers at Algarkirk, Lincolnshire," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline Barron (Shaun Tyas, 2010) 207; Kathleen Kameron, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England 1350–1500* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 92–94; Vanessa Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Late Medieval London," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester University Press, 1992), 119; & Judith Middleton-Stewart, "Parish Activity in Late Medieval Fenland: Accounts and Wills from Tilney All Saints and St Mary's, Mildenhall, 1443–1520," in *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Shaun Tyas, 2006), 282–301.

¹⁰ For example, Judith Middleton-Stewart, "Parish Activity in the Late Medieval Fenland," 299; Nicholas Rogers, "Hic Iacet . . . : The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches," in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Eamon Duffy and Clive Burgess (Shaun Tyas, 2006), 268; & Robert Dinn, "Death and Rebirth in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds," in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, ed. S. Bassett (Leicester University Press, 1992), 151.

parishioners of St Mary at Hill in London.¹¹ Eamon Duffy relies on wills for much of his *Stripping of the Altars*, as does Norman Tanner in his work on late medieval Norwich.¹² Katherine French uses wills across her work, including in her study of the parishioners of the diocese of Bath and Wells where probate details expand on her evidence from churchwardens' accounts.¹³ In the north of England, Peter Heath has explored the late medieval wills of Hull, concluding that they show "tranquillity in their religion".¹⁴ Wills from York have been examined by Jennifer Kermode who bases part of her study of Yorkshire merchants on testamentary evidence, using wills to reconstruct the networks of these elite families. Lisa Liddy uses them in a recent study of the meaning of neighbourhood as shown through testamentary bequests; and Pat Cullum and Jeremy Goldberg use wills to argue for the importance of charitable bequests alongside pious provisions for the soul.¹⁵ In the parish of All Saints, North Street, wills are the source most frequently used by historians. P. S. Barnwell uses wills as his main form of evidence in his exploration of the role of Purgatory in parishioners' commemoration, whilst Sarah Pedersen uses the wills of the Blackburn family to place their windows within their wider devotions and Sally Badham uses them in a similar way to examine the Blackburn monuments.¹⁶

¹¹ Clive Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 837–58; Clive Burgess, "Longing to be prayed for: Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44–65; & Burgess, "Shaping the Parish."

¹² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (Yale University Press, 1992), 246; & Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370–1532* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 113.

¹³ French, *The People of the Parish*, 14. See also Katherine L. French, "Genders and Material Culture," in *Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford University Press, 2013), 201; & Katherine L. French, "Maidens' Lights and Wives' Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998): 409.

¹⁴ Peter Heath, "Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills," in *Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Alan Sutton, 1984), 229.

¹⁵ Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 70; Lisa Liddy, "'All to Make Mery With': Testamentary Bequests to Neighbours in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century York," in *The Experience of Neighbourhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bronach C. Kane and Simon Sandall (Routledge, 2022), 149–60; & P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: 'To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor'," *Northern History* 29 (1993): 39. For wills in other studies of late medieval York, see Sarah Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope, the Bolton Hours and the Church of St Martin in Micklegate: Reconstructing a Holy Neighbourhood in Later Medieval York," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 222; J. N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages," *The Economic History Review* 12 (1979): 29; & Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 119.

¹⁶ Sarah Pedersen, "Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York," *Northern History* 36, no. 1 (2000): 42; Sally Badham, "Commemoration in Brass and Glass of the Blackburn family of York," *Ecclesiology Today*, 43 (2010): 71; & P. S. Barnwell, "'Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease': The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints, North Street, York," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: the Use of York*, ed. P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft (Spire Books, 2005), 59.

In an international context, Martha Howell's work on the wills of late medieval Douai in Flanders provides an extensive overview of the final wishes of the city's inhabitants, including tanners and merchants, the two most common professions amongst parishioners of All Saints, North Street. She emphasises the importance of objects to the testators and the effort they put into disposing of their goods before imminent death, a trait also seen to some extent in the wills of All Saints.¹⁷ Work on the late medieval Low Countries shows the importance of post-mortem commemoration on feast days and piety funnelled through guilds, a choice that is not commonly seen in the wills of the artisans of All Saints, North Street.¹⁸ Wills also provide evidence for the study of late medieval urban life in the city states of northern Italy. Samuel Cohn has compared wills from Douai and Florence and concluded that there was no clear divide between the north and south of Europe, but that the merchants (and to some extent the artisans and labourers) of the northern Italian city states tended to invest in land whilst their counterparts elsewhere in Europe concentrated on moveable goods.¹⁹ This lack of desire to acquire land can be posited from the wills of All Saints, North Street, though it is unlikely that the majority of York property was disposed of by will.²⁰ The importance of the parish community to testators is also evident in the cities of Tuscany and Umbria, although the level of dedication was influenced by the local situation, with, for example, the mendicant houses of Assisi receiving substantially more bequests than the parishes.²¹

Further east, Christina Lutter sees Central European testaments (and charters) as showing how intricate relations between social and religious motivations are "key to understanding religious choice and belonging within urban space".²² Katalin Szende has

¹⁷ Martha Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai," *Past and Present* 150, no. 1 (1996): 45.

¹⁸ Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300–1520* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 105–08.

¹⁹ Samuel Cohn, "Two Pictures of Family Ideology taken from the Dead in Post-Plague Flanders and Tuscany," in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Garant Uitgevers, 2001), 176–77.

²⁰ Barnwell, "The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints," 60. A few families did consider land outside the city to be worth acquiring and bequeathing: the Blakburns appear to have property in the city and land as far afield as Kent; Percy, *York Memorandum Book, Part III*, 201.

²¹ Samuel Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 336–39.

²² Christina Lutter, "Donators' Choice? How Benefactors Related to Religious Houses in Medieval Vienna," in *Über Religion entscheiden/Choosing my Religion. Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Christentum/Religious Options and Alternatives in Medieval and Early Modern Christianity*, ed. Matthias Pohl and Sita Steckel (Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 187. See also Christina Lutter, Daniel Frey, Herbert Krammer, and Judit Majorossy, "Kinship, Gender and the Spiritual Economy in Medieval Central European Towns," *History and Anthropology* 32, no. 2 (2021): 249–70; & Christina Lutter, "Who Took the Fall in 1408, and Why? Vienna's Elites in Alliances and Conflicts with Habsburg Dukes," *Austrian History Yearbook* 55 (2024): 565–77.

explored the wills of late medieval Hungary and Central Europe, arguing for complementary role(s) of orality and literacy.²³ Judit Majorossy found an “intermingling of piety and worldliness” in late medieval Pressburg (Bratislava) through her study of the city’s wills.²⁴ For Transylvania, Mária Lupescu Makó has argued that the strategies used by late medieval testators were focused on long-term commemoration, in the form of chantries or charitable bequests, rather than funeral arrangements.²⁵ Istrian and Dalmatian wills have been understood as being written “because they [the testators] were afraid of dying (suddenly) without the last confession, communion, and without a strategy for testamentary distribution of legacies”.²⁶ Collectively, these studies show that whilst there were regional differences, usually resulting from differing economic circumstances, similar practices were found across medieval Latin Europe, with testators asking, when they could afford it, to be buried in their parish churches. Communal organisations (civic government, guilds etc.) were also important, and there was a steady late medieval increase in a desire for chantries.

Though useful evidence, wills have limitations. They can only be used to study the choices of an individual at a particular point (or, with a codicil, points) in their life, and thus cannot attest to decisions made over a lifetime.²⁷ They also do not provide a complete record of moveable goods. It is believed that wills from the York diocese conventionally bequeathed only one third of the testator’s moveable goods; a further third would go to a surviving spouse

²³ Katalin Szende, “Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy in Composing Last Wills in Late Medieval Hungary,” in *The Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter (CEU Press, 2001), 64. For other work, see Katalin Szende, “From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? Patterns of Bequeathing Movables in Late Medieval Pressburg,” in *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-industrial Urban Societies*, ed. Finn-Einar Eliassen and Katalin Szende (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), 44–75; Katalin Szende, “The Urban Transmission: Family Cycles and Inheritance Customs in Medieval Hungarian and Early Modern Norwegian Towns,” in *Sakta vi gå gjennom stan. City Strolls. Studies in Urban History in Honor of Lars Nilsson*, ed. Finn-Einar Eliassen and Katalin Szende (Stockholmia förlag, 2005), 135–65; & Katalin Szende, “Families in Testaments. Some aspects of Demography and Inheritance Customs in a Late Medieval Hungarian Town,” in *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 35 (Krems, 1996): 107–24. For other European examples, see chapters 4–6 and 9 in A. Jianu, and G. Lazăr, eds., *Pro refrigerio animae: Death and Memory in East-Central Europe: Fourteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Routledge, 2023).

²⁴ Judit Majorossy, “Church in Town: Urban Religious Life in Late Medieval Pressburg in the Mirror of Last Wills” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2006), 453.

²⁵ Mária Lupescu Makó, “Between Material and Spiritual Memoria: Last Wills and Testaments in Late Medieval Transylvania (Fifteenth-Mid-Sixteenth Centuries),” in *Pro refrigerio animae: Death and Memory in East-Central Europe: Fourteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. A. Jianu, & G. Lazăr (Routledge, 2023), 210.

²⁶ Zoran Ladić, “From Fear of Death to the Salvation of the Soul and Eternal Life: Reasons for Composing Last Wills in the East Adriatic (Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries),” in *Pro refrigerio animae: Death and Memory in East-Central Europe: Fourteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. A. Jianu, & G. Lazăr (Routledge, 2023), 89. See also articles by Penka Danova and Elena Kostova, and Konstantinos Giakoumis in the same volume.

²⁷ French, *The People of the Parish*, 11; Cullum and Goldberg, “Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York,” 39; & Philippa Maddern, “Friends of the Dead: Executor, Wills and Family Strategy in Fifteenth-Century Norfolk,” in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays Presented to Gerald Harris*, ed. Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (Hambleton Press, 1995), 156–57.

and the final third (or two thirds if there is no spouse) to any surviving children.²⁸ Last wills and testaments can also be vague, for example by giving sums to be disposed of for the good of the testator's soul and at the discretion of the executors. Thus, the ways in which this money is spent cannot be known. In the context of this dissertation, this means that many gifts to the church are never recorded. For example, the Blackburn wills contain no mention of their donation of the windows that include their names, effigies and heraldry, though perhaps general bequests to pious works supported the costs.²⁹ Furthermore, a lack of detail in a will may well show that the testator had put his estate in order before his death rather than indicating a lack of possessions.³⁰ Finally, the All Saints' wills necessarily only cover those who had goods to bequeath: the richest in local society. The majority of the freemen of York, clerics and women did not make wills, and almost all of the unfranchised would have had no substantial goods to dispose of.

Wills made in England's northern archepiscopal province were generally registered in York at the Archbishop's Exchequer Court. However, there were peculiar jurisdictions across the city of York and Yorkshire. In theory, this meant that testators living within these peculiars would register their wills in the peculiar courts. The reality is that this registration was more erratic. In the parish of All Saints, North Street, most of the wills are held in the Exchequer's Court, as the parish was not in a peculiar, but the priest John Bawtre and the merchant Adam del Banke had their wills registered elsewhere.³¹ As he was a vicar choral, it is unsurprising that Bawtre had his will registered with the Dean and Chapter of York Minster. Banke's will was also registered in the Act Books of the Chapter, with no explanation of this anomaly. Perhaps his public support of the former archbishop, to the extent of spearheading an insurrection against Henry IV, made him a special case. There are also gaps in the Exchequer Court series; one between 1408 and 1417, another between 1418 and 1426, and several smaller gaps throughout the fifteenth century. These gaps are likely to hide a large number of All Saints' wills. The only will (apart from Bawtre's and Banke's mentioned above) that survives from these gaps, that of the wealthy tanner, Richard Alne, is only available because it was also copied into the York Memorandum Books.³² In this dissertation, no arguments will be made based upon anything perceived to be missing from the probate evidence. It will instead be assumed

²⁸ Barnwell, "The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints," 60.

²⁹ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 415; & Prob. Reg. 2, fols. 168 & 605.

³⁰ Clive Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered," in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Alan Sutton, 1990), 21. For a likely example of this in All Saints, North Street, see Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168.

³¹ York, York Minster Archive, L2/4, fols. 157r–158r; & MS. H2/1, fols. 2v–3v.

³² Percy, *York Memorandum Book, Part III*, 43–44.

that there is a strong likelihood that had more sources survived, more gifts to the parish, wider social networks, and evidence of altars, windows or church furnishings would be seen.

2.1.2. Administrative Records

Further to the testamentary evidence, there are three groups of documentary sources for the study of All Saints, North Street; administrative sources, narrative sources and the records made by antiquarians. The most frequently consulted administrative source is the Patent Rolls. These rolls were compiled by the Chancery in Westminster and record, for example, appointments to royal commissions and confirmations of the transfer of lands and property.³³ The original documents are held in the National Archives and have been published in a series of calendars. Many records have been digitised recently. The English Close Rolls and Inquisitions Post-Mortem were also consulted for this dissertation but contained very little relevant evidence. Records from the fourteenth-century English poll taxes also provide indications of who lived in the parish around a generation before the revolt.³⁴

The Archbishops' Registers of the diocese of York are also used. Some of these have been published, but most are held in manuscripts and on microfilm in the Borthwick Institute for Archives, as well as being available and partly indexed online through the York's Archbishops' Registers database.³⁵ They catalogue the activities of the archbishop and his proxies, including orders given to clergy and the administration of parish churches. Although visitation returns do not survive for York, the registers still give a considerable amount of useful information. Lists of the highest status parishioners of All Saints, North Street survive in these registers, wills are occasionally mentioned and appointments of priests to the parish are included. Finally, churchwardens survive for a later period in All Saints, North Street.³⁶ They indicate some changes to the church in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Other sources are more local, including records made by the government of the City of York. One of the main sources for the study of the city in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the York Memorandum Books. These begin in the later decades of the fourteenth century. The original documents are held in York City Archives, labelled A/Y and B/Y, and

³³ For examples, see *CPR: 1416–22*, 374; & *CPR: 1422–29*, 1.

³⁴ Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁵ R. N. Swanson, ed., *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope Archbishop of York, 1398–1405* (Borthwick Publications, 1981); & Joan Kirby, ed., *The York Sede Vacante Register 1405–1408: a Calendar* (Borthwick Publications, 2002). The registers are digitised at <https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk>.

³⁶ York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, PR/Y/ASN, Churchwardens' Accounts of All Saints, North Street.

have been published in three volumes.³⁷ In these edited volumes, some of the entries are translated whilst others are transcribed in the original (often Latin but sometimes in the vernacular). R. B. Dobson has described the Memorandum Books as “an expression of corporate identity designed to present an image of unity and consensus within the city and thereby legitimize civic government”.³⁸ They contain only information that the civic authorities thought it necessary to convey, but this does not prevent their use in this dissertation. The entries convey a considerable amount of information concerning the civic structure of the late medieval city, the organization and disputes of the crafts, and the transfer of property by wealthy inhabitants. They give the names of mayors and other civic officials, allowing the civic positions of All Saints’ parishioners to be established. Parishioners’ activities as mayor or sheriff are occasionally recorded. The Memorandum Books also contain transactions of property between wealthy inhabitants of the city, and these often include lists of local residents and sometimes explain family relationships.

The York Freeman’s Register was also made by the city authorities and lists the men, and a few women, admitted to the franchise.³⁹ Membership allowed trade within city boundaries, participation in civic government, and gave exemptions from a number of tolls around England.⁴⁰ Admittance to the franchise occurred either through the completion of an apprenticeship and subsequent sponsorship by a master of the craft, the payment of a fee, or through patrimony if the applicant was the son or widow (or new husband) of a freeman.⁴¹ The Register also includes the names of the mayor and chamberlains for each year (preceding the list of entrants to the freedom), as well as separate lists of bailiffs and descriptions of arrangements for each mayor.⁴² These include the fee paid to the mayor and the officials he appointed. This dissertation cites the edition prepared by Frances Collins, but the original document in the York City Archives was also consulted in the early stages of research. The Register is written in Latin, but, as it is mostly a list, few problems of translation are posed,

³⁷ Sellers, *York Memorandum Book, Part I*; Sellers, *York Memorandum Book, Part II*; & Percy, *York Memorandum Book, Part III*.

³⁸ R. B. Dobson, “The Risings in York, Beverley and Scarborough, 1380–1381,” in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge University Press, 1987), 114.

³⁹ Collins, *Register of the Freeman of the City of York*.

⁴⁰ R. B. Dobson, “Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages,” *The Economic History Review*, 26 (1973), 12.

⁴¹ Dobson, “Admissions,” 10. This is an oversimplification; as the fifteenth century progresses, women and entrants by patrimony begin to disappear from the register. This may reflect their lack of entry into the franchise, or a change in the purpose of the surviving document. Since this document was for the use of the civic authorities, it likely records simply what they needed to know, and entrants through family connections may have been considered obvious enough that they didn’t need to be recorded.

⁴² York, York City Archives, D1.

although some small mistakes were made by Collins in his transcription.⁴³ There are omissions from the Register, most significantly artisans working in areas of the city not under civic jurisdiction, but All Saints, North Street was not one of these areas.⁴⁴

2.1.3. Narrative and Literary Sources

English and Welsh chronicles are the main narrative sources for the 1405 Scrope revolt, and three of these originate from the abbey of St Albans, in southern England. The St Albans monk Thomas Walsingham wrote two Latin accounts, usually called the *Chronica Maiora* and the *Ypodigma Neustriae*.⁴⁵ The latter parts of the *Chronica Maiora*, including the accounts of the Scrope revolt, may have been written by monks of St Albans in Walsingham's scriptorium.⁴⁶ The exact date that the 1405 entry was written in the *Chronica Maiora* is not known, but the text is likely to have been revised into the current version after Henry IV's death in 1413.⁴⁷ Walsingham's records were probably drawn primarily from first-hand accounts of the events he describes, and James Clark ascribes the monk's detailed knowledge of events in the north of England to personal accounts from either Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, or to accounts from Percy's retainers.⁴⁸ The account of Scrope's revolt and martyrdom given by the *Ypodigma Neustriae* is similar, though not identical, to that given by the *Chronica Maiora*.⁴⁹ The *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, also written in St Albans, reproduce and expand upon Walsingham's account of the Scrope revolt, and may have been compiled by the monk William Wyntershille.⁵⁰

Six other surviving chronicles give substantial accounts of the revolt. The continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum* covers the years 1364–1413, and was probably written in a series of independent sections, some later than 1428.⁵¹ The authorship is unknown, but it has been

⁴³ Dobson, "Admissions," 4.

⁴⁴ Bartlett, "Expansion and Decline," 20.

⁴⁵ The *Chronica Maiora* has a main text and later additions which expand upon the original account of the Scrope revolt; Thomas Walsingham *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham. 1394–1422*, trans. and ed. John Taylor (Clarendon Press, 2011). The shorter version of Walsingham's text is also known as the *Historia Anglicana*. For the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, see Thomas de Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, trans. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1876).

⁴⁶ James G. Clark, ed., *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376–1422)*, trans. David Preest (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 12.

⁴⁷ Clark, *The Chronica Maiora*, 12.

⁴⁸ Clark, *The Chronica Maiora*, 17.

⁴⁹ Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, 413–15.

⁵⁰ Henry Thomas Riley, ed., "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae," in *Chronica et Annales: AD 1259–1296, 1307–1324, 1392–1406* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), xxi–ii.

⁵¹ Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis)*, vol. 3 (London, 1863), l; G. B. Stow, "The Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*: Some Revisionist Perspectives," *The English Historical Review*, 119,

proposed that the section containing Scrope's revolt was written by John Trevor, Bishop of St Asaph in Wales (it may also have been written by a Franciscan in Canterbury Grey Friars).⁵² Another chronicle account was written by Adam Usk. Usk was in Rome at the time of the Scrope revolt and is thought to have written his *Chronicle* in around 1408, when returning to England.⁵³ Both Usk and Trevor (if he is the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*) sympathised with the early fifteenth-century Welsh struggle for independence, to which Scrope's revolt can be connected.⁵⁴ In the 1420s, the Augustinian canon John Strecche, based in the English Midlands, wrote his *Chronicle*.⁵⁵ It covers the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V, and survives in single manuscript, Additional MS. 35295 held by the British Library. The so-called *Giles Chronicle* (named after the modern compiler) and contained in four anonymous manuscripts held by the British Museum includes various fifteenth-century accounts of the reigns of Richard II (reigned 1377–99), Henry IV (reigned 1399–1413), Henry V (reigned 1413–22) and Henry VI (reigned 1422–61 and 1470–71).⁵⁶ Its section on the Scrope revolt adds further details to the narrative provided by the other chronicles.⁵⁷ John Hardyng's *Chronicle*, written in English verse, also contains a brief account of the Scrope revolt. It was composed in the mid-fifteenth century and survives in two versions. The second version is contained in twelve manuscripts, the first in only one.⁵⁸ Although it was written considerably later than the other chronicle sources, Hardyng had been a squire with the Percy family, instigators of insurrections against

issue 482 (2004), 667–81; & George B. Stow, "The Authorship of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*: A Reconsideration," in *Creativity, Contradictions and Commemoration in the Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of Nigel Saul*, ed. Jessica A. Lutkin and J. S. Hamilton (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 53–72.

⁵² Chris Given-Wilson, *Continuatio Eulogii: the Continuation of the "Eulogium Historiarum", 1364–1413* (Clarendon Press, 2019), xxi; George B. Stow, "The Authorship of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*," & Evan J. Jones, "The Authorship of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*: A Suggestion." *Speculum* 12, no. 2 (1937): 196–202.

⁵³ Usk also included a poem detailing the fifteen signs before Doomsday; Chris Given-Wilson, ed., *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421* (Clarendon Press, 1997), 230–33.

⁵⁴ Trevor was actively involved in the Welsh rebellion; Joel T. Rosenthal, "Richard II's Bishops: Fair Weather Friends?" in *Creativity, Contradictions and Commemoration in the Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of Nigel Saul*, ed. Jessica A. Lutkin and J. S. Hamilton (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 193. For an evaluation of Usk's involvement, see R. H. Helmholz, "Adam Usk (d. 1430)," in *The Profession of Ecclesiastical Lawyers: An Historical Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 122–23.

⁵⁵ Chris Given-Wilson, "English Translation of John Strecche's Chronicle for the Reign of Henry IV," in *The Medieval Chronicle* 15, ed. Sjoerd Levelt and Graeme Dunphy (Brill, 2023), 115.

⁵⁶ John Allen Giles, ed., *Incerti scriptoris chronicon angliae de regnis trium regum Lancastrensiū, Henrici iv, Henrici v, et Henrici vi* (London, 1848).

⁵⁷ For example, the chronicle says that Scrope preached his articles first in the Minster and then in other churches; Giles, *Incerti scriptoris chronicon angliae*, 44.

⁵⁸ For the second version, see John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1812). For the first, see John Hardyng, *Hardyng's Chronicle: Edited from British Library MS. Lansdowne 204*, ed. Sarah Peverley and James Simpson, (Medieval Institute Publications, 2015). See the introduction to the above volume for a more complete evaluation of Hardyng and his chronicle. Only volume 1 has currently been published. This volume does not include the account of the Scrope revolt.

Henry IV.⁵⁹ He was also from the north of England and frequently travelled there. Unfortunately, he was also known to have falsified documents. Likewise written in English, Ralph Capgrave's *Chronicle of England* describes Scrope's revolt and martyrdom in a way that suggests he had seen and perhaps copied parts of Walsingham's *Chronica*.⁶⁰ It was produced between 1438 and 1461, by an Augustinian living in Norfolk.⁶¹

Hagiographies, letters, poems, and parliamentary documents also give evidence for the Scrope revolt. The hagiographies are the *Martyrium Richardi Archiepiscopi* by Clement Maidstone and Thomas Gascoigne's *Decollatio Ricardi Scrope*.⁶² The exact relationship between these two narratives is disputed, but both were written in the fifteenth century by clerics who knew individuals involved in the revolt.⁶³ Other sources include early fifteenth-century letters to York Minster from the archbishop of Canterbury and the royal family, and an account surviving in Oxford, Lincoln College, MS. 54 that describes Scrope's actions during the revolt, including a speech he made; and an office and songs celebrating the martyred archbishop.⁶⁴ A Birgittine manuscript now in Uppsala but likely compiled in York between 1408 and 1421 contains a copy of one of these poems, alongside a life of Thomas Becket, works by Richard Rolle and an excerpt entitled *stimulus consciencie*.⁶⁵ Two fifteenth-century Books of Hours show devotion to "St." Richard Scrope, and the fabric rolls of York Minster record devotional gifts related to the archbishop's cult.⁶⁶ Finally, administrative records from the

⁵⁹ Henry Summerson, "Hardyng, John," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

⁶⁰ John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858), 289–91.

⁶¹ Alicia Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndwr in Medieval English Chronicles* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 15–16.

⁶² James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, II* (London, 1886), 306–11; & James E. Thorold Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1881), 225–31.

⁶³ Stephen Wright, "The Provenance and Manuscript Tradition of the *Martyrium Ricardi Archiepiscopi*," *Manuscripta* 28 (1984): 92–102.

⁶⁴ James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 3 (London, 1894), 288–94; Falconer Madan, "Beatus Ricardus Martyr Atque Pontifex," *Athenaeum* 3171 (1888): 160–61; Stephen K. Wright, ed., "That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 115–37; & David R. Carlson, "The 1405 Richard Scrope Execution Verses (Long Version)," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 97, no. 2 (2021): 43–70.

⁶⁵ The manuscript is Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, C 621. For a description of the contents, albeit missing the reference to *stimulus consciencie*, see Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Monica Hedlund and Håkan Hallberg, eds., *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, vol. 6, *Handschriften C 551–935* (Uppsala universitet, 1993), 137–41. For the identification of the Scrope poem; Eva Schaten, "A Scandinavian Manuscript Witness to the 1405 Richard Scrope Execution Verses," *Notes and Queries* 71, no. 3 (September 2024): 297–98. The *Prick of Conscience* reference is not to the poem itself, but to an eschatological short Latin text. However, no manuscript written in York at this time can have been unaware of the *Prick of Conscience* poem and not made a connection between the names, particularly the compiler of a manuscript containing texts by Rolle.

⁶⁶ The Books of Hours are the Bolton Hours (Add. MS. 2, fols. 100v & 202v) and MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 146v). For the gifts, see Sellers, *York Memorandum Book, Part I*, 237; & James Raine, *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Durham, 1859), 32, 37, 193–96 & 225.

Westminster government, in particular the account of the revolt in the parliamentary rolls and the pardons issued by the king, provide non-narrative accounts of the revolt.⁶⁷

2.1.4. Antiquarian Records

The earliest surviving description of the physical fabric of All Saints, North Street was written by the antiquarian Roger Dodsworth in 1618. Dodsworth was born in the early 1580s in North Yorkshire, the son of the Registrar of York Minster.⁶⁸ Whilst still young, he gained access, probably through his father's influence, to the records of York Minster and began to document their contents. Over the next five decades, he consulted records in the Tower of London and other prestigious institutions as well as visiting many Yorkshire parish churches.⁶⁹ Dodsworth's early interests were focused upon monasteries, resulting in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, written with William Dugdale. This attempted to record all of the surviving monastic records in England.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, his notes on York's parish churches were damaged by rain in the late seventeenth century whilst being transported from York to Oxford.⁷¹ The notes for the church of All Saints, North Street were especially badly affected by this move with only one page remaining. As the other parishes have several pages of notes, there are likely to have originally been more for North Street.

Matthew Hutton's notebook contains considerably more detail about All Saints, North Street than Dodsworth's surviving notes. Hutton was more than fifty years younger than Dodsworth, being born in the late 1630s. He was also born in Yorkshire and had Minster connections through his great-grandfather and namesake, who was archbishop of York 1595–1606. Hutton was also the nephew of Thomas Fairfax, the patron of Roger Dodsworth.⁷² Glass given by the Fairfax family still remains in York Minster, and Thomas Fairfax prevented the destruction of the medieval glass of York during the English Civil War.⁷³ Hutton therefore had

⁶⁷ The relevant pages of the parliamentary rolls are published in Philip Morant, ed., *Rotuli Parliamentorum; Ut Et Petitiones, Et Placita In Parlamento. 3: Volume The Third*, (London, 1783), 604–07. For pardons, see Kew, The National Archives, SC 8/181/9031, & SC 8/186/9253; & *CPR 1405–8*, 70.

⁶⁸ Graham Parry, “Dodsworth, Roger,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008); & Clara Maria Barnett, “Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York” (PhD diss., University of York, 1997).

⁶⁹ Parry, “Dodsworth, Roger.”

⁷⁰ Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655).

⁷¹ Roger Dodsworth bequeathed his notes to Thomas Fairfax, who then left them to the Bodleian in 1673. Parry, “Dodsworth, Roger.”

⁷² Parry, “Dodsworth, Roger.”

⁷³ Sarah Brown, *York Minster: An Architectural History c.1220–1500* (English Heritage, 2003), 298.

family connections that may have stimulated his interest in local monuments.⁷⁴ He made notes on the churches of York which are now in the archive of York Minster (and replicated in a version in the British Library).⁷⁵ Contained in a small notebook, about A6 size, with somewhat damaged pages, the notes briefly describe the windows and tombstones that he found in the churches of the city, without sketching any of them. His work on All Saints, North Street, dated September 14, 1659, is brief but describes a large number of monuments and windows, focusing on those that had evidence to identify the donors. Hutton does not appear to have intended to publish any of his work; it survives only in manuscript form.

Henry Johnston's work provides the most useful description of the church of All Saints, North Street. Johnston grew up in West Yorkshire, the son of an Anglican clergyman.⁷⁶ There was a family tradition of antiquarianism, with his brother Nathaniel instigating Henry's investigations.⁷⁷ Johnston was also employed by the antiquary William Dugdale, formerly Dodsworth's collaborator, at the College of Heralds from 1666.⁷⁸ His survey of the monuments of the church of All Saints was conducted during his tour of Yorkshire from May 1669 to January 1671. The manuscript of Johnston's notes on Yorkshire is held by Oxford's Bodleian library (MS. Topographical Yorkshire c.14). It is a relatively small volume, perhaps intended to be easily transportable. The notes on All Saints, North Street detail Johnston's observations in no strict order; he appears to have discussed those monuments that interested him, or that he thought would interest the reader of his brother's work or perhaps his brother himself, rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive record of the church. For example, for much of the stained glass, the donor panels in the windows are sketched but the content of the main panels is neither described nor drawn. As such, Johnston's work provides a detailed and useful source for many individual monuments, but nothing can be inferred from what appears to be missing from his account.⁷⁹

James Torre was a contemporary of Henry Johnston. A native of Lincolnshire, he settled in York after finishing his education at Cambridge and the Inner Temple, London.⁸⁰ His

⁷⁴ Jan Broadway, "Hutton, Matthew," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton's Notes, 1659; & London, British Library, Landsdowne MS. 919, fols. 14v–15r.

⁷⁶ Geoffrey Scott, "Johnston, Henry," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁷ Scott, "Johnston, Henry."

⁷⁸ Scott, "Johnston, Henry."

⁷⁹ Scott, "Johnston, Henry."

⁸⁰ Jan Broadway, "Torre, James," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

manuscript, *Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York*, is held by York Minster.⁸¹ The manuscript consists of over five hundred pages organised into descriptions of the cathedral, city, and churches. He gave his work a name and a title page, suggesting that he considered it to be a coherent piece, though it was never published. The work on churches follows an extensive discussion of York Minster and the civic history of the city. Within the work on All Saints, North Street, the list of parish offices is prioritised. The work on windows comes at the end of the work, mentioning only the heraldry and details connected to it.⁸²

Thomas Gent was born in 1693 in Ireland, to an English father. After moving between Dublin, York, and London, he returned to York in 1724 to marry and take over a successful printing press. Six years later, he published his own topographical work, *The Antient [sic] and Modern History of the Famous City of York*. Unlike the work of the above antiquaries, his book was published during his lifetime. This may have been a result of his ownership of a printing press, but the book's popularity is indicated by the high number of subscribers.⁸³ Gent prioritises the history of the Minster, along with St Mary's Abbey and other religious institutions. The civic history of York and other Yorkshire towns is put at the end of his work, highlighting the concentration on religious history by the author. Furthermore, on the front cover, Holy Trinity Priory and York Minster frame a representation of the city. The spires and towers of the churches are prominent in the image, more so than the walls, bars (gates), or other high buildings, furthering the impression that the religious history of the city was more important than the civic aspect.⁸⁴ Gent also published on the antiquities of York Minster, and histories of the neighbouring towns of Hull and Ripon.⁸⁵

There were a number of other men whose work allows reconstruction of the appearance of the church. Francis Drake was a contemporary and rival of Thomas Gent. From 1730-36, Drake produced his *Eboracum*. This attempted a complete history of the city.⁸⁶ In it, All Saints, North Street is briefly discussed, noting its exceptional stained glass and architecture but giving few details. Nearly a century later, the artist Henry Cave made the earliest surviving image of the outside of the church.⁸⁷ This sketch was made from across North Street, next to the present site of the Radisson hotel, and shows much of the eastern and southern external fabric of the

⁸¹ MS. L1 (8).

⁸² MS. L1 (8), 624.

⁸³ H. R. Tedder, "Gent, Thomas," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁸⁴ Thomas Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York* (York, 1730), cover page.

⁸⁵ Thomas Gent, *Annales Regioduni Hullini: or, the History of the Royal and Beautiful Town of Kingston upon-Hull* (York, 1735); & Thomas Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (York, 1733).

⁸⁶ Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (York, 1736).

⁸⁷ Barbara Wilson and Frances Mee, *The Medieval Parish Churches of York: The Pictorial Evidence* (Council for British Archaeology, 1998), 27-28.

church. Cave made no drawings of the interior, nor did he write a description to accompany his image.

In 1843, the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland commissioned John Browne to write notes on the stained glass of York's churches in preparation for their forthcoming meeting.⁸⁸ Browne's work provides a survey of the glass in All Saints, North Street at this time, focusing on the images in the main lights, but also mentioning donors and inscriptions. A generation later, the York glazier and painter John Ward Knowles (1838–1931) recorded the majority of the glass in the city's churches, including All Saints, North Street. He did not publish his work, but his notebooks (somewhat disordered) are currently held by York City Archives, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and date to between 1891 and 1915.⁸⁹ Knowles' work contains many sketches of parts of the All Saints glass, and he briefly describes all of the windows and their appearance in the late nineteenth century, though an exact date cannot be given.

Finally, in 1908, the Reverend Patrick Shaw, rector of the church 1904–56, wrote a richly illustrated history of All Saints, North Street. His book provides a detailed view of the church at this time.⁹⁰ It surveys the architecture, stained glass and tombstones. Shaw was enthusiastic about the Middle Ages, installing antiquities in All Saints to bring it to his ideal of a medieval church (what we might today call medievalism). With this in mind, an evaluation of the images in his book (drawn by Mabel Leaf and E. Ridsdale Tate) must acknowledge that certain aspects of the early twentieth-century church may have been either exaggerated or downplayed to fit a perceived medieval ideal. It would be impossible to say this would not happen in any volume, but Shaw's book was produced for subscribers, at least some of whom knew the church.⁹¹ It is therefore less likely to contain significant inaccuracies. An examination of objects from his book that survive to the present day concurs with Shaw's descriptions and the accompanying images.

E. A. Gee and Peter Newton both described and analysed the windows and monuments of the church before some of the modern restoration work was undertaken, providing an

⁸⁸ J. H. Parker and John Browne, "Architectural Notes of the Churches and Other Ancient Buildings in the City and Neighbourhood of York," in *Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County and City of York* (London, 1846).

⁸⁹ York, York City Archives, York Churches' Stained Glass, John Ward Knowles; London, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library, MSS 86. BB. 50–51: J. W. Knowles, *Stained Glass in the York Churches*, 2 vols, c. 1890–1920.

⁹⁰ Patrick Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street* (The Church Shop, 1908).

⁹¹ Shaw, *All Hallows*, iv–vi.

invaluable guide to the church in the early 1960s.⁹² Unfortunately, Newton's archive for All Saints, North Street has since been lost, but the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and Nikolaus Pevsner both include the church of All Saints, North Street in their surveys.⁹³ Further pictorial evidence comes from Historic England Archive's 1962 images, David O'Connor's 1975–77 photographs of the windows, and G. Plumb's early twenty-first-century visits.⁹⁴ There are therefore a number of valuable documents that can be used to reconstruct the fabric of the medieval church of All Saints, North Street. These are complemented and corroborated by the surviving medieval fabric.

2.2. The Fabric of All Saints, North Street

The church of All Saints, North Street is located on the south-west bank of the River Ouse, within the walls of the medieval city of York, and in what was previously the *colonia* of Roman Eboracum (Figure 3).⁹⁵ It sits approximately halfway between the two medieval, and likely pre-medieval, river crossings (in the fifteenth century, the Ouse Bridge and the Lendal ferry). There may have been a Roman and early medieval church on the site,⁹⁶ but the earliest documentary evidence of the church is from ca. 1166–79, when it was confirmed in two charters by King Henry II and Pope Alexander III as having been given to the Priory of Holy Trinity, a Benedictine house less than a kilometre away.⁹⁷ As there was a church to give, it is safe to assume a pre-1179 foundation. Regrettably, considering the topic of this dissertation, the church does not appear in the Domesday Book.⁹⁸

⁹² E. A. Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 151–202; & E. A. Gee, "The Roofs of All Saints, North Street, York," *York Historian*, no. 3 (1980): 1–6.

⁹³ RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume III: South-west of the Ouse* (Stationery Office Books, 1972), 3–10; & Nikolaus Pevsner, Bridget Cherry, John Hutchinson, John Hurworth, Ben Johnson, David Neave, Susan Neave, David O'Connor, and John Whitwell, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (Yale University Press, 1995), 157–59.

⁹⁴ These are available online; <https://www.cvma.ac.uk>.

⁹⁵ David Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 15.

⁹⁶ For the continuous occupation of the site (Wellington Row archaeological site) see Cecily A. Spall and Nicola J. Toop. "Before Eoforwic: New Light on York in the 6th–7th Centuries," *Medieval Archaeology* 52, no. 1 (2008): 18.

⁹⁷ An exact date cannot be specified due to no year being given in either the charter of King Henry or that of Pope Alexander; William Farrer and Charles Clay, ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters VI* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1939), 76–79; & 84–86.

⁹⁸ A church of All Saints, in the gift of the Bishop of Durham, does appear in the Domesday Book. Based on its subsequent history, this refers to the church of All Saints, Pavement. For the relevant Domesday entries, see Kew, The National Archives, E 31/2/1/139, fol. 298r.

2.2.1. The Walls and Ground Plan

The earliest surviving fabric concurs with a twelfth-century date. A column in the nave and dendrochronology from several of the timbers in the north aisle have been dated to ca.1150–1200.⁹⁹ This places it within the approximate time (at the latest point) of the Great Building of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries when, in the fifty years either side of 1100, most English medieval parish churches appear to have been constructed in stone, replacing supposed wooden structures.¹⁰⁰

The use of a Roman column in the building could also plausibly be dated to this time, as the reuse of Roman material in churches was common in Yorkshire during the eleventh century, although it does begin to decline in the twelfth century.¹⁰¹ All Saints would have needed to be rebuilt if it had been destroyed in the fire of 1137, which is thought to have destroyed most of York. However, Christopher Norton has cast doubt on the existence of this fire, suggesting that it is a misreading of a source.¹⁰² Norton also tentatively suggests that several churches in York could have been newly consecrated at this time, potentially including All Saints, North Street and giving an indication of its foundation date, although this is speculative.¹⁰³

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments believed that All Saints, North Street was expanded in a series of stages between the late eleventh century and ca.1450, with transepts added in the early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ More recently, Lawrence Butler dismissed this

⁹⁹ Swindon, English Heritage Archive, The Notes of the Royal Commission of Historical Monuments' Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York South-west of the Ouse, XII.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Gem, "The English Parish Church in the 11th and Early 12th Centuries: a Great Rebuilding?" in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 23; & David Stocker and Paul Everson, "Rubbish Recycled: a Study of the Re-Use of Stone in Lincolnshire," in *Stone Quarrying and Building in England AD 43–1525*, ed. David Parsons (Phillimore, 1990), 83–101. In York, see Palliser, *Medieval York*, 123; & Richard Morris, "Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the 11th and 12th Centuries," in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 197. An extensive building project by the Priory of Holy Trinity, including the churches it owned the advowsons of, may be supported by the earliest fabric surviving from the priory from ca.1170–80; David Stocker, "The Priory of the Holy Trinity, York: Antiquarians and Architectural History," in *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture, from the 7th to 16th Centuries*, ed. Lawrence R. Hoey (W.S. Maney, 1995), 85.

¹⁰¹ Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (Phoenix, 1989), 302; & Jessica Knowles, "Heritage and Symbolism: The Romans and Tanners in Fourteenth-Century York," in *Fourteenth Century England IX* (Boydell and Brewer, 2016), 67–86.

¹⁰² Christopher Norton, "The York Fire of 1137: Conflagration or Consecration," *Northern History* (1998): 204.

¹⁰³ Norton, "The York Fire of 1137: Conflagration or Consecration," 203.

¹⁰⁴ RCHM, *York: Volume III*, 3.

interpretation as overly complicated and implausible in the context of other expansions.¹⁰⁵ He proposes a simpler sequence of six stages. In the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the church had a small nave and a slightly narrower chancel. The nave was then expanded outwards into three aisles in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and a narrow south choir for the chancel was added in around 1312, then expanded to its current state about eight years later. The north chancel chapel was added around 1325. In the early fifteenth century, the nave was expanded to the west and the current walls of the aisles were built with their square headed windows by ca.1420 (Figure 6).¹⁰⁶

Interestingly, and pertinent to later arguments in this dissertation, the church does not face directly east. Instead, it faces east-northeast. Almost all of the surviving medieval churches of York are built on roughly the same orientation, somewhere between north-east and east-north-east.¹⁰⁷ It has been suggested that this was due to an east-west misalignment of the original structure of York Minster, a misalignment that was corrected when the Minster was rebuilt in stone, but remained the orientation of those parish churches that had followed the original orientation of the Minster, which had in its turn followed the alignment of the Roman fortress.¹⁰⁸ However, it is more likely that, as seen elsewhere, All Saints church was built deliberately to face slightly northeast, to better catch the sun at significant points of the liturgical year.¹⁰⁹

A fourteenth-century expansion of the church can be seen in the style of both the stonework and the glass in the windows. Although much restored, the stonework of the windows in the church's eastern wall and the eastern window of the north wall have intricate tracery and trefoil arches in the Decorated style, supporting an early to mid-fourteenth-century date.¹¹⁰ Two of these windows also contain glass that is likely to originally date from the mid-

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Butler, "All Saints Church, North Street, York: a New Analysis of its Structural Development," *York Historian* 29 (2012): 4.

¹⁰⁶ Butler, "All Saints Church, North Street, York," 4–5. For a recent evaluation of church rebuilding in this period, see Gabriel Byng, "The 'Great Rebuilding' of the Late Middle Ages: Revising the *longue durée* History of the Gothic Parish Church," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 29–37. Byng suggests that church rebuilding post-plague across England has been over-estimated. However, All Saints, North Street (and many of the churches in York), certainly did see substantial building work.

¹⁰⁷ For the most extreme example, see St Mary Bishophill Junior which faces almost north. St Martin, Micklegate, and All Saints Pavement are closer to an eastern orientation, but still face east-north-east.

¹⁰⁸ Palliser, *Medieval York*, 122.

¹⁰⁹ For this theory elsewhere, see Anna Adashinskaya, "Illuminated by Divine Presence: Natural Light in the Katholikon at Dečani Monastery," in *Natural Light in Medieval Churches*, ed. Vladimir Ivanovici and Alice Isabella Sullivan (Brill, 2023), 21.

¹¹⁰ Pevsner et al., *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 158. For the eastern window of the north aisle, see the following paragraph.

fourteenth century.¹¹¹ Documentary evidence supports this dating; the establishment of John Benge's chantry in the Lady Chapel in the early fourteenth century indicates a possible expansion around then to facilitate the necessary daily services.¹¹² Whilst wills do not survive from this period to provide further corroboration, the concurrence of the stonework style, age of the glass and documentary evidence strongly suggests that the church had reached its present eastern end by the mid-fourteenth century.

One oddity has yet to be solved by any of these explanations: the curtailed tracery in the eastern window in the north wall (Figure 7) and a corresponding 1730 description of a "little North East window" for the northern window in the east wall.¹¹³ The current Decorated windows in the eastern wall are all the same size (Figure 8), and none could reasonably be described as little. However, a window with the fifteenth-century square-head seen elsewhere in the church (Figure 9), or a fourteenth-century, non-traceried style corresponding to the establishment of the Benge chantry in 1325 would fit Gent's 1730 description. The Joys of the Virgin glass, likely to have been in this position at the east end of the Lady Chapel, would fit into a smaller window, considering the amount of white glass in its current form (Figure 10). Unfortunately, Gent did not draw any part of the church and the first sketches of the eastern end, made ninety and a hundred years later, show the eastern windows as they are now.¹¹⁴ These windows were rebuilt in 1867, removing any architectural evidence of a medieval or early modern provenance.¹¹⁵

A solution to this curtailed tracery and little window lies in a separate roof over the North Chapel built on a north-south axis. If this were originally the case, the current Fifteen Last Days with its glass-filled tracery would have formed the gable wall, and the eastern window would have been originally shorter to fit with a lower roof-level.¹¹⁶ The alteration of the current appearance of the eastern end could have been made in the latter two thirds of the eighteenth century, between Gent's 1730 visit and Cave's 1820 sketch. One strong potential indication does survive of this; in 1741, a Mr. Swann was paid £1 6s. for "removing [a] church

¹¹¹ Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 167–68.

¹¹² RCHM, *York: Volume III*, 10.

¹¹³ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

¹¹⁴ Wilson and Mee, *The Medieval Parish Churches of York*, 28.

¹¹⁵ Shaw, *All Hallows*, 15.

¹¹⁶ Shaw conjectures that the stonework currently containing the Fifteen Last Days window was originally built into the west end of the church. He suggests it was moved to its current position when the north aisle was rebuilt in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century; Shaw, *All Hallows*, 15. This possibility does not affect the following argument.

window”.¹¹⁷ Later in the same year, 7s. 6d. was paid for a window and frame.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, the churchwardens’ accounts recording this do not specify exactly which windows were restored, neither do they say whether the removed window refers to just the glass or the stonework too.¹¹⁹ If it were the stonework, this could indicate the replacement of the north aisle’s east window. With regards to the Fifteen Last Days’ curtailed tracery, Johnston’s 1669 sketch of the glass and an 1831 drawing of the outside of the church both show the tracery in full. Therefore, the top of this window is likely to have been reduced during a nineteenth-century renovation, perhaps in 1886/7, cutting off the top of the Fifteen Last Days window when the rest of the glass was restored. Yet, in absence of strong evidence with which to solve this problem, the above scheme must remain only a suggestion.

All Saints, North Street had, and still has, three aisles, each of which can be divided into a choir area at the eastern end, and nave aisles to the west.¹²⁰ In the early fifteenth century, there were six easily identifiable areas of the church: the chancel, the nave, the chapel of the Virgin, the chapel of St Thomas, the chapel of St James, and the chapel of Sts Katherine and Nicholas (Figure 11). In 1407, William Vescy’s will specifies that there was an altar of St Thomas the Martyr; in 1410, Adam del Banke left 20 marks to repairing the altar of St James; the altars of St Katherine and St Nicholas in the south aisle also appear in wills, and, as mentioned above, there was an early fourteenth-century chantry at the altar of the Virgin.¹²¹

The rebuilding of the north and south walls of the church appears to have begun at the end of the fourteenth century, but the documentary evidence for a firm set of dates is slight, with only one reference in a will of 1395 referring to the new fabric.¹²² The majority of the evidence for the rebuilding is architectural, particularly the style of the stonework around the windows. As described by Laurence Butler, the aisle walls were probably completed in the first two decades of the fifteenth century.¹²³ In 1407, William Vescy left 100 shillings to the ornamentation of the choir, suggesting that at least one section of the eastern end of the church was complete enough inside to be watertight and worthy of liturgical attention.¹²⁴ As he also

¹¹⁷ PR/Y/ASN, 36.

¹¹⁸ PR/Y/ASN, 36. This is a small amount, but the record need not show all of the window’s costs. For example, the stone and/or glass could have been donated by a wealthy parishioner and so would not appear in the churchwardens’ list of sums of money paid.

¹¹⁹ PR/Y/ASN, 36.

¹²⁰ The antiquarians are clear and consistent in their divisions between the aisle and quire. It can therefore be assumed that either screens or evidence of them remained into the seventeenth century.

¹²¹ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266; MS. H2/1; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 510; & *CPR 1324–27*, 31.

¹²² Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 66.

¹²³ Butler, “All Saints Church, North Street, York,” 4.

¹²⁴ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266.

left to the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in the north aisle, it may have been the north wall that was finished. In 1410, Adam del Banke's 20 marks left to the altar of St James and finishing the window above it suggests that the walls were complete enough in the south aisle for windows to be inserted.¹²⁵ The stonemason Hugh Grantham's 1410 inventory entry referring to finishing a window in the church corroborates this.¹²⁶ However, these references need not indicate that the entire church was complete; the widening of the north and south chancel areas may have been finished before the rebuilding of their corresponding aisles, or vice versa, and it is certainly possible that the north and south nave walls were not built at exactly the same time.¹²⁷ However, the design of most of the aisle windows is indicative of the early fifteenth century, with five cusps at the top of the lights and no tracery (Figure 9).¹²⁸ The exception to this is the Fifteen Last Days window, with its fourteenth-century tracery (the uncertain provenance of which was described above).

The western expansion of the church is likely to have been completed no more than a couple of decades later as the style of the tracery in the windows of the western wall is indicative of the mid-fifteenth century.¹²⁹ This dating can be more precisely pinned down using the documentary evidence. In 1425, the suffragan Bishop of Dromore was instructed to enquire into the life and condition of Emma Raughton, who wished to be enclosed as an anchorite in All Saints, North Street.¹³⁰ The testamentary evidence shows that Raughton was enclosed by 1430 at the latest and material evidence of her anchorhold remains in the west wall of the church in the form of two squints.¹³¹ As the anchorhold is likely to have been completed before enclosure proceedings were opened, and the style of the windows suggests mid-fifteenth century, a date of ca.1425 for the western end of All Saints, North Street is likely.

There is a substantial amount of medieval woodwork surviving in the church, including thirty-eight carved wooden angels on the roofs of the chancel, north and south choir. Most of these are placed on the end of the hammerbeams, but two are carved onto roof bosses. The

¹²⁵ MS. H2/1, fol. 2r.

¹²⁶ MS. L2/4, fols. 154v–155v.

¹²⁷ For this in the context of the much better documented late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century rebuilding of York Minster, see Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 139–40.

¹²⁸ Pevsner et al., *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 158. Similar examples can be found elsewhere in churches in York of an early fifteenth-century date, see RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume V: the Central Area* (Stationery Office Books, 1972), 13 (St Cuthbert's) & 1–2 (All Saints Pavement).

¹²⁹ For this style, see Christopher Wilson, "'Excellent, New and Uniforme': Perpendicular Architecture c.1400–1547," in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, ed. Richard Marks, Paul Williamson, and Eleanor Townsend (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003).

¹³⁰ Joan Kirby, ed., *The York Sede Vacante Register 1423–1426: a Calendar* (Borthwick Publications, 2009), 55.

¹³¹ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 510.

bosses also show the head of the Redeemer, closest to the east wall of the chancel, followed by an angel holding a shield, an eagle, the head of lion, the figure of a man, and two grotesque heads.¹³² There is also a late fifteenth-century misericord carved with a pelican in piety. The current wooden choir screen is a medievalism, made in 1906.¹³³

There are many aspects of the physical appearance of this church that cannot be established. The church would have been divided into different spaces by screens, each of which would likely be decorated with images and carvings of saints and angels, but nothing of these screens survives.¹³⁴ Likewise, the walls of the church would have been painted with scenes from saints' lives or other holy stories, whilst richly decorated statues of saints are likely to have been found on the inside and the outside of the building.¹³⁵ Mentions of a St Christopher image painted onto a pillar in the nave survive to indicate the decoration of fifteenth-century All Saints, North Street (this painting was found in the early twentieth century, but no longer survives) and the remains of a statue of the Virgin Mary are now on display in the north choir.¹³⁶ Finally, the altars of the church would have been adorned with statues, liturgical plate and precious cloth, with these changing as the liturgical year progressed.¹³⁷

After the fifteenth-century rebuilding, the church remained relatively unchanged until the nineteenth century.¹³⁸ Some work appears to have been undertaken during the Reformation, with two fonts later found buried and the remains of a statue walled up in the church.¹³⁹ One of the altar stones may also have been initially buried, but it had been uncovered by the late

¹³² For shields on roof bosses elsewhere, see John Schofield, "Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: The Archaeological Evidence," in *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600*, ed. Gary Gibbs, Katherine French and Beat Kümin (Manchester University Press, 1997), 41.

¹³³ "Building record MYO1056 – All Saints Church, North Street," York Historic Environment Record, last modified May 12 2020 5:07PM (BST), <https://her.york.gov.uk/Monument/MYO1056>.

¹³⁴ See the surviving fifteenth-century choir screens, for example in St Edmund, Southwold, Suffolk; Nigel Morgan, "Texts, Contexts and Images of the Orders of Angels in Late Medieval England," in *Glas, Malerei. Forschung: internationale Studien zu ehren von Rüdiger Becksmann*, ed. Hartmut Scholz, Ivo Rauch and Daniel Hess (Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2004), 216. In cathedrals, see J. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca.1200–1400* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 33; & Laura Slater, "Visual Reflections on History and Kingship in the Medieval English Great Church," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 167, no. 1 (2014): 83–108.

¹³⁵ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Sutton Publishing, 2004), 86; M. D. Anderson, *The Imagery of British Churches* (John Murray, 1955) 40; & French, *The People of the Parish*, 200. For an example in one church, see Mellie Naydenova-Slade, "Late Medieval Holy Kinship Images and Family Commemoration: the Evidence from Thornhill, West Yorkshire and Latton, Essex," in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Clive Burgess (Shaun Tyas, 2008), 226–27.

¹³⁶ Shaw, *All Hallows*, 16.

¹³⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 25; & French, *The People of the Parish*, 187.

¹³⁸ The insertion of a new window into the east wall as detailed above may be an exception to this.

¹³⁹ Charles Kerry, "History and Antiquities of All Saints' Church, North-street, York," *Associated Architectural Societies: Reports and Papers* 9 (1867): 62.

sixteenth century when it was reused as the tombstone of the rector John Stoppard (d. 1593).¹⁴⁰ A considerable amount of work was done in 1867, with the south wall rebuilt, paving rearranged, and the east windows rebuilt.¹⁴¹ A door in the wall was moved and tombstones found buried there were moved to the new porch.¹⁴² The nineteenth century also saw a considerable amount of work carried out in the glass. Most of the windows were restored by either by the William Wailes (1808–81) or by Knowles, and sections were moved between windows.¹⁴³ The tombstones were again moved when the floor was redone in 1866/7.¹⁴⁴ Finally, the chancel roof was repainted by Knowles. The extent to which any medieval paint was removed in this restoration is unknown.¹⁴⁵ In the twenty-first century, work continues, most recently with the 2023 repainting of the chancel roof. In summary, the current fabric of the church of All Saints, North Street dates from between ca.1150 and the present day.¹⁴⁶ Most of the current stonework dates from ca.1395-1425, with the south wall rebuilt in the nineteenth century.

2.3. The Stained Glass

The windows in All Saints, North Street have been restored many times. Churchwardens' accounts record old glass being re-leaded, for example in 1764, and, as explained later in this chapter, several windows appear to have been significantly damaged between 1618 and 1659, possibly during the Siege of York in 1644. The nineteenth-century restorations are easier to follow. In 1843, Wailes undertook a restoration of the two fourteenth-century windows of the church and parts of the St Anne window.¹⁴⁷ These three windows show the distinctive green of Victorian restorers as well as a black paint that appears red on the outside of the glass. In 1861, four of the fifteenth-century windows were restored by Knowles.¹⁴⁸ This restoration was more

¹⁴⁰ MS. L1 (8), 622.

¹⁴¹ Shaw, *All Hallows*, 16; RCHM, *York: Volume III*, 6; & York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, Faculty Papers 1886/1, All Saints, North Street.

¹⁴² RCHM, *York: Volume III*, 6.

¹⁴³ Stained Glass in the York Churches, 16.

¹⁴⁴ Kerry, "History and Antiquities," 67.

¹⁴⁵ Gee, "The Roofs of All Saints, North Street," 1–6.

¹⁴⁶ To be absolutely precise, the oldest part of the fabric of the church is a Roman pillar, but this is likely to have been first used inside the church in the fourteenth century; Knowles, "Heritage and Symbolism," 67–86.

¹⁴⁷ Stained Glass in the York Churches, 16.

¹⁴⁸ These restorations are not recorded in Knowles' notebooks (although obliquely referred to on page 24) but are recorded in the captions to the Revelation and Fifteen Last Days window; York Churches' Stained Glass; & Stained Glass in the York Churches. These restorations were to some extent based upon the earlier work of antiquarians. Manuscripts held in York Minster Library (Hutton's and Torre's) appear to have been easy to access and likely influenced any work done on the windows, particularly the late nineteenth-century restorations by John Ward Knowles. Whilst it is difficult to be certain which documents the restorers had access to, Patrick Shaw

subtle than Wailes' earlier work, with the clothing of the figures particularly well done. However, it has several identifying features. The clear glass used by Knowles has a pink tint, whilst the medieval white glass looks slightly green. Two of these restorations are also easy to identify from the text at the bottom of the window (the Revelation and the Fifteen Last Days windows), and the same pinkish glass is also found in the alb of the archbishop in the St Thomas window.¹⁴⁹ A major restoration was undertaken between 1961 and 1966. This was concentrated on the reconstruction of the Nine Orders of Angels window, but other windows were re-leaded, cleaned and repaired.¹⁵⁰ Between 2021 and 2024, the windows were restored by Barley Studios, adding glass that recreates the supposed medieval appearance of the window.¹⁵¹

As said before, there are two surviving fourteenth-century windows in the church, one showing the Crucifixion and the other scenes from the life of the Virgin.¹⁵² Much of their current appearance is a result of nineteenth-century restorations. A window displaying coats of arms is currently in the north aisle of the church, in the second window from the west (nII),¹⁵³ and there are three other windows in the church with the square-headed fifteenth-century stonework but containing very little medieval glass. There are also three sets of early fifteenth-century canopies that do not currently surmount medieval glass, suggesting that the canopies and stonework originally surrounded three lost medieval windows. Many medieval fragments have been collected in the central window of the west wall of the church. These west windows

quotes from James Torre whilst Knowles refers to Matthew Hutton; Shaw, *All Hallows*, 51; & Stained Glass in the York Churches. The extent of any knowledge of Dodsworth's manuscripts in the Bodleian is more difficult to establish, but his fame suggests that restorers would have been aware of his observations even if they did not directly consult his manuscripts. For knowledge about Dodsworth and his manuscripts, see Parry, "Dodsworth, Roger." However, neither of the nineteenth-century restorers appear to have been aware of Henry Johnston's unpublished notes. This manuscript was re-discovered by John Harvey in the twentieth century; York Civic Trust, *Annual Report 1961* (York Civic Trust, 1961), 17.

¹⁴⁹ In the St Michael window, this reads: "This old window was restored at his own expense by Robert Whytehead rector of this parish, year of our Lord, 1861" (*Hac fenestra antiqua suis impensis refecit Robertus Whytehead hujus parochiae rector An[n]o D[o]m[i]ni 1861*). In the Fifteen Last Days window: "This ancient window, damaged due to weather, was restored in the year of our Lord 1861" (*Haec fenestra vetustate eresa aere collato restituta est. An[n]o D[o]m[i]ni 1861*).

¹⁵⁰ York Civic Trust, *Annual Report 1961*, 12; & York Civic Trust, *Annual Report 1966* (York Civic Trust, 1966), 17.

¹⁵¹ "All Saints North Street celebrates completion of four-year major restoration works," Diocese of York, 23.10.2024 <https://dioceseofyork.org.uk/all-saints-north-street-celebrates-completion-of-four-year-major-restoration-works>.

¹⁵² Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 167–68; & Shaw, *All Hallows*, 29; They are currently in the east windows of the north and south choirs and are likely to have originally been in the east wall of the church, although not necessarily in these positions Gent, *Antient York*, 163; Parker and Browne, "Architectural Notes," 5–6; York Churches' Stained Glass; & Shaw, *All Hallows*, 29 & 31.

¹⁵³ It contains the arms of seven families, including those of the king of England, for full details see Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 166. For the provenance of the shields, see Stained Glass in the York Churches, 21.

may never have been filled with coloured glass as there appear to have been problems paying for the new roofs at around the same time as the stonework was designed.¹⁵⁴

The windows are a combination of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century glass, augmented by modern replacements and restorations. The final section of this chapter provides a brief survey of the fifteenth-century non-apocalyptic windows installed during the tenure of James Baguley, parish priest 1413–40. The provenance of the fifteenth-century apocalyptic windows will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

2.3.1. The Corporal Acts of Mercy Window (nIV, originally nVI)¹⁵⁵

The Corporal Acts of Mercy window was given by the mercantile Blackburn family, active in York in the late fourteenth and early to mid-fifteenth centuries and providing the city with mayors, members of parliament, and aldermen.¹⁵⁶ They are commemorated in the window with heraldry, an inscription and a kneeling donor figure. The window has six main panels showing a middle-aged man performing his charitable duties, as well as three lower panels which currently show three donor figures and a central panel of suns on a blue background (Figure 12). The original donor panels from this window have not survived, apart from a few fragments found elsewhere in the church (Figure 13). However, the antiquarian sources provide evidence of the original appearance of the fifteenth-century window.

In 1618, the antiquarian Roger Dodsworth visited the church of All Saints, North Street. Unfortunately, many of the notes he made on that visit were subsequently destroyed by rain whilst being moved from York to Oxford, but those that do survive cover this window. Dodsworth recorded a crest of a red shield with a black and white checked lion with a golden crown, and, on the shield, another lion, also black and white checked.¹⁵⁷ This heraldry was

¹⁵⁴ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 154 (John Sharpe, 1444).

¹⁵⁵ The letter and numeral combination used throughout this dissertation to refer to windows is that of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi. The letter refers to the aisle in which the window is found ('n' for north or 's' for south) and the numeral to the position from east to west (i.e. II is the furthest east). 'I' usually refers to the east window of a church or cathedral. Lowercase 'n' or 's' refers to the lower position in the wall and 'N' or 'S' would usually be the clerestory window in the same position, i.e. SII is the window above sII.

¹⁵⁶ The Blackburn family has been the subject of considerable interest to historians of late medieval York. See Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere," in *Household, Women, and Christianities: In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Brepols, 2005); P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, and Arlyn Diamond (Brepols, 2000), 217–36; Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 303; & Palliser, *Medieval York*, 200, 207, 217, 219, 223–24 & 232.

¹⁵⁷ Dodsworth's full record is "a crest of G[ules] a lyon rampant checqui ermine and ermines crowned or, on a helme Ar[gent] a chapeau g[ules] doubled Ar[gent] on a lyon passt. checqui ermine and ermines crowned or, mantled gu[les], doubled ar[gent]"; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17r. Four decades later,

ascribed to Nicholas Blackburn of York in ca.1460 and is the same as that recorded in the St Anne window.¹⁵⁸ Underneath the crest, Dodsworth recorded “pray for the soul of Nicholas Blackburn, may God have mercy on his soul” (*Orate pro anima Nicholai Blakborne cuius anime propicietur deus*).¹⁵⁹ Dodsworth also records, next to the crest on the left, a “Blakburn port[rait]”. In 1659, Matthew Hutton recorded the same arms but not the figure. Henry Johnston sketched the panel ten years later with the crest but no figure (Figure 14). In 1691, Torre recorded “a picture of Blakburn in armour kneeling”.¹⁶⁰ In 1736, Drake wrote much the same: “In the north isle window by the door, by a portrait of Blackburn, in armour kneeling, is this escutcheon: Gules, a lion rampant checky ermine and sable crowned or”.¹⁶¹ The window therefore originally had an image of a donor figure in armour kneeling, with an inscription and heraldry identifying him as Nicholas Blackburn. There is no indication in the recorded inscription that the window had more than one donor figure.

The main panels of this window are not recorded by any of the seventeenth-century antiquarians. However, in 1730, Gent wrote of “resemblances of feeding the Hungry, cloathing the Naked, relieving those in Prison, giving Drink to the Thirsty, entertaining Strangers and visiting the Sick”.¹⁶² The subject is taken from Matthew 25:35–36 (“For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you clothed me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me”).¹⁶³ The content of these descriptions is the same as the current imagery, but the order is different. The panels may have been disturbed during Wailes’ work in the church.¹⁶⁴ When Knowles undertook the first attributable restoration of this window in 1861, he did very little work on it, although he may have reordered the panels to agree with the biblical order of the acts.¹⁶⁵ The

Hutton gave a less detailed explanation of “gu[les] a (lion rampant sketched) checky et. Ers. crowned or, the crest a (lion passant sketched) checky erm. ers. upon a chapeau”; York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 25. In 1669, Johnston drew an image matching the previous descriptions, also in a north aisle window; MS. Top. Yorks., 185. For consideration of the significance of heraldic shields and their tinctures in connection with the apocalypse, Book of Revelation, and Heavenly Jerusalem, see Madeline H. Caviness, “Angels, Gems, and Shields of the Valiant,” in *Licht(t)räume: Festschrift für Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Katharina Georgi, Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, Eva Scheiwiller-Lorber and Angela Schiffhauer (Michael Imhof, 2016), 40

¹⁵⁸ D.H.B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, vol. 1 (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1992), 172.

¹⁵⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17r; Johnston says ‘Blakburne’ was written underneath; MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

¹⁶⁰ MS. L1 (8), 624.

¹⁶¹ Drake, *Eboracum*, 276–77.

¹⁶² Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

¹⁶³ Translation taken from, Andrea M. Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 6, *The New Testament* (Harvard University Press, 2013), 149.

¹⁶⁴ Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 6.

¹⁶⁵ Stained Glass in the York Churches, 26–30.

window was protected in the twentieth century with plating over the medieval glass, but the majority of the current appearance of individual panels remains fifteenth-century.

In 1691, Torre put the Blackburn donor panel “by the door”.¹⁶⁶ Dodsworth and Johnston both recorded it in the north aisle and Hutton puts it first in his list of the north windows.¹⁶⁷ Hutton and Johnston both list it next to the Bawtre donor panel, but there could have been another window between them. Gent and Drake agree with Torre, with Gent putting the Acts of Mercy in the first window north-west and Drake echoing Torre’s words.¹⁶⁸ If we accept that these donor panels were originally with the main lights of this window, it can be located in the north aisle, in the two-light window opposite the current door and next to an older entrance, now largely unused.¹⁶⁹

The exact donor figure cannot be determined with certainty, but that heraldry identifies him as a member of the Blackburn family.¹⁷⁰ Nicholas Blackburn senior was Admiral of the North in 1406-7 and Mayor of York in 1412.¹⁷¹ He moved to the parish of All Saints, North Street sometime after 1405 and by his death in 1432 was probably the richest man in York, leaving over £600 in cash bequests alone.¹⁷² Margaret Blackburn senior, his wife, was the sister of the merchant and Mayor of York, William Ormshead (Figure 15).¹⁷³ She had at least seven children and it has been recently argued that she was the original patron of the Bolton Hours, a fifteenth-century book of hours from York discussed later in this dissertation.¹⁷⁴ Her son Nicholas Blackburn junior (died 1447) was also a merchant and mayor.¹⁷⁵ He became Sheriff of York in

¹⁶⁶ MS. L1 (8), fol. 624.

¹⁶⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17r; MS. Top. Yorks., 185; & York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26.

¹⁶⁸ Gent, *Antient York*, 163; & Drake, *Eboracum*, 276.

¹⁶⁹ In 1969, Gee said it was in this window “until before 1846” and, more recently, Barnett and Pedersen agree with this positioning. Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 167; Barnett, “Memorials and Commemoration,” 250; Pedersen, “Piety and Charity,” 38; & Badham, “Commemoration in Brass and Glass,” 75. The main light Corporal Acts of Mercy glass and the Blackburn donor panels have been previously unanimously placed together (as in the citations above). However, there is no clear evidence that links the two. The likely position of both the main lights and the donor panels by the door is the strongest evidence that the Blackburns gave this window.

¹⁷⁰ Gee dated the window to either ca. 1410 or ca. 1430–35, both periods when both Nicholas Blackburns were active in the city; Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 162.

¹⁷¹ Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 335.

¹⁷² It should here be clarified that the Blackburn family were originally from Richmond in North Yorkshire (around 80 kilometres north of York). There were other families at this point in York with the surname Blackburn in various forms, likely having moved to the city from the then village of Blackburn in Lancashire (around 110 kilometres west of the city).

¹⁷³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

¹⁷⁴ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572; & Cullum and Goldberg, “How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters,” 222–25. For the Bolton Hours belonging to any elite family in the neighbourhood, see Rees Jones and Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York,” 248.

¹⁷⁵ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 270.

1423 and mayor in 1429.¹⁷⁶ His wealth on his death is difficult to establish as his will refers in general terms to his properties and goods, but his bequests of at least three properties are suggestive of substantial riches.¹⁷⁷ His wife was also called Margaret Blackburn. Her natal family is not known, and her will does not survive, but her marriage to the son of one of the wealthiest men in the city suggests she likewise came from an elite family. Her probate was administered in 1453.¹⁷⁸ Of her six children, it is not known how many survived to adulthood. However, at least two were dead by 1447 when Nicholas Blackburn junior asked to be buried at the east end of All Saints, North Street, near where his children were buried.¹⁷⁹ No records of wills of their (adult) children survive from York, and they cannot be found in national records.

The figures in the surviving glass, both the merchant in the main lights and the knight below, are presented as relatively old, with long beards, perhaps suggesting it is the senior of the two Nicholas Blackburns known to have been parishioners at All Saints, North Street depicted in the glass. It is also possible, considering there is no mention of a mayoralty (see the inscriptions in the St Anne window below) that this Nicholas Blackburn is the father of Nicholas Blackburn senior, commemorated here by his son and grandson. Due to this uncertainty, the window will be treated in this dissertation as a gift of the Blackburn family rather than as commemoration of either Nicholas Blackburn senior or junior.

2.3.2. St Anne Window (I, originally nIV)

The east window of the church currently contains images of St Anne with the Virgin, St John the Baptist, and St Christopher with the Christ child in the main lights and, in the lower lights, the Trinity and four members of the Blackburn family, the donors of the window (Figure 16). Donorship of this glass has previously been attributed to Nicholas Blackburn senior on the basis that the date of his mayoralty is recorded in the inscription,¹⁸⁰ but is equally likely to have been the gift of his wife Margaret or his son Nicholas Blackburn junior, merchant and Mayor of York. It is most likely considering that all are depicted as donors, to be a collective gift from the family. The window has been heavily restored, but much of the glass in the main lights is original and the Blackburn connection frequently excited the interest of antiquarians, allowing

¹⁷⁶ He may have married twice, but his potential first wife is more likely to have been married to another Nicholas Blackburn of York.

¹⁷⁷ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168.

¹⁷⁸ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 290.

¹⁷⁹ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168.

¹⁸⁰ Badham, "Commemoration in Brass and Glass," 73; & Pedersen, "Piety and Charity," 38.

a reconstruction of the over-restored lower panels.¹⁸¹ The Blackburn connection has also interested historians. However, their work suffers from a lack of analysis of the provenance of the window and conclusions based upon the surviving (nineteenth-century) glass.¹⁸²

The main panels of the window have survived remarkably well. Gee believed that for this window “the painted glass is virtually intact except for the donors”.¹⁸³ The records of the early visits of antiquarians do not include the subjects of the window, concentrating instead on the lower panels and their donor figures. In 1730, Gent described all the panels in their medieval position in the north aisle, one window to the west of the Fifteen Last Days.¹⁸⁴ He writes of “St. John, St. Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin, St. Christopher and the Holy Trinity”, a description that remains constant through the centuries, reinforcing the likelihood of a medieval provenance.¹⁸⁵ In 1846, Browne wrote that “the three principal subjects represented are St. John the Baptist, St. Ann instructing the Blessed Virgin and St. Christopher bearing the Divine Infant” and, later in the same century or early in the twentieth-century, Knowles saw “St. Ann teaching the virgin to read” in the centre panel, St John the Baptist to the north and “St. Christopher with the child Christ on his shoulders” in the southern panel.¹⁸⁶ In the glass as it is today, St Anne teaches the Virgin to read in the centre light whilst to their right, St John the Baptist holds a book on which sits the Agnus Dei. In the third panel, St Christopher holds the Christ Child on his shoulders whilst crossing water.

The window has however been moved from its original position in the north choir, and is now found in the east window of the church.¹⁸⁷ In 1618, Dodsworth put the donor figures “in the north window of the choir”, whilst Hutton suggests, by his placement, that they were between the St Thomas and Fifteen Last Days windows (nIV).¹⁸⁸ In 1669, Johnston wrote that it was “the next window lower” after the Hesyl donor group (see Chapter 3) and, twenty years later, Torre put it in the “north choir side window”.¹⁸⁹ Thus, the glass was consistently placed

¹⁸¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17. This is the only window for which Dodsworth’s notes survive, the donors are also recorded by Hutton, Johnston, Torre and Gent; York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26; MS. Top. Yorks., 185; MS. L1 (8), 625; & Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

¹⁸² Barnett, “Memorials and Commemoration,” 194; & Pedersen, “Piety and Charity,” 34.

¹⁸³ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 153. An analysis of the current glass supports this conclusion, with some of it plated and much of it showing an uneven surface.

¹⁸⁴ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

¹⁸⁵ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

¹⁸⁶ Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 5; & Stained Glass in the York Churches, 12.

¹⁸⁷ Nicholas Blackburn junior asked to be buried where he used to sit “in the choir of the Blessed Mary . . . where my children (or sons) are buried” (*in choro beate Marie . . . prope sepulcrum puerorum meorum*); Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168. His parents asked for burial beneath marble stones elsewhere in York; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168.

¹⁸⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17; & York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26.

¹⁸⁹ MS. Top. Yorks., 185; & MS. L1 (8), 624.

in nIV where the Corporal Acts of Mercy window is currently found. In 1730, it was still in this position and, according to Robert Rouiere Pearce's 1841 *Ancient and Modern York*, "in one of the windows of the north is a representation of Nicholas Blakburne . . . and his wife both in posture of prayer", whilst "on the window above the altar is painted the wise men offering gifts to the infant Jesus".¹⁹⁰ When Browne visited the church in 1846, the St Anne window was in the chancel over the altar and has remained there since.¹⁹¹ As Wailes undertook his restoration in 1843–44, the glass was likely removed from the north aisle and placed in the window over the altar as part of this work.

The early antiquarians record kneeling couples in each of the donor panels, with both men kneeling in prayer and the women holding books. The donor panel on the right (from the perspective of the viewer) currently contains a considerable amount of modern glass, but the composition of the image reflects its medieval appearance. In 1618 and 1659, and thus likely in the fifteenth century, this panel contained a man in armour and a woman with a book.¹⁹² The male figure wears the same heraldry as seen in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window, described above. Johnston's 1669 sketch matches Dodsworth's, and Hutton's, descriptions of both panels, adding that the man in armour has no beard and confirming that he is dressed in armour (Figure 17).¹⁹³ To this image, Dodsworth attached the inscription "Pray for the souls of Nicholas Blakburn senior, once mayor of this city of York, and Margaret his wife, and all the faithful dead" (*Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakborne senioris quondam Maior istius civitatis Ebor[acum] et Margarete uxoris sue, et omnium fidelium defunctorum*).¹⁹⁴ The figures can, though the inscriptions were later moved around, be identified as Nicholas and Margaret Blakburn senior, the merchant, mayor and Admiral of the North, and his wealthy wife.

In the other donor panel, Dodsworth recorded "man kneeling by him the coate aforesaid differenced with a mollet or", and Hutton saw "a man praying with a woman behind him, at his

¹⁹⁰ Gent, *Antient York*, 163; & Robert Rouiere Pearce, *Ancient and Modern York* (York, 1841), 77–78.

¹⁹¹ Parker and Browne, "Architectural Notes," 5; & Shaw, *All Hallows*, 30.

¹⁹² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17; "a man kneeling on his Brest Gu[les] a lyon rampant checqui ermine and ermines crowned or". Forty years later, Hutton recorded "A man in armor praying on his surcoat his armes a checky [lion rampant sketched] Er. Ers on the side of him also his armes"; York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton's notes, 1659, fol. 26.

¹⁹³ MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

¹⁹⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17. In 1659, Hutton recorded a similar inscription: "Pray for the souls of Nicholas Blakburn senior, once mayor of the city of York and Margaret his wife who gave light through this window" (*Orate pro a[n]i[m]abus Nich[ola]i Blakeburne senioris quondam maioris civitatis / Ebor[acum] et Margerie uxoris sue istius fenestre luminare*). In the intervening forty years, the final part of the inscription for the senior couple (*fenestre luminare*) appears to have been taken from the other donor panel; York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton's notes, 1659, fol. 26. It is tempting to imagine that the window was damaged by the Parliamentary army during the two days it occupied York in July 1644, during the English Civil War. However, there is no evidence to support this exact dating.

side his armes. Gu[les] a [sketch of lion rampant] checky Er[mine] Er[mine]s on his shoulder a [sketch of a star] pierced or”.¹⁹⁵ When Dodsworth visited the church, he read “Pray for the souls of Nicholas Blakborne junior and Margaret his wife and so for the souls of the benefactors of this window . . . to illuminate the glass” (*Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakborne Junioris et Margarete uxoris sue itaque pro animabus omnium benefactorum istius fenestre [blank] luminare vitrio*).¹⁹⁶ Johnston’s sketch adds that the man has a short beard and is dressed in a merchant’s long robe. These figures can thus be identified as Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn junior.

There is also text in the books held by the female figures and on the scroll issuing from the armoured Blackburn. Johnston records the text on the books as “O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath” (*Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua [corripas me]*) for the civilian couple and “O Lord, thou wilt open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise” (*Domine labia mea aperies et os meum [adnuntiabit laudem tuam]*) for the female figure accompanying her armoured husband.¹⁹⁷ Torre’s 1691 description indicates that the female figures had been swapped since Johnston’s visit, with the same text placed in opposite positions.¹⁹⁸ Drake records similar text in 1736 with the swapped figures indicated by the women having their backs to their supposed husbands.¹⁹⁹ Thus the glass in the window was moved around in the early or mid-seventeenth century. One further piece of medieval text survives: the text in the scroll from the male figure. This reads “May the king

¹⁹⁵ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26.

¹⁹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 17. In 1659, Hutton recorded “Pray for the souls of Nicholas Blakborne junior and Margaret his wife and so pray for the souls of all the saints (*Orate pro a[n]i[m]abus Nicolai Blakburne Junioris et Margarete uxoris sue Orate itaque pro a[n]i[m]abus omnium sanctorum*); York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26. The content of the later example is implausible in this context, and likely a mistake caused by damage making it difficult to read the original inscription. Johnston’s 1669 record is a mixture of the two earlier inscriptions, reading “Pray for the souls of Nicholas Blackburn junior and Margaret his wife and so pray for the souls of all” (*Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakborne Junioris et Margarete uxoris sue Orate itaque pro animabus omnium*), and supporting the likelihood of significant damage to the window between 1618 and 1659; MS. Top. Yorks., 185. Further complicating the history of this inscription and as described above, the latter part of the inscription was swapped with the other donor panel at some point between 1618 and 1659, with the part then in this window either remade, or substantially altered during renovation.

¹⁹⁷ Psalms 6 and 50, with text added assuming that it followed the psalms and would be known by the medieval reader. The text in Johnston and Torre may also read “salva”, perhaps a misreading or a mis-recording due to seventeenth-century prurience. Translations taken from; Swift Edgar and Angela M Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 3, *The Poetical Books* (Harvard University Press, 2010), 160 & 286.

¹⁹⁸ He described “Nicholas Blackburn jun. and his wife kneeling together. She holding a book open in her hands” and “Nic. Blackburn and his Lady kneeling at prayer . . . in armour with spurrs on his heels with a shield of his arms upon his breast and another over his head ut supra. And an E scrowle issuing out of his mouth containing Det venie munus nobis Rex. She with her back towards him holding a prayer-book in her hand”; MS. L1 (8), 625.

¹⁹⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, 277.

[who is] threefold and one grant us the gift of his pardon” (*Det uenie munus nobis rex triune & unus*).²⁰⁰

In 1843, the “dilapidated” St Anne window was given to Wailes to restore.²⁰¹ Gee thought that the ‘junior’ inscription was considerably altered by Wailes but that the ‘senior’ inscription was the same as that Torre saw.²⁰² However, the latter assertion is not supported by the material remains. Beneath the junior Blakburns, only one of the pieces of glass that make up the inscription does not have the reddish tint characteristic of modern white glass elsewhere in the church. Likewise, the lettering is also slimmer in this section than in the other parts of the inscription. The opening “Orate”, which has the modern style of glass and lettering, also has a strangely shaped ‘O’ which is only found within the church in the other donor panel of this window. In this other panel, the lettering is also the same, although significantly faded. As well as the pink tinted glass that was also used here, the fading of the text indicates that it is a modern replacement rather than a survival of medieval glass. The inscriptions are therefore likely to have been recreated from original pieces, subsequently lost, or from a written record.

From the northern donor panel, nothing currently remains of the image of the civilian Nicholas Blakburn and his wife Margaret except part of the inscription. Examining the window from the inside of the church, the green of Blakburn’s cloak suggests Victorian glass, and the heads are clearly inferior to the surviving medieval work elsewhere in the window and church. This impression is confirmed by the outside of the glass where the lack of weathering indicates that the glass is not medieval. The black paint which comes through red on the outside and the flat, smooth character of the glass also show the Wailes restoration. In the southern donor panel, slightly more medieval glass remains. As parts of the medieval Nicholas Blakburn junior are still in the window, Wailes appears to have integrated the surviving glass into his restoration when possible and replaced those pieces which were significantly damaged. There is no evidence that he knew of Johnston’s manuscript and the other antiquarians did not draw the panel. The similarity of the modern work to Johnston’s figure of Nicholas Blakburn senior therefore indicates that Wailes also copied the surviving glass when it was available. The similar head and pose, and the inclusion of the small sword at the waist suggest that these parts of the glass had survived, but the new cloak and short tunic suggest that most of the clothing had been destroyed by the time of Wailes’ restoration. Likewise, with the two female figures

²⁰⁰ I am grateful to Prof. Cristian Gaşpar at Central European University for his help in the translation of this inscription. The antiquarians provide similar, though not identical texts for this scroll.

²⁰¹ Stained Glass in the York Churches, 16.

²⁰² Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 156.

some of the glass of the books probably survived, whilst the entirely different headdresses suggest significant damage to the heads.

A date range can be established for the window, using the inscription and the heraldry recorded by the antiquarians and still surviving today. Dodsworth's 1618 record of the inscription refers to Nicholas Blackburn senior's mayoralty. Blackburn was mayor in 1412, giving the earliest possible date for the window.²⁰³ Nicholas Junior's mayoralty of 1429 is not in the window, giving 1428 as the possible latest date. This range can be reduced through looking at the heraldry. The shields showed "gu[les] lion chequy erm and ermines crowned or", with one differenced by a mullet, suggesting that one shield was for the head of the family and the other for a third son.²⁰⁴ The use of differences by the Blackburn family is corroborated by the donor panel of John Blackburn, son of the senior couple, in St Cuthbert's, York where Dodsworth recorded a label of three points.²⁰⁵ The mullet shows that Nicholas junior's elder brother John was still alive. As he died in 1426, this puts the date of the window between 1412 and 1426.²⁰⁶

The identities of the donor figures are established by the inscriptions, with two Nicholas Blackburns and two Margaret Blackburns shown. However, the exact attributions are difficult to determine with certainty. Currently, the inscription in the northern panel identifies the figures as Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn junior and the southern figures are identified as Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn senior. This is accepted by Badham, who sees the attribution of the southern panel to the senior Nicholas as correct because it shows him in armour as head of the family or as Admiral of the North.²⁰⁷ The inscriptions recorded by the antiquarians support this, with the armoured figure captioned as Nicholas Blackburn senior in 1618.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Sally Badham, "Commemoration in Brass and Glass," 73.

²⁰⁴ MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

²⁰⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Dodsworth 157, fol. 21r.

²⁰⁶ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 507. This internal evidence is to some extent supported by the historiography. Richard Marks dated the style of the window to the same period as the glazing at the east end of York Minster, putting it into the first half of the fifteenth century, and in the early twentieth century Frederick Harrison thought that the window dated to ca.1440; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 182; & Frederick Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College; the Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (John Murray, 1952), 175. Others have based their dating on details within the window rather than the style itself. Gee thought it likely to date from between 1412 and 1427, but possibly as late as 1435, although he does not give clear reasoning, whilst Badham and Barnett also date the window to between 1412 and 1426 based upon the lack of mention of Nicholas Blackburn junior's 1429 mayoralty in the inscription and the inclusion of the mullet; Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints," 153; Badham, "Commemoration in Brass and Glass," 73; & Barnett, "Memorials and Commemoration," 89.

²⁰⁷ Badham, "Commemoration in Brass and Glass," 74.

²⁰⁸ Potentially complicating this, one of the male figures is shown as a young man without a beard whilst the other is middle-aged with a small, trimmed beard in Johnston's sketch. According to the current inscriptions, the bearded man is Nicholas Blackburn junior, whilst the figure who is represented as younger is Nicholas Blackburn senior. Thus, the younger figure would be the father and the elder the son. This is further complicated by the merchant's

2.3.3. St Thomas Window (nV)

In 1429, the merchant Reginald Bawtre bequeathed 100s. to “the fabric of a certain new window in the north of the aforesaid church of my aforesaid parish” (*lego ffabrice cuiusdam novo fenestra vitue in boriali p[redic]te ecclie[sia] mee p[ar]och[i] p[re]dicto C.s*).²⁰⁹ Reginald Bawtre (before 1390–1429) was a merchant of York who was related to the mayoral del Banke family.²¹⁰ He was a chamberlain and sheriff of York and member of the Corpus Christi guild.²¹¹ He appears to have lived in All Saints for all of his life and was buried in the church in 1430.²¹² He married Cecily (before 1400–after 1430).²¹³ Her first husband was the potter John de Escrick and she had one surviving son with him.²¹⁴ Her will does not survive, but she was probably buried either with her first husband and son in the church of St Martin, Micklegate or next to her second husband in All Saints, North Street.

There are two windows in the north aisle of the church to which Bawtre is likely to have contributed. One is the fourth window from the east and contains a considerable amount of medieval glass, showing full length figures of St Thomas the Apostle, the Risen Christ and an archbishop (Figure 18). The second potential donation by Bawtre no longer survives but would have been in the fifth window from the east, also in the north aisle. The content and donors of this window do not appear in any surviving records, antiquarian or otherwise, but it potentially contained images of St Lucy and St Cecilia.²¹⁵ Whilst Bawtre’s commercial success was not on the same level as the Blakburns’, his family connections, social status, and level of donation provide a more typical example of an urban donor of late medieval stained glass, and the main lights of his surviving window are well preserved.

Seventeenth-century antiquarians made no mention of the main lights of the St Thomas window, but Gent records, in 1730, in the third window from the door in the north wall, “St.

mark drawn by Johnston next to the wife of the civilian figure, showing an ‘o’. Surname letters are frequently shown on merchant marks and Margaret Blakburn senior was the sister of William Ormshead. The shield could therefore show her parentage and indicate that the adjacent figure is Margaret, accompanying her husband Nicholas senior. However, the differing antiquarian descriptions show that these female figures were moved sometime between 1618 and 1659. There is no way to know whether the shield was moved too, and no way to know with complete certainty which couple was which. Fortunately, no conclusion on this matter is necessary to answer the research questions of this dissertation.

²⁰⁹ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 5.

²¹⁰ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²¹¹ Collins, *Freemen’s Register*, 141; & Robert H. Skaife, ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York* (Durham, 1872), 28.

²¹² Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²¹³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²¹⁴ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²¹⁵ This is suggested based on the prayers to St Cecilia and St Lucy in a surviving book held by a priestly donor figure, identified below as John Bawtre.

Thomas, our Blessed Saviour, and St Timothy”.²¹⁶ Whilst he does not specify which St Thomas he refers to in All Saints, North Street, he also records “St. Thomas feeling our Saviour’s wounded side” in St Martin, Micklegate, suggesting that the attribution to Thomas without any qualifier is intended to indicate the apostle.²¹⁷ The figures of Christ and the apostle have remained in this window since then, with minimal restorations made. The history of the archbishop figure is more complex. Gee argues that Gent’s attribution to St Timothy can be accounted for by the similar letters found in both Thomas and Timothy.²¹⁸ In 1848, Browne recorded “an archbishop in his archiepiscopal robes” in this light and suggested that he might be St William.²¹⁹ By 1908, the archbishop figure had been moved; a figure of St William was described as being in a south aisle window (the current Revelation window).²²⁰ During the 1966 restoration, the archbishop was returned to his present position (where the figure of St Michael had previously been).²²¹ A considerable amount of glass was added at this point; the head and parts of the robe are original, but little else.

In the currently surviving glass, the archbishop is wearing white and gold, and standing with a ferula tilted from right to left across his body (with the cross thus pointing east). His right hand is outstretched in blessing and his left hand holds the staff. In the centre panel, the Risen Christ in a red robe holds a ferula, diagonal from right to left, and his right hand is raised to bless St Thomas the Apostle in the western panel. Fragments in scrolls in this panel read “Thomas”, “. . . id . . .”, “d . . . hand” (*manu[m]*) “who in” (*qui in*), and “hand in my side” (*manu[m] in latus meum*).²²² In the western panel of the window, St Thomas the Apostle looks towards Christ, with his right hand raised. In contrast to the other figures, he appears to be moving, with one foot raised and his staff straight up at his side. The scroll around the apostle’s head reads “My Lord and my God” (*D[omi]n[u]s meus et deus meus*). Leading covers the final part of the “my” (*meus*), but the quotation from the description of Thomas’ incredulity in John 20:28 (“Thomas answered and said to him “My Lord and my God””/ *Respondit Thomas et dixit et, “Dominus meus et Deus meus”*) is clear.

²¹⁶ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

²¹⁷ Gent, *Antient York*, 182.

²¹⁸ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 164–65.

²¹⁹ Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 6.

²²⁰ Shaw, *All Hallows*, 38.

²²¹ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 168.

²²² Gee ascribed all of these fragments to a single scroll, but the lettering style differs too much for this to be the case. Instead, the “hand” (*manu[m]*) and “Thomas” (originally under one of the other main lights in this window), and “who in” (*qui in*), and “hand in my side” (*manu[m] in latus meum*) are likely to have originally been in this window, with “who put [his] hand in my side” (*qui in manum in latus meum*) forming the scroll around Christ’s head. This describes the iconography of St Thomas the Apostle questioning the appearance of Christ after his crucifixion; Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 165.

William Vescey's will of 1407 includes a mention of the altar of St Thomas the Martyr in All Saints, North Street, believed to be under this window.²²³ Becket was the most popular archbishop saint in late medieval England, but most images of him were destroyed during the Reformation.²²⁴ The fragment of "Thomas" in a scroll as detailed above may indicate that this figure was intended to represent St Thomas Becket, though, the text could have originally been under the figure of the apostle Thomas in the same window. It is also possible that the glass survived because it was seen to represent a more local saint, instead of the martyred archbishop of Canterbury. Possible archbishops of York include Browne's attribution to St William of York (died 1154), St Thurstan (died 1140), or Richard Scrope. Associations between Scrope and Becket will be discussed in full later in this dissertation, but, when identifying the figure in the glass, it will suffice to say that in the surviving iconography Scrope always wears the blue mantle he was described as having worn during his execution. The archbishop in All Saints, North Street does not wear blue. Furthermore, in an image in the Bolton Hours, thought to have been made for Margaret Blakburn, Scrope holds a windmill, referring to his martyrdom.²²⁵ The archbishop in this window has no attributes, making a confident identification impossible, but an ascription to St Thomas Becket is likely considering the dedication of the altar and the popularity of Becket in late medieval England.

The will of Reginald Bawtre establishes him as the donor of at least part of a window in the north aisle of the church, but his image no longer survives in the glass. It does however appear in the antiquarian sources. Matthew Hutton's 1659 notes on the church contain a description of "a man praying" with his arms (*Ar[gent] a lyon pass[an]t gard[an]t V[air] a*

²²³ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266.

²²⁴ This may explain Gent's attribution of the figure to St Timothy; perhaps an inscription had been added to distance the figure from a Becket association. Surviving examples in glass and other medieval media tend to portray Becket mid-martyrdom, with four knights menacing him whilst he kneels at the altar, or dying with a sword in his head; or as standing alone as a sainted archbishop, like the figure surviving in All Saints; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 76. For a general description of Becket in medieval art, see Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: a Topical Dictionary* (Greenwood Press, 1996), 244. For examples, see for example the Becket reliquary casket and the Angevin Legendary; the Becket Casket, about 1180–1190, Limoges, France, V&A Museum no. M.66–1997; & Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (CEU Press, 2016), 193. Sixteenth-century destruction makes it difficult to compare the surviving imagery of the twelfth-century archbishop in stained glass. However, in Canterbury Cathedral, he appears as a saint from his own tomb or as an archbishop (in one case with a sword); M. A. Michael, *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Scala, 2015), 126, 132 & 159–60.

²²⁵ Kathryn Rudy has convincingly argued that this image was intended to teach children to identify saints by their attributes. Considering both this purpose and the likelihood that the manuscript was made before this window, Scrope would have been identified, at least by some devotees, as a windmill; Kathryn M. Rudy, "The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. MS. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 280.

chief S[able]) and “Reginaldi Bawtrie” written underneath him.²²⁶ This description is placed in window nV by the order in which it is given (and in which Hutton was presumably moving through the church); it is between the Corporal Acts of Mercy and St Anne windows.²²⁷ Henry Johnston sketched the same figure in 1669, although the arms had apparently been lost by this time, and he records it in a window in the north aisle of the church (Figure 19).²²⁸ Johnston also identifies his description as Reginald Bawtre and suggests that the name was in the medieval inscription below the figure, as the text is drawn rather than written in his hand.²²⁹ In 1690, Torre does not record this panel. As such, the donor panel is unlikely to have survived to the end of the seventeenth century.²³⁰

This antiquarian sketch and inscription have been erroneously identified with a donor panel now in the lower left panel of the western light of the Corporal Acts of Mercy window.²³¹ This panel currently contains very little medieval glass, with most of the image made during Knowles’ 1861 restoration, as shown by the flat colours and black-red paint of the Victorian pieces. The medieval glass that does remain includes the head of the figure, the book, some of the robe and part of the scroll. If these pieces belonged together originally, they suggest that the figure showed a monk or priest in a dark robe (blue glass indicating black clothing) along with a book and a scroll over his head. However, the priestly figure is not Reginald Bawtre. Quite apart from the lack of any evidence that Reginald took priestly orders, this medieval glass does not match the figure drawn by Johnston. The medieval head in the current glass has a tonsure whilst Johnston’s sketch does not. Johnston simply may not have sketched the tonsure as he believed the figure to be Reginald Bawtre, a layman, but there is no evidence that he knew anything about the history of York. He was recording the material for his brother’s historical work and, unlike the other antiquarians, did not include any notes about the people he saw. There are also other differences between the manuscript and current glass. The book in the surviving medieval glass has an ornate clasp not sketched by Johnston. The text on the book in the sketch is also slightly different, with two prayers to St Cecilia rather than the glass which has one to St Cecilia and the other to St Lucy (Figure 20). The similarity of the two figures

²²⁶ These arms do not appear in the known armorials, but the lion without the chief is attributed to Caltoft and Fauconberg; Chesshyre and Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms*, 1:161 & 1:193. John Fauconberg died in the 1405 rebellion and held a manor (Skelton) on the road between York and Shipton Moor; *CPR 1405–8*, 56 & 64. Fauconberg’s head was sent to be displayed in Guisborough; *CPR 1405–8*, 69.

²²⁷ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26.

²²⁸ MS. Top. Yorks., 186.

²²⁹ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26; & MS. Top. Yorks., 186.

²³⁰ It is not recorded by Browne or Knowles in the nineteenth century; Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,”; York Churches’ Stained Glass; & Stained Glass in the York Churches.

²³¹ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 164.

indicates a companionship and suggests that they were intended for the same window. Both figures are kneeling alone in prayer and asking St Cecilia to pray for them, a solicitation that connects both images to Cecilia, the widow of Reginald Bawtre and executor of his wishes for his window. These thus appear to be the two original donor figures in the St Thomas window, perhaps originally accompanied by a third donor panel (as in the Fifteen Last Days and Revelation windows) or (as in the St Anne window) with a Trinity or other devotional image between them.

The image in the current glass shows a tonsured figure, and the only cleric known to have been closely associated with Reginald Bawtre was his relative (likely uncle or great-uncle) John Bawtre, succentor of the vicars choral of York Minster (before 1370–1411). John likewise had strong connections to the church of All Saints, North Street: he was buried in the nave and had a chantry in the south aisle.²³² A close relationship between uncle and nephew is evidenced by John Bawtre's significant bequests to Reginald in his will and the latter's provision for his uncle's chantry.²³³ Thus, a representation of the two in the same window is plausible. Although a vicar choral of York Minster, John Bawtre was buried in All Saints, North Street, close to this window, and was a beneficiary of a chantry at the altar of St Nicholas. Finally, Reginald's book contains two prayers to St Cecilia whilst John's book has one to St Cecilia and one to St Lucy.

2.3.4. The Nine Orders of Angels Window (sIV)

The Nine Orders of Angels window is in the south wall of the church. The window has three rows of three panels, with semicircular panels underneath cusping at the top of each light (Figure 21). Like the other aisle windows, there is no tracery. Each of the nine panels depicts an angel of one of the nine orders, a theology set out most influentially by Pseudo-Dionysius.²³⁴ Each angel leads several humans and above each panel is (or was) an inscription that identifies the angel and describes their actions. The window is not recorded by Dodsworth in 1618 or Hutton in 1659. However, in 1669, Henry Johnston sketched it. His sketch is rough, but the

²³² Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²³³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572.

²³⁴ The Angels window in North Street differs slightly from other interpretations in the order of the angels. According to the *Golden Legend*, and based on the classifications of Pseudo-Dionysius, the order is seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels and angels. In North Street, the order follows Gregory the Great who puts the virtues after the powers. The library of the York Austin Friars contained several volumes (including excerpts) of Gregory's *Homilies*; M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York, now edited from the MS. at Trinity College, Dublin," in *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus*, ed. H. M. Butler (typis academicis impressus, 1909), 20, 22, 27, 28, 30 & 35. For other works on angels, see James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars," 54–55.

outline of the angels can be seen, as well as indications of the figures accompanying the angels. Johnston also recorded fragments of inscriptions. In 1730, Gent described “an angel cardinal bishop, pope, king nobles and a religious procession, preceded by angels” in the third window from the east in the south aisle of the church, and, in 1846, the window was described as “masses of confusion but remnants of a gorgeous procession”.²³⁵ In 1867, Charles Kerry supposed that the window represented the Corpus Christi procession, whilst John Ward Knowles called it the processional window in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.²³⁶

In the mid-twentieth century, the window was reconstructed from fragments. This restoration was made possible by the rediscovery of Johnston’s manuscript and his sketch of the window.²³⁷ Extra figures, not drawn by Johnston, appear in the medieval glass, often hidden to some extent by other figures more to the front of the tableaux, and medieval glass that had been lost was replaced by modern, plain glass. As a result of this, the distinction between modern and medieval glass is clear. The medieval glass retains most of its original paint, giving the window character and personalising the figures. When the window was restored in the twenty-first century, text was added to the inscriptions.

Dating the window is difficult. Gee saw considerable stylistic similarities to windows in York Minster, with enough similarities to date it to 1410–20.²³⁸ It is true that the king in panel four of the Nine Orders of Angels window is somewhat like one in Minster choir clerestory north side, eighth from the east (NXI), dated to ca.1408–14.²³⁹ This stylistic comparison (or perhaps the same workshop) could therefore date the Angels glass to approximately the same years as the apocalyptic glass elsewhere in All Saints, North Street. However, there are stylistic elements in the window that contradict this. The Power in the western panel of the central row wears armour that can be roughly dated by sabatons with pointed layers. Examples of the same armour can be seen in the church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate in York on the figure of St George from ca. 1471, and in Great Malvern Priory, also on St George, from the mid- to late fifteenth century. Likewise, the ‘s’ used in the window is a characteristic example of a mid- to late fifteenth century form of the letter, in contrast with the curlier examples found around 1420. The ‘H’ is more unusual, although it too can be dated to the late fifteenth century; a comparable example can be seen at St Mary Combs, Suffolk, dated to the mid- to late fifteenth century and at Holy Trinity, Goodramgate. Therefore, the

²³⁵ Gent, *Antient York*, 163; & Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 5–6.

²³⁶ Kerry, “History and Antiquities,” 63; & York Churches’ Stained Glass, 33.

²³⁷ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 170.

²³⁸ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 170.

²³⁹ Brown, *York Minster*, 285.

window can be tentatively dated to the mid- to late fifteenth-century, whilst acknowledging that it incorporates earlier elements. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to confidently suggest a donor or donors.

2.3.5. The Mystic Mass Window (sV)

The window to the west of the Angels (sV) currently contains identifiable figures, but much of the glass is fragmentary. The eastern light contains a figure that is either St James or St John the Baptist, in the centre light is likely a depiction of Mary as Queen of Heaven holding the Christ Child, and in the western light an archbishop elevates the communion wafer as a heavenly apparition appears above him (Figure 23). The lower panels, where donors are likely to have originally knelt, are now filled with fragments, although sketches of parts of the original donor figures probably appear in Johnston's record. The main figures are also fragmentary, particularly the figure of St James with a nineteenth-century head, but a 1966 restoration returned much of the remaining medieval glass to its original position and the window is likely to be in its medieval location.

The antiquarians largely ignored this window. None of the seventeenth-century antiquarians record it and, in 1730, Gent briefly summarised the subjects as "St. John Baptist, Virgin Mary, our Blessed Saviour, an Appearance to a Bishop from Heaven, and underneath Paul and Silas in Prison".²⁴⁰ Drake does not mention the window. In 1848, Browne recorded:

a mutilated figure of St. John the Baptist, (head lately stolen,) a crowned figure of the blessed Virgin and Child (the Child's head has also been stolen,) and part of a figure of an archbishop (probably S. Odo? Or S. Gregory?) offering up at mass the host, to whom is appearing Jesus Christ holding a scroll

Browne does not mention the figures of Paul and Silas below; perhaps they had been stolen at the same time as the head in the main light, or he was only interested in the contents of the main lights.

Gee believed the figure in the eastern main light was St James, based on an earlier identification by Peter Newton.²⁴¹ Unfortunately, Newton's archive is lost, but there are no obvious identifiers of St James in the surviving glass. For example, no shells or a pilgrim's hat

²⁴⁰ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

²⁴¹ Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 174.

can be seen. Newton may have made the attribution based on a presumed altar of St James underneath this window. However, the altar, identified only as being in the north aisle, need not have been here. In fact, if symmetry is respected, it is more likely to have been originally under the window one place further east, mirroring the altar to St Thomas the Martyr below the St Thomas window. Instead, an image of St John the Baptist is more plausible based on an examination of the iconography of the surviving glass. The figure wears the camel-hair shirt found in depictions of John the Baptist, including in the St Anne window in the opposite aisle of this same church, and the Bible he carries has fragments that suggest an Agnus Dei may originally have sat on it.²⁴² Finally, Gent and Browne's 1730 and 1846 unambiguous identification of the figure as St John the Baptist suggests that more imagery (including the lamb) survived into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the centre light of the window, the Virgin holds the Christ Child. Her face survives, including a halo and crown. The Child's face does not survive.²⁴³ Much of the image is fragmentary, with parts of a blue dress and a white mantle, decorated in gold and ermine-lined, still visible. No further details can be found in any antiquarian records. Considering the crown and the child she holds, there is a possibility that this may have been an image intended to be identified with Mary as the apocalyptic Woman Clothed in the Sun.²⁴⁴ However, there is not enough surviving glass to make a strong argument concerning this possible apocalyptic attribution.

The iconography of the western light cannot be determined with absolute certainty. The kneeling prelate has previously been tentatively identified as St Gregory or St Denis.²⁴⁵ In the standard depiction of his Mystic Mass, St Gregory holds out the Host to a Man of Sorrows emerging from an altar. If the image in All Saints is St Gregory, it must be considered a subset of this type, as the Jesus figure emerges from clouds, with no visible stigmata and accompanied by angels.²⁴⁶ There is also no deacon shown, as usually found in depictions of the Mass of St Gregory, although, to further an identification with St Gregory, fragments of an indulgence text

²⁴² Ross, *Medieval Art*, 137.

²⁴³ Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 174.

²⁴⁴ There is a possibility that this may have originally been an image of the Mystic Marriage of St Katherine: the female figure is crowned, she holds the Christ Child, and there was an altar nearby dedicated to St Katherine. However, this is no clear evidence for this. For the women clothed in the sun, see Chapter 6.

²⁴⁵ Shaw, *All Hallows*, 27; & Amanda Daw, "The Communion of St Denis and the Feast of Corpus Christi in the Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass of All Saints North Street in York," *Journal of British Archaeology* 168 (2015): 142–64. Gee did not identify the archbishop; Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 175.

²⁴⁶ Ross, *Medieval Art*, 170–71. See also C. W. Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond: the Mass of St Gregory in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. F. Hamburger (Princeton University Press, 2006), 208–40.

have been identified in the church.²⁴⁷ The identification with St Denis has been made based upon text in the window.²⁴⁸ However, this text is not definitely medieval and the lack of any other surviving image of St Denis in medieval England makes corroboration difficult. The archbishop could likewise be St William of York, whose legend says he was poisoned during mass. However, in the St William window in York Minster, the saint celebrating mass is shown in prayer, not raising the host. This does not mean the image cannot have been intended to depict St William, but it provides no reliable identification.²⁴⁹ As with any image of an archbishop in medieval England, an identification as St Thomas Becket is also possible. There are however no knights, swords, or elements of beheading in this image.²⁵⁰

Instead, this image is more likely to show St John of Beverley, the pre-Conquest (arch)bishop of York and later saint.²⁵¹ The image in All Saints, North Street, is remarkably similar to one in the glass of York Minster, s10 dated to 1415–40 (Figure 24).²⁵² The (arch)bishop kneels in the same position in North Street and York Minster, his mitre is placed on the altar in both images, he holds the host aloft, the chalice sits on the altar behind him, and angels accompany the heavenly vision. The images differ in their representation of God: the Minster has the Dove, as specified in Bede's *vita* of St John of Beverley, whilst North Street has a human figure.²⁵³ This figure can be, due to the depiction as a younger man and the cross in the halo, interpreted as Christ. However, he shows no stigmata, his body is completely clothed, and his outstretched palm bears no wound. The figure could instead be seen as Christ as the Holy Spirit, the Pentecostal forerunner who appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai and who stretches out his two fingers (like the two outstretched fingers in this glass) from clouds in

²⁴⁷ R. N. Swanson, "Fragments of an Indulgence Inscription in a Window at All Saints, North Street, York," *The Antiquaries Journal* 88 (2008): 309–10.

²⁴⁸ Daw, "The Communion of St Denis," 142.

²⁴⁹ In the Bolton Hours, St William is shown simply as a standing archbishop; Add. MS. 2 fol. 39r. Gelfand has persuasively argued that the identity of the saint in York Minster's St William window was deliberately unclear in order that pilgrims, or other viewers of the window, could identify Scrope in the glass if they wished to do so; Laura D. Gelfand, "'I was blind and now I can see!' Sight and Revelation in the St William Window in York Minster," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 182. There is therefore a possibility that the figure in All Saints was intended to be seen as Archbishop Scrope.

²⁵⁰ In the early fifteenth-century York Bolton Hours, Becket is shown standing by an altar, wearing a pallium and mitre, and holding a cross. The host and chalice are both on an altar behind him, and the hand of God reaches out of clouds above the altar; Add. MS. 69.

²⁵¹ The real-life St John of Beverley was Bishop of York, 705–718. York became an archdiocese in 735. This did not stop later medieval hagiographies as identifying St John as an archbishop; Susan Elizabeth Wilson, "The Cult of St John of Beverley" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2000), 21. For the increasing popularity of St John of Beverley in the fifteenth-century, see Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope," 217; & Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 303.

²⁵² Brown, *York Minster*, 284.

²⁵³ Wilson, "The Cult of St John of Beverley," 236–37. When this occurred, according to Bede, St John was praying in the church of St Michael the Archangel in York, probably St Michael le Belfrey.

images in the contemporary Bolton Hours manuscript.²⁵⁴ Finally, the inclusion of two St Johns in this window mirrors the two St Thomas (the Apostle and Becket) in the window directly across the church.

In 1669, Johnston sketched a pair of donor panels from a window in the south aisle of the church. His description of these figures in the south aisle suggests that they can only have been in this window or the two light window just to the west. The first sketch shows a male and a female figure kneeling at prayer. Over their heads Johnston writes “pray for our” (*Ora[te] p[ro] no[bis]*) around the male figure and possibly “that we may become worthy of the promises of the Son etc.” (*Ut digni efficiam[ur] p[ro]mi<ss>i<onibus> ff[i]li[e] et[c]*) around the female figure.²⁵⁵ The figures are not identified in an inscription or with heraldry. This likely explains why they are not mentioned by the other early antiquarians. By the nineteenth century, this panel appears to have been moved across the church; Knowles recorded figures and inscriptions matching Johnston's description in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window in the north donor panel, where they still appear to remain today.²⁵⁶ However, a close examination of the glass suggests that these figures are not original. Instead, they are likely to be mostly nineteenth-century copies by Knowles himself, with only the medieval heads surviving. The quality of the restoration and replacement is very high, but the style of the letters and clothes, the colour of the glass, and lack of weathering betray their nineteenth-century origin. This also fits with Johnston's image, where most of the clothing is already lost. The second possible panel donor panel for the Mystic Mass window sketched by Johnston shows a man and two women. Even in Johnston's sketch, these figures are fragmentary, with only the heads, hands, and parts of the upper bodies remaining. No names can be ascribed to any of these figures.

Finally, the identification of the bishop with St John of Beverley can aid in the dating of this window. This is particularly important as there are no identifiable donor figures surviving.²⁵⁷ Despite Shakespeare's later famous invocation of St Crispin's day, Henry V ascribed his 1415 victory at Agincourt to the intervention of St John of Beverley (who shares

²⁵⁴ Add. MS. 63 & 69. For a more explicit depiction with Moses and the Lord, see the early fourteenth century Peterborough Psalter; Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS. 9961–62, fol. 72v.

²⁵⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Cristian Gaspar for help with a possible transcription and translation. It appears to be taken from a response to the *Salve Regina*. Shaw transcribed this as “infer digitum tuum . . . et affer manum tuam” and connected it to the St Thomas window; Shaw, *All Hallows*, 37. Yet, the image Shaw uses (presumably copied by someone else) supports Johnston's transcription more; Shaw, *All Hallows*, plated between pages 36 and 37. Shaw's image, and the current glass in both its image and text, appear to be nineteenth-century replacements, almost certainly made by Wailes. I cannot account for the difference between the current glass, Shaw's image and Shaw's transcription.

²⁵⁶ Stained Glass in York Churches, 24. Shaw recorded them in the same window; Shaw, *All Hallows*, 37.

²⁵⁷ MS. Top. Yorks. 186.

his feast day for the translation of his relics on 25th October with Sts Crispin and Crispinian).²⁵⁸ A post-1415 date for the window accords with the style of glass, and with the beginning of the likely glazing period for all the fifteenth-century windows.²⁵⁹ With no identifiable donors, it is difficult to give a precise terminal date, but the style suggests a similar date to the Revelation window described below and dated to before 1430.

²⁵⁸ Anne Curry, *Agincourt* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 51.

²⁵⁹ Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints'," 179.

3. The Apocalyptic Stained Glass

The stained glass of All Saints, North Street provides a unique insight into the visual culture of early fifteenth-century England. The two apocalyptic windows studied in this dissertation remain in their original positions within the church and thus, although they have been repaired and restored in the intervening centuries, give an excellent indication of how this art and the narratives it contains were originally meant to be seen. This chapter will evaluate the material remains and medieval provenance of the glass of the two apocalyptic windows in the church of All Saints, North Street. The first of these windows shows the Fifteen Last Days before Doomsday, with imagery accompanied by text adapted from the fourteenth-century *Prick of Conscience* poem. It is unique in English medieval stained glass as it has text in the vernacular. The second window shows an interpretation of the Book of Revelation, with St Michael and the Beast in the eastern light, and St John the Evangelist/of Patmos in the western light. The centre light of this three-light window currently contains modern, largely clear, glass.

Stained-glass windows are visual objects: decorative, devotional, and exegetic. They are designed to be seen. Light flows through the glass, illuminating the liturgy and creating shifting patterns on the furniture, walls, and floors. Across late medieval Western Europe, stained glass was found in churches, cathedrals, and monastic complexes, and considered uniquely suited to conveying God's word. Genesis 1:3–5 and Revelation 21:11–25 give great symbolic meaning to light in the medieval church.¹ With reference to these verses, medieval windows can be seen, especially pertinently for this dissertation, as the embodiment of Heavenly Jerusalem, described as being “pure as transparent glass”.² Glass was also compared

¹ Genesis 1:3–5: “And God said, “Be light made.” And light was made. And God saw the light that it was good, and he divided the light from the darkness. And he called the light day and the darkness night; and there was evening and morning: one day”; text and translation taken from Swift Edgar, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 1, *The Pentateuch* (Harvard University Press, 2010). Revelation 21:11: “[Jerusalem] having the glory of God, and the light thereof was like to a precious stone, as to the jasper-stone, even as crystal”; & Revelation 21:18–24: “And the building of the wall thereof was of jasper-stone, but the city itself pure gold, like to clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper, the second sapphire, the third a calcedony, the fourth an emerald, the fifth sardonix, the sixth sardius, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth a topaz, the tenth a chrysoprasus, the eleventh a jacinth, the twelfth an amethyst. And the twelve gates are twelve pearls, one to each, and every several gate was of one several pearl. And the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass. And I saw no temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof and the Lamb. And the city hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God hath enlightened it, and the Lamb is the lamp thereof. And nations will walk in the light of it”. Text and translation for this and all subsequent quotes from the Book of Revelation taken from Andrea M. Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 6, *The New Testament* (Harvard University Press, 2013).

² Revelation 21:21. Literally translated from the Vulgate, “as it were transparent glass” (*tamquam vitrum perlucidum*). Translated as “as of glass full shining” in the late fourteenth-century Wycliffe Bible.

to the Virgin Mary as a medium through which holy light entered the world, and images were, to Gregory the Great, akin to Scripture for “the ignorant . . . see through them what they must accept; they read in them what cannot read in books”.³

3.1. The Fifteen Last Days Window (nIII)

The eastern window in the north wall of the church of All Saints, North Street (CVMA nIII) has fifteen main panels narrating the fifteen days before Doomsday, following (though not entirely faithfully) the schema and text of the fourteenth-century *Prick of Conscience* poem.⁴ Below these main lights are three donor panels representing nine members of the family who gave the window. Above, the tracery contains Judgement scenes (Figure 2).⁵ This window does not have the intricate architectural canopies in the glass surrounding each panel found in other fifteenth-century windows in this church. Instead, it has simple Decorated arches, allowing more space for apocalyptic imagery. The donor panels will first be considered as a whole, due to the inscription that runs below all three, and then the window will be evaluated panel by panel.

3.11. The Donors

Unrecorded in what survives of Roger Dodsworth’s 1618 notes, this window was first described in 1659, when Matthew Hutton recorded “severall men praying” in the lower panels.⁶ He recorded the inscription beneath these figures as he saw it then (see below), but, unfortunately, did not draw the figures. Ten years later, in 1669, Henry Johnston sketched, from west to east, a panel with two laywomen and a layman; a panel with a priest, a laywoman and a layman; and a panel with a layman, a laywoman and a layman (Figure 25).⁷ All of the donors

³ Quoted in Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (University of Toronto Press, 1993), 59. See also Erwin Panofsky, “The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece,” *The Art Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (1935): 450; & Madeline H. Caviness, “Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?” in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 103–47.

⁴ In this chapter, and this dissertation, I refer to the window as the Fifteen Last Days to distinguish it from the *Prick of Conscience* poem.

⁵ Like many late medieval depictions of the Last Judgement, the figures wear crowns; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 84. Marks also notes that depictions of the Last Judgement in tracery are typical of the fourteenth century; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 81. The composition in All Saints can therefore be seen as a continuation of tradition, perhaps reflecting the fourteenth-century lifespans of many of the donors or a conservative mindset.

⁶ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, fol. 26. He did not record the main panels or tracery.

⁷ MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

kneel in front of a gold and white panelled and starred background, facing east. The current figures are substantially the same in their composition as recorded in Johnston's sketch, but parts of the glass are nineteenth-century replacements, commemorated in an inscription at the base of the window (dating itself to 1861). These nine donor figures were not recorded by James Torre in 1691. Nor do they appear in Thomas Gent's or Francis Drake's early eighteenth-century books.

Two men and a woman currently kneel in the eastern donor panel. The shorter of the men kneels furthest to the east, bearded in Johnston's sketch and with a sword at his waist (Figure 25). The head is not original: the modern glass has no beard, shows the characteristic pink tinge seen in clear glass used in nineteenth-century restorations, and lacks the dark shading under the nose and the rounded ears seen in the medieval glass (Figure 26). A woman with a widow's veil covering her hair appears in the middle of this group of three donors. Johnston's sketch shows her wearing a white veil much like that worn by other figures elsewhere in the church (see the Revelation window and the Nine Orders of Angels), but the head is now damaged. From the pink tinge of the clear glass, this is also likely a replacement by John Ward Knowles. A taller man, also with a sword, kneels furthest west in this panel. His head is also a replacement. Much of the clothing is also not medieval; only parts of female figure's robe remain from the original glass. However, the colours of the clothes are the same in Johnston's sketch and Knowles' replacement, demonstrating that enough of the original glass survived into the nineteenth century to be copied.

The central donor panel currently shows a male layman, a woman, and a priest. However, very little of the glass is original. The only head that survives is that of the woman in the centre of the panel. This is the head of a widow, covered with a wimple. On Johnston's 1669 sketch, the figures are roughly the same. This suggests that, when restoring this panel, Knowles copied from surviving glass and thus that the current appearance of the panel largely reflects the medieval appearance.

The westernmost of these donor panels contains representations of two women and a man. Similar, though not identical, figures were sketched by Henry Johnston in the late eighteenth century. An examination of the surviving glass reveals that two of the heads are medieval, as are one pair of hands. Part of the headdress of the central figure is also medieval, and almost identical to Johnston's sketch of the elder Margaret Blackburn (Figure 27). The similarity with this figure suggests a similar date to the St Anne window in which the Blackburns appear, 1412–26.

These figures were originally identified by a Latin inscription running along the base of the window. Johnston recorded the most extensive version of this inscription. In 1669, he wrote:

. . . *fenestra* . . . [break for stonework] . . . *et d[o]m[i]ni A. . .*⁸ *Hesyl* . . . [break for stonework] *Roger Henrison et Cicelia uxoris ejus Abel Hesyl et* [suspended] *Agnet'// . . . uxoris* . . . [break for stonework] . . . [break for stonework] . . . *et omnium fidelium defunct* . . .

The inscription showed considerable damage, particularly to the lower line and the western part. Ten years earlier, Hutton had recorded:

. . . *wiloby* . . . *dni hesyl // roger henrison et cecilie uxor ejus // abel hesyl et agnete et* . . .

No other record of the inscription in this window exists, and the difference between the records suggests that the inscription was already significantly damaged by the seventeenth century. Put into the format of the window, these inscriptions together would read, in Latin and translated into English:

. . . <i>fenestra</i> . . . <i>wiloby</i>	. . . <i>et d[o]m[i]ni A. . . Hesyl</i>	<i>Roger Henrison et Cicelia uxoris ejus Abel Hesyl et Agnet'</i>
. . . <i>uxoris</i> . . .	. . .	. . . <i>et omnium fidelium defunct</i>
. . . window . . . Wiloby	. . . and Sir A. . . Hesyl . . .	Roger Henrison and Cecelia, his wife Abel Hesyl and Agnes
. . . wife . . .	. . .	and all the faithful dead

This above reconstruction based on the antiquarian records is implausible due to space. In the surviving Middle English inscriptions in the narrating panels, the average number of letters in each section (upper and lower lines) is eighteen. The Henrison section, as recorded by Johnston, has, without spaces, 49 letters. More than twice the number of letters in the donor text than in the inscriptions above is unlikely, even though the text in the vernacular inscriptions

⁸ Gee read this as a “H”, but it is very different from his “H” in Hesyl. An “A” is more likely.

does not use all the space. It is therefore more probable that that inscription noted down by Johnston was divided between all three panels, in a manner similar to this:

Orate pro aiabus . . . Wiloby & dmni Abel Hesyl & Roger Henrison & Cecilia ux' eius
Henry Hesyl & Marion' ux' eius Abel Hesyl et Agn' ux' eius Walter Giry & omn' fidel' def'

This reads, translated into English, “pray for the souls of . . . Wiloby, and Sir Abel Hesyl and Roger Henrison and Cecilia his wife, Henry Hesyl and Marion his wife, Abel Hesyl and Agnes his wife, Walter Giry and all the faithful dead”. This inscription matches the number of people in the window.

Abel Hesyl first appears in the documentary record in 1330 when he was a chamberlain of York, one of the highest civic positions.⁹ In 1332, he owned land in All Saints, North Street and was bailiff of the city in 1336.¹⁰ He was still alive in 1345, but dead by 1367, by which time his son Henry had inherited his land.¹¹ Abel Hesyl may have died in the first wave of plague in 1349. His son Henry Hesyl (alive in 1376 but probably dead by 1379)¹² married Marion, daughter of Cecilia Giry (Figure 28).¹³ Cecilia was married twice, first to Roger Henrison and then to Walter Giry, potentially the brother or other kinsman of William Giry, Mayor of York in 1362.¹⁴ Walter was still alive in 1387 when Cecilia made her will.¹⁵ In this will, she left money to the altar of St Thomas in her parish church, in the same aisle as where the Fifteen Last Days window commemorating her would later be installed. Unfortunately, nothing can be found concerning Agnes Hesyl.

This then leaves the Hesyl priest recorded by both of the antiquarians and possibly the Wiloby recorded by Hutton. Abel Hesyl junior appears in Cecilia Giry’s 1387 will as her grandson (with his brothers John and William, sons of Marion), in an entry in the Close Rolls in March 1405 as a priest (and king’s clerk) waiting to receive a benefice, and “Abel Hesyll, clerk, of York diocese” and “a clerk of the pricy seal” given a letter dimissory for having his

⁹ Frances Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: from the City Records*, vol. 1, 1272–1558 (Durham, 1897), 25.

¹⁰ Nigel John Tringham, ed. *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster: City of York and its Suburbs to 1546* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 299.

¹¹ Tringham, *Charters of the Vicars Choral*, 300 & 301.

¹² Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part I (1376–1419)* (Surtees Society, 1912), 7; & Tringham, *Charters of the Vicars Choral*, 305.

¹³ Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 5.

¹⁴ Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 5. It is also possible that Walter is a misreading of William, and Cecilia was married to the mayor. The wealth bequeathed in her will supports this possibility.

¹⁵ Tringham, *Charters of the Vicars Choral*, 301–05. Henry Hesyl co-owned this land with William Savage, merchant.

first tonsure in 1408.¹⁶ These records give a likely identity to the priest figure. If he had soon received a benefice, though it is not known where, then by ca.1420 when the window was made, he would likely have the wealth and status (along with that accumulated by his family) to sponsor a window. As to the Wiloby name, it does not appear to have been associated with any wealthy family in late fourteenth and early fifteenth century York.¹⁷

The antiquarians also recorded heraldry in this window. In 1659, Hutton saw a shield “Ar[gent] on a Bend sa[ble] 2 ow[l]es Ar[gent]”. Yet, in 1736, Drake records the arms “Barry, of six or and gules, over all a bend azure”.¹⁸ The heraldry must be dismissed as inconclusive, based on the substantially differing descriptions. The shields could have been changed, but there is no known connection between the arms and anyone mentioned in the inscriptions, or any individual or family connected to the church. Hutton’s heraldic description denotes the Saville family of Yorkshire.¹⁹ I can find no exact match for Drake’s recorded heraldry. Neither of these shields can be found in any glass surviving in the church.

3.12. The Window

The Fifteen Last Days are the events believed to herald the end of the world. The earliest example of a series of eschatological signs is the seven signs detailed in the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Thomas*.²⁰ These are:

Day 1: a voice from Heaven, thunder and lightning, and a rain of blood;

Day 2: earthquakes;

Day 3: brimstone and darkness;

¹⁶ Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 5; Court of Chancery, *Calendar of Close Rolls: 1402–1405* (HM Stationary Office, 1929), 499; & David M. Smith, ed., *York Clergy Ordinations, 1400–1424* (Borthwick Publications, 2020), 227. It is not definitely this Abel Hesyl, but the name is uncommon. For the other brothers, William Hesyl appears as a witness to a charter in 1381, then in York; Tringham, *Charters of the Vicars Choral*, 275–76. In the poll tax returns, Marion Hesyl appears as a widow (assessed at 20 pence); Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 155. One or more of her sons may be heads of one of the lost households assessed at the high sums of 2 shillings 4 pence, or 8 shillings.

¹⁷ No one with the name appears in wills from the parish, or in the Freemens’ Register until 1460. The surname does not appear at all in the later fifteenth-century York House Books. There are gentry families with this name, thus perhaps a Hesyl daughter married into one of these families.

¹⁸ Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (York, 1736), 277.

¹⁹ I. Graham, J. Grant and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, vol. 2 (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1996), 16.

²⁰ Brain E. Daley, “Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 37. The distinction I make here between canonical Bible and apocrypha is not a medieval one, see Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: a Topical Dictionary* (Greenwood Press, 1996), 20. For a slightly different viewpoint, where apocrypha move flexibly between history and fiction, see Ruth Nisse, “‘Your Name Will No Longer Be Aseneth’: Apocrypha, Anti-Martyrdom, and Jewish Conversion in Thirteenth-Century England,” *Speculum* 81, no. 3 (2006): 746.

Day 4: more earthquakes and buildings falling;

Day 5: darkness;

Day 6: Heaven opening;

Day 7: war in Heaven.

This interpretation changed through the late antique and early medieval period, likely gaining considerable traction in western parts of the British Isles, to become the fifteen signs found in the writings of Pseudo-Bede, Peter Comester and Peter Damian.²¹ Variations exist across schema, but the first sign of the fifteen days is almost always a rising of the waters, an echo of Noah's Flood.²² Only the Anglo-Norman branch of the fifteen signs starts with, in a considerably more horrific opening, bloody rain and unborn children crying from the womb.²³ Most versions end with the destruction of the earth on either the fourteenth or fifteenth day.²⁴ When the earth is destroyed on the fourteenth day, the fifteenth contains the New Heaven and New Earth.

The All Saints, North Street imagery closely, but not entirely, follows the schema and text of the *Pricke of Conscience* poem, which itself follows the order of the Pseudo-Bede branch of the Fifteen Last Days. This poem is known in over a hundred manuscripts, a testament to its popularity in late medieval England, and copies of it circulated in York during the fifteenth century.²⁵ The poem was previously attributed to the Yorkshire mystic and hermit Richard Rolle, but is now believed to have been written by an unknown, northern English author in the second quarter of the fourteenth-century.²⁶ The North Street window does not follow in exact detail the order set out in the *Prick of Conscience* poem, but its events are close enough to show a strong connection between the two window and poem (see Appendix 1 for transcriptions of two manuscript copies of the poem). There is also a clear connection between this poem and the parish of All Saints, North Street, with a parishioner (either current or

²¹ For the potential development in Ireland, see Martin McNamara, "Some Aspects of Early Medieval Irish Eschatology," in *The Bible and the Apocrypha in the Early Irish Church (AD 600–1200)* (Brepols, 2015), 760. For a fuller comparison of the types, see Shannon Gayk, "Apocalyptic Ecologies: Eschatology, the Ethics of Care, and the Fifteen Signs of the Doom in Early England," *Speculum* 96, no. 1 (2021): 36–37. Heist argues that the full fifteen signs were first enumerated in early medieval Ireland; William Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (Michigan State College Press, 1952), 64.

²² See for example Eric Arthur Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 201; & William Heist, "Welsh Prose Versions of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday," *Speculum* 19 (1944): 421–32.

²³ Gayk, "Apocalyptic Ecologies," 36.

²⁴ Gayk, "Apocalyptic Ecologies," 37.

²⁵ Sue Powell, "All Saints' Church, North Street, York: Text and Image in the *Pricke of Conscience* Window," in *Prophecy, Apocalypse, and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 298.

²⁶ Michael Johnston, "Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience* in Late Medieval England," *Speculum* 95, no. 3 (2020): 742; & Andrew Albin and Andrew Kraebel, "Introduction," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1044.

previous) being left a copy of “the *Prick of Conscience* in English” (*Stimulo conscientie in Anglica tractatum*) in 1440.²⁷ Though this is almost certainly too late for the bequeathed manuscript to have been the basis for the window, the same manuscript may have been circulating near the parish at any earlier date and loaned to, or consulted by, the designer(s) of the window.

Henry Johnston was the only seventeenth-century antiquarian to record the main panels of this window. In 1669, he sketched an image which is mostly the same as that seen in the window today (Figure 29). The most significant difference is in the centre panel of the top row (panel 6b/the fourteenth day). The current glass shows two figures lying in bed, whereas there is only one in Johnston’s text. An examination of the current glass shows that the original figure is the lower one, a half-naked woman dying whilst a priest administers last rites. There is also a sun missing from panel 5a/the tenth day, drawn by Johnston in 1669 but replaced by Knowles with slightly purple red glass with the same pattern as the original background. Furthermore, on the second day, the sea shoreline was originally in the centre of the image, like it still is in the glass showing the third day, and there are fish missing from the sea on the fourth day. Accidental damage seems the most likely explanation for the destruction of this glass, particularly as the inscriptions for the tenth and thirteenth signs are incomplete.

Six decades after Johnston, Gent (in 1730) described in the fifth window of the north aisle as:

The coming to judgement and the stupendous Revelation of Things which are to happen at that Time: As, The Sun falling from Heaven, Graves opening, Towers and Castles overturn'd, Waters mix'd with Flames, Trees as it were dropping Blood, and the whole Course of Nature in direful Confusion.²⁸

The window is recognisably this one. In 1736, Drake made no mention of the window, whilst, in 1841, the window was described as “the Fifteen Last Days, in a window of the north aisle of All Saints, North-street”.²⁹ In 1846, Browne gave a more extensive description:

²⁷ Alexandra F. Johnston, “William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator,” *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 169.

²⁸ Thomas Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York* (York, 1730), 163.

²⁹ Drake, *Eboracum*, 275–77; & Cambridge Camden Society, ed., “An Anglo-Saxon Church,” in *The Ecclesiologist* (Cambridge, 1841), 192.

In the tracery is the reception by St. Peter of the just into Heaven, and also of the wicked by demons into Hell. In the lights are represented the supposed events of the fifteen last days of the world, with mutilated descriptions in rhyme.³⁰

Thus, by the nineteenth century, the inscriptions appear to have suffered considerable damage. The glass was given into the care of J.W. Knowles in 1861, as recorded by the inscription currently at the base of the window: “This ancient window, damaged due to weather, was restored in the year of our Lord 1861” (*haec fenestra vetustate exesa aere collato restituta est An(n)o D(o)m(i)ni 1861*). Knowles restored the window through patching sections with medieval glass and creating his own copies, as well as making the changes detailed in the previous paragraph.

Each row has slightly different canopies surrounding the panels, but all the canopies have pale-coloured stone with a combination of windows, doorways, and towers. In the middle of the window, prophet figures span two panels, creating visual similarities with the other fifteenth century windows in the church (Figure 2). The windows in the architectonic painted borders are placed within stonework with cinquefoil cusping which curves across the top of the internal image. The glass has decayed to the extent that some of the yellow colour has been lost and several parts have been replaced by plain glass. The glass in the cusping at the top of each light is filled with architecture that arches to a point and is surmounted by a pale tower structure. The arch and point are decorated with foliage-like stonework, with many details within the image picked out in gold. Stylistically, this border detail matches other early fifteenth century glass, in this church and around York.³¹

This window has previously been dated to 1410–20 by Eric Gee, with an early fifteenth century provenance universally given.³² This is supported by visual evidence from Johnston’s record, as the headdress he sketches on one of the female donor figures is identical to that worn by Margaret Blackburn senior in the St Anne window. Likewise, the two figures both wear ermine collars. The same accoutrements are not found elsewhere in the surviving glass or

³⁰ J. H. Parker and John Browne, “Architectural Notes of the Churches and Other Ancient Buildings in the City and Neighbourhood of York,” in *Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County and City of York* (London, 1846), 5–6.

³¹ See for example the glass in the church of St Denis, Walmgate and in the Great East window of York Minster on cvma.ac.uk.

³² Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 158.

antiquarian records of the churches of York, suggesting a close dating of 1412–26, and likely the same workshop, for these two windows.³³

Gee, and subsequent scholars, believed that the Fifteen Last Days window could have been made by John Thornton of Coventry, glazier of York Minster's Great East Window.³⁴ Gee's documentary evidence for his Thornton attribution comes in the form of a post-mortem inventory of the goods of Hugh Grantham, stonemason, from 1410.³⁵ The inventory refers to an incomplete contract for work on a window in All Saints, North Street in a contract made between Grantham and a John Thornton.³⁶ This has previously been identified as a reference to John Thornton of Coventry, glazier to York Minster from ca.1400 and variously thought by optimistic art historians to have glazed half the city.³⁷ Thornton was responsible for the Great East Window of York Minster: more than three hundred panels setting out the court of Heaven, the stories of the Old Testament, and the procedure for the forthcoming apocalypse. There is therefore a strong connection between Thornton and the subject matter of the Fifteen Last Days window. However, there was another John Thornton active in York at this time. He was closely associated with Hugh Grantham, to the extent of marrying his widow, and was a neighbour of William Pountfract who was mentioned in the same clause of the inventory.³⁸ Thus, he is a far more likely candidate for the John Thornton mentioned in Grantham's probate inventory.

Stylistically, the evidence for the painterly hand or the direction and design of John Thornton of Coventry is also slight.³⁹ The figure style in the All Saints, North Street window is a long way from the subtle drawing and sophisticated volumetric modelling in the Great East Window (Figure 30). As another example, the trees in All Saints window look very different to Thornton's work; the Minster trees appear to bend and grow, whilst those in All Saints are much more static (Figure 31). The Fifteen Last Days window has more similarities with glass elsewhere in All Saints, North Street. For example, the decoration on the bed covers in this

³³ Some of the antiquarian records have been collected in Clara Maria Barnett, "Memorials and Commemoration in the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York" (PhD diss., University of York, 1997).

³⁴ Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints," 158. Marks writes that "Thornton's workshop was probably responsible"; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 82.

³⁵ Marks uses the same evidence; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 182.

³⁶ York, York Minster Archive, MS. L2/4, fols. 154v–155v.

³⁷ Sarah Brown, "Looking for John Thornton: The Great East Window of York Minster revisited," in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transaction XLVII*, ed. S. Rees Jones and T. Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 136.

³⁸ See, for example, York, Borthwick Institute, CF.36. See also the will of Agnes Cliff for a John Thornton connected to the parish in 1426; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 511.

³⁹ For John Thornton as the designer and director, rather than the painter, of the Great East Window, see Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 142. In the same article, Brown highlights the difficulty of determining exactly what was painted by Thornton himself in this window; Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 141. In this way, Thornton may have been involved in the construction of the window, but not the painting itself.

window are identical to those in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window (Figure 32). There is also the similarity between the female donor figures in this window and the St Anne window. This is supported by the surviving text in the inscriptions which has similar lettering (for example with the ‘s’s’) to that remaining in the St Anne window. This dissertation will therefore not assume that the Fifteen Last Days window and the Great East Window of York Minster were produced by the same workshop. They do, however, reflect a shared eschatological interest.

3.13. The Inscriptions

The following sections will examine in detail each of the couplets below the images in this window with reference to Johnston’s 1669 text, and the medieval and modern glass. These couplets will then be compared to surviving *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts, and a plausible recreation made of the fifteenth-century poem written on the glass. This reconstruction, and the evidence behind it, will form the basis of discussion of the text in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

Day One (2a)

The inscription currently reads: “Þe I day xl cubetes certayne // Þe see sall ryse up aboue ilk mountayne” (The first day 40 cubits certain // The sea shall rise up above every mountain). At first glance, this text describing the first of the fifteen days appears to be medieval, with the script used elsewhere in the medieval glass successfully copied, particularly in the “a” and “e” shapes and the lack of the characteristic pink tint to the white glass of the nineteenth-century restoration. However, this inscription is a twenty-first-century reconstruction. Photographs taken in 2007 and 1975, and Shaw’s 1908 book show that only the middle section (“cubetes” and “ryse up”) had survived into the twentieth century.⁴⁰ These photographs also match the text recorded by Henry Johnston in 1669: “. . . cubites . . . // . . . rise up . . .”.⁴¹ The current inscription was made in 2023, creating an approximation of the medieval glass.⁴² The replacement of the

⁴⁰ CVMA archive, www.cvma.ac.uk; & Shaw, *All Hallows*, plate facing page 33. Knowles’ 1891–1915 notebook includes the same image of the window as Shaw’s book.

⁴¹ For this and subsequent quotes from Johnston’s manuscript, see MS. Top. Yorks., 195.

⁴² Nothing has yet been academically published on the most recent restoration. For newspaper articles on the reconstruction see, Natasha Meek, “Stained glass windows: Conservation work at All Saints Church,” 19th September, 2021, <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/19586166.stained-glass-windows-conservation-work-saints-church>; & Tony Harrison, “£500k project underway to restore church’s stained-glass windows,” 11th February, 2021, <https://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/19079489.500k-project-underway-restore-churchs-stained-glass-windows>.

flanking text is an interesting (in its dedication to reproducing the script) example of a contemporary medievalism, but cannot be used for any study of the fifteenth-century window.

Day Two (2b)

The inscription currently reads: “Pe seconde day þe see sall be // So lawe as all men sall it cee” (The second day the sea shall be // So low as men shall it see). In 1669, Johnston recorded “Ye second dy ye see sall bee // So law un ith sall it cee”. Johnston’s spelling with a second “e” on “be” is unusual (assuming that our apiarian friends do not play a significant part in Doomsday) but can be accounted for with an intention to rhyme visually with “cee” (for the modern “see”). The significant difference between the current window and that seen by Johnston lies in the two sections of the modern glass reading “second” and “as” and “all”. These can be discounted as non-medieval sections based both on the variation from Johnston’s text, and the appearance of the glass, with the telling pink tint in these two sections (see Figure 5). A close examination of the outside of the glass confirms this. A red line of paint runs between “secon” and “as all”. This is typical of the appearance of nineteenth-century paint on the outside of stained glass. The 2007, 1975, and 1908 records mostly agree with the current appearance of the glass, with no text added by the most recent restoration.⁴³

Day Three (2c)

The inscription now reads “Pe iii day yt sall be playne // And stand as yt was agayne” (The iii day it shall be plain // And stand as it was again). Johnston recorded this couplet as “Ye 3^{[r]d} day yt sall be playne // And . . . stand in his course again”. Examining the current glass agrees with this pattern of damage: the three central sections (“iij day yt sall be pl. . . // . . . stand as yt was ag. . .”) have the pink tint characteristic of nineteenth-century glass. This accords with the glass reaching its current appearance at least by the time of Shaw’s 1908 book. According to an examination of the glass colour and lettering style, the surviving medieval text is “Pe . . . yne // And . . . ayne”, suggesting that the middle section of the couplet had been destroyed between Johnston’s 1669 visit and Knowles’ 1861 restoration.

⁴³ Shaw has the text almost the same, with a few variations in spelling (se/see), (yt/it), and (see/cee); Shaw, *All Hallows*, 34.

Day Four (3a)

The text currently reads “Þe ferth day fisches sal make roryng // Hidus & hevy to mannes heryng” (The fourth day fishes shall make roaring // Hideous and heavy to man’s hearing). Johnston’s 1669 text reads “Ye ferth day fisches shall make raring // Hidus & hevy to mans heryn”, similar to the current text. However, only the middle section (“fishes sal ma . . . // . . . to mannes”) is a medieval survival, whilst the flanking two panels are twenty-first-century reconstructions. The middle section has the greenish tint of white medieval glass and the same lettering as found elsewhere in the window and in the church, as well as being attested to in Shaw’s 1908 image.

Day Five (3b)

The current inscription reads “Þe fift day þe sea sall bryn // And all þe waters that may ryn” (The fifth day the sea shall burn // And all the waters that may run). For this couplet, Henry Johnston wrote “Ye 5 day ye sea sall bryn // And all ye water þat may ryn”. The middle section of this inscription has the characteristic pink tinge of the nineteenth-century restoration, suggesting that only the left and right sections are medieval survivals (leaving “Þe fift day . . . sall bryn // And all þe . . . may ryn”). The left section was also restored in 2023, removing the leading but not altering the glass. With no significant difference in the text from Johnston (adding only “a” to “se” and “s” to “water”), the nineteenth-century restoration of the middle section is likely to have been based upon glass that survived, but was not in a good enough condition to continue to use.⁴⁴

Day Six (3c)

The current text reads “Þe sext day sall herbes & trees // Wyth bloody drops þat grysely bees” (The sixth day shall herbs and trees // With bloody drops that grisly be). Johnston’s text reads “Þe 6 day sall herbes and trees // With bloody drops þat grysely bees”, suggesting that the current text has survived from 1669. However, this glass was altered in the twenty-first-century restoration. Images from 2007 and 1975 show the section “herbes & . . . // . . . þat grysely”

⁴⁴ For replacing medieval glass with similar versions see Sebastian Strobl, “From Plumber to Glazier: the Story of Stained-Glass Restoration,” in *The Art of Collaboration: Stained-Glass Conservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Mary B. Shepard, Lisa Pilosi and Sebastian Strobl (Harvey Miller Publishers, 2010), 40.

missing and based on this, the style of the lettering, and the colour of the glass, only the left, centre left, and right section of the text are medieval survivals.

Day Seven (4a)

The current text reads “Þe sevend day howses mou fall // castels & towers & ilk a Wall” (The seventh day houses may fall // castles & towers & every wall). Johnston’s 1669 text read “Þe sevend day howses mou fall // Castles and towers and ilk a wall”. Apart from Johnston’s modernised spelling of “castle”, there are no indications in the current glass that this text has not survived intact. The glass has the white, slightly green, medieval tint and the script appears to be medieval. It appears in its current form in Shaw’s 1908 image.

Day Eight (4b)

The inscription currently reads “Þe viii day þe rochis & stanes // sall bryn toged all at anes” (The viii day the rocks & stones // shall burn together all at once). Johnston’s text reads “. . . þe rochis & stanes // . . . toged all at anes”. Corroborating Johnston’s 1699 survivals, the material remains of the first part of this inscription show clear evidence of the characteristic pink tint of Knowles’ nineteenth-century restoration. Only the second part is therefore medieval.

Day Nine (4c)

The history of the text in this inscription is more complicated than those elsewhere in the window. The inscription in the current window was created in the twenty-first century, reading “Þe ix day erthdyn sall be // generally in ilk contre” (The ix day earth din shall be // generally in every country). In 1669, Johnston recorded “Þe 9 day erthdyng sall be // Severally in ilk contry”. The 1962 photograph shows “. . . ay erthdyn . . . // . . . ally in ilk . . .”, as do photographs from 1975 and 2007. Shaw’s 1908 image adds only a “d” to “day”. It can be assumed that the word “generally” was added because it appears in the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts, and indeed could be read as such in Johnston’s manuscript. No justification has been published for the re-spelling of “contry” to “contre”, but it can be assumed that it was intended to visually rhyme with “be”.

Day Ten (5a)

The current text reads “Þe tende day for neven // erthe sal be playne & even” (The tenth day for to say // Earth shall be plain & even). In 1669, Johnston wrote: “Þe tend day for neven // Erth sall be playn & even”. Examining the appearance of the current glass, it becomes clear that only the first part of the inscription (“Þe ten . . . // erthe . . .”) is medieval. This is most clearly seen in the script: the “v” in “even” is noticeably nineteenth-century, as are the “f” in “for”, the “s” in “sal”, and the base of the “p” in “playne” was used elsewhere by Knowles. The final section also shows the fading text characteristic of the nineteenth-century restoration. However, the similarity of the nineteenth-century restoration to Johnston’s text suggests that Knowles was working from surviving medieval glass.

Day Eleven (5b)

The current text reads “Þe xi day sall men com owte // of their holes & wende a bowte” (The xi day shall men come out // of their holes & wend about). Johnston recorded “. . . all men cum owt // . . . holes & wend abowt”, suggesting only partial survival of medieval glass in 1669. Looking at the current glass, the left part appears modern and the subsequent parts medieval, almost matching Johnston’s description (between 1669 and Knowles’ restoration, some of “all” was also lost or replaced due to deterioration).

Day Twelve (5c)

The inscription currently reads “Þe xii day sal ded [obscured by lead] banes // Be s[obscured by lead]unen sett & ryse al at anes” (The xii day shall dead [lead] bones // Be [lead] set & rise all at once). Johnston’s 1669 sketch reads “Þe x day sall dede mens banes // Be summ set and ryse all at anes.” In 1962 (and 1975 and 2007), the text read “Þe x day sal banes dede me[text covered by lead] // Be [text covered by lead]en sett & at anes ryse all”. The “ii” originally following “x”, can now be seen either side of the leading. Though the order of the words differs in these records, the letters used are largely the same. The order of words in the inscription had been altered between 1669 and 1962, probably by Knowles, though the rhyming of “banes” and “anes” suggesting to even the most casual observer that these words would naturally appear

at the end of each line.⁴⁵ A likely reason for this reordering is shown by a comparison with other *Prick of Conscience* texts (see Appendix 1). In each of these, the couplets end with “fall” and “all”. The text in this window was likely reordered to match one or more manuscripts.⁴⁶ Based on the colour of the glass bearing the inscriptions, each section is a medieval survival.

Day Thirteen (6a)

The current text reads “Þe thirende day suthe sall // Sternes & the heuen fall” (The thirteenth day such shall // Stars & the heavens fall). Similarly, Johnston recorded “The thertend day suthe sall // Sternes from the heven fall”. Based on the colour of the glass and the fading of the text, only “day” and “the” are medieval survivals (this is supported by the destruction of the sun in the tenth panel, immediately below), but the similarity of the current text to Johnston’s manuscript suggests Knowles copied from a considerable amount of medieval glass. The 1908 image shows “Ye thirtend day suthe sall // Sternes & the heven fall”.

Day Fourteen (6b)

The current text reads “Þe xiiij day all þat liues þan // Sall dy bathe childe man & woman” (The xiii day all that lives then // Shall die both child man & woman). For this couplet, Johnston recorded “Ye xiiij day all þat liv þan // Sall dy bathe chyld man & woman”. The current text is very similar to Johnston’s, suggesting little damage or replacement. The colour of the glass likewise supports a medieval provenance for the entirety of this inscription.

Day Fifteen (6c)

The current text reads “Þe xv day þus sal betyde // Þe werlde sall bryn on ilk a syde” (The xv day thus shall betide // The world shall burn on each side). Johnston records this panel as “Ye

⁴⁵ Shaw’s 1908 illustration shows no break in the glass that would allow this to be the case. However, this image is a fabrication; Knowles’ earlier photograph does show the break between “al” and “at”; York, York City Archives, York Churches’ Stained Glass, John Ward Knowles, 30a.

⁴⁶ Richard Morris’ edition of a *Prick of Conscience* manuscript was published in 1863, around the time that Knowles restored this window. Perhaps Knowles saw an early version of Morris’ work or examined the British library manuscripts upon which Morris was working, later published as Richard Morris, ed., *The ‘Pricke of Conscience’ (‘Stimulus Conscientiae’), A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole* (Berlin, 1863). Knowles certainly knew about the poem at a later date as he included it in his 1891–1915 notebook; York Churches’ Stained Glass, 26–27a.

15 day þus sall betyde // Ye werld sall bryn on ilk a syde”. Based on the colours of the sections of the glass, all but the final “de” appear to be medieval.

Unsurprisingly, the inscriptions at the bottom of the window have suffered more damage and destruction than those higher up. This suggests the destruction was more accidental than deliberate, with no plan by reformers to remove Popish imagery. In this regard, the window may also have benefitted from its employment of the vernacular, perhaps being seen as proto-Protestant.

More than a hundred *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts survive, and these show considerable variation in their Middle English dialect.⁴⁷ Two of the most famous surviving texts are the Vernon Manuscript (MS. Eng. Poet, a.1), held by the Bodleian Library, and MS. 8, held by the Wellesley College Library. These are included in the table in Appendix 1, with the Wellesley manuscript thought to originate in the Vale of York and thus being the most geographically close to the All Saints window.⁴⁸ Both of the above manuscripts follow the Main Version of the *Prick of Conscience* poem, and are accessible as online facsimiles.⁴⁹

In summary, on the first day of the *Prick of Conscience* poem the sea rises. It falls on the second day low enough that the seabed can be seen. On the third day, it returns to its original level. On the fourth day, fish roar, on the fifth the sea burns, on the sixth blood drips from vegetation, and on the seventh day buildings fall. In this seventh couplet, All Saints is the most like MS. Huntingdon 125, MS. Laud Misc. 486 and MS. Bodley 423 (two of which are southern recension) in that only these specify houses falling. The other manuscripts specify buildings, castles and towers.⁵⁰ On the eighth day, rocks and stones strike together; on the ninth there are earthquakes; and on the tenth the earth is flattened. On eleventh day, people come out of the caves in which they have been hiding and wander about. In the manuscripts, they are described as, in an echo of the Tower of Babel, unable to understand one another, but this detail is not included in the All Saints text. The significance of this is explored in Chapter 7. On the twelfth day, All Saints differs significantly from the surviving manuscript versions. In all the *Prick of*

⁴⁷ Johnston, “Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience*,” 742. A varying total of manuscripts is given, based upon whether one includes fragments in the calculation. Not all the manuscripts contain the Fifteen Last Days section; Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS. English 50 does not.

⁴⁸ Johnston, “Copying and Reading *The Prick of Conscience*,” 796.

⁴⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet, a.1 is online under <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>. Wellesley, Wellesley College Library, MS. 8 is at <https://repository.wellesley.edu/object/wellesley22855>.

⁵⁰ This includes manuscripts consulted at the Bodleian: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl C. 35; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. Poet 138; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 126; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. e Mus 76; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 41; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. Poet 175; & Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 99.

Conscience manuscripts consulted, the twelfth day is described as, in some form, the stars falling from the sky.⁵¹ In All Saints, North Street, dead men's bones rise on the twelfth day. It is on the thirteenth day that the stars fall in All Saints. This follows the order, though not the exact days, given by Peter Comestor and by the *Golden Legend*. On the thirteenth day in the manuscripts cited above, the bones rise. Finally, in both the poem and the window, on the fourteenth day everyone yet living dies and, on the fifteenth, the material world burns.

No single textual source for the window can be found, and Sue Powell has argued that the text of the All Saints, North Street Fifteen Last Days window was based upon an oral tradition related to but not directly drawn from the *Prick of Conscience* poem.⁵² Appendix 1 shows convincing similarities between the poem and the All Saints, North Street signs and text. However, the poet of the window could equally have adapted and created his own verse from his knowledge of the poem, perhaps gained either from manuscript versions or drawn from an oral tradition which the original author(s) of the *Prick of Conscience* knew.

3.14. The *Prick of Conscience* Poem from All Saints, North Street

The following text is based on Johnston's manuscript, edited with primacy given to the material remains of the glass. Where text is missing, I compare *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts and make a plausible interpolation. Primacy is given to the Wellesley manuscript due to its provenance in the Vale of York. Alongside it, I add the text in modern English spelling for ease of reading.

*Be first day forty cubetes over mountayn,
And hill þe se sal ryse up certayn
Be second dy þe see sal bee,
So law un ith [men] sal it cee
Be third day þe se sal be playne,
And even stand in his cours agayne,
Be forth day fisches shall make roring,
Hidus & hevy to mens heryn,
Be fift day þe se sall bryn,*

The first day forty cubits over mountains,
And hills the sea shall rise up certain,
The second day the sea shall be,
So low that underneath men shall it see,
The third day the sea shall be plain,
And even stand in his course again,
The fourth day fishes shall make roaring,
Hideous and heavy to men's hearing,
The fifth day the sea shall burn,

⁵¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Huntingdon 125; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 486; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 423; MS. Rawl C. 35; MS. Rawl. Poet 138; MS. Douce 126; MS. e Mus 76; MS. Ashmole 41; MS. Rawl. Poet 175; & MS. Digby 99.

⁵² Powell, "All Saints' Church, North Street," 301 & 309.

*And all þe water þat may ryn,
 Þe sext day sall herbes and trees,
 Wyth bloody dropes þat grysely bees.
 Þe sevend day howses mou fall,
 castels & towres & ilk a wall
 Þe aghtend day þe rochis & stanes,
 Sall stryke toged all at anes,
 Þe neghon day erthdyng sall be,
 Severally in ilk contry,
 Þe tende day for neven,
 Erthe sal be pleyne and even,
 Þe ellevens day sall men com owte,
 Of caves & holes & wende abowte,
 Þe xii day sall dede mens banes,
 Be sumin set and ryse all at anes,
 Þe thertend day suthe sall,
 Sternes from the heven fall,
 Þe xiiij day all þat liv þan,
 Sall dy bathe chyld man & woman,
 Þe xv day þus sal betyde,
 Þe werlde sall bryn on ilk a syde,*

And all the water that may run,
 The sixth day shall herbs and trees,
 With bloody drops that grisly be,
 The seventh day houses may fall,
 Castles & towers & every wall,
 The eighth day the rocks and stones,
 Shall strike together all at once,
 The ninth day earthquakes shall be,
 Severally in every country,
 The tenth day for to make,
 Earth shall be plain and even,
 The eleventh day shall men come out,
 Of caves and holes and wend about,
 The xii day shall dead men's bones,
 Be summing⁵³ set and rise all at once,
 The thirteenth day such shall,
 Stars from the heavens fall,
 The xiv day all that live then,
 Shall die both child, man & woman,
 The xv day thus shall betide,
 The world shall burn on every side.

An analysis of the dialect in this poem to find a clear origin for the text is beyond the scope of this dissertation. It suffices to say that the language is clearly northern English and contemporary with the period in which the window was made. The exact text within the poem is therefore likely either have been edited or created within the city of York in the early fifteenth century, probably specifically for this window and by a priest or parishioner of All Saints, North Street.⁵⁴

⁵³ In sum/together.

⁵⁴ James Baguley, parish priest 1413–1440, with his university education, may himself be the author/adaptor of these couplets, though a comparison in the LAME database shows a significant difference in spelling between Cheshire (where Baguley likely came from) dialects and this poem. See, for example, the word “shall” (Cheshire) and “sall” (All Saints and York). <http://www.lcl.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

3.2. The Revelation Window (sIII)

The Fifteen Last Days is not the only apocalyptic window surviving in All Saints, North Street. Different in both its subject matter and presentation is the Revelation window. This glass has full-length figures rather than the panels in the Fifteen Last Days window. It is the first window from the east on the south side of the church and was donated, at least in part, by James Baguley, rector of the church from 1413 to 1440. Today, the glass has two medieval main light panels flanking a centre panel of clear modern glass containing shields in roundels. St John the Evangelist stands in the western panel with a palm, book, and eagle whilst, in the eastern light, St Michael the Archangel has just finished fighting the many-headed Beast (Figure 1). Below St John, two male donor figures and a female figure kneel before a red foliated background, and below St Michael are two male figures followed by a female figure, all in front of a blue foliated background. The medieval donor panels had an extra figure (Figure 33) and much of the detail has been replaced or moved since its fifteenth-century installation.

3.21. The Donors

The antiquarians Hutton and Johnston give descriptions of the donor panels as they were in the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1659, Hutton saw “in a south window” two men and a woman praying.⁵⁵ Johnston’s description is very similar, with the addition of a second set of donors. He sketched, in the “first south window on the south side of quire”, three figures: a priest with a speech scroll reading “alter/change us” (*altera nos*), a man with a speech scroll reading “salvation” (*salus*), and a woman in the eastern donor panel (Figure 33). These match Hutton’s description. In the western panel, Johnston drew a man, woman and two children (Figure 33). In 1730, Gent saw “in the first window south, St. Michael, St. John the Divine, and underneath the Family of the Bagitleys, and of Robert Chapman”.⁵⁶ As Gent does not explicitly record the second donor panel, it may have been lost by then. However, he did not record all panels known to have been in the church. After 1861, Knowles noted three figures in each panel, as survives now, but in the opposite lights. He records two men followed by a woman below St John and two men flanking a woman below St Michael (or St Thomas as it

⁵⁵ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, 25.

⁵⁶ Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

was then).⁵⁷ In 1915, George Benson writes of three kneeling figures in each panel, whilst these panels are not recorded by Browne in 1846 or Shaw in 1908.⁵⁸

The panels currently in the lower lights do not entirely match Johnston's 1669 description. As Figure 33 shows, Johnston records a priest, a man, and a woman in the eastern panel, as survives today. However, only the faces, two pairs of hands, and one scroll are medieval survivals. Most of the glass in the robes is a replacement and, in Johnston's manuscript, the priest has a book without text. He is praying in the current glass. Remnants of a white and gold robe close to the base of the surviving panel suggest that this is what the priest was originally wearing. The text within the panel is likely the same as in 1669, though Johnston recorded it incorrectly. The text in the current scroll reads "deliver/free us" (*libera nos*). Johnston wrote this as "alter/change us" (*altera nos*).⁵⁹ However, the current glass of this scroll shows all the characteristics of a medieval survival, and clearly reads "libera". The text — deliver us (from evil) — is liturgically plausible, most frequently heard in the *Pater Noster*. Conversely, there is no obvious liturgical or theological reason to use "altera". Finally, there is also a medieval shield in the window, with the letter "R" in one half and a diagonal band in the other half. The glass is clear with black paint and perhaps shows the merchants' mark of the central layman.

The western donor panel currently contains one female and two male figures, but Johnston recorded this space in 1669 as containing four figures: a man, a woman and two smaller male figures, probably representing a family.⁶⁰ By the time he visited, the head of the westernmost figure appears to have been lost. Since the late seventeenth century, the rest of the figure has disappeared. Of the surviving three figures, the heads and some of the clothing are medieval.

As regards the original inscriptions underneath these two donor panels, in 1659, Matthew Hutton recorded an inscription beneath only the three eastern figures. This read "Pray for the souls of Sir James Baguley rector of this [church] Robert Chapman . . . his wife" (*Orate pro animabus dni Jacobi Baguley istius rectoris . . . Roberti Chapman . . . uxoris eiusdem*).⁶¹ Twenty years later, Johnston expanded on Hutton's inscription, recording "Pray for the souls

⁵⁷ York Churches' Stained Glass, 30.

⁵⁸ George Benson, *Later Medieval York* (Cooper & Swann, 1919), 136; Parker and Browne, "Architectural Notes,"; Patrick Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street* (The Church Shop, 1908); & Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints," 169.

⁵⁹ It is possible, looking at the current glass, to see how Johnston could have read "altera". The number of strokes match both interpretations.

⁶⁰ MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

⁶¹ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton's notes, 1659, fol. 26.

of Sir James Baguley rector // Robert Chapman . . . his wife . . . // wife of A[b or l] . . . and Alice” (*Orate pro animabus dni Jacobi Baguley istius rectoris // Roberti Chapman . . . uxoris eiusdem . . . // . . . uxoris de Ab/l . . . et Alicia*), adding the church and the names Alice and possibly Abel.⁶² Johnston records no inscription underneath the four western donor figures, indicating with ellipses that the inscriptions had been lost. However, the full inscription he records, due to its length, may have run beneath all figures.

James Baguley, rector of the church (his life is explained in more detail in Chapter 4), Robert Chapman, and Robert Chapman’s unnamed wife can therefore be established as the donors shown in the eastern donor panel. The western donor panel appears to have shown a man possibly named Abel (or possibly, Alne, as suggested below), his wife Alice, and two male figures, likely, due to their size and placement in the glass, the couple’s sons. Nothing survives of the original inscription, and the text currently below the image is a nineteenth-century replacement. It gives a date of 1861 for the restoration of the window.

The identification of James Baguley is reinforced by the inclusion of arms in his window.⁶³ Hutton records the arms “or a fess between 3 lozenges B[lue]” beside Baguley’s depiction.⁶⁴ These are very similar to those of the gentry Legh family from Baguley in Cheshire, given as *or, three lozenges az[ure]*.⁶⁵ As those in the All Saints window had a fess added, James Baguley is likely to have come from a cadet branch of the family. A connection to the Leghs of Baguley is significant, since they fought at Shrewsbury in 1403 against Henry IV, as explained in more detail later in this dissertation.⁶⁶ Baguley died in 1440, leaving bequests to All Saints, North Street, the parish of Stoppford (now Stockport, formerly in Cheshire, now in Greater Manchester) and individuals in and around York.⁶⁷

The other identifiable donor figure, Robert Chapman, gives the clearest dates for the window. He came to York from Snape in North Yorkshire, receiving the freedom in 1424–25.⁶⁸ The window is therefore unlikely to have been made significantly earlier than this date. Chapman’s settlement in the parish of All Saints, North Street may have been influenced by

⁶² MS. Top. Yorks., 185.

⁶³ These arms do not appear in medieval heraldry contained in the *Dictionary of Arms*. The relevant entry would be in S. Flower and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, vol. 3 (Society of Antiquaries of London, 2009), 433.

⁶⁴ York, York Minster Library, Matthew Hutton’s notes, 1659, 25.

⁶⁵ S. Flower and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, vol. 4 (Society of Antiquaries of London, 2014), 202. Much later, Burke attributes these to the Baguley family themselves: B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales* (London, 1884), 39.

⁶⁶ Peter McNiven, “The Men of Cheshire and the Rebellion of 1403,” *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 129 (1980): 20.

⁶⁷ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17r.

⁶⁸ Collins, *Freemen’s Register*, 134.

the high concentration of families from the same geographical area, particularly the Blakburns of Richmond and the Bedales. However, no clear connections to other Richmondshire merchants can be made. After buying the freedom, he apparently settled into trade, renting a shop in the centre of York and acting as Constable in the Guild of Mercers in 1435.⁶⁹ He also participated in the civic life of the city by serving as a Bridgemaster of Ouse Bridge in 1430 and witnessing a grant of property in 1436.⁷⁰ In ca.1440, after Baguley's death, Chapman moved to Hull and took the freedom there in 1443–44.⁷¹ Movement of merchants between York and Hull was not uncommon in this period so Chapman's move from York should not be seen as notable.⁷²

The identities of the other people mentioned in the Baguley and Chapman inscription, and shown in the glass, are almost impossible to determine. The text and the female figure in the first donor panel almost certainly referred to the wife of Robert Chapman. Unfortunately, we know neither her name nor her natal family. It is possible she may have previously been married to an Abel and had a daughter called Alice, but this cannot be said for certain based on the surviving text in the inscription. It is more likely, based on the remaining text, the number of figures and their genders, and burials before this altar, that these donor figures are the Alne family. The text recorded by Johnston plausibly reads "Al" (Figure 33), and the priest and Examiner General of the Court of York, Robert Alne, was buried before this altar in 1440 (for a consideration of Alne's life, see Chapter 4 below).⁷³ His mother was called Alice and he was one of two brothers.⁷⁴ Both he and his brother, the merchant and mayor William Alne, had the financial resources to contribute towards a window.⁷⁵ The donor panels could therefore show, from east to west, James Baguley, Robert Chapman, Chapman's wife, Richard Alne, Alice Alne, Robert Alne, and William Alne. However, without surviving figures, heraldry or inscriptions, it is impossible to say for certain.

⁶⁹ P. M. Stell, *The Bridgemasters of York* (York Archaeological Trust, 2003), 183; & Maud Sellers, ed., *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, 1356–1917* (Surtees Society, 1918), 43.

⁷⁰ Stell, *The Bridgemasters of York*, 482; & Joyce W. Percy, ed., *York Memorandum Book III* (Surtees Society, 1973), 114.

⁷¹ Jennifer Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74.

⁷² Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 74.

⁷³ Prog. Reg. 2, fol. 682.

⁷⁴ C. Rawcliffe, "Alne, William, of York," in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421*, ed. J. S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Boydell and Brewer, 1993).

⁷⁵ The St Michael panel can potentially be connected to the Alne's through the text of the York Mystery Plays. There is no evidence as to the involvement of either the tanner Richard Alne or the mercer William Alne in the play cycle, but the tanners were responsible for the pageant of the Fall of the Rebel Angels, and the mercers for the Last Judgement. St Michael's appearance in both pageants provides a further possible link between the family and the window.

3.22. The Window

The main lights of this window were first described in 1730, by Thomas Gent who saw “In the first window south, St. Michael, St. John the Divine”.⁷⁶ In 1846, Browne wrote of “St. Michael and the many-headed monster . . . St. John the Evangelist with his branch, book, eagle, and ink-horn”.⁷⁷ In the late nineteenth century, John Ward Knowles described St John and the glass of the centre panel as they now are.⁷⁸ However, when he was in the church, the eastern light of this window showed an archbishop. This figure is now in the St Thomas window in the north aisle (nV), as described in the previous chapter.⁷⁹ St Michael, much damaged, was then in the St Thomas window, described as “St. Michael slaying the dragon . . . much interfered with in the past”.⁸⁰ Thus, the figures of St Michael and the archbishop were swapped at some point after 1846, and St Michael was returned to this window in 1965/6.⁸¹

The glass of the eastern panel shows a scene in which St Michael appears to have just won his battle with the many-headed beast. The angel is dressed in fifteenth-century armour, with golden wings, and is holding a short sword or long dagger (perhaps intended to be a baselard) pointing towards a snakelike, blue creature under his feet. Gee writes that the beast has three heads, but, in the current glass, at least six can be seen.⁸² The scroll with the archangel currently reads “Holy Trinity, receive the souls praising [you]” (*laudantes a[n]i[m]as suscipe s[anc]ta trinitas*). The image is fragmentary and this panel has a large amount of modern glass, including the head of the archangel. In a photograph taken when the glass was still in its previous position in the north aisle (nV), the figure of St Michael is barely discernible with only the wings, feet and beast in their current position and fragments of sword and armour scattered in the image.⁸³ The head used then was a nineteenth-century head of God the Father

⁷⁶ Gent, *Antient York*, 163. To further Gent’s ascription of these panels to the same window, a comparison of the architectonic borders around St John and St Michael suggests that these were originally conceived as part of the same window. The architecture contains lions’ heads on window frames, only found elsewhere in the church in the Mystic Mass window. Likewise, the prophets in both panels are placed in the architecture at the same point, around halfway up the window. In the other fifteenth-century windows in the church (except the Fifteen Last Days and maybe in the disordered Mystic Mass borders), the prophets are at the base of the main lights.

⁷⁷ Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 6.

⁷⁸ York Churches’ Stained Glass, fol. 31a.

⁷⁹ York Churches’ Stained Glass, fol. 21.

⁸⁰ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 168; & York Churches’ Stained Glass, 23. The archangel’s head may have been one of those stolen in October, 1842; Shaw, *All Hallows*, 27–28. By the end of 1842, Browne describes it as “displaced”; Parker and Browne, “Architectural Notes,” 6.

⁸¹ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 168.

⁸² Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints,” 169.

⁸³ RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume III: South-west of the Ouse* (Stationery Office Books, 1972), 100.

by Wailes (now acting as the head of St James in sIV). Most of the other fragments were reconstructed into the current image.

The depiction draws on two passages from the Book of Revelation:

And I saw a beast coming up of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns and upon his horns ten crowns and on his heads the names of blasphemy.⁸⁴

And I saw as it were a glass sea mingled with fire, and them that had overcome the beast and his image and the number of his name, standing on the sea of glass.⁸⁵

There is no comparable image of St Michael defeating the Beast/Satan/Antichrist in York Minster's Great East Window, though the closest depictions are panels 3h and 7g.⁸⁶ In 7g, three angels fight against the Dragon, two holding swords and one a spear. In 3h, an angel holds a sword high above its head whilst the Beast appears to cower below. In contrast to All Saints, North Street, the angels in York Minster wear robes, not St Michael's typical armour, including, in an image of St Michael fighting the Beast elsewhere in the Minster (s12, ca.1440), a robe worn over his feathers and using a lance.⁸⁷ The Beast in this glass is on land, thus showing a different apocalyptic monster but the same ongoing cosmic fight. Angels in armour do survive in the fifteenth-century glass of St Michael, Spurriergate in York, but these do not attack, or even carry weapons.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Rev 13:1: *Et vidi de mare bestiam ascendentem habentem captia septem et et cornua decem et super cornua eius decem diademata et super capita eius nomina blasphemiae.*

⁸⁵ Rev 15:2: *Et vidi tamquam mare vitreum mixtum igne, et eos qui vicerunt bestiam et imaginem illius et numerum nominis ejus stantes supra mare vitreum.* See also, Rev. 4:6 "And before the throne was as it a sea of glass like crystal" (*Et in conspectu sedis tamquam mare vitreum simile cristallo*). The imagery also draws on a body of iconography around St Michael, included in the *Prick of Conscience* poem as "Ȝat Saynt Michael sal hym sla"; Book 5, line 4606, taken from James H. Morey, ed., *Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012). This is only an example: there is no evidence upon which to argue that this window is also based on *The Prick of Conscience*. This line actually refers to St Michael slaying Antichrist, of whom the beast is biblically the servant. Yet, the two were frequently conflated; Richard K. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 322. The Chester Mystery Plays expressly says this: "The beaste that John spake of heare is Antichriste"; David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: A New Edition with Modernised Spelling* (Colleagues Press, 1992), 383 (play 22, lines 237–38).

⁸⁶ For a further example in fifteenth-century glass, see St George in Great Malvern Priory; Marks, *Stained Glass in England*, 62.

⁸⁷ Sarah Brown, *York Minster: An Architectural History c.1220–1500* (English Heritage, 2003), 267. St Michael typically slays the dragon with a lance, unlike the sword in the All Saints image. For early depictions, see Peter K. Klein, "Introduction: The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson & Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 165. For a general survey, see Ross, *Medieval Art*, 174–75.

⁸⁸ A similar image of St Michael victorious can be found in the late fifteenth-century glass of All Saints, Trull, Somerset, perhaps drawing on a shared tradition, but with no direct connection to All Saints, North Street.

The glass depicting St John is in a far better condition. The author of Revelation is depicted as the Evangelist: he holds a book on which an eagle stands, and a golden palm.⁸⁹ The eagle holds an inkhorn in his beak. St John is haloed and clean shaven (and thus young), dressed in a white and gold robe and standing on a black and white parapet. The inclusion of the palm is surprising, considering that it was commonly used as a symbol for martyrdom.⁹⁰ However, it is not unique in late medieval English stained glass and the possible meanings will be discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. The saint stands against a red foliated background, surrounded by an architectural border and canopy of a similar style to that of St Michael. The saint's head, book and eagle survive intact, and much of the robe is original. Some of the borders, including the prophet figures, are also original fifteenth-century glass. Unfortunately, though, the scroll accompanying St John cannot be read clearly. In 1848, the text was recorded as reading: "Blessed be the speech of thy mouth" (*Benedictus sit sermo oris tui*), remnants of which can be seen today.⁹¹ The meaning of this text within the narrative of the window will likewise be discussed below.

Whilst the figure is not mentioned by the seventeenth-century antiquarians, Gent recorded St John in this window in 1730 and, in 1846, Browne described the same contents as now seen.⁹² In 1867, Kerry saw a head of St John the Evangelist in the church, and Knowles specified St John was in this panel.⁹³ Thus, the glass is unlikely to have been moved since 1730, although it was restored during the 1861 replacement of parts of the window, with the characteristic pinkish tint to the white glass seen particularly in the lower parts of the saint's robe. Stylistically, the figure shows similarities to other fifteenth-century glass in the church. The 'm' and rose decorations on the Evangelist's robe are very similar to those used in the Nine Orders of Angels window. However, the patterned floor on which the saint stands is not found elsewhere in the church under a main light figure. Most of the other large fifteenth-century

⁸⁹ Medieval scholars conflated St John the Evangelist, author of the eponymous Gospel, and John of Patmos, supposed author of the Book of Revelation; Bernard McGinn, "John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 13. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer writes "the grete evaungelist, Seint John // In Pathmos wroot"; Robert Boenig, "The Apocalypse in Medieval England," in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Brill, 2016), 321. For John in apocalyptic culture, see Emmerson, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Culture," 329–31.

⁹⁰ For a similar example, see the fifteenth-century tracery panel held by the V&A; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Saint John the Evangelist, 15th century, C.336–1937.

⁹¹ Parker and Browne, "Architectural Notes," 6.

⁹² Parker and Browne, "Architectural Notes," 6; & Gent, *Antient York*, 163.

⁹³ Charles Kerry, "History and Antiquities of All Saints' Church, North-street, York," *Associated Architectural Societies: Reports and Papers* 9 (1867): 63.

figures stand on raised stonework with St Michael being the only exception as he is above water, defeating the Beast.

In the centre of the window, a panel of clear glass runs from top to bottom, encompassing the spaces elsewhere used for the main light and donor panels. Currently, this glass contains two shields; the top shield has the arms of Robert Whytehead, the rector of the church who commissioned the 1861 restoration of the window and in the lower shield his arms are quartered with those of his wife, Henrietta Dodsworth.⁹⁴ No antiquarian records any details on what may have been in either of these panels. As the medieval window contained St Michael and St John, a figure connected to the apocalypse is likely, especially as this theme would also echo the Fifteen Last Days window directly facing it across the church. Another subject from the Book of Revelation (perhaps a lamb, Antichrist, or bound Satan) could be postulated although nothing definite can be said of it. It is also possible that this was originally a two-light window, changed to three-light during the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the south wall. However, there is no positive evidence for this change in architecture.

James Baguley became rector of All Saints in 1413, giving the earliest likely date for the window.⁹⁵ Looking at the main panels, the sabatons worn by St Michael have rounded metal plates like those worn by Nicholas Blackburn in the St Anne window, suggesting a similar date (1412–26), and in contrast to the pointed ones found in the Angels window (Figure 34). The surviving text in the Revelation and St Anne windows is also similar, with ‘s’s whose curls come towards the letter rather than away as in the St Thomas window dated to ca.1430 (see Figure 35). The window therefore appears to date to about the same time as the Blackburn windows, and is likely to be earlier than 1430. As Chapman appears to have come to York in 1424, the window may have been intended to establish his position in the parish community and the wider city. However, the imagery of the window, with Baguley leading the kneeling donors, and heraldry connected to him prominent in the glass, does suggest that the window was intended to be seen primarily as the priest’s donation.

In summary, both apocalyptic windows can be dated to around or before 1426. The Fifteen Last Days window was donated by one or more members of the Hesyl family, and the Revelation window by James Baguley, Robert Chapman, and possibly the Alne family. One possible context is that James Baguley, rector of the church, is described as Bachelor of Canon Law in 1426, perhaps suggesting that he had recently returned to the parish after studying at

⁹⁴ Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’,” 169.

⁹⁵ Abp. Reg. 18, fol. 107v.

university, and was then eager to decorate his parish church, and to use his university-gained knowledge to guide the design of the windows. Robert Alne's return to York from Cambridge in 1421 may provide further corroboration for dating the window to this decade.⁹⁶

3.3. Other Relevant Apocalyptic Depictions

The final section of this chapter will describe and evaluate artistic depictions of the apocalypse that provide comparisons for the windows above. Establishing the provenance and iconography of these depictions allows them to be used throughout this dissertation without reiterating descriptions in every chapter.

3.31. Other Key Sources from Modern Day England

Around a kilometre from All Saints, North Street, York Minster stands on the north bank of the River Ouse, on the site of the Roman *principia*. Whilst the foundation of the church dates back to at least the early medieval period, the surviving fabric of the eastern end was built in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.⁹⁷ The east window preserves an early fifteenth-century apocalyptic narrative that is "largest expanse of medieval glass in England".⁹⁸ The window was constructed between 1405 and 1408 by John Thornton, a glazier and artist from Coventry.⁹⁹ It was donated by Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, but the exact designer(s) of the imagery cannot be determined with certainty, and archbishops John Thoresby (d.1373) and Richard Scrope (d.1405) can be plausibly proposed as having made key decisions concerning the content of this glass.¹⁰⁰ Some combination of Thoresby, Skirlaw, Scrope and Thornton as designer is plausible, with different parts or stages designed according to the preferences of one or more of these men.¹⁰¹ The window has been restored several times since its 1408 completion, most recently in a monumental project between 2011 and 2017, aiming to restore the medieval appearance of the glass whilst acknowledging modern interpolations.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1963), 11.

⁹⁷ Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 138–41; & Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 137.

⁹⁸ Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 133.

⁹⁹ Sarah Brown, *Apocalypse: The Great East Window of York Minster* (Third Millennium Publishing, 2014), 9.

¹⁰⁰ Brown, *Apocalypse*, 8–9.

¹⁰¹ Brown, *Apocalypse*, 23–47.

¹⁰² The methodologies and principles behind this restoration are set out in Sarah Brown's *Apocalypse*. The whole window and individual panels can now be seen again *in situ* in York Minster, but, due to the size of the window,

The upper sections of the window show angels, saints, and Old Testament scenes (typologies for the apocalyptic images below). The lowest, and thus most visible, two thirds of the window contain a scheme of 81 panels showing episodes from John's apocalypse.¹⁰³ St John of Patmos is presented a middle-aged man, contained within the narrative space of many panels and interacting with the supernatural figures, including angels, God, Satan, and the Four Horsemen. The iconography may have been drawn from an illuminated apocalypse owned by the Scrope family, possibly dating to the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The panels are surrounded by architectonic glass, and the lowest row contains a series of human figures depicting prelates and kings.¹⁰⁵ The monumental impact of this window cannot have failed to have made a deep impression upon all the inhabitants of late medieval York, including the donors, designers and artisans involved in the windows of All Saints, North Street.

Depictions of the apocalypse, often illustrating Revelation, are found in too many medieval manuscripts to detail here. These include, for example, the *Savoy Apocalypse* and the large number of Anglo-Norman illuminated apocalypses (for example the *Lambeth Apocalypse* and *Getty Apocalypse*) dating to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹⁰⁶ The Fifteen Last Days are not as common. Though textual versions are consistently found from the eighth to the sixteenth century, the signs only begin to be illustrated in the late medieval period, at least in the surviving evidence. The early fourteenth-century, English-produced Holkham Bible (written largely in Anglo-Norman, thought to have been made for a Dominican friar, and probably dating to soon after the deposition of Edward II in 1327) illustrates the signs, grouping them together in eight images in a continuous narrative.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the manuscript, held by

are most accessibly viewed online at <https://stainedglass-navigator.yorkglazierstrust.org/window/great-east-window/explore>. Other Minster windows mentioned in this dissertation can also be viewed on the same website.

¹⁰³ For the likely medieval order of these panels, see Richard K. Emmerson, "Visualising the Apocalypse in Late Medieval England: the York Minster Great East Window," in *Cross, Crown and Community: Religion, Government and Culture in Early Modern England, 1400–1800*, ed. David J. B. Trim and Peter J. Balderstone (Peter Lang, 2004), 46–48.

¹⁰⁴ Norton, "Richard Scrope," 167.

¹⁰⁵ Some of these are historical and some are legendary. It is unlikely this distinction was made at the time the window was constructed.

¹⁰⁶ For a studies of these, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018); & Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁰⁷ London, British Library, Add. MS. 47682, fols. 40v–42r. For the Dominican author; T. A. Joyce Burnett. "The Undeciphered Inscriptions in the Holkham Bible Picture Book," *The British Museum Quarterly* 26, no. 1/2 (1962): 26. For the provenance; M. R. James, "An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century (Holkham MS. 66)," *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 11 (1922): 1. For a description of the manuscript; John Lowden, "The Holkham Bible Picture Book and the *Bible Moralisée*," in *The Medieval Book: Glosses from Friends & Colleagues of Christopher de Hamel*, ed. James H. Marrow, J. J. G. Alexander and Christopher de Hamel (De Graaf, 2010), 75–83.

the British Library, biblical events are shown in extraordinarily detailed coloured sketches, accompanied by textual explanations both as captions and within the images.

An incomplete cycle of fifteen last days depictions is also found in mid-fifteenth-century English alabaster panels. These are no longer together (and may not originally have been) and, without inscriptions, it is difficult to tell exactly which of the days they are intended to depict (considering the different numbering for the same signs).¹⁰⁸ However, they do attest to the medieval existence of these signs across multiple media (at the very least, glass, manuscript and alabaster) and thus indicate that the signs could have been originally depicted elsewhere, such as in wall paintings and embroidery.

3.32. Key Sources from Modern Day Germany

The earliest surviving depiction of the fifteen last days in medieval stained-glass may be a panel showing the burning of the sea (the fourth day in most traditions, but the fifth in the *Prick of Conscience* and in All Saints, North Street) in St Mary, Frankfurt (Oder).¹⁰⁹ This glass dates to ca.1370 and is found within a church that also has a surviving window showing the life of Antichrist; an unsurprising connection and a clear adherence to an apocalyptic theme.¹¹⁰ The exact donor of each window is unknown, but the windows were likely financed by a succession of lords and the wealthy inhabitants of the town.¹¹¹ The church itself was complete by 1320, then altered later in the fourteenth century.¹¹²

Around twenty years later, a window showing fourteen of the fifteen signs was installed in the pilgrim chapel of St Martha, Nuremberg. The church was founded in 1356 by an imperial official and his wife and, after more than twenty years of building, consecrated in 1385.¹¹³ The fifteen last days window in this church was given by the mercantile Rieter family, as shown by

¹⁰⁸ For a catalogue of these alabasters see Francis Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 145. Most are in London museums, though not all are on display.

¹⁰⁹ For this as part of a Fifteen Last Days scheme, see Hartmut Scholz, *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg: Lorenzer Stadtseite, Katalog* (Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2019), 528. For the eventful recent history of the glass of this church, see Frank Mangelsdorf, *Der gläserne Schatz: die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 143–45.

¹¹⁰ In the window as it currently appears, the life of Antichrist is presented as an analogy or mockery of the life of Christ, from an annunciation by Satan or a demon, to the panel above, there described as the burning of the world; Mangelsdorf, *Der gläserne Schatz*, 139. For stories of Antichrist and the Fifteen Last Days combined in fifteenth-century Germany, see Tina Boyer, “The Miracles of the Antichrist,” in *The End-Time in Medieval German Literature: Sin, Evil, and the Apocalypse* (Camden House, 2019), 238.

¹¹¹ Christian Nülken, “St. Marien – Das Wahrzeichen der Stadt Frankfurt (Oder),” in *Der gläserne Schatz: die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Frank Mangelsdorf (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 12.

¹¹² Nülken, “St. Marien – Das Wahrzeichen der Stadt Frankfurt (Oder),” 11–12.

¹¹³ Scholz, *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg*, 490.

the kneeling donor figures and their armorials at the base of the window. This glass was part of an iconographical scheme that showed the history of the world from the Old Testament to the Last Judgement, conforming to a historical and prophetic understanding of the apocalypse. The Rieter-Fenster is the fourth in a series of five surviving windows. Whilst the window was moved from its original position in the twentieth century, within the original narrative created by these windows it succeeded glass showing the Resurrection, Ascension and Assumption, and was followed by a Last Judgement. The Rieter-Fenster window has eighteen panels. Large amounts of the glass are medieval, and a nineteenth-century painting shows the earlier appearance of the glass.¹¹⁴ The first panel shows the prophets Enoch and Elijah (drawing on Rev. 11:3–12 and the two witnesses).¹¹⁵ This is succeeded by fourteen panels showing fourteen of the fifteen days, with the neighbouring Last Judgement window being the fifteenth day, as in many of the textual traditions. The lowest row of panels in the Rieter-Fenster shows the kneeling donors and their armorials. Between these panels are small roundels, spanning the stonework and containing images of kneeling prophets and clerics.

3.33. Key Sources from Modern Day France

French manuscripts of the fifteenth century contain a considerable amount of apocalyptic imagery. Most pertinently for this dissertation, the Carthusian *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* and the Vienna *Horarium* (produced in or around Paris at or close to a time when the city was in English possession) contain fifteenth-century miniatures depicting the fifteen last days at the end of the world. Dating to around 1422–25, the *Horarium latino-gallicum in usum regiae domus Franciae*, called here the Vienna *Horarium*, contains a single page showing all fifteen of the days in medallions surrounding Christ in Judgement.¹¹⁶ Written in French and Latin, this Book of Hours was likely made in or near Paris by the Master of the Bedford Hours and intended for the French royal family.¹¹⁷ The text as a whole contains richly illuminated miniatures, often more prominent on the page than the text, showing biblical and saintly scenes,

¹¹⁴ Scholz, *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg*, 497.

¹¹⁵ Daniela Wagner sees this as a prologue or paratext, drawing on the literary tradition and intended to aid interpretation by the viewer; Daniela Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht: spätmittelalterliche Bildkonzepte für das Seelenheil* (Reimer, 2016), 171.

¹¹⁶ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218v.

¹¹⁷ H. J. Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance mit Ausnahme der Niederländischen Handschriften*, vol. 3, *Französische und iberische Handschriften der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1938), 142.

as well as human, animal and supernatural figures within foliate decoration. The Last Judgement page (containing no text) is found towards the end, facing the text of Psalm 114.

Probably made around 1460, for either the Grande Chartreuse Carthusian motherhouse near Grenoble, or for a wealthy family living nearby, the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* is a thorough discussion of the apocalypse, focusing particularly on Antichrist and the Last Judgement.¹¹⁸ In a manuscript written mostly in French, the fifteen last days are presented within a defined temporal narrative, occurring after the death of Antichrist and just before Judgement Day itself. It is the only surviving copy of the text, and may have been the only version.¹¹⁹ The images are central to this depiction. They constitute around two thirds of each page, with the accompanying text squashed into the remaining space. These images are more fantastical than many depictions of the fifteen last days, with, for example, mermaids swimming through the seas.¹²⁰ Each day has a single page to itself, and the days follow the Comestor scheme, omitting the seas returning to their original level, and ending with Heaven and Earth remade. The manuscript is currently held by the Bodleian Library and is fully digitised.

Depictions of the fifteen last days are found in the fifteenth-century glass in Walbourg parish (formerly abbey) church and Angers cathedral.¹²¹ Walbourg church, in northern Alsace and named after St Walpurga, was rebuilt in the second half of the fifteenth century, and reglazed at the same time.¹²² The glazing scheme is now fractured and depictions of the fifteen last days have been scattered from their original positions. Louis Grodecki recognised four of the signs in the surviving glass, accompanied by fragments of vernacular inscriptions.¹²³ He postulated the influence of fifteenth-century woodcuts on the design of the glass, but nothing can be said with confidence of the fifteen last days schema followed here.¹²⁴

The fifteen last days glass in Angers Cathedral is contained within the thirteenth-century north rose window. The glass dates from after 1452, following a fire which destroyed the previous imagery, and is accompanied by the south rose window which also has apocalyptic

¹¹⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134, fols. 41v–48v; & Martin Kauffmann, “Introduction,” in *End of Time in the Middle Ages: The Vineyard of Our Saviour*, trans. Marijim Thoene and Guy Mermier (Michigan Publishing, 2022), 4.

¹¹⁹ Kauffmann, “Introduction,” 1.

¹²⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134, fol. 42v.

¹²¹ Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*, 13 & 63.

¹²² Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*, 13.

¹²³ Louis Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde dans les vitraux allemands, français et alsaciens,” in *Kunst des Mittelalters in Sachsen, Festschrift Wolf Schubert*, ed. Elisabeth Hütter and Wolf Schubert (Böhlau, 1967), 295.

¹²⁴ Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde,” 296.

content.¹²⁵ Unlike the other windows, the name of the glazier is known — André Robin — and a contract survives (though it may not have been followed precisely) for the commissioning of the glass.¹²⁶ Christ in Judgement, displaying his stigmata, is in the centre of the rose, surrounded by angels and resurrected humans. The next circle has more angels, the fifteen last days are in the sixteen medallions of the penultimate circle (though only thirteen survive, replaced by copies and shields) and, on the outer ring, the labours of the months, God and angels can be seen.¹²⁷ The depiction of the fifteen last days is perhaps most similar of all the surviving examples to All Saints, North Street, particularly on the fourteenth day, when a priest gives communion to a dying man as another, lying down, dies.¹²⁸ Late fourteenth century tapestries also survive in Angers showing the Apocalypse of John, possibly suggesting an apocalyptic tradition in the area.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde,” 296.

¹²⁶ Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde,” 296.

¹²⁷ With fifteen last days and sixteen medallions, one of these shields may originally have been in the window.

¹²⁸ Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde,” 297. Further investigation may show a strong influence of French traditions on English apocalyptic stained-glass, perhaps mediated through Anglo-Norman apocalyptic manuscripts.

¹²⁹ Frederik van der Meer and Frans Stoks, *Apokalypse: die Visionen des Johannes in der europäischen Kunst* (Herder, 1978), 177–87.

4. The Scrope Revolt

In late May 1405, the inhabitants of the city of York followed their archbishop into armed revolt against Henry IV, king of England (reigned 1399–1413).¹ The revolt failed, and by 8th June, 1405, the city had lost its mayor, its privileges and its fiscal independence, and the archbishop had lost his head (for a timeline, see Figure 36). The first part of this chapter sets out the background to the revolt and how it played out across England. The chapter then establishes which priests and parishioners of All Saints, North Street were involved in the Scrope revolt. This is followed by a consideration of the aftermath of the revolt and how the royal government, the clergy, and the laity of York and its environs engaged in a process of negotiation, reconciliation and de-politicization of the popularly sanctified archbishop. This allows further investigation in subsequent chapters into whether and why this process can be seen in the apocalyptic imagery of All Saints, North Street.

4.1. Background to the Revolt

Richard Scrope was a lawyer and cleric born into a prominent Yorkshire family in about 1350. Around the same time, the future archbishop's father was raised to the peerage as the first Baron Scrope of Masham.² The Scropes of Masham were based around 55 kilometres north of the city of York, and were closely related to the barons Scrope of Bolton (see Figure 37). These families produced knights, lawyers, ambassadors, crusaders (in Prussia, Egypt, Antalya, the Black Sea and the Barbary Coast), a Chief Justice, and a Lord Chancellor of England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ They also produced traitors to the Lancastrian regime. William Scrope of Bolton (ca.1350–99) was Lord High Treasurer to Richard II, remained loyal to Richard during Henry IV's *coup d'état*, and was executed in Bristol in July 1399.⁴ Henry

¹ I use the word inhabitants here to encompass all those living in York: citizens, other lay people, clergy, and visitors. I use the word revolt following Samuel Cohn's definition of "collective action with evidence of prior planning, negotiation and implicit or stated demands"; Samuel Cohn, "The Topography of Medieval Popular Protest," *Social History* 44, no. 4 (2019): 391.

² John Osbourne, "Politics and Popular Piety in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire: Images of "St" Richard Scrope in the Bolton Hours," *Florilegium* 17, no. 1 (2000): 4.

³ For a summary of the legal careers of the family, see Brigitte Vale, "The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham, c.1300–c.1450: A Study of a Northern Noble Family with a Calendar of the Scrope of Bolton Cartulary" (D.Phil., University of York, 1987), 22–37. For a discussion of which members of the Scrope families were crusading when, see Anthony Luttrell, "English Levantine Crusaders, 1363–1367," *Renaissance Studies* 2, no. 2 (1988): 143–53.

⁴ Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (Yale University Press, 2016), 131.

Scrope of Masham became a Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer to Henry V before he was accused of plotting to depose the king and was executed in 1415.⁵ His uncle, Archbishop Richard Scrope, fared no better in his dealings with the Lancastrian kings.

These family members provide a connection between Archbishop Scrope and the apocalypse. In the simplest sense, the Scrope family owned at least one illuminated apocalypse manuscript, as well as a copy of the *Prick of Conscience*, recorded in Henry Scrope's will of 1415.⁶ Ownership of an illuminated apocalypse can be connected to the family's crusading. Links between crusading and illuminated apocalypses have been noted in the thirteenth century, and crusade literature identified Islam with the Beast of Revelation and the minions of Antichrist, as well as damning both Muslims and Jews.⁷ The medieval crusader could be seen, by himself or contemporaries, as contemplating an "individual apocalypse" as he faced death and Judgement in the Holy Land, Eastern Mediterranean or Eastern Europe.⁸ The fourteenth and fifteenth century members of the Scrope family who fought at Adalia (modern Antalya) against the Oghuz Turks and participated in the Barbary Crusade against Islamic pirates in North Africa were not directly fighting to retake Jerusalem (as opposed to fighting for the apocalyptic figurative New Jerusalem). However, they were fighting "pagan" (Islamic) forces,

⁵ Vale, "The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham," 211.

⁶ Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 153. Norton suggests that they were once owners of the Welles Apocalypse, and loaned it to John Thornton when he designed the Great East Window; Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 155. More than 130 illuminated apocalypses survive for the whole medieval period from Europe; Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 1. This is a large number, but considered the chronological spread from ca.800–ca.1500 and the geography covered not such a large number that it would be expected that every English baronial family would have one.

⁷ See Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125, no. 2 (2017): 305. Suzanne Lewis connected illuminated apocalyptic manuscripts to the crusading movement and interest in Jerusalem, whilst Louise Whately argued for a mediative crusade for female readers of the Trinity Apocalypse; Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 221–24; & Louise Whately, "Crusading for (Heavenly) Jerusalem: A Noble Woman, Devotion, and the Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.16.2)," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore, and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 79. See also Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois: Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50, no. 3 (2019): 210 & 221, & John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 194. Marx also notes that "martyrdom, the Holy Land, and eschatology formed a highly interdependent triangle"; Marx "Passio," 219. For the different audiences of these apocalyptic/crusade connections, see Lydia M. Walker, "Living in the Penultimate Age: Apocalyptic Thought in James of Vitry's *ad status* Sermons," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Brill, 2017), 304, including (page 307) Muhammad as the apocalyptic Beast.

⁸ Marx "Passio," 219. Marx sees the twelfth-century hagiography of Reynald of Châtillon making the crusader into "an eschatological role model." Like Scrope, Reynald "conflates the categories of warrior and cleric, straddling physical and spiritual warfare"; Marx, "Passio," 225.

connected to the apocalyptic tribes of Gog and Magog.⁹ The unusually high numbers of members of the family who went on crusade and the ownership of an apocalyptic manuscript creates a clear and notable link between the Scropes and the apocalypse. Furthermore, after the execution of Archbishop Scrope, the chapel of St Stephen in York Minster saw a number of family burials. The pre-revolt allocation of the chapel to the family is indicated by Scrope's burial place in the chapel being prepared before the revolt. The chapel was directly next to apocalyptic stained glass the size of a tennis court.

Richard Scrope's career followed a successful but unremarkable trajectory. He received his first benefice in 1368, almost a decade before his ordination as a sub-deacon in 1376 and priest in 1377.¹⁰ He studied law at Cambridge, and became chancellor of the university in 1378 for two years.¹¹ He then served at the papal court in Rome, at the same time as he was Dean of Chichester in southern England.¹² He was elected Bishop of Chichester in 1385, though he never received the temporalities, and became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1386.¹³ Frequently resident in this diocese, Scrope would have seen the apocalyptic cycle in Coventry Cathedral, and he established a chantry of the Name of Jesus in Lichfield Cathedral.¹⁴ In 1398, he became Archbishop of York in an election contested by Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham and donor of York Minster's apocalyptic Great East Window.¹⁵

In 1399, Henry Bolingbroke usurped the English throne from his cousin Richard II (reigned 1377–99).¹⁶ Unlike Richard, Henry IV was prepared to use the ultimate sanction

⁹ Laura A. Smoller, "Of Earthquakes, Hail, Frogs, and Geography: Plague and the Investigation of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 157 & 162. It has been shown that Mediterranean Christian cultures saw a renewed interest in prophecy as the Ottoman invasion gathered pace from the early fifteenth century onwards; Mayte Green-Mercado, "Prophecy as Diplomacy in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean," *New Global Studies* 16, no. 2 (2022): 165–73. Interest in prophecy crossed religious boundaries between Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean, and likely also influenced English intellectual thought, especially considering the number of English clerics who went to Rome.

¹⁰ R. N. Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 19.

¹¹ Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," 19.

¹² Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," 20.

¹³ Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," 20–21.

¹⁴ Miriam Gill and Richard K. Morris, "A Wall Painting of the Apocalypse in Coventry Rediscovered," *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1181 (2001): 467–73; & P. J. P. Goldberg, "Introduction," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 6.

¹⁵ Sarah Brown, "Looking for John Thornton: The Great East Window of York Minster revisited" in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transaction XLVII*, ed. S. Rees Jones and T. Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 135. Scrope's archepiscopal election was supported by Pope Boniface IX and probably Richard II; Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," 23.

¹⁶ For the reasons behind this usurpation, see A. L. Brown and Henry Summerson, "Henry IV," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2023); & Helen Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart: The Tragedy of Richard II and Henry IV* (Avid Reader Press, 2024), 326–32. For the archbishop's role as a lawyer in the deposition of Richard II, see Joel T. Rosenthal, "Richard II's Bishops: Fair Weather Friends?" in *Creativity*,

against anyone who opposed him, layman or cleric. Magnates had been executed in the fourteenth century, but clerics were not.¹⁷ Henry IV did not observe this convention. The first uprising against his rule came in January 1400, during which the Earls of Salisbury and Kent were beheaded.¹⁸ Later in 1400, the Bishop of Carlisle was condemned to death as a rebel, though he was pardoned before his execution.¹⁹ From at least 1401, prosecutions were undertaken against those speaking against the new king, and some of these prosecutions resulted in the hanging, drawing, and quartering of priests.²⁰

In 1399, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, had supported Henry IV's usurpation.²¹ By 1403, his son and the heir to the earldom, Henry Hotspur Percy, was in open rebellion against the new king. According to Chris Given-Wilson, Hotspur rebelled due to financial disagreements, including over the ransoming of prisoners, and Henry IV's preference for the Neville Earl of Westmorland (the king's sister's husband) over the Percy family.²² This was the first of the Percy revolts against Henry IV, and associated with Owain Glyndŵr's struggle for Welsh independence (1400–15).²³ Hotspur died in 1403 during the Battle of Shrewsbury, after which his head was sent to York and impaled above one of the city gates.²⁴ Other rebel lords, including the Earl of Northumberland's brother, were executed, but the Earl himself, not having been present on the battlefield, survived.²⁵ The chronicler John Hardyng,

Contradictions and Commemoration in the Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of Nigel Saul, ed. Jessica A. Lutkin and J. S. Hamilton (Boydell & Brewer, 2022), 193.

¹⁷ For examples of the executions of magnates, see Anthony Tuck, "Lords Appellant," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011). In the reign of Richard II, prelates on the losing side of political disagreements had been exiled and deprived of their sees. Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York 1374–88, had fled abroad after his support for Richard II against the Lords Appellant had led to his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, had abandoned England after opposing Richard II, before returning with Bolingbroke; R. B. Dobson, "Neville, Alexander," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); & Jonathan Hughes, "Arundel [Fitzalan], Thomas," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2007).

¹⁸ Anthony Goodman, "Montagu [Montacute], John," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 160, 163 & 210.

²⁰ Simon Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest in the Reign of Henry IV," *Past & Present* 166 (Feb. 2000): 60–61. The chronicles, perhaps because they were censured by the king, show no outrage at this. See, for example, Henry Thomas Riley, ed., "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae," in *Chronica et Annales: AD 1259–1296, 1307–1324, 1392–1406* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 330.

²¹ Simon Walker, "Percy, Sir Henry [called Henry Hotspur]," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

²² Henry refused to allow Hotspur to ransom the Scottish Earl of Douglas. He also refused to pay the ransom of Sir Edward Mortimer. Mortimer was the grandson of Edward III's second son, and so came from a family that, to many in England, had a better claim to the throne than Henry IV, son of Edward III's third son. Mortimer's sister Elizabeth was married to Hotspur; Walker, "Percy, Sir Henry"; & Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 215–18 & 224.

²³ Helen Watt, "'On Account of the Frequent Attacks and Invasions of the Welsh': The Effect of the Glyndŵr Rebellion on Tax Collection in England," in *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403–1413*, ed. Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs (Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 48–81; & Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 170.

²⁴ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 228.

²⁵ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 228–29.

writing five decades later, claimed that Archbishop Scrope had counselled Hotspur to rebel, but there is no other source for this assertion.²⁶

John Strecche claims that the revolt was plotted at the Coventry Parliament in autumn 1404.²⁷ Archbishop Scrope was present and York sent two representatives to Parliament. Perhaps the archbishop consulted with the city's representatives at Coventry. By early May 1405, the Percy family's resentment against the preferment of the Neville family had grown to such an extent that the Earl of Northumberland attempted to kidnap the Earl of Westmorland, who saved himself by fleeing to Durham Castle, under the protection of the elderly Bishop of Durham.²⁸ This was followed by two weeks of disturbances across the north of England, and, in late May, the revolt of Archbishop Scrope, Thomas Mowbray (the Earl of Norfolk and hereditary Earl Marshal whose father had opposed Bolingbroke) and the inhabitants of York.

The extent to which Archbishop Scrope was an active participant in the 1405 revolt or whether he was tricked by the Percy family into supporting their political aims has been a matter of considerable debate. Peter McNiven argued that "Scrope was not acting in any sense on his own initiative . . . he was brought into the conspiracy as such a subordinate . . . his most important role was to lend a spurious air of religious mission to the earl's rebellion".²⁹ For McNiven, Scrope was manipulated by the Percy family into his doomed revolt. Conversely, Simon Walker argued that Scrope played a key role in the 1405 revolt.³⁰ Christopher Norton agrees with this, seeing evidence in the fabric and glazing of York Minster's eastern arm that Scrope had

come to believe, or been persuaded [by Northumberland], that the disparate collections of grievances, which have been identified by modern scholars as having motivated different parties to the 1405 revolt, could cumulatively and collectively have

²⁶ John Hardyng, *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1812), 351. For an evaluation of the sources for the Scrope revolt, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

²⁷ Chris Given-Wilson, "English Translation of John Strecche's Chronicle for the Reign of Henry IV," in *The Medieval Chronicle 15*, ed. Sjoerd Levelt and Graeme Dunphy (Brill, 2023).

²⁸ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 267. The Bishop of Durham was Walter Skirlaw, donor of York Minster's apocalyptic Great East Window. He was to die less than a year later; Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 135.

²⁹ Peter McNiven, "The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 54, no. 1 (1971): 192. The extent to which the three revolts in the north of England in the spring of 1405 were coordinated has also been the subject of extended debate. Chris Given-Wilson believes that this is possible, and even if there was no direct coordination, there was at least a sense of "revolutionary contagion"; Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 272. Conversely, Walker closely analysed four types of sources (parliamentary, chronicles, hagiographies and manifestos) to show that the Percy family did not coordinate the revolt; Simon Walker, "The Yorkshire Risings of 1405: Texts and Contexts," in *Political Culture in Later Medieval England* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 223–45.

³⁰ Walker, "Yorkshire Risings," 240.

represented such a grave threat to church and society in that northern province that he [Scrope] felt it incumbent upon him as its chief pastor to make a public stand.³¹

Support for the argument that Scrope felt that it was his moral responsibility to speak out can be seen in a brief examination of the ages and conditions of other English bishops at the time. Walter Skirlaw, the Bishop of Durham, was above seventy years old in 1405, and three years earlier had been complaining of “continual imbecility of the limbs”.³² The new Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield had been ill since 1401, and the elderly Bishop of Norwich would die in 1406.³³ There was currently no Bishop of London, the Bishop of Lincoln had only been installed in late March 1405, the Bishop of Winchester was the king’s half-brother, and Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury was a strong supporter of Henry IV.³⁴ This is the most likely explanation for Archbishop Scrope’s revolt. After previously remaining loyal to whoever was king, Scrope had come to see himself as the only candidate for the voice of legitimate moral dissent.

Given-Wilson and Pat Cullum agree with Norton, in that “when he [Scrope] marched out of York he was neither a deluded fool nor a bizarre anomaly, but a bishop doing what was expected of him: defending his people against royal oppression”.³⁵ Scrope was acting as the biblical Good Shepherd, protecting his flock.³⁶ Rooting his evaluation in the political context, Mark Ormrod concludes that, while it is likely that Scrope steered the agenda of the 1405 revolt, not enough evidence survives to say this for certain.³⁷ Douglas Biggs concludes that the plausibility of Scrope’s grievances matters more than whether he genuinely held them,³⁸ and R. N. Swanson describes this debate as “a matter of interpretation of scant and ambiguous evidence”, making no judgement as to whether the archbishop was a “steadily reliable timepiece which inexplicably slipped a spring, or a timebomb”.³⁹ Either way, the previous

³¹ Norton, “Richard Scrope and York Minster,” 170.

³² A. K. McHardy, “Henry IV: The Clergy in Parliament,” in *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403–1413*, ed. Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs (Boydell and Brewer, 2023), 140.

³³ McHardy, “Henry IV: The Clergy in Parliament,” 140.

³⁴ John W. Dahmus, “Thomas Arundel and the Baronial Party under Henry IV,” *Albion* 16, no. 2 (1984): 144.

³⁵ Quoted in Cullum, “*Virginitas* and *Virilitas*,” 99. See also, Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 276.

³⁶ Danna Pirovansky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 55. For more consideration of Henry’s IV oppression of the general population, rather than just the nobility, see 4.3 below.

³⁷ W. M. Ormrod, “An Archbishop in Revolt: Richard Scrope and the Yorkshire Rising of 1405,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 43.

³⁸ Douglas Biggs, “Archbishop Scrope’s Manifesto of 1405: ‘Naïve Nonsense’ or Reflections of Political Reality?” *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 370.

³⁹ Swanson, “Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr,” 27.

quote makes it clear that Swanson did not see Scrope as a man who planned a career that would lead to martyrdom and sainthood.⁴⁰

4.2. Scrope's Revolt

Whatever Scrope had planned for his career, on May 28th, 1405, he led his forces to Shipton Moor, eight kilometres from York's north gate.⁴¹ At Shipton, the archbishop met with Thomas Mowbray, the young Earl Marshal who had considerable grievances against Henry IV. Mowbray was accompanied by armed men from the surrounding countryside.⁴² Parliamentary rolls report that eight or nine thousand men from the city were on Shipton Moor.⁴³ This figure is impossible to verify, but suggests a large force that may have largely depopulated York.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Considering the Scrope family's devotion to St Stephen, to the extent of having their family chapel dedicated to the first martyr, more examination of Scrope's relationship to potential martyrdom is necessary. However, it is beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

⁴¹ In contrast to many other revolts in late medieval England and Europe, there was no violence within the city walls during the revolt. In May 1405, Scrope and the inhabitants of York marched out of the city, distancing it from any association with a battleground. Indeed, there was no battle at all, with Scrope deceived into surrendering, though it is unlikely that this was his intent when he left York. Furthermore, there was no violence at any later point within the city. Scrope, Mowbray and Plumpton were executed outside the city walls, and there is no reason to think that any of the other executed rebels were physically harmed whilst within the city limits. Henry IV may not even have entered York itself, as the chroniclers clearly say that he resided at Bishopthorpe Palace and met the citizens outside the city walls. This may reflect only the ritual of submission, or it may show that Henry did not consider himself safe within York's walls, even though there were two royal fortifications within the city. Whatever the reason, it is clear that violence did not happen within York; space within the city was not physically contested. For an earlier example of rebellious violence within York's walls, see Christian Liddy, "Urban Conflict in Late Fourteenth-Century England: The Case of York in 1380–1," *English Historical Review* 118, no. 475 (2003): 1–32. For the violence in London in 1381, see Andrew Prescott, "'Great and horrible rumour': Shaping the English Revolt of 1381," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Routledge, 2016), 76. For violent uprisings elsewhere in late medieval England, see Walker "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest," For the same in late medieval Europe, see Cohn, "Topography". For a Mediterranean perspective, see Patrick Lantschner, "Invoking and Constructing Legitimacy: Rebels in the Late Medieval European and Islamic Worlds," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Routledge, 2016).

⁴² For a summary of Mowbray's grievances, see Rowena E. Archer, "Mowbray, Thomas, second earl of Nottingham," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008); & Goldberg, "Introduction," 14.

⁴³ Philip Morant, ed., *Rotuli Parliamentorum; Ut Et Petitiones, Et Placita In Parlamento. 3: Volume The Third* (London, 1783), 605.

⁴⁴ Danna Pirovsky, "'Martyrio pulchro finitus': Archbishop Scrope's Martyrdom and the Creation of a Cult," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 106. The *Annales Henrici Quarti* do not give numbers, saying instead a considerable force; Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 405. John Hardyng says a force of 20,000; Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 362. All these men (and perhaps women) need not have come from York, but considering the size of the city compared to the surrounding villages many must have done. The population of York at this time is not known, but is likely to be considerably more than 12,000; Pamela Nightingale, "The Rise and Decline of Medieval York: a Reassessment," *Past and Present* 206 (2010): 11. Christian Liddy suggests a population of 15,000 for York in 1405; Christian Liddy, "William Frost, the City of York and Scrope's Rebellion of 1405," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 70.

On learning of an armed uprising, Prince John, son of Henry IV, and Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, marched south from the Scottish border.⁴⁵ The Lancastrian army appears to have arrived within a day of Scrope and his forces setting up their encampment on Shipton Moor.⁴⁶ Scrope celebrated a mass on the moor, and messengers were sent to Neville and Prince John.⁴⁷ The *Annales Henrici Quarti* describe Scrope being deceived by Neville, though John Strecche attributes the deceit to Prince John.⁴⁸ After which, the archbishop told the men gathered on the moor to disperse, and Scrope, Mowbray and the archbishop's nephew, Sir William Plumpton, were arrested. Scrope, Mowbray and Plumpton were taken to Pontefract Castle, the same Lancastrian fortress in which Richard II had been imprisoned after his deposition, as Henry IV marched from Wales to York.⁴⁹

On 7th June, 1405, Scrope and his fellow prisoners were brought from Pontefract Castle to Bishopthorpe Palace, a distance of 38 kilometres.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury was riding north at great speed, spending Pentecost Sunday travelling. He is very likely therefore to have known that Henry was not inclined to mercy. Arundel arrived before breakfast on the morning of 8th June and immediately pleaded with the king to spare the life of his fellow archbishop. Henry placated Arundel and sent him away to sleep. The king then ordered Scrope's trial.⁵¹ England's Chief Justice, William Gascoigne, refused to try the case, saying Scrope was under the jurisdiction of canon law. It was left to William Fulthorpe, neither a lawyer nor a judge, to pronounce the death sentence that Henry IV was apparently set upon.⁵²

Scrope was executed in a field on a hill owned by Clementhorpe Nunnery, just outside the walls of York, on 8th June 1405 (for a map of the area see Figure 38). The location of Scrope's execution has previously been thought to be in Clementhorpe, immediately south of the city of York. However, there is scant evidence for this. This attribution to Clementhorpe is partly based on the early fifteenth-century construction of a chapel in this suburb. This evidence for this is summarised as:

⁴⁵ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 405.

⁴⁶ It is possible that, considering this speed, the Lancastrians had prior warning of the uprising.

⁴⁷ For the mass, see James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 3 (London, 1894), 288.

⁴⁸ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 406–7; & Given-Wilson, "English Translation of John Strecche's Chronicle," 120. Simon Walker sees this as part of a fabliaux discourse, doubting the authenticity of the deception story; Walker, "Yorkshire Risings," 227.

⁴⁹ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 159.

⁵⁰ The *Annales* say Henry refused to meet Scrope; Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 407.

⁵¹ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 409.

⁵² Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:290.

To the bishop of Hereford. Mandate (at the petition of Robert Godinogh, hermit, and Robert Courtoys and William Godinogh, laymen, of the diocese of York, who have built at their own expense a chapel of St Mary the Virgin by the Benedictine nuns' priory of Clementthorp without the walls of York) to license them to cause to be consecrated by any catholic bishop the said chapel and an altar which has been instituted therein, and mass to be celebrated thereon by any fit priest for the souls of the said founders, and of any other faithful slain of old near the place of the said chapel.⁵³

This has been seen as evidence of a chapel centred around Scrope devotion, perhaps due to the reference to the “faithful slain of old”. However, a brief prosopographical survey refutes the likelihood of this attribution to Scrope. It is notable that the Bishop of Hereford appears to have presented this request to the pope. The bishop was Thomas Spofford, who had previously been Abbot of St Mary’s Abbey, York. He was elected abbot on 8th June, 1405, the day of Scrope’s execution.⁵⁴ It is extremely unlikely that an abbot known to be loyal to Scrope would be appointed on that day, and to the contrary much more plausible that one hostile to the archbishop and his cause would be preferred as the king’s army threatened the city and the king’s enemies were executed.⁵⁵ Citizens of York who had built a chapel to honour Scrope are unlikely to have asked someone likely to have been hostile to the martyred archbishop to present their petition.

Returning to contemporary sources, the chroniclers and hagiographers say that Scrope was executed in a field.⁵⁶ Of these, only the Giles Chronicle gives any indication of a precise location, specifying a “grain field of the impoverished nuns of Clementhorpe” (*campum frumento pauperum monialium de Clementtysthorpe*).⁵⁷ Yet, a field owned by the nuns need not be next to Clementhorpe Priory. Indeed, the *Annals* specify that it is the farmer who is upset

⁵³ J. A. Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters: Volume 7, 1417–1431* (Stationary Office Books, 1906), 470.

⁵⁴ *CPR 1405–08*, 23. Spofford need not have been elected so quickly; *CPR 1405–8*, 17. It is also notable that Spofford appears to have had a particular devotion to St Anne, perhaps forming a connection with the Blackburn family through shared devotion to the mother of the Virgin; Ian Forrest, “Spofford [Spofforth], Thomas (d. 1456), abbot of St Mary’s, York, and bishop of Hereford,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁵ It should be noted that there are no mentions of monks of St Mary’s involved in the 1405 revolt, and the abbey had a history of hostility towards the citizens of York; David Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 139, 153, 160 & 205.

⁵⁶ Riley, “Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti,” 409; John Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858), 291; & Thomas Walsingham *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham. 1394–1422*, trans. and ed. John Taylor (Clarendon Press, 2011), 455 & 811. Usk and Hardyng do not specify a location for the execution.

⁵⁷ John Allen Giles, ed., *Incerti scriptoris chronicon angliae de regnis trium regum Lancastrensium, Henrici iv, Henrici v, et Henrici vi* (London, 1848), 46.

by the field being trampled. Just before his execution, Scrope offers to move out on to the road instead (the *viam publicam*), a road that is described as being “spacious and broad” (*spatiosa et lata*), which is unlikely to describe the suburban roads in Clementhorpe.⁵⁸ To further narrow down the execution place, verses celebrating the martyred archbishop emphasise the hill that he was killed on.⁵⁹ The *Chronicle of John Strecche* says that Scrope was beheaded beneath a windmill (*sub quodam molendino ventrico*) and an image of Scrope in the Bolton Hours has him holding a windmill, likely to be a symbol of the place of his martyrdom.⁶⁰ Windmills are typically built on raised ground. The nuns of Clementhorpe owned two mills in York. One of these was around 200 metres west of the priory in Clementhorpe itself (Nun Mill) and the other was around 700 metres north-west, “nigh Scarcroft”.⁶¹ Current road names and elevations indicate that this was most probably at the junction of Mill Mount and Scarcroft Hill (for a map, see Figure 38). This location of the mill in Scarcroft is beside the modern A1036, which was, in the fifteenth century, the principal route south out of York, towards London and southern England, and would have fitted the spacious and broad description as well as being the public road described by *viam publicam*. This route passes Bishopthorpe, where Scrope was judged and condemned.

This route is also very close (around 300 metres) to the modern road of St James’ Mount. Alongside attesting to the height of this place in an otherwise flat landscape (the modern A1036, once it enters York’s boundaries, is called The Mount), the name of this road also refers to the medieval chapel of St James. This chapel was symbolically important as it was where the archbishops of York began their barefoot walk to the Minster for their consecration.⁶² This is a walk that Scrope would have made seven years earlier, and a journey that parallels the humility and modesty of his donkey ride to his execution. The chapel was also a place of burial for executed criminals, and thus possibly where Henry IV intended to have Scrope interred.⁶³ The *Annals* also specify that Scrope was told he could neither choose the place of his execution nor burial (*non electurum sibi nec mortis nec sepulturae locum*), perhaps indicating that the two were one and the same; the field by the mill and the chapel beside it.⁶⁴ The advowson of the chapel was also owned by the Priory of Holy Trinity, in the church of which the guild

⁵⁸ Riley, “Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti,” 409–10.

⁵⁹ Stephen K. Wright, ed., “That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 113.

⁶⁰ Given-Wilson, “English Translation of John Strecche’s Chronicle,” 120; & Add. MS. 2, fol. 202v.

⁶¹ P. M. Tillott, ed., *A History of the County of York: the City of York* (Victoria County History, 1961), 507.

⁶² Tillott, *A History of the County of York*, 416.

⁶³ Tillott, *A History of the County of York*, 416.

⁶⁴ Riley, “Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti,” 410.

showing devotion to Scrope was based on its foundation in 1408.⁶⁵ Therefore, the concordance of a mill owned by the nuns of Clementhorpe (who thus probably owned land around it), the use of the mill in Scrope hagiography, the existence of a major road, and the symbolic value of the chapel of St James all support the execution of Scrope on this hill. The field next to St James' Mount is, as the crow flies, less than a kilometre from the church of All Saints, North Street.

If, as the chronicles say, the trial and sentence at Bishopthorpe, and the execution at Clementhorpe happened on the same day, the execution itself is likely to have occurred in the late afternoon or evening.⁶⁶ Scrope had knowledge of the process of political martyrdom, having been sent to Rome by Richard II to lobby for the canonisation of Edward II, former King of England.⁶⁷ On the way to his execution, reportedly riding upon a donkey and wearing only a blue mantle, he sung either Psalm 16, 101 or 142 (all three open with "Domine exaudi").⁶⁸ Each of these psalms would have been appropriate in the situation.⁶⁹ The execution field was "crowded with countless knights and pedestrians, who had assembled from many places for this spectacle" (*stipatum equitibus et peditibus, velut innumeris, qui ad hoc spectaculum convenerant ex multis locis*), giving a large audience for the performance of martyrdom.⁷⁰ Scrope asked his executioner for five wounds which he would endure for love of Christ. These are explicitly connected to stigmata, referred to in Thomas Gascoigne's hagiography, with words attributed to Scrope, as the five principal wounds (*quinque vulnera principalia*).⁷¹

⁶⁵ Tillott, *A History of the County of York*, 416; & David Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389–1547* (York University Press, 2000), 164–65.

⁶⁶ Bishopthorpe to Clementhorpe is 4 kilometres. On a donkey, this journey cannot have taken less than an hour. Archbishop Arundel reportedly was pleading for Scrope's life that morning, taking time, whilst the Chief Justice's denouncement and replacement would have also held up proceedings. Verses written praising Scrope put the execution in the afternoon "post lucis medium"; David R. Carlson, "The 1405 Richard Scrope Execution Verses (Long Version)," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 97/2 (2021): 43–70.

⁶⁷ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 267. Edward II was an unlikely martyr, having abandoned his wife Isabella of France in favour of his male favourites, both of whom met violent deaths. Edward himself was likely murdered on the orders of Isabella, after she and her son (the soon to be Edward III) usurped Edward II's throne.

⁶⁸ Pirovsky, "'Martyrio pulchro finitus'," 102. The numbering of the psalms is medieval. Psalm 16 opens with "Exaudi, Domine"; Swift Edgar and Angela M Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 3, *The Poetical Books* (Harvard University Press, 2010), 186.

⁶⁹ For more discussion of this, see Chapter 7.

⁷⁰ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 409. In normal circumstances, the wording used here could imply that the audience for the execution was only military (*equitibus* for cavalry and *peditibus* for infantry). However, with the inhabitants of the York having so recently become a military force, it is difficult to be certain where the line between military and civilian was drawn, or whether the words were simply used to designate those on horseback or those on foot. It is possible that they refer to the assembled Lancastrian forces.

⁷¹ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1881), 228. Maidstone gives almost exactly the same wording, but this may simply reflect Gascoigne's knowledge of Maidstone's text; James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 2 (London, 1886), 307–08. It should be acknowledged that these are words rendered in Latin that were almost

Historians have paid little attention to Henry IV's motives in executing Scrope. However, they agree on the weakness of Henry IV's rule. McNiven emphasised the severity of the threat Scrope's revolt posed to the Lancastrian king, whilst Douglas Biggs argued that the style of Henry's rule gave Scrope no option except to rebel.⁷² Contemporaries condemned Henry IV for Scrope's execution. Capgrave, Maidstone, Gascoigne and the anonymous chroniclers of the *Eulogium Historiarum* and the *Giles Chronicle* recount that, as punishment for the execution, Henry was struck down by leprosy in a visible expression of his sin.⁷³ The consensus on this suggests that Henry must have suffered some kind of illness after the execution, and the ease with which chroniclers and hagiographers connected the two events suggests that, amongst the clerics of England in the fifteenth century, there was a general belief that Henry was being divinely punished. Internationally, the pope was in a vulnerable position, needing the support of temporal powers during the Western Schism.⁷⁴ Yet, Innocent VII still condemned the execution of a prelate, and sent a sentence of excommunication to Henry IV (and all those assenting to the execution).⁷⁵ This bull was not formally published by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but shows that the Curia was aware of the severity of the situation.

Scrope was buried in his family chapel, at the then incomplete east end of York Minster.⁷⁶ This chapel was directly to the north of the apocalyptic Great East Window. The glass was not yet installed, but plans for it must have been underway when Scrope was buried, and the imagery of the window may have been based on a manuscript owned by the archbishop or his family.⁷⁷ Timbers were placed over the tomb to prevent prayers there, on the orders of a royal government that anticipated some form of popular devotion.⁷⁸ However, three days after the execution, John Sibson, an elderly man living in Rawcliffe, three kilometres north of York's city walls, had a dream in which the archbishop appeared and ordered Sibson, as penance for an earlier crime, to remove the timbers. Sibson, despite being an old man, did so.⁷⁹ Other

certainly spoken in English to the executioner, a former prisoner in York, and probably spoken by someone who had French as a family language.

⁷² McNiven, "The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope," 173; & Biggs, "Archbishop Scrope's Manifesto of 1405," 370–71.

⁷³ Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, 291; Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 2:308; Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 228; & Giles, ed., *Incerti scriptoris chronicon angliae*, 47. The anonymous witness from York says that it was Fulthorpe, Scrope's judge, who later became a leper; Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:291.

⁷⁴ R. G. Davies, "After the Execution of Archbishop Scrope: Henry IV, the Papacy and the English Episcopate, 1405–8," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 59, no. 1 (1976): 42.

⁷⁵ Davies, "After the Execution of Archbishop Scrope," 52.

⁷⁶ The chapel was dedicated to St Stephen, a devotion that also appears in Maidstone's account of Scrope's martyrdom.

⁷⁷ Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 156.

⁷⁸ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 2:309; & Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:294.

⁷⁹ The story is told in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 2:309 (Maidstone); & Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 228–9 (Gascoigne). For a consideration of the sources, see chapter 2.

miracles included the barley field where Scrope had been executed growing an abundant crop that year (the multitude attending the execution had trampled the crop).⁸⁰

4.3. Revolt in York

On May 17th, 1405, Scrope's manifesto, written in English, was posted on the doors of York's churches, monasteries, and city gates.⁸¹ This text now survives only in a translation into Latin. The first of the articles laments the evil governance of the kingdom and asks that the taxation burden upon the clergy be lifted. Subsequent articles focus on law and justice, two virtues seen to have been abandoned in favour of "excessive governance, and import taxes and subsidies, extortions and oppressions" (*excessivis gubernationibus, et importabilibus taxis et subsidiis, extortionibus et oppressionibus*).⁸² The good governance of Edward III and Richard II is contrasted with Henry's inadequate rule, and the privileging of the interests of "our merchants, who ought to be the most valued in the land" (*nostros mercatores, qui deberent esse unum de substantialibus divitiis terras nostrae*) in these articles suggests that the citizens (or at least the elite) of the city may have been involved in drafting them.⁸³ The same focus on mercantile interests ("oppressing of marchauntis") is seen in many of the chronicles, acknowledging both the economic value that merchants had for the kingdom, and the prominence of their concern in Scrope's articles.⁸⁴ Whether or not the city government were involved in the creation of the

⁸⁰ Walsingham says the field "produced a crop that year larger than any it had produced in many a year" (*redderet fructum eo anno quantum antea non reddiderat in multis annis*); Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 454–55. Pirovsky decides on the following year; Pirovsky, "'Martyrio pulchro finitus,'" 110, citing Maidstone and Gascoigne.

⁸¹ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 403. For an evaluation of the source, see xix–xl. The articles were "affigi" leaving the possibility that they could have been written on paper (or parchment) and nailed to the doors, or they could have been chalked up. For the central role of churches in proclamations elsewhere, see Veronika Novák, "Places of Power: the Spreading of Official Information and the Social Uses of Space in Fifteenth-Century Paris," in *Towns and Communication*, vol. 1, *Communication in Towns*, ed. Neven Budak and Finn-Einar Eliassen (University of Akron Press, 2011), 59.

⁸² Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 404.

⁸³ Claire Valente implies that the articles were designed by Scrope to appeal to merchants, but it seems more likely that the civic elite of York would exercise considerable agency in their own city and have some role in the concept and wording of the articles; Claire Valente, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England* (Routledge, 2016), 217.

⁸⁴ The quote is from Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England*, 289. See also Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis)*, vol. 3 (London, 1863), 405; & Giles, *Incerti scriptoris chronicon angliae*, 44. Walsingham's *Ypodigma Neustriae* does not explicitly mention the mercantile focus, but it does emphasize the role of the urban commons in supporting Scrope; Thomas de Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, trans. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1876), 413. These mercantile interests do not appear in Clement Maidstone's *Martyrium Ricardi Archiepiscopi*, which also includes a list of Scrope's complaints against the king. However, this text is a hagiography. The articles copied by Maidstone into his hagiography focuses on the injustice of the deposition of Richard II, a lack of legal process in the kingdom, and oppressive taxation. Maidstone likely drew these articles from a separate document drawn up ca.1403 by Ricardian loyalists and described by Mark Ormrod as "a kind of

articles, the context of the text and the archbishop preaching within the city walls against the impoverishment of merchants suggests a conscious attempt by Scrope to appeal to York's elite.⁸⁵

Historians of the Scrope revolt have largely ignored the participation of the inhabitants of York.⁸⁶ Only Simon Walker and Christian Liddy have given the York rebels' motives any substantial consideration. For Walker, "the discontent that the citizens and local clergy felt at the heavy financial burdens placed upon them by the new Lancastrian regime found articulate expression in the preaching of the archbishop".⁸⁷ He sees Scrope as providing leadership to citizens, presumably both male and female, who were suffering under heavy taxation. This is a reasonable conclusion, and the injustice felt by the citizens should be emphasised. In 1399, Henry IV had promised not to raise taxes. Clement Maidstone writes in his justification of Scrope's revolt that "Henry, by his own deceitful words, immediately after his entry into England, openly proclaimed to the people, and publicly proclaimed through the kingdom, that

high clerical agenda of opposition to the Henrician regime"; Danna Pirovsky, "Cults of Political Martyrs in Late Medieval England" (PhD diss., Queen Mary College, University of London, 2005), 124; & W. M. Ormrod, "The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope and the Tradition of Opposition to Royal Taxation," in *The Reign of Henry IV: Rebellion and Survival, 1403–1413*, ed. Gwilym Dodd and Douglas Biggs (Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 164. Through an analysis of taxation records, Ormrod has shown that both the merchants and the clerics had good reason to consider themselves taxed more highly under Henry IV than under Richard II; Ormrod, "The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope," 167. For the burden of taxation on the clergy, see Rosemary C. E. Hayes, "Responding to Royal Requirements: Clerical Taxation in the Province of York, 1304–1405," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Boydell & Brewer, 2024), 168.

⁸⁵ Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 275; & Pirovsky "Cults of Political Martyrs," 121–22. When Henry IV usurped the throne in 1399, it was widely believed that he had promised no further taxation; Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 174. Whilst taxes undoubtedly were demanded by Henry IV, the grievances relating to disproportionate taxation built upon the last fifty years of discontent and revolt. Since the disturbances around the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and potentially since the 1349 plague, the Crown had been increasing taxation in novel ways. This lack of precedent for taxation has been seen as one of the main causes of the 1381 revolt; Mark Bailey, *After the Black Death, Economy, Society, and the Law in Fourteenth-Century England* (Oxford Academic, 2021), 218.

⁸⁶ For only a brief mention of merchants as the audience for Scrope's articles, see for example Valente, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England*, 218. McNiven wrote that "the citizens of York were hardly the most discerning of political observers"; McNiven, "The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope," 208. The evidence does not support this. The citizens, and probably the much larger number of inhabitants, of York were engaged with local and kingdom-wide politics, and able to make an informed choice, with the success of the 1399 coup d'état, and failure of the 1403 revolt in mind, as to where their best interests lay. The city had been sending two representatives to parliaments for more than a hundred years and York had suffered disturbances coinciding with the southern English disturbances of 1380–1, expressing distinctly local grievances that reveal an engaged civic body. The city had received substantial privileges from Richard II in 1396 and had decided, successfully if disloyally, to financially support Henry Bolingbroke's usurpation with a loan of £500. Liddy suggests this decision "represented a major gamble by York's civic elite and indicated a level of emotional attachment to the nascent regime that distinguished the city's reaction to Henry Bolingbroke's seizure of the crown from the much more pragmatic response of London's rulers"; Liddy, "William Frost," 69. Considering the city's new privileges had been won only two years earlier, wishing to maintain these privileges under a possible new regime is likely to have played some role in the support of the city elites for the usurpation. Henry IV can scarcely have been described as grateful; on a 1403 visit to York, the king gave 6s. 8d. in aid of the rebuilding of the Minster's eastern arm, a sum described as miserly by Christopher Norton. In contrast, Scrope gave £7 16s. in 1405 whilst Archbishop Thoresby gave £200 annually in the 1360s; Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 144.

⁸⁷ Walker, "Yorkshire Risings," 223.

he would levy no ecclesiastical tenths on the clergy or fifteenths on layman”.⁸⁸ Subsequent wars in Scotland and Wales, as well as piracy in the North Sea, an aspect of the Hundred Years War with France, had meant that this promise was broken.⁸⁹ The perception of a broken promise regarding taxation had already led to civic disturbances elsewhere in England, for example in Chester in 1400, and Bristol in 1401.⁹⁰

Liddy has a different interpretation. He dismisses the chroniclers’ implication that “the citizens of York were attracted to the archbishop specifically by the prospect of divine favour” as exactly what one would expect from clerical chroniclers.⁹¹ Instead, Liddy sees the participation of many in the city in the revolt as arising from a factional dispute within the civic elites. This dispute was a continuation of disturbances that had begun in 1380–81, and had led to murder earlier in 1405.⁹² However, whilst undoubtedly providing an explanation for the tension in the city, Liddy’s argument does not account for the large number of people said to have been involved in Scrope’s revolt. The mayoral candidates and their affinities would not number the eight or nine thousand fighting men given by contemporary estimates of those gathered on Shipton Moor in May 1405.⁹³ Instead, it is likely that different men, and perhaps women, rebelled for different reasons.⁹⁴ Some merchants were likely convinced that Scrope supported their financial interests, and other merchants and artisans may have been taking sides in a political conflict that had been simmering for a generation. Equally, many are likely to have been swept along with the crowd, and some may have been convinced by Scrope’s possible promise of an indulgence for all those who followed him.⁹⁵ Whatever the exact reasons, existing historiographical explanations for the revolt that focus solely on economic and political reasons for the elites of the city to rebel almost certainly underplay the role that

⁸⁸ “Quod cum idem dominus Henricus per suas et verba dolosa immediate post suum ingressum in Angliam palam populo propalata, et publice per regnum proclamando nullas de cetero decimationes ecclesiasticas in clero, quintam-decimam in populo”; Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:296.

⁸⁹ For an evaluation of royal taxation in the early years of Henry IV’s reign, see Ormrod, “The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope,” 166–69. For piracy, see Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, “Piracy, Patriotism, and Profit in England around 1400,” in *Merchants, Pirates, and Smugglers: Criminalization, Economics, and the Transformation of the Maritime World (1200–1600)*, ed. Thomas K. Heebøll-Holm, Philipp Höhn and Gregor Rohmann (Campus Verlag, 2019), 36.

⁹⁰ Walker, “Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest,” 50.

⁹¹ Liddy, “William Frost,” 64.

⁹² For this murder see later in this chapter.

⁹³ Morant, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 605. Other accounts say a great multitude (*magna multitudo*), for example Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:288.

⁹⁴ There is no literature on the role of women in this rebellion. However, Cohn finds that “England appears exceptional for women’s involvement in late medieval popular insurrection”; Samuel Cohn Jr, “Women in Revolt in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Routledge, 2017), 211,

⁹⁵ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:288 talks of a blessing that may indicate an indulgence.

religious belief played in the choices of many rebels.⁹⁶ In a world where social, economic and political position were seen as the will of God, religious motivations are key to understanding a revolt resulting from a combination of a lack of good governance and justice, and excessive taxation.

On 3rd June, the king took York's liberties into his own hands.⁹⁷ He appointed keepers for the city, who then reappointed William Frost, who had been mayor until January 1405, as their lieutenant.⁹⁸ As early as 8th June, the king was granting property formerly owned by citizens designated as traitorous.⁹⁹ On 12th July, 1405, the city authorities were given an order from the king to place the heads of Richard de Ask and Ranulph del See on Bootham Bar.¹⁰⁰ Thus, executions related to the revolt continued for over a month. In these cases, judicial procedures may have been correctly followed. On 18th July, the king ordered the arrest of John Davy of York, and, on 22nd July, the Patent Rolls record an order to place the head of William Furster, chaplain, upon the Ouse Bridge.¹⁰¹ On 17th August, the king ordered that William Plumpton's head, which had been on Micklegate Bar for over two months, be returned to his wife.¹⁰² Her son Robert had received a pardon for his "treasons, insurrections and felonies" on 21st June.¹⁰³ On 24th August, a general pardon was issued to everyone, lay or clerical, in York between 1st May and 1st August, 1405.¹⁰⁴ The wide participation of the inhabitants of York in the revolt is confirmed by the pardons issued to clerics of the city, particularly members of the Minster clergy.¹⁰⁵

The general pardon and the chroniclers' accounts both focus on the punishment of York's citizens. Whilst the general pardon includes all those residing in the city and allows their

⁹⁶ For this in a different context, see Lantschner, "Invoking and Constructing Legitimacy," 180; & Phillip Haberkern, "Prophetic Rebellions: Radical Urban Theopolitics in the Era of the Reformations," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Routledge, 2016), 363–83.

⁹⁷ *CFR XII*, 310.

⁹⁸ *CPR 1405–8*, 69. Frost became acting mayor of the city; *CPR 1405–8*, 40.

⁹⁹ *CPR 1405–8*, 19 & 38.

¹⁰⁰ *CRP 1405–8*, 69. Richard Aske may be a mis-recording of John Aske, a prominent York citizen. I have found no mention of a Richard Aske anywhere else in surviving records. John Aske, esquire, was subject to an arrest warrant on May 22, 1405, although he does appear to have been pardoned in June; *CPR 1405–8*, 67. Ranulph del See was from a civic elite family, enmeshed in civic ceremony, and owned land in Bootham; Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part II (1388–1493)* (Surtees Society, 1915), 30–31 & 109.

¹⁰¹ *CPR 1405–8*, 69 & 70.

¹⁰² *CCR 1403–5*, 469. Plumpton was married to the daughter of a former mayor and prominent merchant, and was the brother-in-law of William Frost, mayor until February 1405 (for the family tree, see Figure 40). Alice Plumpton had petitioned the king for aid in supporting herself and her children, and paying her executed husband's debts after William's goods had been taken by the king "as a result of his rebellion"; *CPR 1405–8*, 45.

¹⁰³ *CPR 1405–8*, 70.

¹⁰⁴ *CPR 1405–8*, 40.

¹⁰⁵ *CPR 1405–8*, 76.

property to be returned, the citizens' liberties are specifically excluded from this grace. The liberties and franchises were specified as remaining in the king's hands until he chose to return them to the citizens. The chroniclers also focus on the term 'citizens' (*cives omnes Eboracenses*), excluding all unfranchised inhabitants of the city. This may reflect a belief that the submission of the leading families of the city was what mattered to Henry IV, with the behaviour of the non-notable men, women, and children irrelevant within a political context.¹⁰⁶ However, it could equally, and in coexistence, indicate that it was indeed the citizens who had either organised or formed the core of the revolt. This is plausible if one sees Scrope's revolt as motivated at least in part by the burden of onerous taxes that citizens paid.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, Scrope's manifesto emphasised the importance of mercantile activity to the economic health of the kingdom, and these trading merchants would have legally had to be citizens of York or another city.¹⁰⁸

Henry IV arrived at Bishopthorpe Palace (five kilometres south of York and 38 north-east of Pontefract) on 6th June. Walsingham says the king went from Pontefract straight to York where the citizens "came out to meet him with bare feet, wearing filthy rags, carrying swords or ropes in their hands, with sighs and pitiful tears they pleaded for pardon", a common ritual form of medieval submission no doubt understood by all participants.¹⁰⁹ This would put the subjugation of the citizens on the 5th or 6th June, 1405.¹¹⁰ The *Eulogium Historiarum* contains less detail, placing the penance of the citizens between the dispersal of Scrope's forces on May 30th and the arrival of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Bishopthorpe on June 8th.¹¹¹ Adam Usk

¹⁰⁶ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 405. On the same page, the Annales do refer to "communeque vulgus".

¹⁰⁷ For taxation and the Scrope revolt, see Ormrod, "The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope," 165–79. Ormrod shows that the taxes were more onerous than they had been in living memory. For the citizens of the city taking on the burdens of taxation instead of the poorest of the city, see Liddy, "Urban Conflict in Late Fourteenth-Century England". Wills give instances of wealthy testators bequeathing money to relieve the burden of taxation, see Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 605.

¹⁰⁸ Walker, "Yorkshire Risings," 179.

¹⁰⁹ "Exirent obuam nudis pedibus, succincti pannis uilibus, discoopertis capitibus, mucrones siue estes gestantes in manibus, et cum singultibus et miserabilibus fletibus ueniam postulantes"; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 808–09. The Latin is quoted from the cited volume, but the translation edited as it does not include the clothing. For *deditio* submission and the pre-negotiation potentially involved, see Gerd Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 75–76. For the reality (or not) of these submissions, see Gerd Althoff and J. D. Müller, "Humiliatio-Exaltatio. Theorie und Praxis eines herrscherlichen Handlungsmusters," in *Text und Kontext: Fallstudien und theoretische Begründungen einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Mediävistik*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Oldenbourg, 2007), 51. It may be that the reference made in one chronicle to the Day of Judgement indicates that Henry IV intended to frame the submission by biblical references from the Book of Revelation (for examples of possible precedents see Althoff, "The Variability of Rituals," 85–86. This might explain the connection between Scrope and the apocalypse explored below, but there is not enough evidence to take this idea further.

¹¹⁰ By comparison with the king's location given in the patent rolls.

¹¹¹ Haydon, *Eulogium*, 407.

does not date the submission, but, significantly in the context of this dissertation, in his *Chronicle* he records the citizens of York as prostrating themselves as if “the Day of Judgement” (*iudicii dies*) had come.¹¹² The 5th or 6th of June date for the submission is supported by Henry’s ordinance on June 6th to remove the liberties of city.

The response of York’s citizens (and others within the city) to Henry IV was, as Christian Liddy has argued for rebellious York and other cities, part of a process of spectacle and negotiation.¹¹³ The citizens are indeed likely to have prostrated themselves before the king as described in the chronicles, but this need not necessarily been seen as a forced humiliation. Instead, it was part of a chosen ritual. A comparable, and chronologically proximate, example can be seen in Vienna in 1408 when three civic elites, including the mayor, were executed as part of a process of urban and lordly negotiation.¹¹⁴ As also seen in the Hungarian *adventus regis*,

both its [the ritual’s] protagonists and observers play roles that have been clearly defined in advance, their actions are in line with the model or the performative form of the ritual, and its every element serves to demonstrate unambiguous statements and commitments. By this token they help to sustain the functioning of society in the required manner.¹¹⁵

This ritual submission of the leading citizens of York succeeded in saving the city from general punishment. After Scrope’s revolt, there was no repeat of the eleventh-century Harrying of the North or foreshadowing of the mass executions seen a century and a half later following the Pilgrimage of Grace.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the success of the ritual and the potential concessions gained by it can be seen in the comparatively low fine paid by the citizens and in the return of their liberties the following year.¹¹⁷ The ritual assertion of royal authority can also be seen in the control of civic space by royal government in the days and months following the revolt. These

¹¹² Chris Given-Wilson, ed., *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421* (Clarendon Press, 1997), 202–03. For a summary of chroniclers’ responses to the rebellious city, see Liddy, “William Frost,” 65–69.

¹¹³ Liddy, “Urban Conflict in Late Fourteenth-Century England”; Liddy, “William Frost,” 83; & Christian D. Liddy and Jelle Haemers, “Popular Politics in the Late Medieval City: York and Bruges,” *The English Historical Review* 128 (August 2013): 771–805. See also, Walker, “Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest,” 57–58.

¹¹⁴ Christina Lutter, “Who Took the Fall in 1408, and Why? Vienna’s Elites in Alliances and Conflicts with Habsburg Dukes,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 55 (2024): 575.

¹¹⁵ Dusan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)* (Brill, 2016), 135–36. The comparison is not exact, but it provides a model of how such rituals were commonly used to resolve conflicts.

¹¹⁶ C. S. L. Davies, “The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered,” *Past & Present* 41 (Dec., 1968): 54.

¹¹⁷ Liddy argues that William Frost’s close relationship with the Henry IV mitigated the punishment levied on the city; Liddy, “William Frost,” 76–77.

spaces “conveyed urban identity” and shaped the self-image of cities and their governments.¹¹⁸ This is shown in particular in the placement of a rebel’s head on the civic chapel of the city.

Late medieval York was divided by two rivers, the Ouse and the Foss (see Figure 3). As the name suggests, the Foss was the smaller of these two rivers, and was crossed at several points by roads and bridges. The Ouse was the more significant division. It was a major shipping route, taking goods from the city down to the port of Hull and from there across the North Sea. There was only one bridge across the Ouse, joining Micklegate on the south bank to Ousegate on the north, and this was where the civic chapel dedicated to St William of York stood.¹¹⁹ St William’s civic chapel had considerable power for the citizens of late medieval York as a key locus of civic ceremony and pride.¹²⁰ Nothing survives of the medieval building, but from the antiquarian records it is possible to reconstruct a substantial chapel, dominating Ouse Bridge and controlling the impression that visitors from both land and sea received when arriving in the city. The chapel was the site of civic ritual, described by David Harrison as “at the very heart of civic life”.¹²¹ Dobson describes the chapel as synonymous with the civic community.¹²² City mayors were elected by the commons in the Guildhall, contiguous with the chapel. Ritual submissions within the civic elite also happened here.¹²³ All civic processions also passed over Ouse Bridge, and it was one of twelve locations for performances of the city’s mystery play cycle.¹²⁴ Furthermore, during the 1380–81 uprising in York, the bells of this

¹¹⁸ Hannah Serneels, “Making Space for Resistance: the Spatiality of Popular Protest in the Late Medieval Southern Low Countries,” *Urban History* 49, no. 4 (2022): 713; & Lorraine Attreed, “Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (Spring, 2002): 571. In late medieval York, the importance of these spaces has been often studied through the Corpus Christi plays, an annual procession of priests and pageant wagons which moved on a defined route through the city. These plays were the site of negotiation where tensions inherent between individuals and guilds could be acknowledged, expressed and negated; Mervyn James, “Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Towns,” *Past and Present* 98, no. 1 (1983): 4; & Margaret Aziza Pappano and Nicole R. Rice, “‘Beginning and Beginning-Again’: Processions, Plays, and Civic Politics in York and Chester,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 30 (2008): 300.

¹¹⁹ David Harrison, “Medieval Yorkshire Roads, Bridges and York Merchants,” in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Brown, Sarah Rees Jones and Tim Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 204. Micklegate was the main route through which travellers from the south (which was most of England, and almost all of the powerful and rich cities and regions) entered the city. In the summer of 1405, anyone entering the city through Micklegate Bar and proceeding from there to the city centre, main markets, and York Minster on the north bank of the Ouse would have been subjected to grisly reminders of the power of the king. The head of William Plumptre was placed atop Micklegate Bar, with its countenance rotting in the summer heat. The traveller then passed down Micklegate hill, reaching Ouse Bridge at the bottom and the chapel of St William there. St William was a twelfth-century archbishop of York, believed to have saved all lives during the collapse of Ouse Bridge in 1154.

¹²⁰ The current civic Guildhall on Coneystreet was not built until 1449; RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 5: the Central Area* (Stationery Office Books, 1981), 76.

¹²¹ Harrison, “Medieval Yorkshire Roads, Bridges and York Merchants,” 204.

¹²² R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (Hambledon, 1996), 275.

¹²³ Liddy, “William Frost,” 68.

¹²⁴ Meg Twycross, “‘Places to hear the play’: Pageant Stations at York, 1398–1572,” *Records of Early English Drama* 3, no. 2 (1978): 27.

chapel had been rung to call the citizens (and potentially all inhabitants of the city) to revolt.¹²⁵ There is no evidence that these bells were rung during the Scrope revolt, but likewise no reason to think that the symbolism of the bells had changed between 1381 and 1405.

In the summer of 1405, anyone crossing the bridge would have been greeted by the head of William Furster, a cleric's head placed next to the civic chapel.¹²⁶ There is no other mention in the surviving records of a royal authority ordering the head of an executed criminal to be placed on Ouse Bridge.¹²⁷ The heads of criminals were frequently placed on the gates of the city, but not within York itself.¹²⁸ Even after the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace, the leader of this revolt was executed outside York Castle and his corpse hung from the walls, in a royal space and not within the space of the city's liberties.¹²⁹ Richard II's grant of a significant expansion of these liberties, nine years before the 1405 revolt, makes the contrast more striking.¹³⁰ Furster's head left rotting on the civic chapel can therefore be seen as a unique assertion of royal power within York in a space owned by the citizens. It would have had a considerable impact upon the honour of the city.

Scrope was executed on the Feast of St William (Whit Monday coincided with St William's Day in 1405). St William was a former archbishop of York, adopted as the city's civic saint and commemorated with an annual procession on his feast day. The haste with which Henry IV acted, condemning Scrope two days after arriving in York, doing so whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury rested, and having no judge present after Sir William Gascoigne refused to try a prelate, suggests the day may have been specifically chosen with a mind to insulting the city's civic saint. The placement of the head of William Furster on St William's chapel reinforces this likelihood. This may have been particularly galling as St William had also been archbishop of York. Since St William's Day coincided with Pentecost in 1405 and St William's miracles were all recorded in the Pentecost season, the day would have been exceptionally significant.¹³¹ However, it is also possible that Henry IV merely wanted

¹²⁵ Liddy, "Urban Conflict," 27. For a bell that had called a late medieval urban population to revolt being destroyed by royal power, see Rouen in 1382; Cohn, "Topography," 405–06.

¹²⁶ *CPR 1405–8*, 69.

¹²⁷ Henry IV meted the same treatment to other towns in the north east of England. The head of Henry Boynton, a gentry rebel from Cleveland was placed on the bridge over the Tyne at Newcastle, though this bridge was not within the town itself, and the heads of other rebels were placed on pillories within the towns of Yarm, Helmsley, Richmond and Scarborough; *CPR 1405–8*, 68. Other heads were placed on pillories and gates; *CPR 1405–8*, 70.

¹²⁸ In 1403, Henry Hotspur's head was placed atop a York gate; Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 398.

¹²⁹ The Pilgrimage of Grace was a 1536 uprising against Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries. It was considerably more dangerous than the Scrope revolt, seriously threatening Tudor rule; A. Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), 50–54.

¹³⁰ Palliser, *Medieval York*, 197.

¹³¹ Norton, *St William*, 150. This emphasised in verses celebrating Scrope; Carlson, "The 1405 Richard Scrope Execution Verses," 50–51.

proceedings completed as soon as possible so he could pursue other rebels further north. A combination of all of the above is likely, achieving both a symbolic victory and a practical response to the danger of future revolt. Whatever the king's reasoning, the significance of the day would not have escaped York's inhabitants. St William's Day was usually marked by a civic procession, passing down Micklegate and across Ouse Bridge, both of which were less than a kilometre from the field in which Scrope was executed. This procession, alongside the Pentecost celebrations, would have attracted visitors into the city on a normal year, though it is impossible to know how people reacted in 1405 and whether, knowing about the failed revolt and their imprisoned archbishop, visitors avoided the city.¹³²

Likewise, the king and his allies attempted to control ritual space within York's ecclesiastical liberty. On 8th June, Scrope was buried at the east end of York Minster, in a tomb he had commissioned. By 11th June 1405, timbers had been placed across the tomb to deny access.¹³³ By December, the ersatz mayor, William Frost, was acting so zealously in his attempted suppression of the Scrope cult that the king reprimanded him for his behaviour, albeit doing so gently.¹³⁴ Frost had been trying to prevent pilgrims, who had possibly been encouraged by the vicars choral, from praying at Scrope's tomb, to the extent that there are indications that he had physically hurt several vicars in the cathedral.¹³⁵ Further letters were sent from London, instructing the Minster authorities not to promote the cult. It should also be noted that the contract for the glazing of the Great East Window was concluded in December 1405, at exactly the time that Frost was zealously suppressing the cult. This window is a spectacular expression of the prestige of the cathedral and is located just above Scrope's tomb. The light from the window alone would decorate the burial place of the martyred archbishop, thus enhancing the presentation of a sanctified place.

The lacklustre suppression of the cult and the commissioning of the Great East Window make it difficult to argue that Henry IV made any serious attempt to prevent the emergence of the Scrope cult. Whilst the Minster clerics no doubt made zealous attempts to protect their

¹³² The only evidence on this is the multitude of spectators at the beheading recorded by chroniclers and hagiographers. This multitude could refer to inhabitants of York or soldiers from the royal army, or both, and need not mean visitors to the city.

¹³³ Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 229.

¹³⁴ Liddy, "William Frost," 85. Norton has evaluated how, during the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century rebuilding of York Minster, it would have been possible to reach Scrope's tomb, and concluded that devotees were probably directed on a route from the south transept, down the south choir to the Lady Chapel at the eastern end, and then over to Scrope's tomb to the north; Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 174. Norton's study further concluded that "the Minster authorities were encouraging a de facto cult of Richard Scrope, while making sure that they should not be seen to be doing so in any formal documents"; Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 180.

¹³⁵ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III, 291.

liberties, the ease and hurry with which Henry IV executed Scrope despite protests from both Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury and Chief Justice William Gascoigne shows that the king had little respect for either ecclesiastical privileges or the law. However, in the case of Scrope's commemoration, royal protests were symbolic and performative, asserting power to a certain extent but never removing the possibility of negotiation. The authority of the king was acknowledged by the Minster authorities who never explicitly promoted the cult of St Richard Scrope. For a new, and plausibly illegitimate regime, this acknowledgement was symbolically extremely valuable.¹³⁶ Royal government was content to attempt to prevent devotion to Scrope by the imposition of barriers, but the use of physical force invoked a rebuke from the king. There was no violent imposition of royal power in 1405 and subsequent years; no army was sent into the city, or any attempt made to remove evidence of Scrope's burial. Likewise, Scrope was buried with his body and head; his head was not displayed to public view.

Walker argues that "political criticism and debate was generally articulated through a common stock of beliefs and attitudes, albeit one appropriated and interpreted according to individual circumstances and predilections."¹³⁷ The revolt of the inhabitants of York was an unusual circumstance, but the participants in the aftermath of the revolt were acting within a culturally accepted set of parameters. The ritual submission of York's citizens and the control of their civic space allowed the king to assert his authority within a rebellious city, but the citizens soon regained their independence, and their financial circumstances were not seriously endangered. The ritual submission allowed the inhabitants of the city to continue their lives, especially their ability to trade. Financial prosperity was, as shown in their reasons for supporting Scrope, a key concern of the inhabitants of York. Likewise, negotiation and compromise allowed the Scrope cult to persist in York Minster.

4.4. Revolt in All Saints, North Street

The events and responses explored above affected all the inhabitants of York, including those living in North Street. However, All Saints was more explicitly connected to the revolt than many other York parishes. Most significantly, the mayor of the city in May 1405 was a parishioner in North Street, and he and the parish priest of All Saints were censured for their role in Scrope's revolt. As explained in Chapter 2, the church was also being rebuilt between

¹³⁶ See Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest," 62.

¹³⁷ Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest," 57.

ca.1390 and 1440. The following section will set out the evidence for the involvement of the inhabitants of the parish of All Saints, North Street in the revolt, and describe how devotion to St Richard Scrope should be seen as part of a process of reconciliation following the events of May 1405.

Adam del Banke was one of the richest and most elite parishioners in 1405 of All Saints, North Street. He had been a parishioner since at least 1399, when his wife had asked in her will to be buried in All Saints, Street.¹³⁸ Although she does not specify that this, or any other church, was her parish church, her burial within the church building and the number of the bequests to the church strongly suggest a parish relationship. Her family, or close associates, had also held property in the parish since at least the mid-fourteenth century.¹³⁹ When Banke himself died in 1410, five years after Scrope's revolt, he requested burial between the doors of All Saints, North Street (*inter duo ostia ecclie[sia] om[nium] sa[n]ct[orum] in Northstrete*). Unfortunately, no tombstone survived when the seventeenth-century antiquarians visited the church. Banke also established a chantry in the church, at the altar of St Nicholas in the south aisle.¹⁴⁰ The Revelation window would later be installed above this altar. In his will, he left bequests to family, servants, and charitable institutions in York. Some of these, such as to the hospital in the mercers' guildhall, may reflect his business interests. To All Saints, North Street, he left 40 shillings for his burial, bequests to all the parish chaplains, and money to repair the altar of St James and stone window there, as well as conventional bequests of his best gown for his burial and wax to be burnt around his body.¹⁴¹ A codicil, made in January 1410, added further bequests to family, servants, and one of the parish chaplains (presumably the one serving at his chantry) to celebrate for the souls of Banke and his wife Margaret.¹⁴²

Banke entered the freedom of the city of York in the 45th year of Edward III's reign (1372–73), listed as a littester (dyer).¹⁴³ He climbed York's *cursus honorum* in the late fourteenth century, becoming chamberlain of the city in the seventh year of Richard II's reign (1384–85), and bailiff in 1386.¹⁴⁴ He appears to have been strongly associated with one faction in the 1380–81 revolt in York, witnessing charters with Simon Quixlay, the leader of this revolt.

¹³⁸ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 66.

¹³⁹ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 66.

¹⁴⁰ P. S. Barnwell, "'Four hundred masses on the four Fridays next after my decease': The Care of Souls in Fifteenth-Century All Saints, North Street, York," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: the Use of York*, ed. P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft (Spire Books, 2005), 73.

¹⁴¹ York, York Minster Library, MS. H2(1), fol. 2v–3r.

¹⁴² MS. H2(1), fol. 3v.

¹⁴³ Frances Collins, ed., *Register of the Freemen of the City of York: from the City Records*, vol. 1, 1272–1558 (Durham, 1897), 68.

¹⁴⁴ Liddy, "William Frost," 83.

The two men also lived very close together, to the point where they may have been neighbours.¹⁴⁵ The previous mayor and Banke's replacement after the 1405 revolt, William Frost, was the son-in-law of Quixlay's rival in 1380–81 and followed this rival's policies closely.¹⁴⁶ For Christian Liddy, "it is in the context of an escalating conflict between members of the civic elite of York that the participation of the citizens of York in the Scrope rebellion should be understood".¹⁴⁷ Liddy argues that the 1405 revolt was a continued expression of the underlying tensions that caused 1380–81 revolt. This is likely to have been a factor, but does not explain the involvement of possibly more than 8,000 people, not all of whom could have been part of the affinities of Banke and Frost.

At the end of May 1405, four months after Banke had been elected mayor, Henry IV ordered him "to take into the king's hands all goods of Richard, archbishop of York, and all others who have lately risen in insurrection".¹⁴⁸ Considering that several thousand of York's inhabitants were reported to have risen in support of Scrope, this was a considerable task. However, this order does imply that the king, at the end of May at least, did not consider the mayor a rebel. Four days later, on 3rd June, the situation had changed, and the king appointed his own men to rule the city.¹⁴⁹ One day after that, Henry instigated a commission to investigate the treasons of certain men of York. These three events may not be connected, but they may indicate that Henry IV had been informed that Banke was complicit in the revolt. Evidence from Walsingham's chronicle provides some support for this; Walsingham details the concern of the Mayor of Newcastle on learning that he had accidentally become involved in the Percy revolt.¹⁵⁰ He includes no such passage for the Mayor of York.

Adam and Margaret del Banke were related to John Bawtre, vicar choral of York Minster and celebrant at the altar of St John of Beverley. In her will, Margaret refers to Bawtre as her kinsman, (*consanguineo meo*), and all three asked to be buried side by side between the doors of All Saints, North Street.¹⁵¹ Bawtre first appears in the documentary record as a vicar

¹⁴⁵ Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 153–4.

¹⁴⁶ Liddy, "William Frost," 80.

¹⁴⁷ Liddy, "William Frost," 78.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR 1405–8*, 66.

¹⁴⁹ *CFR XII*, 310. However, there is no record of Banke being imprisoned or suffering any significant personal consequences.

¹⁵⁰ Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 456–58.

¹⁵¹ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 66; York, York Minster Library, H2(1), fols. 2v–3v; & York, York Minster Library, L2/4, fol. 157r–158r. Banke refers to him in his will as John Bawtry, chaplain. In his will, Bawtry refers to Adam del Banke and Margaret his wife.

choral in 1385, paid for celebrating the obit of Henry Vavasour.¹⁵² In 1388, he is recorded as the former treasurer to the disgraced archbishop Alexander Neville, probably having fallen from his previous position with his patron.¹⁵³ He then became vicar of Brayton in North Yorkshire in 1391, and succentor of the vicars choral of York Minster by the same date.¹⁵⁴ In 1405, Bawtre was still a vicar choral but no longer succentor.¹⁵⁵ He appears to have been a wealthy man, buying spices in York in 1388 worth more than £6, and making cash bequests in excess of £52 in his 1411 will.¹⁵⁶ As well as being buried in the church and having a chantry with Adam del Banke at the altar of St Nicholas, Bawtre is likely to be the kneeling priest shown in the surviving fifteenth-century glass of All Saints, North Street in the St Thomas window. Finally, a John Bawtre appears in the 1382 will of Geoffrey Scrope, canon of Lincoln Cathedral and uncle of Archbishop Scrope. It cannot be said with any certainty that this was the same John Bawtre, but it is possible.¹⁵⁷

The vicars choral acted as substitutes for the non-residentiary canons of York Minster, performed masses at altars in the cathedral, and lived together in the city. Five vicars were individually pardoned for their involvement in Scrope's revolt, though Bawtre was not one of those named.¹⁵⁸ William Furster, the chaplain executed for his part in the revolt and whose head was placed on Ouse Bridge, was also associated with the vicars choral, as the succentor and vicars (including the later pardoned William Tunstall) presented him to his chantry in 1404.¹⁵⁹ Later in 1405, the Minster Chapter (of whom the Vicars were the substitutes *in situ*) was instructed by the Archbishop of Canterbury not to encourage pilgrimage to Scrope's tomb, suggesting that they may have been doing so.¹⁶⁰ The cathedral chapter and vicars likewise supported Scrope's veneration after 1405 and, considering that the first miracle happened in

¹⁵² Frederick Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College; the Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (John Murray, 1952), 86.

¹⁵³ *CPR 1385–9*, 419.

¹⁵⁴ *CPR 1389–92*, 454. Harrison dates his tenure to 1385–1397; Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, 300.

¹⁵⁵ Nigel John Tringham, ed. *Charters of the Vicars Choral of York Minster: City of York and its Suburbs to 1546* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 124 & 178.

¹⁵⁶ York, York Minster Library, LS/4, 157r–158r.

¹⁵⁷ C. W. Foster, *Lincoln Wills*, (Lincoln Record Society, 1912), 16. Hughes believed it was the same John Bawtre; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 203. However, the village of Bawtry is almost in Lincolnshire, increasing the likelihood that another man called John Bawtry may have been known to a canon of Lincoln Cathedral. It is also possible that Canon Scrope's bequest to his nephew Richard, the future archbishop, of a *Beringarium* is a illuminated apocalypse with a commentary by Berengaudus.

¹⁵⁸ *CPR 1405–8*, 72. The vicars were Robert Apilton, William Wath, Richard Burton, William Welwyk and William Tunstall. Thomas Bugthorpe, a chaplain in York Minster, was also pardoned. A landowner in the town of Bawtry also fought with Hotspur at the Battle of Shrewsbury, but no personal connection to John Bawtre can be proposed; *CPR 1401–5*, 57.

¹⁵⁹ Abp. Reg. 16, fol. 42v.

¹⁶⁰ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, 3:291.

the Minster, may have been instrumental to the spread of this initial story.¹⁶¹ When Mayor of York in 1405, Adam del Banke therefore had a kinship connection to the clergy of York Minster. It can never be known to what extent, if any, he felt an affinity to Scrope as archbishop of York, but, through Bawtre, Banke was closely connected to the vicars choral, many of whom were sanctioned after the revolt and who played a key role in the promotion of the Scrope cult.

All Saints, North Street's parish priest, John Whitwell, was involved in the Scrope revolt. Whitwell was probably a relatively old man in 1405, having received his first benefice in Westow, near Malton in North Yorkshire (see Figure 39) in 1384.¹⁶² He then moved to Kirkby Overblow (near Harrogate) and Kirby Grindalythe (near Malton), before being instituted to All Saints, North Street in 1403 upon the death of the previous rector.¹⁶³ The advowson of the parish was held by the Priory of Holy Trinity in York, and Whitwell is described as one of their clerks (*clericum suum*).¹⁶⁴ In October 1406, he exchanged All Saints, North Street for the benefice of Langton, also near Malton, perhaps returning close to his birthplace for his final years.¹⁶⁵ On 26th July, 1405, he is recorded as having paid 10 marks for a pardon for "all treasons, insurrections, rebellions and felonies committed by him" and to excuse him from the forfeiture of his lands.¹⁶⁶ The entry into the Patent Rolls recording this payment explicitly records him as "parson of the church of All Saints, North Street, York".¹⁶⁷ Obtaining this pardon may merely have been a preventative measure, but it suggests at the very least that considerable suspicion existed regarding his involvement in the revolt. It also involved considerable expenditure, as the sum of 10 marks was more than 300 days' pay for a skilled tradesman.¹⁶⁸

The preponderance of benefices in the area around Malton suggests a geographical origin for Whitwell. In the context of the Scrope revolt, this is significant. Malton is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, between the city of York and the county of Northumberland. Many of the gentry and others involved in the revolt in 1405 came from this area and the Percy and Mowbray families had landed interests there.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, Whitwell's previous benefice in

¹⁶¹ Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 198–202.

¹⁶² Abp. Reg. 12, fol. 46r.

¹⁶³ Abp. Reg. 14, fol. 47v; Abp. Reg. 16, fol. 65v; & Abp. Reg. 16, fol. 35v. It is perhaps relevant that the previous rector was named Adam de Lichfield, suggesting that he may have originated from Scrope's previous diocese.

¹⁶⁴ Abp. Reg. 16, fol. 35v.

¹⁶⁵ Abp. Reg. 5a, fol. 300v.

¹⁶⁶ *CPR 1405–8*, 78–79.

¹⁶⁷ *CPR 1405–8*, 79.

¹⁶⁸ Calculated using the National Archives' currency converter (<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>).

¹⁶⁹ Melanie Devine, "The Dog that did not Bark: Richmondshire and the 1405 Rebellion," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 46. For a list of pardons issued to men of Malton, see *CPR 1405–8*, 71.

Kirkby Overblow was under the patronage of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.¹⁷⁰ Kirkby Overblow also borders the parish of Spofforth, where the Plumpton family (William Plumpton was executed with Scrope) had their ancestral lands and the Percies owned a castle. Finally, Whitwell was also a clerk of Holy Trinity Priory, York.¹⁷¹ As discussed later in this chapter, the priory would play a significant role in expressions of Scrope devotion in fifteenth-century York.

The reasons behind the support of these men for Scrope's revolt are impossible to determine with certainty, and no single cause can ever be given. Banke's election as mayor and likely support of Scrope's revolt can be connected to elite politics in the city from 1381 onwards.¹⁷² Banke was a York merchant and "by the winter of 1404–5, the Hanse was trying to organize a general boycott of English trade", a consequence of Henry IV's policies.¹⁷³ This likely increased antipathy towards the king amongst York's trading elite. Furthermore, Banke's familial ties with John Bawtre connected him to the politics of the Minster, and Bawtre may have influenced Banke in favour of Scrope's uprising. Likewise, no definite cause can be attributed to Whitwell's involvement in the revolt, though his geographical origin and ties to the Percy, Plumpton and thus Scrope families are likely to have played a role. Both the priest and his parishioners would have been adversely affected by Henry IV's rising taxes, and Whitwell's compassion for his flock may, in a similar but less wide-reaching way to Scrope, have led to him feeling a responsibility to protect their interests. He may himself have protested against clerical taxation, or simply acted out of loyalty to his archbishop. With the sources that survive, nothing more can be said about his motivation.

Banke lost his post as Mayor of York as a result of the Scrope revolt and Whitwell had to pay a substantial fine. However, there was a more disastrous outcome for one parishioner of All Saints, North Street in 1405. On 25th March, 1405, the potter Thomas Escrick died as a result of what Christian Liddy has shown to be a factional dispute amongst the city's elite, connected to Scrope's revolt.¹⁷⁴ Escrick was murdered by an adherent of Banke's political opponent, William Frost. Liddy describes Escrick as "an otherwise unremarkable citizen", but tracing his family tree shows a strong connection to All Saints, North Street and Adam del

¹⁷⁰ Abp. Reg. 14, fol. 47v.

¹⁷¹ Abp. Reg. 16, fol. 37v.

¹⁷² Liddy, "William Frost," 80–85.

¹⁷³ Given-Wilson. *Henry IV*, 203; & T. H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611: A Study of their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 114–16. William Frost, Banke's predecessor and successor as mayor, was not a merchant. No trading interests have been found for him; Liddy, "William Frost," 79–80.

¹⁷⁴ Liddy, "William Frost," 78.

Banke.¹⁷⁵ Escrick's son John married Cecily Bullyngton, with whom he had a son.¹⁷⁶ When John Escrick died, Cecily remarried. Her second husband was Reginald Bawtre, kinsman and former servant (*famulus*) of Adam del Banke (see Figure 40).¹⁷⁷ Reginald Bawtre was also the donor of at least one window in All Saints, North Street, the completion of which he left to his widow Cecily on his death in 1429, and which shows an archbishop figure that can be connected to the martyred Scrope. Escrick's murder is recorded as having occurred on the Feast of Annunciation, raising the possibility (though there is no definite evidence for this) that the murder was intended to be understood as a message, perhaps to those who supported Banke, perhaps to those who supported Scrope, or perhaps to the parish of All Saints, North Street.¹⁷⁸ Whenever or not it was intended as a message, this murder of a neighbour would have at the very least unsettled the parishioners, likely making the revolt and martyrdom of their archbishop barely more than two months later more shocking.

One further cleric from the parish is likely to have been significantly affected by Scrope's revolt: Robert Alne, son of a North Street tanner and merchant.¹⁷⁹ Alne was a cleric and lawyer, educated at Cambridge, who became Examiner General of the Court of York, and was described by Jonathan Hughes as probably a protégé of Richard Scrope, although there is no definite evidence for this.¹⁸⁰ The family's holdings in the parish and his father's wish to be buried in the church suggest Robert Alne was brought up in North Street until he went to Cambridge, at some point before 1400, to study for his BA.¹⁸¹ At the time of the Scrope revolt, he was almost certainly in York as, on 6th June 1405, he was ordained priest in the Dominican

¹⁷⁵ Liddy, William Frost, 78.

¹⁷⁶ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572-2.

¹⁷⁷ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 572-2.

¹⁷⁸ Liddy, "William Frost," 78.

¹⁷⁹ It can also be suggested that the tanners living in the parish of All Saints, North Street, played a significant role in the Scrope revolt. As a wealthy, but politically suppressed, craft guild, they had both the resources and the motivation for revolt. Richard Alne, the father of Robert Alne was a wealthy tanner who acted as a merchant without having the social status associated with that craft due to his involvement in tanning. The tanners of York were concentrated in the parish of All Saints, North Street, to the extent that the city wall postern in the parish was known as Barker Tower. This is where they may have held their guild meetings, but, considering the small size of the tower, All Saints, North Street is also a likely location. The church would have provided them with a secluded meeting space and a sympathetic parish priest. It would also have had Scrope's articles pinned to the door. However, no tanners are recorded as having been prosecuted for their role in the revolt and none appear in governmental records as having received pardons. The extent of their involvement must therefore remain speculative.

¹⁸⁰ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 200. Alne did inherit substantial property in the parish of All Saints, North Street on the death of his father in 1409, and his brother William Alne was appointed an executor in the will of Adam del Banke; Joyce W. Percy, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part III* (Surtees Society, 1973), 43–44. There are some indications that Robert Alne did not receive the property with ease.

¹⁸¹ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge University Press, 1963), 10–11.

Friary bordering the parish of All Saints, North Street.¹⁸² He then left York to become a fellow at St Peter's College, Cambridge. In 1421, Alne returned to York, serving as Examiner General of the Court of York. When he died in 1440, he asked for burial in All Saints, North Street, in front of the altar of St Nicholas (the same dedication as the altar at which he served in York Minster) and where Adam del Banke had his chantry.¹⁸³ This thus places his burial before the Revelation window. Alne may have been particularly interested in the apocalypse, as he bequeathed a copy of Nicholas of Lyra's *Super Novum Testamentum*. If this incorporated the New Testament parts of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis super Biblia*, then there was a significant apocalyptic element to the text.¹⁸⁴ Alne also bequeathed the manuscript that is now Peterhouse MS. 78.¹⁸⁵ This contains Augustine's *City of God*, a text that was undoubtedly popular enough that no particular eschatological significance can be ascribed to it if it appears alone in a will or library, but equally undoubtedly contains apocalyptic material.¹⁸⁶

4.4.1. James Baguley

James Baguley, rector of All Saints, North Street, 1413–40 and lead donor of the Revelation window is a further connection between the parish and the Scrope revolt.¹⁸⁷ Baguley was likely born in Cheshire in the late fourteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Cheshire in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was famously loyal to Richard II.¹⁸⁹ Archers from the county formed the king's personal bodyguard.¹⁹⁰ After Richard's deposition, the county rose in an unsuccessful revolt. Four years later, in 1403, Henry Hotspur, the heir to the Percy Northumberland earldom,

¹⁸² David M. Smith, ed., *York Clergy Ordinations, 1400–1424* (Borthwick Publications, 2020), 49. For a summary of Alne's connections within clergy born in Yorkshire, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 187.

¹⁸³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 682. Published in *TE*, 2:78–79.

¹⁸⁴ Henri Labrosse, "Oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre: sources bibliographiques," *Études franciscaines* 19, no. 1 (1908): 49–50. For Lyra's apocalypticism, see Philip D. Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra: Apocalypse Commentator, Historian, and Critic," *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992): 53–84.

¹⁸⁵ Montague Rhodes James and John Willis Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 96.

¹⁸⁶ For St Augustine on the apocalypse, see Brain E. Daley, "Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology," in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 27–29.

¹⁸⁷ Patrick Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street* (The Church Shop, 1908), 4; & Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17r.

¹⁸⁸ He leaves a book to Stockport parish church in his will, and another James Baguley, perhaps an uncle (or father) was instituted as priest of the parish church of Stockport; University of Manchester Library, TW/35 & TW/36. Stockport was a valuable living, providing 90 pounds a year. The elder Baguley remained rector of Stockport for the next twenty-eight years. See Chapter 3 for the Revelation window showing the arms of the Legh family.

¹⁸⁹ John Scattergood, "'Saint Erkenwald' and its Literary Relations," in *Saints and Cults in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2015 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Susan Powell (Shaun Tyas, 2017), 340.

¹⁹⁰ Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 321.

recruited large numbers of men in Cheshire for his revolt against Henry IV, culminating in the Battle of Shrewsbury. James Baguley was probably a member of a cadet branch of the gentry Legh family and his relations played a significant role in opposing Henry IV. Robert Legh was Sheriff of Cheshire under Richard II and involved in the response to Bolingbroke's usurpation, and, immediately after Henry's initial victory, Peter Legh had been lynched and his head placed on a spike over Chester city gate.¹⁹¹ They also fought alongside Hotspur.¹⁹² Baguley placed their, and his, arms in his window. The reasons for the family's support of the 1403 revolt are not difficult to discover, as family members had had annuities from Richard II, led sections of his personal bodyguard and had been involved in uprisings after the 1399 usurpation.¹⁹³

There is no clear evidence of when James Baguley arrived in York. His main connection to All Saints may have come through the Priory of Holy Trinity Micklegate, as he left money in his will to all the priests and monks of the priory.¹⁹⁴ During the 1405 revolt, he may have been still in Cheshire, he may have been at university (he was described in 1426 as a Bachelor of Canon Law and calls himself Magister in his will), or he may have been on Shipton Moor.¹⁹⁵ However, there can be no doubt that he heard about the revolt. In late May, armies were marching across England; Prince John and the Earl of Westmorland immediately brought their army from Newcastle to York, and Henry IV brought his from Wales to Yorkshire.¹⁹⁶ In late May, Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury rode "immediately for the north" on

¹⁹¹ Castor, *The Eagle and the Hart*, 278 & 341.

¹⁹² He is described in the Calendar of Papal Letters for 1436 as "by both parents of noble birth"; J. A. Twemlow, ed., *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 8, 1427–1447* (Stationary Office Books, 1909), 594. McNiven evaluates this as "very much a Cheshire rising"; Peter McNiven, "The Men of Cheshire and the Rebellion of 1403," *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 129 (1980): 1.

¹⁹³ McNiven, "The Men of Cheshire," 2, 3 & 4. Cheshire allegiance to Richard II continued after the 1405 revolt; in 1406, John Kingsley was prosecuted for having "told a group of sworn accomplices in his native Nantwich, Cheshire, that King Richard was still alive and living in Scotland"; Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest," 32. Kingsley had form in his support of enemies of Henry IV; Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest," 32.

¹⁹⁴ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17r.

¹⁹⁵ As a Bachelor of Canon Law, Baguley must have spent many years at university, and was likely there in early 1405; Twemlow, *Papal Letters: Volume 7*, 469. However, Baguley does not appear in either A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Clarendon Press, 1957) or Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*. For the study of canon law at Oxford and Cambridge, see Peter D. Clarke, "Canon and Civil Law," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Law and Literature*, ed. Candace Barrington and Sebastian Sobceki (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 35–36. For the study of canon law in medieval Europe, see Anders Winroth, "Law Schools and Legal Education," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge University Press, 2022), 262–84. For the lack of matriculation lists for medieval universities, see Luciana Duranti, "Medieval Universities and Archives," *Archivaria* 38 (1994): fn. 18. It is possible that he studied abroad, though there is no positive evidence for this. For English scholars studying abroad see, T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, "The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge," *Past and Present* 86 (1980): 38. He does not appear in Serafino Mazzetti, *Memorie storiche sopra l'Università e l'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna* (Bologna, 1840).

¹⁹⁶ Riley, "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti," 407.

hearing that Scrope had been arrested.¹⁹⁷ On hearing on June 7th that the archbishop was to be executed, “he [Arundel] hardly waited to hear his own private Mass on the holy day of Pentecost, but rode with all his might during the following day and night”.¹⁹⁸ News was therefore moving across England, reaching the archbishop as he was travelling.

Though there is no evidence that Baguley was involved in the 1405 Scrope revolt, it is not implausible. Walker and Liddy have both shown that there was considerable clerical involvement, and Baguley’s family connections would predispose him towards at least cursory involvement in protest against Henry IV and his regime. Furthermore, following the revolt, Baguley became a member of the Corpus Christi guild in its second year, 1409.¹⁹⁹ This guild is discussed in detail later in this chapter, but joining it would have been a way for Baguley to display his continuing loyalty to Scrope and the Ricardian aims of the revolt. Finally, Baguley became rector in All Saints in October 1413 (though he was not ordained priest until 1419), a few months after Henry IV died.²⁰⁰ This is at the same time that Henry V was removing restrictions on Scrope devotion in York Minster.²⁰¹ These connections may be purely coincidental, but the coincidences mount up.

The participation of All Saints’ parishioners, both at the time and thereafter, and the priest himself, in the spectacle of Scrope’s execution is impossible to prove. However, it is a fair assumption that many of the parishioners would have been present when their archbishop was martyred. The Hesyl family, donors of the Fifteen Last Days window, have not been mentioned in this section because there is no evidence as to their individual participation in the revolt. However, it is impossible that members of the family were not aware of the revolt, whether or not they were in York in May 1405.²⁰² The remainder of the chapter will connect the immediate responses to the Scrope revolt in York with the later development of the cult within the city and, more specifically, in the Micklegate neighbourhood around All Saints, North Street.

¹⁹⁷ “Confestim iter arripuit uersus partes illas”; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 451.

¹⁹⁸ “Uix expectauit audire die sancto Pentecostes unam priuatam missam, sed tota die die nocteque sequente caballans”; Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 451.

¹⁹⁹ Robert H. Skaife, ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York* (Durham, 1872), 12.

²⁰⁰ Abp. Reg. 18, fol. 107v. In 1414, he was still in minor clerical orders, but rector of All Saints; J. A. Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters: Volume 6, 1404–1415* (Stationary Office Books, 1909), 443. He was in London in June 1416 to be ordained acolyte; E. F. Jacob, ed., *Register of Henry Chichele: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–1443* (Canterbury and York Society, 1947), 321. He was ordained deacon in March 1418/19 and priest on April 1, 1419; Smith, *York Clergy Ordinations, 1400–1424*, 158 & 160.

²⁰¹ Norton, “Richard Scrope and York Minster,” 175.

²⁰² There is a very slight indication of some connection to the Percy family. Before Hotspur’s 1403 death at the Battle of Shrewsbury, the town of Hesyl had been held by Hotspur and his mother, Maud Percy; *CPR 1401–5*, 396.

4.5. St Richard Scrope in York

The reaction to Scrope's martyrdom in the years following his death can be characterised by its ambiguity. Imagery, text, and devotion combined across the city, encompassing the laity and clergy, and citizens, the unfranchised, local gentry and aristocracy in a process of negotiation and reconciliation. For Danna Pirovansky, Scrope was presented posthumously as "a leader encouraging concord and unity", whilst Jonathan Hughes sees the clergy of York attempting, with the implication that they were not entirely successful, "to demonstrate the figurative significance of the Corpus Christi procession as an image of Christ's charity and the social concord of the city".²⁰³ Sarah Rees Jones locates this process of reconciliation within a holy neighbourhood to the south of the River Ouse, "a very specific topographical location within which veneration of Scrope might thrive", and where the Corpus Christi guild was founded and based (and the church of All Saints, North Street is).²⁰⁴ In a comparison of conflict in the cities of late medieval Italy and the Low Countries, Patrick Lantschner found that each city manifested a system that "crystalliz[ed] around the negotiation of conflict", whilst Fabrizio Titone sees "protagonists conduct[ing] their acts of dissent through negotiations with the authorities involved".²⁰⁵ Negotiation through guilds, neighbourhoods etc. was a common characteristic across Europe despite varying local circumstances. This is the focus of this section; not the extraordinary violence of Scrope's uprising and martyrdom, but the everyday, non-violent reconfiguration in the years following the revolt when the community was rebuilt.²⁰⁶ In Vienna, Christina Lutter sees "pious acts [as] core elements of community building".²⁰⁷ These pious acts could define political relations, in Vienna just as in York.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Pirovansky, *Martyrs in the Making*, 59; & Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 234.

²⁰⁴ Sarah Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope, the Bolton Hours and the Church of St Martin in Micklegate: Reconstructing a Holy Neighbourhood in Later Medieval York," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 227.

²⁰⁵ Patrick Lantschner, *The Logic of Political Conflict in Medieval Cities: Italy and the Southern Low Countries, 1370–1440* (Oxford Academic Press, 2015), 207; & Fabrizio Titone, "Introduction," in *Disciplined Dissent: Strategies of Non-Confrontational Protest in Europe from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, ed. Fabrizio Titone (Vienna, 2016), 10.

²⁰⁶ Titone sets out a methodology for "peaceful political reconfiguration"; Fabrizio Titone, "Gaining Political Recognition in Western Europe, 1200–1600," in *Disciplined Dissent in Western Europe, 1200–1600: Political Action between Submission and Defense*, ed. Fabrizio Titone (Brepols, 2022), 9. The reconfiguration, partly due to the extraordinary situation of the martyrdom, in York is intrinsically political, social and religious.

²⁰⁷ Christina Lutter, "Donators' Choice? How Benefactors Related to Religious Houses in Medieval Vienna," in *Über Religion entscheiden/Choosing my Religion. Religiöse Optionen und Alternativen im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Christentum/Religious Options and Alternatives in Medieval and Early Modern Christianity*, ed. Matthias Pohl and Sita Steckel (Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 191.

²⁰⁸ Lutter, "Donators' Choice," 191.

An ambiguity that allows political reconciliation can be seen in Scrope-related images that appear in the glazing of York Minster. In an early fifteenth-century window given by his family (S6), Richard Scrope is shown with a halo and a cross. He wears a red martyr's mantle over a blue surplice and the scroll at his feet reads "Lord Richard Scrope" (*D[omi]ni Ricard Scrope*). The combination of a nimbus with a scroll that does not refer to the archbishop as a saint creates an ambiguous image, perhaps intended to indicate that he had not yet been canonised, at least for those literate enough to read the scroll.²⁰⁹ Laura Gelfand has argued that the St William window in the north choir aisle of York Minster (dated to ca.1414) was deliberately designed to allow the central figure of its narrative to be interpreted either as St William or Richard Scrope.²¹⁰ In her view, this was an attempt by the Minster authorities to garner more donations from pilgrims praying at Scrope's tomb. The window was given by a family closely connected to the Micklegate elites that Rees Jones identified as engaging in a process of reconciliation.²¹¹ The St William window contributes to the possibility of healing a divided city of York, with its ambiguity allowing interpretations of Scrope to those who wanted to see them.

On the field of his martyrdom, Scrope was reported to have requested five wounds to the back of his neck which he would gladly bear for love of Christ (*deprecor, ut [des] mihi cum gladio tuo quinque vulnera in collo meo, quae sustinere cupio pro amore Domini mei Jhesu Christi, Qui pro nobis, obediens Patri usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia sustinuit*).²¹² The five wounds of Christ are intrinsic to the cult of Corpus Christi, the guild of which was founded in York in 1408.²¹³ For Hughes, York's civic elites used the Corpus Christi guild to popularise the archbishop's cult.²¹⁴ For David Crouch, links between the guild and Scrope can be seen in the inclusion in a local book of hours (the Bolton Hours) of both Scrope and Corpus Christi imagery.²¹⁵ The Corpus Christi guild owned a mazer connected to Scrope

²⁰⁹ For the completely illiterate, the image is unambiguous; they are looking at a saint.

²¹⁰ Laura D. Gelfand, "'I was blind and now I can see!' Sight and Revelation in the St William Window in York Minster," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 182.

²¹¹ Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope," 232.

²¹² Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, 227. Songs from the period also include this, for example "gyff me five strokes w[ith] thy hende" in Wright, "That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise," 114.

²¹³ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 302–6; & Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 161. The guild organised a yearly procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi, coinciding with the Corpus Christi plays which had been performed every year since at least the late fourteenth century. This guild was a clerical foundation, reflecting the clerical involvement in the Scrope revolt.

²¹⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 313.

²¹⁵ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 166. The Bolton Hours will be discussed in more detail below. See also P. J. P. Goldberg, "St Richard Scrope, the Devout Widow, and the Feast of Corpus Christi: Exploring Emotions, Gender, and Governance in Early Fifteenth-Century York," in *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 66–83.

(either belonging to him or dedicated to his memory).²¹⁶ The Scrope family also demonstrated, in a 1406 will, devotion to Corpus Christi.²¹⁷ Finally, the Scrope chapel in York Minster contains a mid-fifteenth-century window showing the crucifixion of Christ. This is by no means unusual iconography but, combined with the evidence above, shows a visual connection within York between Scrope and Christ's bodily suffering.

The Corpus Christi guild was based in Holy Trinity Priory, in the Micklegate area of the city, where Rees Jones locates her holy neighbourhood of Scrope devotion.²¹⁸ The priory held the advowson of All Saints, North Street, and was located less than a kilometre from the church (see Figure 3).²¹⁹ The list of guild founders does not survive, although the obit for the guild provides likely names.²²⁰ Of the inhabitants of North Street detailed in the earlier part of this chapter, James Baguley, Reginald Bawtre, and Cecila Bawtre/Escrick all joined the guild, as did members of the Blakburn family discussed below.²²¹ Other members included clerics and civic elites from across the city, and local gentry and aristocracy. Members of the Scrope family also entered the guild (three members in 1416) and made bequests to it.²²² Members of the Plumpton and Gascoigne families also joined.²²³ The guild was also founded in the year following the likely death date of William Frost.²²⁴ It was thus founded only after Henry IV's strongest supporter within the civic elite was dead.

Whilst the guild should be seen as a manifestation of the Scrope cult, it was not a manifestation of support for his revolt. Indeed, the opening text of the guild's membership book says it was founded with the intention of "rooting out all discord or rebellion" (*omnem discretiam seu rebellionem radicitus extirpando*).²²⁵ The book then goes on to associate rebellion with Satan in the form of the serpent in the Garden of Eden and emphasises that Christ's body brings peace and unity.²²⁶ This text can be seen as a condemnation of Scrope's 1405 revolt, just three years earlier than this text. However, building on the association with

²¹⁶ The inscription on the mazer, currently held by York Minster's Treasury, is not clear whether Scrope owned the mazer or blessed it; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 191.

²¹⁷ Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," 182.

²¹⁸ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 164.

²¹⁹ For presentation of priests of All Saints, North Street by the priory, see Register 16, fol. 37.

²²⁰ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 167.

²²¹ Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 12 & 28.

²²² Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 18; & *TE*, 2:187.

²²³ Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 14, 38, 45 & 51.

²²⁴ Hughes emphasises that it was formed during the mayoralty of Henry Wyman, who himself owned a cup blessed, or owned, by Scrope; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 313. The foundation of the guild predates the hagiographies, suggesting that the narrative around the five wounds was both based in reality and keenly remembered in the city three years later.

²²⁵ Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 2.

²²⁶ Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 2.

Scrope's revolt, the focus in this text on unity through Christ's passion evokes the martyrdom's recreation of the five wounds of Christ. Likewise, the same text (the guild's opening sermon) that condemns rebellion also praises the episcopacy and St Peter (patron saint of York Minster), and thus cannot be read as a condemnation of Scrope as archbishop.²²⁷ The opening text of the Corpus Christi guild therefore creates an ambiguity. It can be seen as both condemning and condoning Scrope in different identities and interacts with the guild and the text's focus on unity. The Corpus Christi guild could thus be different things to different people, both to those who joined the revolt and to those who remained loyal to the king.

Beyond York, Corpus Christi devotion was malleable, fulfilling a variety of social functions. Miri Rubin sees the establishment of Corpus Christi in England as providing "an opportunity for experiment amongst groups and institutions, negotiating its meanings with regard to pre-existing cultural modes".²²⁸ Local communities (or at least the elites within them) could adapt the feast to serve local purposes. This is not seen only in England. In Prague, Krakow and Buda, "Eucharistic confraternal and processional community practices offered a wide range of essential channels for recreating communal bonds".²²⁹ In Vienna, "religious and charitable institutions [were] integrative 'hubs' [with] benefactions and memorial policies [that] maintained or re-defined social and political relations".²³⁰ The city's Corpus Christi processions, with their visualisation of urban order, re-established peace within the civic body.²³¹ On the European mainland, Corpus Christi was used in a variety of ways, not always to negotiate, create and maintain peace.²³² In York's urban space, the focus on bodily suffering found both in the Scrope hagiographies and in the guild of Corpus Christi interplays with the punishment of the citizens of York in the weeks after the Scrope revolt, and negotiates their ongoing response to the revolt and martyrdom.

²²⁷ Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 3.

²²⁸ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 232–33.

²²⁹ Károly Goda, "Binding the Bonds: Metropolitan Modes of Eucharistic Confraternal and Processional Life in Late Medieval East-Central Europe," in *Practising Community in Urban and Rural Eurasia (1000–1600)*, ed. Fabian Kümmeler, Judit Majorossy, and Eirik Hovden (Brill, 2021), 402.

²³⁰ Lutter, "Donators' Choice?," 191. For a complementary perspective for Vienna, where Corpus Christi has been seen as aiding the "self-legitimizing goals of the local civic political elites . . . function[ing] as secular power tools in a religious context", see Goda, "Binding the Bonds," 401.

²³¹ Christina Lutter, "Ways of Belonging to Medieval Vienna," in *A Companion to Medieval Vienna*, ed. Susana Zapke and Elisabeth Gruber (Brill, 2021), 300.

²³² Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 265. Caroline Walker Bynum says "authorities in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries used Corpus Christi processions and veneration to oppose Waldensians, flagellants, and Hussites"; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 249. Excluding heretics is a way of creating community, but not one seen in York.

As detailed above, heads were placed on the gates to the city and on the civic chapel. However, there was no violence within the walls. Scrope and Plumpton were executed in a field and there is no evidence that other rebels were executed within the city limits. In late medieval towns where the evocation of the body was a metaphor for unity, it is notable that the king did not order bodily suffering inside the city walls. In this, royal power may have been attempting to prevent the formation of urban unity around bodily suffering, whether that of Scrope, Mowbray and Plumpton, or of Christ himself.²³³ If so, the foundation of the Corpus Christi guild shows that the government failed in this. Likewise, the miracles ascribed to Scrope are physical. For example, John Sibson was given unnatural physical strength in order to remove the timbers placed over Scrope's tomb.²³⁴ The guild's dedication to the body of Christ can therefore be read as another form of rebellion against the rule of Henry IV; the king tried to keep violence and bodily suffering out of the city, perhaps aware of how easily it could play into the formation of a cult around the dead archbishop.²³⁵

The deliberate ambiguity seen in the Corpus Christi guild's response to the Scrope revolt, encouraging unity between those who rebelled and those who did not, and the way in which the guild focused on the saint rather than the rebel, is reflected in an investigation of one family in All Saints, North Street. Two generations of the Blakburn family donated windows to the church in the early fifteenth-century and their involvement in the Scrope revolt and subsequent cult reflects the ways in which devotion to this popular saint allowed expressions of unity in the aftermath of the revolt. In the immediate aftermath of the 1405 revolt, Nicholas Blakburn senior was supplying the king's army and was soon made Admiral of the North, nominated by his fellow merchants.²³⁶ Thus, he was not a rebel. This loyalty to Henry IV can be seen in the surviving glass of the St Anne window in All Saints, North Street. In this window, donated by the Blakburn family, a scroll issues from the mouth of a figure representing Nicholas senior. This scroll reads "May the king [who is] threefold and one grant us the gift of his pardon" (*Det uenie munus nobis rex triune & unus*). Whilst this sentiment clearly refers to

²³³ See, for example, the York Mystery Plays and their relation to Scrope and the Five Wounds of Christ; Piroyansky, *Martyrs in the Making*, 57–58.

²³⁴ Piroyansky, *Martyrs in the Making*, 61. This is also seen in the healing miracles associated with Scrope.

²³⁵ This can be seen in the formation of the cult of Thomas Becket; Elma Brenner, "Thomas Becket and Leprosy in Normandy," in *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170–c.1220*, ed. Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (Boydell Press, 2016), 82.

²³⁶ *CPR 1405–8*, 30. On April 28th, 1406, the merchants of England were ordered to keep the sea for seven months; *CPR 1405–8*, 171: "Appointment, on the nomination of the merchants of the realm, in accordance with the agreement in Parliament that the said merchants shall have the keeping of the sea from 1 May next until one year after Michaelmas, of Nicholas Blakburne as admiral of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames to the north, so long as they thus have the keeping".

the heavenly king in a religiously orthodox interpretation, for parishioners who remembered the revolt, and likely their descendants raised on stories of such a significant event in the city's history, it is not difficult to find another meaning. Loyalty to an earthly king is evoked; a loyalty that the Blakburns showed whilst so many around them did not. A threefold king refers to Henry IV's claims to the thrones of England, Ireland and France. Perhaps the Blakburns accounted their subsequent financial and social success to their loyalty; a loyalty that was rewarded both in very material terms by Henry IV and his regime, and by God for showing virtuous loyalty. This is referenced in the image that Blakburn faces as he 'voices' the words in the scroll; a Trinity with a crucified Christ held by God the Father. By including a reference in their window to their loyalty, the Blakburns may have intended to receive spiritual rewards into perpetuity, rewards given by the crucified Christ that both pairs of donors pray towards.

However, this is not to say that the Blakburn family did not show devotion to the martyred archbishop.²³⁷ The Bolton Hours is a composite of two early fifteenth century manuscripts, persuasively shown by Kathryn Rudy to have originally been two books of hours, one for adult devotion and another for teaching children to read.²³⁸ These likely belonged to the Blakburn family.²³⁹ There are also two devotional images of Scrope in the current manuscript. One of these, originally intended for children, shows the archbishop wearing a blue mantle standing in a field and holding a cross and a windmill.²⁴⁰ The windmill refers to Scrope's martyrdom, and a similar image, without the windmill, appears in the adult version of the Bolton Hours, where a young woman kneels before the archbishop, with a scroll issuing from her mouth that reads "Saint Richard Scrope pray for us" (*S[an]cte ricarde scrope ora pro nobis*).²⁴¹ Notably, this manuscript contains significant Corpus Christi devotion.²⁴² Crouch links the Scrope image with the Corpus Christi imagery elsewhere in the manuscript and thus

²³⁷ In the wake of the revolt, John Ormsheade (no location or trade given) received a pardon from the king; *CPR 1405–8*, 71. A close connection between William Ormshead, his sister Margaret Blakburn, and the rebel John Ormshead is possible. Whilst there is no mention of a brother in either Margaret or William's wills, this does not preclude John having died by the time these wills were made in the middle of the fifteenth century. Based on the names, it is possible John Ormshead was the brother of Margaret and William; Margaret named her three sons with Nicholas Blakburn John, William and Nicholas. Plausibly, they were named after their father and Margaret's two brothers.

²³⁸ Kathryn M. Rudy, "The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. MS. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model," in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 280.

²³⁹ P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, and Arlyn Diamond (Brepols, 2000), 222–25; & Rudy, "The Bolton/Blackburn Hours," 273. The current manuscript of the Hours commemorates Alice Blakburn, daughter of Nicholas and Margaret Blakburn senior.

²⁴⁰ Add. MS. 2, fol. 202v.

²⁴¹ Add. MS. 2, fol. 100v.

²⁴² Rudy, "The Bolton/Blackburn Hours," 284.

connects it to the Corpus Christi guild, whilst for Rees Jones, “the cult of Richard Scrope in York is nowhere more clearly represented than in the manuscript volume now known as the Bolton Hours of York”.²⁴³ Her argument that the Bolton Hours was part of a process of reconciliation that de-politicised Scrope after the 1405 revolt, a process focused on the Micklegate neighbourhood of York, is seen in the combination of the All Saints St Anne window, located in the same neighbourhood, and in the Bolton Hours.²⁴⁴ Together, these devotional objects allowed the Blakburns to combine both their loyalty to the king and their adherence to devotion within the local community.

4.6. Conclusion

In summary, the city of York rebelled against Henry IV in 1405, with the priests and parishioners of All Saints, North Street playing a considerable role in an armed uprising, and grievances related to taxes and trade contributing to their support. In the months following May 1405, royal government reasserted control in the city, forcing the citizens to submit, putting the liberties into the hands of royal appointees, and placing traitors’ heads upon the main gates (which was an established practice) and upon the civic chapel (which was not established and therefore likely more impactful). Royal government encroached upon the ritual space of both the citizens of York and the metropolitan see, creating an environment where devotion to Scrope could not be explicitly celebrated. However, there was a need to create unity in the city. The Corpus Christi guild was dedicated to a widely celebrated and recognised feast, whilst also referencing Scrope’s martyrdom and allowing devotion to the executed archbishop. The devotional choices of the Blakburn family shows the same process of reconciliation. This process of reconciliation provides the background for expressions of devotion to Scrope in the apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street explored in the following three chapters.

²⁴³ Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 166. This would, under Rudy’s classification, have been part of the adult’s manuscript; Rudy, “The Bolton/Blackburn Hours,” 284. Rees Jones, “Richard Scrope,” 214.

²⁴⁴ Rees Jones, “Richard Scrope,” 232.

5. Temporality in the Apocalyptic Glass

In reference to visual and text-based stories, Werner Wolf writes that “narrative is a favorite frame for humans to make sense of experience”.¹ This and the following chapter will explore how narratives (created through image and text) in the fifteenth-century apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street could have been used by the designers of the windows to make sense of their experience of the Scrope revolt.² Both of the windows discussed here are explicitly apocalyptic: the Fifteen Last Days window (Figure 2) shows the events leading up to the end of the world, whilst the Revelation window (Figure 1) recreates the medieval belief that the angel killing the many headed Beast in Revelation 19 should be identified as St Michael. This chapter will first examine the use of time in each of these windows to explore the motivations of the designers. It will argue that the Fifteen Last Days shows a simpler story, anchored in the future, and the Revelation window has a more complicated relationship with time, moving in two panels of continuous narration between variations on the past, present, and future of the apocalyptic story experienced and told by St John.³ The chapter will conclude with an exploration of prophecy within the glass. Placing this within the wider historical context of early fifteenth century York, it will argue that the treatment of time within the windows’ narratives can only be understood within the clerical, Yorkshire-based milieu in which it was produced.⁴

An in-depth examination of the themes and subjects within these windows places the imagery within medieval apocalyptic visual traditions, drawing out the similarities and differences and, through this comparison, glimpsing the intentions of the windows’ designer(s). These methods have previously shown how considering the story told by images can indicate

¹ Werner Wolf, “Framings of Narrative in Literature and the Pictorial Arts,” in *Selected Essays on Intermediality by Werner Wolf (1992–2014)* (Brill, 2018), 535.

² The term designers is used here as shorthand for the interplay between donor, artist and church authorities (principally the parish priest, but also potentially chaplains, churchwardens, elite parishioners, and any oversight from the bishopric) that created these windows. The exact proportion of input from any of these interested parties cannot be known.

³ For continuous visual narratives, see Ivan Gerát, “Medieval Narrative Structures and Visual Time: A Historiographical Outline,” *ars* 57, no. 1 (2024): 4–5. The terms “story” and “discourse” are discussed in more detail in the introduction to this dissertation. In brief, story is the events, and discourse is how these events are told.

⁴ For a discussion of the importance of temporality in relation to narratology and art history, see Wendy Steiner, “Pictorial Narratives,” in *Narrative Across Media: The Languages of Storytelling*, ed. Marie-Laure Ryan (University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 148–50. The emphasis on the necessity of realism for narrative to exist is unconvincing. For a counterpoint to this realism emphasis, see Eva von Contzen, “Unnatural Narratology and Premodern Narratives: Historicizing a Form,” *Journal of Literary Semantics* 46, no. 1 (2017): 1–23.

the intentions of the medieval minds that created these images.⁵ The temporality of the Fifteen Last Days in stained glass was surveyed by Daniela Wagner for a German and French context, but, to the best of my knowledge, it has not been surveyed for the All Saints glass.⁶ Likewise, a narratological approach has not been applied.⁷ The following discussion will focus on story-time, in essence how spatiotemporal elements presented in the glass bring coherence to the narrative.⁸ Time is here defined as a dimension of the story-world seen through the progression of events, with the story-world being the “mimetic world conjured by the story”, or the place created by the discourse (which is in turn created by the designers of the window) in order to allow the story to happen.⁹

Methodologically, the following chapters will combine narratological and iconological analyses, using concepts from each approach as and when they provide useful tools with which to address the research questions.¹⁰ Narratology is in its most basic sense the study of the

⁵ The seminal work applying narratology to medieval stained glass is Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a fascinating and productive recent study, see Anne F. Harris, “Glazing and Glossing: Stained Glass as Literary Interpretation,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 56 (2014): 303–16. For a fuller appreciation of narratology in medieval art, see the introduction to this dissertation, but it must be said that there is far more work to be done and far more potential in the surviving narrative schema of medieval glass. Some scholars have argued that, to the medieval mind, text-based narratives were temporal, whilst the visual was associated only with space; G. E. Lessing, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. E. A. McCormick (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984). The profusion of pictorial narratives in late medieval England belies this; for example, Alyce A. Jordan, “Stories in Windows: The Architectonics of Narrative,” in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass*, ed. Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz and Elizabeth Pastan (Brill, 2019), 189–201.

⁶ Daniela Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht* (Reimer, 2016).

⁷ For an ideological justification of applying narratology to images see Raphaël Baroni, Anaïs Goudmand, and Marie-Laure Ryan, “Transmedial Narratology and Transmedia,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Intermediality*, ed. Jørgen Bruhn, Asun López-Varela Azcárate, and Miriam de Paiva Vieira (Springer International Publishing, 2023), 367–69.

⁸ Defined by Scheffel, Weixler and Werner as “the interplay of space, events, characters, and plot structure”; Michael Scheffel, Antonius Weixler, and Lukas Werner, “Time,” in *Handbook of Narratology*, 2nd edition, ed. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier, and Wolf Schmid (De Gruyter, 2014), 871.

⁹ See Scheffel et al., “Time,” 868. The authors note that in medieval literature “time is often non-linear and heterogeneous and hence blurs classical narratology’s time concepts”; Scheffel et al., “Time,” 881. See also (solely for literature) Sonja Zeman, “Temporality in Ancient and Medieval Literatures,” in *Handbook of Diachronic Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn, John Pier and Wolf Schmid (De Gruyter, 2023), 371–92. The quote is from Genevieve Liveley, *Narratology* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 256. For a fuller consideration of the term story-world, see David Herman, “Quantitative Methods in Narratology: A Corpus-Based Study of Motion Events in Stories,” in *Narratology beyond Literary Criticism: Mediality, Disciplinarity*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister, Tom Kindt, and Wilhelm Schernus (De Gruyter, 2005), 125; Edward Branigan, “Story World and Screen,” in *Narratology: An Introduction*, ed. Susana Onega and José Angel García Landa (Routledge, 1996), 234; & Ansgar Nünning and Roy Sommer, “The Performative Power of Narrative in Drama: On the Forms and Functions of Dramatic Storytelling in Shakespeare’s Plays,” in *Current Trends in Narratology*, ed. Greta Olson (De Gruyter, 2011), 201. Prince sets out the slightly different idea of a narrative world, “the set or collection of motifs in a given narrative (or part thereof) that are authenticated and given the status of facts”, that could be seen as creating the story-world; Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology* (University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 81.

¹⁰ I use “iconological” here to emphasise that the analysis of the imagery within the windows is firmly anchored within the cultural (historical) context in which this imagery was created.

construction of narratives, whether these be textual, pictorial or told in any other form.¹¹ Time provides a useful analytical category through which to explore the motivation behind the narratives presented in these windows.¹² In late medieval theology, “scriptural history is the significant referent of all events”.¹³ Fifteenth-century time occurred in the period between Pentecost and the Last Judgement, and the aim of time, in Western Christendom, was to proceed towards salvation.¹⁴ However, this does not mean that viewers of the All Saints windows did not also have an understanding of hours by the clock, days passing between sunrise and sunset, and years measured either by the time since Christ’s birth, the regnal year of the king, or who held the office of Mayor of York.¹⁵ At the same time, the year was divided by days and months;

¹¹ Marie-Laure Ryan defines narrative as “a discourse that conveys a story”; Marie-Laure Ryan, “Toward a Definition of Narrative,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. D. Herman (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 26.

¹² For the variety of possible philosophical/theological and practical conceptualisations of medieval time, see Gabrielle Spiegel, “Structures of Time in Medieval Historiography,” *The Medieval History Journal* 19, no. 1 (2016): 26. St Augustine emphasised the existence of only the present, whilst acknowledging that “time is hard to grasp even though one has an institutional notion of it”; Scheffel et al., “Time,” 868. Thomas Aquinas agreed with Aristotle, in that human time is a measure of processes between, before and after; Simona Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Brill, 2014), 47–48. Works by Aristotle, Augustine and Aquinas were in the libraries of late medieval York, and these texts were likely available to the university-educated clerics who, as argued in the final section of this chapter, were designing these windows. For libraries in late medieval York, see M. R. James, “The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York,” in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Typis Academicis Impressus, 1909), 2–96; & Richard Sharpe, *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues* (British Library, 1996) B120 (the library of York’s Benedictine St Mary’s Abbey). To this can be added the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge, where Robert Alne was a fellow; Montague Rhodes James and John Willis Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). Evidence from wills supports the rational supposition that many other volumes were circulating in York at this time. The wills of three clerics connected to the parish and rebellion (John Bawtre, Robert Alne and James Baguley, all discussed in the previous chapter of this dissertation) contain at least twenty-five distinct works, as well as references to the remainder of their libraries. For a full list, see Appendix 2. It can be presumed that many more books were available, an amount that would not be fully revealed by even the most exhaustive study of all fifteenth-century York wills. Unfortunately, no medieval list of works held by York Minster survives. York’s fifteenth-century mystery plays conceived of time in a linear fashion from Creation to Judgement; albeit with patterns and recapitulations seen throughout history; David J. Leigh, “The Doomsday Mystery Play: An Eschatological Morality,” *Modern Philology* 67, no. 3 (1970): 212; & Daisy Black, *Play Time: Gender, Anti-Semitism and Temporality in Medieval Biblical Drama* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 1–4.

¹³ Mary J. Carruthers, “Time, Apocalypse, and the Plot of Piers Plowman,” in *Acts of Interpretation: The Text in its Context 700–1600*, ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Elizabeth D. Kirk (Pilgrim Books, 1982), 184.

¹⁴ Carruthers, “Time, Apocalypse, and the Plot of Piers Plowman,” 176. For an alternative Byzantine understanding of space and time colliding in proleptic eschatology; see Roland Bettancourt, “Prolepsis and Anticipation: The Apocalyptic Futurity of the Now, East and West,” in *A Companion to the Premodern Apocalypse*, ed. Michael A. Ryan (Brill, 2016), 180–81.

¹⁵ Chris Humphrey, “Time and Urban Cultures in Late Medieval England,” in *Time in the Medieval World* (York Medieval Press, 2001), 106. For examples of regnal years used in York, see the Freeman’s List; Frances Collins, ed., *Register of the Freeman of the City of York: from the City Records*, vol. 1, 1272–1558 (Durham, 1897). The same list contains mayoral years. The first of the York Memorandum Books opens with “in the fifty-first year of the reign of our Lord King Edward, the third [king Edward] after the conquest of England, 1376, 25 January” (*anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie quinquagesimo primo 1376, 25 Januarii*); Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book, Part I (1376–1419)* (Surtees Society, 1912), 1. Wills registered in ecclesiastical courts of York use the measure we currently call C(ommon) E(ra). For example, the probate made in 1401 (“mill[es]imo CCC p[ri]mo”) on the will of Margaret del Banke registered in the Archbishop of York’s Exchequer Probate Court; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 66.

by seasons and the unpredictability of, for example, the harvest; and by cyclical liturgical time, measured in feasts and holy-days. This was described by Mieke Bal in narratological terminology as heterochrony: multiple experiences of time within one culture or situation.¹⁶ For urban dwellers in late medieval York, time could be measured in conflicting (or complementary) and complicated ways, including daylight, clock-measured time, and the time taken to walk a given distance.¹⁷ Most pertinently for the laity in the urban environment in which this window was made, for late medieval merchants “time became an order of measurement”, connected to commercial activities but also coexisting with religious understandings that lead, eventually, to apocalypse and salvation.¹⁸ Mundane understandings of everyday life could coexist with the inevitable movement of history towards eschatology, an understanding exemplified by the Fifteen Last Days window with its days between sunrise and sunset leading to Doomsday.

Time is especially pertinent to the study of medieval apocalypticism due to the varying ways in which eschatological events were understood by medieval thinkers.¹⁹ The apocalypse was conceptualised and visualised in four distinct but interlocking themes: ecclesiological (emphasising the role of the Church), moral (providing instruction on how to avoid damnation), historical (as an analogy of events that had already happened), and prophetic (tales of the future).²⁰ Traces of the first three of these themes can be found in the All Saints window, for example the fall of the spire on the eighth day can be seen as symbolic of the fall of the Church/Ecclesia. Yet, it is the theme of prophecy that appears most distinctively in the glass. This is most immediately evident in the texts that accompany the Fifteen Last Days. Whilst the temporal locating in the future is only clear to the literate viewer, or those who accompanied them and received an explanation, the couplets with their use of “shall” unambiguously place the story in the future. There is no possibility of reading these texts as referring to the historical interpretation of apocalyptic events.²¹ Placed within a church and surmounted by tracery

¹⁶ Mieke Bal, *Narratology in Practice* (University of Toronto Press, 2021), 100–01.

¹⁷ Humphrey, “Time and Urban Cultures in Late Medieval England,” 107. For coexisting experiences of time in the York mystery plays, see Black, *Play Time*, 4.

¹⁸ “Le temps devient objet de mesure”; Jacques Le Goff, “Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l’Église et temps du marchand,” in *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Gallimard, 1977), 55 & 60.

¹⁹ For this in an early medieval English context, see James W. Earl, “Prophecy and Parable in Medieval Apocalyptic History,” *Religion & Literature* 31, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 25–45.

²⁰ Richard K. Emmerson, “The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours,” *Traditio* 50 (1995): 178–83; & Ian Paul, “Introduction to the Book of Revelation,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. Colin McAllister (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 52–53.

²¹ For examples of this, see Magda Hayton and Robert L. J. Shaw, “Apocalyptic Asceticism: Completing the Edition of Alexander Minorita’s *Expositio in Apocalypsim* as it is found in Cambridge, University Library, MM. 5.31,” *Traditio* 78 (2023): 265–67; & Philip D. Krey, “Nicholas of Lyra: Apocalypse Commentator, Historian, and Critic,” *Franciscan Studies* 52 (1992): 55. For a textual basis of this, the Doomsday pageant in the York

showing souls divided into Heaven and Hell, a moral understanding of these events is unavoidable, but it is not foregrounded in the narrative presentation. With its focus on the future, the apocalyptic understanding in the story told in the glass is clearly prophetic, and how this prophetic understanding relates to the Scrope revolt will provide the impetus for the final section of this chapter.

5.1. Temporality in the Fifteen Last Days Window

The imagery, text and provenance of the Fifteen Last Days window was explained in detail in chapter 3. In brief, the window was made ca.1412–26 and shows, from bottom to top,

- 1) nine kneeling donors,
- 2) fifteen panels of images and text, each of which shows one of the fifteen days at the end of the world,
- 3) in the tracery, the Last Judgement.

The Middle English text in the panels is a version of the early fourteenth-century *Prick of Conscience* poem (for other versions see Appendix 1). As described in Chapter 3, medieval depictions of the fifteen last days survive in stained glass from the parish church of Walbourg, Alsace; Angers Cathedral; and St Martha's pilgrim chapel, Nuremberg. Late medieval illustrations appear in manuscripts in the Anglo-Norman *Holkham Bible*, the French *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*, and the *Horarium latino-gallicum in usum regiae domus Franciae* (the Vienna *Horarium*).²² Other depictions appear in an incomplete set of mid-fifteenth-century alabaster images. These images, and the texts accompanying them, provide comparisons for the discussion in this and the following chapter.

To the literate viewer of this window, the clearest indication of temporality is provided by the couplets which accompany each image. These couplets are temporally anchored using the future tense. For example, “The first day forty cubits over mountains // And hills the sea shall rise up certain” (*Pe first day forty cubetes over mountayn, And hill þe se sal ryse up*

Mystery Plays explicitly says that the end of the world is fulfilment of a prophecy (*All þat euere I saide schulde be // Is now fulfillid thurgh prophicie, // Therfore nowe is it tyme to me // To make ending of mannes folie*); Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290*, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 443.

²² Images and analysis of the Fifteen Last Days glass appear in Daniela Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht: spätmittelalterliche Bildkonzepte für das Seelenheil* (Reimer, 2016); the *Holkham Bible* is London, British Library, MS. Add. 47682; *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134; the *Horarium latino-gallicum in usum regiae domus Franciae* is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855.

certayn), or “The second day the sea shall be // So low that scarcely men shall it see” (*Pe second dy þe see sal bee, So law un ith [men] sal it cee*). With the exception of the short texts in Walbourg parish church, other depictions of the fifteen last days also use the future tense.²³ Continuing with the examples above, the *Prick of Conscience* reads “The first day of the fifteen days // The sea shall rise the booke says // Above the highest hill or mountain // Forty cubits large certain // And in his steed even up stand // As here does hill upon the land” and “The second day it shall be low // That underneath it men shall it known”.²⁴ The use of the future tense in All Saints is therefore suggested by this window’s adaptation from the *Prick of Conscience* poem but, considering the free use of the poem in the All Saints couplets and the lack of future tense in the Walbourg glass, not guaranteed.²⁵

The use of time in these abbreviated couplets of verses from the *Prick of Conscience* poem “structures the narrated world”.²⁶ Each text adds explicit temporality to the imagery through the use of the future tense. Table 6.1 shows the timing of image and text, using Gérard Genette’s temporal definitions.²⁷ This gives four possible types of narration:

- 1) Subsequent narration, where the narrative voice narrates past events;
- 2) Prior narration, where the narrative voice narrates future events;
- 3) Simultaneous narration, where the narrative voice narrates current events;
- 4) Interpolated narration, where the narrative voice combines current and past events.

²³ Those in the *Prick of Conscience* poem do, as do the texts of the *Holkham Bible* and the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*. In Walbourg, “Here the sea cries out” (Hie schriget die Me[e]r) or “So the mountains fall down” (So fallen die Gebirge). The Vienna Fifteen Days illustrate a Book of Hours, thus the days are not described in the accompanying text; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fols. 218v–219r. Pertinently for the discussion below, they are accompanied by prayers for salvation drawn from the psalms.

²⁴ “The fyrste day of tho fyftene days // The see shal ryse the booke says // Above the hexte hylle or mountayn // Fourty cubites large certeyne // And in his steed even up stand // As here doth hille upon the land” & “The secounde day hit shal be low // That unnethe men shul hitte knowe”; James H. Morey, ed., *Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012), book 5, lines 797–804.

²⁵ The free adaptation is also seen in the truncated nature of these couplets. For example, in the poem, the description of the first day usually occurs over six lines, whilst in All Saints, North Street, the text is only two lines; see for example Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl C. 35, unfoliated; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. Poet 138, fol. 63v. & Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 126, fol. 39v. Only the second, sixth, seventh and twelfth days are typically found in single couplets in the surviving manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*. For Martha Driver, similar abbreviated captions were shorthand for less accessible Latin descriptions of Doomsday; Martha Driver, “Picturing the Apocalypse in the Printed Book of Hours,” in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 67. However, this is not the function the couplets play in this window. Instead, their length is confined by the medium; shorter texts give more space for images.

²⁶ Scheffel, Weixler and Werner, “Time,” 869.

²⁷ Genette was defining the relationship between the narrator and the narrative, not between text and image; Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse. An Essay on Method* (Cornell University Press, 1980), 215. However, his framework is equally useful in the latter case. For Prince, there are three main types – posterior, anterior and simultaneous – and he calls narratives with “several distinct moments of narration” intercalated; Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Mouton, 1982), 27.

These can of course be read both ways round, depending on whether one prioritises the text or image as the primary mode of conveying narration. For example, on the first day, if the text is seen as the narrative voice, then the narration is subsequent, for it describes what happens after the image. If the image is seen as the narrative voice, then the narration is prior since the image shows a time just before the event the text describes. Since the image is larger and stained glass is primarily a visual medium, then the narrative voice that the image embodies should be prioritised and the text seen as complementary but auxiliary, assisting the reader to temporally situate themselves in relation to the image narrative.²⁸

Image	Text	Image-Text Narration
The sea is just beginning to rise	<i>The first day forty cubits over mountains, And hills the sea shall rise up certain,</i>	Prior narration
The sea is still covering the land	<i>The second day the sea shall be, So low that scarcely men shall it see,</i>	Prior narration
The land and water divide the image equally	<i>The third day the sea shall be plain, And even stand in his course again,</i>	Simultaneous narration
The curve of the central pike suggests sound being expelled	<i>The fourth day fishes shall make roaring, Hideous and heavy to men's hearing,</i>	Simultaneous narration
The sea burns	<i>The fifth day the sea shall burn, And all the water that may run,</i>	Simultaneous narration
The drops are falling from the trees	<i>The sixth day shall herbs and trees, With bloody drops that grisly be,</i>	Subsequent narration
The buildings are falling	<i>The seventh day houses may fall, Castles & towers & every wall,</i>	Subsequent narration
Rocks and stones are together	<i>The eighth day the rocks and stones, Shall strike together all at once,</i>	Subsequent narration

²⁸ Hans Belting saw something similar in early fourteenth-century Assisi: "The relation of picture and text seems to be reversed. The inscriptions no longer are quotations from an underlying basic text, as in the painted legend of Saint Francis at Assisi, but textual aids, composed for no purpose other than to serve a picture"; Hans Belting, "The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (National Gallery of Art, 1985), 166. See also Hedemen in the same volume; Anne D. Hedeman, "Restructuring the Narrative: The Function of Ceremonial in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques de France*," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (National Gallery of Art, 1985), 179. The only other examples of captions in stained glass depictions of the Fifteen Last Days are found in Walbourg parish church. These read, for example, "Here the sea cries out" (Hie schriget die Me[e]r) and "So the mountains fall down" (So fallen die Gebirge), employing more poetic language than in All Saints. These captions, following Genette's terminology, are uncomplicated, simultaneous narration. Angers has no text, and Nuremberg appears to originally have had a single inscription surrounding the whole window.

Depicts the consequences of the earthquakes	<i>The ninth day earthquakes shall be, Severally in every country,</i>	Subsequent narration
Depicts the conclusion of the text	<i>The tenth day for to make, Earth shall be plain and even,</i>	Interpolated narration
Depicts the first line of the text	<i>The eleventh day all men will out, Of caves and holes and wend about,</i>	Interpolated narration
The bones are rising	<i>The xii day shall dead men's bones, Be summing set and rise all at once,</i>	Interpolated narration
The stars are in the sky and in the earth	<i>The thirteenth day such shall, Stars from the heavens fall,</i>	Interpolated narration
Depicts the earlier part of the events described	<i>The xiv day all that live then, Shall die both child, man & woman,</i>	Interpolated narration
Depicts the text	<i>The xv day thus shall betide, The world shall burn on every side.</i>	Simultaneous narration

Table 6.1: Temporal interactions between text and image in the Fifteen Last Days window

The first two panels employ prior narration, with the image telling a story occurring earlier than the text. This emphasises the future nature of these events to the viewer and reader, appropriately enough for a window describing the end of the world. The window is therefore situated clearly in prophetic eschatology. The following three panels (days three, four and five) use simultaneous narration. Having established the prophetic narration in the first two panels, this succeeding interaction between image and text pulls the viewer/reader back into the present, increasing their engagement in the story through a disconcerting experience. This is followed by four panels (day six, seven, eight and nine) of subsequent narration, narrating past events. Here, the image is only a few moments in the future of the text. For example, in the sixth image, bloody droplets fall from the trees, whilst the text accompanying this has the blood still on the trees. However, the temporal difference does exist, and by its existence disorients the reader. This reflects the story in the window where, on the ninth day, at the end of this subsequent narration, the surviving humans emerge from their caves after earthquakes, no doubt extremely disorientated by the destruction surrounding them. For the penultimate five panels, interpolated narration is used, further disorientating the viewer/reader by slipping between temporalities as the image and text combine. For example, on the thirteenth day, the stars are depicted in an image of continuous narration (1) in the sky, (2) falling from the sky, and (3) burrowing deep into the earth, whilst the text reads: "The thirteenth day such shall //

Stars from the heavens fall”. We therefore see the stars before they fall, the stars as they fall and the stars having fallen, bringing three tenses into one event in a way that expresses the confusion inherent in apocalyptic events. This confusion is explicitly expressed in the source *Prick of Conscience* poem where, on the eleventh day men “shall come out // Of caves and holes all around // [and act] As if they are men who have no wits” (*shul come oute // Of caves of heoles over al aboute // As wode men that no witte conne*).²⁹ In the final panel for the fifteenth day, the image and text come together again, bringing the viewer and reader into the present for the moment of the end of the world.³⁰ In all of these panels, the position of the narrative voice reflects the story and, through its temporal placement, guides the audience as to how to react. This guidance suggests that the window’s designers were consciously creating a particular story-world that they wanted their audience to experience.

According to Wolf, “the initial position [of a narrative] is cognitively of particular relevance, since it is at the beginning of a reading, viewing or listening process that expectations are created”.³¹ In All Saints, North Street, the image of the first day puts the viewer at the very beginning of the narrative, when the seas are just beginning to rise. This is the initiatory image in all tellings of the Fifteen Last Days, across all traditions. It alerts the viewer that a narrative is beginning and prepares them for the story to come.³² In the glass, the waters lap at the shore, creating anticipation and tension within the narrative. This is, to quote Wolfgang Kemp, “as a good beginning requires — in a transitional state”.³³ This is most similar in narrative possibilities (though not imagery) to the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*, where men watch the rising seas approach.³⁴ The same anticipation of disaster is seen in the Vienna *Horarium* and the Nuremberg glass, in both of which the waters seem to be roaring up in the first day, in the pregnant moment just before they flood the land.³⁵ In comparison, in the *Holkham Bible* the first five images appear as a continuous narrative, with swirling lines of blue evoking the rise and fall of the seas.³⁶

²⁹ Morey, *The Prik of Conscience*, book 5, lines 787–9.

³⁰ The variation here is noted by Prince who suggests that the use of the present within a narrative otherwise in the past brings those events narrated in the present “more vividly” to life; Prince, *Narratology*, 27–8. There are no events narrated in the present tense in this window, but the variation in narrative perspectives can be said to make the events more vivid.

³¹ Wolf, “Framings of Narrative,” 535.

³² Anne F. Harris, “The Iconography of Narrative,” in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Routledge, 2016), 283.

³³ Wolfgang Kemp, “Narrative,” in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (University of Chicago Press, 1996), 62.

³⁴ MS. Douce 134, fol. 41v.

³⁵ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218v.

³⁶ London, British Library, MS. Add. 47682, fol. 40v. Driver noted a similar instance to All Saints, North Street in the woodcuts in Wynkyn de Worde’s *The craft to lyue well and to dye well*. Here, the sea does not rise as high

For Kemp, a narrative image must have the potential for the past, present, and future.³⁷ All of the past, present, and future are all contained within this one image of the first day; the instance of the water just touching the land evokes the time moments before (and reaching further back into the past) when the river had not breached its banks, whilst the text below the image evokes a future point on the same day when the water will rise forty cubits above the mountain peaks. The transitional state is underscored by the inscription for the panel in All Saints, where the eventual height (forty cubits) to which the seas will rise is emphasised by its appearance in the top centre of the couplet, drawing the eye of the (literate) viewer, and appearing directly underneath the moment when the sea breaches the land (Figure 41). Thus, the position of the narrative voice, narrating future events, creates a prophetic story-world for the literate viewer. The image evokes the past and present, and creates the expectation of a cataclysmic future, albeit one that will lead to salvation for the virtuous.

The illiterate viewer is likely, due to the popularity of the *Prick of Conscience* poem and potentially other sources including preaching and plays, to have also been aware that the waters would rise high enough to flood all civilisation. Therefore, this image should be seen as containing the story of the waters rising from their present (fifteenth-century) limits to above the mountains. It is important to emphasise here that this would differ according to the window's audience; for the more widely travelled who had been to perhaps Santiago de Compostela or had seen the Alps, the flood waters would rise far higher than other viewers who may only have seen the low hills around York.³⁸ Considering the temporal certainty in the text accompanying this panel, the speed at which the water would rise heightens the impact of the window. Water rising forty cubits (approximately twenty metres) higher than an alp in a single day must flood at an incredibly fast pace, whilst water rising two metres above hills around York at an elevation of, at the highest, 170 metres, need not rise so fast.³⁹

as she would have expected. She dismisses this as “basic conceptual differences”; Driver, “Picturing the Apocalypse,” 65. Both the woodcut image and the glass in All Saints, North Street may be performing a similar function of creating deliberate disjunction between the text and image in order to place the viewer in the story. In the same paragraph, she suggests that these woodcuts may have been derived from examples in stained glass, but does not expand upon this; Driver, “Picturing the Apocalypse,” 65.

³⁷ Kemp, “Narrative,” 63.

³⁸ A 1407 will from a parishioner contains a reference a posthumous pilgrimage to Santiago, potentially paying a York resident to make this journey, crossing the Pyrenees; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266. Even those viewers who had seen only the hills around York may have seen images of mountains or heard them described.

³⁹ For a consideration of exactly what a cubit was, see Heinz Werner, “History of Medieval Metrology,” in *Handbook of Medieval Culture. Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages* (De Gruyter, 2015), 1057, 1061–62, 1068 & 1072: The definition of a cubit differs between 300 and 810mm, but roughly 500–550 mm appears to be the most commonly found measurement.

Situating this image within a pregnant moment heightens the suspense, and the same immersive potential can be seen in other panels within this window.⁴⁰ On the ninth day, two men are emerging from caves. The text read “The ninth day earthquakes shall be // Severally in every country” (*Pe neghon day erthdyng sall be // Severally in ilk contry*). The earthquakes are not shown, but through the text the literate viewer is encouraged to imagine what the characters emerging from the caves might see in an apocalyptic world. The text and image thus appear to have been designed to work together to engage their viewer in a consideration how their immediate environment would change as the world ends. Similar possibilities can be seen on the panel depicting the fourteenth day. Here, the text reads: “The xiv day all that live then // Shall die both child, man & woman” (*Pe xiiij day all þat liv þan // Sall dy bathe chyld man & woman*). In the image itself, mankind has not yet died. One woman (in the original image, though not the current glass) is dying in bed. A priest stands over her, raising the host or his hands, and two still living men look on from the (viewer’s) right. A skeleton is just appearing to the left of the image, entering the scene in preparation for the death in the bed. However, most of the figures in this image are still alive (in a ratio of three to one). Therefore, the death of mankind is slightly in the future; the potential is there but the window’s designers are encouraging their potential audience to imagine the horror of universal death. Encouraging viewer engagement, and perhaps discomfort, was likely intended to immerse the attention of the potential audience in the story. This in turn could create the expectation of the fulfilment of the narrative, and thus the story would be viewed until the end.⁴¹ This may have been particularly necessary in a window where the final panels are more difficult to see than those closer to eye-level.

In the lowest row of apocalyptic panels, the narrative moves at a slow tempo, with the waters rising, falling, and returning to the same level. The second level is more sensory, with fish roaring, the waters burning, and trees dripping blood, but still no substantially destructive events occur. This slower tempo is confirmed by the colours chosen for the background to the images; apart from on the first day, the panels of the first two rows all have blue backgrounds (see Figure 2). On the third level, approximately half-way up the window, the narrative gathers pace. From then on, the third row is largely concerned with the effects of earthquakes, and on

⁴⁰ Harvey Stahl, “Eve’s Reach: A Note on Dramatic Elements in the Hindlesheim Doors,” in *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears (University of Michigan Press, 2002), 163. For this in respect to sculpture, see Werner Wolf, “Narratology and Media(lity): The Transmedial Expansion of a Literary Discipline and Possible Consequences,” in *Current Trends in Narratology*, ed. Greta Olson (De Gruyter, 2011), 150–51.

⁴¹ Kemp, “Narrative,” 66.

the fourth row the human element is visually and textually introduced, as “all men will out // Of caves and holes and wend about” and “dead men’s bones . . . rise all at once”. The red used for the backgrounds of these images increases the impact, though the continuity in colour (two rows with the same colour background) controls the tempo. The highest row is the most impactful, with stars falling from the heavens, all men dying, albeit in their beds with a yet surviving priest to perform last rites, and finally, “The world shall burn on every side”. The colour changes again for just this highest row, increasing the tempo towards the climax.

The story is also continued and halted by the placement of the figures. For example, the roaring pike in the fourth panel looks east. This is the most westernmost panel of its row, and thus the pike facing east encourages to viewer to continue with the story. The opposite effect is achieved in the panel showing the fourteenth day where three of the four human figures face west. This is the central panel of the final row. The three figures looking backwards therefore reflect on the story and, as this is the panel in which all remaining human life dies, bring the story to an end. Only the skeleton looks east, continuing the story only through universal death into the final panel (the burning of the world). To quote Kumiko Maekawa, “the beginning, development and ending of the story are thus discernible through the process of reading and looking”.⁴²

This visual effect of forcing the narrative upwards is confirmed by a consideration of how the window would have been seen in terms of the light originally used to illuminate it.⁴³ York is not a sunny city, and the climate in the early fifteenth century was cooler than the present day, creating more cloudy days.⁴⁴ This means that the window would have been seen largely through candlelight.⁴⁵ This has a different effect from light shining directly through the window from outside. When a candle or candles are placed below the window, the clear glass is illuminated more than the coloured glass (and the opposite effect is achieved with sunlight,

⁴² Kumiko Maekawa, “Book Experience and Image Reading: Narrative Depictions in the Prefatory Pictures of the St Louis Psalter,” in *The Enduring Instant: Time and the Spectator in the Visual Arts/Der bleibende Augenblick: Betrachterzeit in den Bildkünsten*, ed. Antoinette Friedenthal (Gebr. Mann, 2003), 237.

⁴³ For a more complete consideration of candlelight in the medieval church, see Vera Henkelmann, “Künstliches Licht im Kontext mittelalterlicher Gebetspraxis,” *Das Mittelalter* 24, no. 2 (2019): 431–57. For the use of candles in late medieval English churches, see Tom Nickson, “The Parish Church Illuminated,” in *Towards an Art History of the Parish Church, 1200–1399*, ed. Meg Bernstein (The Courtauld Research Forum, 2021). For candlelight causing Byzantine icons to appear animated, see Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 184. Pentcheva argues that “animation mediated through surface changes made matter a side of divine presence”; Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon*, 198. The same could be suggested for the glass of All Saints, North Street, though this would require further investigation.

⁴⁴ For a reconstruction of early fifteenth-century temperatures in England, see Kathleen Pribyl, Richard C. Cornes and Christian Pfister, “Reconstructing Medieval April–July Mean Temperatures in East Anglia, 1256–1431,” *Climatic Change* 113 (2012): 405.

⁴⁵ For a candle burning in front of a statue next to this window, see Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 366.

see Figure 42). The heat rising from the candles causes the air to ripple, meaning that candlelight appears to run up the borders of the window where the glass is less coloured. The gaze of the viewer is therefore directed higher, through the lower parts of the narrative and towards the final days, matching the increasing tempo of the story. This effect is more pronounced when the air inside the church is cooler, as it is likely to have been more often during the cooler period of the early fifteenth century.⁴⁶

The clear glass at the edge of the panels through which the light moves becomes, both via the effect of the candlelight, and the imagery used, a gateway to another world. The frames are architectonic, containing elaborate arches and plinths, and mediate between different levels of pictorial reality.⁴⁷ The architecture is elaborate, evoking in a local context the flying buttresses and early fourteenth-century west window of York Minster. This part of the story-world should be seen as set in an earlier time-period than that of the main panels, perhaps, despite the fourteenth-century architecture, a world of antiquity.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the world is grand and liturgical as established through the visual reference to the cathedral. In contrast, the architecture within the inner layers, closer to the story, is Perpendicular, more mundane and vernacular. This is the world of the contemporary parish church, a decidedly fifteenth-century world, set in a different time, and perhaps a different layer of reality (or reality within the story-world) to the surrounding Gothic frames. In the context of late fifteenth-century books and illuminated manuscripts, Anja Grebe sees the use of images drawn from different time periods and placed within different layers of the frame as creating an illusion through which “the text becomes literally more ‘seizable’”.⁴⁹ Through the use of these frames, the viewer is therefore primed to enter a “different dimension”, in essence the story-world.⁵⁰

Six figures stand on the plinths, two in each light and creating a band across the centre of the glass. With their archaic costumes and Phrygian caps, they can likewise be seen as existing in an earlier time than fifteenth-century York. The eyes of the figures are focused on the text not the image, as if they are reading or speaking the couplets, and their outstretched

⁴⁶ Noted during an observation in Conisbrough parish church in December 2023.

⁴⁷ For layers of narrative and borders indicative of another dimension in fifteenth-century art, see Anja Grebe, “Frames and Illusion: The Function of Borders in Late Medieval Book Illumination,” in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Brill, 2006), 43. For narrative levels as “the levels at which the narrating act and the narratee are situated in relation to the narrated story”, see John Pier, “Narrative Levels,” in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier, Wolf Schmid, and Jörg Schönert (Hamburg University, 2009).

⁴⁸ Erwin Panofsky, “The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece,” *The Art Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (1935): 450–51. For *antiqua* applied to a generation earlier in late medieval York, see Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 159.

⁴⁹ Grebe, “Frames and Illusion,” 52.

⁵⁰ Grebe, “Frames and Illusion,” 43.

hands point to just above the text.⁵¹ They raise their hands next to the seventh, eighth and ninth days. Johnston did not draw these figures in 1659 and it is therefore difficult to know whether they might have been moved in the window. If they are in their original position, it may be simply that the figures were placed in the centre of the window; this is the third row of five. Yet, it is notable that they focus upon the transition between text and image, emphasising both.

These figures may have been placed next to these panels to emphasise the relationship between the images and couplets. Referring back to Table 6.1, the figures appear for the period of subsequent narration, where the text is temporally placed before the image. This reflects reality where the text of the *Prick of Conscience* poem is almost a century older the Fifteen Last Days window. Thus, the placement of these figures highlights the materiality of the glass (and source text). Concurrently, their position with regards to the text and image brings immediacy to the narrative of these three days. By reciting the couplets (whether through reading or speaking), the figures are reenacting part of the story.⁵² In the main panels, days seven, eight and nine show the destruction of the human material world, from buildings falling down, to humans disappearing into caves to hide from earthquakes. In depicting the plinth figures reenacting this story in a different century,⁵³ the designers of the window therefore acknowledge their source material whilst also emphasising that the world from which this material was drawn will, like the window and manuscripts themselves, be destroyed before Doomsday.

Moreover, the frames create temporal distance between each of the panels. When moving between panels, the viewer must move through three frames; the painted glass frame of the panel they are currently in, the physical stonework of window, and the painted glass frame of the next panel.⁵⁴ This threefold movement has its own symbolism, reflecting not only the Trinity, but also the dusk, midnight and dawn between each of the fifteen days. The

⁵¹ These images do not have the characteristic pointed fingers to denote speech and ownership; Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 27–28. Instead, their whole hands are outstretched with palms upwards, and their mouths open in surprise. Wagner interprets these images as prophetic speech; Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht*, 167–72. They could be speaking the words of the couplets, but the different narrative layers and the lack of definitive indicators of speech (a pointed text or curling banderole issuing directly from them) makes this difficult to say for certain.

⁵² I am grateful to Osman Özdemir, PhD candidate at CEU, for this observation.

⁵³ This could be the early fourteenth century in which the source poem was written, or it may be antiquity when the Book of Revelation was written. It is not the time of the apocalyptic events of the falling of the buildings, including the church of All Saints, to people hiding from earthquakes.

⁵⁴ This is the case in all the western and central panels of each row. When moving from the eastern panel of a lower row to the western panel of the row above, the viewer will technically not see these three columns of framing, but it can be assumed by the treatment of the other panels.

movement also increases the temporal distance.⁵⁵ As the viewer moves through these three frames, the division between each day is extended and each event in the story becomes clearly differentiated; the days cannot merge into one. Sequentiality is therefore created, into which a multitude of other events and days (for example the depredations of Antichrist) can be inserted.

In the main panels, the story of the fifteen last days progresses from left to right, or west to east. In the donor panels, the chronology is inverted. The donors who lived first kneel furthest east (and perhaps closer to salvation due to their time spent in Purgatory and the number of masses already said for their souls), whilst the donors of the window who were still alive when it was made (and thus who probably paid for it) are furthest west.⁵⁶ Death in the panels moves east to west. Death in the main lights moves west to east. This chronology is made explicit even to an audience who were not familiar with the lives of the figures depicted. The costumes, particularly of the female figures, show that those shown furthest west are the most contemporary. The figure that I believe was intended to show Marion Hesyl, who may have been still alive at the time this window was made, wears a headdress identical to that worn by Margaret Blackburn senior elsewhere in the church, also alive when her window was made. The background to these donor panels, continuous across all three sections, is golden stars on a white background, further connecting these images to the heavenly realm, as does to use of Latin, the language of the mass and liturgy, in the identifying inscription.⁵⁷

Thus, the space in which the donors and their souls are depicted is not within earthly time. There is no narrative whilst one is in Purgatory awaiting the Day of Judgement (illustrated in the tracery far above the donors), and the donor figures are clearly placed outside the story-world of the window's main panels. They are within their own, Purgatorial, story-world. Yet, their presence reminds the viewer that the eschatological story as narrated above is one that involves all mankind. The souls of (almost) everyone who ever died currently await Resurrection and Judgement, waiting in the world of the donor panels. This world, being Purgatory, is theologically outside human time. Those who are still alive must be aware that the story told in the main panels can happen to them at any moment. The viewer is therefore prompted to take care for their own soul lest the Day of Judgement come upon them sooner than they expect.

⁵⁵ For this in illuminated manuscripts, see Maekawa, "Book Experience and Image Reading," 237.

⁵⁶ For possible late medieval depictions of Purgatory, see Robert Mills, "God's Time? Purgatory and Temporality in Late Medieval Art," in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Brepols, 2003), 477–500. These are, as in All Saints, at the base of the images.

⁵⁷ Donor inscriptions are always in Latin, but this, especially as the inscriptions usually open with "Orate", does not mean that the donors are not intended to be seen in Purgatory.

Within the story-world of the main panels, for characters experiencing the end of the material existence, the progression of the temporality is not clearly defined. Each day is indicated in sequence, as the “second” (*Be second dy þe see*), “third” (*iij day yt sall be*) etc., but no language including or similar to “the next day” is used. There is thus no intrinsic reason why these fifteen days must occur in progression through fifteen consecutive dawns over a single fortnight.⁵⁸ Herman refers to this as “fuzzy temporality”, a term that can accurately applied to the narrative here.⁵⁹ Each event will take a day, mirroring the six days of Creation, but the timing is divine and should not be assumed to follow human expectations. The *Prick of Conscience* poem, upon which the text was based and versions of which were available to early fifteenth-century parishioners of the church, explicitly addresses this ambiguity:

Of fifteen tokens that shall come
 Before Christ’s coming, he [St. Jerome] says,
 And shall fall on fifteen days,
 But whether any other day shall fall
 Between them or they shall all
 Continue day after day,
 Saint Jerome says he cannot say,
 And for certain says not he.⁶⁰

This poem was very popular in fifteenth-century England, and it can reasonably be assumed that many people would have heard it spoken aloud, although it is impossible to suggest how many specific lines they would have remembered from a text containing nearly 10,000. Those who were familiar with the passage quoted above would have associated it with the window as the passage about St Jerome introduces the lines paraphrased in the glass.⁶¹ More practically, the lack of temporal certainty also means that these days need not be forced into one block in an apocalyptic narrative. Instead, the events of Daniel, Matthew 24 or the Book of Revelation

⁵⁸ The importance of temporal considerations in stained glass showing the fifteen last days is emphasised in Daniela Wagner, “Zeit und Zeitlichkeit in bildlichen Darstellungen der Fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht,” in *Geschichte vom Ende her denken: Endzeitentwürfe und ihre Historisierung im Mittelalter*, ed. Susanne Ehrich and Andrea Worm (Schnell + Steiner, 2019), 372. She writes that “pictorial works of the fifteen signs that address temporal aspects do not appear to address questions about time and visualization, but rather to visualize conceptualization of time and end times” (*dass Bildwerke der Fünfzehn Zeichen, die zeitliche Aspekte thematisieren, nicht auf Fragen nach Zeitpunkt und Dauer eingehen, sondern Konzeptualisierungen von Zeit und Endzeit visualisieren*).

⁵⁹ David Herman, *Story Logic: Problems and Possibilities of Narrative* (University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 212.

⁶⁰ Morey, *The Prick of Conscience*, book 5, lines 730–7. The text is taken from Morey as representative of all versions of the poem, but I have modernized the spelling and added grammar for ease of reading.

⁶¹ This was noted in a German and French context in Wagner, “Zeit und Zeitlichkeit,” 372.

could be interspersed between or associated with any one of these fifteen days, perhaps by a preacher as he used the imagery and/or text in the window to tell his own story. The presentation of the narrative in the window allows, as a form of ellipsis, one or a thousand days to be not told within the Fifteen Last Days story in the glass, but added by the viewer, reader, or preacher.⁶²

Yet, medieval art can be read in a number of ways, and two or more purposes can be seen simultaneously.⁶³ In the case of this window, the fortnight that passes during which the Fifteen Last Days take place can mirror the time period of the Scrope revolt. If we assume that before marching out of York on 28th May 1405, Archbishop Scrope had performed some form of muster, encouraging York's inhabitants to gather weapons and food, and sending messengers to outlying villages, as well as north to the Earl of Northumberland, a timescale of roughly a fortnight from his call to arms to his martyrdom is plausible. Thus, he would have communicated his serious intent towards armed revolt on or around May 25th and been executed on June 8th. The window can perhaps therefore be read as the fifteen last days before the martyrdom, particularly as Adam Usk's account refers to the submission of the citizens of York as akin to the Day of Judgement. This is not to say that the story in the window cannot also be seen as occurring over months and years as the events of Revelation take place between individual last days, but instead that it allows multiple interpretations, being many things to many people.

5.2. Temporality in the Revelation Window

At first glance, the narrative in the Revelation window is simple: St Michael fights a dragon representing Satan/Antichrist/the Beast, whilst St John writes about it in the Book of Revelation. Indeed, this window may seem not to be a narrative at all, but instead an iconographical representation of two saints.⁶⁴ However, a closer examination suggests that this

⁶² For ellipsis, see Bal, *Narratology in Practice*, 117. This is paralleled in the temporal confusion in the *Golden Legend*, where the fifteen signs are initially set out, ending with the destruction of the Earth, and New Heaven and New Earth, before the text loops back around to the signs of Antichrist, and again back to the Passion; "The Advent of our Lord," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2. The possibility of interspersing apocalyptic narratives and creating simplicity out of complicated and superficially contradictory sources is a particularly useful feature of the window should it be used as a preaching aid.

⁶³ For examples of this, see flowers in medieval art; Celia Fisher, "Flowers and Plants, the Living Iconography," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. C. Hourihane (Routledge, 2016), 459. In a different, but still related example, see the double sense in commentaries on apocalyptic events; Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra," 59.

⁶⁴ In this interpretation, St Michael could be defeating Lucifer and casting him out of Heaven, whilst St John is shown as the Evangelist. For a similar image of St Michael skewering the dragon and thus casting Satan from

is not the case for three reasons. Firstly, both saints are characters in the apocalyptic events, with St John having written Revelation and St Michael named in the biblical text. They thus are already perceived as part of the story by a viewer approaching the window with knowledge of the Book of Revelation. Secondly, the text in the scrolls around the apocalyptic characters implies time passing, at the very least the time taken to voice these words, thus suggesting more than a tableau.⁶⁵ Finally, five events connected to the apocalyptic narrative are shown in the glass in the temporal order that they appear in Revelation. These are:

- 1) St John the Evangelist/of Patmos is martyred (with torture not death);
- 2) St John writes the Book of Revelation;
- 3) Revelation opens with the four living creatures around the throne;
- 4) Revelation continues with the fight against the Beast(s);
- 5) Revelation ends with the Last Judgement.

The combination of these factors indicates that a narrative with the passage of time and events that change characters is being presented.

If the imagery in this window is seen as constructing a narrative, then this narrative initially appears to be very similar to many seen in earlier apocalyptic manuscripts. In these miniatures, St John watches apocalyptic events.⁶⁶ For example, in the mid-thirteenth century Dyson Perrins/Getty Apocalypse, St John sits outside the narrative frame of the main event, and yet still leans in, apparently entranced, as the Beast is defeated.⁶⁷ Thus, he is presented on a different narrative level to both the story and the viewer, potentially physically involved in the story but not an active participant. Likewise, in the Anglo-Norman Toulouse Apocalypse, St John looks on with his hands raised in prayer as an angel chains the Beast.⁶⁸ A close connection could also be seen to the pictorial narrative of the Great East Window of York Minster, where in one panel St Michael holds his sword aloft as he threatens the Beast, whilst St John appears in scenes drawn from the Book of Revelation throughout the lower two thirds of the window.⁶⁹ In all of these instances, St John appears in a separated area watching the action of Revelation. The All Saints window could therefore be placed within the tradition of these images, where St John watches St Michael defeating the Beast.

Heaven see Nigel Morgan, *Douce Apocalypse: Picturing the End of the World in the Middle Ages* (The Bodleian Library, 2006), 70.

⁶⁵ Scheffel et al., “Time,” 869.

⁶⁶ For this in the Wells Apocalypse and other related manuscripts, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 3–4.

⁶⁷ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig III 1 (83.MC.72), fol. 41v.

⁶⁸ Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 815, Toulouse Apocalypse, fol. 48v.

⁶⁹ Panels 3h, 3d, 11a–d.

However, in North Street St John is not observing St Michael. His gaze is fixed out of the window, into the church, and he is not presented as a viewer of the events of Revelation, unlike in the manuscripts and Great East Window. In All Saints, he is looking out at the viewer from within the story, and the connection to St Michael in the same window is made through their participation in the same events, not through the saint observing the archangel. From St John's perspective, therefore, his story is not the focus of the window's narrative. Instead, the saint, the window's narrative, and thus the designer's intentions are focused on the fifteenth-century church. If one point in the church were to be chosen, St John appears to be looking at the upper rows and tracery of the Fifteen Last Days window across the choir. This fits with the suggestion shown through his closed book that Revelation is already written. Rather than being involved the story in his Book, he perceives the last days of the world and the coming Judgement, including (hopefully) the salvation of the designers, donors and audience of his window.

In the Fifteen Last Days, the narrative moves from east to west, and reading the Revelation window in the same way shows the story. The first of the apocalyptic events in the narrative predates the Book of Revelation. It is drawn from St John's life just before he was exiled to Patmos. Quoting from the *Golden Legend* (a version of which Robert Alne is likely to have bequeathed to All Saints),

in this time Domitian was Emperor of Rome, which made right great persecutions unto Christian men [sic], and did do take S. John, and did him to be brought to Rome and made him to be cast into a vat or a ton full of hot oil in the presence of the senators, of which he issued out, by the help of God, more pure and more fair, without feeling of any more heat or chafing, than he entered in.⁷⁰

Whilst John was not put to death by Domitian, he suffered a martyr's persecution. In the window, this is evoked by the palm that St John holds in his left hand.⁷¹ It is the most westerly object in the main part of this panel, drawing the viewer's gaze from the borders and towards the saint, and the imagery of the palm itself is drawn from the apocalypse: Revelation 7:9 describes the saved "clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands". The palm indicates

⁷⁰ "The Life of S. John the Evangelist," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2. For copies of the *Golden Legend* in late medieval Yorkshire, see John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse University Press, 1995), 260.

⁷¹ Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Greenwood Press, 1996), 97. For other examples of St John with the martyr's palm, see the east window of St Mary, Drayton Beauchamp, and St Mary, East Brent.

the part of John's story that was the immediate precursor to the saint's exile to the island of Patmos and the vision of the Book of Revelation.

If the designer of the window was drawing on the *Golden Legend* or a similar text, then the physical appearance of the saint in the window agrees with the description. In contrast to the elderly St John appearing in York Minster's Great East Window, in All Saints St John is presented as a pure and fair young man, with blond curls, a white mantle, and a serene smile (Figure 43).⁷² The text of the *Golden Legend* also emphasises St John's "virginal chastity".⁷³ His appearance illustrates the text of the *Golden Legend*. The palm and the appearance of the saint therefore initiate the apocalyptic narrative in this window with an image that evokes an episode in the widely known legend of St John. This, as the earliest event in the apocalyptic section of St John's life, provides one of the building blocks upon which the narrative in this window is created.

The second apocalyptic event is St John having written the Book of Revelation. The past tense of the book being finished is emphasised. In most other pictorial narratives of the apocalypse, St John watches the action unfold before writing, for example, in the Savoy Apocalypse he watches from a side panel, in the Angers tapestries he stands within some scenes, watching events, and in the Great East Window panel 2h he is praying beside New Jerusalem.⁷⁴ The Dyson Perrins Apocalypse illustrates the angel removing the stylus as St John is forbidden to write.⁷⁵ In these images, the Book of Revelation is either being written or will be written. Neither of these is the case in All Saints, North Street. Instead, St John stands with the book in his hand. It is closed with an ostentatious clasp (perhaps alluding to the seven seals of Revelation), and an empty inkhorn is balanced atop it, showing that his work has already been written. Furthermore, the prophets in the border of this window are placed next to the book, their outstretched hands highlighting its presence. The book presented as equally, if not slightly more, important than the saint.⁷⁶

⁷² This also agrees with a co-identification as the Evangelist, who appears in Crucifixion scenes as a young man on Christ's left.

⁷³ "The Life of S. John the Evangelist," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

⁷⁴ Michael Camille, "Visionary Perception and Images of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 287. See, for example, G. de Andres, ed., *Apocalipsis figurado de los duques de Saboya* (Patrimonio Nacional, 1980), for examples see fols. 20v. & 21r.

⁷⁵ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig III 1 (83.MC.72), fol. 15.

⁷⁶ An initiatory narrative appears in a fuller version in the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century apocalypse wall paintings in Westminster Abbey, demonstrating that a visual narrative in which the persecution of St John was combined with his exile to Patmos and leads into depictions drawn from the Book of Revelation existed in late medieval England; E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (Routledge, 1955), 202. For St John's life pre-Patmos as a tradition in England, see Peter K. Klein, "Traditionen und Etappen der

If the designer was again drawing on the *Golden Legend*, he is evoking: “There was S. John alone [on Patmos], and was visited of angels and governed; there wrote he by the revelation of our Lord the Apocalypse, which contained the secrets of holy church and of the world to come.” Besides the emphasis in the window on “wrote”, with the book being finished, St John is indeed alone in this window, in the sense that there are no people with him (though he does have his eagle). This sense of being alone is emphasised by the space around him. In contrast to St Michael in the eastern panel, there is a clearly defined area between St John and the architectonic borders of in the glass. No part of his mantle, scroll, halo or book touches the masonry, and he stands on a black and white floor (perhaps intended to recreate antique tiles) which is clearly differentiated from the Gothic architecture of the framing borders. The drapery of his mantle likewise evokes an antique setting, as do his bare feet. All of this contrasts with St Michael who is dressed in fifteenth-century armour and the donors dressed in contemporary fifteenth-century dress at the base of the window. Across the church, St Thomas the Apostle in a south aisle window is dressed in a similarly archaic manner (though he steps across his own architectonic borders). The two apostles dressed in a similar manner emphasises that they lived on earth at the same time.⁷⁷ This is the second event in the saint’s life, moving from his martyrdom to the finished book, and creating an assumed narrative of the book having been written. Since this episode appears to have been inspired by the *Golden Legend*, the priestly donor of the window may have designed this imagery to use as part of a sermon that drew on the same text. From this point on, the story moves into the Book of Revelation, changing the level of the narrative to the book held in St John’s right hand.

The third event in this story is created by the eagle perched on the book. This eagle (like the lion, ox and man/angel) is both a representative of the Evangelist and a character drawn from the Book of the Apocalypse.⁷⁸ In Revelation 4:6–7, “four living creatures” surround the throne in Heaven, including a fourth “like an eagle flying” (*animal simile Aquilae volanti*). Coming just after the letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor, Revelation 4 is where the prophetic vision of John begins. For the viewer of the window who was familiar with the Book of Revelation (likely but not exclusively a clerical viewer), the appearance of the eagle therefore evokes the opening of the apocalyptic narrative. In the All Saints window, the eagle appears to have just landed upon the book. His wings are still outstretched for balance,

mittelalterlichen Apokalypse Illustration,” in *Apocalypse Now! Visionen von Schrecken und Hoffnung in der Kunst vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2015), 70; & Morgan, *Douce Apocalypse*, 7.

⁷⁷ For a consideration of the internal temporal location of the events of the Book of Revelation, see Paul, “Introduction to the Book of Revelation,” 41–42.

⁷⁸ Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*, 93.

and he seems to lean against the scroll. This furthers the impression of events just about to start.

The living creatures in Revelation 4 also speak. They praise God, giving glory, honour, and thanks (*gloriam et honorem et benedictionem*). This text is echoed in the scroll that curls around the eagle in the All Saints glass: “Blessed be the speech of thy mouth” (*Benedictus sit sermo oris tui*). This text is not an exact quote from the Bible. Instead, it can be seen as an imaginative recreation of the speech of the eagle, fourth in the order of creatures and thus giving speech to the *benedictionem* last in the list. However, the bird is not depicted exactly as the eagle in Revelation 4:6, covered in eyes (“full of eyes before and behind”). Instead, its appearance represents both one of the four living creatures and the eagle of John the Evangelist.⁷⁹ It is important to note that this opening to a prophetic text is not temporally anchored to the future. It is also set in the past and present. These four living creatures always have and always will (since the beginning and until the end of time) surround the Throne in Heaven. They praise God “day and night”, and “for ever and ever”.⁸⁰

This extra-temporal existence of heavenly creatures continues into the eastern panel of the window where St Michael fights a dragon-like beast. For a medieval viewer, this could have been understood as a depiction of the expulsion of the rebel angels at the very beginning of the Christian story. Surviving examples can be seen in the Book of Hours of Sir John Falstaff or recreated from the text of the York Mystery Plays.⁸¹ In medieval art, Satan/Lucifer is often

⁷⁹ The eagle (and lion, ox and man) also appears in Ezekiel 1:5–14. The depiction of the eagle (or others of the living creatures) covered in eyes is not common in images associated with England; see Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig III 1 (83.MC.72), fol. 5; & panel 11h of York Minster’s Great East Window. Dürer’s apocalyptic woodcuts do feature the creatures covered in eyes.

⁸⁰ Revelation 4:8–9. Christ/God is eternal and atemporal. The Creation, the Crucifixion and the Apocalypse are, to quote *The City of God*, “by Him comprehended [at once] in His stable and eternal presence”; Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God, Books VIII–XVI. The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, trans. Gerald C. Walsh and Grace Monahan (Catholic University of America Press, 2008) 218, (Book 11, Chapter 21). In 1418, Robert Alne owned a copy of *The City of God*; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 200. All of the clerics in the parish were almost certainly familiar with the text. Pertinent to the depiction of St John the Evangelist in this glass, the atemporal nature of God is made most clear in the Gospel of John which opens with: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God”; John 1:1. John’s Gospel differs from the three synoptic gospels in many ways, but significantly for this discussion it is the only one of the four that refers to events before the creation of the Earth (The Gospel of Matthew briefly mentions Jesus’ ancestry stretching back to Abraham, the other two gospels focus on the period between the Nativity and Pentecost). Commentaries on the Bible, including those by Augustine of Hippo (quoted above), Origen and Alcuin emphasise that Jesus is the logos and therefore beyond time (the Ancient of Days was used in Byzantine art to illustrate this concept, but the Ancient of Days is not used in the same way in Western art; Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*, 12; Gretchen Kreahling McKay, “Illustrating the Gospel of John: The Exegesis of John Chrysostom and Images of the Ancient of Days in Eleventh-Century Byzantine Manuscripts,” *Studies in Iconography* 31 (2010): 62.

⁸¹ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. 5 (84.ML.723), fol. 27v; & Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290*, vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 6. The Fall of Lucifer also opens the *Prick of Conscience* poem; James H. Morey, ed., *Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012), book 1, lines 6–7 (“Of Lucyfer whiche that fel so tye // To helle for his syn of pryde”). For other artistic examples see, in the south window of the chancel All Saints,

shown during this angelic expulsion as a dragon or beast. This draws most directly on Revelation 12:7–9:

And there was a great battle in Heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels. And they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven. And that great dragon was cast out, the old serpent, who is called the devil, and Satan, who seduceth the whole world.⁸²

Drawing on the Book of Revelation for this imagery recreates the temporal looping in the biblical text. Ian Paul describes this as a “sense of recapitulation and anticipation”.⁸³ The image of St Michael with a sword and dragon in the All Saints glass therefore might recreate the expulsion of the rebel angels, even though it comes in the narration after St John on Patmos, as Revelation itself loops back to this in chapter 12. However, a closer inspection reveals that this expulsion is not what is shown in the glass.

In none of the surviving depictions of the Fall of the Rebel Angels does Satan have more than one head.⁸⁴ Instead, the All Saints window contains a depiction of the many-headed Beast, drawing its imagery from Revelation 13:1–2:

And I saw a beast coming up out of the sea having seven heads and ten horns and upon his horns ten crowns and upon his heads names of blasphemy. And the beast which I saw was like to a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion.

Six heads currently survive in the glass, and considering the destruction and patches of unpainted glass, a seventh head is not unlikely.⁸⁵ Likewise, the depicted beast has heads that

Trull, Somerset (ca.1500), or the dragon-demons St Michael fights in the late fifteenth-century Prayer Book of Charles the Bold. The *Golden Legend* also refers to Lucifer explicitly as the dragon at the point in the story when he falls; “The Feast of S. Michael,” *Golden Legend*, vol. 2 (“also fought with the dragon and his angels, and casting them out of Heaven, had a great victory”). For a general description see Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary*, 175.

⁸² “Et factum est proelium magnum in caelo: Michahel et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat et angeli eius. Et non valuerunt, neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo. Et proiectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus, et Satanas, qui seducit universum orbem”. Other biblical sources include Matthew 25:41 and Luke 10:18.

⁸³ Paul, “Introduction to the Book of Revelation,” 44.

⁸⁴ The dragon does have only one head in apocalyptic depictions, see, for example, the *Très riches Heures* of Jean de Barry, in Frederik van der Meer and Frans Stoks, *Apokalypse: die Visionen des Johannes in der europäischen Kunst* (Herder, 1978), 30. The point is that a single-headed dragon can be both (and simultaneously) Lucifer falling and the apocalyptic dragon, but a many-headed beast can be only apocalyptic.

⁸⁵ It is also consistent within the story-world for the seventh head to have been cut off, reflecting “And I saw one of his heads as if it were wounded to death” (Rev. 13:3).

could be described as leopard-like and one surviving horn, all supporting a depiction drawn from the biblical description of the Beast from the Sea.⁸⁶ The creature is also blue, appropriately for a sea-monster. However, the moment in time shown is not the Beast emerging from the sea. Instead, it is its defeat, combining in the presentation, as many medieval images did, two passages. These are Revelation 19:20 discussing the Beast being defeated, and Revelation 20:1–3 about the angelic warrior casting the dragon into the abyss (*abyssum*). In this, it combines and includes several biblical narratives in one image, showing the defeat of the Beast, of the false prophet, and of Satan. The image therefore tells of the past and future defeat of evil. This fight is both a heavenly war and a fight that every Christian must fight every day against the temptations of Satan, and against evil doers, heretics, and unbelievers. In this sense, there are clear allusions to the fifteenth-century historical context in this window.

The exact moment in time shown is unusual. As explained in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, St Michael is usually shown in medieval images either “thrusting the spear straight into the devil’s mouth” or struggling against Satan/Antichrist/the Beast with his “spear diagonally across the front of his body”.⁸⁷ In contrast, in All Saints, North Street, the archangel stands victorious and relaxed, his sword resting behind his armoured foot as the Beast falls into the abyss. As the Beast is still falling, the archangel’s victory appears to have been very recent, bringing immediacy to the image and the narrative that it creates. This draws the audience into a story that has been, so far, set in the distant past or in a heavenly dimension.

The temporal presentation of St Michael is ambiguous. He wears fifteenth-century armour, but with an archaic cloak and tunic, mixing the past and present in a prophetic depiction. Perhaps the designer of the window could not choose how to depict the angel in the future, but more likely this combination of costumes was intended both to make St Michael familiar to the audience and to emphasise his heavenly existence beyond human time.⁸⁸ Likewise, the depiction of the Beast from the Sea may be avoiding unambiguous allusions to the windows’ fifteenth-century context. The Beast is described in the apocalyptic text as crowned, though the crowns have sensibly not been shown as such in this window. To show a personification of evil crowned would have been foolhardy in a church so closely connected

⁸⁶ For similar heads in a likewise demonic context, see the twelfth-century glass of First Temptation of Christ by the Devil from Troyes; Paul Williamson, *Medieval and Renaissance Glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (V&A Publications, 2003), 8.

⁸⁷ Richard F. Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 141. For a contemporaneous (1405) example of this, see Spanish (Valencian) Painter (active in Italy, early 15th century), *Saint Michael and the Dragon*, ca. 1405, tempera on wood, 41 3/8 x 40 3/4 in. (105.1 x 103.5 cm), Met Museum, New York; & Andres, *Apocalipsis Figurado de Los Duques de Saboya*, fol. 21r.

⁸⁸ In other depictions he is either solely in armour (as in Bermejo’s painting in London’s National Gallery) or solely in a robe (as in the Vienna *Horarium*).

to revolt against the king. However, this does not mean that, particularly for an educated and likely clerical audience, the allusion to the evil of a crowned head is not present. Such allusions could likewise easily be made if the window was used as a preaching aid.

Finally, at the eastern-most point of the narrative in the main lights of this window, St Michael weighs the souls of humankind. Four surviving souls (identified as such by their nakedness) appear smiling and praying on one half of a scale by the angel's knee. The damned souls are not shown, making explicit St Michael's role as "a defender and keeper for them that be chosen".⁸⁹ This is accompanied by a scroll reading "Holy Trinity, receive the souls praising [you]" (*laudantes a[n]i[m]as suscipe s[anc]ta trinitas*). The weighing of souls by St Michael occurs at the Last Judgement, temporally located with certainty at the end of time.

There are therefore five events in this narrative: St John is martyred; he writes the Book of Revelation; Revelation begins with the four living creatures around the throne; it continues with the fight against the Beast(s), and ends with the Last Judgement, as all history does. These images mix the continuous style of pictorial narration (several events in one field) with that seen in the Fifteen Last Days window, where each image represents a unit of time in the story.⁹⁰ The narrative can be seen as split into two parts of continuous narration. One is St John showing the past (with the eagle being seen as always having been praising God). The second is St Michael showing the future. The two narratives overlap when one considers that the eagle and the fight against the Beast, symbolising the forces of evil, are ongoing and outside human, historical time, but the strictly temporal events are divided into past and future. This is also reflected in the positioning in the glass, with St John further to the west and thus closer to mankind and the nave of the church, and St Michael closest to the Second Coming rising in the east and the Host at the high altar. The story is completed in the most final way, but it also has a happy ending as only the saved are shown in the glass, alongside St Michael as their protector. The story therefore moves from the persecutions of Domitian to the blissful ending of Heavenly Judgement. To quote Kemp, "this situates the narrative, both as a whole and in parts, within a context of promise and fulfilment, annunciation and event".⁹¹ The conclusion is foreshadowed in the presence of St John, who rose to Heaven before earthly death. His journey therefore mirrors and pre-emptes that of all saved mankind, and more particularly of the donors in the lower part of the window.

⁸⁹ "The Feast of S. Michael," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

⁹⁰ Kemp, "Narrative," 63.

⁹¹ Kemp, "Narrative," 62.

As the saint and the angel exist on two separate narrative levels (St John holds the Book of Revelation, whilst St Michael battles the Beast as described in St John's book), the boundary between narrative levels is transgressed. St John looks on with his book closed, presumably having finished writing, whilst St Michael has just defeated the Beast. The saint has written his narrative in the past of his current image, whilst St Michael is at some point in the future, but still in the midst of Revelation's narrative. The narrator has finished, but the narrative yet continues. Furthermore, St John transgresses the boundary because, despite being the narrator of Revelation, he is not narrating. He is shown with his book and mouth closed, and his gaze directed away from St Michael. An anti-illusionist effect is thus produced, highlighting the nature of the glass as an image and thus only representative of holy glory.⁹² This emphasises that the apocalypse has not yet happened, and therefore that the viewer still has time to save their soul before Judgement.

The window provides a third narrative level; that of the donor James Baguley who, as parish priest and lead donor of this window, likely chose how St John the Evangelist/of Patmos and St Michael (as well as the eagle and Beast) were depicted.⁹³ St John of Patmos is the author of the text of Revelation, but Baguley is plausibly the author of the image of Revelation in this window.⁹⁴ Temporally, he sits between the narratives of St John and St Michael, whilst also interacting with each image. St John's martyrdom and writing are in the past, and yet the eagle in the image is presented in the Book of the Revelation as always around the throne of God, meaning he must be so in Baguley's fifteenth century. Likewise, St Michael will defeat the Beast from the Sea and weigh human souls in the future, but the battle with evil is ongoing in the fifteenth century. The temporality of the narratives therefore overlaps and to some extent wraps around the priest as the ultimate narrator in this glass. It would likewise wrap around the

⁹² This can be said, depending on the given definition of a particular theorist, to show narratological metalepsis in the sense of a character moving between narrative levels in a manner which should be impossible within the established story-world. For a discussion of metalepsis with reference to transmedial narratology, see Werner Wolf, "Metalepsis as a Transgeneric and Transmedial Phenomenon: A Case Study of the Possibilities of 'Exporting' Narratological Concepts," in *Selected Essays on Intermediality by Werner Wolf (1992–2014)* (Brill, 2018), 586–87. On page 588 of the same chapter, Wolf defines metalepsis as "a usually intentional paradoxical transgression of, or confusion between, (onto)logically distinct (sub)worlds and / or levels that exist, or are referred to, within representations of possible worlds". The metalepsis in this window emphasises the importance of the boundary. In Revelation, the boundary is drawn between the dreaming saint in ancient Patmos and the angel far in the future, and transgressing this boundary emphasises the prophetic nature of the text.

⁹³ There is the potential here to discuss concepts of story-time, discourse-time, and narrating-time but, however useful they may be for literary theorists, such terminology adds little to the clarity of the current discourse.

⁹⁴ The question of authorship of a church window is even more complicated than the authorship of a manuscript text due to the need for an artist/artisan to undertake the work, a designer and or patron to decide on part or all of the content, and the influence of the parish priest or local ecclesiastical authorities. In windows containing text, there would also have been (potentially the same person as the artist/patron/designer/priest) someone to decide on the text, often drawing on biblical texts, but with significant paraphrasing.

viewer of this window, putting them temporally in a similar position to Baguley. This introduces immediacy to the window, in that there is no or very little temporal distance between the audience, the character presented as author, and the events of the story.

The extent to which the Revelation window can stand as a narrative depends on the audience. There are only two panels and three main figures, with the two panels divided in glass and stone by architecture.⁹⁵ For the biblically-literate viewer, this window reconstructs familiar stories and brings them together into a single narration. It seems therefore safe to assume that Baguley designed the window for an educated audience. This narration ends with the anticipation of a climax that only the viewer can control and that will not be resolved in the present, namely the salvation of their own soul. The requirement for more learning is the clearest difference between the temporalities in the narratives presented in these two windows; the Fifteen Last Days presents a clear chronological story, divided into separate events in separate days and as such is easily readable, whilst the Revelation window combine its narratives to provide a story that requires more biblical knowledge.

5.3. Prophecy, Contemplation and Pastoral Care in the Apocalyptic Windows

An anchorhold was built during the early fifteenth-century western expansion of the church of All Saints, North Street. This two-story building abutted the southern end of the western wall, slightly to the south of the then newly built spire.⁹⁶ The anchorhold was, from ca.1425, inhabited by an anchorite and prophet, Emma Raughton.⁹⁷ Nothing is known about Raughton's early life, though there was a family by that name in a neighbouring parish to All Saints, North

⁹⁵ As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Kemp sees architectonic stained glass (thirteenth-, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century glass) as a medium with less narrative potential than earlier (twelfth- and early thirteenth-century) glass as these architecturally framed panels are more distinctively divided from the surrounding narrative; Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7–8. We do not know what, if anything, was originally depicted between the panels in All Saints, North Street, although a chronological development through the Book of Revelation would suggest a depiction of the Lamb and the opening of the Seven Seals. For examples of how these may have been depicted, see the glass of York Minster's Great East Window, panels 9a & 9e.

⁹⁶ The current anchorhold is a reconstruction but is in the same location.

⁹⁷ In 1425 (during Baguley's tenure as rector), the suffragan Bishop of Dromore was instructed to enquire into the life and condition of Emma Raughton, who wished to be enclosed as an anchorite; Joan Kirby, ed., *The York Sede Vacante Register 1423–1426: A Calendar* (Borthwick Publications, 2009), 55. The testamentary evidence shows that Raughton had been enclosed in the All Saints anchorhold by 1430 at the latest; Prob. Reg. 3, fols. 415 & 510. The reference in Margery Kempe's *Book* to anchorites of York in 1413 shows that anchorites were a normal part of life in York in this period.

Street in the late fourteenth century.⁹⁸ By 1423, Emma Raughton had received visions from the Virgin Mary, recorded in the late fifteenth-century Beauchamp Pageant as:

kyng henry was after crowned Kyng of Fraunce at Seynt Denys besides parys. // Of the which coronacion in Fraunce and also the said Erle [Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick] to have the rule of his noble persone unto he were of the age of xvj yeres' it was the will & ordenaunce of almyghty god // as o' blessed lady shewed by revelacion unto Dam Emme Rawhton Recluse at all halowes in Northgate strete of York and she said that thorowe the Reame of Englonde was no persone lorde ne other like to hym in habilitie of grace and true feithfulnesse. to vertuously norisshe & governe his noble persone accordyng to his Roial astate. // Also she put greet commendacion by the ordenaunce of god of his greet benefytes in tyme to come of devowt commers to the place of Gye clif otherwise called Gibclyff // which in processe of tyme shal growe to a place of greet worship, oon of the moost named in Englonde.⁹⁹

Raughton was sent a vision by the Virgin, according to which the Earl of Warwick should be made protector of the infant Henry VI (crowned King of England in 1422 and King of France in 1431) and should build a chapel at Guy's Cliff in Warwickshire.¹⁰⁰ This chapel was established in 1423, on the site of the hermitage of the legendary Guy of Warwick, giving a likely date of 1423 or earlier for the visions.¹⁰¹ Henry VI's birth in 1421 gives the earliest possible date for the visions, with the death of Henry V in August 1422 a more likely date considering that his son was then in need of a protector. Raughton's visions are also recorded by John Rous in the early 1480s, who says that "to her [Raughton] appery[e]d our lady vii tymes in on[e] ye[a]r".¹⁰²

After her enclosure, mentions of Raughton in wills continue until 1435, and she may have lived longer.¹⁰³ Bequests in wills demonstrate that she was supported by parishioners, and

⁹⁸ The parish was St Mary Bishophill Junior; Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 156.

⁹⁹ Alexandra Sinclair, *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2003), 55.

¹⁰⁰ For a thorough discussion of this, see Nancy Bradley Warren, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 111–12.

¹⁰¹ Guy of Warwick was a character appearing in Middle English romances who, having been a chivalric knight, feels remorse for his violence, goes on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and returns to England to live as a hermit; William B. Todd, *Guy of Warwick* (University of Texas Press, 2021). Considering the 1423 date of the chapel foundation and the 1425 inquiry into enclosing Raughton, she cannot have received these visions whilst a recluse at All Saints, North Street.

¹⁰² Quoted in Liz Herbert McAvoy, *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 81. Jonathan Hughes dates these visions to 1428; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 113.

¹⁰³ See the wills of John Richmond (Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 493), Adam Wigan (Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 363), Thomas Bracebrigg (Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 487) & Richard Russel (Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 439).

the position of her anchorhold in the churchyard abutting the church shows her physical centrality to the parish. She would have been able to hear, and possibly see, all activity in the parish church, both religious and profane. This puts an example of contemplative and prophetic life in the centre of parish life in early fifteenth-century All Saints, North Street.¹⁰⁴ Raughton was enclosed during the tenure of James Baguley, and it is difficult to imagine this would have happened without Baguley's permission. It may even have been his interest in prophecy that brought her to this parish church. The archdiocese's investigation into Raughton's enclosure also shows a care on the part of the diocesan administration that such a momentous decision should only be made by those who had the capacity for the contemplative life.¹⁰⁵ In the following section of this chapter, the two apocalyptic windows conceived and installed during Baguley's tenure, and around the time of Raughton's enclosure, will be placed within their historical context and into a clerical milieu that embraced fourteenth- and fifteenth-century enthusiasm for contemplative literature and pastoral care.¹⁰⁶

The interaction of the two apocalyptic windows creates a prophetic and contemplative narrative. Though installed in different chapels, both windows were at the eastern end of the aisle walls, facing each other across the chancel and high altar. If the two windows were conceived as part of an interlocking narrative, the top row and tracery of the Fifteen Last Days provides the climax to both stories. It also interacts with the altars below and between the windows. The chronology within the narrative presented by the windows can thus be seen as follows:

- 1) Christ died for mankind in ca.33 CE, evoked by the Host on the altars.
- 2) Above the altars, in the lowest row of the windows' glass, the fifteenth-century donors have died and are asking for prayers whilst they are in Purgatory, in which they only find themselves thanks to Christ's sacrifice. This sacrifice is referenced

¹⁰⁴ 'Prophecy' denotes images or text intending to predict the future, and 'contemplative' ways of living, images or texts that focused on considering the nature of God. Contemplation and mysticism in late medieval England were closely related.

¹⁰⁵ For late medieval English evidence of regretting entering the contemplative life, see the writings of Walter Hilton; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 100.

¹⁰⁶ For pastoral care in late medieval England (clerical and lay), see Robert Swanson, "Pastoral Care, Pastoral Cares, Pastoral Carers: Configuring the *cura pastoralis* in pre-Reformation England," in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Peter Clarke and Sarah James (Routledge, 2019), 121. As a brief definition, I use it here to refer to the ways in which late medieval priests attended to the spiritual, educational, physical and legal needs of their parishioners.

every day with the Eucharist on the altars.¹⁰⁷ The donors also need these prayers because of forthcoming eschatological events.

- 3) Moving into the main panels of the windows, the apocalypse begins at some point in the future. In the Fifteen Last Days window, the events depicted herald the end of the world. In the Revelation window, the text has been written by St John who frames St Michael's eschatological actions. These two narratives can be chronologically coexistent.
- 4) The physical height of the Revelation window ends before the final row of the Fifteen Last Days. This shifts the end of the joint narrative to the northern wall of the church. Continuing the narrative, the final, highest row in the Fifteen Last Days window shows events ending both the Fifteen Last Days and Revelation narratives; the falling of the stars, the death of mankind, and the burning of the Earth.¹⁰⁸
- 5) The Judgement at the very top of the Fifteen Last Days with Christ in Majesty at the peak of the tracery completes a narrative that stretches across the chancel, ending Revelation and the Fifteen Last Days. Christ also completes the circle, returning with the Final Judgement as the culmination of his sacrifice that began at the Last Supper/Crucifixion and is symbolised by the Eucharist on the altar far below.

Three intrinsic parts of the windows support this interpretation. Firstly, the imagery of the Revelation window, as explained in the previous section of this chapter, has a circular narrative. The temporality loops upon itself and recapitulates. The circular nature of this narrative encourages a literate audience familiar with biblical texts and their interpretation towards a circular understanding of the space around the window, where the narrative in the glass intersects again and again with the altar below it, thus pointing to the Christological culmination. Likewise, the two windows positioned at the far eastern ends of their aisles are in constant dialogue, stretching across the high altar and the mass performed there.¹⁰⁹ Secondly, the light thrown across the altars from the stained glass further physically highlights the connection between the Eucharist and Judgement. The candlelight from candles on or by the altars that runs up the borders of the glass towards the Judgement in the tracery of the Fifteen

¹⁰⁷ For the coupling of Eucharistic and apocalyptic imagery in the contemporary (1432) Ghent Altarpiece, see Natasha O'Hear, *Contrasting Images of the Book of Revelation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Art: A Case Study in Visual Exegesis* (Oxford Academic Press, 2011), 86.

¹⁰⁸ This requires some interpretation of Revelation rather than a direct quote. In Revelation 20:9, fire comes down from Heaven, like the fiery stars falling from the sky in panel thirteen. By Revelation 20:12, all men are dead, and by Revelation 21:1 the earth is gone.

¹⁰⁹ Harris, "The Iconography of Narrative," 285.

Last Days would do likewise. Finally, the physical positioning of the imagery evokes artistic depictions typical of late medieval England. In a Doom painting, often painted on the chancel arch, the left (and thus northern) part of the image shows the saved entering Heaven/New Jerusalem. This is to the left of a viewer standing in the nave or chancel, as is the Fifteen Last Days window with its Judgement scene in the tracery. Similarly, the figure of St John in the Revelation window is to the south of Christ in Last Judgement scenes, as it is in Crucifixions. This is seen, for example, in the Vienna *Horarium*.¹¹⁰ Thus, the physical positioning of the two windows supports the narrative contained in the glass.

The subject matter of these windows is eschatologically prophetic, but the donors are temporally fixed in Purgatory. Whilst Purgatory is outside human time, the prayers given to alleviate years spent suffering there shows that time must exist. Purgatorial time does however emphasise the prophetic focus in the windows as Purgatory will end at the same time as the Earth burns. Furthermore, the donors' names, and in some cases their occupations, are specified in the inscriptions. The heraldry and merchants' mark place them within their cultural milieu, and they are dressed in contemporary dress, but with graduations, particularly in the women's headdresses, that place them firmly within the time that they were alive. Thus, within the story-world of the window, they are presented as closely linked to their human time whilst also being in Purgatory. Though they will now need the prayers of the living, they are anchored to their past lives. Further anchoring is provided by the apocalyptic texts that make it clear that deceased mankind will return to their present bodies, theologically referred to in the rising of the bones in the Fifteen Last Days window, and the gendered souls weighed by St Michael in the Revelation window.

The value that the audience of the window has to the donors, exemplified in the imperative to pray for them, is likewise temporally anchored to their (the audience's) current living state. Only the prayers of living men and women can lessen the time spent in Purgatory by the souls of the deceased. This salvation-focused message is made clear in the Latin texts accompanying the donors, which include both the typical request to pray for the souls of the donors and all the faithful dead at the base of each window, and the two scrolls that issue from James Baguley and Robert Chapman in the Revelation window. These read, respectively, "deliver us" (*libera nos*) and "salvation" (*salus*), perhaps originally meant to be read as a single phrase. The focus on mankind's salvation is likewise shown in the depictions of the saved souls in both windows; at the easternmost point of the narrative in the Revelation window (and thus

¹¹⁰ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r.

closest to both the altar and the Second Coming), and in the tracery light in the Fifteen Last Days window (almost, apart from the image of Christ in Majesty, the highest glass).

In contrast, the characters in these narratives cannot be placed within a fixed temporality. In the Revelation window, St John appears as a martyr before his exile to Patmos, as the author of the Book of Revelation (written on Patmos), and as the visionary watching the apocalypse occur in an extra-temporal place of heavenly prophecy. St Michael's defeat of Satan before the beginning of time is alluded to in his presentation as the warrior angel. He is fighting the Beast from the Sea in a text from Revelation set in the future, and, further in the future, he weighs souls at the Last Judgement. His costume is a mix of antique cloak and tunic, and modern armour, further removing him from a fixed time. In the Fifteen Last Days window, the temporality is deliberately fuzzy, with a clear progression of a days through the story, but no indication (indeed a conscious lack of indication in the source *Prick of Conscience* poem) of exactly how these days relate to each other. A single night or a millennium could pass between each event.

Likewise, the narrator of the couplets in the Fifteen Last Days window is extradiegetic, apparently unaffected by the apocalyptic story.¹¹¹ This narrator could have been understood by the medieval audience as God who tells all true stories, as is made explicit at the beginning of Revelation, where the narrative comes from Christ, sent through an angel to St John.¹¹² Yet, late medieval texts show that this was not taken as a given, with, for example, the *Canterbury Tales* containing many narrators, and the *Prick of Conscience* opening with a request that God "Be wyth us and us help".¹¹³ The narrative voice in the poem is "us", so human like the reader. In these late medieval texts, the divine being may be the ultimate source of the narrative (as in Revelation), but there is also an "agent who is part of the story-world and whose task it is to report from within it on events in this world which are real or actual for him".¹¹⁴

Whilst the author and the narrator's voice need not be identical, the author of the *Prick of Conscience* poem was identified in the fifteenth century as Richard Rolle of Hampole (ca.1300–49).¹¹⁵ Rolle was an English mystic who was born about 43 kilometres north-east of

¹¹¹ For an overview of narratological theories on narrators, see Uri Margolin, "Narrator," in *Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier and Wolf Schmid (De Gruyter, 2014), most pertinently for this discussion "for a claim [part of a story] to be made, there needs to be an agent who makes this claim, hence the narrator", 647. It is presumed that there is a narrator to the story in the windows because the story is told.

¹¹² Revelation 1:1.

¹¹³ Morey, *The Prick of Conscience*, Entre, line 5.

¹¹⁴ Margolin, "Narrator," 650.

¹¹⁵ Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, "Richard Rolle, English Writer," in *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle* (Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 11.

York, studied at the University of Oxford, then became a hermit in various locations in Yorkshire.¹¹⁶ He died in 1349, at Michaelmas. His subsequent popularity in late medieval York can be seen in the number of his works owned by clerics and laity.¹¹⁷ During the unsuccessful process towards his canonisation, the feast of St Michael was designated as Rolle's feast day.¹¹⁸ A tentative connection can therefore be made between Rolle and both apocalyptic windows in All Saints, North Street: his feast day of St Michael is referenced by the Revelation window, and he was thought to be the author of the *Prick of Conscience* couplets in the Fifteen Last Days window. Rolle wrote biblical commentaries and didactic works, including on the apocalypse, and (perhaps surprisingly for a hermit and mystic) satire.¹¹⁹ His work shows a repeated interest in the salvation of those who truly contemplate Christ.¹²⁰ Rolle's unfinished commentary on the apocalypse will be returned to in more detail in the next chapter, but for the purposes of this discussion it will suffice to say that he connects the four living creatures to the four evangelists, and the eagle specifically to feeling the joy of divine love in the present through contemplation and later reaching salvation.¹²¹

The future tense text used in the couplets in the Fifteen Last Days window and drawn from the *Prick of Conscience* poem reinforces the idea of a narrator in the past or present, looking into the future as he describes the events of the apocalypse.¹²² As described above, this need not be so; the text at Walbourg describes the events of the Fifteen Last Days as if they are currently happening. Though it is difficult to make any confident conclusions about the Revelation window as the central panel is missing (if it ever existed as pictorial stained glass), the donors, audience and therefore also potentially the narrator are placed between two narratives, one in the antique past and the other in the eschatological future (though the fight against evil is continuous throughout time). Thus, it is possible that the narrator of both or either

¹¹⁶ Denis Renevey, "1215–1349: Texts," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, ed. Samuel Fanous and Vincent Gillespie (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 105.

¹¹⁷ Andrew Albin and Andrew Kraebel, "Introduction," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1045–47; & Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 93.

¹¹⁸ For Rolle's reception as a popular saint, see Vincent Gillespie, "The Nearly Man: 'Saint' Richard Rolle and his Textual Cult," in *Saints and Cults in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2015 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Susan Powell (Shaun Tyas, 2017), 159.

¹¹⁹ Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5.

¹²⁰ William F. Pollard, "Richard Rolle and the 'Eye of the Heart'," in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England*, ed. William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig (Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 101–02.

¹²¹ Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Robert Boenig (University of Salzburg, 1984), 182–83. The commentary breaks off at the beginning of chapter 6, before the other Revelation events in this chapter are discussed. Other chapters appear as fragments accompanying other Rolle texts; Andrew Kraebel, "Hermit Libraries: Material Sources and the Making of Richard Rolle's Prose," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1092. For Rolle's interest in prophecy in his Latin works, see Watson, *Invention*, 99.

¹²² To use more precise, if unnecessarily obscure terminology, his is the narrating time, denoting the "spatiotemporal position of the narrative voice"; Scheffel et al., "Time," 869.

window was intended to be understood as Rolle writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, in a point between the biblical world and the apocalypse.¹²³ This is not to say that either of the apocalyptic windows need an identified narrator, but it is interesting to consider how their assumed narrator may have been chosen by the designers to temporally situate the narrative.¹²⁴

Returning to the Scrope revolt, it should first be emphasised that if the windows were perceived as being narrated by Rolle, then the composition of the story is placed in the recent past and narrated by a figure who was in the process of being canonised. This is the same situation as Scrope: more recently dead than Rolle, but likewise in the process of being canonised. Both presumed future saints (or current saints since God knew who was canonised even if the Church had not completed the human acknowledgement) were natives of North Yorkshire, as is referred to by the use of local dialect in the Fifteen Last Days window, a language that both men spoke.¹²⁵ Scrope had been rector of a parish where Rolle's protegee was a recluse, and the Scrope family were early patrons of Rolle's work, perhaps influencing the young archbishop, and certainly connecting the family to mystical tradition.¹²⁶ Jeremy Catto has even suggested that the *Vernon Manuscript*, which contains the *Prick of Conscience*, was put together at Scrope's bequest.¹²⁷

A further connection between Archbishop Scrope and prophecy is seen in his association with St John of Bridlington (1320–79), another fourteenth-century Yorkshireman who was canonised, in Bridlington's case with papal approval.¹²⁸ In 1404, Scrope presided over

¹²³ It should be noted here that, "the narrated story and the act of narration are both necessarily intertwined with time"; Scheffel et al., "Time," 879.

¹²⁴ It is of course also true that, if considering the reception, this narrator may vary according to the audience; the modern viewer would not assume Rolle since he has been shown not to be the author of the *Prick of Conscience* (and the casual viewer would not know that he ever had been, or indeed who Rolle is).

¹²⁵ Due to the unique survival of a medieval window with a large amount of vernacular text within a geographical area with extremely locally specific dialects, it is difficult to find a corresponding example of vernacular text within a publicly accessible artwork. The use of Yorkshire dialect in poems about Scrope may be the most helpful example; Stephen K. Wright, ed., "That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 113–14.

¹²⁶ Jeremy Catto, "1349–1412: Culture and History," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism*, ed. Samuel Fanous and Vincent Gillespie (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 113 & 124. For example, Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, attempted to bequeath to his cousin, Henry Fitz Hugh in 1415 books containing "incendium Amoris that Richard the Hermit [Richard Rolle] composed, and . . . an exposition on *Judica me Deus* that Richard the Hermit composed and wrote" (incendium Amoris, *quem Richardus Heremita composuit, & . . . expositio super Judica me Deus, quod Richardus Heremita composuit & scripsit*); *Foedera*, 272–80. The will was negated due to Scrope's execution as a traitor.

¹²⁷ Catto, "1349–1412: Culture and History," 125–26, drawing his argument from A. I. Doyle, "The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Russell Hope Robbins*, ed. B. Rowland (Allen and Unwin, 1974), 334.

¹²⁸ Born John Tweng in East Yorkshire in the early fourteenth-century, St John of Bridlington was a graduate of the University of Oxford, an Augustinian canon, and after his death believed to be a prophet. With the support of successive archbishops of York, he was canonized in 1401 and his priory at Bridlington became a site of

the translation of John of Bridlington's relics, and his nephew Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham left (in a will that was never put into practice due to Henry Scrope's execution as a traitor) "one collar of gold, with white swans and small flowers" to Bridlington's tomb.¹²⁹ Furthermore, Bridlington's prophecies were connected by chroniclers to Scrope's martyrdom:

Bridlington's prophecy seemed to have been fulfilled,
'They [the Lancastrians] negotiated peace, but were secretly transacting a trap';
and on the death of the archbishop, which followed soon after
'No money will save that prelate from his fate.'¹³⁰

The poem from which this appears to be drawn is an allegory of a rooster and a bull, playing on the connection between Gallus and Gaul to denigrate the French and Flemish, and referring in the original context to the Hundred Years War and Edward of Woodstock, the Black Prince.¹³¹ In the 1405 context, it is potentially applicable to Scrope's revolt through a possible association with the Percy family.¹³² Either way, the chronicler believed, or wanted his reader to believe, that Bridlington had prophesied Scrope's betrayal on Shipton Moor. Scrope is also connected to the prophet and anchorite Emma Raughton through their joint appearance in the Beauchamp Pageant, where Scrope is shown at the Earl of Warwick's baptism as his godfather and as "seynt".¹³³ Completing the circle connecting these prophetic events, Bridlington appears in a stained-glass window in the earl's chantry chapel in Warwick.

These three clerics and popular saints (Rolle, Bridlington and Scrope) were all born in fourteenth-century Yorkshire, albeit with around fifty years between Rolle's and Scrope's likely dates of birth. Jonathan Hughes has argued that York Minster became a significant centre of scholarship from around 1390, drawing in Yorkshire-born clerics partly as a result of interest

pilgrimage until the Reformation; Catherine Sanok, "John of Bridlington, Mitred Prior and Model of the Mixed Life," in *Religious Men and Masculine Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 143.

¹²⁹ "Unum Colarum de Auro, cum Cignis albis & parvis Floribus", quoted in *Foedera*, 272–80.

¹³⁰ Henry Thomas Riley, ed., "Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae," in *Chronica et Annales: AD 1259–1296, 1307–1324, 1392–1406* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 407; & Thomas Walsingham *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham. 1394–1422*, trans. and ed. John Taylor (Clarendon Press, 2011), 448–49; "videbatur impleta prophetia Bridlingtonse, // 'Pacem tractabant, sed fraudem subter arabant' // et in morte Archiepiscopi, que cito postea secuta est // 'Pro nulla marca saluabitur ille ierarcha.'" For these prophecies, see Michael Curley, "The Cloak of Anonymity and the Prophecy of John of Bridlington," *Modern Philology* 77 (1980): 361–69.

¹³¹ Thomas Wright ed., "John of Bridlington," in *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III to That of Richard III* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 203–04.

¹³² Victoria Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune* (D. S. Brewer, 2016), 174.

¹³³ Sinclair, *The Beauchamp Pageant*, 25; & Sanok, "John of Bridlington," 144.

in Rolle's teachings.¹³⁴ He suggests that Rolle's works were introduced to the circle around successive archbishops of York by Richard Scrope before his own promotion to his first bishopric (Coventry and Lichfield), and demonstrates that these clerical connections were fundamental to improvements in pastoral care in the diocese seen ca.1370–1450.¹³⁵ The 1404 translation of John of Bridlington's relics should be seen as part of the promotion of a mixed life (active and contemplative) by members of this clerical circle, where contemplation was desired but the virtues of a good man leading an active life were also acknowledged.¹³⁶ Richard Scrope's interest in the contemplative life can still be seen in an inscription recording his donation over the door of the first cell of the Carthusian priory at Mount Grace, North Yorkshire.¹³⁷

Robert Alne has been identified as part of Scrope's intellectual circle and, as a fellow northern, university-educated cleric, it is possible that James Baguley was too.¹³⁸ John Bawtre has also been connected to the early stages of this circle.¹³⁹ Even if Bawtre was not interested in pastoral care to the same level as men in this circle, he provided a connection between the parish of All Saints and the Minster, and was potentially a conduit for an interest in the contemplative life and a focus on pastoral care that influenced the parishioners of All Saints, North Street. Furthermore, Robert Alne's cousin was a monk at the Carthusian priory in London, and Alne left him a copy of Henry Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*, an undoubtedly contemplative text that was, in fifteenth-century England, closely associated with the work of Richard Rolle.¹⁴⁰ Finally, Emma Raughton's enclosure in the parish anchorhold in 1425 no doubt increased local interest in contemplative devotion.

Indeed, as both Baguley and Alne were educated in canon law and Alne was buried in All Saints, North Street, it seems impossible that they were not at least acquainted, and a friendship built on mutual interests can be postulated. Baguley and Alne both bequeathed books concerned with music, perhaps reflecting their shared adherence to Rolle's belief that "at the

¹³⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 201. See also, Michele Campopiano, "The Reception of Italian Political Theory in Northern England: Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Giles of Rome in York," in *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Helen Fulton (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 62.

¹³⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 203.

¹³⁶ Sanok, "John of Bridlington," 152–53. For the reception of active and passive lives in late medieval Yorkshire, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 114–16.

¹³⁷ The *Livre de la Vigne Nostre Seigneur* was also produced, as explained more fully in Chapter 3, in or near to a Carthusian house; Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 162.

¹³⁸ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 200.

¹³⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 203.

¹⁴⁰ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 382; & Roger Lovatt, "The Library of John Blacman and Contemporary Carthusian Spirituality," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43, no. 2 (1992): 211–12; & Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 104–05.

apex of contemplation all thought turns to melody”.¹⁴¹ Alne owned a copy of Rolle’s *Melos amoris*,¹⁴² and it is tempting to identify Baguley’s bequest of “a book of Canticles with a silver clasp” (*unum librū de Canticis cum glaspys argenti*) as Rolle’s *Super Canticum Canticorum*, but it is more likely that this was simply a book containing songs.¹⁴³ However, the Scrope family certainly maintained their interest in Rolle’s works throughout the late fourteenth and in to the fifteenth century, owning texts including the mis-attributed *Prick of Conscience*.¹⁴⁴ Their presence in the city of York, with a townhouse a few metres from North Street in the early fifteenth century, increased the likelihood of the circulation of texts, conversation and meditation upon Rolle, prophecy and the contemplative life in parish. There is also undoubtable evidence of a sustained interest in the works of St Bridget of Sweden in the Micklegate area, further showing enthusiasm for visions and the contemplative life, and closely connected to the burgeoning Scrope cult.¹⁴⁵ Uppsala C 621, likely produced in York soon after 1408, also combines Carthusian and Birgittine devotion with texts by Rolle and a poem celebrating Scrope (as well as a reference to the *Prick of Conscience*).¹⁴⁶ Specifically in All Saints, Emma Raughton was acclaimed as a prophet before and after her enclosure in the anchorhold and James Baguley also bequeathed a book of ballads, suggesting an interest in the vernacular that may have included the *Prick of Conscience*.¹⁴⁷ Parishioners of the church owned at least one copy of the *Prick of Conscience*, as well as the Bolton Hours with its Scrope imagery, and other copies were circulating in the city.

It is perhaps significant, either as a reflection of the reality of Franciscan millenarianism or the tropes used by chroniclers, that the Franciscan friars were singled out for their role in Scrope’s revolt. The friars of York marched out in support of their archbishop, and the continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum* records that eighteen Franciscan friars were stripped

¹⁴¹ Pollard “Richard Rolle,” 103. For Rolle’s understanding of *canor* as the height of exaltation, see Nicholas Watson, “Translation and Self-Canonization,” in *The Medieval Translator: the Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger H. Ellis (Brewer, 1989), 170–71.

¹⁴² Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 682. This is not undisputedly the *Melos amoris*, and may instead be a song addressed to the Virgin, but, in the context of the other evidence in the church, and the evidence of awareness of *canor* detailed in this dissertation, it seems likely that Alne owned a copy of Rolle’s *Melos amoris*. For a consideration of the structure and language of this “strange work”, see Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350–1550)* (Herder & Herder, 2012), 345–63.

¹⁴³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17. For a consideration of Rolle’s canticle commentary, see Pollard, “Richard Rolle,” 100–04.

¹⁴⁴ Catto, “1349–1412: Culture and History,” 124.

¹⁴⁵ Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere,” in *Household, Women, and Christianities: In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Brepols, 2005), 251–52. When he died in 1467, Baguley’s successor as parish rector bequeathed a book of Bridget, presumably her *Revelations*; Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 233.

¹⁴⁶ Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, C 621.

¹⁴⁷ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17.

of their clothes by the Earl of Westmorland's men during the dispersal of Scrope's forces from Shipton Moor.¹⁴⁸ The twelfth-century Joachim of Fiore, the most influential apocalyptic prophet in medieval Europe, was embraced by many Franciscans (though not by other orders and all popes), and the apocalypse commentators Alexander Minorita and Nicholas of Lyra were both Friars Minor.¹⁴⁹ No evidence survives of, for example the library of York's Franciscan's friary, to show how closely these fifteenth-century friars may have associated themselves with apocalyptic thought, but it is possible to suggest that the Franciscans had a similar library to the Austin friars, including apocalyptic literature (see Appendix 3).¹⁵⁰

Further tangible connections between Scrope and the friars of York can be seen in the burial of Thomas Mowbray, executed alongside Scrope, at the York's Franciscan Friary.¹⁵¹ In All Saints, North Street, late fourteenth and fifteenth-century parishioners left many cash bequests to the friars of York, as well as more personal gifts, including, for example, a feather bed to each of the four friaries.¹⁵² Furthering this, the son of mayor and prominent All Saints parishioner Robert Savage was a friar at the time of his father's death in 1391, with Robert Savage respecting his son's vows of poverty to the extent that he left him a significant amount of money only to be paid out for education.¹⁵³ Finally, the remarkable survival of a catalogue

¹⁴⁸ Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis)*, vol. 3 (London, 1863), 407. Dominican friars also appear to have been involved; *CPR 1405–8*, 38. Prior to the rebellion, friars across England had been accused by royal government of spreading rumours regarding Richard II's return; Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 210. They were particularly accused of spreading propaganda on behalf of the Scottish king, thus making their behaviour especially treasonous; Simon Walker, "Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest in the Reign of Henry IV," *Past & Present* 166 (Feb. 2000): 53–54.

¹⁴⁹ Majorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 72–73; & Morgan, *Douce Apocalypse*, 18. For the life of Nicholas of Lyra, see Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith, eds., "Introduction," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Brill, 2000), 1–2. In the fourteenth century, the Franciscan John of Rupescissa predicted the imminent apocalypse, including rebellion against unjust lords and a Franciscan Angelic Pope. Likewise, the Franciscan Peter Olivi calculated a seven-hundred-year period of millenarian peace; Leah DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, 2009), 36–38. For other Franciscan apocalyptic commentaries, see Krey, "Nicholas of Lyra," 53–55.

¹⁵⁰ Michael J. P. Robson, "The Franciscan Heritage in England (c. 1240–c. 1350)," in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224–c.1350)*, ed. M. Robson (Brill, 2017), 464. Support for this can be found elsewhere in England, in the prophecies produced by Franciscans in the earliest years of the fifteenth century; Victoria Flood, "Political Joachimism and the English Franciscans: The Rumour of Richard II's Return," in *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Helen Fulton (Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 128. All of the surviving manuscript evidence of Franciscan manuscripts with prophecies is from the south of England, though this does not mean there were none in the north.

¹⁵¹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 312

¹⁵² In 1407, William Vesey left 20 shillings to each of the four friaries of York; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 266. Nicholas Blakburn left the same amount in 1431; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 605. Alice Pund left the feather beds; Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 16.

¹⁵³ Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 17. For York clerics of the early fifteenth century reading works by Franciscan friars, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 229. He does not note the apocalyptic content of Lyra's text, focusing instead on the gospels. Oddly, Rolle's commentary on the Book of Revelation is not mentioned at all in Hughes' book; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 83. Hughes likewise ignores the apocalyptic nature of texts such as *Pearl*; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 246.

of more than 2100 works in the late fourteenth-century library of the York Austin friars and John Erghome shows, alongside texts concerning biblical and patristic commentaries, a strong interest in prophetic books (Appendix 3) This included apocalyptic works by Joachim of Fiore. Erghome even wrote a commentary on the prophecies of John of Bridlington and left two copies of this in the friary's library.¹⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, considering the total size of the recorded library at more than 600 texts, it contained commentaries on the apocalypse, probably available for loan to the clerics of the city (see Appendix 3 for a list).¹⁵⁵

Clerical knowledge is key to understanding the apocalyptic glass of All Saints, North Street. The narrative in the Revelation window differs in one key respect from that in the Fifteen Last Days window; understanding the story necessitates knowledge of the life of St John the Evangelist/of Patmos and the chronology of Revelation. The Fifteen Last Days narrative does not necessitate this, and the difference between these two windows reflects the spaces in which they were placed. The Fifteen Last Days window was in the Lady Chapel, an area likely to have been open to all due to the centrality of the Virgin Mary to medieval Christianity.¹⁵⁶ The art in this part of the church reflects this, with the chapel also containing the St Anne window where the mother of Mary is depicted as a fifteenth-century lay woman teaching her daughter to read. The Revelation window was installed in a different area, above or next to the St Katherine and St Nicholas altar(s), in the south chapel of the church. It is impossible to say with certainty how open this part of the church was. However, the dedication of the altar to the scholarly Katherine, the bishop-saint Nicholas, the anchorhold constructed overlooking this aisle, and the burial of priests here suggests an area associated with clerical learning.¹⁵⁷ Thus, this would be the appropriate space in which to install a window with a narrative that necessitated substantial biblical or literary knowledge.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ James Willoughby, "John Erghome and the Library of the Austin Friars of York," in *Middle English Manuscripts and their Legacies*, ed. Corinne Saunders and Richard Lawrie (Brill, 2022), 96.

¹⁵⁵ These include Joachim of Fiore's prophetic apocalypse commentary, several items on the signs of Antichrist, and the satirical *Apocalypse Golie*; see Appendix 3.

¹⁵⁶ For the importance placed on the Virgin in late medieval England, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (Yale University Press, 1992); & Warren, *Spiritual Economies*, 113.

¹⁵⁷ The known clerical burials were Robert Alne, John Richmond, & Christopher Doble; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 682; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 510; & Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 94. It could be argued that both the Fifteen Last Days and the Revelation windows should be seen as clerical gifts as priests had responsibility for the decoration of chancels; Claire Dauntton, "The Priest and the Patronage of Stained Glass in Late Medieval Norfolk," in *Pastoral Care in Medieval England*, ed. Peter Clarke and Sarah James (Routledge, 2019), 203. However, the lay donor figures in these two windows, as well as the St Anne window that was at the chancel end of the church suggests that this was not a rule. For apocalyptic glass in the chancel of a Norfolk church, see the chapter cited above, page 214.

¹⁵⁸ It could be claimed that the laity were very aware of these stories due to plays and sermons. However, an examination of the surviving text from the York Mystery Plays does not support this; there is very little reference to the events of Revelation. The *Prick of Conscience* poem, considering the over 130 texts it survives in, might

Robert Alne was buried in the St Katherine and Nicholas chapel in All Saints, North Street, in the same year as Baguley (who was, as parish priest, buried in the chancel). If Alne was a protégé of Scrope, as suggested by Jonathan Hughes, then the similarity between his burial below an apocalyptic window and Scrope's burial below the apocalyptic window of York Minster is striking. It is tempting to postulate that Alne may have been the third donor of the Revelation window, appearing the now lost centre panel, perhaps with his parents. It is likewise possible that he and his brother William, along with their parents were the three male and one female figure seen by Johnston in the third donor panel, particularly as the name "Alice" was recorded by Johnston, and Robert's Alne mother was called Alice.¹⁵⁹ Alne certainly had the financial means to contribute to the window, as well as a connection to both the parish church and the chapel in which the window was installed. He also had the education to contribute to the theological narrative in the glass and, assuming the reference to Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on the New Testament in his will does include the commentary on Revelation, an interest in the apocalypse.¹⁶⁰ Finally, he returned to York in 1421 and therefore would have been present when the window was made, assuming this occurred after Robert Chapman's entry to the freedom of the city in 1424.¹⁶¹ It is therefore tempting to speculate that these windows and the stories within them may have emerged from a theological discussion between two very well-educated priests who had spent their life within a clerical milieu centred around York Minster, focused on pastoral teaching and a contemplative search for salvation.¹⁶²

These clerics and pious laity were interested in how to live a good life, and the apocalyptic windows in All Saints, North Street are part of a stage of this process: why to live a good life. They draw on contemporary enthusiasm for mysticism, contemplation, and prophecy; three areas that intersect.¹⁶³ Jonathan Hughes has explored how the teachings of

have been their greatest exposure to these narratives. However, for the poor and/or illiterate, this would require having heard it read out, possibly multiple times to create firm memories of the narrative.

¹⁵⁹ Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 155.

¹⁶⁰ Peterhouse's (of which Alne was a fellow) copy of Lyra's *Super Novum Testamentum* included the apocalypse; James and Clark. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse*, no. 20, 41. For a description of Nicholas of Lyra's apocalypse commentary, see Philip Krey, "The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History," in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Brill, 2000), 273–75.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 3 for the dating of the window.

¹⁶² Baguley and Alne even died within a few months of each other, suggesting two men of a similar age.

¹⁶³ For this in Yorkshire, see Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*. In England in general, there is a large and varied body of scholarship. For surveys, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*; Pollard, "Richard Rolle and the 'Eye of the Heart'"; & L. Nelstrop and H. Appleton, *Art and Mysticism: Interfaces in the Medieval and Modern Periods* (Routledge, 2018). For texts and their analysis, see Watson, *Invention*; Justin M. Byron-Davies, *Revelation and the Apocalypse in Late Medieval Literature: The Writings of Julian of Norwich and William Langland* (University of Wales Press, 2020); Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Barry A. Windeatt (Penguin Books, 1994); David Lavinsky, "'Speke to me be thowt': Affectivity, *Incendium Amoris*, and the *Book of Margery*

Rolle and other northern mystics were applied to pastoral care in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Yorkshire. He highlights doubts “about the implications of some of Rolle’s teachings when taken out of context and applied too literally by the less educated”.¹⁶⁴ The presentation of the narratives in these two windows plays into these doubts. The narrative which is easiest to understand — the Fifteen Last Days — is presented as a simple story, understandable to all, whilst the more complicated, biblical and prophetic text from Revelation is presented in a narrative that requires theological education. The potentially harmful effects of prophetic texts on uneducated minds are thus mitigated, whilst still teaching the educated.

It is perhaps too speculative to call the Fifteen Last Days window a children’s apocalypse, not least due to the nature of the subject matter.¹⁶⁵ However, two pieces of evidence suggest this is a matter worth pursuing. Firstly, the Fifteen Last Days window is located next to the St Anne window in the south wall of the church and in the Lady Chapel. In the central panel of this window, St Anne holds open a book with which she is teaching the Virgin, depicted as a young girl, to read. This window has been interpreted by Sarah Pedersen as “reflect[ing] a concern with literacy and knowledge of the Word of God on the part of the Blackburns”.¹⁶⁶ The other panels in the same window show St Christopher with the Christ Child, reinforcing the focus on family, and St John the Baptist, holding a book and a lamb. This is both a family allusion, with St John the Baptist as the cousin of Christ, and an apocalyptic allusion as the lamb is a key character in the Book of Revelation. The second piece of evidence in support of this association is, sadly, the children buried before this window. Nicholas Blackburn junior, one of the donors of the St Anne window, asked to be buried in the Lady Chapel next to the bodies of his children.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, a 2012 archaeological dig found a women and child buried together in the southeastern corner of the chapel, next to the border with the chancel. Added to this is the potential existence of a school in the parish, for the benefit of which Baguley left a Latin-English dictionary.¹⁶⁸ Finally, it has been shown that part of the Bolton Hours was a

Kempe,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 112, no. 3 (2013): 340–64; & Nicholas Watson, “Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1159. For late medieval stained glass promoting an educational agenda, see Veronika Decker, “In the Vineyard of the Lord: Art, Imagination, and the Stained Glass Commissions of William of Wykeham in Fourteenth-Century English Colleges,” *British Art Studies* 6 (2017): 1–33. The full analysis of this subject is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 127.

¹⁶⁵ Using the subject matter of the Fifteen Last Days – the end of the world – to introduce the history of salvation will not be surprising to anyone who, in the present day or recent past, has met a seven-year-old boy.

¹⁶⁶ Sarah Pedersen, “Piety and Charity in the Painted Glass of Late Medieval York,” *Northern History* 36, no. 1 (2000): 36. See also Rees Jones and Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York,” 249.

¹⁶⁷ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 168.

¹⁶⁸ In 1430 (will proved 1437), John Richmond left 4 pence to the boys singing in All Saints, whilst ten years later Baguley left 3 pence to every little clerk ministering in the church; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 510; & Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17. By 1535, a school is very likely to have been operating around the church, led by the then rector Richard Oliver,

manuscript used to teach children to read, owned by a parish family and teaching their daughters with Scrope imagery.¹⁶⁹ The combination of this evidence suggests a milieu into which a window designed to teach children to read would readily fit.¹⁷⁰

Supporting this, the texts in the window are simple and easy to read.¹⁷¹ They do not show the allegorical alliteration of much of English late medieval poetry, where the reader or listener is invited to think deeply about what they are hearing.¹⁷² Instead, the couplets flow with a consistent rhythm and there are no unnatural caesurae to force the reader to pay attention to a particular word. The window is simple enough, with its English text, short sentences, and simple tense usage, to teach children to read. Adding to this, the couplets rhyme in such a way that they are easy to remember, thus the viewer could read the window without sophisticated literacy. They can remember the couplets, aided by the use of simple rhyming vernacular and matching images.¹⁷³ This may explain some of the changes made from the source *Prick of Conscience* poem, probably (not least due to its length of 10,000 lines) not made for children.

It is therefore the contention of this chapter that both of the apocalyptic windows were designed with pastoral care in mind.¹⁷⁴ Namely, that the designers of these windows were motivated by a desire to save the souls of those who saw them. This fits with the long-proposed argument that stained-glass windows (and other art within the medieval church) were “Bibles of the laity”.¹⁷⁵ The ways in which these ‘bibles’ were designed varied according to the

and the presence of Oliver’s school in the parish is used by J. H. Moran to support the existence of an All Saints school in the fifteenth century; J. H. Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling: 1340–1548* (Princeton University Press, 1985), 11 & 19. Baguley left a “Medulla grammatica” to be chained in the choir; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17r. For more details on this volume, see Gabriele Stein, *The English Dictionary before Cawdrey* (De Gruyter, 1985), 74–90. Moran also sees Baguley’s bequest as evidence supporting the existence of the school; Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling*, 17.

¹⁶⁹ Kathryn M. Rudy, “The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. MS. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model,” in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 280.

¹⁷⁰ According to Tina Boyer, “the *Fifteen Signs* [blockbook] could have very well been used in an educational environment” in fifteenth-century Germany; Tina Boyer, “The Miracles of the Antichrist,” in *The End-Time in Medieval German Literature: Sin, Evil, and the Apocalypse* (Camden House, 2019), 239. There is no reason that this could not have been the case in fifteenth-century England.

¹⁷¹ Sue Powell refers to “learnable lists” in her brief consideration of the text in the Fifteen Last Days window, but does not develop the point further; Sue Powell, “All Saints’ Church, North Street, York: Text and Image in the Pricke of Conscience Window,” in *Prophecy, Apocalypse, and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nigel Morgan (Shaun Tyas, 2004), 307.

¹⁷² Carruthers, “Time, Apocalypse, and the Plot of Piers Plowman,” 188.

¹⁷³ R. Bartal, “The Pepys Apocalypse (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS. Pepys 1803) and the Readership of Religious Women,” *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 360. For poetry as a key means of teaching children to read, see Christopher Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature: England, 1300–1400* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

¹⁷⁴ For this in an earlier context, see Deirdre Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁷⁵ Madeline H. Caviness, “Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?” in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 147.

audience. The narrative windows of, in particular, the great churches of medieval France have been seen as reflecting the literary milieu in which they were created. For these French cathedrals and royal chapels, this meant that the narratives in the glass were integrated into a twelfth- and thirteenth-century culture which prized vernacular romances.¹⁷⁶ The literary culture of late medieval England was different, with *Piers Plowman*, *Pearl*, *The Canterbury Tales*, Rolle's writings and, most popularly of all, the *Prick of Conscience* being vernacular texts that were concerned with eschatology. Eschatology thus can form the basis for the narratives in the fifteenth-century glass of All Saints, North Street. Stained glass continued to reflect the literary culture in which it was created, and to teach through interacting with this culture.

It is possible to imagine James Baguley, perhaps with the assistance of Robert Alne or with other members of the parish, creating a schema drawing on the contemplative and prophetic works of Rolle known to have been circulating amongst parishioners and others in the immediate vicinity of the parish. This group of clerics may include the possible priestly donor, Abel Hesyl, of the Fifteen Last Days window, though the uncertainty concerning both his identity and his presence in York makes this difficult to confidently argue for. This interest in contemplation and prophecy does however explain the choice of the *Prick of Conscience* poem for the Fifteen Last Days window. The designer(s) chose a popular text in order to appeal to a wide audience and, based on numbers of surviving manuscripts, no text was more popular than the *Prick of Conscience*. The Fifteen Last Days window with its simple story could be used to introduce children to the necessity of salvation, whilst the Revelation window was intended to inform those more educated and more interested in their own salvation, engaging their interest through a complex and more biblically sophisticated narrative. This schema for both windows was thus focused on the salvation of the priest's flock in the most appropriate manner.¹⁷⁷

The study of the temporality within the narratives of these windows, whilst important in its own right and revealing narratives designed to engage different types of viewers, exposes the differences in sophistication within the stories, and thus the motivations of the designers of the windows. In light of process of reconciliation and negotiation explored in the previous chapter, it can be suggested that this interest in salvation on the part of the designers was

¹⁷⁶ Caviness, "Biblical Stories", 147; & Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass*, 135.

¹⁷⁷ The same concerns can be seen in other windows in this church; the teaching shown in the St Anne window, the Corporal Acts of Mercy window and its relation to Judgement, the Nine Orders of Angels which recreates Rolle's ideas of angelic love, and the Doubting Thomas window, with its emphasis on the power of belief.

prompted by their experiences of the Scrope revolt and the cult that emerged from it. The next chapter of this dissertation will identify Scrope imagery and devotion in the motivations of the donors and situate it within this pastoral purpose.

6. Narrative Space in the Apocalyptic Glass

Narrative space can be defined as “the environment in which story-internal characters move about and live”, and more specifically “the demarcated space of the represented storyworld, including objects (such as houses, tables, chairs) or other entities (such as fog) that are part of the setting”.¹ For Gerald Prince, in narratives where space is defined (as opposed to those without a setting), “the place of narration sometimes functions thematically, structurally or as a characterization device”.² The extent to which this is true of the apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street will be investigated in this chapter. Like in the previous chapter, the narratives in the Fifteen Last Days and Revelation windows will first be examined individually. More so than the previous chapter, connections to the Scrope cult will be shown. The discussion will then culminate in an exploration of the theme of judgement, both profane and divine, in the narratives of these windows. It will build on the conclusions of the preceding two chapters and argue that judgement is thematically one area in which the apocalypse and Scrope cult intersect.

Narratological analysis of medieval art has rarely focused on space within pictorial narratives, at least in part because many medieval images do not have a defined environment.³ Wolfgang Kemp’s seminal work on narratives in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century glass of Chartres Cathedral found that these windows had “no concept of psychological or topographical realism”.⁴ All narrative action was in the body of the subject of the art, implying movement, and thus temporality, but very little in the way of narrative space. According to Belting, with reference to narratives in frescoes in Assisi and Padua, around 1300 this changed. From the fourteenth century, “the Bible was being retold in a novel-like form that invited the reader’s empathy and offered not only information on details but also stimuli to sympathetic and affective participation”.⁵ These details created a narrative space in both texts and images. Alys Jordan’s study of the windows of Sainte-Chapelle freely acknowledges that the

¹ Sabine Buchholz and Jahn Buchholz, “Space in Narrative,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, ed. David Herman (Routledge, 2005); & Jan Alber, *Unnatural Narrative: Impossible Worlds in Fiction and Drama* (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 185.

² Gerald Prince, *Narratology: The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Mouton, 1982), 33.

³ See, for example, Werner Wolf’s narratological analysis of the Laokoon sculpture: “the setting of a sculpture can at best be hinted at”; Werner Wolf, “Narratology and Media(lity): The Transmedial Expansion of a Literary Discipline and Possible Consequences,” in *Current Trends in Narratology*, ed. Greta Olson (De Gruyter, 2011), 151.

⁴ Wolfgang Kemp, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 220.

⁵ Hans Belting, “The New Role of Narrative in Public Painting of the Trecento: *Historia* and Allegory,” in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson (National Gallery of Art, 1985), 152.

identification of a story-world in this glass is made difficult by general arrangements rather than specific scenes, but identifies Capetian heraldry as the backdrop and frame to biblical narratives, making Louis IX of France part of the story told in the glass.⁶ Suzanne Lewis sees the use of space in Gothic apocalypse illustrations as emphasising the allegorical rather than plot-driven intention of the narratives.⁷ It should be noted that all of these examples draw on twelfth, thirteenth and very early fourteenth-century evidence. Narratological analysis of early fifteenth-century art, before it can be defined as Renaissance, has yet to be widely undertaken.

6.1. Narrative Space in the Fifteen Last Days Window

The Fifteen Last Days window in the church of All Saints, North Street presents a relatively simple temporal narrative, with the signs of the end of the world occurring over fifteen not necessarily consecutive days, starting with a rising flood and ending with the destruction of earth. The temporal simplicity of the story makes the narrative accessible to a broad audience. This ease of access is continued in the narrative space of the window, firmly located in late medieval York through a flat landscape, local flora and fauna, the style of the objects, and heraldry.

The first narrative panel of the Fifteen Last Days window shows floodwaters just beginning to rise across a noticeably flat land (Figure 41). The text tells the literate viewer that the water will rise to forty cubits above the mountains. The horizon in the image is level (though a section is obscured by leading), and the land is grassy.⁸ This flat land is not proscribed by theology or tradition, and it would not have been surprising had the story of the Fifteen Last Days been set against an imagined version of the Holy Land. Other versions of the fifteen last days are depicted in mountainous landscapes evoking Mount Sion or similarly biblical lands.⁹ For example, the fifteen last days depiction in the ca.1390 glass of St Martha's, Nuremberg is set in a mountainous land (not northern Bavaria), as are scenes in MS. Douce 134.¹⁰ The

⁶ Alyce A. Jordan, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Brepols, 2002), 6 & 73–74.

⁷ Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 267, 269 & 336.

⁸ This does not match the current glass in the window. The description is instead based upon Johnston's 1659 sketch, complemented by the surviving medieval glass.

⁹ For a fifteenth-century English image of a mountainous Holy Land, see London, British Library, Cotton MS. Julius E IV/3, fol. 8v. A biblical source of this is "Mountains are round about it [Jerusalem]"; Psalm 124:2; Swift Edgar and Angela M Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 3, *The Poetical Books* (Harvard University Press, 2010), 505.

¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134, fols. 42v, 44v & 46r; G. and U. Frenzel, "Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht in der St. Martha-Kirche zu Nürnberg," in *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, ed. U. Schlegel and C. Zoege von Manteuffel (De Gruyter, 1965), 224–38. The *Holkam Bible* has no landscape; London, British

landscape in the glass in Alsatian Walbourg is likewise mountainous; the glass in Angers has camels, and the illuminations in the Vienna *Horarium* show desert.¹¹ The landscape in the All Saints glass presents a clear contrast to this, and creates meaning for the story through the choice of setting. The flat land evokes York and its surrounding area, where no part of the Vale of York rises more than 60 metres above sea level.

Almost identical landscapes are shown in the second, third, sixth, and ninth panels of the window (the landscape-based scenes). In these images, the land is depicted as largely flat, though it undulates slightly, particularly in the panel showing the second day. In the physical landscape of modern-day York, small undulations occur in what were previously villages surrounding the city, particularly on The Mount (the hill on which Scrope was executed) and Heslington (where cannons were placed during the mid-seventeenth-century Siege of York). In the glass, the caves in which mankind hides on the ninth day are also set in a flat, grassy landscape. This is before the earth is made “plain and even” on the tenth day (*The tenth day for to make, Earth shall be plain and even*), a flattening that might have been received with a nonchalant shrug by viewers of this window (or York-based listeners to the *Prick of Conscience* poem) to whom flat land was the norm.

The focus on a local setting for the apocalyptic story is reinforced by the floodwaters described in the couplets of the first, second and third days.¹² These floods are an integral part

Library MS. Add. 47682, fols. 40v–41r. Neither do the surviving alabasters in the British Museum. Dürer’s late fifteenth-century apocalyptic woodcuts locate parts of their narrative in a Germanic cityscape. Bosch’s ‘St. John on Patmos’ sets both the Revelation image and the reverse Crucifixion against maritime northern Europe; Christopher Rowland, “Imagining the Apocalypse,” *New Testament Studies* 51 (2005): 305–06. The Great East Window of York Minster seemingly likewise locates its narrative in a biblical landscape, for example in panel 4j where the seventh angel pours out his vial. For landscapes in apocalypse manuscripts in general, see Richard K. Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis, “Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800–1500: III,” *Traditio*, 42 (1986): 443–72. In these sources, there is a preponderance of blank backgrounds. In literary sources, *The Travels of John Mandeville* place the Last Judgement at the foot of Mount Tabor whilst the *Prick of Conscience* poem says, “Rysen shul alle men to the dome, And into the vale of Josephat come”; Laura A. Smoller, “Of Earthquakes, Hail, Frogs, and Geography: Plague and the Investigation of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 159; & Morey, *The Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012) book 5, lines 1120–21. There are many more examples of this in late medieval literature. Nevertheless, parts of the apocalyptic story (such as Gog and Magog beyond the gates of Alexander) are definitively set outside the Holy Land; Alessandro Scafi, “Mapping the End,” *Literature & Theology* 26, no. 4 (December 2012): 409. For this is a general sense, see Ora Limor, “The Place of the End of Days; Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem,” *Jewish Art* 23 (1997): 13.

¹¹ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r; & Louis Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde dans les vitraux allemands, français et alsaciens,” in *Kunst des Mittelalters in Sachsen, Festschrift Wolf Schubert*, ed. Elisabeth Hütter and Wolf Schubert (Böhlau, 1967), 292–99.

¹² For a discussion of time, see the previous chapter. It is most likely that “day” refers to the period between sunrise and sunset; Tim Sutherland, “Killing Time: Challenging the Common Perceptions of Three Medieval Conflicts – Ferrybridge, Dintingdale and Towton – ‘The Largest Battle on British Soil’,” *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 5, no. 1 (2009): 7. Humanity and buildings will survive the flood, as shown in later scenes in this window. I know of no medieval explanation of how mankind will survive; images show men standing underwater and watching fish swim by.

of almost all descriptions of the fifteen last days and appear prominently in the textual versions that circulated in late medieval England. For example, in John Lydgate's *Fifteen Tokens*, "The second day, the see shall also descend // So that underneath it shall not well be seen" (*The Secunde day, the se shal ek discende // That vnnethe it shal nat wel be seyn*).¹³ As explained in the previous chapter, the panels in All Saints do not show the floods themselves. The story in the images is set just as the waters begin to rise or fall, whilst the text in the inscriptions below describes the end of the events of the day. However, images of flooding are readily conjured by a viewer in a city that suffered regular inundations. York has frequently been flooded throughout its history, and riverside areas are in the twenty-first century still flooded on an annual basis.¹⁴ It is possible that, despite the river wall first constructed in the thirteenth century to protect the parish of All Saints, North Street, the waters of the Ouse regularly rose to lap at the glass in the church, bringing particular potency to images of floods in the Fifteen Last Days.¹⁵ As the floods touch the land in the image, so too do they touch the glass in reality, particularly in the lower panels of the Fifteen Last Days where white glass is used for the water (see Figure 44 for the ease of seeing through the current glass).¹⁶ In opening the narrative, the floods therefore perform a triple purpose; being an integral part of the plot of the Fifteen Last

¹³ John Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, Part I, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken (Early English Text Society, 1911), 118.

¹⁴ For historical floods in the city, see Neil Macdonald and Andrew R. Black, "Reassessment of Flood Frequency using Historical Information for the River Ouse at York, UK (1200–2000)," *Hydrological Sciences Journal – Journal des Sciences Hydrologiques* 55, no. 7 (2010): 1152–62; & Karen A. Hudson-Edwards, Mark G. Macklin, Rhona Finlayson and David G. Passmore, "Mediaeval Lead Pollution in the River Ouse at York, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26 (1999): 809. Floods in 1564 were bad enough to partly destroy the Ouse Bridge, and repairs were necessary in 1403, 1406, 1409, and 1411, potentially due to floods; "Monument record MYO4801 – Old Ouse Bridge," York Historic Environment Record, last modified Feb 4, 2020 10:04AM (GMT), <https://her.york.gov.uk/Monument/MYO4801>. From 1395, religious institutions in and around York were granted exemptions from clerical taxation due to flood damage; Rosemary C. E. Hayes, "Responding to Royal Requirements: Clerical Taxation in the Province of York, 1304–1405," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Boydell & Brewer, 2024), 161. Flooded land might account for the perceived extraordinary fertility of the field where Scrope was executed.

¹⁵ Hudson-Edwards et al., "Mediaeval Lead Pollution in the River Ouse at York, England," 811. For floodwaters rising ten metres high, see David Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 6–7. Without modern flood defences, the church would likely flood every year.

¹⁶ At the very least, the image of water beginning to flood grassland would be familiar part of life in late medieval York. Had the glass been installed in 1348, this would certainly have been the case; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 6.

Days, evoking the city of York, and employing experience from the viewer's own life.¹⁷ The text, image, and reality interact in a way that is likely to draw the reader into the story.¹⁸

The flora and fauna in the window are also local.¹⁹ An exact identification of all the trees shown is not possible due to modern replacements of the glass and may never have been intended. However, in the panel showing the sixth day, what is likely to have been intended to represent oak and hawthorn leaves can still be distinguished.²⁰ These are not the dramatic Cedars of Lebanon or the vines in the Great East Window of York Minster.²¹ Instead, they are local trees, seen growing every day in York. Likewise, the plants growing in the grass appear to be common weeds. Some are thistles, a three-leaf clover pokes out of the base of the image on the second day, and simple yellow cinquefoils are growing on the sixth day (Figure 45). They are not the roses or lilies found in depictions of the Virgin, for example elsewhere in the glass of All Saints, or ordered lines of trees and plants seen in saintly landscape settings or images of paradise.²² The narrative space in which the story of the window is set is made localised, familiar and emotionally engaging by the inclusion of common plants growing in and around York.²³

¹⁷ This topic is substantial, but the general trend in the late Middle Ages towards an imitable spirituality can be seen. For example, in late medieval York in the Bolton Hours where the saints chosen, particularly St Sitha, provide an example of virtuous life for the mercantile family for whom the manuscript was made; P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Rosalynn Voaden, Arlyn Diamond, Ann M. Hutchison, Carol Meale and Lesley Johnson (Brepols, 2000), 235.

¹⁸ There is considerable research on narrative theory and cognitive psychology. This is both beyond the scope of this dissertation and difficult to apply with empirical precision to medieval minds. For examples of this literature, see Jesús Bermejo-Berros, Jaime Lopez-Diez and Miguel Angel Gil Martínez, "Inducing Narrative Tension in the Viewer through Suspense, Surprise, and Curiosity," *Poetics* 93 (2002): 1–16.

¹⁹ For some indication of plants found in the early medieval city of York (including thistles, grasses etc. seen in the window), see P. C. Buckland, J. R. A. Greig and H. K. Kenward, "York: an Early Medieval Site," *Antiquity* 48, no. 189 (1974): 32. For hawthorn in the city, see A. Hall, "A Brief History of Plant Foods in the City of York," in *Feeding a City: York. The Provision of Food from Roman Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, ed. E. White (Prospect Books, 2000), 38–39.

²⁰ For examples of depictions of specific trees, see the Great East Window of York Minster, panels 9b, 8b, 8c & 7h.

²¹ York Minster's Great East Window, panels 5h & 5j.

²² For an almost contemporary English example, see Celia Fisher, "A Study of the Plants and Flowers in the Wilton Diptych," in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillian Gordon (Miller, 1997), 155. For the concept of landscape in a late medieval/early modern context, see Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 25–28. The lower panels in the Fifteen Last Days window appear to be unusual within their art historical context in that they are simply landscapes with no devotional figures included.

²³ Some of the same plants are found in the St Christopher panel of the St Anne window. Notably for the discussion below, the cinquefoil flowers do not appear in the St Christopher panel. For fourteenth century attempts to "naturalize the apocalypse", see Smoller, "Of Earthquakes, Hail, Frogs, and Geography," 157. For this familiarity of landscape as a way of engaging the viewer, see Gerhard Jaritz, "Late Medieval Saints and the Visual Representation of Rural Space," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovsky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebök and Katalin Szende (CEU Press, 2022), 227.

The fish shown roaring on the fourth day are pike, a freshwater fish found in the Ouse, 50 metres from the east end of the church (or, if the floods were bad, much closer).²⁴ The text and theology behind the fourth of the fifteen last days give no reason to use pike in particular and in no version of the *Prick of Conscience* poem are the species of roaring fish specified.²⁵ Elsewhere in the glass of All Saints, North Street, the fish around the feet of St Christopher in the St Anne window are not pike. However, the choice of pike to show fish that roar “hideous and heavy to men’s hearing” is unsurprising as medieval literature considered pike to be particularly violent fish.²⁶ For example, Isidore of Seville describes pike having a name derived from ‘wolf’ because they “pursue other fish with cruel voracity”.²⁷ In other depictions of the same event, the illustrator of the fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Holkham Bible* showed fish with teeth, though this depiction has something seal-like about it.²⁸ The early fifteenth century glass at Angers and in the Vienna *Horarium* have generic fish, whilst the mid-fifteenth-century window in Walbourg has pike identifiable by their beards, but without teeth.²⁹ Only the mid-fifteenth-century *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* has pike indicated by their teeth and beards.³⁰ One possible reason for depicting pike, also applicable to illuminated manuscripts, is as a promotion of the status of the window’s donors. The wealthy parishioners who commissioned this window ate these fish, and everyone who saw the window would have connected the consumption of such fish with the status of those depicted as donors of the glass.³¹

However, a close examination of the presentation of the pike shows a more York-specific motive. The fish are depicted in the same manner as the heads of pikes found on late

²⁴ I am grateful to Daria Ageeva, PhD candidate at CEU, for identifying these fish as pike. For a local example of the variety of fish likely to be found in the Ouse, see the Great East Window, panel 10d. For archaeological evidence of pike consumption in York, see J. M. Bond and T. P. O'Connor, *Bones from the Medieval Deposits at 16–22 Coppergate* (Council for British Archaeology for York Archaeological Trust, 1999), 400.

²⁵ For example, “The ferth day schalle wonderfule be, For þe moste wonderful fishes of þe see, Schulle to gider com and a roryng make, That for drede þere of schal mony a man whake”; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 486, fol. 60v.

²⁶ Quoted from the inscription in All Saints. All versions of the *Prick of Conscience* emphasise the loud and terrifying sound.

²⁷ Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 260. For more medieval stories about pike, see Richard C. Hoffmann, *Annotated Bibliography of the Pike, Esox Lucius* (Brill, 2024), viii–x.

²⁸ London, British Library, MS. Add. 47682, fol. 40v.

²⁹ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r; & Grodecki, “Les quinze signes précurseurs de la fin du monde,” plate 8. The Fifteen Signs in Nuremberg depict no fish with clarity; Hartmut Scholz, *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg: Lorenzer Stadtseite, Katalog* (Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2019), 527.

³⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134, fol. 42v.

³¹ Angela Maccarinelli, “Was Pike on the Menu? Exploring the Role of Freshwater Fish in Medieval England,” *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 13, no. 133 (2021): 15.

medieval heraldic devices, including, most pertinently for this dissertation, on the armorials of Sir William Gascoigne (the golden head of a pike on a black vertical stripe against silver background; *Arg[ent] on a pale Sa[ble] a lucy's head coupéd erect Or*, with variants), and those of Maud Lucy (three silver pike heads rising as if for air against a red field; *Gu[les] three lucies hauriant argent*).³² Still seen in the surviving stonework of York Minster and Bodrum Castle, Türkiye, the three Lucy fish-heads face towards the sky in a manner identical to two of the three pikes in the All Saints glass. Maud Lucy died in 1398, making it very unlikely that this imagery shows her involvement in this window.³³ She had no direct heirs. However, as a condition of the inheritance of her estates, her arms were quartered onto those of her husband, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.³⁴

A gold pike's head on a black vertical stripe was also used by the gentry Gascoigne family.³⁵ This heraldry appeared in the fifteenth-century church of St Martin, Micklegate, less than half a kilometre from All Saints, North Street.³⁶ The Gascoignes also maintained a townhouse in this parish, and had their main country seat near York.³⁷ The inclusion of pikes in the All Saints window echoes the arms of these two prominent local families, both with townhouses in York and representations in the churches and Minster. A particular connection to York is therefore evoked by the pike in the panel showing the fourth day.

Even more locally, when the buildings fall on the seventh of the Fifteen Last Days, the spire of the church of All Saints, North Street can be seen amongst the rubble. Like in the rural landscapes discussed above, this civic setting is not a biblical idyll or Mediterranean city. Instead, the apocalyptic story is firmly located in the parish. The windows in the falling church resemble those of All Saints, with the windows at the east and west ends having tracery, and the south wall painted with cusped lights. The church spire lies amidst building blocks, perhaps intended to represent the houses of parishioners, and on brown (mud or rushed) ground. The

³² S. Flower and T. Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary*, vol. 4 (Society of Antiquaries of London, 2014), 274 & 7. For a surviving York example, see the shield on the arcade of the south choir of York Minster; Sarah Brown, *York Minster: An Architectural History c.1220–1500* (English Heritage, 2003), 79. For a surviving example outside England, see the English Tower of Bodrum Castle; Lawrence Butler, “The Heraldry on the English Tower at Bodrum Castle – Turkey,” *The Castle Studies Group* 29 (2015): 295. For other examples of pikes in heraldry, see the pike as one of the carved Dacre beasts on display at London's Victoria and Albert Museum. The depiction in the *Holkham Bible* does not draw from heraldic images of pike, whilst the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* has pike depicted in a slightly heraldic manner.

³³ J. M. W. Bean, “Percy, Henry, first earl of Northumberland (1341–1408),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁴ Flower and Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms*, 4:7. This heraldry was used from 1381. The arms of the Percy family were frequently seen in late medieval York, found in the Minster, parish churches and almost certainly on the family's York townhouse.

³⁵ Flower and Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms*, 4:274.

³⁶ MS. Top. Yorks., 198.

³⁷ This was at Gawthorpe (modern Harewood Castle), about 33 kilometres west of York.

real spire of All Saints, North Street was either almost finished or newly built when this window was made and, at that time, the spire was taller than almost every structure in the city.³⁸ This makes the All Saints spire a highly visible symbol of the parish and so its (fictional) fall is symbolic of the destruction of both the church itself, and the destruction of parish life. This heightens the engagement of the parishioner viewer and the emotional impact of the window.

Finally, the objects used in the imagery are those seen in York. These do not appear until the ninth day, when human beings are first depicted. From then on, in the panels narrating the ninth, eleventh and fourteenth days, the human characters in the story exist in late medieval York. They wear the same clothes as the donor figures in this window and other windows elsewhere in the church, in the same colours and with the same hairstyles. This is in contrast to the prophet figures in the architectonic borders of the window, outside the story-world, who wear Phrygian caps and are wrapped in archaic robes. Objects can also be visually linked to the church itself; when everyone still surviving dies on the fourteenth day, the bedsheet of the dying man is the same bedsheet seen elsewhere in the glass of All Saints, North Street (Figure 32).³⁹ The same bedcover in a window set in the current day, and one set in the apocalypse brings immediacy to the eschatological story.⁴⁰

To further the familiarity of this story-world, the supernatural is hardly present. No angels fly across the glass blowing heavenly fanfares and there is not a halo to be seen. The figures in the borders are human prophets not angels or saints. Even the skeleton bringing death on the fourteenth day hovers at the edge of the image, awkwardly intruding on this domestic scene. Nothing in this window, even the skeleton, could not have been seen on an ordinary day in late medieval York. Stars don't fall from the sky every day, but, weather permitting, they can

³⁸ York Minster's central tower collapsed in 1407 and only rose above the cathedral's roofs after 1460; Brown, *York Minster*, 207. The cathedral's western towers were finished after 1445; Brown, *York Minster*, 212. The spire of St Mary Castlegate was probably completed considerably after 1421; RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume V: the Central Area* (Stationery Office Books, 1972). The height of the Dominican Church, on slightly raised ground behind All Saints, North Street, is not known. This may well have been higher than the All Saints spire. The exact height of the tower is presumed based on the current structure. This is a nineteenth-century rebuilding of the medieval spire; York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, Y/ASN 12, final folios (folios unnumbered).

³⁹ It appears in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window, also located in the north wall of the church. The two windows flank the north wall, with one at the western and one at the eastern end, and with biblical scenes (Doubting Thomas, St John the Baptist, St Anne teaching the Virgin to read, and St Christopher with the Christ Child) between them. The similarity of design may indicate that the two windows were made by the same workshop. However, it may also, and this does not exclude the likelihood of the same workshop, have been a deliberate choice to locate the apocalyptic glass within late medieval York.

⁴⁰ The Corporal Acts of Mercy also appear in the *Prick of Conscience* poem, creating for those who knew the poem a further association between the two panels. This literary association is also seen in the final pageant of the York Mystery Plays, where those judged at Doomsday are asked whether they performed the Acts of Mercy; Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290* vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 450–51.

be seen on a nightly basis. Sea monsters don't regularly roar in an urban area but in this mercantile city where, as seen in the wills of parishioners, long distance travel was normal, it seems safe to presume that the noise of a orca, porpoise or other 'sea monster' had been heard by at least some viewers of the window, and even more would have had family, friends or neighbours who knew the sound.⁴¹ The events of the Fifteen Last Days are therefore presented as mimetic.

This can be compared with the presentation of the same narrative in other depictions of the Fifteen Last Days. In the *Holkham Bible*, a cosmic hand shakes the earth to create earthquakes; trees and buildings fall through neighbouring days; and angels' wings intrude onto the description of the fifteenth day.⁴² In the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*, mermaids swim through the sea, trees grow upside down, and homunculus souls rise from the mouths of dead bodies.⁴³ In the north rose window at Angers cathedral, classically-inspired heads of cherubs blow the mountains down, the English alabasters have angels and, in the Walbourg glass, a personified sun and moon watch from the sky. The presentation of the fifteen last days themselves in the Vienna *Horarium* is not supernatural, but the signs surround a depiction of the Last Judgement and are interspersed with St Michael weighing souls and a monstrous hellmouth.⁴⁴ These visual narratives are inherently unnatural; fantastical events proliferate, events happening on different days are presented at once, confusing the temporality, and supernatural figures are emphasised as being such.⁴⁵ The oddness of this presentation "draw[s] attention to the fictionality" of the scenes.⁴⁶ The opposite is the case in the Fifteen Last Days window; the mimetic, normal or mundane objects with which the story is told makes the story-world more real. Removing any reference to unnatural devices avoids intimations of fictionality and sets the story firmly in the local environment.

This lack of supernatural occurrences, despite the expectation created by the subject matter, is at its most obvious in the sixth day, when bloody dewdrops (do not) fall from the trees. The couplet in the window describes this as:

The sixth day shall herbs and trees

⁴¹ For an example, see William Vescy who refers to his property in England and abroad, and asks for pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela; Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 666.

⁴² London, British Library, MS. Add. 47682, fols. 39v–40r.

⁴³ MS. Douce 134, fols. 42v, 45v & 47v.

⁴⁴ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r.

⁴⁵ For an overview and justification of unnatural narratology, see Brian Richardson, "Introduction: Unnatural Narratives: Theories and Practices," *Frontiers of Narrative Studies* 4, no. 1 (2018): 1–5.

⁴⁶ Alber, *Unnatural Narrative*, 6.

With bloody drops that grisly be,

whilst the *Prick of Conscience* poem says

Be sext day sall spryng a blody dewe,
On grysse and treese als it sall schewe⁴⁷

The *Holkham Bible* depicts red drops on vegetation and in the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* the plants and grass are red.⁴⁸ However, in All Saints, North Street, golden dewdrops fall from the trees. There is no blood to be seen. The most poetic, and perhaps obvious, explanation for this is that it is the blood of the trees, the sap, that is falling in droplets. This is also the least supernatural explanation, in clear contrast to the blood-red droplets found in other descriptions and depictions. It creates a contrast with the text of the couplet (*Be sext day sall herbes and trees, Wyth blody drops þt grysely bees*), with these golden droplets not being sensibly described as “grisly”. For the non-literate viewer of the window, this contrast would have little effect. However, for those who could read the couplets, it creates surprise. If, as argued in the previous chapter, the window was intended for the less literate, perhaps child, viewer who had just learnt to read, then this obvious juxtaposition further engages them in the story.⁴⁹

The use of vernacular in the window likewise creates a sense of reality for the story-world.⁵⁰ These couplets are presented as part of the story-world of the images, and thus intrinsic

⁴⁷ Wellesley, Wellesley College Library, MS. 8, image 145. All manuscript versions of the sixth day are very similar and, notably, all are only two lines long.

⁴⁸ MS. Douce 134, fol. 43v. The text accompanying the image in the *Livre* reads “bloody dew” (*rouse de sang*).

⁴⁹ This message of familiarity is reinforced in the other windows in the north wall of the church. In the fifteenth-century neighbouring window to the Fifteen Last Days, St Christopher carries the Christ Child across the river, St Anne teaches the Virgin to read, and St John the Baptist holds the Agnus Dei. This impression of familiarity is furthered by the domestic presentation of the family group. The viewer would know that St Anne conceived miraculously, Mary gave birth whilst still a virgin, and that St John the Baptist was likewise conceived when his mother Elizabeth was very old and should have been unable to have a child; Luke 1:7. Each of these events is both supernatural and still intrinsically human; the act of giving birth (even with a miraculous cause) is a daily occurrence. One window further west in the south wall of All Saints, Christ has risen from the dead. Again, this is clearly miraculous but in its physical manifestation is very human. Christ does not return trailing clouds of glory or demanding that emperors and kings bow before him. Instead, he appears to those closest to him in a private space and still bears the physical, not miraculously healed, wounds of his crucifixion, as emphasised by the inclusion of Doubting Thomas in the same window. Originally furthest west in this aisle, the Corporal Acts of Mercy are the most human acts, free from any divine intervention except the individual’s love of God and hope for salvation.

⁵⁰ The use of the vernacular in descriptions of the fifteen last days is not unusual. The *Holkham Bible*’s images are accompanied by short texts in Anglo-Norman (in the French vernacular for the manuscript’s early fourteenth-century elite audience), the *Livre* presents its narrative in vernacular French, and the *Prick of Conscience* poem is in Middle English. John Lydgate wrote his *Fifteen Tokeyenes* in the Middle English of his late fourteenth-century audience, and the early fourteenth-century *Asega-Bôk* fifteen last days text is written in Old Frisian. This is not to say that all descriptions of the fifteen last days were written in the vernacular. For example, the chronicler Adam Usk wrote his ca.1410 description of the Fifteen Last Days in Latin. In other apocalyptic manuscripts, the

to their narrative level, rather than part of the borders and thus framing device of the window. The text is written in the local dialect, in language heard constantly in and outside the church, and in which Scrope's articles, attached to the door of the church in 1405, were written. This creates coherence in the story-world as, in a story set in late medieval York, it would be jarring for any language other than the local dialect to be used, particularly in an oral culture where the text of the window would likely be regularly read aloud.⁵¹ The use of the vernacular also reinforces the familiarity of the narrative space and, within the plot itself, characterises the story-world, emphasising that the apocalypse is happening in late medieval York.

The lowest part of this window, namely the donor panels which contain depictions of those who lived in late medieval York, is conversely set within its own story-world. This is shown through the physical presentation of the figures. Unlike in the main panels of the window, no internal architectonic border separates the three groups of three kneeling donors. The narrative space of each panel ends only at the physical edge of the stonework and continues again unabated in the next light. This creates a continuous narrative space across the base of the window. Likewise, the background of panels of gold stars remains the same across the full width of the window, creating a continuous scene, differentiated from the clearly demarcated panels in the rows above. This lack of separation between panels is furthered by the format of the donor inscription. According to Johnston's 1669 antiquarian sketch, this inscription ran in one sentence across all three panels at the base of the window, contrasting with the individual couplets for each of the main panels, and placing all of the named donors within one space. The Latin text of the donor inscription further highlights that this is a different world. The main

vernacular is common. See, for example, the Old French one-line texts in the Bedford Hours; Richard K. Emmerson, "The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours," *Traditio* 50 (1995): 178–98. Since the mid-fourteenth century, Middle English had increasingly been used for both religious and secular texts. In the words of the author of the Northern English Homily cycle, the purpose of using the vernacular was to bring God's word to everyone; "Of the English tongue that everyone may // Understand what I will say // For ignorant men have more need // God's word for to hear" (*On Ingelis tong that alle may // Understand quat I wil say // For laued men haves mar mister // Godes word forto her*); *Northern English Homily*, prologue lines 63–66, quoted in Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, "Richard Rolle, English Writer," in *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle* (Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 7. Whilst, English (or Anglo-Norman) is rarely found in stained-glass windows, this may reflect the poor survival of this art form, and a far wider use of the vernacular in fifteenth-century stained glass can be suggested based on the survival of Middle English in church wall paintings. If the vernacular was used in the wall paintings surrounding these windows, it is likely that it was also used in the windows themselves. English was used in the mystery plays, also a form of religious narrative and suggesting that the vernacular was neither entirely inappropriate in a religious context, nor seen as heretical. The Lollards of fifteenth-century England have received little mention in this dissertation as there is no evidence that theology defined by the authorities as heterodox can be seen in All Saints, North Street.

⁵¹ For the oral culture see, amongst a wide literature, Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History* 8, no. 1 (1985): 26–49. Ideas around orality and stained glass will be explored in depth in Chapter 7.

panels with their English text are firmly within the world of late medieval York, but the Latin inscription places the donor within a different space.

The use of Latin creates a narrative space for the world of the donors that is religious and, more specifically, liturgical. Middle English may or may not have been universally seen by contemporaries as functional and representative of low culture, and the use of vernacular in religious texts was increasing from the middle of the fourteenth-century, yet Latin remained the language of the liturgy.⁵² In early fifteenth-century York, it was also still the language of wills, associating liturgical salvation and more functional last wishes.⁵³ The use of Latin therefore, even to a viewer who did not understand the words, creates a religious space for these donors in which to kneel. To the (Latin) literate viewer who understood the text, the placement of the donors in Purgatory is unavoidable as the texts request prayers for themselves and all the faithful dead. Through these prayers, the donors shorten the time they spend in Purgatory, making it plausible that Purgatory is where they are depicted.

Three other details further this impression of donors intended to be represented as currently in Purgatory. Firstly, the inclusion of three generations of the same family implies a space beyond time. The three groups are not differentiated by borders that could imply different time periods. Instead, they are shown in one in a continuous panel. The manner in which the figures are presented adds to this impression of Purgatory. In a realistic story-world like that in the main panels, three generations of the same family cannot be shown the same age. However, souls within Purgatory, perhaps always at the age at which they died, can be depicted all as adults. Finally, the stars panelling the background suggest somewhere otherworldly. The story taking place in late medieval York in the main panels cannot have humans kneeling amongst the stars. It is possible that these stars and the squares in which they are shown was intended to show panelling, perhaps in a house in the parish, but there is no mundane furniture shown. Other donor panels in All Saints show reading desks and books, but there is nothing like that in these panels. Instead, the donors kneel in a space devoid of either the accoutrements of human life, or architectonic borders to suggest a physical location.

Whilst the donors kneel in Purgatory, the narrative space of the Fifteen Last Days thus places the viewer in a realistic story-world in late medieval York. The familiarity of this world

⁵² For English as lower status, see Daniel Sawyer, *Reading English Verse in Manuscript c.1350–c.1500* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 14. The survival of Books of Hours that mix English and Latin prayers attests to the early fifteenth century mixing of languages in a religious context. For an example of this, see the Bolton Hours of York; Add. MS. 2.

⁵³ This begins to change from the middle of the fifteenth century. For a 1431 example from All Saints, North Street, see the will of Nicholas Blakburn senior, where the main will is in Latin and the codicil in English; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 605 and transcribed in *TE*, 2:17–21. English is used in aristocratic wills a decade or so earlier.

engages the audience and encourages them to consider their own salvation. To take this further, a close examination of the exact imagery reveals that a setting of late medieval York can be further specified; the narrative space of the story is directly connected to the events of May and June 1405.

Firstly, in the landscape panels, plants grow in a random, uncultivated manner, in a disordered land that evokes a wasteland or execution place.⁵⁴ Though changing between panels, the trees can be seen as boundary markers.⁵⁵ They delimitate the change of space between city and execution ground, and also between the sacred and the profane, notifying the viewer that, within the image, they are entering another space. Once the viewer is within a new space, the connotations of the image are, appropriately for apocalyptic imagery, negative. Yet, the inclusion of fish swimming in the water on the third day (and perhaps in the original glass on the first and second days) shows that this should not be seen as a wasteland. Instead, it is a place of execution. Based on the flat land and buildings elsewhere in the story, it can be assumed to be York. The trees would grow beside freshwater, further associating it with this inland city. The Middle English couplets associate it with the present day rather than a Latinate biblical landscape, and the slight undulation in the land evokes low hills just like the one on which Scrope was executed. The concentration of these details suggests to the viewer a particular execution place. Scrope was executed in a rural landscape outside the city, near freshwater, and surrounded by the same dialect of Middle English that these couplets use.

The exact plants that can be identified in the surviving medieval glass also refer to Scrope's execution.⁵⁶ The cinquefoil (or potentilla) is a small, yellow flower with five petals. It is seen in the grass of the second day (and in a modern copy on the sixth day). It grows commonly in England and is often seen as a weed. However, it has symbolic significance, particularly in its five petals. In the Middle Ages, these represented the five wounds of Christ.⁵⁷ These wounds appear prominently in hagiographical narratives of Scrope's execution as well

⁵⁴ Gerhard Jaritz, "Nature Images — Image Nature: Visual Representations and Their Function in the Late Middle Ages," in *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, ed. József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (CEU Press, 2003), 54. The connection to wasteland in the imagery of this window has been noted by Eleanor Cox in Eleanor Cox, "Apocalyptic Thought in Late Medieval England, c.1350 to c. 1425" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2023), 171. She argues that "intense imagery of the earth as a wasteland was likely frightening, and this fear may have pushed some to repentance and worship God, especially in terms of evoking God's power as the arbiter of this change." The ecological perspective is interesting and requires more development.

⁵⁵ This observation came from a lecture given by Prof. Alice Choyke at CEU on January 15, 2025, entitled "Entangled Boundaries: Animals and Plants in Human Heritage".

⁵⁶ For the increasing realism of plant depictions in the early fifteenth century, see Celia Fisher, "Flowers and Plants, the Living Iconography," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. C. Hourihane (Routledge, 2016), 456–57.

⁵⁷ Fisher, "Flowers and Plants," 455.

as in the liturgy and poems, where Scrope asks for five blows of the sword in imitation of Christ who suffered five principal wounds.⁵⁸ Cinquefoil leaves were also used in healing, relating the flowers in the glass with the healing miracles around Scrope's tomb, and are known as barren strawberries, increasing the association with an execution place. Likewise, the hawthorn tree seen in the surviving medieval glass on the sixth day, and potentially in medieval trees that are now lost from days one, two and three, is commonly referred to as the May-Tree and the May-Flower. Since Scrope's revolt took place in May, an allusion between the May-Tree and the May revolt is certainly possible. The version of the hawthorn shown in this window seems to particularly resemble the Glastonbury hawthorn, with its tree rather than bush-like growth. The Glastonbury hawthorn was believed to have been planted by Joseph of Arimathea, another clear association with Christ's Crucifixion and His five wounds.⁵⁹ Moreover, there are no flowers with unambiguously positive connotations, like roses, lilies or daisies, or positive flower colours, like pinks and blues, found in this image.

The wheat trampled during Scrope's execution and appearing prominently in subsequent hagiographical narratives is suggested in the vegetation that the couplets tell the viewer will be (in the first panel) and has been (in subsequent panels) submerged by floodwaters. In the hagiographies and chronicles describing Scrope's execution, the vegetation is trampled.⁶⁰ In the *Fifteen Last Days*, grass-like plants are chosen to represent land that will be likewise compressed by external pressure, in this case from the floodwaters. This is unusual in the surviving iconography. Other depictions of the fifteen last days contain, for example stylised foliate decoration that may be seaweed in the *Holkham Bible*; yellow, desert-like land that turns green after the flood in the *Vienna Honarium*; and mountains, buildings, trees, and people in the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*.⁶¹ Thus, the grassy, empty land in the All Saints glass appears to be a deliberate decision rather than part of a set iconography.

To support this, evidence survives associating flooding and the events of 1405. York appears to have been flooded frequently in the first years of the fifteenth century. In February 1404, the Ouse Bridge was described as "weak and broken".⁶² In the same year, grants were made to support the rebuilding of the Foss Bridge in York and the bridge which crossed the river Tees at Yarm (70 kilometres north of York). In 1406 and 1409, pontage was again granted

⁵⁸ James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 2 (London, 1886), 307–08; & Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, c. 621, 97v.

⁵⁹ Fisher, "Flowers and Plants," 454. The hawthorn is also associated with Joseph, foster-father of Christ.

⁶⁰ For example, in Maidstone's hagiography; Raine, *Historians*, 2:308.

⁶¹ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r; & MS. Douce 134, fol. 41v.

⁶² *CPR 1401–5*, 352. Substantial flooding in the winter of 1403/4, or 1402/3, had damaged the bridge.

for the repair of the Foss bridge.⁶³ Notwithstanding the desire of the mayor and aldermen to receive whatever grants they could from the king, early fifteenth-century floods were bad enough to frequently damage the bridges of York. These storms would have flooded the city and surrounding countryside. Pontage grants ceased after 1411, though this may perhaps reflect the decrease in such grants across England.⁶⁴ The apocalyptic depiction of flooding of a field outside York, that which Scrope was executed in, can therefore be connected to real flooding, likely bad enough to have made a long-term impression upon the collective memory of the inhabitants of York and increasing the familiarity of the story in the window.

The same symbolic connection is seen in the choice of pike. As described above, the heraldic presentation of these fish evokes those used by Maud Lucy and her husband, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. This is the same Earl of Northumberland who was involved, and punished for his participation, in the 1405 Scrope revolt. Maud Lucy's quartered arms were also borne by her stepson, Henry Hotspur (1364–1403), when he died at the Battle of Shrewsbury in insurrection against Henry IV. It is therefore likely that the choice of the ways in which the roaring fish necessary for a panel showing the fourth of the fifteen last days were depicted created a connection to the Percy family and, due to the family's leading role in insurrections against Henry IV, Scrope's uprising. The other local family who used pike in their heraldry was also closely associated with the Scrope revolt. William Gascoigne was the Chief Justice of England in 1405 who refused to preside over the trial of Richard Scrope.⁶⁵ The use of these fish creates an association with York as a narrative space, and their presentation evokes families involved in the revolt and stories about it.

Likewise, the choice of a narrative that ends with fire (as opposed to the versions of the fifteen last days where the fifteenth day is the coming of New Jerusalem) evokes Pentecost, and Archbishop Scrope who was martyred on 8th June. In 1405, this was Whit Monday. Scrope's death at Pentecost was noted by chroniclers and hagiographers, and in the office composed for the archbishop.⁶⁶ A connection between apocalyptic fire and Pentecost is explicit

⁶³ *CPR 1405–08*, 171; & *CPR 1408–13*, 52.

⁶⁴ David Harrison, "Medieval Yorkshire Roads, Bridges and York Merchants," in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Brown, Sarah Rees Jones and Tim Ayers (Routledge, 2021), 202.

⁶⁵ His nephew would later write a hagiography for the martyred archbishop, though it is not clear whether this text was complete when the Fifteen Last Days window was made. Wright argues for 1413–15 as the likely date of the hagiography; Stephen Wright, "The Provenance and Manuscript Tradition of the Martyrium Ricardi Archiepiscopi," *Manuscripta* 28 (1984): 98.

⁶⁶ Walsingham writes "in crostino Penecostes", i.e. the day after Pentecost Sunday; Thomas de Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, trans. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1876), 270. Maidstone says "secunda Pentecostes"; Raine, *Historians*, 2:306. A song about Scrope opens with "Hay hay hay hay thynke on Whitsonmonday"; Stephen K. Wright, ed., "That Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 113–14.

in the *Golden Legend's* descriptions of the apocalypse, reading “as the Holy Ghost descended in likeness of fire, in likewise shall Antichrist give the evil spirit in likeness of fire”.⁶⁷ This description draws on Acts 2:17, where the apostle Peter is described during the Pentecostal narrative as (from the prophet Joel) saying “‘And it shall come to pass in the last days,’ saith the Lord, ‘I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh’”.⁶⁸ Scrope’s life ended at Pentecost and, should he be considered a saint, his Judgement and salvation must have occurred soon afterwards.⁶⁹ This mirrors the apocalyptic narrative where the earth was destroyed by fire, quickly followed by Judgement and salvation (or not). A continuous association, via Pentecost, can therefore be made from Scrope to the apocalyptic fire on the fifteenth day, reinforced by other Scrope connections in the imagery and narrative of the window.

Moving beyond the space in the story-world, the physical setting of the window potentially furthers its apocalyptic message. The window is in All Saints’ Lady Chapel, in an area that was originally likely to have been enclosed by screens to form a defined space.⁷⁰ The chapel contained an altar to the Virgin, a statue of her, and a window showing St Anne teaching her daughter to read (in the south wall, next to the Fifteen Last Days window). The content of the east window of this aisle is not known, but plausibly the fourteenth-century glass showing the Joys of the Virgin could have been here. This fourteenth-century glass shows the Virgin crowned, evoking the Queen of Heaven. Simultaneously, the crowned Virgin evokes the apocalyptic character of the Woman Clothed with the Sun. Appearing in Revelation 12, the woman wears “a crown of twelve stars” and was often identified as the Virgin Mary, for example by Berengaudus.⁷¹ This association became particularly strong in the fifteenth-century, and was referenced elsewhere in the glass of the chapel by the crown of daisies worn by the infant Mary in the St Anne window.⁷²

The iconography of the All Saints statue of the Virgin is not known. Only the damaged head currently survives (Figure 46) and gives no clear indications of iconography. The statue appears in fifteenth-century wills in relation to a light burning before “the Blessed Mary”.⁷³

⁶⁷ “The Advent of our Lord,” *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

⁶⁸ For further examples, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 85, 100 & 187.

⁶⁹ Alexander Marx, “The Passio Raginaldi of Peter of Blois: Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade,” *Viator* 50, no. 3 (2019): 219.

⁷⁰ Indications of these screens remain. See Chapter 2.

⁷¹ Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 88, 151 (Berengaudus), 158 & 179. The woman is both Mary and Ecclesia. For this early Christian art, see Vladimir Cvetković, “Symbols, Icons, Liturgy: Eschatology in Early Christian art,” in *Eschatology in Antiquity: Forms and Functions*, ed. Hilary Marlow, Karla Pollmann, and Helen Van Noorden (Routledge, 2021), 556.

⁷² Similar imagery of the crowned Virgin is found in the glass of the Mystic Mass window.

⁷³ Patrick Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street* (The Church Shop, 1908), 95.

This wording neither specifies nor precludes a statue with the attributes of the Woman Clothed in the Sun. However, the apocalyptic nature of this chapel may be referenced in the visions of the Virgin received by the anchorite Emma Raughton. These prophesied the death of the king (potentially referring to the fallen kings in Revelation 17:10) and the rule of the infant Henry VI, King of England and France (a complicated reign in both kingdoms, encompassing 1422–71).⁷⁴ This prophecy can be understood in conjunction with Revelation 12:5, where the newly born son of the Woman will “rule all the nations with an iron rod”.⁷⁵ Likewise, on a sunny day, the colours of the Fifteen Last Days would fall over the altar of the Virgin, physically projecting the apocalyptic narrative onto the liturgy of the Virgin (see Figure 42 for an example of this). This creates further associations between the apocalyptic glass and the dedication of the chapel. It potentially emphasises the Virgin’s identification with the Woman Clothed in the Sun and the apocalyptic resonances of this identification.

6.2. Narrative Space in the Revelation Window

In contrast, there is very little in the imagery or narrative of the Revelation window that encourages the viewer to imagine the story occurring in late medieval York. There are no identifiable buildings or heraldry, and the judged souls do not wear or hold anything that identifies them as urban dwellers. St Michael wears fifteenth-century armour, but this is covered with an archaic tunic and cloak; St John’s costume evokes a New Testament setting; and many-headed beasts were not a regular feature of life in the late medieval city. Even the architectonic frames in this window are fantastical, eschewing the vernacular style seen in the Fifteen Last Days window. Only the donors at the base of the window can be firmly located by their names and costume in late medieval York. Yet, their presentation is more elaborate than in the Fifteen Last Days window, with scrolls curling around the male donor figures. Scrolls do not appear in the donor panels of the Fifteen Last Days. Likewise, unlike other donor figures in the church, the Revelation donor figures do not kneel on a depicted floor and, likewise unprecedented, they physically intruded into the architectonic borders of the glass. The contrast between the windows therefore highlights how the space of the story-world in the Revelation window is unfamiliar and beyond the limitations of daily life.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Alexandra Sinclair, *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2003), 55.

⁷⁵ The Vulgate reads “recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea”.

⁷⁶ I deliberately avoid the terms natural and unnatural here, acknowledging that the spaces of Heaven and Hell appeared within a physical medieval cosmography. For further introduction to unnatural narratology, see Jan Alber and Heinze Rüdiger, *Unnatural Narratives – Unnatural Narratology* (De Gruyter, 2011).

The narrative space of both windows supports the plot of their respective stories, differing from the fantastical to the familiar to reflect these differences. In the Revelation window, St John is presented in an undefined narrative space, intended to reinforce a continuous temporal narrative which moves from his torture to his exile, and then into the contents of the book in his hand. This is made easier for the designer of the window because, in late medieval apocalyptic imagery, St John, author of Revelation, has no consistent chronotope.⁷⁷ In York Minster's Great East Window, he reclines on a rocky island that can be identified as Patmos. The Douce Apocalypse sets him in a hilly, verdant land and, in the Angers tapestries, St John moves between landscapes. In the All Saints window, he is presented against a foliated red background, like the backgrounds representing the sky in the Fifteen Last Days panels. This may be intended to show a heavenly landscape, up in the sky. However, there are no angels, clouds or other details that would support this setting. Instead, the only indication of a narrative space is the tiles on which St John stands. These may be intended to evoke the antique tiles of Patmos, with their unusual wavy pattern representing the sea, and thus adding to the story the means by which St John's exile was maintained.⁷⁸

Whatever this pattern was intended to mean, and even if it is solely an aesthetically pleasing shape, the lack of a clearly identifiable setting in All Saints, North Street makes the narrative space more malleable. The coloured background and tiles show that this setting is not intended to be seen as a void in which St John exists beyond time and space. Likewise, the architectonic borders are similar but not identical to others shown in the fifteenth-century glass of All Saints, creating a continuity of depicted space but not a defined setting. The lack of background detail in this window means it can represent, in an earthly sense, St John's tortures in Rome, or his exile on the island of Patmos. The lack of specificity also means it can be the setting for the eagle in Heaven next to the throne of God. Theologically, this has the effect of emphasising that the setting of the apocalyptic story spans Earth and Heaven.

Likewise, St Michael's battle is not set in an identifiable location. Below his feet, the many-headed Beast falls into a watery abyss, whilst the angel stands against a red foliated background perhaps intended to resemble sky. It is identical to that behind St John, creating

⁷⁷ For a definition of the term chronotope, see Gerald Prince, *A Dictionary of Narratology* (University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 24.

⁷⁸ The tiles are black and white. This colour scheme is very common in glass from this period, see for example the St William Window in York Minster, and donor panels currently under the Corporal Acts of Mercy in All Saints, North Street. The glass in these panels is largely a modern replacement. However, its unusual design means that the Revelation window is likely to be copied from the original glass. The shape is most like the heraldic vair. One Yorkshire family, the Wardes, bore the arms *Vairy Arg & Sa; Flower and Woodcock*, *Dictionary of British Arms*, 4:450. No connection between any member of this family and the parish of All Saints, North Street has been found.

continuity between the panels. Most of the glass surrounding the abyss appears to be intended to represent rocky, uneven ground, plausibly for the edge of the bottomless pit. However, a fragment of glass remaining shows part of an unidentifiable pattern (Figure 47). It is possible that the ground in this image originally had more significance, but nothing more can be said with any certainty until a direct comparison is found in other glass.⁷⁹ Elsewhere in the panel, the souls in the scales in the angel's right hand remain entirely within the story-world, not intruding into the architectonic borders. They thus form the end of the window's narrative within the story-world of the future. However, the text scroll, reading "Holy Trinity, receive the souls praising you", appears originally to have crossed in the architecture painted in the glass. Movement of text between the story-world of the panel and the surrounding architecture may have been intended to remind the reader that the words of God are universal and atemporal.

These two panels provide a narrative that dives into the Book of Revelation held by St John and shows events in which St Michael is the protagonist. The two parts of the story are clearly connected as one image contains a depiction of the source material of the other image.⁸⁰ The interactions between these two events can be taken further by an examination of Richard Rolle's apocalypse commentary. In *Super apocalypsim*, Rolle wrote that the name of Patmos, the island of St John's exile, means abyss.⁸¹ Positive evidence does not survive for the circulation of this text within the parish of All Saints, North Street, but there was interest in Rolle's work, and texts were known locally. To the reader of *Super apocalypsim*, St John was living on an island called 'abyss', and in this window, St Michael is shown casting in the Beast into the abyss. Thus, at the level of the narrative in the glass, the choice to depict the event of the Beast (Satan/the dragon/Antichrist) being cast into the abyss as contained in a book that was written whilst St John was exiled on Patmos creates the possibility of a continuous

⁷⁹ Panel 3h in York Minster's Great East Window shows the Beast (on land) on rocky ground with thistles or grasses growing. The same might have been originally shown in the Revelation panel.

⁸⁰ It is possible that the book St John holds is only meant to be his Gospel. However, there is clear evidence, particularly from the *Golden Legend*, that a late medieval audience believed John to be the author of both his gospel and the Book of Revelation, thus making it likely that the book he holds could have been seen as containing both texts. The apocalyptic content in the window makes this apocalyptic text even more likely.

⁸¹ "Pathmos 'vorago' dicitur,"; Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 100. I am grateful to Dr. Anastasia Theologou for confirming the Greek basis for Rolle's etymology. This meaning for Patmos does not appear in other medieval texts. For example, it is not in Isidore of Seville's Etymologies. Rolle uses the term "vorago" for abyss, explaining that, in both locations, virtue swallows up all sins. For this, he draws on the Latin verb for to swallow; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, <https://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs>. For further connections between Rolle and St John in Rolle's use of the *oculus cordis*, evoking St John seeing the events of Revelation through an open door, see Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350–1550)* (Herder & Herder, 2012), 358–59. Rolle's theology of sight is discussed in Chapter 7.

narrative space. The story extends between both panels within apparently contrasting locations that can nonetheless be seen as co-existent.

To take this further, Rolle compares his saintly life in his abyss (the South Yorkshire wilderness) with the abyss/Patmos:

I [Rolle], John, your brother and companion in tribulation . . . I [Rolle] was in the island which is called Patmos.⁸²

Like John, Rolle considers himself to be “a solitary contemplative suffering tribulation”.⁸³ He locates his hermit life in or near the abyss, identifying himself explicitly with St John in exile. The hermit can thus be located, for a viewer of the window who was familiar with Rolle’s texts, in the same narrative space as St John on Patmos and St Michael sending the Beast into the abyss. Rolle was writing in late medieval Yorkshire, not so far from where the viewer of the window would be standing. If Rolle could, in his hermitage in South Yorkshire, be spiritually on the Greek island of Patmos with St John, then perhaps the audience of the window could likewise transport themselves there. The window suggests to the educated viewer that they could join these three saintly figures in the abyss and receive the spiritual rewards from such a journey. In this way, the window may have functioned as a form of virtual pilgrimage.⁸⁴

For the educated viewer familiar with the text of Revelation, the materiality of the glass reinforces the narrative space of the biblical text. In Revelation 4:7, where the eagle is introduced (as described in the previous chapter of this dissertation), the text writes of a “sea of glass like crystal” directly in front of the four living creatures (Rev. 4:6).⁸⁵ Likewise, the choice to show the archangel victorious in a window recreates the text of Revelation 15:2: “them that had overcome the beast . . . standing on the sea of glass”. Although, this verse does not refer directly to St Michael (in the biblical text, it is all those on earth who rejected the teachings of the Beast that have overcome his reign), showing St Michael having overcome the Beast, and thus referring to this verse, is the apocalyptic image evoking its own material reality.

⁸² “Ego, Iohannes, frater vester et particeps in tribulacione . . . *Fui in insula que appellatur Pathmos*”; translated and quoted in Watson, *Invention*, 99–100. Emphasis in the original. This is the same passage in which he identifies Patmos with the abyss. Later in the fourteenth century, the poet John Gower compared England to Patmos and, like Rolle, himself to St John; Penn Szittyá, “Domesday Bokes: The Apocalypse in Medieval English Literary Culture,” in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Cornell University Press, 1992), 396.

⁸³ Watson, *Invention*, 99.

⁸⁴ For virtual pilgrimage, see Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent* (Brepols, 2011), 240–45; & Holly Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination* (Brepols, 2009), 118–19.

⁸⁵ The Latin reads “mare vitreum simile cristallo”.

A similar attitude to acknowledging, exploiting and perhaps entertaining the audience with the use of the material world can be seen in the manuscript apocalypses, where St John is almost always placed at the edge of the page, in a blank space usually reserved for scribal annotations.⁸⁶ He is thus the scribe commenting on the text. There is therefore ample precedent for using the materiality of the medium in medieval apocalyptic imagery.

By referring to the materiality of the image, the viewer is reminded of the materiality of the subject matter. This would have intensified if the floodwaters of the river Ouse had touched this window. More specifically, they may have covered the Beast at the base of the St Michael panel, matching the water level of the fiery lake and physically enacting the disappearance from physical view of the agent of evil. There is no proof that floodwaters ever reached this high. Yet, it is at least likely, as explained earlier in this chapter, that the floodwaters of the Ouse could be seen, perhaps only at street level, through the glass of this window. The pale blue colour of the Beast means that the real water may have appeared, when seen through the glass, to ripple across its skin, emphasising the nomenclature of the Beast from the Sea. Thus, the evocation of the translucent materiality of the glass emphasises that the Final Judgement is coming in a physical and meaningful way.

Unlike in the Fifteen Last Days window, the narrative space of the Revelation glass is not found in a proximate, York-based story-world. Instead, the story is set in a supernatural, fantastic space that should nevertheless be seen as entirely real to the medieval viewer. This reinforces the spiritual message of the window, leading the (probably clerical) viewer towards salvation. This is epitomised in the souls held by St Michael.

The inclusion of St John can also create allusions to a particular cleric, namely the recently martyred Richard Scrope. St John is shown in All Saints, North Street as the perfect virginal and saintly cleric, youthful with no beard, blond, curly-hair and white, pure garments, along with his bare feet and open gaze. The same image of John as young, with blond curly hair is presented in the mid-fifteenth-century crucifixion window in the Scrope chapel in York Minster (nII). The glass in All Saints emphasises John's youth to an even greater extent by dressing him in white and gold, rather than the blue and purple of the Minster glass. A late medieval textual connection between St John and virginal saints can be seen in his appearance to Edward the Confessor in Caxton's version of the *Golden Legend*, where St John talks of the

⁸⁶ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Reaktion Books, 1998), 335–36.

rewards of chastity.⁸⁷ Scrope was likewise presented as a virginal cleric. This virginal association has been identified by Pat Cullum in her study of the Scrope revolt. She writes that “virginity and virility . . . were elements of the ideal bishop, and Scrope, or his devotees on his behalf, could make a plausible claim to both”.⁸⁸ In the Bolton Hours, owned by parishioners of All Saints, North Street and probably pre-dating the glass, the archbishop is depicted alongside a young girl with her hair unbound and a flower crown.⁸⁹ She prays to a saint who is seen as appropriate for her maiden devotion, namely to Scrope with no beard and blond, curly hair, just like St John in the All Saints glass.⁹⁰ The same image of Scrope is found elsewhere in another folio that is currently bound in the same manuscript, here holding the windmill that designated his place of martyrdom.⁹¹ The surviving fifteenth-century literature recording and celebrating the martyrdom also promotes ideas of virginity, calling the archbishop “virgin bridegroom” (*Uirgo sponsus*),⁹² and associating “Marie [the Virgin Mary] that mydle may” with Scrope who “held hym both mydle and still”.⁹³ In the miniature in MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, Scrope is shown as a tonsured cleric meekly submitting to his martyrdom.⁹⁴

This is reinforced by the positioning of Scrope’s burial in York Minster. The current construction is not the archbishop’s original tomb, but is likely to be very close to or identical in location to his original burial place.⁹⁵ Here, Henry IV allowed Scrope to be buried as intact as possible after a beheading; his head was buried with the body and not publicly displayed.⁹⁶

⁸⁷ P. H. Cullum, “‘Give Me Chastity’: Masculinity and Attitudes to Chastity and Celibacy in the Middle Ages,” *Gender & History* 25, no. 3 (2013): 627.

⁸⁸ P. H. Cullum, “*Virginitas* and *virilitas* in the Life and Cult of Richard Scrope,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 99.

⁸⁹ For the dating of the Bolton Hours, see Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere,” in *Household, Women, and Christianities: In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Brepols, 2005), 222–23.

⁹⁰ Add. MS. 2, fol. 100v. This is explored in more detail by Rees Jones and Riddy, who argue that Scrope and the maiden who kneels before him are “united above all by their shared virginity”; Rees Jones and Riddy, “The Bolton Hours of York,” 253.

⁹¹ The two images were likely to have originally been in two manuscripts owned by the same family, one for adults and one for children; Kathryn M. Rudy, “The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. MS. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model,” in *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 280.

⁹² David R. Carlson, “The 1405 Richard Scrope Execution Verses (Long Version),” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 97, no. 2 (2021): 64–65.

⁹³ Wright, “*The Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise*,” 113.

⁹⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 146v.

⁹⁵ Christopher Norton, “Richard Scrope and York Minster,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 171–72.

⁹⁶ For the burial in the Minster, see the letters quoted in James Raine, *Historians of York*, vol. 3 (London, 1894), 291–94. There is slight evidence that Scrope’s head may have been placed in a reliquary; *TE*, 3:231–2. However, the description in the *Northern Chronicle* says the archbishop was buried with his head in York Minster, just to the north of the high altar – the current position of his tomb chest (*Set Archiepiscopus cum suo capite sepultus est in ecclesia beati Petri Ebor., in parte boreali ecclesie iuxta magnum altare*); C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Clarendon Press, 1913), 282.

The importance of this space is emphasised by royal and governmental attempts to prevent access to the tomb.⁹⁷ Symbolically, Scrope's tomb could scarcely be in a more important place, at the easternmost end of the metropolitan cathedral. His burial is on the border between St Stephen's chapel and the Lady Chapel.⁹⁸ This puts Scrope's burial below both the apocalyptic Great East Window and the later glazing of the Crucifixion window in St Stephen's chapel. When the Crucifixion window was glazed, ca.1450, an image of St John was placed above Scrope's tomb, associating the martyred archbishop with the evangelist and author of Revelation.⁹⁹ Thus, a visual and textual association between Scrope and St John can be posited in contemporary sources across medieval York.

The choice of objects in the St Michael image in All Saints, North Street likewise evokes Scrope's revolt. In the window, St Michael holds his sword at rest, having just defeated the Beast from the Sea. A similar, but more active image, can be seen in London's Victoria and Albert Museum, where St Michael raises his sword about to defeat the many-headed beast.¹⁰⁰ Yet, St Michael killing the Beast/Satan was often shown with a spear in medieval art. For example, on a fifteenth-century English coin now held by the Bank of England (Figure 48) and in the Book of Hours MS. Lat. liturg., St Michael spears a dragon that can simultaneously represent Satan and the dragon from Revelation.¹⁰¹ Elsewhere in the same manuscript, a full-page illumination shows Scrope executed with a sword, and in the text of the accompanying office celebrating his martyrdom he submits to the sword (*gladium*).¹⁰² This agrees with the hagiographies which likewise describe execution "with a sword" (*cum gladio*).¹⁰³ St Michael could have defeated the Beast with either a sword or a spear in the glass of All Saints, North

⁹⁷ It seems safe to assume that Scrope did not intend to die during his rebellion, though it would have been a possibility if battle had been engaged, but the location of his burial may have been decided before May 28th 1405. This is suggested by his burial in what later became a family chapel. The burial in the Minster of an archbishop executed as a traitor is in itself significant, but the tomb almost instantly became a locus of pilgrimage, adding greater meaning to the position.

⁹⁸ At some point around or slightly later than the archbishop's death, this chapel became the preferred burial location of the Scrope family.

⁹⁹ St John was always to the south of Jesus in the Crucifixion, but the window need not, considering both the dedication to St Stephen and the inclusion of this imagery in the window, have shown St John at the Crucifixion.

¹⁰⁰ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Saint Michael, c. 1430–70, museum no. 209–1946. The sword was also used, for example, in a 1468 painting showing the same trope by Bermejo and a 1475 painting by Pacher (both in London's National Gallery), but in these images St Michael tramples the devil rather than defeating the Beast (though the Satan and Beast are closely connected).

¹⁰¹ The coin, the design of which can be found in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is London, British Museum, Gold Angel Coin, Edward IV, 1473–7, Museum number: BNK, Eur C.245; & MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 143v.

¹⁰² MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 147v. This office, made for Scrope though he was never papally canonised, is written in a Book of Hours and has the haloed archbishop on a facing page. However, Scrope is referred to in the text as pastor, martyr and blessed, but never explicitly as a saint. This almost-sainthood can be seen as analogous to an image in York Minster where Scrope is haloed but the text below him reads "dominus" rather than "sanctus". See page 261.

¹⁰³ Raine, *Historians*, 2:307.

Street, with both appearing in medieval art. The choice of a sword in the narrative sequence of this window evokes Scrope's execution and thus the act of his martyrdom. This is illustrated in MS. Lat. liturg. where, as the sword slashes through Scrope's neck, a halo radiates through the foliate background as if newly grown.¹⁰⁴ The sword thus creates the martyr, making it potentially a significant part of the Scrope's iconography.¹⁰⁵

Moving beyond the plot of the story, this window, with St Michael in the lefthand light, a currently empty central light, and St John on the right, can be spatially mapped onto late medieval York. St John, Ouse Bridge was the neighbouring parish to All Saints, North Street, bordering it to the south (Figure 3). This is the direction that the Revelation window faced, and it is likely that the church of St John, Ouse Bridge could have been seen through the stained glass in All Saints that showed St John.¹⁰⁶ This in itself connects the window with the church of St John. Furthermore, this church was part of rituals connected to Scrope. St John's was one of the twelve stations on the Corpus Christi procession where the plays associated with the procession were performed. These plays were organised by the guild that possessed Scrope relics and showed devotion to him.¹⁰⁷

The church of St Michael, Spurriergate faces the church of St John from the opposite side of the river Ouse. Therefore, when looking south from All Saints, North Street, the church of St Michael is on the right of the viewer and that of St John on the left, exactly as it is in the window. The space outside this church was also a stop during the Corpus Christi procession and plays and, at the time this window was designed, a prominent parishioner of St Michael owned "small book called Scrope".¹⁰⁸ The glass in All Saints could suggest a deliberate association with the church of St Michael. In the glass, St Michael stands or hovers above water. This draws on the Book of Revelation where the Satan, the Beast and the false prophet were thrown into a lake (albeit one of fiery sulphur). The water also evokes the church of St Michael, which was by the river Ouse.

Unfortunately, the content of the Revelation window's central light is lost, but, in the urban space of late medieval York, the civic chapel of St William on Ouse Bridge fills the gap between St Michael and St John (Figure 3). This chapel, as described in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, was a key locus in the Scrope revolt. The bells were possibly rung from the chapel

¹⁰⁴ MS. Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 146v.

¹⁰⁵ If more images had survived, the identification of the sword as an attribute of the sainted Scrope could be made more confidently.

¹⁰⁶ In the fifteenth-century, St John Ouse Bridge had a tower visible from All Saints, North Street.

¹⁰⁷ Meg Twycross, "Places to Hear the Play": Pageant Stations at York, 1398–1572," in *The Materials of Early Theatre: Sources, Images, and Performance*, ed. Pamela King, and Sarah Carpenter (Routledge, 2018), 20.

¹⁰⁸ Twycross, "Places to Hear the Play," 20; & Riddy and Rees Jones, "The Bolton Hours of York," 247.

to call the city to insurrection, it was where the head of a traitorous clerk was placed (the only head displayed within the city walls) and was where the accoutrements of the Scrope-related Corpus Christi guild were kept. It is likely that the central light in All Saints was filled within another image of Revelation, one appearing in the biblical text between chapters 4 and 19. It can be postulated, based on similar contemporary popular imagery, that this was an image of the Lamb of God.¹⁰⁹ Speculatively, the chapel of St William (and thus the saints William of York and Richard Scrope) was associated with the Lamb, a pertinent association for two martyrs, particularly as Maidstone's hagiography explicitly describes Scrope led like a lamb to the slaughter (*sicut ovis ad victimam*).¹¹⁰ Therefore, when looking through the Revelation window (which faces in the direction of all three of these dedications), a connection to the use of space in York before, during and after the Scrope revolt can be postulated. The narrative space in the window maps onto the physical space of late medieval York.

When viewing a story, it is normal to assume that, unless specified otherwise, the fictional world holds to the same truths as the real world.¹¹¹ This is more complicated in stories with religious subjects, where the plot and setting of the narrative is not representative of the human world. This window with both its unworldly setting and, as explained in the previous chapter of this dissertation, its complex temporality creates a fantastical narrative space. The windows in this aisle are likewise set in unfamiliar worlds. The medieval content of the neighbouring window to the Revelation glass is unknown, but one place further west in the south wall is the Nine Orders of Angels window. Here, each of the nine panels has an angel leading sections of society to their doom, accompanied by one line of text in Latin, underscoring the liturgical and heavenly nature of the images. In the other surviving stained glass in the south aisle, the human nature of the Virgin is cast aside as she is depicted as the Queen of Heaven, draped in blue and gold and wearing a crown of stars. This is in clear contrast to the focus on the family and human incarnation of Christ in the windows of the north aisle. The consistency in the imagery along the south aisle of the church in depicting in the same heavenly world heightens the immersion in the narrative in the final window. Moreover, this narrative space reflects the plot of the story. It creates no cognitive disjunction: the presentation of the narrative space prepares the reader for a supernatural story, which is what they receive. It is a more comforting experience than the Fifteen Last Days window, where the viewer is

¹⁰⁹ Emerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 161 & 170–71. Two other lambs, held by figures of St John the Baptist, appear elsewhere in the glass of the church. The existence of a third in this window would complete a trinity.

¹¹⁰ Raine, *Historians*, 2:307. Maidstone draws on Isaiah 53:7, but paraphrases. This suggests a greater engagement with the text than a simple biblical quote.

¹¹¹ David Lewis, "Truth in Fiction," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1978): 42.

likely to be shocked to see their immediate environment destroyed by the apocalypse. This reflects the intended audience; clerics and highly educated laity who could understand the complex narrative. This audience did not need to be shocked into good Christian behaviour by a disconcerting story-world.

6.3. Judgement

What then is the purpose of situating these narratives within these story-world(s)? The answer lies in the further development of the points made in the previous chapter; namely that these windows were designed with the intention of providing pastoral care to different audiences. This, however, does not yet fully account for the Scrope allusions found within the pictorial narratives. The final section of this chapter will argue that the intersection of response and reconciliation in the wake of Scrope's 1405 revolt, the focus on contemplative approaches and pastoral care, and the use of temporality and narrative space within these windows lie in the concept of Judgement, both temporal and, as all temporal judgement eventually is, divine. More specifically, it proposes that the representation of the Scrope revolt within this glass actively sites the archbishop's martyrdom as an early sign of the Last Judgement.

Maidstone's hagiography calls Richard Scrope a "doctor of both laws" (*doctor utriusque juris*), denoting civil and canon law.¹¹² Based on the surviving evidence of Scrope's legal career in Ely consistory court and the papal court in Rome, there is no reason to doubt this. Scrope came from a family that identified strongly with the law; his grandfather was a lawyer and Chief Justice, as was his great uncle and patron, and his cousin Lord Scrope of

¹¹² Raine, *Historians*, 2:306; & R. N. Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 19–20. For civil lawyers in late medieval England, see R. Palmer, "The Origins of the Legal Profession in England," *Irish Jurist* 11 (1976): 126–46; N. Ramsay, "What Was the Legal Profession?" in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Alan Sutton, 1990), 62–71; Charles Donahue, "The Legal Professions of Fourteenth-Century England: Serjeants of the Common Bench and Advocates of the Court of Arches," in *Laws, Lawyers and Texts: Studies in Medieval Legal History in Honour of Paul Brand*, ed. S. Jenks, J. Rose and C. Whittick (Brill, 2012), 227; & Simon Walker, "Yorkshire Justices of the Peace, 1389–1413," *English Historical Review* 108 (1993): 291–98. For canon law, see Kenneth Pennington, "Representation in Medieval Canon Law," *Jurist* 64 (2004): 361–84; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Canon Law and Local Practice: The Case of Mendicant Preaching in Late Medieval England," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 2 (1972): 17–32; & William W. Bassett, "Canon Law and the Common Law," *Hastings Law Journal* 29 (1978): 1383–419. For contemporary nomenclature for 'lawyer', see Donahue, "The Legal Professions of Fourteenth-Century England," 251. For the community of lawyers in fifteenth-century England (as created through sexual violence), see Amanda McVitty, "Homosociality, Sexual Misconduct and Gendered Violence in England's Pre-Modern Legal Profession," *Past & Present* 261, no. 1 (November 2023): 86–117.

Bolton.¹¹³ According to William Basset, “by the late Middle Ages a doctor's degree in both laws, *doctor utriusque iuris*, became a requisite for faculty status and high governmental positions”.¹¹⁴ This lawyer identification by Maidstone can therefore be seen as both a description of Scrope’s education and a justification of his suitability for his high position as archbishop. Furthermore, the Scrope family were plaintiffs in the most famous legal case in late fourteenth-century England, *Scrope vs Grovesnor*, a case that, due to the large number of people involved and their high status, would likely have lingered in the popular imagination, connecting the Scrope name with legal proceedings.¹¹⁵

Possibly due to the above factors, law is presented as a key reason for Scrope’s revolt. The articles, apparently written in English and then copied in Latin by Thomas Walsingham and the author of the *Annals* are the closest a historian can come to Scrope’s motivations for revolt. As described in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, these articles focus on governance, justice, and mercantile interests.¹¹⁶ The first article asks for good governance of the kingdom, according to “truth and justice” (*veritatis et justitise*).¹¹⁷ Subsequent articles refer to customary laws and a just government. Other articles, recorded in manuscripts with Clement Maidstone’s hagiography, also focus on justice. These asked the king to forswear his perjury, for “the just laws of the kingdom of England” (*justas leges regni Angliae*) to be followed, and for judgement by equals.¹¹⁸

Law continued to be a theme once the archbishop was arrested. It was canon law that prevented, in the informed opinion of Chief Justice William Gascoigne, Scrope being tried by the king’s secular court.¹¹⁹ In an account possibly written by a York lawyer, Gascoigne tells the

¹¹³ Brigitte Vale, “Scrope, Sir Geoffrey (d. 1340), justice and administrator,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); & E. Lionel G. Stones, “Sir Geoffrey le Scrope (c. 1285–1340), Chief Justice of the King's Bench,” *The English Historical Review* 69, no. 270 (1954): 1–17. For Henry Scrope’s various legal positions, alongside the career of his brother, see Donahue, “The Legal Professions of Fourteenth-Century England,” 236–37.

¹¹⁴ Basset, “Canon Law and the Common Law,” 1406.

¹¹⁵ In brief, the Scrope and Grovesnor families discovered they had the same coat of arms. After consulting widely with noble and knightly families who had seen the Scropes and Grovesnors using their arms, the case was decided in favour of Scrope. For a full explanation, see Brigitte Vale, “Scrope, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹⁶ See also Michele Campopiano, “The Reception of Italian Political Theory in Northern England: Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Giles of Rome in York,” in *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Helen Fulton (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 62 & 65.

¹¹⁷ Henry Thomas Riley, ed., “Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae,” in *Chronica et Annales: AD 1259–1296, 1307–1324, 1392–1406* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 403.

¹¹⁸ Raine, *Historians*, 2:305. Simon Walker characterises these articles as “apparently the work of a group of clerical Richardian loyalists . . . dated on internal grounds to the period between July 1403 and May 1405”; Simon Walker, “The Yorkshire Risings of 1405: Texts and Contexts,” in *Political Culture in Later Medieval England* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 232.

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 308.

king that there is no legal right under which the archbishop can be judged or executed (*nullum legem habetis ad occidendum aliquem episcopum, et ideo quod vos non potestis in hac materia ego iudex talis non posseum*).¹²⁰ Likewise, the *Eulogium* has Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury telling the king that Scrope should only be judged by the pope.¹²¹ The *Chronicle of John Strecche* has the king ordering that Scrope and Mowbray be judged traitors, in a clear contravention of the law.¹²² Other chronicles move quickly from Scrope's capture by the Earl of Westmorland to the execution, but Justice Gascoigne's refusal to judge a prelate appears prominently in Maidstone's hagiography. He quotes Justice Gascoigne (*iudex principalis Angliae*) as saying, "Neither you, my lord king, nor any of your subjects in your name, can lawfully, according to the laws of the kingdom, sentence any bishop to death" (*Nec vos, domine mi rex, nec aliquis nomine vestro vester ligeus [sic], potestis licite secundum jura regni aliquem episcopum ad mortem judicare*).¹²³

The chronicle accounts of the 1405 Scrope revolt likewise highlight the importance of justice on the execution field. The *Eulogium* has Scrope saying that he died "for the laws and good governance of the kingdom of England (*pro legibus et bono regimine regni Angliae*)."¹²⁴ Thomas Walsingham writes that, on the field of his execution, Scrope told Mowbray "to willingly suffer the momentary death he would be suffering for the sake of justice" (*libenter sufferret mortem momentaneam quam obiturus erat pro justitia*).¹²⁵ The archbishop's alleged last words were "it is for the laws and good government of England that I die".¹²⁶ He uttered these words after assuring his co-rebels that they would meet again in Paradise, presumably after the Last Judgement, unless he believed that all three men were to become saints. The early fifteenth-century office for Scrope also describes a loss of justice, whilst a late fifteenth-century poem references Scrope "whos deth ys a very trew evidence // To all Ingeland for the Just title".¹²⁷ Therefore, in the textual record of the Scrope revolt, law and justice was presented as a key theme, providing justification for the revolt and prominent in the execution.

¹²⁰ Raine, *Historians*, 3:209.

¹²¹ Frank Scott Haydon, ed., *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis)*, vol. 3 (London, 1863), 407. Since the Western Schism coincided with the Hundred Years War, the English preferred the pope in Rome. This pope is therefore Innocent VII.

¹²² Chris Given-Wilson, "English Translation of John Strecche's Chronicle for the Reign of Henry IV," in *The Medieval Chronicle 15*, ed. Sjoerd Levelt and Graeme Dunphy (Brill, 2023), 120.

¹²³ Raine, *Historians*, 2:306.

¹²⁴ *Eulogium*, 3:408.

¹²⁵ Riley, "Annales," 409.

¹²⁶ Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (Yale University Press, 2016), 269.

¹²⁷ Falconer Madan, "Beatus Ricardus Martyr Atque Pontifex," *Athenaeum* 3171 (1888): 161; & Danna Pirovansky, "Cults of Political Martyrs in Late Medieval England" (PhD diss., Queen Mary College, University of London, 2005), 166.

The text of the hagiographies emphasises how Scrope forgave his executioner just as St Stephen did. In Acts 7:60, St Stephen prays to God not to punish his executioners. In his hagiography, Maidstone provides dialogue for Scrope: “I will forgive you” (*Ego tibi remitto*). Likewise, in the poem *The Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise*, the executioner asks for and receives forgiveness.

He [the executioner] that shulde his [Scrope’s] dethe be,
 he kneled downe upon his kne,
 ‘lord your deth forgyffe it me’ ...
 ‘here I [Scrope] wyll the commende’.¹²⁸

The connection to St Stephen in these texts should be considered in light of Scrope’s burial location. As explained above, Scrope was buried on the edge of the St Stephen’s chapel in York Minster, with light cast on his tomb from both the apocalyptic Great East Window and the Crucifixion window with its scenes from the life of St Stephen. More specifically, the scene from St Stephen’s life just above Scrope’s tomb shows St Stephen refuting legal accusations against him.¹²⁹ This window post-dates Scrope’s martyrdom by several decades but was donated by a member of his family and presumably designed with the executed archbishop’s tomb in mind. In this way, the clear connection between Scrope and St Stephen seen concurrently in the burial location and hagiographies can be further specified with reference to the unfair judgement on St Stephen.

There is also a strong element of justice in the miracles attributed to Scrope. John Sibson, the old man who removed the timbers from the archbishop’s tomb, did so as penance for an earlier crime. Sibson had reportedly planned, but not committed, a murder some decades earlier. Scrope came to him and ordered that he make restitution: “commanding him to confess his sin of thinking of murder” (*praecipiens eidem ut peccatum suum de cogitatione homicidii*).¹³⁰ Likewise, the miracle that occurred on the field where Scrope was executed is presented as Scrope providing justice. The field is trampled, and the crop lost, yet it comes back better either, depending on the source, that autumn or the following year.¹³¹ Fertility where

¹²⁸ Wright, “*Bishop Scrope that Was so Wise*,” 114.

¹²⁹ See the Golden Legend’s long description of this legal battle, likely to have been of particular interest to the lawyers Alne and Baguley; “St Stephen,” *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

¹³⁰ Raine, *Historians*, 2:309.

¹³¹ Walsingham says the field “produced a crop that year larger than any it had produced in many a year” (*redderet fructum eo anno quantum antea non reddiderat in multis annis*); Walsingham, *The St Albans Chronicle*, 454–55. Pirovansky decides on the following year; Pirovansky, “*Martyrio pulchro finitus*,” 110, citing Maidstone and Gascoigne.

holy blood had been spilled is not unusual, but this miracle is also presented as a form of restitution; the farmer/prioress did not volunteer their field and damage was done, but Scrope ensured that the crop came back five times as abundant. In another form of justice, Henry IV was divinely punished for his crime. Thomas Gascoigne reports that the king was cursed with leprosy, a claim supported by Maidstone's account.¹³² Both accounts present this malady as the judgement of God.¹³³

Lawyers, particularly the Dautre family of York and their associates, preserved relics of the "beloved most blessed St Richard Scrope".¹³⁴ In Hughes' opinion, the lawyers of late medieval York used Scrope's "cult to explore legal issues."¹³⁵ For Hughes,

the establishment of a cult became a means for the clergy and secular lawyers of York to express the illegality of the king's action and to assert their independence from the encroachment of central government. Many of the influential figures in the cult were secular lawyers attempting to preserve the autonomy of their profession.¹³⁶

He cites the exclusion of secular lawyers from the 1404 Coventry parliament in support of a contemporary need to use Scrope to preserve autonomy, as well as Thomas Gascoigne's description of William Gascoigne's distinction in canon law between laymen and clergy.¹³⁷ Objects associated with Scrope also passed between secular lawyers and clerics, and Hughes uses the likely authorship of the anonymous account of Scrope's execution by the lawyer Thomas Dautre to show deep interest by clerics in Scrope's revolt, execution, and memory.¹³⁸ Thus, it is likely that lawyer viewer of the window saw a narrative that referenced the Scrope cult as likewise referencing legal issues, though this would only ever be a small proportion of the audience.

Likewise, and perhaps creating an emotional connection with the martyred archbishop, both clerics involved in the construction of the apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street

¹³² James E. Thorold Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1881), 228; & Raine, *Historians*, 2:309. For an overview of legal treatments of leprosy in the Middle Ages, see Melodie H. Eichbauer, "Legal Authorities and their Legislative Priorities: The Treatment of Leprosy in the Sources of Canon Law," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 106, no. 1 (2020): 153–95, for example Gratian on divine judgement on the leper on page 164.

¹³³ The anonymous account, possibly by a York lawyer, ascribes this malady to the false judge, William Fulthorpe; Raine, *Historians*, 3:291.

¹³⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 308.

¹³⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 308.

¹³⁶ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 307.

¹³⁷ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 308.

¹³⁸ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 308.

were trained in law. James Baguley was described in 1426 as a Bachelor of Canon Law.¹³⁹ Robert Alne was trained in canon law at St Peter's College, Cambridge and became Examiner General of the Court of York.¹⁴⁰ Alne's interest in law is evidenced through both his career and the large number of books on canon law that he bequeathed in his will (see Appendix 2). He also owned a copy of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, identified by Michele Campopiano as pertinent to the understanding of the revolt by York Minster's clerics.¹⁴¹ It is impossible to say for certain that Baguley was the designer of both windows, and even less certain that Alne was involved, but it is plausible. A rector of the church and a wealthy, high-status and very well-educated parishioner were the obvious candidates for lay donors to consult when choosing both the subject matter and the exact narrative depictions of their windows.

Indications of a medieval connection between eschatology and legal (in)justice can be seen in evidence from surviving manuscripts. The First Riustring Manuscript (the Asega-bôk), written in the Old Frisian vernacular ca.1300, is a collection of legal texts, which also contains a description of the Fifteen Last Days.¹⁴² The text of the *Golden Legend* explicitly says that Antichrist

shall destroy the law of Jesu Christ, and shall ordain his law in alleging David the Prophet that saith: *Constitue domine legislatorem super eos*. Thus shall he say, that it was said for him as he that was ordained of God for to set law upon his place.¹⁴³

One of the signs of Antichrist is therefore the giving of false law, privileging the virtuous role of canon lawyers in determining God's law. Throughout the *Golden Legend's* narrative, Christ is referred to as the judge. This text comes a few lines after the description of the fifteen last days. In the York Mystery Play of Doomsday, God/Christ is called the "high justise" and calls humanity to a "grette assise", therefore making a clear allusion to English law's assizes.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, the roundels in the Vienna *Horarium* surround a depiction of the Last

¹³⁹ J. A. Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters: Volume 7, 1417–1431* (Stationary Office Books, 1906), 469. For a fuller description of Baguley's career, see Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ David M. Smith, ed., *York Clergy Ordinations, 1400–1424* (Borthwick Publications, 2020), 49. For a fuller description of Alne's career, see Chapter 4.

¹⁴¹ Campopiano, "The Reception of Italian Political Theory in Northern England," 63–65.

¹⁴² Concetta Giliberto, "The Fifteen Signs of Doomsday of the First Riustring Manuscript," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 64, no. 1 (2007): 130.

¹⁴³ "The Advent of our Lord," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290* vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 444. The assizes were courts that regularly visited England's towns and cities to try the most serious crimes.

Judgement.¹⁴⁵ This is theologically justified and unsurprising, whilst also emphasising that the culmination of the fifteen last days is divine justice.

Any depiction, textual or artistic, of the Last Judgement is participatory in that the viewer of the window (should they believe in the theological truth of the narrative) expects to be present at this event, and themselves to be judged.¹⁴⁶ In some media, such as the mystery plays, this can be made physically explicit as demons or angels move through the crowd.¹⁴⁷ Even if there is no physical movement, the reader or viewer of these depictions is necessarily a part of the story. Whilst this is also the case for Judgement narratives that are set in a different location from the place of their making or display, the setting of the Fifteen Last Days narrative at All Saints, North Street in York intensifies involvement in the story.¹⁴⁸ Not only will the viewer be present at the Last Judgement, but they are also encouraged to imagine how they will experience the apocalyptic events preceding Judgment within their immediate locality.

Whether this effect was intended by the designer of the window can never be known. However, it can be postulated that the designers of the window deliberately chose the York location as the setting for the Fifteen Last Days because it allowed them to insert allusions to the Scrope cult in the narrative space of the glass. Allusions to the revolt, as explained earlier in this chapter, can be seen most clearly in the initiating panels of the Fifteen Last Days window. Scrope allusions appear in the setting of the first three days in an execution land resembling the field in which Scrope was executed, in the use of heraldry referencing participants in the revolt, and the flood crushing this vegetation like the wheat was trampled during Scrope's martyrdom. The narrative returns to the Scrope allusion in the final panel, showing the earth burning in a reference to Pentecost, the date of Scrope's execution. Based on this evidence, an intended connection between Scrope and the apocalypse can be postulated as part of the narrative of this window.

The centrality of judgement and justice to the culmination of the apocalyptic story and both Scrope's life as a lawyer and his unjust death provides a link between the archbishop and the apocalypse. The concentration of allusions to Scrope in the first four days positions his martyrdom as one of the early signs of the apocalypse. The early fifteenth-century floods in the

¹⁴⁵ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r.

¹⁴⁶ For participatory narratives, see Marie-Laure Ryan, "On the Theoretical Foundations of Transmedial Narratology," in *Narratology beyond Literary Criticism: Mediality, Disciplinarity*, ed. Meister, Jan Christoph, Tom Kindt and Wilhelm Schernus (De Gruyter, 2005), 12.

¹⁴⁷ For use of physical space around the York pageant wagons, see Martin W. Walsh, "High Places and Travelling Scenes: Some Observations on the Staging of the York Cycle," *Early Theatre* 3 (2000): 138.

¹⁴⁸ For example, in medieval European maps the tribes of Gog and Magog are clearly placed far from Latin Christendom, usually around the Caspian Sea; Scafi, "Mapping the End," 409.

winters before the revolt may already have been seen by contemporaries as the events of the first three days, and the roaring pikes are symbols of the Percy family in armed insurrection. These could refer to the revolts of 1403, 1405 and/or 1408. The use of a heraldic device with its martial resonances increases the impact. More speculatively, the fire on the fifth day could be seen to symbolise the hearts of the inhabitants of York burning for justice, and the golden bloody dew on the sixth day as Scrope's saintly blood split on the execution field.

In keeping with the complexity of its temporal narrative, the allusions to the Scrope cult in the Revelation window are less explicit. John's presentation as a young, virginal man, the use of a sword by St Michael, and the way the window references the nearest station of the Corpus Christi plays, organised by the guild closely connected to Scrope, all create possibilities of allusion to Scrope. The weighing of souls by St Michael and the way the window visually loops across the church to join the Fifteen Last Days means that this narrative likewise culminates in the Last Judgement. Justice, if not obvious allusions to Scrope's revolt, is therefore a significant part of the narrative space of this window. The weighing of souls, being the furthest east, is the culmination of the narrative. It can therefore be said, following Prince's tripartite division quoted in the introduction to this chapter, that the narrative space in these windows functions thematically, focusing the attention of the viewer upon the idea of justice, both temporal and divine.

7. Sound in the Apocalyptic Glass

As argued in the previous chapter, James Baguley's and Robert Alne's interest in clerical and divine law, and the priests' devotion to Scrope can be seen in the concentration on justice in the narratives presented in the two apocalyptic windows in All Saints, North Street. The Scrope imagery used in these stories transforms the narrative from one that is abstractly apocalyptic into one with specific relevance to the lives of the viewers. The motivations for the choice to depict Scrope are likely to have included a combination of the following factors:

1. A desire to create, reinforce or maintain social cohesion in the wake of the 1405 revolt, as explored in Chapter 4;
2. Pastoral care and the salvation of souls, as explored in Chapters 5 and 6;
3. The priests' personal interest in and devotion to local popular saints, Scrope and Rolle.

This third factor will be the focus of this chapter. As in previous chapters, each window will first be examined individually, here with regards to their presentation of sound. The analysis builds on the exploration of the narrative space of the apocalyptic windows in the previous chapter. The first two sections aim to understand why sound is so prominent within these visual narratives. The analyses of the two windows are brought together in a third section, which explores why Baguley and Alne combined references to Rolle and Scrope in the apocalyptic windows, before the chapter ends with a consideration of the legacy of this Rolle-Scrope-apocalypse nexus.

Sound in medieval art has been a growing field of study in recent years.¹ Bissera Pentcheva's exploration of sound in the Hagia Sophia put Byzantine art at the forefront of this new field.² Her more recent work on parts of Europe with the Latin rite has investigated sound in the twelfth-century Stavelot retable, and the interaction of the liturgy and architectural

¹ For recent and ongoing examples of medieval sound studies beyond art, see Julie Singer, "Hearing an Urban Plague Soundscape: *Gilles li Muisis* in Tournai, 1349–50," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1225–46; & Tess Knighton, "Circulating Sound in the City: The Procession in the Context of Historical Sound Studies/La circulación del sonido en la ciudad: La procesion en el contexto de los Historical Sound Studies," *Artigrama* 36 (2021): 25–45 (part of the SOUNDSPACE: How Processions Moved: Sound and Space in the Performance of Urban Ritual, c.1400–c.1700 ERC project, with particular future relevance to the Corpus Christi processions in late medieval York). For other ERC projects on sound studies, see Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe & ReSound – Giving Voice to Hispanic Chant.

² Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art* (Routledge, 2021); & chapters in Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Aural Architecture in Byzantium: Music, Acoustics, and Ritual* (Zed Books, 2021).

interior of the churches of southern Italy.³ The 2015 volume on *Resounding Images* explores the conjunction of sound and image from a variety of perspectives, all emphasising the potential inherent in an approach that considers both.⁴ In Emma Dillon's exploration of the *Roman de Fauvel*, the narrative space of the (visual and textual) narrative is established by music, whilst Beth Williamson examines how music in medieval images should be seen as encouraging contemplation.⁵ Laura Slater sees the musical corbels at Cogges, Oxfordshire as "prompt[ing] engagement of one's inner, spiritual hearing", with a warning contained in their "cacophonous sound".⁶ Sound has also been examined in, amongst many other examples, music in the geometry of architectural design, illustrations of sirens in manuscripts, and the use of gestures to represent speech or singing in late medieval visual art and literature.⁷

The rich source material surviving from and related to fifteenth-century York has allowed scholars to investigate sound in the city, especially in music and song.⁸ John Caldwell has surveyed the liturgy, including the chants, of the Use of York, and suggested that "different churches were free to make their own selection" from the repertory of the Use.⁹ Lisa Colton has located polyphonic music in fifteenth-century York, and suggested that All Saints, North Street owned manuscripts of this type of music from the middle of the century.¹⁰ Elsewhere, she explores York's rich musical tradition in the century before the Reformation.¹¹ The

³ Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Optical and Acoustic Aura in the Medieval Image: The Golden Retable of the Pentecost at Stavelot," *Material Religion* 16, no. 1 (2020): 9–40; Bissera V. Pentcheva, "Performative Images and Cosmic Sound in the Exultet Liturgy of Southern Italy," *Speculum* 95, no. 2 (2020): 396–466; & Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Audiovision in the Middle Ages: Sainte-Foy at Conques* (Stanford University Press, 2023).

⁴ Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds, *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound* (Brepols, 2015). The most relevant chapter for this dissertation in the above volume is Judith H. Oliver on "Sounds and Visions of Heaven: The Fusion of Music and Art in the Gradual of Gisela von Kersebroeck".

⁵ Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the "Roman de Fauvel"* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); & Beth Williamson, "Sensory Experience in Medieval Devotion: Sound and Vision, Invisibility and Silence," *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (2013): 22.

⁶ Laura Slater, "Musical Wit and Courtly Connections at Cogges," in *Tributes to Paul Binski: Medieval Gothic. Art, Architecture and Ideas*, ed. Julian M. Luxford (Brepols, 2021), 204–05 (part of the ERC: Music and Late Medieval European Court Cultures).

⁷ N. Hiscock, *The Symbol at your Door: Number and Geometry in the Religious Architecture of the Greek and Latin Middle Ages* (Ashgate, 2007), 208–09; Sarah Kay, "Siren Enchantments or Reading Sound in Medieval Books," *SubStance* 49, no. 2 (2020): 108–32; & Daniela Wagner, "The Vocal in the Visual: Auditory Issues and the Potential of the Voice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Visual Art," in *The Multi-Sensory Image from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Heather Hunter-Crawley and Erica O'Brien (Routledge, 2019), 149–67.

⁸ For a general survey of medieval music, see Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), particularly the following chapters: Roman Hankeln, "Liturgy and Plainchant, 1150–1570," 774–800; & Karl Kügle, "Liturgical Polyphony after 1300," 881–906.

⁹ John Caldwell, "Insular Uses Other Than That of Salisbury," in *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland*, ed. Ann Buckley and Lisa Colton (Cambridge University Press, 2022), 60.

¹⁰ Lisa Colton, "Music in Pre-Reformation York: a New Source and Some Thoughts on the York Masses," *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 12, no. 1 (2003): 71–88.

¹¹ Lisa Colton, "Choral Music in York, 1400–1540," in *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, ed. P.S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft (Spire Books, 2005), 50.

following chapter will add the visual element to this discussion of sound in late medieval York in the form of stained glass and its mystical allusions.

There has been extensive discussion of Richard Rolle, his work, and his place in the English mystical tradition, referred to in previous chapters, but not fully surveyed. In recent scholarship, an October 2024 cluster in *Speculum* discusses the hermit as a “writer exploiting conventional tropes of hermit hagiographies, cultivating charisma at a distance, opportunistically copying coveted sources, composing poetry in a larger tradition of anonymous English lyric, offering his texts as a site of communal imitation, and experimenting as a medieval sound artist”.¹² In this cluster, Katherine Zieman suggests that contact with Rolle’s texts provided the possibility of divine contact to the fifteenth-century reader, whilst Andrew Kraebel explores how Rolle preserved his own reading in his writing.¹³ For Andrew Albin, writing in *Speculum* and elsewhere, “sound is arguably the unifying thread that knits the mystical, quotidian, and textual dimensions of [Rolle’s] practice into a unified whole”.¹⁴

Jonathan Hughes’ work on spiritual life in late medieval Yorkshire sees Rolle as initiating the fourteenth-century move towards the contemplative life expressed in the English vernacular, partly through the strength of his unconventional personality and the emphasis he placed on his unique devotional experiences.¹⁵ Timothy Glover suggests that Rolle’s apparently “eccentric persona” was an eremitic convention.¹⁶ Rolle and his hagiographers may have been drawing upon established models of hermetic life, but the mystic was certainly unconventional when compared to the clerics of fifteenth-century York. For Christopher Roman, Rolle queers his own mystical experience, particularly the body’s relation to divine song.¹⁷ Whether a convention or an accurate reflection of Rolle’s personality, these interpretations indicate the persona Rolle presented to his fifteenth-century readers, and thus the one known by the viewers

¹² Andrew Albin and Andrew Kraebel, “Introduction,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1048.

¹³ Katherine Zieman, “Resonant Charisma: Richard Rolle as Public Contemplative,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1080; & Andrew Kraebel, “Hermit Libraries: Material Sources and the Making of Richard Rolle’s Prose,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1081–96. See also Katherine Zieman, “The Perils of *Canor*: Mystical Authority, Alliteration, and Extra-Grammatical Meaning in Rolle, the *Cloud*-Author, and Hilton,” *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 22 (2008): 131–63.

¹⁴ Andrew Albin, “Theorizing Richard Rolle’s Sound Art,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1133. See also Andrew Albin, “Canorous Soundstuff: Hearing the Officium of Richard Rolle at Hampole,” *Speculum* 91 (2016): 1027; & Andrew Albin, “Listening for *canor* in Richard Rolle’s *Melos amoris*,” in *Voice and Voicelessness in Medieval Europe*, ed. Irit Ruth Kleiman (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

¹⁵ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 82–83.

¹⁶ Timothy Glover, ““Strange in His Ways, Strange in His Words”: Eccentricity, Eremitism, and Autobiography in the Works of Richard Rolle,” *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1052. Further study would be required to assess the extent to which Rolle was acting within known conventions. However, it seems more likely that the clerics of fifteenth-century York would have seen Rolle’s text and actions as unconventional.

¹⁷ Christopher M. Roman, *Queering Richard Rolle: Mystical Theology and the Hermit in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cham, 2017), 85.

of All Saints' apocalyptic windows. Steven Rozenski places Rolle in a continental context, seeing "significant commonalities" between Rolle and the Rhineland mystic Henry Suso in creating a relationship between the writer and reader.¹⁸ Finally, Nicholas Watson's seminal survey of Rolle's works and their development throughout his life finds "a careful progression from discussion of the active life, to a long engagement in the affairs of the contemplative life, to a final and self-conscious shift to the perspective of the 'mixed' life".¹⁹ Rolle's *Melos amoris*, the fullest exposition of his theology of divine song, is the culmination of this journey. In the words of Watson, it is the expression of a "confidently individual spiritual direction".²⁰ It is this spiritual direction that the following chapter will argue captured the attention of the designers of the apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street.

7.1 Sound in the Fifteen Last Days Window

The Fifteen Last Days window is very loud. Pike roar on the fourth day ("The fourth day fishes shall make roaring // Hideous and heavy to men's hearing"), buildings collapse on the seventh day ("The seventh day houses may fall // Castles & towers & every wall"), rocks and stones strike together on the eighth day ("The eighth day the rocks and stones // Shall strike together all at once"), earthquakes are referred to as earth-din ("erthdyng") on the ninth day, and flames crackle from the seas on the fifth and fourteenth days ("The fifth day the sea shall burn // And all the water that may run" and "The xv day thus shall betide // The world shall burn on every side"). These sounds are engaging, potentially creating a story-world around the aural imagination of the viewer and reader of the window. In the still largely oral culture of the fifteenth century, this impact is likely to have been far stronger than it is today and would probably have especially appealed to the children that this window may have been intended to teach.

Even louder sound can be seen in the wider context of the texts in this window. For example, on the ninth day, the couplet in the window reads: "The ninth day earthquakes shall be // Severally in every country" (*Pe neghon day erthdyng sall be // Severally in ilk contry*). This text, particularly the reference to earthquakes as "din", is loud in itself. However, if the audience knew the poem (and it seems a reasonable assumption that some would have done so

¹⁸ Steven Rozenski, "Authority and Exemplarity in Henry Suso and Richard Rolle," in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Charney Manor, July 2011*, ed. E. A. Jones (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 93 & 108.

¹⁹ Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 257.

²⁰ Watson, *Invention*, 257.

since at least one parishioner owned a copy of the *Prick of Conscience*), the connection to sound in the ninth day is especially striking. In MS. Douce 126, the two couplets for the ninth day read:

The ninth day a great earth din shall be
Generally in every country
And so great earth din as shall be then
Was never heard since the world began.²¹

Thus, the noise of earthquakes in the poem on the ninth of the fifteen last days is louder than anything heard before. It is therefore likely that, to the reader of the glass who knew the poem, the text of the window's couplet can be extended to include the "great thunder" recorded by the *Prick of Conscience*'s author, making it even louder than reading only the couplet painted on the glass would suggest.

If, as argued in previous chapters of this dissertation, strong links should be seen to the writings of the early fourteenth-century mystic Richard Rolle in both of these windows, then the emphasis on sound is unsurprising. *Canor* — the experience of hearing heavenly song — was the most significant concept in Rolle's mysticism.²² Found most prominently in his *Melos amoris*, the Yorkshire mystic understood this process of being subsumed by a divine melody as the highest possible spiritual experience.²³ *Canor* was a state of communion with God unlikely to be reached by any other human, except (as even Rolle's ego was forced to admit) saints.²⁴ The ability to hear it came upon him first when he was at prayer in a church, apparently surrounded by badly singing monks chanting psalms. Afterwards, for Rolle, *canor* was something best heard when in a state of rest, far away from the concerns of the world and the active life lived by those choosing to dwell there. It would be heard in a hermitage in the wilderness and not in a busy, urban parish church.²⁵ However, this did not stop many late

²¹ *Pe neyþe day a gr[ea]t erthedene schal be // Generaly in ech a cuntre // And so gr[ea]t erthedene as schal be þane // Was neve herd seþe þe wyrld begane*; MS. Douce 126, fol. 40v.

²² Bernard McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism (1350–1550)* (Herder & Herder, 2012), 360. *Canor* was the pinnacle of three concepts; *calor* (the fire of divine love), *dulcor* (the sweetness of divine love), and *canor*. For a fuller explanation of these in Rolle's mysticism, see Watson, *The Invention of Authority*. For a similar experience in a different context see Oliver, "Sounds and Visions of Heaven," 246.

²³ Nicholas Watson, "Translation and Self-Canonization in the *Melos Amoris*," in *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Ellis (Brewer, 1989), 170–73.

²⁴ Albin, "Canorous Soundstuff," 1027.

²⁵ Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," 1133.

medieval clerics and laity from showing both an interest in *canor* and a desire to hear it for themselves.²⁶

Whilst the significance of *canor* cannot be overemphasised in association with the presumed narrative voice (Rolle) of the Fifteen Last Days window, it is not logically present within the story-world. The heavenly song of Rolle's *canor* can never be mundane; it is found instead in the wilderness, spiritual and physical, of the hermit's life.²⁷ This is not the narrative space of this window; God's song is not in the roaring of fish, thunder, or even the physical destruction of an earthquake.²⁸ Likewise, *canor* is not vernacular. When Rolle wrote about it, attempting to recreate a sense of *canor* in his text, he wrote in Latin.²⁹ This accords with other late medieval concepts of divine music, including the sung liturgy. In the contemporary York mystery plays, stage directions indicate that angelic song is in Latin and sung (*Tunc cantant angeli, Te Deum laudamus*), whilst the vernacular is spoken. Examples from elsewhere include the N-Town plays which read "Here sing the angels in heaven" (*Hic cantent angeli in celo*).³⁰ Latin would thus have been explicitly connected to song in the perception of the fifteenth-century parishioners of All Saints, North Street.

The obvious exception to this is the space in which the windows' donors kneel. This can reasonably be assumed to be Purgatory. The discussion of this dissertation has so far paid little attention to the donor(s) of this window, because their exact identity cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, though candidates can be proposed. However, the identities of some of the donor figures (the distinction here is between the donor figures — several long dead at the time the window was made — and the actual donors who paid for the window, those still living or very recently dead) are reasonably certain. Those who can be identified with confidence are Cecilia Giry (died 1387) and her two husbands Walter Giry (alive 1387) and Roger Henrison, and Abel (dead by 1367) and Agnes Hesyl. With the exception of Agnes Hesyl, considerable, by fourteenth-century standards, evidence survives for each of these people. The connection between the two families comes in the marriage of Marion Henrison (alive 1387), daughter of Cecilia and Roger, and Henry Hesyl, son of Agnes and Abel (see Figure 28). All of these people appear to have lived and owned property in the parish of All Saints, North Street

²⁶ Albin, "Listening for *canor*," 177.

²⁷ Andrew Albin describes *canor* as "constant, transcendent state of inwards coparticipation with the heavenly choirs"; Albin, "Canorous Soundstuff," 1026.

²⁸ It cannot appear in the narrative space of the Fifteen Last Days window which, as shown in the previous chapter of this dissertation, is earthbound and specifically focused on the familiar world of late medieval York.

²⁹ McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism*, 345.

³⁰ Stephen Spector, *The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D. 8. 1, Introduction and Text* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 22. The Townley plays do not have this, suggesting that it is not simply a convention.

in the fourteenth century, and were no doubt prominent parishioners in the church, paying considerable amounts towards the fourteenth-century reconstructions of the church, or to other surviving or long-gone windows.³¹

The lives of these parishioners therefore coincide with Rolle's own life and the early reception of his writings. It is impossible to know their level, if any, of engagement with Rolle's work, but his writing was well known in mid- and late fourteenth-century York.³² Speculatively, if these parishioners had been early adopters of Rolle's ideas, then the window may have been intended to celebrate this. This would explain the unusual narrative space of the donors, with no architectonic borders and a starry background very different from the foliation common elsewhere in the fifteenth-century glass of York's parish churches and the Minster. In this, the space mimics Rolle's spiritual and physical wanderings, being separated from the York-based setting above and kneeling on a humble, untiled floor. Interest in Rolle's work may explain the connections to Rolle's theology in this window and may perhaps have coincided with Baguley and Alne's own interest in Rolle.

There is one panel in the Fifteen Last Days window in which the narrative could, or perhaps should, have presented sound as entirely absent. In text-only versions of the *Prick of Conscience*,

The xi day men shall come out
Of holes and caves and wende all about
As would men that no wit can
And none shall speak to others then.³³

In the *Golden Legend*, on the eleventh day "men [are] aliened and out of their wit, and shall not speak one to another", whilst Adam Usk describes "demented, speechless, wandering men" (*errabunt undique ueluti dementes, Pre timore nimio loqui non ualentes*) in his fifteen last days.³⁴ Visually, this is made clear in the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur* by men and women looking in different directions and displaying conflicting postures.³⁵ In the Vienna *Horarium*,

³¹ Cecilia Giry's will becomes very damaged towards the end, but she appears to leave a long piece of cloth (*unam longam tuell*) and 20 shillings to the work on the fabric of the church of All Saints, North Street; Prob. Reg. 1, fol. 5.

³² Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 299.

³³ *The xi day men shul come out // Of holes and caves and wende al aboute // As wode men þat no witte can // And non shal speke to oþ[er] þan*; MS. Bodl. 423, unfoliated.

³⁴ "The Advent of our Lord," *Golden Legend*, vol. 2; & Chris Given-Wilson, ed., *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377–1421* (Clarendon Press, 1997), 232–23. Usk gives this on the tenth day, following Comestor's schema.

³⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 134, fol. 42v.

men and beasts likewise have conflicting postures, but in this case they appear to be trying to communicate.³⁶ In contrast, the All Saints window presents a priest, two laymen and a laywoman praying together after emerging from caves (Figure 49). They appear to be listening to the priest, with their eyes focused on him and their heads tilted towards him. The accompanying couplet (*Pe ellevens day sall men com owte // Of caves & holes & wende abowte*) does not make it completely clear whether the narrative in this part of the story is presenting the people as (mis)understanding each other, as in the poem. However, the text draws so closely upon the *Prick of Conscience* text that the remaining two lines of men losing their wits and not speaking can be filled in by the viewer who knew the poem. And yet, in the image, the characters clearly have wits enough to pray communally and may well be speaking.

The logic behind this contrast between the textual source, the ambiguity of the couplet, and the imagery opposing the text in the glass can be found in Rolle's mystical experiences of sound. For Rolle himself, and thus the presumed narrator of this window, *canor* can only be heard by those who reject the world.³⁷ Albin explains how Rolle's first experience of *canor* led to him "vanish[ing] from the scene's former optic regime"; he vanishes from the mundane world.³⁸ Late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century commentators on Rolle made this clear for their readers, and it is almost certain that Baguley and Alne would have had the same understanding as their contemporaries: *canor* is not part of the mundane world.³⁹ In the text of the poem, the men out of their wits have lost their senses and therefore a sensory connection to the world. They cannot communicate with each other in a sensory manner, and yet in the image they do appear to be communicating. The reason for this apparent contrast is Rolle's divine song. The characters in the window should be seen as both the men out of their wits in the *Prick of Conscience* and thus unable to speak, and as saved men and women capable of hearing divine sound. They have been saved from the apocalyptic destruction of the past eleven days through their faith, symbolised by their praying. Due to this divine grace, they are now capable of interacting on a heavenly level, in advance of their impending salvation on or after the fifteenth

³⁶ Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, fol. 218r.

³⁷ Zieman, "The Perils of *Canor*," 142; & Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," 1133.

³⁸ Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," 1141. Strangely, Denis Renevey writes that *canor* can only be heard in silence ("silence is necessary for both hearing and singing *canor*"); Denis Renevey, *Language, Self and Love: Hermeneutics in the Writings of Richard Rolle and the Commentaries on the Song of Songs* (University of Wales Press, 2001), 108–09. Based on Rolle's own description of his first experience, this cannot be the case.

³⁹ For the late fourteenth-century reception of *canor*, see Zieman, "The Perils of *Canor*," 150–63 (152–53 for specific discussion of the sensory nature of *canor*); & McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism*, 356–58.

day.⁴⁰ It is the manifestation of *canor* that is depicted in the image. The panel therefore uses an apocalyptic narrative to gloss Rolle's concept of divine song heard by the saved.⁴¹

7.2 Sound in the Revelation Window

The depiction of the archangel Michael in the eastern panel connects the Revelation window to song.⁴² Contemporary examples of angels and song are found in the York Mystery plays where the first thing the angels do or say is to sing (*Tunc cantant angeli*); the *Prick of Conscience* poem where Heaven is described with "melodye of aungelles song"; and the Vienna *Horarium*, in which angels with musical instruments surround the Virgin.⁴³ The angels in the fifteenth-century glass of the east window in the Beauchamp Chapel in St Mary's, Warwick hold musical staves with notation and, as explored by Beth Williamson, the angels of Domenico di Bartolo's 1433 (and thus contemporaneous to this window) Madonna and Child are singing mensural music, as shown through the faint notation on the canvas and the pose of the angels.⁴⁴ The same association can be seen in late medieval texts connected to Richard Rolle, namely in "Rolle's angel-crowded manuscript portraits", and Walter Hilton's *Of Angels' Song*.⁴⁵

Likewise, the presentation of the church's rector James Baguley in the donor panel below suggests music. All priests must to some extent be associated with song, much like an

⁴⁰ McGinn, *The Varieties of Vernacular Mysticism*, 357. For negative understandings of sensory song, see Kay, "Siren Enchantments," 116.

⁴¹ The priest figure in this window may even be intended to be seen as Rolle himself and the veiled woman as his anchorite disciple Margaret Kirkby. In this way, it is even possible that one of male laymen may be a Scrope early patron of Rolle.

⁴² For a full exploration of this, see Tekla Bude, *Sonic Bodies: Text, Music, and Silence in Late Medieval England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 15–21.

⁴³ Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290* vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 3; James H. Morey, ed., *Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012), book 7, line 304; & Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1855, 202v.

⁴⁴ Williamson, "Sensory Experience," 11–12. For connections between York and Italian cities in the fifteenth-century, see Michele Campopiano, "The Reception of Italian Political Theory in Northern England: Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Giles of Rome in York," in *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Helen Fulton (Boydell & Brewer, 2018). Richard Scrope was in Rome; R. N. Swanson, "Bureaucrat, Prelate, Traitor, Martyr," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 20. Margery Kempe travelled through Italy, including Florence, which "helped shape her religious life; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 348. Hughes details further links between Italy and England, particularly between 1350 and 1450, precisely when Scrope, Baguley and Alne were studying, and writes that "the mendicant orders had consistently transmitted religious influences from Italy to England since the thirteenth century"; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 349.

⁴⁵ Albin, "Theorizing Richard Rolle's Sound Art," 1134.

angel is, as singing was an intrinsic part of their role in performing the mass.⁴⁶ Baguley was particularly interested in music, and the mid- and late fifteenth-century viewer of the window would likely have known this. They may have benefitted from either his music books, or perhaps his instruction whilst still children. The manner in which he is presented in the donor panel of the window strengthens this connection to song. Whilst much of the current glass is a modern replacement, Johnston's seventeenth-century sketch of the window provides a strong indication of the original appearance of the donor panel.⁴⁷ Baguley is shown in priestly garb with an inscription below him asking for prayers for the soul of "Sir James Baguley, rector" (*d[omi]ni Jacobi Baguley istius rectoris*). Emphasising his role as rector of the church, a role that required musical performance, reinforces a musical connection. Furthering this, he kneels before a desk with his mouth and hands open in a manner that suggests singing.⁴⁸ There is an open book on the desk, but he is not reading it. Instead, he looks straight ahead, towards the altar at the head of this aisle, perhaps depicting himself performing the mass. It is possible, considering the bequests in his will, that the book in the glass may either have been depicted as containing song, or was assumed to be a song book by the viewers of the window. This would alert the viewer to the significance of music in this window.

Song can also be proposed in the scrolls issuing from the donors and St Michael. Apart from Madeline Caviness referring to "angels with scrolls for sung-text", scholars have described these scrolls without commentating on their style and format.⁴⁹ In contrast, the donor texts and couplets in the Fifteen Last Days are horizontal and uniform, as are those in the Nine Orders of Angels window describing the movement of the angels, and the indulgence inscription elsewhere in the church's fifteenth-century stained glass.⁵⁰ The possibility that these curling scrolls should be described as song scrolls is indicated by the texts themselves ("Holy Trinity, receive the souls praising [you]"; *laudantes a[n]i[m]as suscipe s[anc]ta trinitas* and

⁴⁶ P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycroft, *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: the Use of York* (Spire Books, 2005), 164.

⁴⁷ For a description and evaluation of this see, Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ MS. Top. Yorks., 185. For the open mouth to suggest singing, see Wagner, "The Vocal in the Visual," 137. For the singer with liturgical vestments, books and a lectern, see Susan Boynton, "The Visual Representation of Music and Sound," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography* (Routledge, 2016), 485.

⁴⁹ Madeline H. Caviness, "Performative Interaction of Liturgy and Light through the Medium of Painted Glass," in *Investigations in Medieval Stained Glass: Materials, Methods and Expressions*, ed. Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Brill, 2019), 184. In this church, see Eric Arthur Gee, "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York," *Archaeologia* 102 (1969): 151–202; & RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, Volume III: South-west of the Ouse* (Stationery Office Books, 1972).

⁵⁰ For the identification of the indulgence text, see R. N. Swanson, "Fragments of an Indulgence Inscription in a Window at all Saints, North Street, York," *Antiquaries Journal*, 88 (2008): 308–12.

“deliver us”; *libera nos*), probably sung in the liturgy, and in their presentation.⁵¹ Unlike the captions in the windows, for example asking for prayers, these texts curl and dance.⁵²

These scrolls have flourishes at the end of the text. The same flourishes are found on curling scrolls elsewhere in the church. A scroll coming from Nicholas Blakburn in the St Anne window has flourishes at the beginning and end (see Figure 50), as does that in the St Christopher panel in the same window, although this is heavily restored. These flourishing marks are also seen in scrolls curling around donors now in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window.⁵³ The other curling donor text recorded by Johnston appears around a figure who kneels before a book containing a prayer to St Cecilia, patron saint of music. This is probably John Bawtre, a vicar choral.⁵⁴ These flourishes have previously been ignored by art historians, but a close examination reveals their similarity to musical notation. Figure 50 shows examples of these, with multiple dots in arrangements that, in comparison with surviving medieval music elsewhere, suggests notes. I am not suggesting that these flourishes are indeed to recreate exact musical text, but instead that they indicate song by their similarity to musical notation. This is argued by Williamson who writes that “nonsounding musical notation might have been designed to appeal to the interior senses rather than to the corporeal”.⁵⁵ Exact notes or chords are not indicated — perhaps due to the brevity of the medium of a scroll in stained glass — but rather the idea of song (or perhaps an opening chord) is strongly suggested. The same flourishes do not appear in the book texts or most of the descriptive couplets elsewhere in the glass of All Saints, North Street.⁵⁶

It is also notable that the text on these curling scrolls is written only in Latin. English, though appearing only in the Fifteen Last Days window, appears in horizontal sections at the

⁵¹ The exact liturgy sung at York is unknown, but is likely to have followed the Sarum chant. See the companion to the Sarum Chant at <https://sarum-chant.ca/companion-2/companion/companion-to-b-temporale>. For the liturgy at York, see Colton, “Choral Music in York,” 50; & Caldwell, “Insular Uses,” 55–71. Caldwell notes the variation within uses, and differences between York and Sarum.

⁵² For undoubted medieval song depicted in glass as curving, see the East Window of the Beauchamp Chapel in St Mary’s, Warwick. For the context to this, see A. Buckle, “‘Fit for a King’: Music and Iconography in Richard Beauchamp’s Chantry Chapel,” *Early Music* 38, no. 1 (2010): 3–19. This is the same Earl of Warwick for whom Emma Raughton had her visions.

⁵³ The yellow in the “O” at the beginning of the song scrolls in the window and the yellow star/flower shape next to this merit future investigation with regards to sound and song, particularly due to their similarity with the text of the angel in panel 10a of York Minster’s Great East Window.

⁵⁴ MS. Top. Yorks., 186. For these in different contexts, clearly connected to music, see Boynton and Reilly, *Resounding Images*, plates 34, 35, 36, 43 & 44.

⁵⁵ Williamson, “Sensory Experience,” 38. For examples of contemporary musical notes in York, see the Uppsala Rolle manuscript; Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, c. 621, fols. 21–31.

⁵⁶ They do appear in the Fifteen Last Days, indicating some support for the connection to *canor* identified in the previous section of this chapter. Notation does not appear after the psalms in books in the church. This is logical in the context of the St Anne window in which these psalm books appear; St Anne is teaching her daughter to read rather than sing. The Virgin holding a pen reinforces the written sense intended by the image.

base of each panel. Only Latin is written in curling scrolls. The coupling of curling scrolls with Latin to indicate song is supported by surviving texts from the Use of York. Unsurprisingly, these instruct the priest to chant in Latin as he receives the blood of Christ. For example,

May eternal light shine on them, O Lord, with your saints for ever, for you are compassionate.

Grant eternal rest to them, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon them.⁵⁷

Chanting in praise of Christ must happen in Latin. This particular text also praises the light of the Lord. This emphasis on light further connects Latin song to the window above, whilst also demonstrating that, as shown in the mystery play texts, angelic, and thus divine song, must be in Latin.

This is not to say that only Latin could be sung in late medieval England. The large number of ballads, including those bequeathed by Baguley, attest to the popularity of vernacular song. However, one further factor in the window indicates a connection to Latin sung in a liturgical context. Lay singing was discouraged in the medieval parish church, and since women could not become clerics, they could not sing (with a different situation necessarily occurring in convents).⁵⁸ Male clerical voices were encouraged as a necessary part of the liturgy and with boys' choirs. In All Saints, North Street, the curling scrolls in the glass are ascribed almost entirely to male characters (and an eagle). The Holy Trinity text appears to issue from St Michael, and, in the donor panels, the figures of Baguley and Robert Chapman have scrolls, whilst the female figure presumed to be Chapman's wife does not. In the St Anne window, the scrolls around the male St Christopher and Nicholas Blackburn curl. Conversely, St Anne holds a book with horizontal text, rather than having a curling speech scroll, as do the female donor figures.⁵⁹ This creates a strong connection between the Latin on the curling

⁵⁷ "Lux aeterna luceat eis, Domine: cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es. Requiem aeternam dona eis. Domine; et lux perpetua luceat eis"; Barnwell, Cross and Rycroft, *Mass and Parish*, 164.

⁵⁸ Katherine Zieman, "Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England," in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Brepols, 2023), 100.

⁵⁹ There is a song scroll around a female donor figure now in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window. The glass of the scroll is only partly medieval, but Johnston did record similar text in 1669. However, the panel in the seventeenth century was already considerably damaged to the extent that only the heads and shoulders of the donors survived. It is therefore difficult to know for certain what was in the medieval donor panel, though it does seem likely that this female figure may have had song scroll text. Adding to this, the head sketched by Johnston is veiled and might be shown above a cowl, suggesting she had taken holy orders. The sketch is not clear enough to say this for certain, and a greater survival of medieval glass from the donor panel would make this clearer.

scrolls and the male gender, and the scrolls can therefore be seen as indicating song by male characters in the windows, song that would have been performed by male voices in the church.

Returning to the apocalyptic narrative of these windows, the text of Revelation is key to Rolle's understanding of the path to divine song. Within Rolle's theology, 'Sight into Heaven' is a necessary first stage, before *fervor*, *dulcor* and, finally, *canor*.⁶⁰ He draws on Revelation 4:1 ("a door was opened in heaven") to describe his experience of sight.⁶¹ He thus further associates himself with St John who looks into Heaven. Six verses later, Revelation 4:6–9 reads:

And before the throne was as if it were a sea of glass like crystal, and in the midst of the throne and round about the throne were four living creatures, full of eyes before and behind. And the first living creature was like a lion, and the second living creature like a calf, the third living creature having the face as it were of a man, and the fourth living creature was like an eagle flying. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings, and round about and within they are full of eyes. And they rested not day and night, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, who was and who is and who is to come." And when those living creatures gave glory and honor and benediction to him that sitteth on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever.⁶²

St John sees these creatures, then describes their sound. Rolle's path to holiness starts with sight and ends with song. The viewer of the window first sees the glass (evoked by the biblical "sea of glass"), then finds the song in the image. It is thus possible to see a clear link intended in the glass between the Book of Revelation and Rolle's *canor*.⁶³

To take this further, the eagle may have been seen by fifteenth-century viewers of this window familiar with Rolle's writing as simultaneously one of the four living creatures, the symbol of John the Evangelist (supposed author of Revelation), and as representative of Rolle

⁶⁰ Watson, *Invention of Authority*, 66.

⁶¹ "Ostium apertum in caelo". Rolle paraphrases this in *Incendium Amoris*, "ad apericionem hoscii celestis"; Watson, *Invention of Authority*, 67.

⁶² "Et in conspectu sedis tamquam mare vitreum simile cristallo, et in medio sedis et in circuitu sedis quattuor animalia, plena oculis ante et retro. Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti. Et quattuor animalia singula eorum habebant alas senas, et in circuitu et intus plena sunt oculis. Et requiem non habebant die et nocte, dicentia, Sanctus, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est." Et cum darent illa animalia gloriam et honorem et benedictionem sedenti super thronum, viventi in saecula saeculorum."

⁶³ Supporting this, the verb used in the Vulgate (dicentia) refers to speech and there are no indications that the eagle's scroll was intended to be read as song. In Rolle's own commentary on Revelation, he twice uses the term "saying", referring to the beasts; Richard Rolle, *Richard Rolle: Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Robert Boenig (University of Salzburg, 1984), 183.

himself. As explained in the previous chapter, Rolle identified his hermit life in fourteenth-century Yorkshire with John's exile on the Greek island of Patmos. Those reading, meditating on, and discussing Rolle's works would know this. This may seem a small audience for this window, and is unlikely to have included most of the fifteenth-century parishioners, but Rolle's books were widely read amongst devotees of popular affective piety in his native Yorkshire, and those who had the time and disposable income to immerse themselves in the hermit's works and the fashion for this type of devotion were also those who were most likely to visit York as the main commercial centre in the diocese and the seat of the metropolitan see.⁶⁴ These were either gentry and noble families maintaining townhouses in the city, wealthy mercantile families who lived there, or pilgrims and travellers drawn to the city by the Minster, relics and devotional opportunities found in the second archbishopric in England.⁶⁵ Since the identification of Patmos as the abyss and the abode of Rolle appears in *Super apocalypsim*, a window showing the apocalypse is especially likely to bring to mind the association between Rolle's hermitage and the narrative space of this window, including both Patmos and the abyss into which the Beast is thrown.

In *Incendium amoris*, Rolle identified himself with a bird, the nightingale, before his ascension to a higher spiritual plane.⁶⁶ In his Revelation commentary, he writes that "in so far as he [man] deserts earthly things and pants after supernal [sic] things so that through contemplation he feels the joy of divine love in the present and afterwards acquires celestial goods — he is an eagle".⁶⁷ In light of the association of the eagle with greater spiritual understanding, it can be proposed that the mystic was seen by readers of his work as developing from the little bird of his youth to the more spiritually aware eagle. Adding to this, the apocalyptic *Prick of Conscience* was believed in the fifteenth century to have been authored by Rolle, further associating the hermit with the end of days and characters therein. An amalgamation can therefore be proposed where Rolle is identified with John, and the eagle is symbolic of both John and Rolle, as well as being an apocalyptic character in its own right. Rolle, the hermit, the eagle, and John, the author of Revelation, all hear the *canor* of the

⁶⁴ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 298.

⁶⁵ For an extreme example of embracing these spiritual opportunities, see the devotions of Margery Kempe; Tekla Bude, "Solitary Lives and Social Texts: Carthusian Responses to Richard Rolle's *Amore langueo*," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1116–17.

⁶⁶ Adin E. Lears, *World of Echo: Noise and Knowing in Late Medieval England* (Cornell University Press, 2020), 27; Watson, *Invention*, 121; & Watson, "Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo," 1152.

⁶⁷ Quoted in Boenig, *Richard Rolle: Biblical Commentaries*, 182–83.

harpists. The three are connected and potentially identified with each other through this shared experience, again known to the viewer of the window familiar with Rolle's work.⁶⁸

Rolle thus becomes a character in this window, visible in both the saint and the eagle. As a final point, it is possible to see the book held by St John interpreted in a number of ways. It can simultaneously be the Book of Revelation and Rolle's texts, perhaps his entire corpus. The book could also be seen as the text of *Melos amoris* owned by Robert Alne, particularly if the Alne family appeared in the donor panels. Alne left this book to the library of the University of Cambridge, an institution attended by, admittedly amongst many others, Alne and Scrope (and potentially also Baguley). Beyond the book, the possibility of seeing Rolle as the St John character in this window inserts him into a narrative in which divine song is prominent. The saint listens to *canor* like Rolle did. For example, Revelation 4 is illustrated in the Dyson Perrins/Getty Apocalypse by St John prominently listening through the frame of the image.⁶⁹ In the Great East Window of York Minster, St John speaks around humans and but only listens to angels, and in the Lambeth Apocalypse he writes as an angel dictates.⁷⁰ In All Saints, North Street, St John is listening to the speech of the eagle, whilst remaining silent himself.⁷¹ This is made clear in the glass through the saint's lack of any gesture that might indicate speech (to the extent that his right hand is almost entirely hidden).⁷² The image thus evokes Revelation 14 (the repetition of "I heard"). If St John is seen as Rolle, the hermit and saint are both listening to the heavenly song, namely they are in the process of hearing *canor*. Thus, sound in the narrative presented in the glass evokes Rolle's spiritual experiences.

7.3 Divine Song

This chapter has complicated the conclusions of the previous chapters, particularly with regards to the Fifteen Last Days window. Looking at its temporality alone, the Fifteen Last Days is a simple story, perhaps intended for children. However, it possesses two layers of meaning.⁷³

⁶⁸ For a full explanation of this, see the previous chapter of this dissertation.

⁶⁹ Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig III 1 (83.MC.72), fol. 3v.

⁷⁰ Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 121.

⁷¹ For example, he speaks in panels 11a (tortured before Domitian) and 11c (teaching), and listens in panels 11d (St John and the Angel) and 11f (The Seven Churches). In 11f, the angel has a finger raised to indicate speech.

⁷² See panel 11f in York Minster's Great East Window for an example of this.

⁷³ For connections to other parts of the *Prick of Conscience* poem, beyond the lines that provide the window's source text, see Steven Rozenski, "A Light to Lighten the Gentiles: Stained Glass, The *Prick of Conscience*, and Theological Double Vision in All Saints (North Street), York," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018), 285–308. Rozenski sees the imagery of Book VII (salvation) of the *Prick of Conscience* captured in the colours used in the window. It is

Children and viewers of this window unfamiliar with Rolle's works would have been presumed not to see the mysticism behind the presentation of the apocalyptic story, but, for the educated viewer, both this and the Revelation window provide a commentary on Rolle's *canor*. In the Revelation window, musical connections are clearly shown in the physical presentation of the imagery within the window, particularly in the angelic subject matter, curling scrolls and the possibly musical texts within them. These scrolls provide a Rolle commentary, in this case through Rolle's self-identification as St John, making him a character in this window. These apocalyptic connections are unsurprising if, in the words of Nicholas Watson, "*canor* emerges as in effect the goal of the journey, arrival at the Heavenly City: a final transformation of the city".⁷⁴ *Canor* therefore is necessarily eschatological and as such closely connected to the apocalypse occurring just before the Final Judgement. This commentary on Rolle seen in both windows can now be explored as a reference to and in interaction with Scrope's martyrdom.

Richard Scrope was undoubtedly aware of Rolle's mysticism. His family supported the mystic (who died at around the time Scrope was born) and, as detailed by Jonathan Hughes, interest in Rolle's work flourished amongst the northern clerical milieu in which Scrope lived. York in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries shows ample evidence of devotion organised around Rolleian affective piety, and Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy argue that this "aspirational piety" should be mapped onto social and economic exclusiveness, with devotion to Rolle a marker of social status.⁷⁵ Scrope lived in this elevated social world, and Rees Jones and Riddy use examples from the Scrope family to support their argument.⁷⁶ Whilst positive proof in the form of Archbishop Scrope's will or the contents of his personal library does not survive, it is extremely unlikely that the archbishop was unaware of the primacy of song in Rolle's mysticism. For Rolle, psalms were the closest a human voice could come to reproducing divine song; for Scrope they were what he sung as one of his final acts before he faced divine judgment.⁷⁷ The archbishop's hagiographies also follow their description of the singing of the psalm with a declaration that Scrope "did not open his mouth" (*vero non aperuit os suum*).⁷⁸ This refers to his lack of condemnation of his persecutors, but also evokes the silence of *canor*, heard only by the elect.

also possible that Baguley used this window as a preaching aid for his own sermons incorporating Rolle's mysticism. This is another aspect of sound connected to the window that can be further investigated.

⁷⁴ Watson, *Invention*, 70.

⁷⁵ Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere," in *Household, Women, and Christianities: In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (Brepols, 2005), 238–39.

⁷⁶ Riddy and Rees Jones, "The Bolton Hours of York," 238.

⁷⁷ Roman, *Queering Richard Rolle*, 92.

⁷⁸ James Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 2 (London, 1886), 307.

Maidstone specifies that Scrope sang/chanted the second *Exaudi* (probably Psalm 142) on the road from Bishopthorpe.⁷⁹ Gascoigne's narrative, whilst probably drawing on Maidstone's, agrees that Scrope sung this psalm.⁸⁰ If the identification of the psalm reflects reality, then the crowds gathered in the field of execution would have surely heard and remembered it. If the use of Psalm 142 is a construction by the hagiographers, it likely reflects views of Scrope that were current in the early and mid-fifteenth century. Either way, Baguley and Alne would have been aware of the association between Scrope and Psalm 142. The primacy of sound in this psalm is clear from the title and the second word (*exaudi* for "hear"). The Last Judgement also appears in the text. Although many psalms contain expressions of sound, few contain in the first two words — *Domini exaudi* — such a clear connection between God and sound.⁸¹ The opening of the psalm reads, translated into English by Richard Rolle, "Lord, hear my prayer, with hearing perceive my prayer; in thy faithfulness hear me in thy righteousness".⁸² This text emphasises the act of hearing, using the verb three times. The Last Judgement, and thus the apocalypse, appears in the psalm with the request to "hear me in thy justice" ("righteousness" from Rolle) and "enter not into judgement".⁸³ It is also made explicit in Rolle's gloss which emphasises the value of hearing, ears and judgement. He describes how salvation comes through God hearing human prayers ("Lord perceive with hearing, that is hearing of thy mercy, my prayer . . . in Doom with thy servant").⁸⁴ His gloss on the whole psalm emphasises the importance of sound and Judgement, with the gloss on line 9 reading "At morn[ing], after the night of sin, when thy ire is forgiven, then is hearing of God's mercy".⁸⁵ It is therefore possible to see how, to an audience able to understand the psalm, Scrope's singing (with the added influence of Rolle's gloss) directly connects the archbishop's martyrdom with the Last Judgement, creating apocalyptic expectations.

⁷⁹ "Psalmum, *Exaudi secundum*, decantavit"; Raine, *Historians*, 2:307. The similarities to Jan Hus singing Penitential Psalms on the way to his execution merit further research; Matthew Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* (Columbia University Press, 1965), 231.

⁸⁰ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1881), 227.

⁸¹ For those that do, see Psalm 140 "Domine, clamavi" and the first *Exaudi*, Psalm 101.

⁸² The spelling is modernized. In Middle English it reads "Lord here my prayere, with eryn persayfe my bede: in thi sothfastnes. Here me in thi rightwisnes". The modern English is "Hear, O Lord, my prayer! Give ear to my supplication in thy truth; hear me in thy justice". The Latin is *Domine, exaudi orationem meam! Auribus percipe obsecrationem meam in veritate tua; exaudi me in tua iustitia*. Rolle's translation is quoted from Richard Rolle, *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles*, ed. H.R. Bramley (Clarendon Press, 1884), 473.

⁸³ "Exaudi me in tua iustitia et non inters in iudicium"; Psalm 142:1–2.

⁸⁴ "Lord persayfe with eryn, that is, herynge of thi mercy. my prayere . . . in dome with thi seruant"; Rolle, *The Psalter*, 473.

⁸⁵ "At morn, estire the nyght of synnys. When thai ere forgifen. Than is herynge of godis mercy"; Rolle, *The Psalter*, 474.

There are several pieces of evidence that support an interest in Rolle's *canor* on the part of the priests and laity of All Saints, North Street. Firstly, the use of the *Prick of Conscience* text, believed to have been authored by Rolle, in the window is in itself indicative of interest in the hermit's writings. As *canor* was the focus of so much of Rolle's mysticism, it is unlikely that the priests of the parish, and educated laity, were not aware of divine song when they chose the *Prick of Conscience* text for their window. An interest in *canor* as a musical concept can also be suggested from the contents of James Baguley's will. As detailed in Appendix 2, half of Baguley's specified bequests of books were concerned with music. He left a book of songs (*librum de Canticis*), a book of ballads (*librum rubium de Balads*), and a book with motets (*librum cum Motete*). The motet has been described as "embod[ying] medieval attitudes about the priority of inaudible harmonies", further suggesting a link to *canor*.⁸⁶ Finally, and most indicatively, Robert Alne left a volume by Rolle called *Melos* (*Ricardum de Hampull vocatum Melos*). Whether or not this was the *Melos amoris*, the title could only have been given to a book about song. The presence of these two priests in the parish, their interest in theology demonstrated by sustained study of canon law, and the use of sound in the narrative space of these apocalyptic windows certainly indicates the likelihood that Rolle's *canor* played a significant role in their conception of story-worlds.

Apocalyptic connections are unsurprising if, in the words of Nicholas Watson, "*canor* emerges as in effect the goal of the journey, arrival at the Heavenly City: a final transformation of the city".⁸⁷ *Canor* therefore is necessarily eschatological (as well as eschatologically urban). Likewise, connections made in the hagiographies and the link between *canor* and apocalypse are unsurprising as one of Richard Rolle's "major preoccupations is with his own vindication at the coming Judgement".⁸⁸ The culmination of evidence therefore suggests that the creation of these two apocalyptic windows was a process of bringing together Baguley and Alne's interests. Other donors may have had input on the content, but the parish priest and a university-educated parishioner were surely at least consulted on the presentation of religious narratives within the glass.⁸⁹ These windows were, unsurprisingly for a church, focused upon the salvation of those who saw them, and the ways in which narratives intended to provide salvation were

⁸⁶ Alice Clark, "The Fourteenth-Century Motet," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1000.

⁸⁷ Watson, *Invention*, 70.

⁸⁸ Watson, *Invention*, 98.

⁸⁹ For the scholar-advisors to the patrons of the Anglo-Norman illustrated apocalypses, see Nigel Morgan, *Douce Apocalypse: Picturing the End of the World in the Middle Ages* (The Bodleian Library, 2006), 18. Morgan writes that the scholar-advisor was "almost certainly a cleric – perhaps a university man, a member of one of the religious orders, or possibly a secular priest." Baguley and Alne fit these criteria.

presented reflects the preoccupations of the local priests in an intersection of Scrope, Rolle and the apocalypse. This appears to have had a lasting effect upon the parish. The final section of this chapter will propose a continuation of the connection between Scrope, Rolle and Doomsday in the parish of All Saints, North Street after the deaths of Baguley and Alne, as seen in the Nine Orders of Angels window.

7.4. After Baguley and Alne: The Nine Orders of Angels

The provenance and iconography of the Nine Orders of Angels window was described in Chapter 2, and the window was dated on stylistic and iconographic grounds to the mid-fifteenth century. To summarise, the glass shows nine scenes in three rows of three panels (Figure 21). In each panel, a representative of one of the Nine Orders of Angels leads a group of human adherents. This window is explicitly full of noise. The Cherub in the centre top panel holds a book out, as if expecting the words on it to be read, or perhaps sung, and the Throne in the centre right panel has both hands outstretched as if speaking. Further down the window, the medieval text specified that the Domination castigates (*castigantes*) and the Angel consoles (*consolantes*). Each of these verbs implies speech or song. The window thus, like the Fifteen Last Days, shows a strong connection to sound. However, unlike the Fifteen Last Days, but like the equally angelic Revelation window, this sound is unambiguously divine.

The top left panel of the window shows a seraph leading an archbishop, a cardinal and two more bishops. The inscription below the window was fragmentary when recorded by Johnston in the seventeenth century but appears to have read “Seraphym amore ardentes et d . . . ulants”.⁹⁰ An exact recreation of the inscription is not possible, but it refers to the burning love of seraphim. In his *Incendium Amoris*, Rolle’s description of seraphim combines his three concepts of fire, sweetness and song. He writes that “burnt truly they are as seraphim in high heaven, whose body by themselves sit, and their minds among angels walk to Christ, their beloved, who they have desired: the which also most sweetly has sung this prayer of endless love”.⁹¹ In the All Saints inscription, the “d . . .” may plausibly be seen as referring the *dulce* of Rolle’s theology. If the inscription in the window does refer to *dulce* and, considering the

⁹⁰ MS. Top. Yorks. 188.

⁹¹ This draws upon Pseudo-Dionysius’ description of the “divine nourishment” and banquet, but is not referred in the Golden Legend’s focus only on the fire of the seraphim’s love. The translation above comes from Rolle’s passage translated into Middle English by Richard Misyn in the fifteenth century as “Byrnt treuly þai ar als seraphynne in hy hevyn, whos body be þaime-self has sityn, & þer myndes emange aungels walkand to criste, þer lemman, þai haue desyrde: þe whilk also moste sweetly has songen þis prayer of endless lufe”; Richard Rolle, *The Fire of Love*, ed. Ralph Harvey (London, 1896), 7.

length of the lost part of the inscription, also potentially to *canor* (perhaps describing the seraphim sweetly singing), then it shows a continuation of Rolle's concepts explicitly referenced in the glass of the parish church of All Saints after the deaths of Baguley and Alne.⁹²

This possibly Rolleian inscription accompanies a panel that contains a figure that could have been intended to represent Archbishop Scrope. The archbishop figure, identifiable as such by his mitre and pallium, stands in immediately behind the seraph in the panel (Figure 22). He is the most highly placed human in this window and, being the closest to the seraph, the closest to God. His centrality to the narrative is suggested by the text on his pallium. Though now impossible to read fully, the existence of this text shows that the viewer was supposed to read and take a message from it. The archbishop figure has characteristics that suggest a possible identification with Scrope. Firstly, his youthful, beardless appearance presents him as a holy virgin, just like the St John in the Revelation window. He also has the same close curls as St John. His purple robe suggests spiritual leadership, particularly that of a clerical nature as the colour echoes that of the robe of the cherub in the neighbouring panel. The archbishop also wears a martyr's crown at the base of his mitre.⁹³ Finally, the sunbursts in the cusping directly above the panel reference the sunburst emblem of Richard II (reigned 1377–99), the king deposed and murdered by Henry IV (reigned 1399–1413), who likewise executed Scrope. At the time the window was made, this banner was used by the Yorkists, who themselves sponsored the Scrope cult.⁹⁴ The appearance of this archbishop in the window suggests a continued interest by parishioners in his cult, akin to that seen elsewhere in the city in bequests to Scrope's tomb in York Minster.

In the Nine Orders of Angels window, the figures are almost all facing east, towards the high altar and in the direction in which Jesus will rise at the Second Coming (the Throne

⁹² A specific association cited in modern scholarship between seraphim and song is Isaiah 6:3, where the seraphim are said to sing. However, the Vulgate uses "cry" (*clamabant*) and "say" (*dicebant*); Angela M. Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, vol. 4, *The Major Prophetic Books* (Harvard University Press, 2012), 24.

⁹³ This can be compared to the papal crowns in the Great East Window of York Minster, but does not have the characteristic cross on top. Instead, it is a clearly a bishop's mitre with a crown added.

⁹⁴ As explained in Chapter 3, the tops of each of the three lights in this window show remnants of three suns. The parhelion refers to the 1460/1 Battle of Mortimer's Cross, and the suns were an emblem of the Yorkist faction in the English civil wars of the mid-fifteenth century. In the early 1460s, the Yorkist king, Edward IV, was, as Christopher Norton argues, building on popular devotion to Scrope and the belief in the archbishop's canonisation to promote the Yorkist political agenda; Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 198–200. J. W. McKenna likewise sees "uncanonical veneration of the martyr to Lancastrian oppression . . . surviv[ing] to buttress the authority and the prestige of Edward IV"; J. W. McKenna, "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda," *Speculum* 45, no. 4 (1970): 608. Scrope is here potentially presented as a supporter of the Yorkist right to the throne, and as a prophet of the victory of York over Lancaster; McKenna, "Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda," 620–21. This window can then be seen as drawing on a resurgence of political support for the Scrope cult in the early 1460s.

looks straight into the nave, and the Angel back towards the humans it leads). As such, the window's characters also face the apocalyptic windows and would, if one had been on a chancel arch, have faced the Doom painted there. Furthering this, the angels appear to be leading the humans to Doomsday. This is explicitly referred to in the inscription accompanying the panel showing the Archangel: "Archangels lead all the dying to God" (*Archangeli morie[ntes] [om]nes deo [conducen]tes*). This interpretation is unsurprising with reference to the wider context. In the York Mystery Cycle, angels direct the souls during Doomsday; in Doom wall paintings, angels lead souls to Heaven; in the fifteen last days images in the Holkham Bible they supervise souls during judgement; and an angel ushers the saved into Heaven in York Minster's Great East Window.⁹⁵

The Rolleian inscription and Scrope figure are placed at the head of this procession. They are at the top left of the window, likely to have been seen first by viewers accustomed to books where the text started at the top left of the page.⁹⁶ This position also places them closest to God and thus definitively amongst the saved, significant in the mid-fifteenth century when both Scrope and Rolle were considered by many to be saints.⁹⁷ This top left position also echoes medieval dooms (including that in the tracery of the Fifteen Last Days window) where the saved appear on the left of Christ in Majesty, often being ushered upwards into Heaven. If salvation is seen as the aim of this window, not implausible in a church, then Scrope and Rolle are presented as the way to this salvation.

It can therefore be posited that the trinity of Scrope, Rolle and Doomsday persisted in the imaginations of the donors of the glass of All Saints, North Street at least twenty years after the deaths of Baguley and Alne. The parish that in 1405 contained the mayor of the rebellious city, a parish priest who had to pay for a pardon due to his role in the revolt, and clerics within Scrope's affinity, was, more than half a century later, still showing an adherence to Scrope and

⁹⁵ Richard Beadle, *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290* vol. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2013), 444; C. Davidson, *Studies in Late Medieval Wall Paintings, Manuscript Illuminations, and Text* (Springer, 2016), 7; & London, British Library, MS. Add. 47682, fol. 42r. The tracery at the top of the Fifteen Last Days window in All Saints, North Street showed angels helping St Peter welcome the saved into Heaven, mirroring the demons escorting the damned in the right tracery panel.

⁹⁶ I am grateful for this observation to Ohan Hominis from the Department of Cognitive Science at CEU.

⁹⁷ This process of popular canonization is seen in the texts referring to St Richard Rolle and St Richard Scrope. For St Richard Rolle, see Vincent Gillespie, "The Nearly Man: 'Saint' Richard Rolle and his Textual Cult," in *Saints and Cults in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2015 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Susan Powell (Shaun Tyas, 2017), 159. For St Richard Scrope, see Danna Piroyansky, *Martyrs in the Making: Political Martyrdom in Late Medieval England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 71.

his mystical connections.⁹⁸ This Scrope-Rolle-Doomsday nexus will now, in the conclusion to this dissertation, be put into its wider historical context.

⁹⁸ For Rolle's continued relevance in the fifteenth century ("almost as if he belongs to the fifteenth more than the fourteenth century") see Watson, "Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo," 1151.

8. Conclusion: The Archbishop and the Apocalypse

The Fifteen Last Days window in the parish church of All Saints, North Street is an introductory apocalyptic tale, focused on the simple presentation of a prophetic narrative with a clear message of salvation. Across the chancel, the Revelation window was intended to engage clerical viewers, creating a more temporally complicated story that likewise climaxed with the audience's salvation. Both windows contain layers of meaning, placed within narrative spaces (or "demarcated space of the represented storyworld") that reference the 1405 martyrdom of Archbishop Richard Scrope and the mysticism of Richard Rolle.¹ The familiarity of the locations in the Fifteen Last Days window encourages the viewer to imagine the apocalypse in their immediate environment, whilst the differing settings (Patmos, Heaven, and Rolle's hermit wilderness) in the Revelation window creates a story appropriate to the clerical viewer.² Rolle's mysticism is to some extent glossed in the presentation of *canor* within both windows, likely reflecting the personal devotions of the parish priest James Baguley (and probably also Robert Alne). However, the designer(s) of these windows were not mystics. They were priests with pastoral duties focusing on the salvation of their parishioners, a salvation which may be achieved through communicating prophecy and mystical visions, but that was firmly located within pastoral care, giving a firm focus for the differing narratives in these windows, and their use of time, space and sound.³

Pastoral care was the aim of these windows, just as it was the pre-martyrdom aim of Richard Scrope as Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Archbishop of York.⁴ However, Scrope also showed an interest in the apocalypse, likely supervising the imagery in the Great East Window of York Minster and being buried beneath this same imagery. Rolle's work likewise shows an engagement with active and contemplative life, a point stressed by Nicholas Watson in his recent reappraisal of Rolle's late medieval appeal.⁵ At the same time, Rolle was

¹ Jan Alber, *Unnatural Narrative: Impossible Worlds in Fiction and Drama* (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 185.

² For mystics like Rolle, the spatial dimension was largely irrelevant as their visions jumped through space and combined images in a manner characteristic of prophecy and mysticism; Wolfgang Riehle, *The Secret Within: Hermits, Recluses, and Spiritual Outsiders in Medieval England* (Cornell University Press, 2014), 90.

³ For Emmerson, Anglo-Norman illuminated apocalypses did "not seem to have inspired mystical experience"; Richard K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 153. It is impossible to know whether mystical experiences were inspired by these windows, but mysticism seems to have inspired their content.

⁴ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988), 298.

⁵ Nicholas Watson, "Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo," *Speculum* 99, no. 4 (2024): 1163.

also engaging in apocalyptic commentary.⁶ The enduring connection, from at least Augustine of Hippo onwards, between apocalyptic predictions and the daily need to consider personal salvation leads through the reforming agenda of Gregory the Great, to a “Joachimist understanding of the close relationship between the Apocalypse of John and the history of salvation”.⁷

The apocalyptic windows of All Saints, North Street show “how nimble and dynamic medieval apocalyptic approaches were”.⁸ It is unsurprising to conclude that these windows were directed towards the salvation of their audience, but how this concentration on salvation was communicated changed according to local circumstances. Richard Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis saw the illuminated apocalyptic manuscripts they studied as adapted to the interests of the elite audiences of these manuscripts, and the same can be seen in All Saints. Instead of the elite, courtly apocalypses of thirteenth-century manuscripts (and possibly apocalyptic glass from this time, had more of it survived), these windows show an apocalypse rooted in the concerns of the local community. In the words of Daniela Wagner, and based on her study of the fifteen last days in late medieval art, expressions of the fifteen last days are “above all a rhetorical phenomenon used to integrate the events of one's own time into the history of salvation and to critique contemporary theology and politics”.⁹ The windows in All Saints show both contemporary theology in their links to Rolle and the popular cult of Scrope, and politics in their allusions to the 1405 revolt. Apocalyptic art is necessarily positioned within the history of salvation, anticipating the Last Judgement, but the exact position reflects the concerns of those who commissioned, made and saw the glass. In All Saints, the windows manifest the theology of Rolle and the politics of reconciliation after the Scrope rebellion.

Whilst the medieval priests and parishioners of All Saints do appear to have “lived in a more or less constant state of apocalyptic expectation”, the windows are products of the lived experience of their patrons and designers, in this case an expectation of doom that drew upon the martyrdom of Archbishop Scrope.¹⁰ Conclusions as to the motivations of those involved in

⁶ Watson, “Afterword: The Nightingale and the Cuckoo,” 1163.

⁷ Alfredo Gatto, “The Life and Works of Joachim of Fiore — An Overview,” in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. Matthias Riedl (Brill, 2017), 28.

⁸ Leah DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, 2009), 151.

⁹ “Eine endzeitliche Polemik ist zunächst ein rhetorisches Phänomen, das zur Einordnung der Ereignisse der eigenen Zeit in die Heilsgeschichte und zur zeitgenössischen Kritik an Theologie und Politik herangezogen wird”; Daniela Wagner, *Die fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem Jüngsten Gericht: spätmittelalterliche Bildkonzepte für das Seelenheil* (Reimer, 2016), 268.

¹⁰ Bernard McGinn, “Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100–1500,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 74–75. See also

the Scrope revolt, or indeed the motivations of the archbishop himself, cannot be made based on this glass, but the evidence from the windows does agree with the process of negotiation and reconciliation after the revolt identified in other sources.¹¹ The windows are rooted in the immediate local environment of the Micklegate neighbourhood in which the Corpus Christi guild was based and fashionable devotion to Scrope and Rolle flourished. Yet, they also interact with the cathedral glass. Albeit on a smaller scale, the apocalyptic glass cannot fail to be seen as related to York Minster's monumental Great East Window, whilst the lives and deathbed wishes of both Robert Alne and John Bawtre show how the church of All Saints was integrated into the clerical life of the Minster, including the Minster clerics' interest in Rolle, Scrope and pastoral care. It can be postulated that Rolle's theology appears in these windows because it was widely used within this circle to understand Scrope's martyrdom, but this requires further investigation.

Applying narratological approaches to these windows allows the stories within the glass to be identified, interrogated and placed within their wider context, both in terms of the politics, society and religious culture of late medieval York, and the iconographic context within apocalyptic art. Following Wolfgang Kemp, concentrating on the narratives within and across these windows brings out the message of salvation through local saints and the ways in which this message was adapted to different audiences. These audiences were less biblically literate and more localised for the Fifteen Last Days, and more clerical for the Revelation window. In the case of the Rolle connection, applying sound studies after the narratological approach further shows the ways in which the narratives in the glass allude to and draw upon *canon*. This reinforces previous conclusions, particularly the conclusions of Jonathan Hughes, as to the centrality of Rolle's theology to intellectual life in early fifteenth century York.

Within the church of All Saints, North Street, the Blackburn windows have already received extensive scholarly attention. However, the early fifteenth-century window in the north aisle of the church showing St Thomas the Apostle with the Risen Christ and St Thomas of Canterbury, has been as little studied as the Revelation window. This window can be seen as part of the Scrope-apocalypse-Rolle nexus. The Scrope allusions in this window appear in the stigmata of Christ and the inclusion of Thomas Becket. The significance of stigmata in the cult of Scrope cannot be overemphasised. No other saint in the later Middle Ages is recorded as asking for the five wounds of Christ, likely connecting Scrope very clearly with the image

Eugen Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 31–33.

¹¹ See Chapter 4.

of the Risen Christ holding out his stigmata for inspection.¹² Veneration of Scrope by the Corpus Christi guild further emphasises this link between the martyred archbishop and the wounds of Christ. Similarities in their stories means that a connection between Becket and Scrope is even easier for a medieval, or modern, viewer to make. Both Scrope and Becket were English archbishops executed on the orders of their respective King Henry; both archbishops died in their metropolitan sees; both were buried in chapels at the eastern ends of their cathedrals; and both were subject to veneration immediately after their deaths.

The St Thomas window is also in some ways apocalyptic due to its depiction of events in the Pentecostal story. The Second Coming and the Day of Judgement was seen throughout medieval art and theology as “prefigured on the day of Pentecost”.¹³ In this way, the St Thomas glass is the window most closely allied to the Scrope-apocalypse link seen in the Fifteen Last Days and Revelation windows, which is unsurprising considering the connection of the donor family to the Scrope revolt.¹⁴ Thus, this window would merit further investigation into the potential Rolle references in the glass, particularly considering the devotion to St Cecilia, patron of music and song, in the books held by the donor figures. It is also notable, though not surprising, that all the fifteenth-century windows were installed in the church’s newly rebuilt aisle walls. As these walls were likely being rebuilt during the time of the revolt, the iconographic content of the windows added in the early fifteenth century was potentially linked to the events of 1405 through knowledge of the building’s history.

Elsewhere in York, the apocalyptic Great East Window dominates the eastern end of the metropolitan church. Whilst scholarly investigation of this window has so far focused on the commissioning, construction and imagery of the glass, the narrative is undoubtedly drawn from Revelation and carefully constructed in order to tell a particular story.¹⁵ The typology in the scenes above the apocalyptic narrative suggests that this narrative should be seen as fitting

¹² I am grateful to Prof. Gabór Klaniczay for sharing his expertise on stigmata in saints’ cults. The only other comparable example Prof. Klaniczay knew of was that of St Peter the Martyr, assassinated by five blows of an axe in 1252. This method of martyrdom was not presented as being chosen by the saint.

¹³ “Préfigurée le jour de la Pentecôte”; Jacques Le Goff, “Au Moyen Âge: Temps de l’Église et temps du marchand,” in *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Gallimard, 1977), 49.

¹⁴ The window was given by the Bawtre family. See Chapter 4 for a full explanation of their connections to the Scrope revolt.

¹⁵ Sarah Brown, “Looking for John Thornton: The Great East Window of York Minster revisited,” in *York: Art, Architecture and Archaeology: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transaction XLVII*, ed. S. Rees Jones and T. Ayers (Routledge, 2021); Christopher Norton, “Richard Scrope and York Minster,” in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007); Ian Freestone, Jerzy Kunicki-Goldfinger, Heather Gilderdale-Scott, Tim Ayers, “Multidisciplinary Investigation of the Windows of John Thornton, Focusing on the Great East Window of York Minster,” in *The Art of Collaboration: Stained-Glass Conservation in the 21st Century*, ed. Mary B. Shepard, Lisa Pilosi, Sebastian Strobl (Harvey Miller, 2010); & Thomas French, *York Minster: The Great East Window* (Oxford University Press, 1995).

into the prophetic understanding of the apocalypse, in which human time is moving inevitably towards Doomsday, with each of the episodes in the Book of Revelation prefigured by an Old Testament tale.¹⁶ This typological understanding is not seen in the much less extensive glass of All Saints, North Street, except possibly in the St Thomas window where Pentecost could be seen as a type of the Second Coming. The Great East Window and the two explicitly apocalyptic windows in All Saints share a prophetic understanding, looking forward to the events of Doomsday. This suggests that such an understanding was prominent in late medieval York, or perhaps, considering Robert Alne's work as Examiner General, within the community of cathedral priests. In light of the extensive work Jonathan Hughes has done to show the influence of Rolle in the intellectual lives of the Minster clergy, an investigation of the Great East Window, and other glass in the cathedral, with Rolle in mind would likely be profitable. The Minster also has fifteenth-century depictions of Judgement Day (now in wII), the opening of the seven seals (wXXVIII) and St Michael in sXII and on the choir screen.¹⁷

Glass can also be found in the parish church St Michael, Spurriergate that may have apocalyptic content. This church contains remnants of a fifteenth-century window devoted to the Nine Orders of Angels, and an Agnus Dei, possibly the Lamb of the apocalypse, survives. Unsurprisingly, the church also contained an image of St Michael. It cannot be known whether this imagery was apocalyptic, but parts of a dragon do survive in the glass.¹⁸ This parish was also home to lawyers who owned a book held by Scrope at his execution and later bequeathed that book to the rector of the parish. The possibility of a symbolic spatial connection between St Michael (victor of the Book of Revelation), St William/Scrope, and St John (writer of Revelation) was suggested in Chapter 6. However, to establish a connection between Scrope and the glazing of St Michael's requires further investigation.

All of this glass was constructed, if not designed in the case of York Minster's Great East Window, after the Scrope revolt.¹⁹ Two windows in the Minster — the clerestory glass (SVI) next to the St Cuthbert window, and the St William window — are the only glass in York

¹⁶ Sarah Brown, *Apocalypse: The Great East Window of York Minster* (Third Millennium Publishing, 2014), 56–57.

¹⁷ There are earlier medieval depictions, most notably the York Doomstone from the late eleventh century. Interest in the apocalyptic did not wane in York as the Middle Ages progressed. The letter and numeral combination referring to windows is that of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. The letter refers to the aisle in which the window is found ('w' for north and 's' for south) and the numeral to the position from east to west (i.e. II is the furthest east). 'I' usually refers to the east window of a church or cathedral. Lowercase 'n' or 's' refers to the lower position in the wall and 'N' or 'S' would usually be the clerestory window in the same position, i.e. SII is the window above sII.

¹⁸ These may originally have been with an image of St Michael or the Women Clothed in the Sun, though a depiction of St George is the most common accompaniment to a dragon in surviving fifteenth-century glass.

¹⁹ For the window being designed before the revolt, see Brown, "Looking for John Thornton," 137.

in which it has previously been argued that devotion to the martyred archbishop can be seen, but further work may uncover many more examples.²⁰ The discussion in this dissertation suggests that much more Scrope imagery than is currently acknowledged may have been contained in the glazing of late medieval York. Glass which survived Lancastrian regimes and the Reformation may have been concealed within other iconography, as in All Saints, North Street.

Jonathan Hughes emphasises the uniqueness of devotional life in late medieval Yorkshire, and York itself was unusual within the county, being the largest urban centre and possessing the cathedral and the administration that went with it.²¹ Yet, both the city and the county were closely connected to the southern cities of late medieval England, and influenced and were influenced by religious developments across the kingdom.²² The parish of All Saints, North Street had, as explained in previous chapters, merchants who travelled throughout England, parishioners involved in Westminster-based administration, connections to religious houses in London and beyond, and an anchorite patronised by the Earl of Warwick. Hughes argues that Rolle's influence on English devotional life should be attributed to the patronage he attracted from noble families.²³ The visions of Emma Raughton and their patronage by the Earl of Warwick deserve further research beyond the scope of this dissertation. Yet, the place of the parish within English politics and religious life can be seen in the Scrope imagery, the Rolleian mysticism in the glass, and potentially in the Yorkist imagery in the Nine Orders of Angels window.²⁴ Each of these factors is both focused upon Yorkshire and relevant to fifteenth-century England as a whole, where the Scrope revolt threatened the new Lancastrian regime, Rolle's widespread popularity is attested to by the exceptional survival of his work, and the Wars of Roses led to repeated changes in the kingdom's government.

²⁰ SVI has an image labelled "Dominus Ricarde", given by Scrope's nephew. Gelfand has persuasively explored the Scrope allusions in the St William window; Laura D. Gelfand, "'I was blind and now I can see!' Sight and Revelation in the St William Window in York Minster," in *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, ed. Elisa A. Foster, Julia Perratore and Steven Rozenski (Brill, 2018).

²¹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 347.

²² In an English political context, it is possible that, if seen within an apocalyptic context, the use of St Michael in this window, and in a narrative that contains a local saint, could be seen as a response to the archangel's support of Joan of Arc during the late 1420s; Weber, *Apocalypses*, 59. However, and despite the eschatological echoes in the victories of French armies, the popularity of St Michael in the art of fifteenth-century Europe makes this unlikely. The imagery of the window likewise does not appear to be connected to the papal schism. For connections between the Western Schism and apocalyptic imagery, see Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated*, 190.

²³ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 88–92.

²⁴ The Scrope imagery is not immediately obvious to a casual viewer. This accounts for its survival during the fifteenth-century political upheaval of the Wars of Roses and Tudor ascendancy, and destruction by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant reformers.

As explored in Chapter 6, the concept of justice thematically knits Scrope's martyrdom with eschatology. This concept also tied in with apocalyptic imagery and theology. For John of Rupescissa (ca.1310–ca.1370), a lack of justice was one of the signs of the arrival of Antichrist.²⁵ Despite arguably being the antagonist of the apocalyptic story, Antichrist has only briefly been mentioned in the proceeding chapters due to his lack of relevance to the iconography and narratives of All Saints, North Street. This lack of consideration will be justified in the following paragraphs. Rupescissa wrote that at the coming of Antichrist the higher clergy, including archbishops, would lose all their belongings and be returned to a state of apostolic poverty, a prophecy that Scrope riding on his donkey towards York may have seemed to embody.²⁶ Rupescissa also claimed that all those who survived the reign of Antichrist "would receive illumination from the Holy Spirit", symbolism that could also have been seen to be echoed in Scrope's execution at Pentecost.²⁷ However, there does not appear to have been any enthusiastic late medieval English tradition of collating eschatological and contemporary figures. On the European continent, popes were variously identified as the Angelic Pope or Antichrist. Similar identities were ascribed to secular rulers, including the French king Charles VI or the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.²⁸ This cannot be seen in surviving English sources to any great extent.²⁹

This lack of enthusiasm for Antichrist imagery and identifications is found in All Saints, North Street. Indeed, it seems that opportunities to identify political figures, particularly Henry IV, with Antichrist, were ignored. For example, the crowned Beast in the Revelation window could have been presented as King Henry, but it is not.³⁰ Furthermore, a connection to Antichrist could have been made through the materiality of these windows. The nature of Antichrist is to imitate, thus windows that show images of Antichrist would imitate the

²⁵ DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time*, 40.

²⁶ DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time*, 40–41.

²⁷ DuVun, *Prophecy, Alchemy and the End of Time*, 43. For this in late antique thought, see Majorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 298.

²⁸ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 329–46.

²⁹ It is only seen in works written by or connected to John Wycliffe. By the time the windows were made, these works were labelled heretical. At the time of the Scrope revolt, the situation was slightly less clear. Wycliffe's works had been legally condemned as heretical, but he had not been formally declared a heretic; Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Trial Procedures against Wyclif and Wycliffites in England and at the Council of Constance," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (1998): 20.

³⁰ The multiple heads of the Beast would have allowed a particularly strong identification to be made, as the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century kings of England claimed the crowns of England, Ireland and France, as well as the principality of Wales. Thus, the lack of crowns in this image supports the lack of identification between Henry IV and Antichrist.

imitator.³¹ This interpretation must have been known in late medieval York: the *Prick of Conscience* says that “Antichrist thus shall counterfeit // The wonders of Christ” whilst the *Golden Legend* refers to the “deceit of Antichrist”.³² In the Chester Mystery Plays, Enoch says Antichrist “hath thus beguiled”.³³ The *Golden Legend* goes on to say: “The first manner [in which Antichrist acts] shall be by suasion and false exposition of Scripture”.³⁴ By presenting a narrative that stretches across millennia and constantly loops back on itself, the Revelation window is consciously not imitating real life. The window can therefore be seen as choosing to represent the divine truth of Holy Scripture rather than attempting to imitate as Antichrist does. Potentially, the Fifteen Last Days with its familiar setting imitating life could be seen within this Antichrist tradition. However, this window, unlike for example the late fourteenth century Antichrist glass in Frankfurt (Oder), is noticeable for both its lack of humanoid figures and its lack of supernatural occurrences. Antichrist, a human figure who performs seeming miracles and appears to ascend from Mt. Tabor, is not an easy fit within the narrative space of this window.

This lack of an Antichrist figure also highlights how, to a large extent, the apocalypse in these windows is de-gendered. Antichrist is always presented as unambiguously male, for example in the panels in the Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder) where his circumcision echoes Christ’s.³⁵ Likewise, in panel 2b of York Minster’s Great East Window, Gog and Magog appear bearded and in armour, in contrast to the angelic, beardless and robed angels in the same panel. The same contrast can be seen in the Vienna *Horarium*, between the youthful, robed and beardless angel, and the hairy, animalistic Hellmouth. Antichrist’s lack of presence in the windows of All Saints, North Street removes this possibility of an unambiguously masculine interpretation of the apocalypse.³⁶

³¹ Roberto Rusconi, “Antichrist and Antichrists,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (Continuum, 2000), 288; & Wolfgang Huber, “Biblische Botschaft aus Farbe und Licht,” in *Der gläserne Schatz: die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* ed. Frank Mangelsdorf (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 34.

³² James H. Morey, ed., *Prick of Conscience* (Medieval Institute Publications, 2012); book 5, lines 320–21: “Antycriste thus shal counturfete // The wondres of Cryste”.

³³ David Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: A New Edition with Modernised Spelling* (Colleagues Press, 1992), 399 (play 23, line 268).

³⁴ “The Advent of our Lord,” *Golden Legend*, vol. 2.

³⁵ See also Satan in general, for example in the bearded Beast tempting Christ in stained glass from Troyes (ca.1170–80) or the demons attempting to weigh down St Michael’s scales in 1470 German glass; Paul Williamson, *Medieval and Renaissance Glass in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (V&A Publications, 2003), 8 & 66.

³⁶ For the Frankfurt window, see Frank Mangelsdorf, ed., *Der gläserne Schatz: Die Bilderbibel der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* (Das Neue Berlin, 2007), 106–41; & Ulrich Knefelkamp and Frank Martin ed., *Der Antichrist: Die Glasmalereien der Marienkirche in Frankfurt (Oder)* (Edition Leipzig, 2008), 123. For Antichrist as male, see Rusconi, “Antichrist and Antichrists,” 289–91.

The same degendered approach to apocalyptic figures can be seen in the saints in the glass of All Saints, North Street. In sharp contrast to the presentation of St John in York Minster, the All Saints St John is young, beardless and appears to embody ideas of a de-gendered saint. The head of St Michael in the same window does not survive so it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the presentation of the archangel. However, in all other depictions St Michael is presented as young, beardless, and thus de-sexualised. The Fifteen Last days window likewise prioritises depictions of de-sexualised clerics. Typically-presented male and female figures do appear in the glass, but the most prominent positions are given to beardless, priestly figures. These clerical figures, possibly intended to be the same man, stand in the centre of the fourteenth panel (in the central panel of the top row of the window), and kneel in the centre of the panel below, surrounded by smaller male and female gendered figures. The bones in the twelfth panel likewise can be seen as de-gendering the donor figures, with nine skulls to match the nine donors, and no gendered signifiers on the coffins.³⁷ These priests (and saint and archangel), in contrast to the bearded merchant in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window or to St John the Baptist and St Christopher in the St Anne window, echo Scrope's promotion of the cult of virginity and chastity.

Finally, the materiality of these windows is central to any understanding of them within their local, English and theological contexts. Stained glass is both a human medium, made through heating sand and painting the cooled product, and a conduit for divine light. It is therefore uniquely suited to telling stories about the apocalypse, told in narrative spaces in which the divine light of God, angels, and the Heavenly Jerusalem are so prominent. In a similar way, the choice to show Rolle's *canor* in the windows emphasises the inaudible nature of angelic song; the visual nature of stained glass does not allow the viewer to hear in a sensory way. Sound in the windows therefore must be heard spiritually, like Rolle's *canor*. Even more than the human voice, an instrument created directly by God and with which humans are to praise him, glass marries the human and the divine.

Telling stories helps humans to make sense of the world. Telling stories with these windows helped their designers and audiences to make sense of the world in which they lived. This world was one in which many of the inhabitants of York had suffered the martyrdom of their local archbishop before their eyes. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find narratives referencing and thus explaining Scrope's martyrdom, and many more may have

³⁷ Gender signifiers on these coffins could, for example, have included a sword for the masculine and a distaff for the feminine.

existed in the now-lost medieval art of York. Rolle's theology likewise provides a local link to the divine. This may also have been part of a personal process for the designers and viewers of these windows of reconciling with an intensely negative experience. Through these windows, the inhabitants of All Saints, North Street could understand and negotiate their post-martyrdom experience, primarily through relating it to the mystical *canor* of Richard Rolle and the apocalypse that may never have been felt to be more imminent.

Figures



Figure 1. The Revelation window in the parish church of All Saints, North Street, York
(photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 2. The Fifteen Last Days window in the parish church of All Saints, North Street
(photo taken by author May 2024)

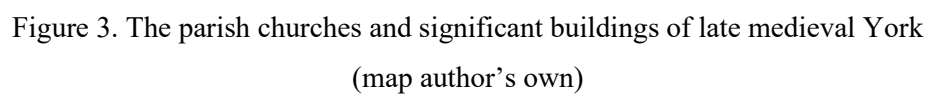




Figure 4. The sixth day (panel 3c) in the Fifteen Last Days window with medieval and modern glass (photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 5. Colours of white glass taken from panel 2a in the Fifteen Last Days window with medieval (right) and nineteenth century (left) glass (photo taken by author December 2024)

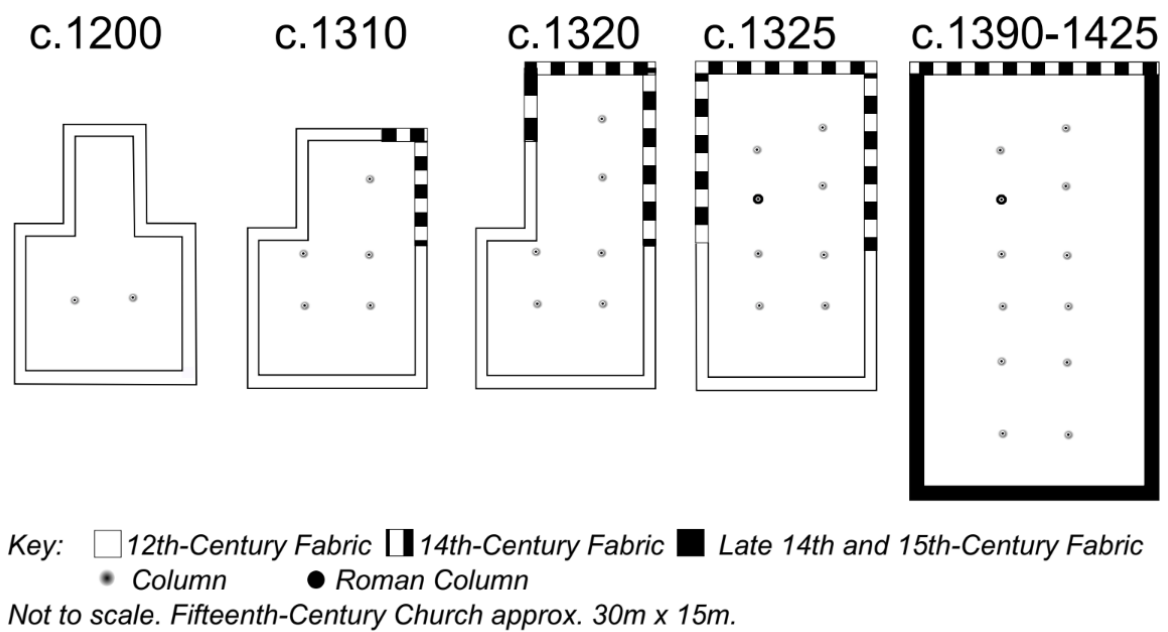


Figure 6. Proposed stages of development of the church of All Saints, North Street



Figure 7. The tracery of the Fifteen Last Days window
 (photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 8. The windows of the eastern wall of All Saints, North Street
(photo taken by author December 2023)



Figure 9. Fifteenth-century square-headed stonework of the Revelation and Mystic Mass windows
(photos taken by author December 2023)



Figure 10. The fourteenth-century Joys of the Virgin window
(photo taken by author December 2024)

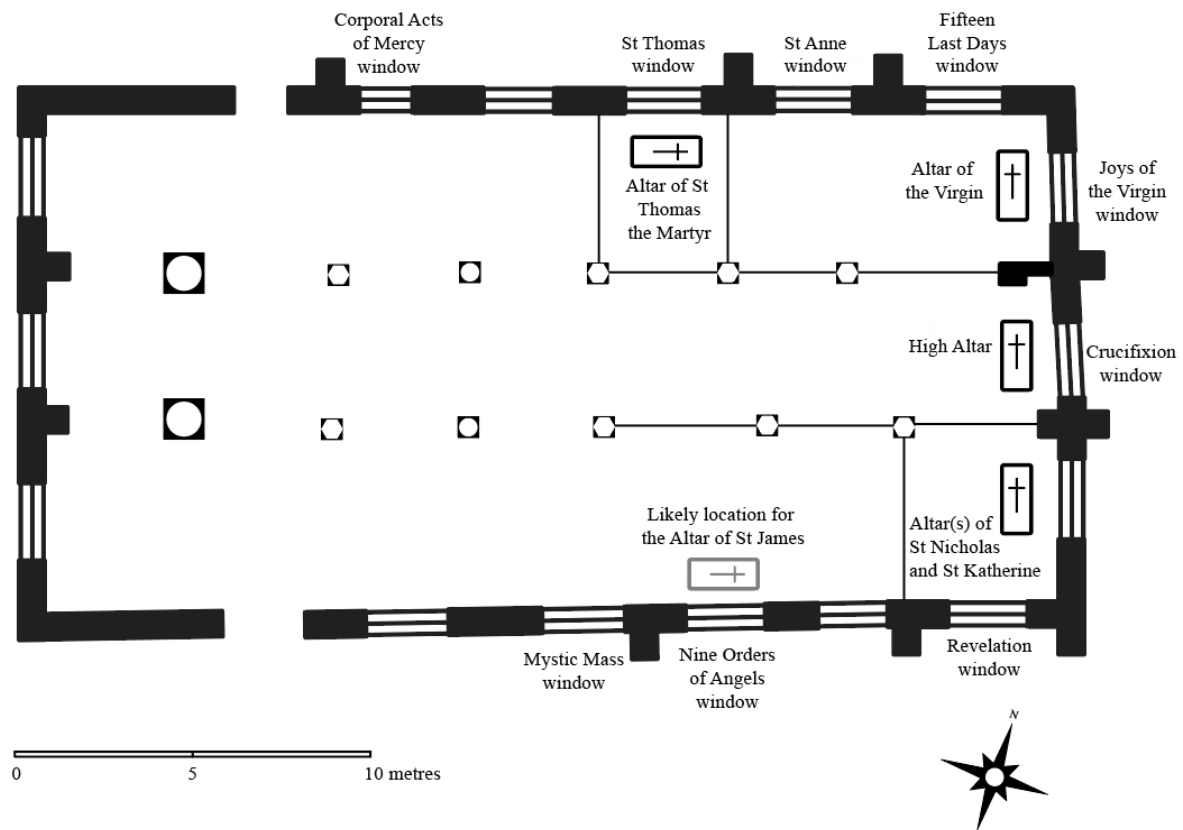


Figure 11. Plan of fifteenth-century All Saints, North Street.

Chapel screens indicated by surviving marks on pillars
(plan author's own, based on RCHM)



Figure 12. The Corporal Acts of Mercy window
(photo taken by author April 2025)



Figure 13. Fragments of the original donor panels of the Corporal Acts of Mercy window
(photos taken by author December 2023)

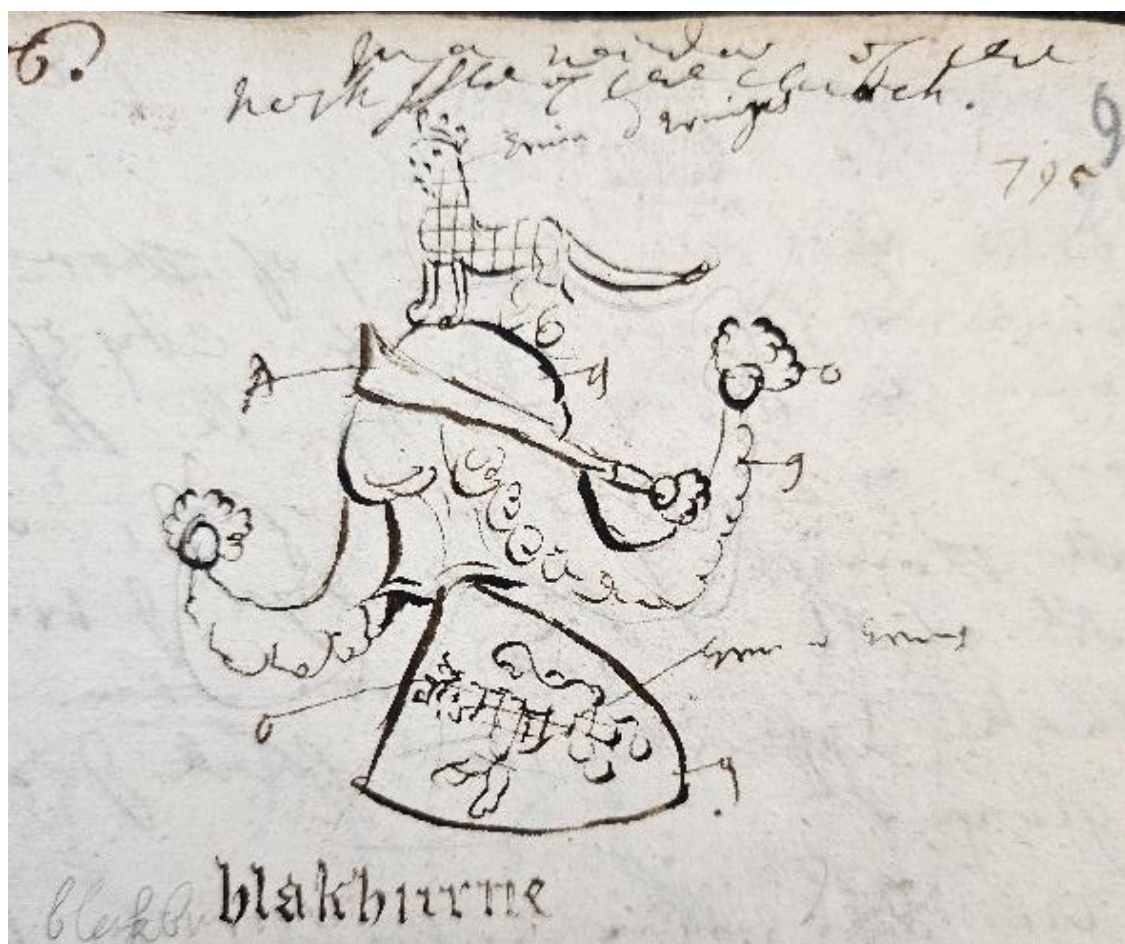


Figure 14. Johnston's sketch of the donor armorial of the Corporal Acts of Mercy window
(MS. Top. Yorks., 185, photo taken by author May 2024)

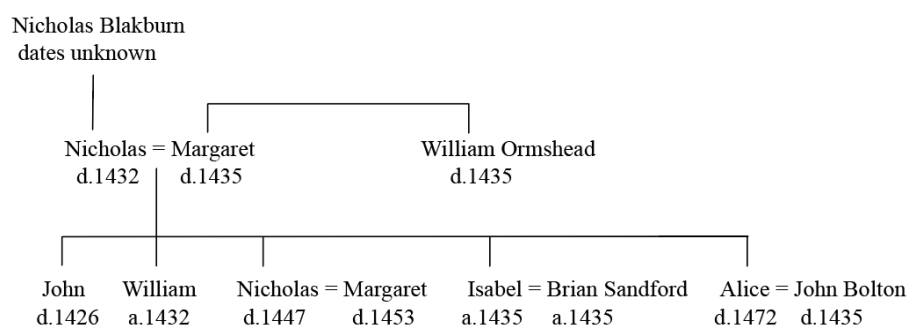


Figure 15. The Blackburn family tree, as relevant to this dissertation



Figure 16. The St Anne window
(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 17. Johnston's sketches of the donor figures of the St Anne window
(MS. Top. Yorks., 185, photos taken by author May 2024)



Figure 18. The St Thomas window
(photo taken by author April 2025)



Figure 19. Johnston's sketch of the donor figure of the St Thomas window
(MS. Top. Yorks., 186; photo taken by author May 2024)

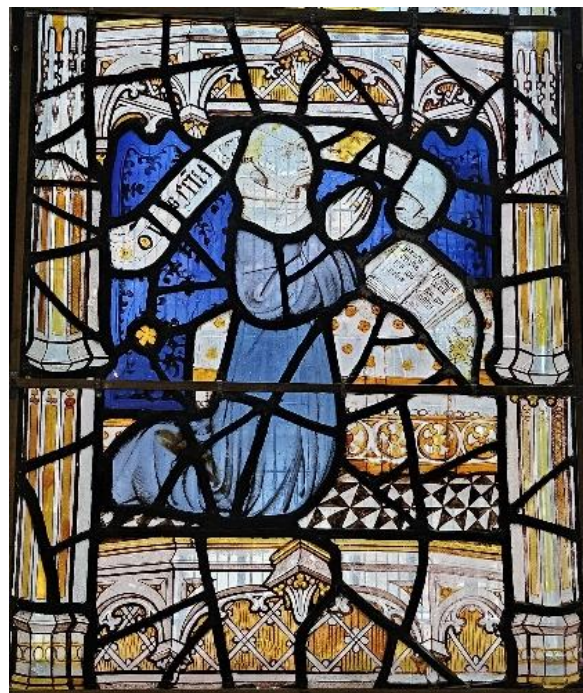


Figure 20. The current west donor panel in the Corporal Acts of Mercy window
(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 21. The Nine Orders of Angels window

(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 22. The Seraph panel of the Nine Orders of Angels window
(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 23. The Mystic Mass window
(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 24. The bishop from the Mystic Mass and St John of Beverley from York Minster
(s10 - right) (photos taken by author December 2024)



Figure 25. Johnston's sketch of the donor panels of the Fifteen Last Days window
(MS. Top. Yorks. f. 185; photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 26. A nineteenth-century face and a fifteenth-century face
(right) (photo taken by author December 2023)



Figure 27. Johnston's sketches of headdresses in the Fifteen Last Days and St Anne windows
(right) (MS. Top. Yorks., 185, photo taken by author May 2024)

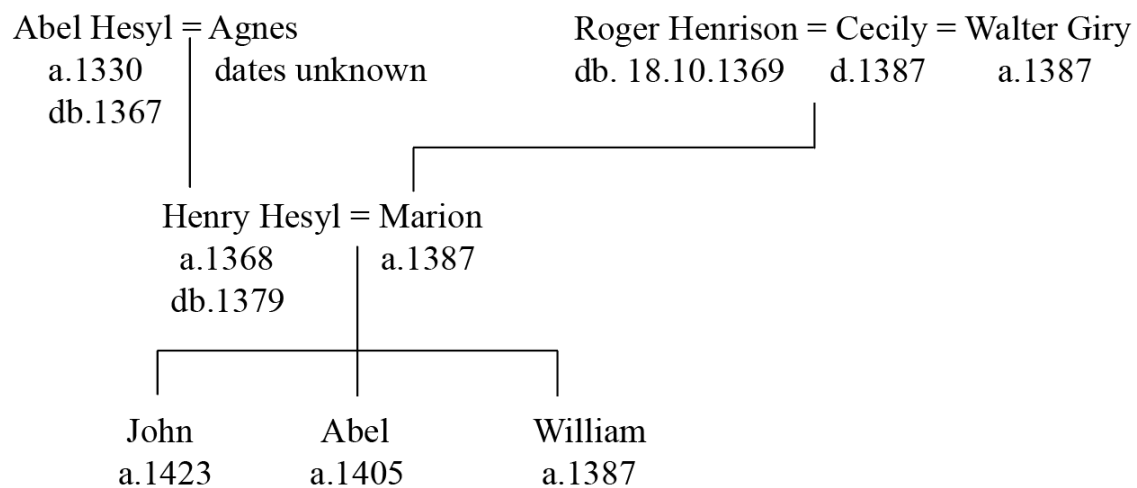


Figure 28. The Hesyl family tree



Figure 29. Johnston's sketch of the Fifteen Last Days window
(MS. Top. Yorks., 195, photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 30. Figures in the Fifteen Last Days window and the Great East Window
(right) (photo taken by author December 2024, and CVMA)



Figure 31. Trees in the Fifteen Last Days window and the Great East Window
(right) (photo taken by author May 2024, and CVMA)



Figure 32. Bedcover decoration in the Fifteen Last Days and Corporal Acts of Mercy windows
(right) (photos taken by author December 2024)



Figure 33. Johnston's sketch of the Revelation donor panels
(MS. Top. Yorks., 185, photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 34. Sabatons in the Revelation, St Anne, and Nine Orders of Angels windows
(right) (photos taken by author December 2024)



Figure 35. 'S's in the Revelation, Nine Orders of Angels and Mystic Mass windows
(right) (photos taken by author December 2024)

Calendar time	Liturgical time	Event(s)
May		Percy attacks Neville (early May)
		Two weeks of disturbances in Northern England
17		Scrope publishes his articles in York
28	Ascension	Scrope assembles his forces on Shipton Moor
29		Royal forces reach Shipton Moor
30		Scrope arrested and sent to Pontefract Castle
June 3		Henry IV confiscates York's liberties
5/6		Citizens of York perform their subjugation
6		Henry IV arrives at Bishopthorpe Palace
7	Whitsun/Pentecost	Archbishop Arundel travelling north
8	Whit Monday St. William's Day	Scrope, Mowbray and Plumpton executed
11		First miracles at Scrope's tomb

Figure 36. A timeline of the Scrope revolt

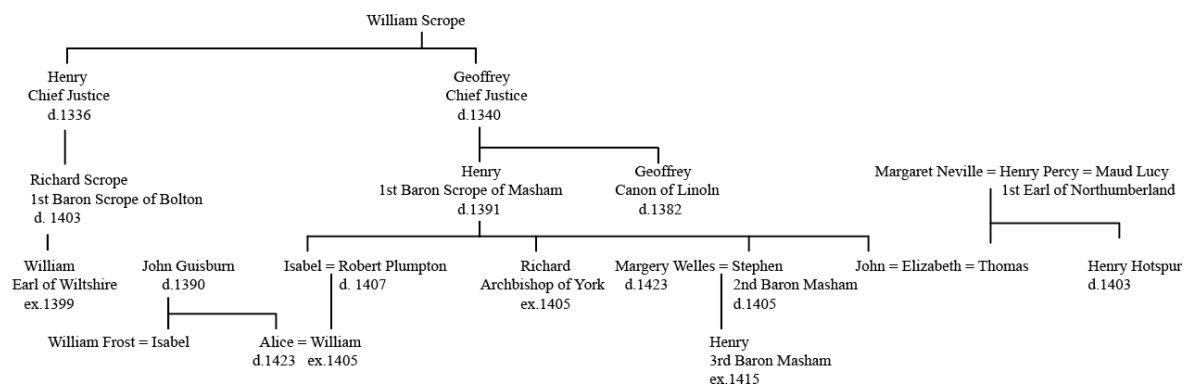


Figure 37. The Scrope family tree, as relevant to this dissertation



Figure 38. Map of the location(s) of Scrope's execution

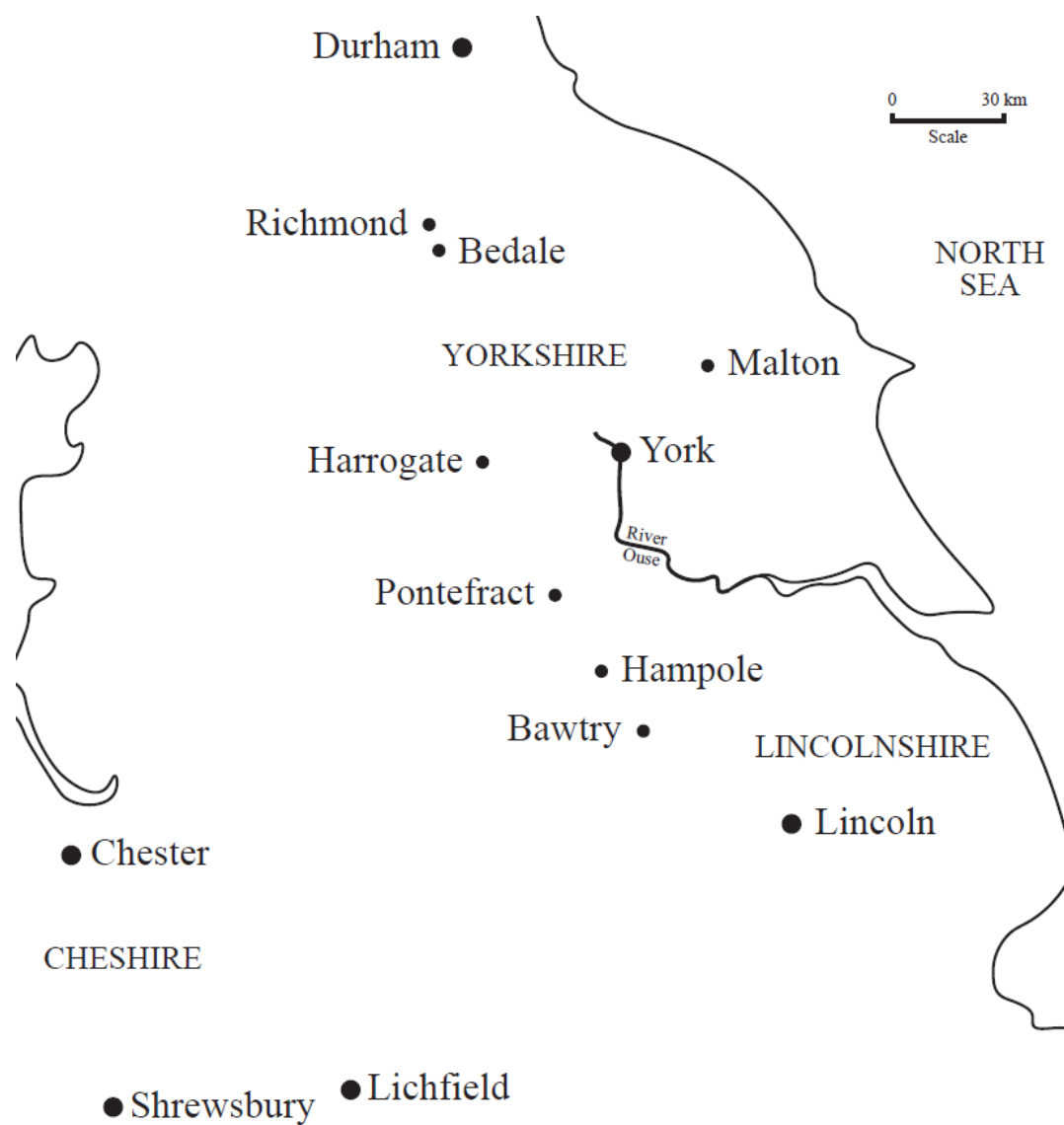


Figure 39. Map of northern England, showing settlements relevant to this dissertation

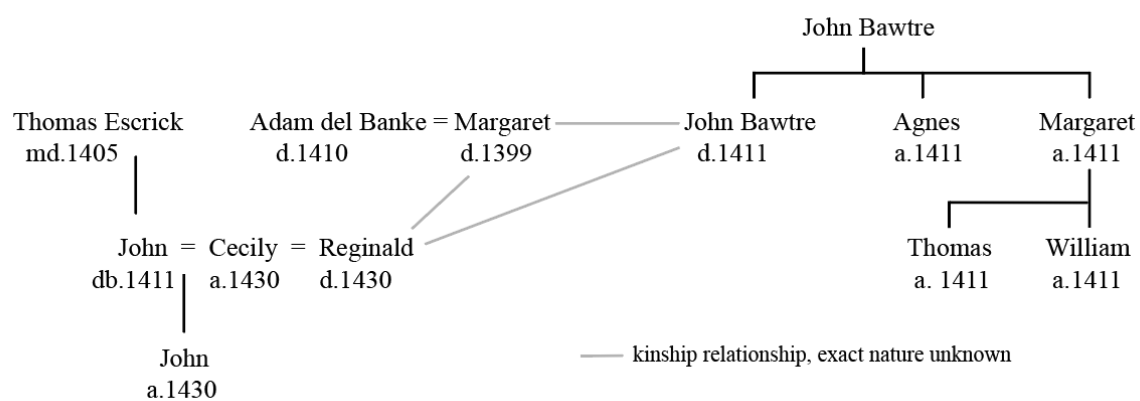


Figure 40. The Banke and Bawtre family tree



Figure 41. Medieval survivals in panel 2a of the Fifteen Last Days window
(based on a photo taken by author April 2025)



Figure 42. Glass colours on the floor of All Saints, North Street
(photo taken by author April 2025)



Figure 43. St John of Patmos in the Great East Window and All Saints, North Street
(right) (CVMA, and photos taken by author December 2024)



Figure 44. Buildings and sky seen through the Revelation glass
(photo taken by author July 2024)



Figure 45. Cinquefoils from panel 2c (day 3) of the Fifteen Last Days window
(photo taken by author July 2024)

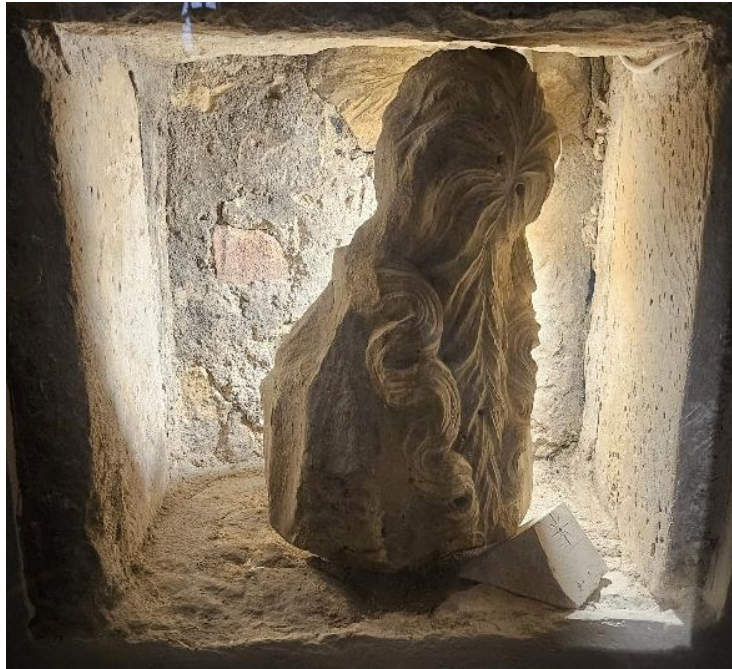


Figure 46. The head of the Virgin in the north choir of All Saints, North Street
(photo taken by author December 2024)



Figure 47. A fragment of patterned glass in the Revelation window
(photo taken by author July 2024)



Figure 48. St Michael Angel coin
(London, British Museum, Gold Angel Coin, 1473-7, photo taken by author May 2024)



Figure 49. Suggested medieval survivals in panel 5b (day 11) of the Fifteen Last Days window
(based on a photo taken by author July 2024)



Figure 50. Musical notation in St Mary, Warwick and two examples of suggested musical notation in the Revelation window, All Saints, North Street
(CVMA and photos taken by author December 2024)

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Appendix 1: A Comparison of *Prick of Conscience* Texts

Day	Vernon Manuscript, (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet a.1) ¹	Wellesley College Library, MS. 8 ²
1	þe Furste dai of þe Fiftene dayes // þe see schal ryse þe Bok seis // Above þe heihþe of alle mountayne // Fourti cubytes of certeyne // And euene in his stude stonde // As hul her doþ on þe londe	þe fyrst day of þa fyftene dayes // þe see sall ryse als þa bukes sayes // Abowne þe heght of ylka mowntayne // Fully fowrti cubyttes certayne // And in hys flode euen upps stande // Als a heghe hylle dos on þe lande
2	þe secunde day schal be lowe // þat vnneþe men schal hit knowe	þe secund day þe se sall be so lowe // þat vnnethes men may it knawe
3	þe þridde day hit schal seme pleyn // And stonde euene in his cours aþeyn // As hit stod atte bigynnyng	þe thryd day ye se sall seeme playne // And stand euen in hys cowrs agayne // Als it stode fyrst at þe begynnyng // W[i]t[h]owten more rysyng or fallyng
4	þe feorþe day þus schal hit be // þe most wondurfol fissches of þe se // Schal come togeder and make roryng // Ful hidous to monnes heryng // But what hit schal signefy // Wot non but god almighty	þe Fyorth day sall swylk a wonndyr be // þe moste wowndyrfull fysches of þe se // Sall com togyder and mak swylk romying // þat it sall be hydowse to mannes horyng // Bot what þat rourying sall sygnify // No man wayte bot godd alle myghty
5	þe Fyft þe dai þe see schal brenne // And watres alle þat are þer Inne // þat laste schal from þe sonne Rysyng // Til hire tyme of doun going	þe Fyft day þe see sall brynne // And alle þe wattyres þan sall rynne // And þat sall laste fyor þe sonne rysyng // To þe tyme of þe sonn downe ganging
6	þe sixte day schal springe blod dewe // On Gras on Treos folly to schewe	þe sext day sall spryng a bloody dewe // On grysse and treese als it sall schewe
7	þe seveþe day buyldigs schal doun falle // And grete casteles and toures alle	þe seuent day bynggyng downe sall falle // And grete castelles and towres w[i]t[h] alle
8	þe Eihþe day Roches and stones // Schul sunte togedere alle at ones // Uche to oþur schal smyte faste // So þat vchone schal doun be caste // And uche ston in diuerse wyse // Schal be broken in þre partyse	þe aghtend day hard roches and stanes // Sall stryke togyder alle at anes // And ylkans of þanne sall othyr downe caste // And ylkans agayne othyr hortell faste // So þat ylk a stane on dyuers wyse // Sall sondyr othyr in seere p[er]tyse
9	þe niþe day schal eorþe dune be // Generaliche in uche cuntre // So gret Erþe dune as schal be þan // Was nere siben þe world bigan	þe neghon day grete erthe dyne sall be // Generaly in ylke cowntre // And so grete erthe dynne als sall be þan // Was neuer herd sen þe worlde began
10	þe tenþe day for to nevene // Erþe schal be maad pleyn and euene // hulles and valeys schul tornd be // And be mad euene for to se	þe tyende day ertyr to neuene // þe erthe sall be made playne and euen // For hylles and vallayse sall turned be // In tyll playne and made euen to se
11	þe elleveþe day men schule come oute // Of caues of holes al aboute // As woode men þat no wit can // And non schal speke to oþur þan	þe elleuens day men sall com owte // Of caues and hooles and weende abowte // Als wode men þat no wytte kan // And none sall speke to othyr þan
12	þe twelfþe day Sterres alle // And þe sonne from heuene schal falle	þe twelft day eftyr þe sternnes sall alle // And þe sygnes fro hefen sall falle
13	þe þrettenþe day schal mennes bones // Beoset togedere and Ryse at ones // And uppon heore graues stonde //	þe thryttend day sall dede men banes // Be sett togyder and ryse alle at anes // And abowne on þarye grasses stande //

¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet, a.1, fol. 274v, is online under <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

² Wellesley, Wellesley College Library, MS. 8, images 144, 145 & 146 is at <https://repository.wellesley.edu/object/wellesley22855>.

	Pis schal be falle in uche alonde	Pis sall befall in ylk a lande
14	Þe Fourteneþe day al þat liveþ þan // Schal dye child mon and woman // For þerwiþ hem schal rise aȝein // Þat diged bifore to joye or peyn	Þe Fowrtend day alle þat lyffes þan // Sall dye chylde man and womman // For þan solde ryse w[i]t[h] þanne agaynne // Þat before war dede owthyr to joys or payne
15	Þe fifteeneþe day þis schal betyde // Þe world schal brenne on eueri syde // And þe eorþe þat we in dwelle // Riht to þe otemast part of helle	Þe ffyftende day yt sal betyde // Alle þe worlde sall brynne on ylk syde // And þe erthe whar we nowe dwelle // Untyl þe uttyrrest ende of alle helle

Appendix 2: Books Owned by Fifteenth-Century Inhabitants of All Saints, North Street

The following list is organised by individuals and, within this, according to a condensed version of the medieval cataloguing system known to have been used in late medieval York (the Austin Friars' 1372 library catalogue).¹ It includes all instances where specific works and volumes were mentioned, plus, at the end of the list, a library bequeathed where the individual works were not specified. Most of the information is drawn from wills.² For the lives and careers of these clerics, see Chapter 4.

Robert Alne, Examiner General of the Court of York

These books were bequeathed in Alne's 1440 will.³

Theological Works

librum largum vocatum Bibliam

A large Bible.

una Legend in duobus voluminibus

Likely the *Golden Legend*. Required "correccione", suggesting that the manuscript had been heavily used.

Omeliis Beati Gregorii

The *Homilies* of Gregory the Great.

Egidium de Regimine Principum (2 copies)

Giles of Rome's late thirteenth century *De regimine principum*. Political theology, heavily influenced by Aristotle.⁴

Librum cum tabula super Boecio de Consolacione Philosophie

A table for Boethius' *Consolations*.

¹ M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Typis Academicis Impressus, 1909), 2–96.

² For a census of books bequeathed in late medieval Yorkshire, see John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse University Press, 1995), 255–65.

³ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 682.

⁴ For the significance of this work in early fifteenth century York, see Michele Campopiano, "The Reception of Italian Political Theory in Northern England: Bartolus of Saxoferrato and Giles of Rome in York," in *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Michele Campopiano and Helen Fulton (Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 63–65.

Doctorem de Lira super Novum Testamentum

Nicholas of Lira on the New Testament. This work is likely, based on a similar work held by the Austin Friars, to have contained Lira's commentary on Revelation.

Sanctum Thomam Secunda Secundae

Part of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, focusing on morality.

Ricardum de Hampull vocatum Melos

Likely Richard Rolle's *Melos amoris*.

Orilogio Divinse Sapiencia (2 copies)

Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, called the *Clock of Wisdom* in English. German mysticism popular with readers of Richard Rolle.

Augustine, *De Trinitate* and *De Civitate Dei*

Augustine of Hippo's *On the Trinity* and *City of God*.

Philosophical Works

Problematibus Artis

Aristotle's *Problems*.

Remedio Utriusque Fortunae

Petrarch's *Remedies for Fortunes*. Latin dialogues on moral philosophy.

Works of Civil Law

Azonam cum Summa

The *Summa Codicis* of Azo of Bolonga.

Works of Canon Law

Constitutiones Othonis et Octobonis cum Johanna de Athona cum aliis Constitutionibus

Commentaries on canon law.

par Decretorum

Considering other books in the same will, likely to be a collection of decrees on canon law.

Extravagancias Johannis Papas cum Gosselino

The *Extravagantes* of Pope John XII with glosses by Zenselinus de Cassanis (1325). A collection of canon law.

Archidiaconum in Rosario

A commentary of Gratian's decrees written ca.1300 by Guido de Baysio.

Tractatum de Ecclesiastico Methodoro et Conclusionibus Rotae

It is uncertain which Methodius this refers to, possibly Methodius of Olympus (it is unlikely but possible that it could be Pseudo-Methodius on the apocalypse). The other work is judgements of the highest appeal court of the Church.

Bartholomeum de Casibus

Bartholomew of San Concordio's *Summa de casibus conscientiae*.

James Baguley, Rector of All Saints, North Street

*These books were bequeathed in Baguley's 1440 will.*⁵

Regimen Animarum

Probably a practical manual for confessors.

Librum cujus 2° fo. diem dilectionis

Unknown.

Unum librum vocatum Medullam Gramaticae

Latin-Middle English glossaries.

Unum Processionale 2° fo.

A processional. Exact content unknown. Likely following the Use of York.

Musical Works

Unum librum de Canticis

A book of canticles. Likely a collection of songs but could be Rolle's commentary on the Song of Songs.

Unum librum rubium de Balads

A red book of ballads.

Unum librum cum Motete

A book of motets.

⁵ Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 17r.

John Bawtre, Vicar Choral of York Minster

John Bawtre left his library to Thomas Martyn, vicar choral of York Minster.⁶ Martyn was also one of his executors. The number of books or their contents are not indicated. Considering Bawtre's wealth, the library may have been substantial.

⁶ York, York Minster Library, LS/4, fols. 157r–158r.

Appendix 3: Apocalyptic Texts in Fifteenth-Century York

This is a non-exhaustive list of texts relating to the apocalypse known to have been in late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century York. The list is primarily compiled from the library catalogue of the Austin Friars, and the probate documents of inhabitants of the city and surrounding area. Texts that include the apocalypse but are not explicitly about it (i.e. The City of God) are not included.

Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham

Henry Scrope retained a townhouse in the Micklegate ward of York, in a parish neighbouring All Saints, North Street. The following volumes appear in his will.¹ The will was never proved due to Scrope's execution for treachery in 1415.

unum Librum vocatum Apocalipsi in Latinis & Gallicis benè illuminatum coopertum cum Panno Lineo

An illuminated apocalypse in Latin and French. Christopher Norton suggests this could have been the Welles Apocalypse.²

unum Librum in Anglicis, qui vocatur Stimulus conscientiae

The *Prick of Conscience* poem.

Library of the Austin Friars

The late medieval Austin friary was built on the north side of the Ouse, across the river from All Saints, North Street. The surviving catalogue shows a substantial and wide-ranging library.³

Cantica prophetarum in greco

Biblical songs found in the Greek Bible after the Psalms, some with apocalyptic content. In 1372, collected in the same volume as a *Psalterium in greco*.

¹ *Foedera*, 272–80.

² Christopher Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Shaun Tyas, 2007), 155.

³ M. R. James, "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Typis Academicis Impressus, 1909), 2–96.

Waldeby super apocalips

Waldeby (probably John Waldeby, a fourteenth-century York Austin friar) on the apocalypse.

Item postille super appocal.

Likely to be Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on the apocalypse. Could also be a work on the same topic by Peter Olivi.

Postille super apocalipsim

In the same volume as *Textus aristotelis de animalibus*.

Augustine, *Item de antichristo*

In a volume with 16 other works by Augustine.

Apocalipsis Golie

A satirical apocalypse. In a volume with Isidore's *Etymologies*, Book 20. The same text is found in a different volume in the same library.

Item de antichristo; Jeron' de xv singnis; Expositio de antichristo et eius singnis and Sermo de die Judicii

Works on Antichrist, the Fifteen Last Days, and a sermon on justice. In a volume with other works by church fathers.

Joachim super apocalipsim

Joachim of Fiore's *Expositio in Apocalipsim*, possibly with other apocalyptic works by the same author. Found in the history section of the library.

Item notabilia super apocalipsim

In the philosophy section. Author and context unknown.

Joachim de successione papali and compendium literale petri aureole super apoc.

Joachim of Fiore's *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*. A collection of prophecies concerning various popes. Now not to have been thought to have been written by Joachim of Fiore. In the Austin Friars library with Petrus Aureoli's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. In a volume with other works by Joachim of Fiore and other authors including John of Rupescissa, in the prophecy section.

It is possible that the *liber Metodii episcopi* is a volume of Pseudo-Methodius.

St Mary's Abbey

These are found in a fifteenth-century catalogue with 653 entries.⁴ The list below does not include commentaries on the whole Bible.

Rabaus Super Apocalipsim

A commentary by Paschasius Radbertu on Revelation 21:6.

Super Apocalipsim

The editor of the library's catalogue says this is Hamo of Auxerre's *Commentary of Revelation*.

Exposicio super Apocalipsim

One of many possible expositions on the apocalypse.

Henricus Costesey super Apocalipsim cum tabula

Henry Cossey, *Commentary on Revelation*.

Berenguedus super Apocalipsim

Berengaudus' commentary on Revelation.

Berengaudus, Expositio super septem uisiones libri Apocalysis

As above.

Tractus compendiosus super Apocalipsim secundum Petrum cum tabula

The editor of the catalogue suggests Peter the Chanter, *Commentary on Revelation*.

⁴ Richard Sharpe, *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues* (British Library, 1996) B120 (the library of York's Benedictine St Mary's Abbey).

Abstracts

English

This dissertation asks why a fifteenth-century parish church where the priest and parishioners were notable for their support of an archbishop in revolt subsequently placed apocalyptic art in two of its most prominent windows. It argues that this connection between the archbishop and the apocalypse can only be understood with reference to the theology of divine song proposed by a local mystic.

After an introduction that places the 1405 Scrope revolt and late medieval apocalyptic art within their historical context, the documentary sources for the parish and revolt are analysed. This is followed by a general evaluation of the church of All Saints, North Street in the early fifteenth century, and an in-depth study of the two apocalyptic windows. The source analysis ends with a brief survey of other relevant surviving medieval art.

The first discussion chapter sets out the known events of the Scrope revolt and historiographical interpretations of the evidence, then situates this within the parish of All Saints, North Street. A prosopographical survey of key figures is given. This is followed by two chapters approaching the apocalyptic windows from a narratological standpoint, examining first the temporality in the narrative(s), and then how the use of narrative space connects the glass with the Scrope revolt. The final chapter brings out an ongoing theme through the previous chapters: the significance of the fourteenth-century local mystic Richard Rolle and his concept of divine song (*canor*) to the apocalyptic glass. Rolle's influence and theology connect the windows and revolt.

The dissertation concludes that the two windows present similar narratives emphasising the importance of salvation through devotion to the local saints Archbishop Scrope and Richard Rolle. These narratives differ in their construction and presentation due to their intended audiences - one for a lay audience, perhaps children learning to read, and the other for a clerical audience familiar with the text of the Book of Revelation. It suggests that the same connections could, with further investigation, be seen in other windows in the church of All Saints, North Street, and in the city of York.

Deutsch

Diese Dissertation geht der Frage nach, warum eine Pfarrkirche aus dem 15. Jahrhundert, deren Priester und Gemeindemitglieder für ihre Unterstützung eines revoltierenden Erzbischofs bekannt waren, später zwei ihrer bedeutendsten Fenster mit apokalyptischer Kunst ausstattete. Sie argumentiert, dass dieser Zusammenhang zwischen dem Erzbischof und der Apokalypse nur im Hinblick auf die Theologie des göttlichen Gesangs des lokalen Mystikers Richard Rolle verständlich ist.

Nach einer Einleitung, die den Aufstand von Richard Scrope, Erzbischof von York, im Jahr 1405 und die spätmittelalterliche apokalyptische Kunst in ihren historischen Kontext stellt, werden die dokumentarischen Quellen zur Pfarrei und zum Aufstand analysiert. Es folgt eine allgemeine Bewertung der All Saints Church in der North Street im frühen 15. Jahrhundert und eine eingehende Untersuchung der beiden apokalyptischen Fenster. Die Quellenanalyse endet mit einem kurzen Überblick über weitere relevante erhaltene mittelalterliche Kunst. Das erste Diskussionskapitel legt die bekannten Ereignisse des Scrope-Aufstands und historiografische Interpretationen der Belege dar und verortet diese dann in der Pfarrei All Saints in der North Street. Es folgt ein prosopografischer Überblick über die Schlüsselfiguren. Darauf folgen zwei Kapitel, die sich aus narratologischer Sicht mit den apokalyptischen Fenstern befassen und zunächst die zeitliche Abfolge der Erzählung(en) untersuchen und dann, wie die Verwendung des narrativen Raums die Fenster mit dem Scrope-Aufstand verbindet. Das letzte Kapitel greift ein sich durch die vorhergehenden Kapitel ziehendes Thema auf: die Bedeutung des lokalen Mystikers Richard Rolle aus dem 14. Jahrhundert und seines Konzepts des göttlichen Gesangs (*canor*) für die apokalyptische Darstellung. Rolles Einfluss und seine Theologie verbinden die Fenster und den Aufstand.

Die Dissertation kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die beiden Fenster ähnliche Erzählungen enthalten und die Bedeutung der Erlösung durch die Verehrung der lokalen Heiligen Erzbischof Scrope und Richard Rolle betonen. Diese Erzählungen unterscheiden sich in Aufbau und Darstellung aufgrund ihrer Zielgruppe – die eine richtet sich an Laien, vielleicht Kinder, die lesen lernen, die andere an Geistliche, die mit dem Text der Offenbarung des Johannes vertraut sind. Es lässt sich vermuten, dass sich bei genauerer Untersuchung dieselben Zusammenhänge auch in anderen Fenstern der All Saints Church in der North Street sowie auch in der Stadt York finden lassen.